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Early Settlements and Settler Experiences in Nova Scotia 1605-1763.

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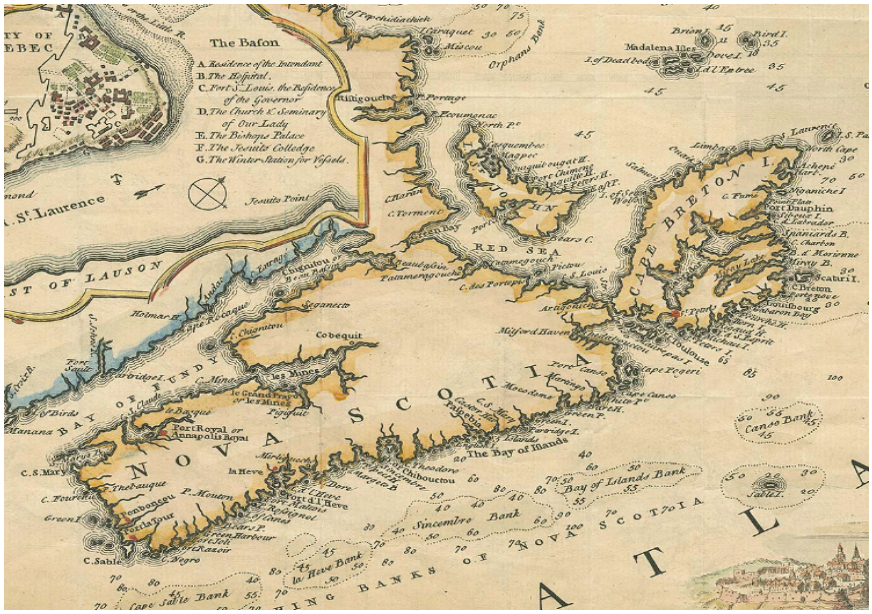


N.S. Section of Map by Bellin/Jefferys, 1744-45.

Introduction

Like the ocean that surrounds our sea-bound province, Nova Scotians are never far from history and the shores that witnessed the arrival of the early settlers from across the Atlantic. The arrival of settlers from the British Isles and the Continent in the 1600s and 1700s brought them into contact with the Mi'kmaq who had inhabited the region they called Mi'kma'ki for several thousand years. The British push to settle Nova Scotia in the 18th century brought them into conflict with their long-time rival the French who were supported by their Indigenous allies (including the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet) in the lands known as Acadia/L'Acadie. The early settlers were often caught up in the conflict - sometimes with tragic consequences - that impacted the region up until the Treaty of Paris in 1763. This paper outlines a number of these events and the challenges the settlers faced, including the settlements of Halifax, Dartmouth and Lunenburg during the 1749-1763 period.

Early French Presence

In May of 1604, Pierre Dugua Sieur de Mons (de Monts), with Baron de Poutrincourt, Francois Gravé Du Pont, and Samuel de Champlain, and their crew of seventy-nine sailed into what is now known as the Annapolis Basin. They later crossed the Baie Françoise (Bay of Fundy) and chose to settle for their first winter on the island of St. Croix (located on the current border between New Brunswick and eastern Maine).

After much hardship, (over half of the expedition had died through the winter), they moved their settlement in the spring of 1605 to Port Royal.[1] There they built the French Norman-styled fort, the Habitation, and established the first permanent French settlement in what later became known as Canada.

The French also established a close friendship with the Mi'kmaq Chief Membertou and the Mi'kmaq people who were settled in the area. The friendship would evolve into a French-Mik'maw alliance that would continue for the next century and a half through peace and war.

In modern terms, the Mi'kmaq name for the Maritime region is now called Mi'kma'ki.[2] It is recorded that the first contact the Mi'kmaq had with European sailing ships was in the early 16th century.[3] Little is known about the history of the Mi'kmaq before 1500, though archaeological sites and artifacts discovered more than sixty years ago at Debert, Nova Scotia, indicate Palaeo-Indian settlements that have been dates to 10,500 – 11,000 years ago.[4]

Mik'maw did have contact with early Portuguese fishermen from the Azores Islands who had established a land base fishing station in the 'Brador' Lakes region, (early maps called the area Lac du Lab rador), located in the current Bras d'Or Lake region of Cape Breton. The fishing station was known as the Fagundes colony, (1520-1521), named after the Portuguese explorer Joao Alvares Fagundes[5]. Later Basque, Breton and Norman fishermen appeared in the Canso area, once again establishing non-permanent fishing stations. But as Champlain reports, the stations were later abandoned due to the rigour and cold of the winter season.[6]

In 1534, Jacques Cartier had also recorded his encounter with *"two fleets of Indian canoes that were crossing (the Chaleur Bay from the southern shore)."* [7] Two sons of Kwetej Chief Donnacona served Cartier as guides. They later went with Cartier back to France, but would return the following year with another expedition up the Saint Lawrence River. It is also recorded that the Mi'kmaq chief Messamoet had travelled to France and was a guest of the governor of Bayonne, 1578-80 but would return to Nova Scotia and be a guide for Champlain on his first journeys along the coast of Maine, 1604 – 1606.

In 1593, an English expedition led by Richard Strong began exploring for potential commodities of fish and furs in Cape Breton, and later in 1597, Charles Leigh and his crew would also record their encounters with the Mi'kmaq in Cape Breton and exchanging gifts.[8]

With the 1605 arrival of the French at Port Royal, it is believed also that the first black presence in Canada, in the person of Mathieu (Mateus) Da Costa (De Coste), a Portuguese-born interpreter, had accompanied the expedition for the purposes of communicating with the Indigenous peoples.[9] By 1609, French ships from St. Malo would be anchored at the mouth of Saint John River, where Breton sailors were trading furs with 'the regional Indians.'[10]

By 1616, Charles de Beincourt, son of Poutrincourt, was the local French commander in Nova Scotia, contributing to the record 25,000 pelts that were collected from all over the Acadia region.[11] After his death in 1623, Charles La Tour would take his place as commander of Acadia and establish a strong trading foothold in southwest Nova Scotia. La Tour had arrived at Port Royal as a 17-year-old in 1610. He married a Mi'kmaq woman in 1626, reflecting a growing number of French-Mi'kmaq family clusters that were forming unique mixed-blood communities throughout the region. French colonial authorities would encourage intermarriages: "…in order

to produce a colonial hybrid population…,' while later; "…English Protestants aggressively pursued a racial segregation policy, condemning Indian-white sexual relations."[12]

It is also recorded that as a result of the frequent contact between the Mi'kmaq and European fishermen that disease become widespread. And later a growing number of settlers, sailors and soldiers would make it even more challenging for the Mi'kmaq. For example, it is noted that major smallpox epidemics in Nova Scotia; "…during the last half of the eighteenth century occurred soon after the arrival of the Royal Navy ships and regiments form Europe."[13] But as early as 1611, more than 75% of the Mi'kmaq population (approximately 15,000) had died primarily from foreign diseases during the first century of contact. This would continue throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, diminishing their population to 2,000-to-3,000 by 1749 – 1755.[14] Some have argued the Mi'kmaq population was much larger at this time, but no evidence has been provided as concrete as the analysis referenced above.

Throughout the 17th century, the settlement at Port Royal would go through many transitions. For example, by 1621, Sir William Alexander, the 1st Earl of Stirling, Scotland, was granted a royal charter from King James I to establish Scottish settlements in New Scotland (so named *Nova Scotia* in Latin).

In 1628 a settlement on the northern coast of Cape Breton began under the leadership of Lord Ochiltree (who held a Barony in Nova Scotia from Sir William Alexander). But the settlement no sooner had commenced when it was attacked by a group of French and Mi'kmaq warriors.[15] The settlers were taken as prisoners back to France. The French would establish their own settlement at St. Anne (now Englishtown), Ile Royale, lasting till 1641.

Meanwhile, Alexander's son, William (the younger) had arrived at Port Royal in 1629 with his Scottish settlers and built Charles Fort, also known as Scots Fort, which was later located beneath Fort Anne.[16] Scots Fort was the original settlement at Annapolis Royal that the French would eventually occupy and rename Port Royal. Many settlers would die of illness, and those remaining were only able to occupy the area till 1632 when the territory was returned to the French in the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye.

By 1671 there were close to 329 French European settlers in the Port Royal area that became known as l'Acadie or Acadia,[17] referring; *"...to land on both sides of what we call the Bay of Fundy, which Champlain named the Baie Françoise. It included the coasts of today's Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and part of down-east Maine."* [18] The settlers living in this area later became known as Acadians[19], working as small-scale farmers and residing near tidally flooded lands. They also formed symbiotic relationships with the Mi'kmaq, "…*connected by geography, trade interests, missionary activities, blood ties born of intermarriage, and the mutual need for protection against outside enemies."* [20]

By 1713 the Acadian population on mainland Nova Scotia and Ile Royale (current day Cape Breton) would grow from 2,500 to 10,800 by 1749. Other analysis has their population at 14,000.[21]

Many of the early French Acadian settlers had come from the province of Poitou in western France. From Port Royal, other Acadian agricultural settlements were to develop in the upper Annapolis River area, as well as the Minas region of the Annapolis Valley, and around the Minas Basin at Pisiquid (Windsor), the Noel Shore, and Cobequid (Truro), as well as the Beaubassin area (current day border area between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick).

With reference to the Acadians, researcher Matthew D. McGuire notes; *"Since they came from a common area, there were many familial ties in place before their arrival. Intermarriage and their common method of farming the dykelands of Acadia further encouraged strengthening of these bonds. The strong community ties forged a cooperative identity amongst the settlers."*[22] Names like Dugas, Hache-Gallant, DeVeau, Bourg, Pitre, Comeau, Babineau, Doucet, Breau, Richard, Petitpas, Blanchard, Bourgeois, LeBlanc, and many more were to settle in the communities listed.

A significant event in the province's history occurred in 1710 when Port Royal was captured by a New England expedition under the command of Francis Nicholson and soon it was renamed Annapolis Royal. Three years later, with the end of the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the area was ceded to Britain by France as a part of the lands of Acadia. The French would continue to possess Ile St. Jean (P.E.I.), and Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island), where they would soon begin construction on a major fortress at Louisbourg 1713. Except for the brief capture of the fortress by New England troops in 1745-to-1749, it would remain largely under French control till 1758, becoming a vital fishing port and commercial center; *"…for trade between France, Quebec, and the West Indies – the fourth-busiest port in colonial America, after Boston, New York City and Charleston, S.C. ."*[23] Nevertheless, the boundaries of Acadia would remain vague (including the area encompassing present day New Brunswick). This would eventually cause friction between the two countries for years come.

During the period between 1725 and 1744 there was an uneasy peace on mainland Nova Scotia. Peace had also been fragile along what is now the Maine and N.B. coastlines. Back as early as the 1720s tensions had mounted between New England settlers and the Maliseet and Mi'kmaq over encroachments on native fishing and hunting territories in present day Maine with resulting clashes. Native forces also carried out several raids on the Kennebec River near Fort George as well against British settlements in Northern England.[24] Resulting deaths (including a woman and child) had also occurred at Canso where the British had established a small fort (Fort William Augustus) in the early 1720s to protect the New England fishery.

In December 1725, the Dummer's Treaty (named after Lieutenant Governor William Dummer of Massachusetts) had been signed by the Abenaki tribal leaders and six months later it was also ratified by the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet in Annapolis. It would secure their hunting and fishing rights on all their "*lands which had not been by them conveyed and sold onto or possessed by the English."* [25] However, there were also some Mi'kmaq allied with the French, namely in the eastern half of mainland Nova Scotia, and on the French colony of Ile Royale, on Ile Saint-Jean, and in what is now New Brunswick, who were not signatories to the treaties[26] Thus, tensions would continue to arise within the Mi'kmaq themselves, namely between chiefs who favored

peace with the British and those who were more pro-French and supported by resident missionaries. The peace though would also contribute to the growth and prosperity of the Acadian population and the expansion of more communities throughout mainland Nova Scotia. For example, by 1737, the Beaubassin area (as referred to above) had over 1800 Acadians and a small number of Mi'kmaq who resided there. On the French colony of Ile Royale, by the 1740s the population of Louisburg was close to 2,000 permanent civilian inhabitants and a further 560 soldiers at the fortress.[27] Earlier its population had been ravaged by smallpox in 1731-1732, which also affected the Mi'kmaq.

As Allan Marble notes, with regards to the Mi'kmaq population at this time the figures aren't totally reliable and *"…are based on annual festivities at Catholic missions or times of distribution of French presents. But by mid-century (1750) there is clarity that in NS/NB/PEI there are around 2,000 native Indians."*[28]

Beginning in 1745, five major events would disrupt the Mi'kmaq, Acadian and early settler populations of mainland Nova Scotia and Ile Royale:

•The New England attack and siege of Louisbourg in May and June of 1745 which witnessed the deportation of many French at Louisburg either to Boston or back to France;

•The arrival of the decimated and disease-ridden Duc d'Anville fleet at Chebucto in September, 1746 and the Mi'kmaq contact with the arriving fleet, which in turn spread the disease throughout the Mi'kmaq population weakening them further;

•The Battle of Grand Pré in February 1747 involving the French, British, Mi'kmaq and Acadians, with a recorded 80-100 deaths. This further increased tension and mistrust between the British and Acadian populations;

•During the summer of 1748, Bostonian surveyor Capt. Charles Morris, under the instructions of Massachusetts Governor William Shirley, undertook surveys of the upper part of the Bay of Fundy. Morris's surveys had the additional benefit of broadening the general knowledge of the British about the territory which they controlled but scarcely occupied. They were still not clear as to what region of the Minas shore and boundaries was actually ceded by France in 1713.[29] Shirley was later requested to provide Morris's information to the Board of Trade and Plantations in London. This information would later provide the basis for a proposal for a state-sponsored settlement at Chebuctou/Halifax in 1749;

•The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748): Acadia comprised the mainland of present day Nova Scotia, but not Isle Royale (Cape Breton Island), which remained French along with its subsidiary possession of Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island). In addition, the British claimed that Acadia also comprised territory north of the Bay of Fundy and the Isthmus of Chignecto. The French disagreed, and the actual boundary remained in dispute. The British referred to their mainland colony as Nova Scotia and that term will be used in the same sense in this paper.

By the beginning of 1749, Nova Scotia had a population of approximately 10,500, of whom 8,000-9,000 were French speaking Acadians, and 1,000 – 2,000 Mi'kmaq, greatly out-numbering the 200 – 300 British soldiers and dependents at Annapolis Royal and Canso. In addition, Isle Royale was temporarily garrisoned by Hopson's and Warburton's regiments of British regular troops, pending its reoccupation by the French.

By early June 1749, the French garrison arrived with 1,000 regular troops and 2,000 returning civilians.[30] And in late June, Governor Edward Cornwallis with 2,500+ volunteer settlers arrived at Chebuctou to establish the new settlement of Halifax.[31] Further defense of the settlement was provided by the before-mentioned regiments transferred from Louisbourg.

Before Cornwallis arrived, the British had made no significant attempt to colonize Nova Scotia from 1713 onward. To consolidate their presence in Nova Scotia it was deemed desirable to increase the proportion of British subjects within the population as a whole. Moreover, the return of fortress Louisbourg to the French in 1748 renewed the threat it had previously presented to Nova Scotia and New England. A strategic counterweight was needed and the harbour at Chebuctou was determined ideally located to serve that purpose.

Halifax and Dartmouth: Volunteers for Settlement

An advertisement appeared in *The London Gazette* in early March 1749, announcing the establishment of a permanent settlement in Nova Scotia (see Appendix A). The British government's offer to support volunteers to join the expedition included transport to the colony, provisions for 12 months at public expense and implements for clearing the land/erecting dwellings and security. The undertaking was directed by the Lords/Board of Trade and Plantations under its president George Montagu-Dunk, Earl of Halifax, and would be led by a thirty-six-year old career army officer named Colonel Edward Cornwallis.

Prior to 1749 both the French and British had recognized the military importance of the 'big harbour.' In 1711 Delabats, the French engineer in Acadia, had surveyed the *Chibouquetou* harbour and surrounding area for fortification and settlement purposes.

In 1748, the previously mentioned Boston surveyor Charles Morris, in his survey of the upper Bay of Fundy region had also surveyed the adjacent area of *Chebucto*. Information gleaned from Morris's surveys would be part of Massachusetts Governor Shirley's paper *A Plan for Civil Government in Nova Scotia* which was his response to a request from the British Board of Trade and Plantations on possible locations for British settlement.[32] Shirley's proposal in turn provided input to George Montagu Dunk's proposal: *A Plan for Settling Nova Scotia*.[33] In addition to the main settlement at Chebucto, the plan envisaged smaller settlements at Minas (Grand Pre), Whitehead (near Canso), Baie Verté and La Havé.

Events involving British settlers in 1749 and over the next several years would unfold during a lull in the ongoing British-French imperial hostilities between the end of the War of the Austrian Succession (1748) and the lead up to the Seven Years War (1756-1763).

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

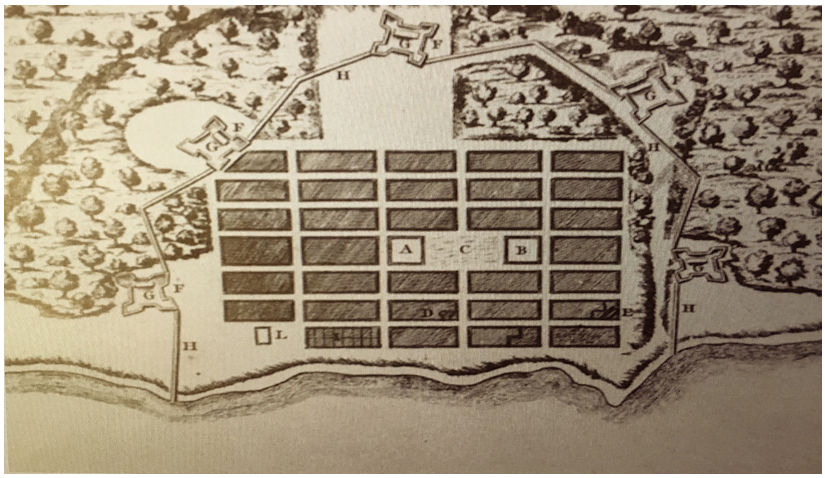
(SEE FULL COPY OF ANNOUNCEMENT IN APPENDIX A)

1749:

Near the end of June 1749, after making their passage across the ocean in 13 transports accompanied by a sloop-of-war (Sphinx), 2,547 settlers and soldiers arrived at Chebucto under the charge and protection of the new captain general and Governor of Nova Scotia, Edward Cornwallis. In researching and compiling the following account of the early settlement of Halifax and Dartmouth, a number of sources were accessed.[34]

The settlers were first landed at George's Island and included 1174 families (including 440 children) with many of the males discharged British soldiers and sailors. The expedition also included a detachment of soldiers to protect the settlement and a significant number of 'servants'.[35] Among the names of the principal settlers (including previous military members) that appear on the passenger lists were those with surnames that are still familiar today.[36] By late summer, many of the new arrivals would depart for New England, leaving a population of 1,400 to face the winter.[37]

After an initial attempt to clear land at Sandwich Point (today's Point Pleasant Park), Cornwallis made the decision to move the settlement further northward to provide better security for the town and safer anchorage for ships. The surveyor Morris and engineer Brewse (re. Bruce) laid out the town in squares or blocks measuring 320 by 120 feet, with each block containing 16 lots measuring 40 by 60 feet; streets were set at 55 feet in width.



A Plan of the Town of Halifax, in Nova Scotia by John Brewse. 1749." (NSARM)

The blocks were (main boundaries) initially divided into five divisions or wards named after settlers who had been appointed captains of militia. Akins notes, *"Buckingham Street (site of today's Scotia Square) was the north and Salter Street the south limit (main boundaries, and the whole to be surrounded by a strong palisade of pickets with blockhouses or log forts at convenient distances…a new division was afterwards added as far as present Jacob Street."*[38]

Citadel Hill, above the young settlement and with a commanding view of the harbour, was first fortified (log fort) in 1749. It would serve as the command post for an extensive defense complex to protect the town and naval dockyard from land and sea attack.

By mid-August the settlers drew for their lots but building their dwellings was not an easy task given the settlers inexperience with erecting frame houses and the need to import frames and other building materials from Massachusetts, hastened by the approach of winter.
Those settlers who did not complete their log or frame dwellings before the cold weather set in (about 350 were completed by October) were faced with a winter under canvas or in crude huts; some may have found housing in several of the transports that had brought them to Halifax. It is estimated a third of the settlers would not survive the winter due to a 'destructive epidemic' that struck the settlement in the winter.[39]

There was no legislative (elected) assembly in Nova Scotia at this time, (as in the New England colonies). But soon after his arrival, Cornwallis set up His Majesty's Council for the Province of Nova Scotia (in effect Governor in Council) to handle administrative, legal and military matters, a practice that continued until 1758 when the first representative government (elected members) in what is today Canada was formalized.

The first Council members included Lieutenant Colonel Paul Mascarene who had been the lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal, Captain Edward How, Captain John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salusbury, and Hugh Davidson, who acted as Secretary.[40] Later, after having handed Fortress Louisburg back to the French, Colonel Peregrine Hopson would arrive from Louisbourg to sit on the Council.

Cornwallis commenced correspondence with the Board of Trade and Plantations and with the Duke of Bedford, Secretary of State for Southern Plantations regarding the settlement's progress and challenges. In an early letter, he enthused about the bright future for the town, noting: "*Nothing is wanting but industry and assiduity to make this Colony in time as it appears to me the most flourishing of any of the northern (American) colonies…"* (and) a*ll the officers agree the harbour is the finest they have ever seen…the coasts (fishery) are as rich ever they have been represented."*[41] He appeared content with the first contact with the Mi'kmaq. He also met with several Acadian deputies in mid-August to discuss taking an unqualified oath of allegiance to the British Crown. However, when the deputies returned in early September they expressed their wish to take a qualified oath that would exempt them from a citizen's obligation to bear arms.[42] This failed to gain agreement.

On August 13th, a number of natives arrived to meet with Cornwallis, three of whom were deputy chiefs—two Maliseet from the Saint John River area, Francois Aurodowish and Jean Battiste, claiming to represent the chief of the Passamaquoddy, and Maliseet chiefs from Aucpec, (above Fredericton) and Meductic, and one Mi'kmaq, Jean Pedousaghtigh, from the Chignecto band. They agreed to reaffirm the *Peace and Friendship Treaty* of 1726.[43]

Later in August, however, a more ominous event occurred at Canso with the Mi'kmaq seizing Lieutenant Joseph Gorham's vessel and crew, taking 20 prisoners and carried them off to Louisburg (they were later ransomed and released by the French). This was followed by a Mi'kmaq attack on two trading vessels at Beaubassin, resulting in three English and seven Mi'kmaq killed.[44] When intelligence reports reached Cornwallis that the Mi'kmaq were designing to molest the town on the approach of the settlers' first winter it was deemed advisable to expedite erection of five blockhouses around the settlement connected by a palisade.

The British viewed the French missionary to the Mi'kmaq at Shubenacadie, Abbé Jean-Louis Le Loutre, as an instigator of earlier attacks on the peninsula. This was later confirmed in a letter written by Le Loutre (July 29, 1749) to a colleague, when he stated, "*As we cannot openly oppose the English ventures, I think that we cannot do better than to incite the Indians to continue warring on the English; my plan is to persuade the Indians to send word to the English that they will not permit new settlements to be made in Acadia…I shall do my best to make it look to the English as if this plan comes from the Indians and that I have no part in it."* (Finn, p. 455). As Leslie Upton noted, *"…as the years of campaigning went by, he (Le Loutre) became less of a French missionary and more of a war chief with the power of a buoin (Mi'kmaq spiritual leader)."*[45]

In September 1749, Mi'kmaq chiefs and elders assembled at Port Toulouse/Potlotek (Ile Royale/Cape Breton) for the annual distribution of French presents and to discuss the settlement at Kjipuktuk/Chebucto/Halifax. Subsequently, the French missionary in Cape Breton, Abbé Antoine Simon Maillard, composed and sent a letter written in French (dated September 23) to Cornwallis expressing the Mi'kmaq concerns regarding the British settlement of their lands and addressed the issue of the settlement at Halifax, concluding, "….*I am going very soon to go and see you, yes, I shall certainly see you soon…,"* in effect declaring war on the British.[46]

On September 30, the settlement was alarmed when Mi'kmaq warriors surprised a wood-cutting crew of six men in Dartmouth, with two of the men scalped, two decapitated, one captured and one escaped to sound the alarm (it would be the first of eight raids on Dartmouth up until 1759). Rangers later captured and killed three Mi'kmaq warriors.[47]

As Johnston notes; *"Cornwallis refused to declare war on the Mi'kmaq because such a step would imply they were a sovereign people, which contemporary European thought did not envisage. Nonetheless, Cornwallis and the governing council of Nova Scotia authorized a campaign of full-scale warfare against their enemies."*[48] Thus, as a result of the Mi'kmaq raids on Canso, Chignecto and Dartmouth, and to defend the settlement and protect the settlers, on Oct. 2, Cornwallis and his Council (Charles Lawrence and John Horseman had joined the Council by this time) issued a Bounty Proclamation to British subjects to remove the Mi'kmaq from the peninsula. The proclamation read, in part; "*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..."*[49]

The proclamation was targeted at male Mi'kmaq warriors as indicated in the reference to a bounty paid for **'**his scalp,' and did not include women and children as some have interpreted. Some have claimed the proclamation was a mandate to exterminate the Mi'kmaq population. It was not.[50] But rather it was a mandate to extirpate - 'root out' – the Mi'kmaq from the peninsula and mainland Nova Scotia and to reduce the level of contact between the British and the Mi'kmaq population. Cornwallis did not command or intend the destruction of the entire population; rather, given his duty to protecting the settlers, he opposed the Mi'kmaq due to the attacks that had been carried out upon the settlers. Further, the extirpation was temporary and was rescinded within three years.[51]

On the other hand, the French authorities at Louisburg were already paying bounties to the Mi'kmaq for British scalps and captives as entries in the financial accounts of government expenditures at Louisburg list payments to Mi'kmaq warriors for scalps.[52] However, given London's tight control on the settlement's financial purse strings, few records indicate any payment of bounties for Mi'kmaq scalps at Halifax.

Mi'kmaq strategy and tactics were perfectly adapted to conditions in the Nova Scotia wilderness. The warriors depended on swift movement through the woods and sudden descents on unfortified settlements, during which soldiers and settlers alike were viewed as legitimate victims. On the other hand, regular troops of the British and French armies were trained to fight in an open landscape, ranked shoulder to shoulder and manoeuvred to deliver volley fire on their opponents. Additionally, since the Mi'kmaq lacked artillery they were unable to capture properly defended fortified positions.

Just as the Mi'kmaq could not challenge regulars in the open or in siege warfare, the regulars were quite unable to deal with the warriors in their chosen milieu. Although the term was not in use at the time, what ensued was a classic example of what today would be called guerrilla warfare. Today, the counter to guerrilla tactics is to employ special forces trained to employ the tactics of the guerrillas against them in their own environment. The special forces of Cornwallis's day were mixed units of rangers composed of friendly Indians and New England frontiersmen. The first and most well-known of these companies were Gorham's Rangers. Among Cornwallis' first acts in 1749 was to summon Gorham and his men to Chebucto from their station at Annapolis Royal. As a result of their assistance, two additional companies were recruited to help counter the guerrilla threat.

As part of the settlement's defence, Cornwallis also directed that a fort be built at the head of Bedford Basin (Fort Sackville) along with a road to Minas (Grand Pre) for passage of troops and where a small fort would be built. On December 6, with frequent alarms of attack, the Council ordered all males 16 to 60 to form a militia to protect the Halifax settlement.[53] Those settlers who had built houses within the town site were issued arms and ammunition.

1750

Settlers spent the winter of 1749-1750 in continual apprehension of native and French attack and in January petitioned the Governor to impose martial law but the Council determined the situation did not require such a measure. At the same time, all settlers between 16 and 60 able to bear arms were to be formed into 10 militia companies of 70 men each and to assemble in the evening when so directed and to keep guard until sunrise. During the winter reports were received from Minas, Pisquid (Windsor) and the eastern shore of native attacks on stragglers. Though suffering an epidemic of typhus during the winter that claimed nearly one thousand lives,[54] the Halifax settlement was also attracting more settlers and supplies from New England.

In March, when Gorham's Rangers were heading to Piziquid (later named Windsor) to round up Acadians who had assisted in the previous year's attack at Grand Pré, as well as establish a fort there (Fort Edward), they and the Mi'kmaq clashed at St. Croix. Reinforcements from Fort Sackville helped end the battle.[55] Also in March, Cornwallis' messenger was killed by Mi'kmaq and Acadian militias en-route from Halifax to Chignecto.

During the winter of 1750 the settlers were employed in a number of public works including cutting pickets for fences and wood for fuel. Some Acadians were also hired for squaring lumber for blockhouses and several sawmills were erected for sawing lumber. Fortification of

George's Island including mounting a battery was commenced. While plans were underway for a hospital one of the transport ships in the harbour was used as a hospital ship.

A school building was commenced for orphan children and work continued on St Paul's Church along with plans for a second church (Dissenters). A site for a market for cattle and sheep was laid out near the waterfront. Among the civic ordinances put into effect at this time involved persons charged with breaking the liquor licence law, meaning they could be placed in the public stocks for an hour for a first offence and receive up to 20 lashes for a second offence.

During this period Cornwallis was under careful if not critical watch from the Board of Trade and Plantations. The Board questioned his decision to impose a bounty on Mi'kmaq warriors as well as the rising costs of the expedition. In replying to the latter, Cornwallis responded, in part: "*…not a pound shall be expended by me unnecessarily—but without money you could have had no town, no settlement, and indeed no settlers.*[56]

Shortly after Cornwallis arrived it became apparent that many if not most of the volunteer settlers were not up to the task of establishing themselves to face the hardships of this corner of the New World that was often plagued by hostilities. A number of the settlers departed for New England colonies at the first opportunity. As a result, Cornwallis requested the Board of Trade in London to identify and send out additional settlers of *"the better quality"* who would be more likely to contribute and prosper in the new environment. His request was realized, via the arrival in late summer of 1750 of the British transport *Alderney* (a former Royal Navy frigate) which brought 353 settlers. Some of these new arrivals were Swiss and German origin, foreign Protestants from the German Palatinate and French/Swiss cantons, while the majority were from the west country of England. Some were also German Catholics who would later leave Halifax and ended up settling on the Mira River in the French colony of Isle Royale.[57]

The *Alderney* was followed by the *Ann* with more than 300. Between 1750 and 1752 other transports, the *Speedwell, Gale, Pearl, Murdoch, Betty and Sally*, would sail from Rotterdam, bringing 2,230 settlers to Halifax.[58] Most of the arrivals were in debt for all or part of their fares (transport) and those who were artificers or fit for labour were *"...to be taken into the King's (public) works....and all that such refuse to work at the King's price (wage) be struck off the (victualling) books...."*[59] A significant number were also fishermen.[60] They were needed to exploit the fishery that was viewed as a major asset of the new settlement. Cornwallis directed the *Alderney* settlers be settled across the harbour.

1750 was a busy and challenging year for the Governor and Council. Before the *Alderney's* arrival, earlier in July, a raid had taken place at Dartmouth by the Mi'kmaq who killed and scalped seven men working in the area[61]; two more raids would follow in the fall with several more deaths.[62] And with the arrival of the *Alderney* and the other transports, hundreds of new settlers had to be fed, housed and protected, and winter wasn't far off.

Although there was no settlement as such in Dartmouth prior to the arrival of the *Alderney,* a sawmill had been established and work gangs from Halifax were employed cutting and sawing trees (with the resultant attack on six woodcutters as previously noted). The settlement of both Halifax and Dartmouth occurred during the ongoing British-French conflict and involved the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet and other Indigenous groups in Acadia—all of whom were allied with the French.

Under the Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1726, that was affirmed earlier by Cornwallis on August 14th with a number of chiefs and other representatives in attendance, the British understood they held jurisdiction over mainland Nova Scotia and thus, British law applied when it came to new settlements 'lawfully to be made.' In other words, a new treaty would not be required for each new settlement. If the intention actually was that in every case a new treaty would indeed be required, then that would have been clearly specified and agreed. It wasn't. However, as later actions by the Mi'kmaq indicate, they viewed the new settlers at Dartmouth as squatters within their traditional seasonal hunting and fishing sites.[63] In addition, as indicated earlier, the French powers at Louisbourg via their missionaries, namely Le Loutre, sought to disrupt the new settlement, seeing it as a security threat to French interests.

Following the *Alderney's* arrival in late August 1750, Cornwallis directed the new settlers should be located in an area adjacent to a big cove (now Dartmouth Cove). With remarkable speed a town plan was put in place by Surveyor Morris. By the fall of 1750 John Martin notes the town site had been laid out, "…*comprised of 11 oblong-shaped blocks, mostly 400 by 200 feet…(with) each building lot 50 by 100 feet…."*[64] (See Appendix B). The site encompassed an area that included street names familiar today: Wentworth, King, Queen, Edward, Dundas. Building sites were allocated through the drawing of lots by heads of families. Thereafter site holders were allowed to purchase and sell or exchange their properties for others. The most desirable sites were nearest the water, convenient for the fishery and farthest from the enveloping forest that could conceal danger. With a new blockhouse completed on a hill (today's Dartmouth Park) overlooking the harbour and a guard posted the new arrivals settled in for their first winter. But the spring of 1751 would bring tragic results.

In October, during a Mi'kmaq raid in the Halifax area, Cornwallis' gardener and his son were killed and six other settlers taken prisoner (they were later released). Shortly after, Cornwallis learned the Mi'kmaq were receiving payment from the French at Chignecto for taking five prisoners at Halifax, as well as prisoners from earlier raids on Dartmouth and Grand Pré.[65]

As outlined above, Cornwallis and his Council had their hands full in the first and subsequent years of the young settlement. In addition to the native threat to the security of the town, the placement of settlers beyond the town, and victualling the new settlers caused no amount of concern. With regard to victualling, the authorities in London continued to question the increasing costs of the undertaking. The rationing/ distribution of food promised settlers for a 12-month period and the keeping of verifiable records (victualling books) of who was eligible would challenge not only Governor Cornwallis, but as well his successor Peregrine Hopson. In addition to soldiers deserting from time to time, adding to Cornwallis's challenges were unfit

settlers who, in his opinion, were; *"…idle and worthless, persons who embraced the opportunity to get provisions for a year without labour, or sailors who only wanted a passage to New England, and that many were sick…"*[66]

1751

To advance the small Halifax settlement farther out on the Halifax peninsula several blockhouses were built on Peninsular Road that extended from Bedford Basin (Fairview Cove) to the head of the Northwest Arm.[67] Five acre lots on the peninsula were laid out for the settlers (primarily German and Swiss) but the uncertainty of surprise native raids limited the speed of clearance and settlement (and much needed production of foodstuffs). Other newly arrived settlers from Europe were placed at the head of the Northwest Arm. Mi'kmaq raids on the North and South blockhouses on the peninsula resulted in the deaths of several soldiers.[68]

During the year Council passed regulations concerning courts (general and county) and ordered the execution (hanging) of two men for housebreaking. Council also agreed to pay a ransom of 882 pounds for the release of soldiers and settlers taken by native forces and carried off to Quebec.

The year was not a peaceful time on either side of the harbour, particularly in the new settlement of Dartmouth. Mi'kmaq and Acadian insurgents carried out several raids on Dartmouth in March and May. On March 26, 15 settlers were killed and six taken prisoner; on the 28th three more settlers were abducted.[69] On May 13, in what became known as the 'Dartmouth Massacre, Mi'kmaq and Acadian insurgents killed 19 soldiers and settlers including men, women and children.[70] The sounds of gunfire and the cries of the terrorized inhabitants along with flames of burning dwellings were reported heard and observed across the harbour. The dead were brought to Halifax for interment in the Old Burying Ground.[71] A larger than normal list of names for burial are shown in *Saint Paul's Church Burial Register* for May 1751 starting with the 13th of May.

Rev William Tutty, the missionary of Saint Paul's in a July 1751 letter to his superiors at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in London noted: "…*the savages, instigated by French treachery have committed many outrages and most unnatural barbarities in Dartmouth, the last of which (ye of 13 of May)…have so intimidated the inhabitants that they have deserted it."*[72] John Salusbury, a member of Cornwallis' Council recorded in his diary, in part: "…*May 13: Dartmouth attacked by a large party of Indians and do much mischief…near twenty kill'd and taken men, women and children. Our soldiery are constantly drunk there, neglect their guards (sentry duty) or this would not have happened."*[73] The troops had remained in the blockhouse and fired at the attackers through loopholes with limited effect; several of the attackers were reported killed. Cornwallis was critical of the guard and ordered courts-martial for those responsible. The May 13 raid would virtually halt development of the young settlement for some years.

Outside the Halifax settlement, the Acadian settlement at Beaubassin was razed by Mi'kmaq warriors led by Abbé Le Loutre. In September 1750, the British built Fort Lawrence at Beaubassin east of the Missaguash River. As it turned out, it would be within sight of the French Fort Beauséjour on the north side of the Missaguash River, which began construction in April 1751 and was completed in 1753.

1752

The year started off in the Halifax settlement with a new ferry service (operated by John Connor) linking Halifax and Dartmouth. A lottery was also organized to raise funds to build the Sambro lighthouse near the harbour entrance and work continued to advance the fishery. With warmer weather more settlers would arrive, placing continuing demands on the Council regarding housing, provisions and security since it was deemed unsafe to place settlers in out-settlements beyond Halifax and Dartmouth. At the same time, there were frequent reports of Mi'kmaq attacks along the coast, east and west of Halifax. The Halifax Gazette (Sept 30, 1752) reported the Mi'kmaq scalped a man outside the palisade at Fort Sackville.

Cornwallis and the Council explored the possibility of bringing the Mi'kmaq to the peace table. In July, before resigning as Governor and returning to England in October, Cornwallis rescinded the bounty and issued a proclamation forbidding hostilities against the Mi'kmaq. (There is little verifiable data on the number of scalps of Mi'kmaq turned in at Halifax during Cornwallis's three years as Governor).[74]

Cornwallis assisted his successor Peregrine Hopson with a new peace and friendship treaty with the Mi'kmaq, and in early November, Hopson ratified the 'Halifax treaty' with Major Jean Baptiste Cope, Sachem of the Shubenacadie band. The Council approved six months of provisions for *"...about 90 members of the tribe under Cope occupying the eastern part of the province."*[75] But the treaty was not acceptable to other Mi'kmaq leaders and Cope reportedly burned the treaty six months after he signed it.[76] By the end of 1752 a major challenge was finding a permanent location for a large number of settlers as well as victualling and supporting three regiments.

Regarding the number of Mi'kmaq deaths during this period, a great many deaths happened as a result of widespread disease due to early European contact going back to 1600, as well as Mi'kmaq contact with the disease-ridden Duc' D'Anville expedition in 1746 that is believed to have killed approximately one-third of the native population in Nova Scotia.[77] By 1749 the Mi'kmaq population was estimated at between 2,000 and 3,000, dispersed in small communities across mainland Nova Scotia, Ile Royale (Cape Breton), Ile St Jean (PEI) and the south-coastal Gaspé region.[78] The Maliseet of the Saint John River Valley numbered fewer than 1,000.[79]

1753

Peregrine Hopson continued to face many of the challenges Cornwallis encountered, including his own health (Hopson would return to England later in the year for medical treatment). One of his concerns was the number of the recently arrived German settlers. As outlined below, by

June 1753 the settlers would begin the Lunenburg settlement. Meanwhile, as previously mentioned, the Council determined the continued need for a properly organized militia for the security of the province and required all males 16 to 60 to serve.[80]

Hopson was also concerned by the fears expressed by the few remaining settlers and the security of the Dartmouth settlement and he advised his superiors in London: "*At Dartmouth there is a small town well picketed in, and a detachment of troops to protect it, but there are not above five families residing in it, as there is no trade or fishing to maintain the inhabitants and they apprehend the danger from the Indians in cultivating any land on the outer side of the pickets."*[81] In Halifax, after most of the German settlers had been removed to found Lunenburg in early June, a number of German families remained in the North suburb (Brunswick Street area) and this part of the town would grow in the following years although there would be complaints about how the larger lots were distributed. A building was soon constructed that would become the Little Dutch "Deutsch" Church to serve the German speaking inhabitants and which is still used today as a chapel.

1754

In the spring, Colonel Charles Lawrence (who had succeeded Hopson) granted land for 20 families at Lawrencetown, north-east of Dartmouth. The area had previously been occupied by Acadians and was more suitable for cultivation than the soil around Halifax harbour. A road to the new location from Dartmouth was constructed, a blockhouse built and a detachment of soldiers posted. But despite these measures, in May a force of Acadian insurgents and Mi'kmaq carried out a night raid resulting in the killing of two soldiers and three settlers. Following more raids and ambushes the settlement was abandoned and did nor revive until the end of hostilities around 1760-1761. At the same time (1754) a battery with seven guns and manned by a company of soldiers was established on the eastern side of the harbour (near today's Imperial Oil refinery site); it would become Fort Clarence and survive in different forms up until the First World War. A wind-driven saw mill was also constructed near Dartmouth Cove to help meet the insatiable demand for lumber for military and civilian housing.

During the year the justice system took on increased significance with the appointment of Jonathan Belcher as the province's first Chief Justice along with an increase in the number of magistrates. Although not rating as high on the appointments list was the naming of settlers in Halifax to serve as gaugers of casks, surveyors of pickled fish, cullers of dry fish, cullers of hoops, surveyors of cordwood and related civic/business tasks.

1755-1760

The 1755-1756 census for Halifax showed a civilian population of 1,755 including "250 masters of families paying the poor tax," while in Dartmouth there were as few as five non-military families reported. Charles Lawrence who had succeeded the ailing Peregrine Hopson as administrator in late 1753 was sworn in as Governor in 1755. He would be a major influence on events in Nova Scotia until his death in 1760, a period marked by the Seven Years War in North America. He improved the defence of Halifax including adding additional batteries along the waterfront. Following the fall of Fort Beausejour to a New England force in 1755 he made the

decision to expel the Acadians from the peninsula (the French held Ile Royale/Cape Breton). This in turn triggered French and native attacks on settlements, including the Chignecto and Lunenburg areas in 1756. As a result of the killing of settlers, Council rescinded the 1752 peace and friendship treaty with the Mi'kmaq and issued a bounty proclamation on the Mi'kmaq (with different rates for those killed or taken prisoner). During the period leading up to British capture of Fortress Louisbourg in 1758 (during which Lawrence served as a brigade commander), Halifax served as a marshalling centre for British and New England regiments and Royal Navy ships. It would be a familiar role for the 'Warden of the Honour of the North' over succeeding centuries.[82]

In Dartmouth in the spring of 1758, in preparation for the British attack on fortress Louisbourg, troops cut logs for constructing portable blockhouses from a stand of great pine trees at the foot of the present Pine Street. Under Brigadier General James Wolfe the troops also practiced amphibious landings on a beach. Several unlicensed taverns sprang up and did a brisk business until one was deliberately burned down on the orders of Admiral Edward Boscawen before the fleet departed.

In late May 14,000 troops under Major General Jeffrey Amherst and 40 Royal Navy warships and more than 100 transports under Admiral Edward Boscawen that had assembled in Halifax set sail for Louisbourg. The siege and bombardment of the fortress and port would end on July 26 when the French surrendered. By then it was too late for British forces to proceed to Quebec and the attack and eventual capture of Quebec would have to wait until the following year.

The fall of Louisbourg not only ended a strong French presence in Acadia it also significantly affected the ability of the Mi'kmaq to continue their armed opposition to the British since they had come to rely on the French for much of their foodstuffs, guns, ammunition and other supplies. They were now not in any position of strength. The last reported Mi'kmaq raid in the Halifax-Dartmouth area occurred at Dartmouth in 1759 when a small party crossed from McNab's Island and attacked an outpost of the Eastern Battery, killing five soldiers; the site was later known as Scalp Cove. But after the 'Burying the Hatchet' ceremony in Halifax (June 25, 1761), and what later became known as the *Halifax Treaties*, followed by the Peace of Paris Treaty in 1763 that ended the Seven Years War, the Mi'kmaq surrendered and chose to uphold the rule of law through the British courts rather than resort to violence.[83]

A census for Dartmouth in the 1760s showed a population of 39 and as Chapman noted: *"Dartmouth was virtually a ghost town and would remain so for another two decades before the (Nantucket) whalers and Loyalists would arrive (1780s) to breathe new life into the town."*[84]

Lunenburg Settlers: "…they deserve full credit for their tenacity…"

Between 1750-1752, following the settlement of Halifax in 1749, 2,300 foreign Protestant settlers had arrived in Nova Scotia. In early June 1753 more than 1,400 of the settlers boarded transports in Halifax and sailed 60 miles south to Merliguesch/Merligash Bay to found Lunenburg. They were mainly from the farming districts of the German Palatinate, French and

German Swiss cantons and the small French-speaking principality of Montbeliard; most were Lutherans, Calvinists or Presbyterians. Governor Peregrine Hopson placed the long-serving and resolute Colonel Charles Lawrence in command of the expedition and development of the new settlement. Although a number of Acadian families and Mi'kmaq had been reported living in the area prior to 1753, when Lawrence and the settlers arrived, "…only one family remained at Merligash, an Indian…that of Old Labrador."[85]

In short order the town was laid out (gridiron pattern) on the peninsula for homes and public buildings and the settlers, with their assigned lots (including garden plot), started clearing the land. Common land (for pasturage, etc) and 30-acre farm lots were also set aside on the more fertile land outside the town boundaries (since agriculture was the main calling of most of the settlers). Planning commenced for the first church, St John's Anglican. The defense of the community was a priority for Lawrence with a militia unit established with Captain Patrick Sutherland appointed lieutenant colonel. Lawrence, aware of the reported threat from the Mi'kmaq, oversaw the erection of blockhouses outside the town supported by a fence of pickets around the town site. In September, he was recalled to Halifax to succeed the ailing Hopson. But growing settler discontent in Lunenburg over land allocation (particularly outside the town boundaries) and the distribution of government rations and supplies led to a riot in December known as the Hoffmann Rebellion resulting in troops being sent from Halifax to restore order. (John William Hoffman was later charged with treason as an instigator but would eventually be discharged).

In the following year (1754) a number of settlers moved out of the protection of the town to their farm lots, a move that would have deadly consequences for some, and a few disgruntled settlers deserted to friendly Acadian settlements. As historian Brian Cuthbertson has written, *"These first years in Lunenburg were lean and hard… (and)… the settlers were fearful of the Indian raids which reached their heights during 1758."*[86]

If 1753 and 1754 were 'lean and hard,' 1755 and subsequent years would prove even more challenging and dangerous. French and British forces clashed on the Ohio River in early 1755, a prelude to events in Europe and North America leading to the Seven Years War (1756-1763) that would significantly impact Acadia. This included the capture of Fort Beauséjour by a British and New England force in June 1755 followed by Governor Lawrence's decision to expel the Acadians.

Between 1755 and 1763, over 10,000 Acadians were deported off their lands [87], put on transports and shipped out to Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Pennsylvania, and later to England and France. And although some were able to avoid deportation, it would take years for the Acadian community as a whole to recover. Their vacated lands would soon be occupied by 8,000 New England Planters, from the Protestant Congregationalists tradition, who started arriving from 1759 to 1768.

The events of 1755 increased the resolve of the French and their native allies *"… to wage war against the British using every means at their disposal."*[88] In early 1756 Mi'kmaq and Maliseet forces - in some instances aided by Acadian insurgents - carried out a number of raids on the peninsula, including the Lunenburg area.
Mather DesBrisay, writing in the late 1800s, provides excerpts from a summary report prepared for the period 1753-1760 revealing settler concerns and depredations, including the following three years:

- 1756: *"Little progress could be made as some of the inhabitants were killed and carried off by the Indians…"*
- 1757: *"More of the inhabitants were killed and taken prisoners…the people are more discouraged…"*
- 1758: *"The settlement much disturbed, more being killed yet notwithstanding the people exerted themselves and were extremely vigilant of the approach of the enemy, and by assembling more families together in stockade houses, the timorous were encouraged to abide on their lands, and much grain was raised."*[89]

The first major raid on Lunenburg occurred in May 1756, and according to French reports, native warriors killed upwards of 20 settlers. These included merchant Louis Payzant on Payzant Island (now Covey Island), a woman servant and her child (age two), a man identified as Beissang (sp) and a youth on nearby Rous Island. Payzant's wife and her four children were carried off as prisoners to Quebec. Lawrence responded to this attack by repealing the 1752 peace and friendship treaty with the Mi'kmaq (signed by Peregrine Hopson and Jean Baptiste Cope) and issued a new proclamation placing a bounty on Mi'kmaq males (a bounty was also offered for Mi'kmaq women and children brought in alive). But the bounty did not deter the native warriors as they continued their raids.

The deaths of settlers and soldiers are recorded in church, family and government records. Given the handwritten spelling and recording of settler names, particularly German, both first and surname variations should be noted. Among the recorded deaths in the Lunenburg area during the 1750s:

- In March 1758 at Northwest Cove Johann Ochs, his wife and two children (age two and four) and Mrs Roder (wife of another settler) *"…were wiped out;"* the victualling lists for Lunenburg for 1755/1757 show four members of the Ochs family.

- The August 1758 entry and cause of death in the burial register of St John's Church simply shows*: "Joseph Lay/Ley (sp), Conrad Hatty and Rosnia. Scalp'd. Buried by Rev Jean Baptiste Morreau."* An entry in the register next to the three names notes: *"Governor Lawrence wrote to the Lords of Trade Dec 26, 1758, that the Indians still infest and harass the promising settlement of Lunenburg and have just now*

destroyed a whole family remarkable for their industry and merit…..taunt in so hideous and treacherous a manner as to terrify and drive three parts of the people from their country lots into the town for protection." Another source indicates two of the Hatty's children were also killed.

- In May 1759 Governor Lawrence reported *"…the Indians have again opened the spring with fresh murders amongst the settlers of Lunenburg…, "* with Johan Michael Schmitt recording, *"…(Johann) Trippo/Trippeau (sp), his wife and daughter and the child of Mr Gretetan's maid were scalped, 4 persons."*

- Also in 1759 (no date) a listing shows *"Indians scalped Oxner and his wife and heir…"*

Jean-Baptiste Moreau, who arrived with Cornwallis in 1749 and became a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), was sent with the German and French speaking settlers to Lunenburg in 1753 where he would serve into the 1760s.[90] He oversaw the construction of the settlement's first church, St John's, during the hostilities. (The building accounts for the church included building a palisade about the church to provide a place of refuge for residents in the event of a raid on the town).

In a report to his SPG superiors following the Seven Years War, Moreau noted, *"…the number massacred by the Indians in Lunenburg District during the War was 32…"* (as well as those 'carried off' during this period).[91] Moreau died in 1770 and was buried in a crypt in the church he helped build.

Winthrop Bell in his seminal work recounting the experiences of the foreign settlers notes that; *"The government in Halifax were apprehensive lest the Indian ferocity might cause the foreign Protestants to abandon their farm lots altogether…and… to realize how the massacre of even two or three families at different points…would terrify all those trying to live on such lots. They deserve full credit for their tenacity in continuing to develop their lands at all during the years of the war."*[92]

By 1760 just before his death Governor Lawrence, who had overseen Lunenburg since its founding, would report, *"…the settlers had got the better of their greatest difficulties."*

Conclusion

It is often observed that a country's history is not just about dates and events, but rather we also come to know our history by its stories, and especially the recorded experiences that are shared through historical records, diaries, and oral records from the memories that have been passed down through generations.

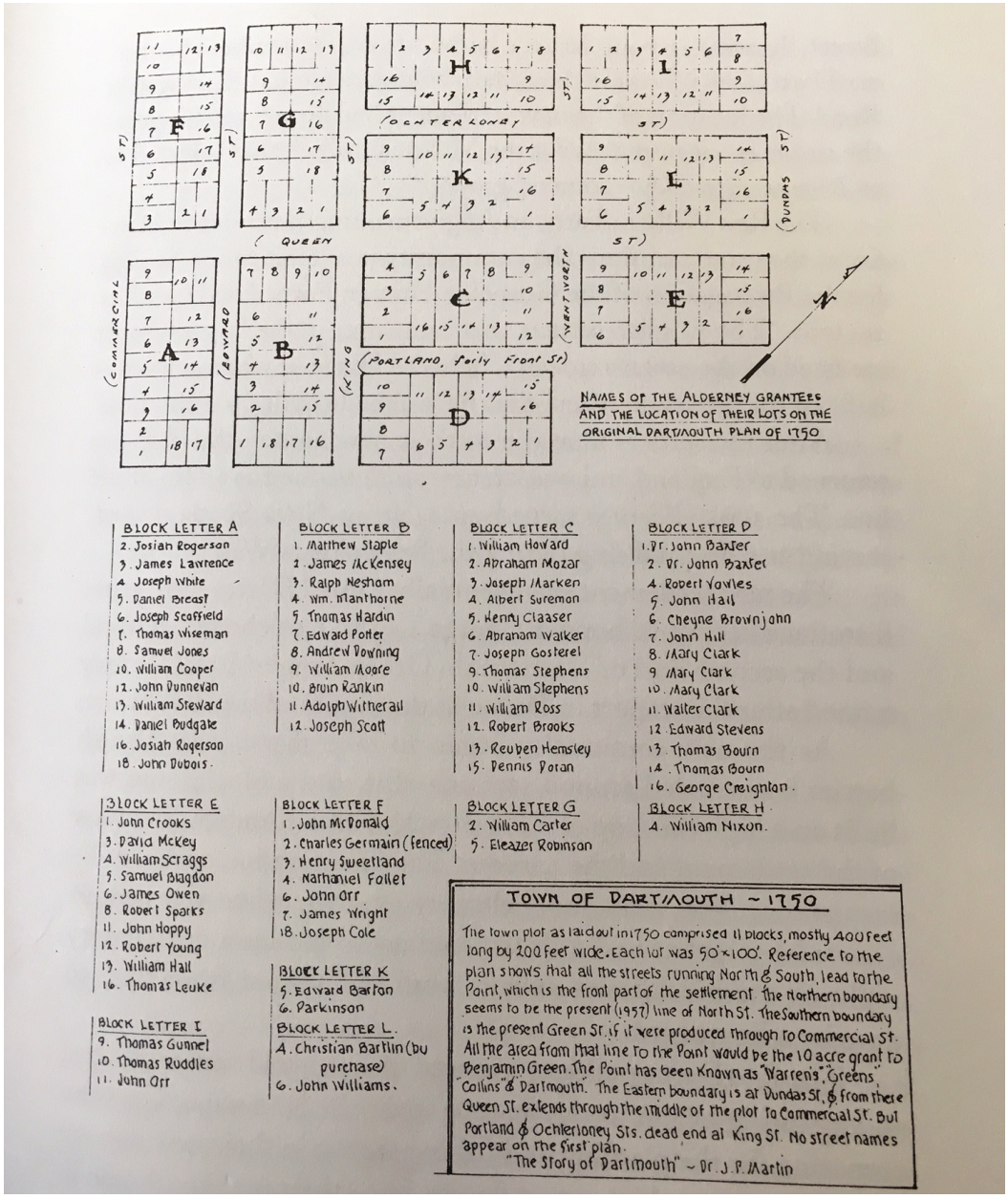
One can well imagine the stories embedded in the above outline of events – from the early French settlers and Mi'kmaq accounts of various encounters in the Annapolis Valley, at Louisburg and other locations, and later the new British settlements of Halifax and Dartmouth, and at Lunenburg, all taking hold on the shores of Nova Scotia from the early 17th-to-mid-18th century. These settlers were followed by New England Planters, Loyalists, Blacks, the Irish, Highland Scots, and other groups. Together, they represent a vast array of personalities, numerous narratives, and heart-breaking struggles.

In researching and preparing this paper, the authors, Len Canfield, Bryan Elson, and Leo J. Deveau of the Halifax Military Heritage Preservation Society, trust it can assist to keep alive the memory and contribution of all those early settlers who came to Nova Scotia seeking a better life for themselves and their families. And though these settlers would find themselves caught up in forces outside their control, their resilience and courage would become the seeds from which these early settlements took root, grew and contributed to the development of the Province of Nova Scotia over time.

APPENDIX A
From *The London Gazette, March 21-25, 1749.* Whitehall, March 7, 1748-9.

*A PROPOSAL having been presented unto
His Majesty, for the Establishing a Government
in the Province of Nova Scotia in North
America, as also for the better Peopling and Settling
the (aid Province, and extending and improving the
Fishery thereof, by granting Lands within the fame,
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 laid Province. And His Majesty having signified
His Royal Approbation of the Purport of the said
Proposals, The Right Honourable the Lords Com-
miffioners for Trade and Plantations do, by His Majesty's
Commands, give Notice, That proper Encouragement
will be given .to such of the Officers and Private Men
lately dismissed His Majesty's Land and
Sea Service, as are willing to accept of Grants of
Land, and to settle with or without Families in the
Province of Nova Scotia. That Fifty Acres of Land will
be granted in Fee to every Private Soldier or Seaman, free from
the Payment of any Quit-Rents or Taxes for the
Term of Ten Years at the Expiration whereof no
Person to pay more than one Shilling per1 Annum
for every fifty Acres so granted.
That a Grant of ten Acres, over and above the
said fifty Acres, will be made to each Private Soldier
or Seaman having a Family, for every Person, including
Women and Children, of which his Family
shall consist; and further Grants made to them on
the like Conditions, as their Families shall increase,
or in Proportion to their Abilities to cultivate the
feme. That Eighty Acres, on like Conditions, will be
granted to every Officer under the Rank of Ensign
in the Land Service, and that of Lieutenant in the
Sea Service, and to such as have Families, fifteen
Acres, over and above the laid eighty Acres, for
every Person, of which their Families still consist.
That Two hundred Acres, on like Conditions,
be granted to every Ensign, Three hundred to every
Lieutenant, Four hundred to every Captain, and Six
Hundred to every major…*

Appendix B – from *The Story of Dartmouth* by Dr. J.P. Martin



Plot Plan for the new settlement at Dartmouth (Martin).

[1] Port Royal is not the same Port Royal the British renamed Annapolis Royal. The original Port Royal is located 7klm as the crow flies to the southwest of Port Royal/Annapolis Royal, on the north side of the Annapolis Basin. The settlement is marked today by the reconstructed Habitation.

[2] Mi'kmaki is a relatively modern term adopted by the Mi'kmaq to define their relationship to the landscape and regions of Eastern North America that they occupied. As late as 1750 historians such as Stephen Patterson have noted that the Mi'kmaq were a 'decentralized people: organized in bands or districts which were largely family groupings, they had spread out over their territory in order to keep population and food resources in balance' (Stephen E. Patterson. *Indian-White Relations in Nova Scotia, 1749-61: A Study in Political Interaction*. Fredericton, N.B.: Acadiensis, XXIII, 1 Autumn 1993, 27-28). Further, there was no permanent or overall centralized structure or authority among the Mi'kmaq. But chiefs and elders did meet together on special occasions as equals and attempted to seek consensus on issues of concern. The signing of Peace and Friendship Treaties by multiple bands versus a few Chiefs acting on behalf of the Mi'kmaq illustrates how the bands had not developed into a single people till much time later.

[3] Silas Rand. *Legends of the Micmacs*, ed. H. L. Webster, (New York and London: 1894; repr. 1971), 152-153.

[4] For more information see the Mi'kmawey Debert Cultural Centre web site at: http://www.mikmaweydebert.ca/home/ and also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Debert_Palaeo-Indian_Site .

[5] For more background on this see *Early Portuguese settlement in Nova Scotia* by Doug Crowell and Kel Hancock at the Oak Island Compendium. Accessed at: http://www.oakislandcompendium.ca/blockhouse-blog/early-portuguese-settlement-in-nova-scotia . Also see *The Portuguese in Canada*, accessed at: https://www.pier21.ca/research/pier-21/the-portuguese-in-canada .

[6] Harald E.L. Prins, *The Mi'kmaq Resistance, Accommodation, and Cultural Survival.* (Harcourt Brace College Publishers. Fort Worth: Texas, 1996), 45.

[7] Dictionary of Canadian Biography – Jacques Cartier: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cartier_jacques_1491_1557_1E.html

[8] Prins, *The Mi'kmaq Resistance,* 48-49.

[9] *The Portuguese in Canada*, accessed at: https://www.pier21.ca/research/pier-21/the-portuguese-in-canada . Though it is known that Da Coste was in De Mons employ, there is no proof or indication that De Mons actually brought Da Coste to Nova Scotia.

[10] Prins, *The Mi'kmaq Resistance,* 49.

[11] In collaboration with Huia Ryder, "BIENCOURT DE SAINT-JUST, CHARLES DE," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/biencourt_de_saint_just_charles_de_1E.html.

[12] Prins, 67.

[13] Alan Everett Marble, *Surgeons, Smallpox and the Poor A History of Medicine and Social Conditions in Nova Scotia, 1749-1799.* (McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal & Kingston. 1993), 3. Marble also points out that Halifax was to see its first major epidemic during the fall and winter of 1750-51. See 10.

[14]Marble, *Smallpox,* 13, and footnote #2, 222, referencing L.F.S. Upton, from his book *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867.* (University of British Columbia Press: Vancouver. 1979), 32-33. Also see Prins, *The Mi'kmaq Resistance,* 148, and Whitehead, from Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950* (Nimbus Publishing: Halifax. 1991.), 141.
[15] Prins, *The Mi'kmaq* Resistance, 62.
[16] Excavations at Fort Anne in the 1980s conclusively proved the location of Charles Fort.
[17] The first Acadian Census took place in Port Royal in 1671 – considered one of the first in Canada. Besides 329 people, there were also 482 cattle and 524 sheep! Later many people would leave Port Royal to settle in the upper regions of the Annapolis River, and on the Minas shores at Canard and Grand Pré. http://www.cbc.ca/acadian/timeline.html . Accessed August 31, 2017.
[18] David Hackett Fischer. *Champlain's Dream*. (Toronto: Vintage Canada. 2009), 152.
[19] It is important to note that though the settlers of colonial Acadia/Nova Scotia were known as Acadians, we do not know what the French settlers actually considered themselves to be. The term *Acadian* appears to have been used by French and British administrators initially, but the term did not come into wide common use until after the Expulsion period.
[20] Prins, *The Mi'kmaq Resistance,* 92.
[21] Marble, *Smallpox*, 13. He draws his information from A.H. Clark's *Acadia, the Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968). For another analysis also see Statistics Canada *Censuses of Canada 1665 to 1871*. Accessed Aug. 31, 2017 at: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/98-187-x/4064810-eng.htm .
[22] McGuire, Matthew D. McGuire. Music in Nova Scotia: The Oral Tradition. (Halifax, N.S. Nova Scotia Museum. 1998), 17.

[23] Prins, *The Mi'kmaq Resistance…,' 135.*
[24] Tod Scott, *Mi'kmaw Armed Resistance to British Expansion in Northern New England (1676-1761).* (Halifax: Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 19, 2016), 6.
[25] Prins, *The Mi'kmaq Resistance…,* 139.
[26] Johnston, A.J.B. *Endgame 1758.* (Sydney, N.S.: Cape Breton Univ. Press, 2007), p. 37. And Stephen E. Patterson. *Indian-White Relations in Nova Scotia, 1749-61: A Study in Political Interaction*. (Fredericton, N.B.: Acadiensis, XXIII, 1 Autumn 1993), 47. And Prins, *The Mi'kmaq Resistance…, 138-139.*
[27] Johnston, A.J.B. *Endgame 1758.* (Sydney, N.S.: Cape Breton Univ. Press, 2007), p. 14
[28] Marble, 222, and footnote 2.

[30] Johnston, A.J.B. 27.
[31] Thomas Akins, *History of Halifax City* (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing. 1973), 7.
[32] Governor William Shirley, NSARM; Mascarene, correspondence to Board of Trade, Oct. 17, 1748, NSARM.
[33] Lennox, Jeffery L. Lennox. *An Empire on Paper: Cartography, Geography, and the Founding of Halifax, 1744 - 1755 (M.A. Thesis.* Halifax: Dalhousie University. July, 2005), 46.
[34] Sources include the works of Thomas Beamish Akins who served as the province's Commissioner of Public Records from 1857 until his death in 1891. His *History of Halifax City*

first appeared as a paper in 1839 and was revised and added to over the years. Also cited is Winthrop P. Bell's extensively researched *The 'Foreign Protestants' and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (1961) and Allan Marble's *Surgeons, smallpox and the poor…in Nova Scotia, 1749-1799 (1993).*

[35] Marble, 224, footnote #10.

[36] Extract from passenger list of first arrivals at Chebucto, 1749, showing surnames still extant: Bartelo, Brown, Bruce, Campbell, Cannon, Chambers, Colly, Drake, Duport, Floyd, Gibson, Gilman, Grant, Gray, Gunn, Hay, Hinshelwood, Ives, Joice, Kerr, Lemon, Lewis, Little, Lockman, Martin, Newton, Nisbett, Partridge, Piers, Strasburger, Steele, Thompson, Wallis, Warren, Watson, Wenman, White, Wood.

[37] Akins, 6.

[38] Akins, 10.

[39] Akins, 19.

[40] Akins, 9-10.

[41] Akins, 8.

[42] Akins, 17.

[43] Stephen E. Patterson. *Indian-White Relations in Nova Scotia, 1749-61: A Study in Political Interaction*. (Fredericton, N.B.: *Acadiensis*, XXIII, 1. Autumn 1993, pp.23-59), 29. Part of the discussion with the representatives (as recorded in Council minutes of August 14, 1749) and related British-Indigenous events at this time, can be found in HMHPS's *Historical Paper Number 1: Edward Cornwallis (www.hmhps.ca).*

[44] Akins, 18.

[45] L.F.S. Upton. *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian White Relations in the Maritimes 1713-1867.* (Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1979), 50.

[46] PRO, CO 217/9:117r-118r, *Mi'kmaq to Cornwallis*; translation by Stephen Patterson in William C. Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial: History, Land, and Donald Marshall Junior*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). Also see *Historical Paper No 1: Edward* Cornwallis. (See hmhps.ca) for additional detail.

[47]Akins, 18.

[48]Johnston, 40.

[49] Akins, Thomas B. *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*. (Halifax: Nova Scotia Commissioner of Public Records; Akins, Thomas B. 1809-1891; Curren, Benjamin. 1869), 581-582.

[50] While attacks on Mi'kmaq families were permitted during the Governor Cornwallis's tenure, no Mi'kmaq settlement was attacked, no Mi'kmaq was taken as a prisoner, and no bounty was offered or paid for the scalp of a Mi'kmaq woman or child. Mi'kmaq warriors showed themselves able protectors of their families with one exception: the killing of 3 Mi'kmaq youths near Cape Sable in 1752.

[51] Critics of Governor Cornwallis often cite two incidents that happened in the region as circumstantial evidence that the Governor killed Mi'kmaq families. Both incidents occurred, if at all, well after Cornwallis had left Nova Scotia and after he rescinded his proclamation. These two incidents allegedly show the British had a history of killing Mi'kmaq families in Nova Scotia. The two incidents are known as the Digby incident and the 25 scalps incident. The Digby incident arises from a story of a British attack on an Indigenous settlement in

Quebec. The story was appropriated in the 19th century by a Nova Scotian writer who located the attack in Digby for propaganda purposes. The second incident, known as the 25 scalp incident, involves British authorities inadvertently paying for scalps that were purportedly Mi'kmaq but were probably Acadian or British. The incident provides a depiction of the British as unwitting dupes. It does not provide a depiction of the British slaughtering Mi'kmaq families.

[52] Johnston, *Endgame 1758*, 63, 305n57.

[53] Akins, 20.

[54] Johnston, 36.

[55] Grenier, 154-155; Murdoch, 174.

[56] Akins, *Selections…,* 626.

[57] Johnston, 276.

[58] Winthrop P. Bell. *The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 251.

[59] Bell, 348.

[60] Douglas William Trider. *History of Halifax and Dartmouth Harbour: 1415-1800.* Vol. 1. (Dartmouth, Nova Scotia: Self-published, 1999), p.52.

[61] Akins, 334.

[62] Grenier, 159.

[63] Also see Akins, *History of Halifax City*, p.16, where he writes of the 1726 treaty that had been sent to Cornwallis by the Governor of Massachusetts Bay (Shirley), and writes; *"This treaty appears to have been little regarded, for in the beginning of October following, news from Annapolis and Canso of further incursions on the part of the Indians, and Government was compelled to raise two new independent companies of Volunteers for that service…"* Further. Dartmouth's founding has been well chronicled by a number of historians and writers, including John P. Martin (*The Story of Dartmouth)* and Harry Chapman (*In the Wake of the Alderney).*

[64] J.P. Martin. *The Story of Dartmouth.* (Dartmouth: Nova Scotia, 1957).

[65] Beamish Murdoch. *A History of Nova Scotia, Or Acadie*. Vol 1. (Halifax: James Barnes, 1865), 183.

[66] Akins, *History…*, 7.

[67] Harry Piers. *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928.* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1947), 6.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Grenier, 159.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Trider, 69.

[72] Nova Scotia Historical Society, 122. *Mr. Tutty's fifth letter to the Society.* (Halifax: Nova Scotia. July 5th, 1751). Accessed at Archive.org: http://archive.org/stream/collectionsofnov07novauoft/collectionsofnov07novauoft_djvu.txt .

[73] Ronald Rompkey, ed., *Expeditions of Honour: The Journal of John Salusbury in Halifax (1749-1753)*. (London: Associated University Press, 1980)), 111.

[74] For more extensive background reading during Cornwallis's time at Halifax (1749 – 1752), see *HMHPS Historical Paper No 1: Edward Cornwallis* at https://hmhps.ca/research .

[75] Akins, 33.
[76] Upton, 55; Geoffrey Plank. *An Unsettled Conquest.* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2001), pp. 33-34.
[77] Prins, 27.
[78] Ibid, 148. And Patterson, 25.
[79] Patterson, Ibid.
[80] Akins, *History…*, 23 and 40.
[81] Akins, 28.

[82] *Warden of the Honour of the North* comes from Rudyard Kipling's *The Song of the Cities*. Author Thomas Raddall shortened the phrase to *Warden of the North* for his book which was first published in 1948.
[83] Stephen E. Patterson. *Eighteenth-Century Treaties: The Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, and Passamaquoddy Experience.* (Native Studies Review 18, no.1. 2009), 51.
[84] Chapman, Harry. *In the Wake of the Alderney Dartmouth Nova Scotia, 1750-2000.* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2001), 32.
[85]Bell, 404.
[86] Cuthbertson, Brian. *Lunenburg: An Illustrated History.* (Formac Publishing, Halifax 1996), 6.
[87] Johnston, *Endgame 1758*, 104, puts the number of 'roughly six thousand Acadians' that were removed in 1755. And by 1758, after the fall of Louisbourg, another 3500+ were deported from Isle Royale by the British, 276. There were also many deported from Ile St. Jean (PEI).
[88] Patterson.
[89] Mather B. DesBrisay. *History of the County of Lunenburg.* (Bridgewater Bulletin 1967)
[90] Akins, *History…,* 231.
[91] Moreau to Burton (SPG Secretary) 8 Oct 1765.
90 Bell, 515.

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