Early Settlement in Nova Scotia – a History Refresh.

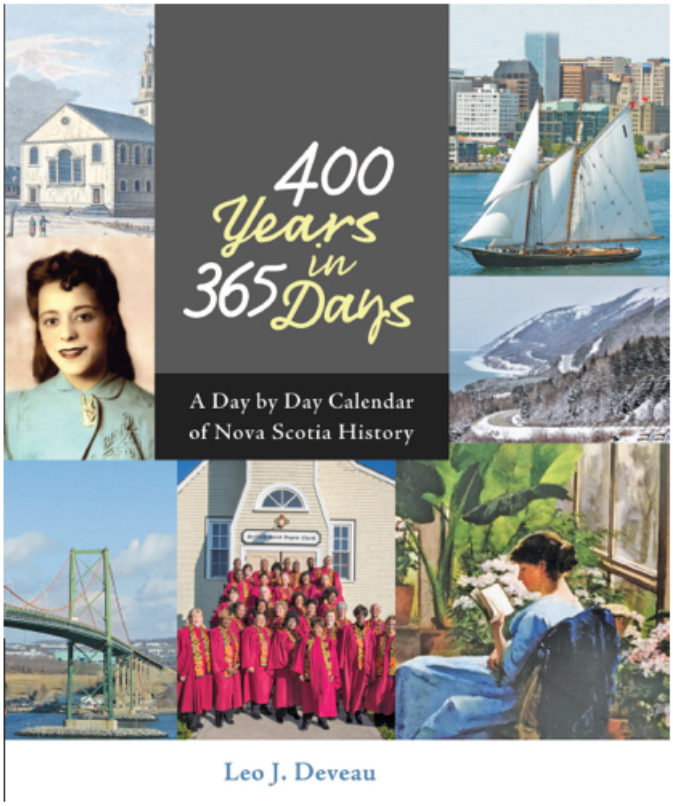
by Leo J. Deveau M.Ed. MLIS.

This document was written and presented by Leo after the AGM of the Halifax Military Heritage Preservation Society (HMHPS) on the 26th of March, 2018.

Backgrounder: Leo's recent book *400 Years in 365 Days A Day by Day Calendar of Nova Scotia History* was published last October 2017 by Formac Publishing.

As a former public librarian and adult educator, and now a writer, researcher and commentator, he has had a longstanding interest in Nova Scotia history, culture and politics. He is a member of the Writers' Federation of Nova Scotia, the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Atlantic Provinces Library Association, the Royal United Services Institute of Nova Scotia and is currently a board member of the Halifax Military Heritage Preservation Society.

As for writing projects, he currently writes a weekly column – *This Week in Nova Scotia History* in the *Novascotian* (in the Monday edition of the Chronicle-Herald). He is also currently writing the regimental history of the Princess Louise Fusiliers; as well as a similar day-by-day history calendar for Prince Edward Island; and lastly, a book on Sanford Fleming's 1872 Expedition from Halifax to identify a railway route through the Rockies for the CPR – working title: *Before the Last Spike.*



I want to provide some reflections on what I call *Early Settlement in Nova Scotia: A History Refresh* – about some of the critical moments in early Nova Scotian history. These reflections are based on my research over many years, some of which is reflected in my recently book *400 Years in 365 Days, A Day by Day Calendar of Nova Scotia History* (Formac, 2017) - I'll be referring to various entries in my book as I go into more detail.

I created the book as my contribution to **the 150th anniversary of the Confederation of Canada** to introduce and inform a 'new generation' about the many historical narratives that has shaped our province, and to also refresh those who are familiar with some of our history with maybe new perspectives!

I'm not a professional historian – but rather a writer, commentator, and researcher who has a background in adult education, and as a former public librarian, I've also done a great deal of research over the years, and reflected a on various aspects, sources, and perspectives concerning Nova Scotia history. My book represents about a third of many items I've identified and continue to update on my web site: www.400years.ca.

Early Settlement = Pre-Confederation

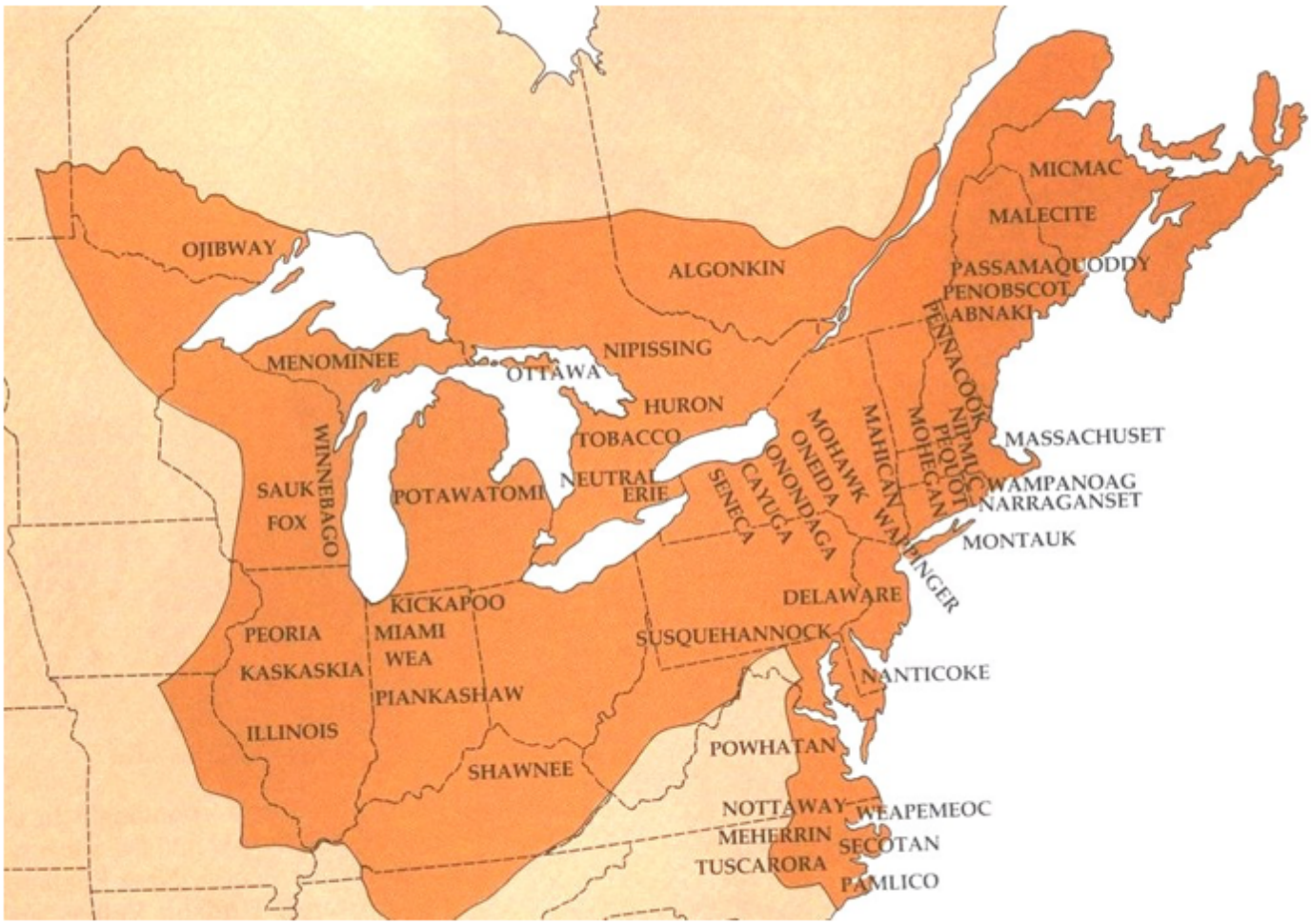
ACT I – 1550s – 1749 – Background contexts.

ACT II – 1749 – 1763 – Settlers & Mi'kmaq realities.

Act III – 1763 – 1867 – Treaties and waves of immigrants.

For my purposes today, 'Early Settlement' refers to pre-Confederation times, or what might be called the 'founding settler era in Nova Scotia.' I've broken this down into three sections which provides a framework to consider the various events that I want to draw your attention to.

Our province's history runs deep and long, like our shorelines! And my time is limited this evening. I can't address all the background contexts that overshadow many of the events that I want to draw to your attention to, but I don't want to be simplistic either. One thought I want you to remember is that we can't change our history, but we can deepen and broaden our understanding of it. Thankfully, there'll be no exams!



ACT I – 1550s-1749

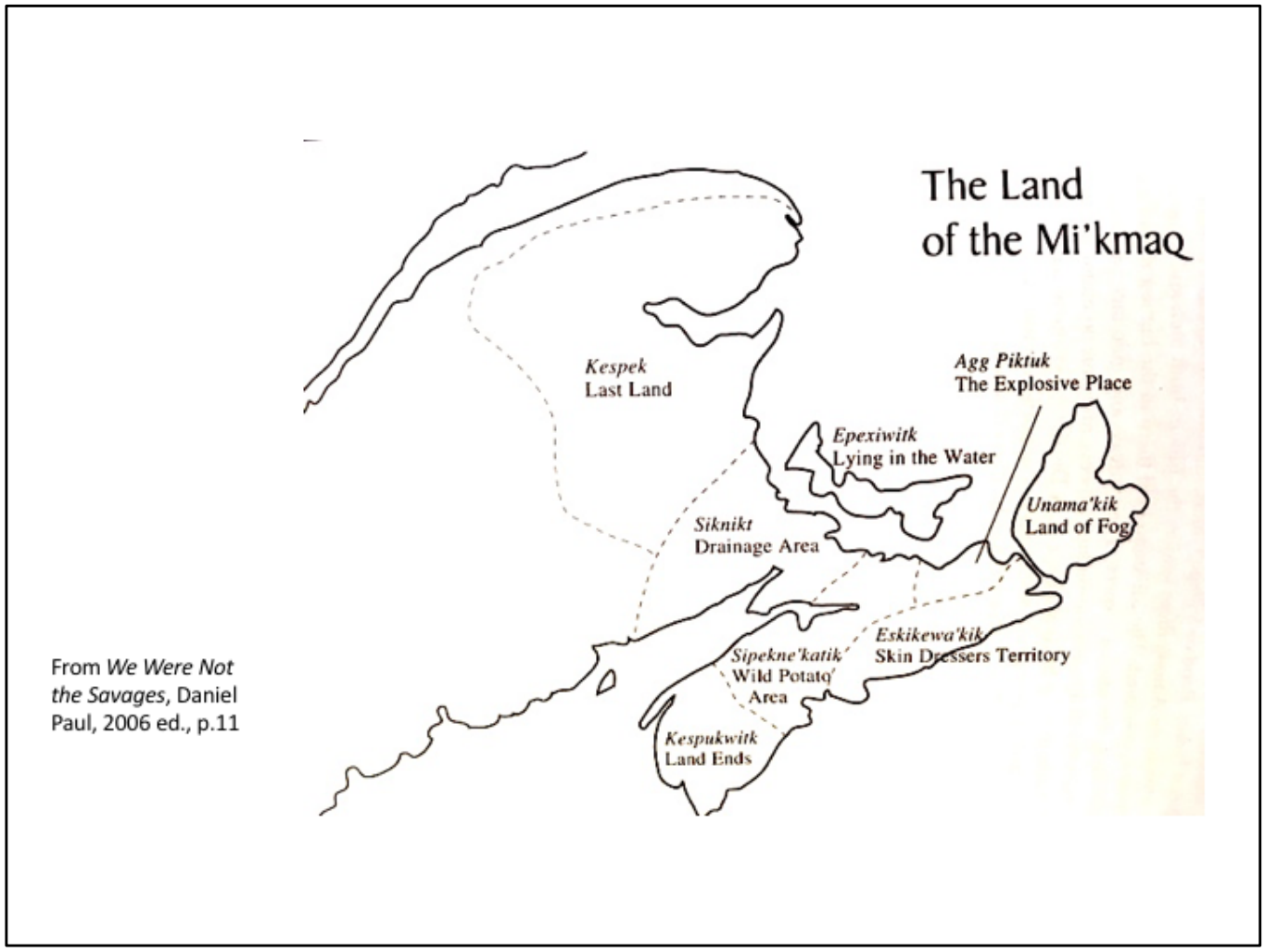
The land that was here before Nova Scotia came into existence was a geographical area inhabited by the Mi'kmaq people and other related Indigenous groups on the east coast affiliated with the Wabanaki Confederacy - as seen here on the upper far right, consisting of the Mi'kmaq, the Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Abenaki, and the Penobscot. All living in a loosely defined area of what is now the Maritimes down into the State of Maine and the MA region. Together, the Wabanaki region (Wa/ban/ah/kik) was also known as "Dawnland," or "People of the First Light." More on the Wabanaki Confederacy later…

Mi'kmaq Petroglyphs at Kejimkujik National Park – See Oct. 1, 2000.

See: http://www.novastory.ca/novastories/petroglyphs/
And https://museum.novascotia.ca/resources/mikmaq

When I refer to ***400years*** in the title of my book, I'm referring to the approximate time of the European ***contact*** with the Mi'kmaq here in Nova Scotia and soon the eventual beginnings of early settlements in the province.

This Mi'kmaq petroglyph is in an entry I have for **October 1, 2000**, when a historic plaque ceremony commemorating the Mi'kmaq cultural landscape took place at Keji National Park in recognition of the Mi'kmaq presence there since time immemorial. The park has the largest concentration of Mi'kmaq petroglyphs in eastern North America. By 2013, Parks Canada has had to prohibit visiting these petroglyphs without permission in order to protect this important cultural resource.



In the context of those petroglyphs, the Mi'kmaq were known to inhabit the lands throughout the Maritime region, within eight different areas – in today's lexicon this area is now referred to as Mi'kma'ki. The Mi'kmaq also moved into Newfoundland, but for our purposes we will stick to the Maritime region.

It is estimated that prior to 1620, there were as many as 8,000 Mi'kmaw living in region. But by 1749-50 it was down to around 1,000-to-2,000 throughout the Maritime region. These figures though are unreliable – as historian Leslie Upton points out in *Micmacs and Colonists*, (1979, pp.32-33), they are "based on the numbers identified at either the annual festivities at Catholic missions or at the distribution of French presents."

Back to my point of 400-years and the beginning of European contact, this map from 1558, by the Portuguese mapmaker Diogo Homem, is considered one of the earliest approximate maps of what would later become known to European settlers as Nova Scotia. In fact, **before** there was the Baye Francoise or the Bay of Fundy, there was also the Bayå Fondo!

As early as the 1530s, some of the earliest explorers to Nova Scotian shores were the unknown and unsung fishermen of Western Europe - brave Portuguese seafarers and a few Dutch, Spanish, some French, and later the English, who all fished at the 'Baccalaos'- or 'cod land' as it was known - often beginning their fishery in the spring, off the shores of Canso or Louisbourg (long before it became a French settlement and Fortress); St. Ann's harbour/Englishtown, La Have, and here at Chebucto too, than they'd return home in the fall, with their salted-preserved catches. When the English developed a 'dry' method of preserving fish – of cleaning, lightly salting and drying fish in the sun on land, fishing stations began to be established onshore – and regular contact with the Mi'kmaq began.

Prior to Honmem's map, there had been the recorded voyages of the Venetian explorers John Caboto in 1497 (who is recorded to have staked the British flag here for Henry VII, June 24th), and later Verrazzano in 1524, and then the explorations of Jacques Cartier in the 1530s/40s – and even though their primary goal was seeking a passage to Asia, the intelligence they gathered would also begin to open up the possibilities for settlement.

A permanent French settlement at Port Royal in 1605 (Poutrincourt, De Mons, Champlain). They make friends with the Mi'kmaq (Chief Membertou). See May 16, 1604.

Soon a more permanent French Habitation settlement took root in Nova Scotia in 1605 (IMAGE refers to Port Royal/Habitation as the general location, not to be mistaken with the later French settlement of Port Royal which is at present day Annapolis Royal). Of interest - the Greek term of Arcadia, which early cartographers applied to broad regions of eastern North America from Virginia northward; or from the Mi'kmaq term 'a cadie' (meaning an abundant place) which we see in place names such as Shubenacadie. Given the meaning of 'a cadie' as a abundant place it would be easy to imagine an educated cartographer in the 1500s questioning fisherman for information about the New World and upon hearing the place name "a cadie" thinking how it was similar to the imagined Arcadia of Greek myth and then using Arcadia erroneously on maps of the eastern coast of North America.* The French Habitation would precede the English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia by two years, Quebec by three and the arrival of the Plymouth pilgrims on the Mayflower by fifteen years. It was also at the Habitation that the beginning close relationship between the French and the Mi'kmaq would begin with the Christian act of the baptism of Chief Memberou. Mi'kmaq oral tradition also indicates that Membertou may have met Jacques Cartier in 1534. Which, by 1605, made him a very old man! This was also the beginnings of what some historians refer to as the three foundational pillars of Canada – the Aboriginal peoples, French-Canada, and English-speaking Canada. Later French settlers in Quebec were the first to call themselves 'Canadiens.'

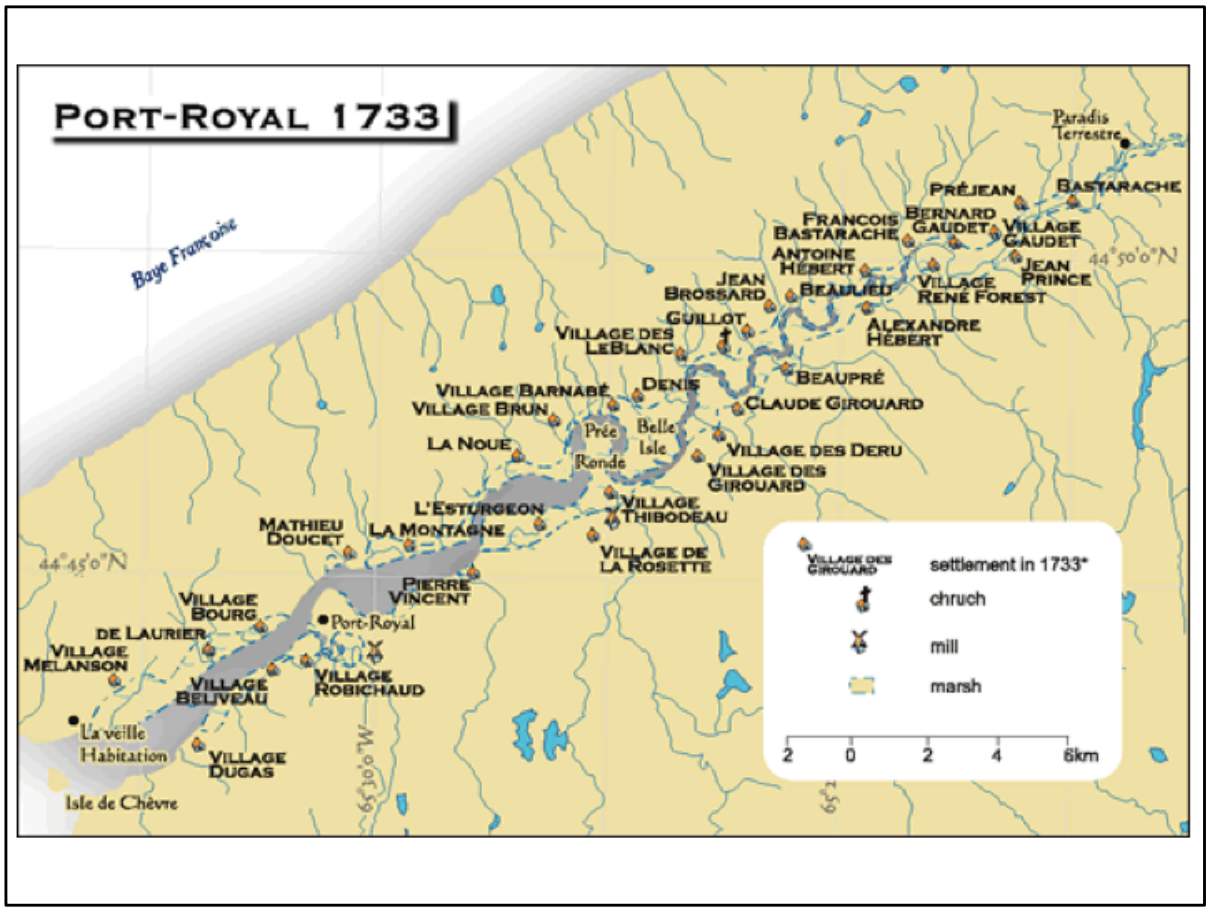
*(Thanks to Jeff Turner for sharing this observation).

Needless to say, that first French settlement would have many up and downs. Later, the Scots would make their first entry on the scene with plans for settlements in Nova Scotia - as I point out in my entry for **July 12, 1625** – when Charles I renewed the 1621 Royal Charter first established by the King James for the lands of New Scotland - known as NOVA SCOTIA in Latin - to Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (1577-1640).

Alexander's son, also named William (the Younger), briefly established a settlement, at Charlesfort (under the current site of Fort Anne) 1629-32, but it failed due to the area being returned to France in 1632 (with the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye).

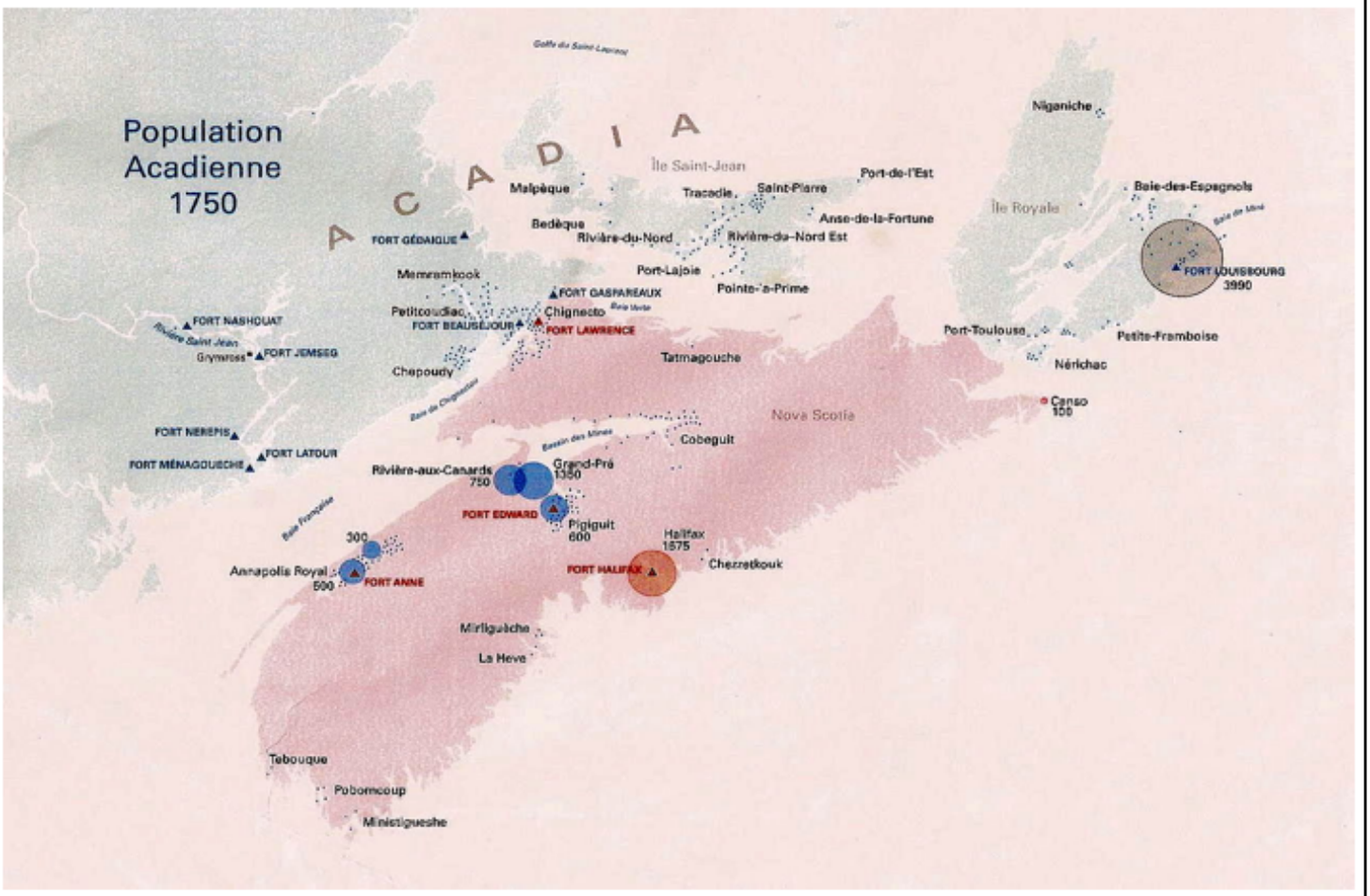
Alexander's Charter though, and the initial efforts to create a Scottish settlement, did provide, from a European perspective, the basis for British claims to Nova Scotia – and in fact Alexander's baronet's signature provides the current Coat of Arms of Nova Scotia and the design of the province's flag that is in use today.

The Scots of course would show up much later again in 1773 when the Hector arrived at Pictou (with 189 Highland Scots) - and many more by the thousands would arrive in the early-to-mid 1800s. More on them later…



After Alexander's failed Scottish settlement - between the mid-1600s up to 1755, the French population, whom we now know as the Acadians, began to take root – first beginning on the south shore at LaHéve (1632-35) under the leadership of Isaac de Razilly, the Lt.-Gen. of New France. After Razilly died at LaHéve in 1635, his lieutenant, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay (d. 1650) moved the settlement to Port Royal (Annapolis Royal).

The first census of 1671, indicates that the Acadian population was at 400 / by 1711, it was 2500. And as the Acadian population grew, families located themselves (**as we can see in this map)** further up the upper reaches of the Annapolis River, eventually reaching Beaubassin, and soon to the Minas Basin/Grand Pré region, Ile St. Jean, and on Ile Royale. (Records appear to indicate the Beaubassin area was settled just before Minas.)



Their population would grow so much so that by 1749-1750, they had grown significantly to over 10,000 - clustered around specific areas – Close to 14,000 Acadians would reside in the region by the time of the first deportation in 1755.

(Note the location of Canso/Grand Pré/Annapolis Royal/ Chignecto/Halifax & Louisbourg, as they all become areas of conflict.)

Map from 1744-45 - Earlier in 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht the French ceded mainland Nova Scotia to British – Port Royal changed to Annapolis Royal. French began to build Fortress Louisburg. **The 1726 Peace & Friendship Treaty agreement** between British and mainland Mi'kmaq chiefs. It secured Mi'kmaq hunting and fishing rights on all *"lands which had not been by them conveyed and sold onto or possessed by the English."*

But let's step back - the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 that had ended the Queen Anne's War (or in Europe – the War of the Spanish Succession) - earlier in 1710 the British had captured Port Royal. The terms of the Treaty saw France losing its claim to Acadia, with mainland Nova Scotia being conveyed to the British (Port Royal would be renamed Annapolis Royal – in this map, it still has both names). However, Ile Royale/Cape Breton would remain with the French, as did Ile St. Jean/PEI. Soon after Utrecht, the French would **begin** building a massive Fortress at Louisbourg.

But questions remained: The Treaty of Utrecht did not clearly define where the actual border of Acadie was - the British claimed what is now Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Maine to the Kennebec River whereas the French disputed this and at times tried to define the British claim to the southern half of Nova Scotia. Further, since the Wabanaki Confederacy had not been consulted with its terms, it did not take into account their land claims in the area of northeastern Maine and up into what is now known as New Brunswick, or in mainland Nova Scotia. The Mi'kmaq at times considered only Annapolis Royal belonged to the British. As a result, many tensions arose - first with the encroachment of New England settlers along what was the Maine frontier at the Kennebec River. And many raids of resistance began to take place – this became known as Father Rale's War/Dummer's War. con't…

Likewise, in Nova Scotia, the Mi'kmaq did not accept what was a growing settlement of New Englander settlers at Canso who were conducting an active fishery there since about 1710. By 1720, the Mi'kmaq, supported the French, conducted attacks on Canso (Aug. 8), and later at Annapolis Royal (with the Abenaki) in July 1724.

It was also during this time, in 1720, that British Governor Richard Philipps established the Nova Scotia Council to oversee the affairs of the British colony of mainland Nova Scotia from Annapolis Royal. The Council would be overseen by the chief military officer, duly named the Lt. Governor.

After the Mi'kmaq attack at Canso in Aug. 1720, a contingent of British troops were sent to there from Annapolis to defend the settlement – making it the second English garrison established in Nova Scotia after the British capture of Port Royal in 1710 - known as Fort William Augustus/ Fort Phillips.

By 1725 a Peace and Friendship Treaty Agreement was formalized at Watertown, MA - referred to as the Dummer's Treaty (after MA Lt.-Gov. William Drummer), which in part stated that the Confederacy members would; "…forbear All Acts of Hostility, Injuries and discords towards all the Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain and not offer the least hurt, violence, or molestation of them or any of them in their persons or Estates." The signatures also 'acknowledged the sovereignty of King George to the Province of Nova Scotia (or Acadia).'

The intention of the Dummer's treaty was to re-establish peace, respect for land claims, and trade. But the contentious point remained as to whether or not the Mi'kmaq had conveyed any lands to the British specific to mainland Nova Scotia?

The treaty though was later ratified in June of 1726 with twenty-six chiefs in Annapolis Royal with Acting Governor Paul Mascarene being present for the British. This treaty would later be affirmed by Cornwallis in 1749.

Prior to Cornwallis arriving at Chebucto in 1749, by the early 1740s Fortress Louisbourg had become the third largest trading port after Boston and Philadelphia. But in March 1744, the King George's War (1744-48) was declared (known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession).

More French/Mi'kmaq attacks occurred at Canso later in May, and two attacks on Annapolis Royal in June and Sept.

But within a year, in June of 1745, a fort that took thirty years for the French to build, Fortress Louisbourg, would fall to an attack by New England and British forces. And soon after, the occupying force of men were 'dropping like flies' of disease. By January 1746, estimates of up to 2,000 men may have been buried at Louisburg due to sickness.

Admiral Jean-Baptiste Louis Frédéric de La Rochefoucauld de Roye, Duc d'Anville (1707 – 1746)

As I previously mentioned, by 1745-1750, there were about 2,000 Mi'kmaq in the Maritimes. Some have said that over 90% of the Mi'kmaq population had been decimated due to diseases spreading from various points of European contact over a hundred-year period. The Mi'kmaq were impacted further when the Duc d'Anville's shipwrecked and disease-ridden French fleet arrived at Chebucto harbour in Sept. 1746. At that time, it had been the largest naval fleet ever to set sail to North America with over 70-ships, with 3,500 marines and 7,300 sailors. The fleet's plan was to reclaim Louisbourg from the New England force, attack Annapolis Royal and if possible, bombard Boston.

But after a horrendous three-month voyage from France, many ships were lost at sea, and thousands of men were dying from typhoid and typhus. Less than half of the tattered fleet arrived at Chebucto, and the waiting company of Mi'kmaq warriors and French troops who met them, had to care for the men over five weeks. As a result, the contagious diseases spread rapidly with 1,000 more men dying of typhoid onshore, and this in turn would spread throughout the Mi'kmaq population.

The naval fleet's mission came to nothing – the Duc d'Anville (39) also died and was buried on what is now George's Island, where he was later disinterred and taken to Louisbourg. His fleet returned to France with no attacks ever being carried out. The D'Anville's Encampment National Historic Site is located on a small plot of land in Centennial Park in Rockingham – at the foot of Flamingo Drive just off the Bedford highway.

Battle of Grand Pré, 1747. C.W. Jefferies

Five months after the failed Duc d'Anville expedition returned to France, in February (10-11) 1747 during a blinding snowstorm, a 500-men French force, with Mi'kmaq and Acadian militia support, attacked a British New England Force while they were housed in Acadian homes in the Grand Pré area. It became known as the Battle of Grand Pré. When it was all over, both parties lost about 120-men. And though the British were allowed to leave with their colours, it is known that about another 150 more would die just getting back to Annapolis Royal through the cold and deep snow.

(The sickness that was suffered by both the French and the English at this time may have been the same as that suffered by the sailors and soldiers of the earlier d'Anville fleet. Charles Morris comments several times on the havoc being caused by the disease. The main culprits are thought to be Typhus and Typhoid, as noted by Pritchard, James. *Anatomy of a Naval Disaster. The 1746 French Expedition to North America*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.)

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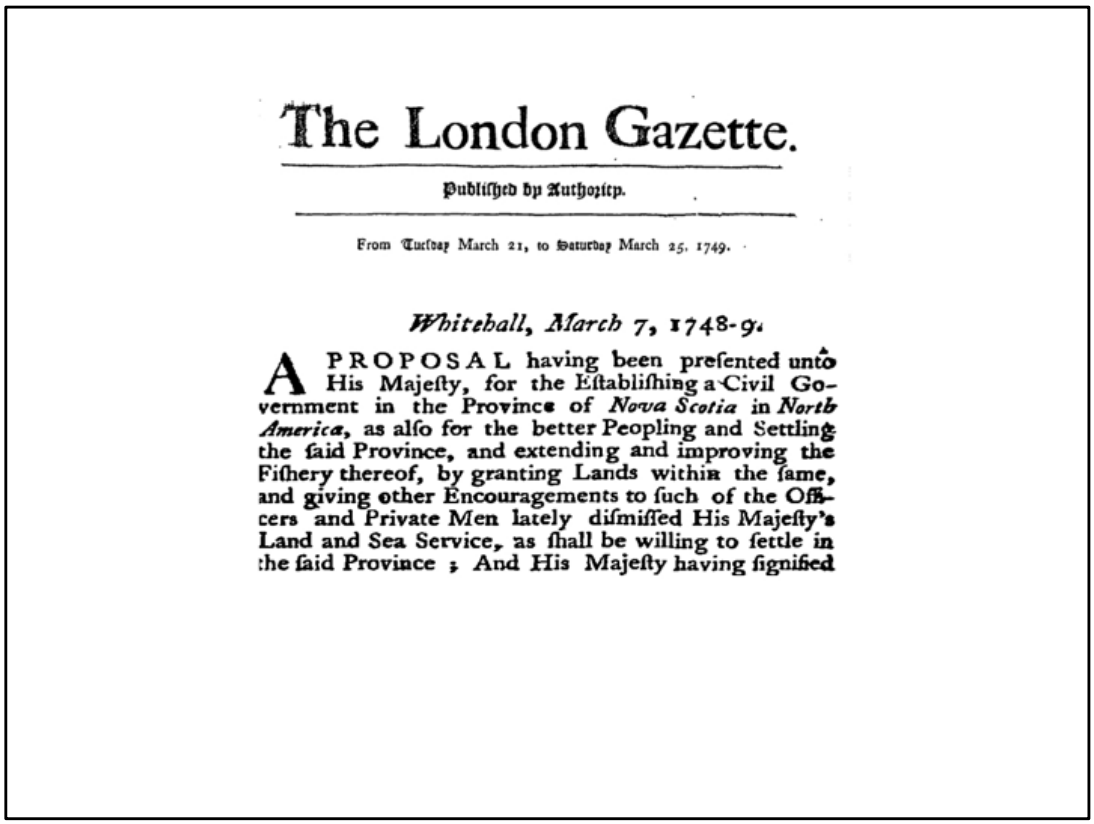
By this time – 1747-48, there were about 200 British at the Fort Anne garrison in Annapolis Royal, and about 2,000 at Louisbourg (mostly British troops) after the fort was taken in 1745 (many of the New England troops had returned home in May 1746). And the Acadians, as I pointed out earlier, were numbered over 10,000, clustered across mainland Nova Scotia and Ile Royale. [Along the eastern coast of North America, the British colonies pop. 1.2million, and the French pop. at Quebec was at 55,000. MA had 188,000.]

With the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748, Louisbourg would be returned to the French without a shot being fired, and mainland Nova Scotia would remain with the British. The Acadians continue to prosper, and the Mi'kmaq were in a very fragile state.



The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

From Tuesday March 21, to Saturday March 25, 1749.

Whitehall, March 7, 1748-9.

A PROPOSAL having been presented unto His Majesty, for the Establishing a Civil Government in the Province of *Nova Scotia* in *North America*, as also for the better Peopling and Settling the said Province, and extending and improving the Fishery thereof, by granting Lands within the same, and giving other Encouragements to such of the Officers and Private Men lately dismissed His Majesty's Land and Sea Service, as shall be willing to settle in the said Province; And His Majesty having signified

ACT-II – 1749-1759 - In March 1749, an ad appeared in the *London Gazette* seeking settlers for the Province of Nova Scotia in North America seeking 'officers and private men lately dismissed from His Majesty's Land and Sea Service' who would be willing to 'settle in the said Province' and extend and improve the fishery in exchange for free transportation and supplies for a year with military protection. Plans for departure was set for 20 April, but they didn't set sail till 15 May.

My entry for **June 21st, 1749, (Julian calendar – it would've been July 2nd in today's Gregorian calendar)** – has the 36-yr old Colonel Edward Cornwallis arriving at Chebucto/K'jiipuktik/Chibouctou/. The mess lists indicate 2,547 settlers (incl. 1,174 families (440 children), 420 servants, also 38 in the medical profession, and a number of single men and troops. Many of the settlers were released army and navy personnel. Close to a third of those settlers either wouldn't make it through the winter, or subsequently left for the New England Colonies. By 7 th of Dec., Cornwallis would record the settlement's population at 1,876 (See Surgeons, Smallpox and the Poor (1993) by Alan Marble - footnote #43, p.228).

The plan for the state-sponsored settlement had begun with Governor Shirley of MA (he had become Gov. of Massachusetts Bay (MA) in 1741 – in fact by this time in 1749 he had been appointed as the British rep. on the Boundaries Commission in France, returning to Boston in 1753). Shirley had used the survey information/intelligence that surveyor Charles Morris had gathered in the previous years and proposed to the Duke of Bedford, supported by the Lords of Trade, the establishment of protestant-based settlements on mainland Nova Scotia in order to protect and secure the area from the French threat at Louisbourg, and to become centres for trade (five were later proposed: Minas, Whitehead/ Guysborough, Baie Verte, LaHave and Chebucto).

The table from the *Beaufort,* around which Cornwallis and the Council of Nova Scotia conducted their duties. Located in the Red Chamber, at the Nova Scotia Province House.

Chebucto had been identified by the British as early as 1715 for its excellent harbour. Cornwallis was in fact heading first to Annapolis, but due to weather he set in at Chebucto. He found it favourable, and by the first of July all the expedition had arrived to settle there.

The arrival of Cornwallis is one of the defining events in the history of British and European settlement in Nova Scotia. For a time, the settlement would be seen as a 14th Colony (As Alex Boutilier has pointed out in his recent book *From 14th Colony to Confederation 1749 – 1867, Governors, Placemen & Merchant Elite*). Keep in mind, while Cornwallis was landing at Chebucto, practically at the same time 20 transports and two French warships were arriving in Louisbourg with returning French settlers and administrators. Once they arrived, the British troops still at Louisbourg were transported to Halifax. As I point out in my entry **of June 21, 1749**, one of the first items of business that Cornwallis undertook was to set up a governing council when the seat of the British government was transferred with the arrival in Halifax of Paul Mascarene from Annapolis Royal (after his 39-years of service), as well as **John Gorham and his Rangers**.

In July, Cornwallis met with French deputies from the Acadians to seek their allegiance to the Crown; and then later in August he met with and reaffirmed the British commitment to the earlier mentioned 1726 Peace and Friendship Treaty agreement when he met with representatives from the Wabanaki confederacy, including some Maliseet leaders from the Saint John River area and one Mi'kmaq chief from Chignecto.

But by Sept., Cornwallis received correspondence from Mi'kmaq chiefs who had gathered at Port Toulouse, on Ile Royale - encouraged by the French at Louisburg and their missionaries, they expressed their dissatisfaction with the arrival of the British at Chebucto, seeing it as an incursion on what they claimed as their lands. As a result, the settlement was attacked by the Mi'kmaq in late September on the Dartmouth side at a sawmill - leaving four British killed and one taken prisoner, and one who had escaped to tell the tale.

Soon further attacks were reported on the eastern shore at Canso (where Mi'kmaq warriors took 20 Englishmen prisoners and one of their vessels); than an attack occurred at Chignecto that saw three Englishmen and seven Mi'kmaq killed. By early October (2nd), as a result of these attacks, and as a common practice in North American defensive strategy, Cornwallis issued a Bounty Proclamation to remove Mi'kmaq from the peninsula to protect the settlers, AND take warriors either as prisoners, or receive a bounty for *his* scalp.

(Language of the times - 1749 – not 2017!):

The bounty read in part that; "*His Majesty's Council do hereby authorize and command all Officers Civil and Military…to annoy, distress, take or destroy the Savage commonly called Micmac wherever they are found … (and) do promise a reward of 10 Guineas for every Indian taken or killed, to be paid* ***upon producing such Savage taken or his scalp (as is the case of America) if killed****, to the Officers commanding at Halifax, Annapolis Royal or Minas....*"

The bounty was the same rate the French at Louisbourg offered the Mi'kmaq for British settler scalps, and there are a number of entries in the financial accounts of government expenditures at Louisburg which list payments to Mi'kmaq warriors for British scalps.

Scalping proclamations had been a common practice in New England. The British colony of Massachusetts first introduced such a measure as early as 1670s.

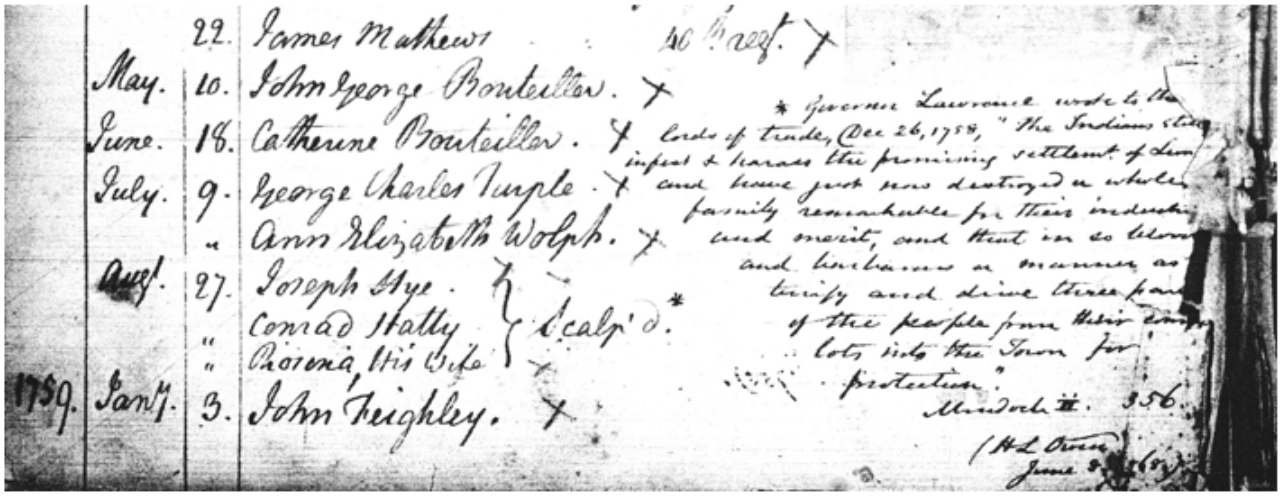
The earlier mentioned Gorham's Rangers were largely assigned this task, but to no avail as there are no identifiable records of payment for scalps by Cornwallis – this I might add from a Governor who was also being questioned by Whitehall at every turn concerning expenditures for the settlement. **An early settler's correspondence** back to England, dated March 20, 1750, would write in part; *"When we first came here, the Indians, in a friendly manner, brought us lobster and other fish in plenty, being satisfied, for them a bit of bread and some meat; but now they come no more, but are turned our adversaries; and when they get one of our people in their power, they will carry him along with them, and put him to death in a barbarous manner. They don't live in a certain place, but are here and there, running up and down the country…"*

When questioned about the Bounty Proclamation, Cornwallis would later point out in his correspondence to the Lords of Trade on 19 March 1750 that; he had *"…no intention to commit cruelties on the Indians, but would never think of peace with them, without their giving security to observe the treaties. The little regard the best of them show to treaties; they never miss an opportunity of doing mischief when that is attended with gain."* Clearly there was a disconnect between what the British and the Mi'kmaq understood in the earlier 1726 Peace and Friendship treaty that **was** affirmed by Cornwallis when he first arrived, namely what were the ceded and unceded lands?

In many ways, as Tod Scott points out in his journal article: *Mi'kmaw Armed Resistance to British Expansion in Northern New England (1676-1761)* (in the RNSHS, Vol.19, 2016, p1-9), there was also a disconnect between what the Lords of Trade were promoting back home in England, namely that the new British colony in Nova Scotia was being firmly being established, while actually on the ground what was being experienced by Cornwallis and his settlers was the start of an armed camp, where the Mi'kmaq warriors were very capable in their attacks to assert their control and resistance over a much bigger and well-equipped adversary. As historian Stephen Patterson has observed; *"…there is a popular view [even] today that native people were simply the victims of history, implying that they passively fell before a European juggernaut."* But on the contrary, as Tod Scott notes, what is overlooked is the courageous actions of Mi'kmaq self-determination and their own military prowess, and namely; *"…the degree to which the Mi'kmaq created a powerful armed resistance to the British migration,"* namely to what the Mi'kmaq saw as an occupation of their lands. Saint Mary's historian John Reid also points out with regard to the Bounty Proclamation that; *"…questions arise as to how much damage was done on either side during these years of conflict, as Mi'kmaq forces attempted with considerable success to contain any British expansion from Halifax."* (p. 23, in *The Three Lives of Edward Cornwallis*, RNSHS, Vol. 16, 2013). What is clear, as John Reid points out, is that the plight of the Mi'kmaq at this time was not one of genocide – a 20th century term being applied to 18th century circumstances – nor is it about white Caucasians of British ancestry trying to minimize the horrors that their ancestors committed, as author and Mi'kmaq elder, Daniel Paul, has suggested. But rather it is much more nuanced and complex.

Bounty proclamations and payment for scalps was not unprecedented at that time. It was common practice in New England, introduced as early as 1670s. In fact the scalping practices by the Mi'kmaq had been recorded as early as Champlain's time when Lescarbot noted that Mi'kmaq had taken scalps from their battles with other indigenous tribes, and they were respected as a memento of valour, like a trophy. However, by the 1740s scalps would also be commercialized by the French, turning the Mi'kmaq warriors into colonial mercenaries, with payments provided regularly as recorded in the accounts at Louisbourg, Port La-Joye (later Fort Amherst), and through Abbé LeLoutre based at Shubenacadie and then at Beauséjour, and also at Quebec.

Within six months of the settlers arriving at Chebucto/Halifax, and after the Bounty Proclamation, by December 1749 Cornwallis established a volunteer militia for all men to bear arms between ages 16 and 60 – 840 men were organized into 10 companies and units were assembled as a main guard consisting of 50 men every evening near the parade to keep guard until sunrise – this marked the beginnings of the Halifax Independent militia. They would also assist in fortifying the settlement as we can see in one of the earliest images of the settlement in 1750 by Moses Harris. Writing to the Duke of Bedford, the Sec. of State, (Oct. 17th 1749) Cornwallis noted that "300 houses in the settlement are now covered, two of the forts are finished and the barricade covered all around the town, with posts at the head of the Bay (Fort Sackville in Bedford) and at Minas," (Fort Vieux Logis, are made secure – which had been attacked in later November, '49). Not all settlers though were housed, as you can see by the tents still scattered about. By 1750-51-52, the Halifax settlement would be under attack by Mi'kmaq warriors a number of times. In fact, between 1749 and 1759, the Dartmouth settlement would experience **eight specific raids** – and this doesn't include other raids/battles outside the settlement at Canso, Minas, Chignecto, Jeddore, St. Croix, Grand Pré and at Lunenburg. During the early years of 1750-52, a number of transports had also arrived with German and Swiss protestants (and some Catholics), many of whom would go on to establish the settlement at Merligash/Lunenburg by June 1753 when 1400 of the settlers boarded transports in Halifax and sailed to Lunenburg.



However, the new settlers in Lunenburg would witness over nine raids by the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet in the 1750s, Rev. J. B. Moreau, the missionary at Lunenburg would write to his superiors in London stating that 32 settlers had been 'massacred by the Indians.' And if one looks hard enough In this image, … church records reveal this truth by family names.

Thus, during the founding **and for the first ten years of Halifax and area settlements** like Lunenburg, were essentially precarious armed camps in what became an enemy's country.

The Mi'kmaq – given their fragile population, and the challenges of being in the middle of an Imperial struggle - though they were aligned closely with the French - their resilience to fight as they did is worthy of respect and consideration. One aspect is sure - the decline in their population had nothing to do with genocide, and they were a fierce adversary.

But nevertheless, the honor of overcoming the *beginning* difficulties that the settlers faced, including their security and their hold on the shores of the Chebucto harbour between 1749 and 1752 – all belongs to one man, Edward Cornwallis.

NOVA-SCOTIA. No. 1.

THE

Halifax GAZETTE.

MONDAY, March 23. 1752.

AS many of the Subscribers to the Proposals for publishing of this PAPER, may be desirous of knowing the Cause why it hath been so long delayed; the Printer begs Leave to inform them, That the Gentleman who is possess'd of the original Subscriptions, whenever desired, will give them a satisfactory Account. And as the Letter-Press is now commodiously fixed for the Printing Business, all such Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, as may have Occasion for any Thing in that Way, may depend upon being served in a reasonable and expeditious Manner, by their

Most Obedient,
Humble Servant,
John Bushell.

to last twice as long. Secondly, Will save Numbers of Seamen, as well as preserve the Cargoes. Thirdly, All such Ships, that make Water, require but little Ballast, & consequently, will hold more Cargo. Fourthly, The Ship will answer the Helm much better, and sail faster by some Knots in an Hour, &c. &c. &c.

Nov. 17. Last Saturday Night died, in the 78th Year of his Age, that great Mechanic Mr. George Graham, [illegible] Watch-maker in Fleet-Street, who may truly be said to have been the Father of the Trade, not only with Regard to the Perfection to which he brought Clocks and Watches, but for his great Encouragement to all Artificers employ'd under him, by keeping up the Spirit of Emulation among them.

Nov. 19. Last Week happened a very melancholy Accident, which, we hear, is as follows, viz. Mr. Debay, Confectioner to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Norris street, in the Hay-Market, being on Friday Evening at a Tavern near Pall-Mall, with an eminent Chymist, who was his intimate Friend and Neighbour, of a sudden complained of a violent Pain in his Side, which he frequently labour'd under; his Friend endeavoured to perswade him, [illegible]

During Cornwallis's time, the first newspaper in what would become Canada was published by John Bushell in March 1752. By this time, Halifax had less than 4,000 settlers. The paper featured news from Britain, Europe, and the New England colonies. Interestingly enough, the first issue also contained the news of the death of the earlier mentioned John Gorham, of Gorham's Ranger's fame, who died in London 'of the small pox' in December 1751.

Cornwallis would return to England in October 1752, but not before rescinding what he had considered to be the distasteful Bounty Proclamation that he had issued in October 1749 in defence of the settlers.

By September 1752 a peace treaty had also been signed with Shubenacadie/eastern shore Mi'kmaq chief Jean-Baptiste Cope, (ratified in November), but he was reported to have burned the treaty less than eight months later (re. Casteel's report – see Akins *History of Halifax.*)

Entry for June 30. 2012 - the Grand Pré area is given a UNESCO World Heritage designation under the cultural landscape category (1682-1755).

On June 30th, 2012 the National Historic Site and surrounding landscape of Grand Pré was given a UNESCO World Heritage designation under their 'cultural landscape' category. I had referred earlier to the growing Acadian population, and though I can't get into all the details of the tragedy of their deportation times that began in 1755 and continued until 1762.

See Sept. 5, 1755, Acadian Deportation begins at Grand Pré - *French Iron Cross* at Horton Landing. (Photo: Ivan Smith, 2005.)

I do want to note the inspiring resilience and courage of many families who were separated, but would later return to Nova Scotia – beginning less than ten years later - such that almost a hundred years later, as I note in my entry for **August 15th, 1844,** that the Acadians would hold their first National Acadian Convention at Memramcook (NB), and proclaim that day a day of celebration of their culture and faith, and by **August 15, 1884** the Acadians would decide on their flag and anthem (*Ave Maris Stella*) and their motto *Strength through unity*. By 1890, they would open the Collége Sainte-Anne at Church Point.

Acadians permitted to return after 1764 – settle along southwest Nova Scotia, St. Mary's Bay, and coastal Cape Breton. By 1884 they will have their own flag and anthem – see entry on August 15, 1844.

The hardships and unimaginable challenges of resistance, survival, and resilience of the Acadian people (of which my family roots belong), are not unlike that which was also experienced by many in the Mi'kmaq community (of which some of my roots also belong), or for that matter, even many of those early beginning settlers. In this regard, all the ancestors that have come before us have faced hardships that we in the 2018 would find simply unbearable. Yet they persevered and we now find ourselves here today in this time and place called Nova Scotia!

Halifax holds a unique position amongst the provincial capitals of Canada as it was founded as a state-sponsored military outpost of Britain, and it was to become a valuable military station and naval base in the two centuries to follow. The Cornwallis settlement of 1749 was an event of significant far-reaching effects upon the course of the subsequent history of Canada, and to a considerable extent, was a factor in determining Britain's permanent sovereignty in British North America.

Here is an image of the Halifax settlement ten years later in May 1759 that represents a critical turning point in what will soon become British North America. It was sketched by Richard Short, but it wasn't published in London till 1764, and later painted as seen here, by Dominic Serres and republished again in 1777. Short is one of the first English military artists to record the beginning visuals of the early settlement of Halifax at this time. This sketch of the harbour is one of six sketches that Short created in Halifax. He would also go on to create twelve views of the principal buildings of Quebec after its fall to the British four months later in September 1759. Little else is known about him.

Speaking of Quebec, when Short sketched this picture, he was serving as the purser on board the *HMS Prince of Orange* - it was during the Seven Years' War – or here in North America, what was called the French and Indian War (1754-1763) – you might call this image an actual 'news footage' view of the British fleet.

>>>

Pontack Inn far left at the water line.

The fleet is beginning to gather in the harbour in preparation to take James Wolfe and his forces – 191 warships and transports with 9000-troops would eventually go off to meet 15,000 French troops, and 1,000 Indigenous militia at Quebec on the Plains of Abraham. The sketch shows at the far left, the Great Pontack Inn, at what is now the corner of Duke and Water Streets – this is where Wolfe had entertained some of his officers a year earlier, in late May of 1758, before they headed off to attack Fortress Louisburg. It is recorded that Wolfe did visit the Pontack once again in 1759 at the time of this drawing. Alex Boutilier points out in his book *The Citadel on Stage*, that the Inn would be the local place for "the officers of the garrison and fleet, and the merchant aristocracy of Halifax, entertaining each other with dinners, routs, and balls." Alex also provides a social snapshot of these times in Halifax, where "there were aristocrats and plebeians; bureaucrats and merchants; officers and gentlemen; soldiers and sailors; rich and poor; Anglicans, nonconformists; some puritanical Methodists, and a few Roman Catholics."

Here's another sketch by Short from the same time, only this is taken from George's Island looking up the narrows to the Bedford Basin with the fleet still gathering in the harbour.

And lastly, here's Short's view, standing at lower George St. looking up to the Governor's House (later the site of Province House [1819] – the longest serving legislative building in Canada) - also in the image is Mather's Meeting House – to the left, (now the Joseph Howe office building), as well as St. Paul's Church in center right, on up to Citadel Hill. Keep in mind, these images were done just ten years after Edward Cornwallis had arrived to begin the settlement.

By 1760, a contemporary observer (the Rev. Dr. Stiles of Boston – as quoted by Brenton Haliburton), would describe the town of Halifax as "divided into three towns." There is the downtown area first set up in 1749; to the south of that "Irish town"; and, "Dutch town" to the north. He estimated there might have been a thousand buildings, many of which are used as barracks and hospitals of the army and navy…(and) 100 licensed houses or more which served 'spiritous liquors.' The situation was such that the business of one half the town was to sell rum, and the other half to drink it.

The X marks the spot where Short would have been standing looking up to the Governor's House and beyond to Citadel Hill.

Of interest – just eight months before Short drew these sketches, in October 1758 – shortly after the Fall of Louisburg, Nova Scotia Governor Charles Lawrence, under a great deal of pressure from the merchant elite, finally got around to implementing Representative Government – made up of landowners and merchants, while the governor continued to be military! It wasn't perfect, but it would be an important step towards what eventually would become Responsible Government ninety years later in 1848.

Entry on June 4, 1760 - the New England Planters begin to arrive – landing in an area known to the Acadians as Boudreau's Bank on the Grand Habitant River – known to the Mi'kmaq as Jijutu'kwejk. The Planters rename the river and district Cornwallis. (Monument at Starr's Point on the Cornwallis River).

After the fall of Quebec, within nine months, the New England Planters would start to arrive in Nova Scotia to settle on former Acadian lands – my entry on **June 4th of 1760** had them landing at an area that was known to the Acadians as Boudreau's Bank on the Grand Habitant River – and to the Mi'kmaq as the Jijutu'kwejk.

The Planters would rename the river and district area: Cornwallis. It is also well known historically that some Acadians who hadn't been deported, assisted the Planters in repairing the dyke-lands (after a hurricane that had swept through the Valley in the fall of 1759). Over 8,000 Planters would settle in N.S. by 1766.

Governor's Farm.

As the Planters were getting settled, I have an **entry for 25th June 1761**, when the 'Burying the Hatchet' ceremony took place - what's referred to as the Treaty of 1761, at the *Governor's farm in Halifax* that we saw on the right in Short's sketch. One Mi'kmaq Chief from Cape Breton described the occasion; *"As long as the Sun and Moon* [the treaty] *shall endure, as long as the Earth on which I dwell shall exist in the same State as you this day, with the Laws of your Government, faithful and obedient to the Crown."* Historian William Wicken points out that what this treaty reflected was a consensus agreement which was mutual and non-coercive (Wicken). And though this is contentious, I believe this treaty also ceded specific Mi'kmaq lands to the Crown and the British also acknowledged lands claimed by the Mi'kmaq. This was reflected by the new Lieutenant-Governor at that time, Jonathan Belcher, when he issued a proclamation shortly after forbidding the trespassing of certain lands claimed by the Mi'kmaq.

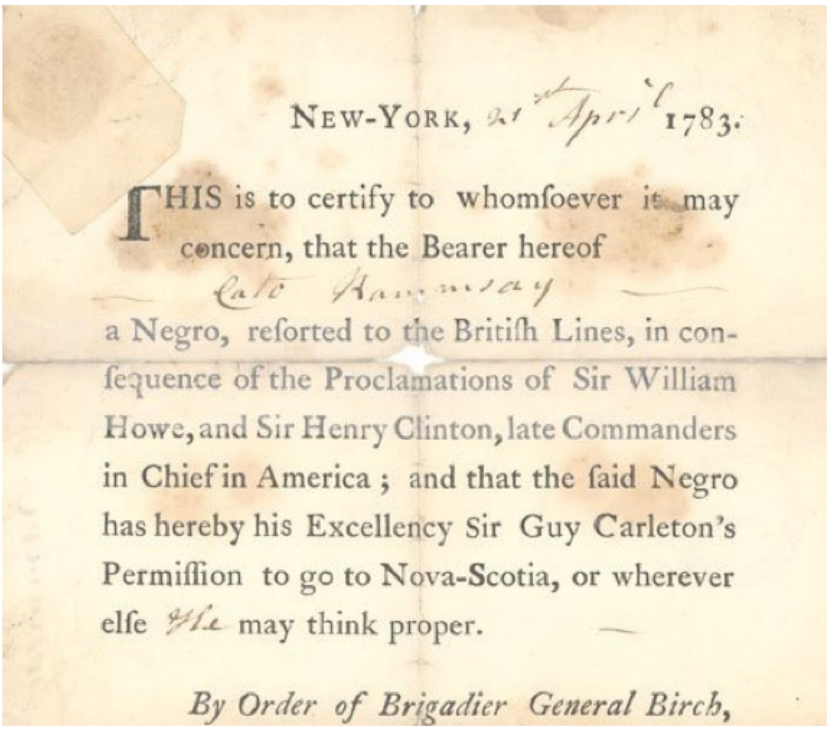
Once again, we can't get into all the details of this understanding tonight – there were over 11 written treaty documents of military submission and oaths of allegiance signed by the various bands of Mi'kmaq and the British between 1760-'61. But as I stand here in 2018, when we hear the term *"We are a Treaty People,"* this is far from fully understood by the general public, many in the media, or even our City Council. And lastly, even historians disagree – and that's why it's being left it seems to the courts to figure out!

Abbé Pierre Maillard (1710 – 1762) memorial plaque at St. Mary's Cathedral, Halifax.

Back to the Burying of the Hatchet, my entry for August 12, 1762 notes the death of a French missionary named Abbé Pierre Maillard – who was recognized with a deep respect by the British and the Mi'kmaq and remaining Acadians - it was in late 1759 that he came to Halifax under the invitation of Gov. Charles Lawrence to assist in peacemaking treaties during the years of 1760-61 between the British and the Mi'kmaq - up to the Burying the Hatchet Ceremony where he also assisted in the translation. Anglican minister, the Rev. Thomas Wood, vicar at St. Paul's Church, who would care for Maillard during an illness, and oversee his burial, would later write to his superiors praising Maillard for his efforts in negotiating peace with the Mi'kmaq, stating; "*Thanks to* him *many Englishmen were saved from being massacred.*"

Within a year, in 1763 the Treaty of Paris would conclude the Seven Year's War and Britain would obtain the French possessions of Ile Royale, New France and secured all of North America east of the Mississippi.

The Royal Proclamation also recognized Aboriginal Peoples as belonging to various Nations and acknowledged their title to unceded lands. This became the historical basis of the treaty process, whereby lands were transferred from First Nations to the government in return for specific rights and benefits. But, as I said earlier, a great deal of confusion today has arisen concerning what was determined by the treaties to be ceded and unceded lands.



NEW-YORK, 21st April 1783.

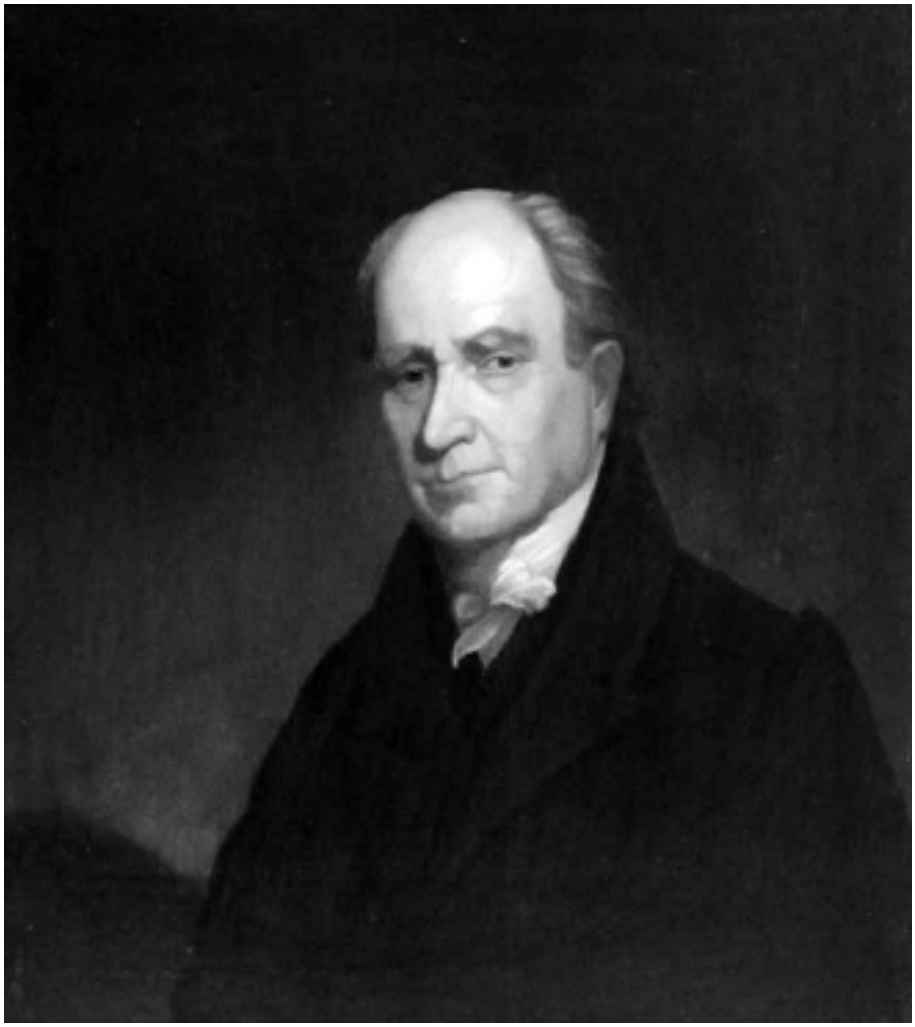
THIS is to certify to whomſoever it may concern, that the Bearer hereof Cato Ramsay a Negro, reſorted to the Britiſh Lines, in conſequence of the Proclamations of Sir William Howe, and Sir Henry Clinton, late Commanders in Chief in America; and that the ſaid Negro has hereby his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton's Permiſſion to go to Nova-Scotia, or wherever elſe He may think proper.

By Order of Brigadier General Birch,

Earlier, I had mentioned the arrival of the Hector **arriving at Pictou on Sept. 15th, 1773 – that was ten years after the Treaty of Paris** and the beginning of the Highland Scots' immigration to Nova Scotia. The following years, from 1775-to-1783, would also see the Loyalists begin to arrive in waves to our Nova Scotian shores – more than 30,000 as a result of the American War of Independence. Prior to their arrival, Nova Scotia's own population was hovering around 12,000-15,000.

Many African Nova Scotians today also draw a great deal of their ancestry from those Loyalist times. Some, like the men in the Black Pioneers, that I point out in **an entry for Sept. 3, 1783**, had fought for the British. Some of them would settle in Birchtown on the outskirts of Shelburne – named after General Sam Birch, who had issued 'certificates of freedom' to freed blacks who had evacuated New York for Nova Scotia.

By 1849-'50, 100-years after the arrival of Cornwallis, over 30,000 Highland Scots had settled in Cape Breton. The Mi'kmaq population on the other hand would record only about 1500 in N.S. – this was noted on 24 Feb., 1849, when **ten Mi'kmaq Chiefs** appeared before the Lt. Gov. and the House of Assembly urging their claims for protection of lands, fisheries and game, stating; *"We were strong but you were stronger, and we were conquered…We have never been in a worse condition than now. Help us and we will try again…We will ask our Mother the Queen to help us…help us that we may at last be able to help ourselves."* (Source: **The Acadian Recorder, 24 Feb. 1849** - from: The Old Man Told Us, p.239-240).



Amongst the many Loyalists, I'd like to note the arrival of John Howe, the father of Joseph Howe, who arrived in Halifax in 1779 from Boston. My entry for **Dec. 13, 1804** notes the birth of Joseph Howe, who would later come to prominence through his weekly *Novascotian* newspaper, which he began at the age of 28 on **Jan. 3rd, 1828**. By 1835 his famous trial would take place to secure the freedom of the press. And in 1848, when as a politician, he and his colleagues representing the Reformers, would implement **Responsible Government on 2nd Feb, 1848**. Only seven years earlier, in 1841 (April 10th), the City of Halifax had been incorporated, with the first elected officials being elected on 12 May, 1841.

My entry for **September 1st,** 1864 is for the Charlottetown Conference – the conference had been planned to actually discuss Maritime Union but ended up, with twenty-three men discussing the details of a larger agreement, some would more cynically say establishing 'a sketchy real estate deal,' to create the Dominion of Canada.

Historian and author Charlotte Gray has observed that in essence; "Confederation was a defensive strategy…, not an epic dream of nationhood. (But rather) A bunch of impoverished, underpopulated, raw-boned, and rough-mannered British colonies came together not for a group hug, but because their leaders foresaw unpleasant alternatives. British politicians wanted to shrug off their North American colonies while American politicians gazed north with naked greed."

As we look at that photo of the attendees at the Charlottetown Conference in 1864, south of the border, the U.S. Civil War was still raging, and would do so for another year, leaving over 700,000 Americans dead. It is estimated too that over 40,000 men from Canada fought in that conflict – possibly as high as 2,000 men from Nova Scotia may have fought for either the North or the South in that war. (SOURCE: Canadian figures in the U.S. Civil War are referenced in John Boyko's book *Blood and Daring: How Canada fought the American Civil War and Forged a Nation).*

In this iconic picture we see all men – that was the time and place. And thankfully the times have also changed. BUT this doesn't make this event, or those men, any less important than it was – They began to form the country that we now have today – a country that is the envy of the world – a country where today close to a ¼ of the population was born somewhere else!

Further, Canada remains a committed member of the British Commonwealth, now consisting of 53 nations representing more than 2.4 billion people.

Nova Scotia was one of the four signatures to create Canada. 'Canada' comes from the Algonquin word: Kanata, for the region that is now Quebec.

The Indigenous peoples did not participate in the discussions that took place at Charlottetown or after – that's because there was first the Treaty of Paris in 1763, then there was the Treaty at Niagara in July 1764 which in effect was Canada's first Confederation, setting out the terms on which Britain and the signing Indian nations agreed to share the country and have peaceful relations. The terms in turn were transferred to Canada via the British North America Act/Constitutional Act of 1867.

Later came the Indian Act of 1876, which became a contentious issue amongst many Indigenous peoples, and the curdled bitterness and resentment from it has been passed down to our current generation. It's now been 36-years (1982) since Aboriginal and Treaty Rights were enshrined in the Constitution. Further, both the 1992 *Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* and the 94-calls to action recommendations in the 2015 *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of* Canada are now informing the views of the federal and provincial government as it pertains to the Crown's relationship to Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

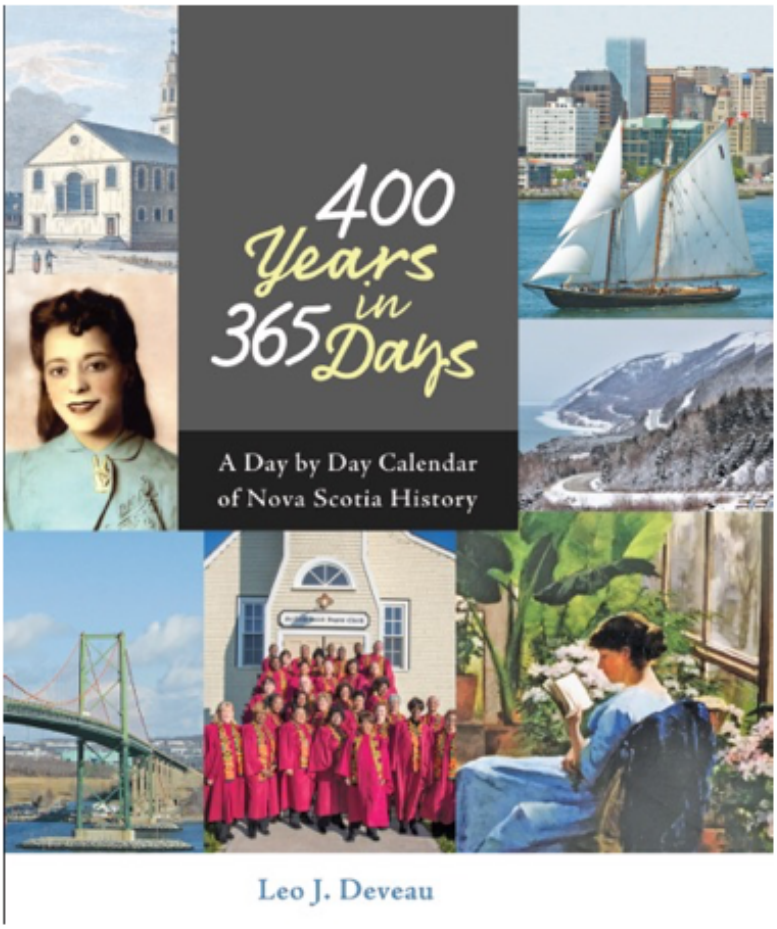
Of interest: After Confederation, by 1871, the Mi'kmaq pop. in the Maritimes, including the Gaspé region of Quebec was 3,459 (Stats Cdn). As of 2014, as indicated by the Office of Aboriginal Affairs in Nova Scotia, there are now 16,245 registered Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia (5,877 live off-reserve). They are represented by 13 band councils and their Chiefs (within was is called the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs), and two tribal councils – the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, and the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. (SOURCE: https://novascotia.ca/abor/aboriginal-people/).

In closing, various aspects of our history these days seems to be a minefield - what I take exception to is the current climate of what might be called 'sowing divisiveness on the backs of the misinformed.' As the saying goes – 'some think they can chew a leaf and know the whole tree.' Aldous Huxley once said; "Facts do not cease to exist because they are ignored.'

Further, UNB History Professor emeritus, Dr. Margaret Conrad, has pointed out that "…history can be used for good or ill, but there is a tendency to use it as the raw material of nationalistic, ethnic, and fundamentalist ideologies."

For those of us who are deeply committed to informing others about various facets of our province's (or country's) history, I believe a worthy goal is to inform others about a variety of historical narratives, and not to exclude, accuse, or whitewash with simplicities or 30-second media generalities about what is often very complex and dynamic aspects across many records embedded in our provinces' and our country's history.

I hope my presentation has left with some food for thought and I'm now open to questions. THANK-YOU!



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