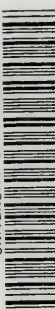


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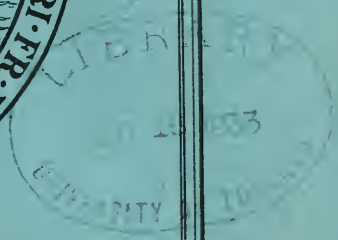
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THE CAPE BRETON HISTORICAL SOCIETY



from C.H.A.

SOME PAPERS AND RECORDS
OF THE SOCIETY
1928 TO 1932

NO. 1 :: 1932

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FOREWORD

FROM the historical point of view, there is no portion of the American continent which surpasses in importance the Island of Cape Breton.

Here was Cabot's landfall in 1497. Hither, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, came in frail barques bold adventurers from western Europe to reap the fish harvest. Here, in the eighteenth century, France built "the Dunkirk of America," her strongest fortress on this side of the water. Here, in 1745 and 1758, British and French armies fought strenuously for the possession of the continent, and the outcome of the tremendous struggle rendered possible the founding of the great Republic and the great Dominion. Hither, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, came 25,000 Scottish immigrants to settle on the land and to develop the natural resources of forest and field and mine and stream. These pioneers were a hardy lot, not afraid of work and equal to any emergency. The sieges of Louisbourg have found competent historians, and their fame will never die; but the toils and trials of the pioneers remain unrecorded, and the memory of them is ready to perish.

The purpose which the Cape Breton Historical Society has in view is not merely to emphasize the major historical events, but to gather from all sources at present available, particularly from the memories of the older people, tales of heroic and strenuous effort in the more humble but not less important walks of life.

With this objective, the Cape Breton Historical Society was organized on January 19, 1928, at a meeting called for that purpose held in the County Court room, Sydney. Every year since that date it has held regular sessions during the autumn and winter months, and has received valuable histori-

cal contributions from several of its members, notably Ven. Archdeacon Draper, His Honor Judge Crowe, Rev. Father Pacifique, Rev. Father Rankin, Rev. Mr. Bezanson, Dr. W. J. Egan, Mr. S. E. Muggah, Mr. J. G. McKinnon, Mr. James Bingay, Mr. Albert Almon and Mr. A. N. McLennan.

As a first instalment, Ven. Archdeacon Smith's "First Seventy Years of St. George's Parish," a paper prepared thirty-six years ago; Judge Crowe's "duc D'Anville and His Interment at Louisbourg," and Father Pacifique's address at the unveiling of a memorial cairn at St. Ann's are published in this pamphlet, and we have reason to believe that they will be read with abiding interest by a host of people in Cape Breton and elsewhere.

On February 25, 1785, a seal was authorized for the Island of Cape Breton by His Majesty in Council, a full sized representation of which appears on the title page.

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THE FIRST SEVENTY YEARS OF ST. GEORGE'S PARISH

Gleanings From the Parish Records, 1784 to 1854

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON SMITH, D.D.

CURATE (1872-1877), CURATE IN CHARGE (1877-1888)

AND RECTOR (1888-1914)



IN THE CHAPTER of his "History of Cape Breton" in which he describes the first siege of Louisbourg, Mr. Brown tells us that "on Sunday, May 5th, 1745, divine service was performed in the grand battery," which had been deserted by the French and occupied by the Provincial troops three or four days before; and that the sermon, "probably the first ever preached by a Protestant minister in Cape Breton, was upon the appropriate text, 'Enter into His gates with thanksgiving, and into His courts with praise.'"

Nearly two centuries before, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the Holy Communion is said to have been celebrated, according to the use of the Church of England, on the shores of this island. "An expedition under Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, came to this country in 1578. To this expedition Master Wolfall was appointed chaplain by the council of Queen Elizabeth. It landed in what is now Cape Breton; and there, we are told, Master Wolfall celebrated a Communion, which celebration of the Divine Mystery was the first sign, seal and confirmation of Christ's name, death and passion ever known in these quarters." This statement is made in the Church Journal of March 14th, 1860. The writer does not give the source from which it is taken, but he evidently has no doubt of its truth. Some authorities, however, deny that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or any

member of his expeditions, ever set foot on the shores of this island. Sir John G. Bourinot, in his "Cape Breton and its Memorials," says that "Sir Humphrey does not appear to have entered any port or landed in Cape Breton" (p. 15); and, again, "we have no conclusive evidence that the Englishmen reached and entered a port in Cape Breton" (p. 117). But in the latter place Sir John is speaking directly of the second expedition of Sir H. Gilbert in 1583, and, in the former, while the statement is absolute that "Sir Humphrey does not appear to have entered any port, or landed in Cape Breton," the only evidence examined is furnished by the records of this second expedition, there being no mention or implied recognition of the expedition of 1578, when the Communion is said to have been celebrated on the shores of Cape Breton.

The first spiritual provision for the people of the island, after it passed into the hands of the English, was contemporaneous with the erection of the province.

Nearly twenty-seven years had passed since the second capture of Louisbourg, but scarcely any progress had been made in the peopling of the island and the developing of its resources. The population in 1774 was only 1,241, of whom 509 were of English and 502 of French origin, the rest, 230 in number, being Indians. The settlements on the shores between the Bras d'Or and Gabarus, the largest of which were Louisbourg and Mainadieu, were almost exclusively English, those at Arichat and Petit-de-Grat entirely French. The shores of St. Peter's Bay were dotted with the dwellings of members of both races.

The stagnant condition of the island was the result of the unwise and unjust policy of the British Government. It was, indeed, right and wise to reject applications for grants of from ten thousand to forty thousand acres of land, whether these applications were made by individuals or by companies. But it was unwise to refuse to make any grants at all in Cape Breton while inducements were made to the Loyalists of free grants in Nova Scotia, and unjust to the people, discharged soldiers and others, who had already settled in the island, an injustice increased by their being prohibited from digging coal, even, as it would seem, for their own use. Cape Breton was annexed to the Province of Nova Scotia in 1763. Two years later it was erected into a distinct county. This accentu-

ated the grievances of the people, for in the following year, 1766, their representatives were denied a seat in the legislature, because the return of the writ showed that they had been elected by the inhabitants, and not, as the writ directed, by the freeholders, of which class, as the committee appointed to enquire into the validity of the election reported, there was not, as there could not be under the policy then followed, a single representative in the county. The political condition of the people of Cape Breton was not improved by the subsequent action of the legislature of Nova Scotia. First, in view of the possibility of questions arising as to the legality of taxing people who were without representation, it proceeded at once to pass an "Act for the more effectual recovery of His Majesty's dues in the islands of Cape Breton and St. John" (now Prince Edward) and in 1770 passed, and the next year put in force, this resolution:

That no writ shall issue in the Isle of Cape Breton because of the want of freeholders to make an election, and that the said Isle be deemed to be represented by the members for the county of Halifax, into which it has resolved and become a part thereof as heretofore.

The discontent provoked by these measures was not allayed by the order issued by the government at the beginning of the war of the American revolution, that Cape Breton and Isle Madame should each furnish two companies of infantry of fifty men each, two hundred in all, while Nova Scotia was required to raise only eight hundred, the ratio to the whole population, exclusive of Indians, being in the case of the former twenty per cent., and of the latter four per cent. And the condition of the people must have become well nigh intolerable when the British Government, in 1777, refused to sanction an Act of the legislature permitting

Any persons inhabiting the Island of Cape Breton, and such as are employed in the fishery, to cut down and use such wood as shall be necessary for fuel and the purpose of the fishery.

In 1784, however, a new era was inaugurated. A change of ministry had just taken place in England, and the new ministry, with William Pitt at its head, at once adopted a more liberal and vigorous policy in regard to the colonies. Cape Breton was separated from Nova Scotia and erected into a province, the province of New Brunswick being constituted at the same time.

Major DesBarres was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Cape Breton, but the Governor of Nova Scotia retained his office as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief over the islands of Cape Breton and St. John.

Major DesBarres was a native of Switzerland, or of Swiss descent. He had distinguished himself during the siege of Louisbourg under Wolfe, and had served as engineer in the last brilliant campaign of that general, to whom he was in the act of reporting on the Plains of Abraham when the heroic leader fell mortally wounded, and from whose hands, as the writer was informed many years ago by his grandson, the late Judge DesBarres, he received his watch, which was long treasured as a precious souvenir. Having served afterwards in Canada and Nova Scotia, and in the expedition under Colonel Amherst for the recapture of St. John's, Newfoundland, he was subsequently employed for twenty years in making and publishing surveys of the coasts and harbors of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.

Major DesBarres arrived in Cape Breton in November, 1784. Conversant with the harbors and various localities of the island, he at once established the seat of government on the peninsula at the head of the south arm of Spanish River, or Baie des Espagnols, so-called because it had been the headquarters of the Spanish fishermen who in summer frequented the coast, as the harbor of Louisbourg, before its occupation by the French in 1713, the chief resort of the English, was known as Port aux Anglois.

Early in the spring of 1785 the Lieut.-Governor proceeded from Louisbourg to Spanish River. A number of persons called the Associated Loyalists, having obtained free grants of land in Cape Breton in answer to a memorial presented to the King by Mr. Abraham Cuyler, formerly Mayor of Albany, afterwards Provincial Secretary and Registrar of Grants in Major DesBarres's government, had arrived in Cape Breton during the previous autumn and spent the winter at Louisbourg. Having been joined by Mr. Cuyler, who had come direct from England, they accompanied Major DesBarres to Spanish River. The ground having been cleared and streets laid out by Mr. David Tait, the work of building the new town—to which Major DesBarres gave the name of Sydney, in honor of the Hon. Thomas Townsend, Lord

Sydney, the Colonial Secretary in the Government which had initiated the policy which seemed to promise prosperity to the island—was begun. Barracks were about the same time erected for the reception of six companies of the 33rd regiment, which had just arrived from Halifax, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Yorke.

The history of the Church of England in the town of Sydney and in the island of Cape Breton begins in the autumn of 1785 or early winter of 1786.

The first clergyman was the Rev. Benjamin Lovell, chaplain to the forces, and grandfather of the late Colonel Lovell, C.B., formerly commanding officer of the Royal Engineers in Halifax, who visited Sydney during the incumbency of the present rector, and was much interested in the records which remain of his grandfather's ministrations.

The first parochial clergyman was the Rev. Ranna Cossitt, a gentleman of French extraction, who came from New England. It appears from the first entry in the parish records that Mr. Cossitt entered upon his duties on the 1st of June, 1786. The entry was evidently copied from a return made to him by Mr. Lovell.

General Return of Marriages, Deaths and Baptisms within the District and Parish of Sydney from the 12th April, 1785, to the 1st June, 1786.

Married,	8
Baptized,	8
Buried,	7

B. LOVELL, Curate.

Sydney, June 11th. Rev. Mr. Cossitt.

The names of the persons baptized and married, with the dates of the several ceremonies, follow, but the names of those buried are not recorded. The registration of baptisms begins with that of a son of the garrison chaplain :

Frederick Amelia, the son of Benjamin and Maria Lovell, born the 12th, baptized the 18th April, 1785.

While this was the first baptism in what was regarded as "the District and Parish of Sydney," it was not the first solemnized by Mr. Lovell in Cape Breton. Mr. Cossitt baptized, apparently at Louisbourg, on January 19th, 1793, five children of "Thomas Hardy's and his wife Elizabeth," one of the sponsors being Mr. James Townsend. At the same time he recorded the baptism by Mr. Benjamin Lovell, in 1784,

of "Mary, a daughter of the above named Mr. Hardy and his wife," and "George, Sarah and Nancy, children of Mr. James Townsend," the fact of the baptism of these children having, doubtless, been made known to him by their respective parents on the occasion of the baptism by himself of Hardy's five children.

As the first troops came direct from Halifax to Sydney in the spring of 1785, it seems most probable that Mr. Lovell had accompanied Major Desbarres to Cape Breton in the autumn of 1784 and had officiated in Louisbourg during the winter. He was one of the first members of Governor Desbarres's Council, but resigned this office in the autumn of 1785. In 1791 he baptized two persons, and in 1795 solemnized a marriage; but there is nothing in the records to show whether he had spent the intervening time in Sydney, or had been reappointed thereto.

The Parish of St. George was not established until 1791. The "Parish of Sydney" was, previous to that time, merely a conventional term and apparently limited to Sydney and its immediate neighborhood.

The first attempt at organization was made about four months after Mr. Cossitt assumed charge.

At a meeting of several of the inhabitants of the Parish of Sydney, Friday, Sept. 29th, 1786, being 1st St. Michael's Day.

Rev. Mr. Cossitt was pleased to appoint Thos. Pitts clerk of the said Parish for the year ensuing.

There not being sufficient of the inhabitants to make choice of Church Wardens and Vestry Men, the meeting was adjourned till Monday, October 2nd, 1786, at 12 o'clock.

Parishioners met according to adjournment, October 2nd, 1786, at 12 o'clock.

Geo. Moore and Jno. Smith, Esquires, being unanimously appointed Church Wardens for the ensuing year, took their oaths accordingly.

They then proceeded to make choice of proper persons to serve as Vestry Men for the year.

Mr. White,	} Esquires.
Mr. Rundle,	
Mr. Hart,	
Mr. Ashfield,	
Mr. Jenner,	

were unanimously chosen and took the oath accordingly.

Adjourned.

The building of St. George's Church, which was of stone, was begun soon after Mr. Cossitt's appointment, the

British Parliament having voted £500 for the purpose. A supplementary vote of £300 was made in 1803 at the instance of Lord Hobart. These monies were voted by parliament in view of the fact that the building was intended to be a garrison chapel as well as parish church. A large space was from the first reserved for the garrison, which continued to occupy it until the final withdrawal of the troops from Sydney in 1854.

On the completion of the exterior of the church the whole island of Cape Breton was erected into a Parish by an Ordinance of Governor Macarmick and his Council. This ordinance was passed March 30th, 1791.

The following are the minutes of the first meeting of the parishioners of St. George's after the erection of the parish:

Easter Monday, 25th April, 1791.

At a meeting of parishioners of St. George's for the purpose of choosing church wardens and vestry men agreeable to a late ordinance of his Excellency the Governor and Council when the following gentlemen were chosen :

Hon'ble Wm. Smith, Esqr.	} Church	
Phillip Ingouville, Esqr.		} Wardens
Wm. Beaton, Esqr.,	} Vestry	
Mr. Richard Stout,		
Mr. Wm. Thomson,		
Mr. Wm. Plant,		
Johnston Story, Esqr.		} Men.
Mr. Thos. Pitts,		
Mr. Samuel Smith,		
Mr. Wm. Smith,		

Some of the first settlers brought with them slaves to Cape Breton. The following are copies of some of the records in which the existence of slavery is explicitly recognized or clearly implied. In the last of these copies the name of the bridegroom is omitted :

George Peter, a blackman, and Isabella Tomas, a free black woman, having been published three Sundays in the church, married 22nd July, 1787.

Cæsar Augustus, a slave, and Darias Snider, black folks, married 4th Sept., 1788.

Sept. 15th, 1792. Buried, Diana Bestian, a negro girl belonging to Abraham Cuyler, Esq., in the 15th year of her age.

August 9th, 1795. Then joined in the holy banns of wedlock and Shadrick, Meshek and Abednego, according to the Rites and Cere-

monies of the Ch^h. of England, banns having been published three Sundays in Ch^h.

Two records of this period are connected with one of the grossest acts of inhuman cruelty ever perpetrated on the shores of this country :

25th December, 1788. Buried Woodhausen, one of the convicts.
Patrick Doil, one of the convicts, buried 2nd January, 1789.

These men belonged to a party of eighty convicts whom the ship Providence had been chartered to convey to Quebec. The story of their treatment and sufferings is told at length by Mr. Brown in his "History of Cape Breton." The Providence reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence at the beginning of winter, 1788. Meeting with adverse weather, the captain put about his ship and returned by way of the Gut of Canso, and on December 11th found himself off Port Nova, the eastern extremity of Cape Breton. On the evening of that day he barbarously landed his passengers, men, women and boys, without a morsel of food, on the desolate shore about two miles east of Mainadieu, and immediately set sail for England. That night a severe snow-storm occurred. Seventy of the poor creatures succeeded in reaching Mainadieu, where they were kindly treated by the few settlers. Seven, who had stayed in the woods, died from exposure. One old man was murdered by two of his companions for the sake of a small sum of money that he had. The survivors were sent from Mainadieu to Sydney, where fifteen of them died from fever in the course of the winter. The master, whose inhuman conduct was the cause of so much misery and death, was allowed to go scott free, the only punishment inflicted being the exaction of the penalties of the bonds given by the owners of the ship for the due conveyance of the convicts to their destination.

Many of the entries in the register at this early period are interesting and amusing. The alliteration in the following record is equalled only by its curtness:

1789. December 28th. Buried, Buttle the Barrack Master.

From another entry it appears that then, as now, the bridegroom was not always prepared to offer the marriage fee at the proper time:

July 24th, 1792, then married Richard Doben, bachelor, and Eleanor Moronay, both of the Parish of the Island of Cape Breton, by virtue of a license under the hand and seal of Lieutenant-Gov'r Macar-mick, dated 17th Janry, 1792.

Captain John Wilson }
Miss Nancy Dean } Witnesses.

The above promise to pay a quintal of fish.

There is no evidence that payment was made.

The population of the few scattered settlements being small and travelling difficult, Mr. Cossitt's ministrations were confined almost exclusively to the town of Sydney. In January, 1793, he visited Louisbourg and Mainadieu. Two years later at the latter place he baptized three infants, and received into the church three others who had been privately baptized by Charles Martell, Esq., also "Abraham Nearing, an infant, baptized by Mary Brian, midwife, the child being despaired of life when born."

Two subsequent visits to Mainadieu are recorded. The latter of these was in June, 1803, on which occasion Mr. Cossitt received into the church thirty persons who had been baptized by Charles Martell, Esq., who, as the writer was informed many years ago by one of his numerous and honorably known descendants, had in his earlier years studied for the Protestant Ministry in his native country, and who afterwards discharged the duties of what is now known as a lay reader at Mainadieu and the immediate neighborhood. The 3rd and 4th of August of the same year were spent by Mr. Cossitt at Cow Bay, where the sacrament of baptism was administered, probably for the first time.

The Table of Fees which is given, belongs in all likelihood to the period of Mr. Cossitt's incumbency.

The Clergymen's fees as Established by the Bishop of Nova Scotia:
The Clergyman may Demand

	£	s	d
For each marriage and registering the same	10
For each funeral when the burial service is read ..	7
For breaking ground in the church yard.	5
For registering each child that is baptized.	1	6	..
For Churching a woman.	1	6	6

In addition to which the Clerk may Demand

For each marriage when he attends	1	3	..
---	---	---	----

	£	s	d
For each burial when he attends.	1	6	
For each Baptism.	1		..

The Sexton may Demand

For each marriage.	1	6	
For each Baptism.	1		..
For digging each grave	5		..
And if dug by another person.	1		..

The Sexton is to collect the above and be answerable to the Clergyman and Clerk for their fees.

The year 1805 is memorable in the annals of St. George's as the year of the departure of the first Rector, and of the first Episcopal visit and Confirmation.

More than twenty years had elapsed since the establishment of the Church in the infant town of Sydney, nineteen since the appointment of the first parochial Minister, but no Bishop had as yet set foot on the shores of Cape Breton. At the time of the founding of Sydney there was no Bishop of the Church of England in the colonies or in foreign parts; Dr. Seabury, the first, and at the time the only Bishop of the Reformed Church in America, having been consecrated by Scottish Bishops in November, 1784. All clergymen of the Church of England abroad were supposed to be under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, to whom candidates for the ministry from the colonies had to resort for ordination. To the bishopric of Nova Scotia belongs the distinction of being the oldest colonial see. It was founded in 1787, on the 12th day of August, in which year Dr. Charles Inglis, formerly rector of Trinity Church, New York, where at great personal risk he had distinguished himself by his loyalty, was consecrated. For six years Dr. Inglis was the only Bishop in British North America. From 1793, when Dr. Jacob Mountain was appointed Bishop of Quebec, to 1839, the diocese of Nova Scotia comprised the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland. The extent of the diocese, and the infrequency of means of communication, were doubtless among the reasons why the parishioners of St. George's were left so long without any episcopal ministrations. Bishop Inglis arrived in Sydney early in July, 1805. He officiated in St. George's Church on Sunday, July 7th, and Sunday the 14th. On the former Sunday he baptized "Harriet, the

daughter of Captain William Despard, and Elizabeth, his wife;" on the latter, "James Joseph, son of Mr. George and Mrs. Mary Morley." These are the only ministerial acts of the Bishop which appear on the register, although Mr. Cossitt, whose incumbency ended with the Bishop's visit, and who subsequently became rector of Yarmouth, where he died, makes mention of two more baptisms in a certificate written by him in the parochial register.

The Records in this Book are True, and my son Ranna is authorized to record 4 Baptisms made by the Bishop of Nova Scotia.

RANNA COSSITT,
Miss'ry and
Parochial Minister
for Cape Breton.

July 15th, 1805.

Eleven months intervened between the departure of the first rector and the arrival of his successor, the Rev. William Twining, who took charge of the parish in the beginning of June, 1806. Mr. Twining received from the government a stipend of £144 as parochial minister, and £44, 12s. 6d. as garrison chaplain. He was evidently a diligent and laborious pastor. The records show that besides visiting the settlements in the neighborhood of Sydney—Mira, Cow Bay, Louisbourg, Mainadieu, Loran, the North-West Arm, and the Mines—he made missionary journeys to places which had not before enjoyed the ministrations of the Church. On the 22nd of August, 1807, he was in Arichat, where he baptized three children. The first three weeks of August, 1813, were spent by him at St. Peter's Bay and the Gut of Canso, in which locality he baptized twenty-four children and three adults.

The circumstances of the first burial service performed by him were unusually sad.

Burials by the Rev'd Wm. Twining, Rector.
1806, June 20th. Thos. Percy, H.M.S. Champion, who with six others, was drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the Harbour of Sydney, June 19th, 1806.

A painful history is attached to the following record of burial:

1812. Dec'r 15th. William Harris (a constable) who was killed in the execution of his office, on Sunday, the 15th inst., by a marine of His M. Sl'p Recruit, under the command of Captain Evans.

The history of the murder, for such it was, is thus given by Mr. Brown :

The Recruit, a sloop of war, it appears, was sent down by Sir John Sherbrooke to convoy a number of vessels loading with coal at Sydney for the Halifax garrison. While she was lying at anchor before the town on Sunday morning, Captain Evans went on shore and insulted a female, which led to a disturbance on the street. The officers of the Recruit, supposing that their captain was in danger, sent a corporal of marines and a file of men on shore to protect him. Captain Evans, who according to all accounts was the transgressing party, ordered the marines to fire, when Harris, who had merely stepped out of the house to see what was going on, was shot in the forehead and killed. The Rev. William Twining and two constables were also wounded in the affray.

The reader will notice the discrepancy between Mr. Brown's statement that the unfortunate man "had merely stepped out of the house to see what was going on," and the record of Mr. Twining, an eye witness, and himself wounded in the affray, that he was killed in the execution of his office as constable. Captain Evans, who was evidently insane, was, with the marines, confined for some months in jail, the lords of the admiralty refusing to interfere; but all escaped through some irregularity in the proceedings.

To the last year of Mr. Twining's incumbency belong the two following records:

	<i>When Baptized</i>	<i>Child's Christian Name</i>	<i>Parent's Name</i>		<i>Abode</i>	<i>Quality Trade or Profession</i>	<i>By Whom the Ceremony was Performed</i>
			<i>Christian</i>	<i>Surname</i>			
12 years old	1814 Aug't 21st No. 41	RODERIC RANDOM	An African Boy	belonging Sloop	his Adder	Majesty's }	The Rev'd W. Twining
12 years old	Aug't 21st No. 42	JOHN HURRI- CANE	An H. M.	African Sloop	belonging Adder	to }	Do

Mr. Twining, after eight years' service in St. George's Parish, left Cape Breton in the autumn of 1814. Besides his clerical duties, he also performed those of a member of the council of the Lieutenant-Governor, Brigadier-General Nepean.

After an interval of twelve or thirteen months, he was succeeded by the Rev. Robert P. Ferryman, whose pastorate covered only seven months, from September, 1815, to April, 1816. During this period he visited Sydney Mines, Bras d'Or, the North-West Arm, St. Peter's, Little River, and the Gut of Canso. He baptized fifty-six persons, and solemnized eight marriages; but not one single burial is recorded by him.

The next rector, the Rev. Hibbert Binney, took charge of the parish in November, 1816.

The parish was, as has been stated, co-terminous with the Island of Cape Breton, and we have seen how each succeeding rector, aided by the making of roads and greater facilities of communication, carried the ministrations of the Church into districts which had not been visited by his predecessors. Mr. Binney threw himself into this missionary work with great vigor. In the course of his seven years' incumbency he baptized six hundred and sixteen persons; in 1819, one hundred and twenty-eight, and one hundred and twenty-six the next year, most of them in places in which the sacrament of baptism never before had been administered. On November 24th, 1816, two or three weeks after he had taken charge of the parish, at Baddeck he baptized four persons, all of them evidently children of Highland immigrants. On the occasion of his second visit to Baddeck, July 21st, 1818, eight children belonging to that place, and four from Middle River were baptized, and three couples married.

The 15th of September, 1819, was an eventful day in his ministry, sixty-six persons of various ages being then baptized by him at Gabarus, where apparently no opportunity of receiving the ordinances of the church had previously been given.

For the purpose of illustrating the character of missionary work at the time, we give, with the aid of the register, a sketch of a tour made by Mr. Binney in June and July, 1820, on horseback of course, for the country was not then intersected by carriage roads. Leaving Sydney in the latter part of June, he proceeded through the woods on the south of the unsettled shores of East Bay and the Great Bras d'Or Lake to St. Peter's Bay, and thence to Arichat. Having spent the 24th and 25th of June in that place, and baptized two children, he passed on to the Gut of Canso, where, on

the 28th, he performed six baptisms. Thence he struck northward to Mabou, at which place, on the 29th, two children were baptized. Broad Cove was reached the next day. Having baptized three children, he resumed his journey, following the Gulf Shore as far as Margaree. Here on July 2nd he baptized forty-three persons, adults and children, and married John Etteridge and Jane Ross, the first marriage service performed in that locality by a clergyman of the Church of England. From Margaree he travelled to Middle River. On the 3rd of July, evidently in the morning, eleven persons were baptized in this settlement; on the same day and the following day, twenty more at Baddeck, the last place at which he stayed. During the fortnight that he was from home he baptized eighty-nine persons.

In 1818 a church, the first in the rural parts of the parish, was built at the North-West Arm.

On the 25th of September of that year, Mr. Binney was married to Henrietta, daughter of Richard Stout, whose tomb, with that of his wife, is marked by a stone placed horizontally near the south-west corner of St. George's Church. His first child, Hibbert, afterwards Bishop of Nova Scotia, was born on the 12th of August, 1819, the thirty-second anniversary of the consecration of the first bishop, the Right Rev. Charles Inglis.

Mr. Binney resigned the rectorship in November, 1823, and settled in England, where he died. His successor was the Rev. Charles Inglis, who, having visited Sydney in June and July, 1824, and baptized sixty-one persons in the parish, returned as rector in November of the same year.

Soon after his arrival, viz., on Monday, December 6th, at a meeting of the church wardens, vestry and parishioners, after the rector had taken the chair and addressed the meeting, the following, with other resolutions, were agreed to:

3rd. Resolved, That an Humble Memorial be presented to his Honour the ¹President requesting him to take proper measures for dividing the Island into three Parishes, that for the present the same be co-extensive with the three Judiciary Districts.

The memorial was doubtless presented in due course. It was not, however, until 1828 that action was taken in the

¹ The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, to which province Cape Breton had been annexed in 1820.

matter, and Order in Council passed, "For Erecting the Township of Sydney, in the Island of Cape Breton, into a Parish."

The following is a copy of the Order in Council:

At a Council held at Government House on the 8th day of April, 1828. Present, His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, etc.

Read a letter addressed by the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor representing that the whole Island of Cape Breton was formerly erected into a Parish by an Ordinance of the Governor and Council, and suggesting, as the whole Island is much too large to form a single Parish, that the Township of Sydney should be erected into a Parish.

Read also a letter from the Attorney and Solicitor-General, to whom, as doubts had arisen as to the power of this Board to adopt the measure proposed by the Bishop, a reference had been made on the subject, stating it to be their opinion, from the words of the Ordinance in question, that it was merely intended to have a temporary effect, and that this Board, therefore, having power under the Provincial Statute, 33rd Geo. 3rd Cap. 10, to make such alterations in the limits of the said Parish as a change of circumstances may require.

Wherefore, it is ordered that the Township of Sydney be erected into a Parish under the name and style of St. George, and that its limits be the same as those of the Township; the Board reserving to itself the power to make such alterations of the said limits as shall at any time hereafter be by it deemed necessary. RUPERT D. GEORGE.

The application of the Bishop of Nova Scotia was doubtless due immediately to the knowledge of the circumstances and needs of the church in Cape Breton, which he had acquired on the occasion of his first visit in 1827. A bishop was "rara avis in terris" in those days. The people who, twenty years after the establishment of the church in Sydney, had at last the pleasure of seeing their bishop among them, did not, one may venture to say, contemplate the possibility that another twenty years or more might elapse before he himself, or a successor, again set foot on the shores of Cape Breton. Yet so it was. Bishop C. Inglis died in 1816. His immediate successor, Dr. Stanser, was so appalled by the magnitude and difficulties of the duties of his office, that he never even attempted to discharge them, but withdrew to England, where he died in 1829. Four years before his death he resigned the bishopric, and was succeeded by Dr. John Inglis, son of the first bishop, and father of Sir John Inglis, the gallant defender of Lucknow. The new bishop's

primary visit to Sydney was in 1827, twenty-two years after that of his father. Among the records left by Mr. Inglis is a "List of Candidates for Confirmation, Sept., 1826," all or most of whom were, we presume, presented to the bishop. The list contains the names of sixty-eight persons, of whom at least ten were living during the incumbency of the present rector.

Although the exterior of St. George's Church was completed in 1791, it was not until the second visit of Bishop John Inglis, forty-two years afterwards, that the building was consecrated. Mr. Inglis has left an interesting memorandum of this visit, of which the following is an extract:

Memo. On Sunday, 15th September, 1833, the Ld. Bishop of Nova Scotia arrived here, and preached morning and afternoon. Notice was given for a confirmation on the following Tuesday.

Tuesday, 17th Sept. Upon petition of the Rector, Wardens, etc., etc., His Lordship proceeded to the Consecration of the Church and Burial Ground, and to the Administration of the Rite of Confirmation, which was received by the forty persons underwritten.

The first five names are: James Armstrong, his wife; George, Thomas, James Armstrong, Jr.

Among the persons confirmed were two daughters of Mr. Inglis. Both of them are now living in England.

The third and last confirmation held in the parish by Bishop J. Inglis was in 1843. Seven years later, October, 1850, the rite was administered by Dr. E. Field, Bishop of Newfoundland; in 1852 by Bishop Binney, who had as a child left Sydney the same year that Mr. Inglis arrived, and having spent the intervening time in England, now returned to it for the first time. It is not often that the son of a rector visits as bishop his birthplace during the incumbency of his father's immediate successor.

To Mr. Inglis' day belongs the following correspondence:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Halifax, 25th February, 1830.

No. My Lord,—In the year 1821 the Earl of Bathurst, at the suggestion of Sir James Kempt, appropriated £250 from the Coal Mine Revenue to repair the Church at Sydney, Cape Breton. At this period a tower was added to the edifice; but its walls not being sufficiently strong to bear the increased incumbent weight, apprehensions are now entertained for the safety of the building.

Under these circumstances the Rector, Churchwardens and Vestry have addressed a memorial to me praying for about £150, which sum, with their own contributions, would enable them to take down the tower, prop up the walls, and erect a steeple at one end of the church.

I have laid the petition before the Executive Council, and there not being any fund at our own disposal, have now the honor, by their advice, to transmit a copy of it to your Lordship, and to recommend that you will be pleased to approve of my advancing from the Casual Revenue, the sum requested by the Petitioners;—the Council with myself earnestly hoping that,—as by far the greater portion of the fund in question is derived from the Sydney Mines,—(the proceeds of which, though formerly wholly expended in that town, are now for the most part, expended in Halifax)—and as a large space in the Church was originally reserved for, and is still occupied by the Garrison,—Your Lordship will consider the Petitioners to deserve the indulgence they have solicited, more especially as a compliance with the present application would never be found an inconvenient precedent; for no other church in the province could possibly advance the same strong claims on H.M. Government for assistance.

I have the honor to be, etc., etc.

(Signed) C. CAMPBELL.

The Right Honorable Lord Glenelg, etc.

The reply to this dispatch is from the Marquis of Normanby, Lord Glenelg's successor at the Colonial Office:

No. 14, Downing Street, 4th May, 1839.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 5th of February last (No. 7), recommending that the sum of £150 should be granted out of the Coal Mine Revenue of Nova Scotia towards the repair of the Church at Sydney, Cape Breton. Having referred this question to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, I have now to convey to you my authority for making to the Rector, Churchwardens and vestry of Sydney the Grant which you have proposed out of the Coal Mine Revenue.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) NORMANBY.

Lieut.-General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., etc., etc.

The central tower, which had been built in 1821, was taken down, and a wooden tower and spire erected at the western end of the old stone church. When the church (to which a chancel was added in 1862) was rebuilt in 1859, on the old foundation, the wooden tower and spire were left standing. The spire was blown down by the memorable gale known as the "August gale," on the night of Sunday, 24th of August, 1873. The tower which, shorn of the steeple,

presented a very odd appearance, remained until 1878, when it was replaced by the present stone structure. The spire which was erected at that time was so shattered by lightning on Monday, August 27th, 1888, as to necessitate its removal. In the autumn of the same year was built the spire which now completes the facade of the church.

From the year 1840 Mr. Inglis had the assistance of the Rev. William Y. Porter, who with great energy and zeal discharged the duties of travelling missionary. Mr. Porter's field of labor covered not only the outlying districts which still form part of the Parish of St. George, but also the whole of the territory included within the present parishes of Louisbourg, Port Morien and Glace Bay. His life was cut short on the 18th of February, 1859. On the evening of that day he was travelling on the harbor to North Sydney, with several other gentlemen. As they approached the shore near the Smelt Brook, the ice suddenly gave way and all were submerged. His friends and the driver soon regained the firm ice; but the body of Mr. Porter was lifeless when taken out of the water almost immediately, death having been occasioned most probably by apoplexy. He was the only clergyman whose remains were interred in the burial ground of St. George's. A tablet in the chancel of St. George's Church, erected by the various congregations to whom he ministered, bears testimony to his faithful labors among them.

During the last four years of his ministry, Mr. Inglis was further relieved from part of his excessive duties by the appointment of a missionary to the charge of Sydney Mines, where a church was built in 1849, and a parsonage in 1850.

He resigned the rectorship of the parish in 1853, and was succeeded by the Rev. Richard J. Uniacke. He continued, however, to discharge the duties of garrison chaplain until the withdrawal of the troops from Sydney on September 23rd, 1854. The following year he removed to Ontario, and resided, until his death, with his son, the late Rev. Charles R. Inglis, rector of Drummondville.

Mr. Inglis has left many interesting records. Among them are lists of candidates for confirmation, persons professing the tenets of the Church of England, communicants, members of working parties, collections for charitable purposes, the expenditures of moneys collected, and the recipi-

ents of the garments and other articles made by the working parties.

In the register the fact of the baptism of the Scotch children is recorded in pencil, while the other entries are made in ink. There are three entries of a previous character, recording the facts of the baptisms of Scotch, or Gaelic children, at Catalogne and Louisbourg. They admit of the following explanation. The Scottish immigrants who were settling in Cape Breton, spoke generally, perhaps, only the Gaelic language. They were as yet without ministers of their own communion officiating in their own language. As Mr. Inglis went to and fro in his parishes, on horseback or in boat, they would from time to time bring their children to him to be baptized, or ask him to their homes for the purpose of baptising them. Ignorant of the Gaelic language, as they were of English, he was unable to obtain the information necessary to enable him to record duly the baptisms. He would, therefore, on returning to his home, jot down the fact that he had baptized a certain number of children at this or that place, hoping doubtless to be in a position to make proper entries at some future time.

At a meeting held on Whit Monday, 1828, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, that a Record be made of Benefactors to this Church, and the nature and description of their Benefactions.

No such record, which would be most interesting, is now in existence, nor is there any evidence that action was ever taken on this resolution.

Mr. Inglis had what is perhaps a unique experience in officiating during his incumbency of the same parish, at burials of three centenarians. Copies of the records of these burials, with those of a fourth centenarian, and of the wife of the first, who attained the patriarchal age of ninety-five years, may prove interesting:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Abode</i>	<i>When Buried</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>By Whom the Ceremony Was Performed</i>
James Boutilier No. 87	Sydney	1827 May 27	107 years	Rev'd Chas. Inglis
Widow Shannon No. 200	Sydney	1840 April 1	103 years	Chas. Inglis
Widow Lorway No. 395	Sydney	1853 Jan'y 29th	101 years	Chas. Inglis
John Beaton No. 468	Little Bras d'Or	1864 April 22nd	103 years	On account of the uncertainty of the time of the funeral reaching the burial ground, no notice was given to the Rector to attend; therefore the ceremony was not performed. R. J. V.
1831 Susan Boutilier No. 124	Cox Heath Sydney River	April 8	95 years	Chas. Inglis

The sum of the united ages of James and Susan Boutilier is thus shown to be two hundred and two years. The longevity of these descendants of French Huguenots is very remarkable.

In 1879 the present rector of St. George's buried two children of James and Susan Boutilier—Henry Joseph Boutilier and Mrs. Susannah Andrews (or Andress, as the name was formerly written), aged respectively eighty-nine and a half and ninety-two years. An elder daughter who was once a parishioner of the writer at St. Margaret's Bay, reached the age of one hundred and three years. A relative of the same name, James Boutilier, of the West Side of Sydney River, died in 1879 at the age of ninety-six.

The records of St. George's Church show how intimately its early history is associated with the history of the Province of Cape Breton—August 26th, 1785, to October 16th, 1820.

The erection of the province was followed immediately by the building of the church and the erection of the parish. Two of the clergy had seats in the Governor's Council. Most of the members of the Council and other leading officials were church wardens or members of the vestry. The Hon. A. Cuyler, the Hon. D. Mathews, Attorney-General and Admin-

istrator of the Province; Chief Justice Ingram Ball—brother of Sir A. Ball, one of Nelson's captains and Governor of Malta—Chief Justice Archibald Dodd, the Hon. W. Smith, Commander Crawley, Surveyor-General; Judge Marshall and the Hon. D. Tait, the surveyor by whom the town of Sydney was laid out—all took an active part in the administration of the affairs of the parish. The lists of office bearers since that time include the names of representatives of many of the old Sydney families and others who held prominent positions in the community, some of whom had more than a local reputation: the Hon. E. M. Dodd, Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia; W. Hart, P. H. Clarke, C. E. Leonard, Captain Cox, R.N.,—once owner of Coxheath—T. S. Bown, Captain Rigby, J. LeCras, B. Cossitt, Major Sutherland—who painted the tables containing the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, which we hope soon to see replaced on the west wall of the church—H. Davenport, J. P. Ward, T. Townsend, the Hon. Senator Bourinot, and, in later years, his son, Sir John G. Bourinot.

The annals of the church since the appointment of Dr. Uniacke to the rectorship, now nearly fifty years ago, have scarcely been alluded to in this paper. But the extracts of the records of events and names which are given show how St. George's, by a continuous and unbroken chain, connects, as perhaps no other institution connects, the new Sydney of today with the primitive Sydney of the eighteenth century.

* * * * *

The following documents, copied from records in the office of the Registrar of Deeds, Sydney, and bearing upon the history of St. George's Parish, will be interesting to many people.

The first is the record of the appointment of the Rev. Ranna Cossitt as Surrogate-General:

By His Honour John Murray, Brigadier-General of His Majesty's forces, President of Council, and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Cape Breton and its dependencies, Chancellor, Vice-Admiral of the same, etc.

To the Rev. Ranna Cossitt, Greeting: By virtue of the power in me vested by His Majesty's Commission and Royal Instructions, and reposing official trust and confidence in your having loyalty, ability and integrity, and also in conformity to the Canons of Holy Church, I have thought fit to constitute and appoint, and do constitute and appoint you, the said Ranna Cossitt to be Surrogate General in and over the said Island of Cape Breton and its dependencies. Giving and granting unto you full power and authority to make, have and hold probate of all wills and letters ad colligendum, and administrations of and upon the goods, chattels and personal effects of persons dying intestate, and to make distributions of their effects, according to law, and to issue and grant letters of guardianship of minors under the age of fourteen years, to do, execute and perform according to law, all matters and things belonging to and appertaining to the office of Surrogate, with power also to substitute and appoint one or more fit and proper persons to be Surrogate or Surrogates under, for the purposes aforesaid, and also to be Registrar or Registrars of Probate, for whom and each of whom, you shall at all times be accountable and responsible for all things done, and to be done by each of them, in their respective offices, and with power also unto your substitute and registrars to have, receive and enjoy all fees, perquisites and emoluments belonging and appertaining to your and their said offices.

In testimony whereof I have signed these presents, and caused the great seal of the Island of Cape Breton to be hereunto affixed at Sydney, this 27th day of January, 1800, in the fortieth year of His Majesty's reign.

JOHN MURRAY,
President.

Entered 28th Jan'y 1800.

By His Honour's Command.

JOHN HANES, Reg'r.

J.H.

JOHN HAYNES, Sec'y.

The second document is the record of the agreement between individual parishioners and the church wardens in respect of the stipend of the second rector, the Rev. W. Twining.

Book C., 166.

To the inhabitants of the Parish of St. George, Island of Cape Breton:

WHEREAS the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts have apportioned the Rev. William Twining to be their missionary to administer the offices and ordinances of religion according to the order of the Church of England, at Sydney and elsewhere in the Island of Cape Breton.

AND WHEREAS the said Society do require that the inhabitants of all places to which their missionaries are sent, should find a suitable

house for the residence of the missionary, and also subscribe thirty pounds sterling annually at least, towards his support.

In order to carry into effect the benevolent intention of the said Society towards this Island, we, the subscribers, do promise to pay into the hands of Richard Stout and Job Bennett Clarke, church wardens of the same, for the time being, on or before the first day of November annually, and every year succeeding the date hereof, for the use and support of said William Twining, while he continues minister of the said Parish, and we also remain inhabitants of this Island, the respective sums as are against our names severally expressed:

Sydney, C. B., 10th June, '80b.

John Despard, ten pounds sterling	Mark Crodice, ten shillings
A. C. Dodd, two pounds sterling	John Ferris, ten shillings
Richard Stout, two pounds curr'cy	And. W. Sellon, ten shillings
David Tait, two pounds currency	Jno. LeBreton, one pound currency
George Moore, two pounds curr'cy	^{his} Alex. x Ross, 5 shillings sterling
William Cory, two pounds currency	^{mark} Alex. Elder, five shillings
J. B. Clarke, two pounds sterling	Samuel Brookman, 10 shillings
Wm. Campbell, two pounds sterling	John Rundle, sr., ten shillings 10d.
Thos. Crawley, two pounds	^{his} Patrick x Phailing, five shillings
P. Despard, two pounds currency	^{mark} P. Ingouville, 20 shillings
John Leaver, jr., 15 shillings cur'y	Ph. Dumaresq, two pounds
Wm. McKinnon, two pounds	^{his} Wm. Alcock, x 7s. 6d.
Wm. Brown, jr., fifteen shillings	^{mark} Thos. C. Ritchie, 40 shillings 2 p'ds.
Reuben Milner, twenty shillings	^{his} Thomas x Owens, ten shillings
Job B. Clarke, two pounds	^{mark} Thiolins Coslin, five shillings
Philip Elly, clk., twenty shillings	^{his} Donald McGillivray, x 25 shillings
Timy Hogan, fifteen shillings	^{mark} Joseph Jefferson, x 10 shillings 10d.
William Day, ten shillings 10d.	John Ball, jr., five shillings
Thomas LeCras, ten shillings 10d.	John Jones, one pound
John Battersby, ten shillings 10d.	John Grandmire, ten shillings
Thomas Davis, ten shillings 10d.	John Ross, fifteen shillings
Wm. Watson, 16 shillings	
John Muggah, 10s. currency	
M. Dobbyn, 10s. currency	
John Armstrong, 10 shillings	
Moses Warren, ten shillings	
George Petrie, ten shillings	
Timy Leaver, five shillings	
Chas. A. Clarke, ten shillings	

Entered upon Record the 7th January, 1807.

JOHN MCKINNON, Dy. Regr.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. ANNE'S CAPE BRETON

BY REV. FATHER R. P. PACIFIQUE
(OF ST. ANNE DE RISTIGOUCHE, QUE.)

*Address delivered at St. Anne's, C.B., August 25th, 1930, on the occasion
of the unveiling of a Cairn with Tablet under the auspices
of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board.*



HERE is a well known short maxim used as a kind of watchword in my province of Quebec, "I do remember," meaning that we must have in our mind the glories of the past and also the lessons thereof. Now, if TO REMEMBER were a privilege of Quebec, we should say today that here we are in a distant corner of it. But no, there is no need to be a citizen of Quebec to remember. Men like Judge Crowe and other worthy members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada can well compete with any French Canadian, not only to remember but to make others remember.

We are here for the dedication of a tablet prepared by them—an engraved Remembrance—purporting to mark one of the oldest historic sites of the country, and to recall significant events of our early history.

I

The tablet states first that this place WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1629. This is true, exactly true. It we know. We have not to say "about" or "likely" or "maybe." There is no fancy here, no probability; we have plain documents.

So 301 years ago—this is a long time for a young country—this very month of August, the 28th day, like next Thursday, a French captain, Charles Daniel, of Dieppe,

entered with his crew this bay and harbour. The bay was called at the time Chibou, or Grand Chibou, an Indian word meaning river; but the Indians themselves called it, and call it still, by quite a different name, Mtjegatitjg, of which they don't care to give the meaning.

It was not there that Daniel was sent, nor to Bay of Baleines, both unknown to him, but to Quebec with provisions and dispatches. It was a heavy storm which parted him from his companions on the banks of Newfoundland and threw his ship on the eastern shore of Cape Breton. I say this because some French writers have blamed him for staying here, where he had no errand entrusted to him, instead of going to Quebec. But he does not deserve the blame. He repaired here on account of the storm; and the next day he sent ten men into the country to seek some Indians and enquire of them what was the situation of the capital. He then received the very sad information that not only were many English men-of-war in the St. Lawrence River, but also that the city had been captured by Kirke one month previous (July 19, 1629); so it was useless and very dangerous for him to go there just to be caught by them. So he stayed here and did well.¹

Then he was informed by the same Indians and some French fishermen that an English or Scotch gentleman, Sir James Stewart, or Lord Ochiltree, had fortified himself with about sixty men in the Bay of Baleines, on the south shore of the Island; that he had seized or ransacked some French ships; was charging a tax on trading and fishing with Indians. Daniel, who was a member of the French company—one of the Hundred Associates—deemed it his duty to interfere, and in case of resistance to attack and destroy the English fort. So he did on the 8th of September. (Champlain says on the 18th, but it is surely a mistake or misprint, as the date is plainly stated not only by J. Felix, the writer, in "Relation of Daniel," but by Ochiltree himself, who states in his report that the fort was taken about the 10th of September, and so we may safely say it was attacked on the 8th and captured on

¹ Cf. *Sainte-Anne au Cap Breton*, by Father Pacifique, p. 42; to be quoted hereafter.—Fr. Pacifique. Also *Voyage du Capitaine Daniel*, by J. Felix, p. 7; to be quoted.—J. Felix. Another relation, embodied in *Oeuvres de Champlain*, Ed. Lourdieu, fol. 1283, was made to him by Daniel himself Dec. 12, 1629.

the 9th or 10th). There were very few casualties though the fort was destroyed, and men and supplies were carried to Grand Chibou; but none was molested in his person or personal goods. The English authorities in London had not much to say about that event. Only late in the winter the King mentioned that the capture had taken place—after the signing of the treaty of Sousa, April 24th; but as the capture of Quebec had taken place in the same crucial circumstances, and was of quite another importance, no more was said of Bay of Baleines.²

Daniel built another fort here and put on it the arms of the French King and Cardinal Richelieu. He built also a house, a store and a chapel. My learned friend, Dr. Ganong, sums up in these words the whole affair (Denys, p. 184):

On the commanding high land on the south side of the entrance is an old fort site, the only one known around the harbor. It was there, as the Jesuit Relations clearly show, that Captain Daniel built his fort in 1629, as related by Champlain, and here, after 1713, was built the Fort Dauphin, contemporary of Louisbourg, as shown on Charlevoix' detailed plan, and of which traces still remain. Considering the commanding position of the site, its convenience to the fishery, including a fine, great drying beach opposite, the lack of any other known early French site about the harbor, the presence of early clearings and defences, and the concurrence of cultivated land close by, it seems altogether likely that the Simon Denys establishment, which was founded about 1650, stood here. . . . Of course all traces of it were obliterated by the building of Fort Dauphin on the same site.

When his fort was well on the way to completion, Captain Daniel left it in charge of his lieutenant, Gaulde or Claude of Beauvais, with a garrison of 40 men, including two Jesuit Fathers, and started for France on the 5th of November.

This brings us to the second statement on the Memorial Tablet.

²“Early in 1629 Sir James Stewart, who had purchased a tract of land from Alexander, brought a colony to Port Baleines. He also began to seize the French vessels fishing on that coast. This excited the anger of Captain Charles Daniel (one of the Hundred Associates and brother of the Jesuit, Antoine Daniel), who had recently come from France. He seized and demolished Stewart's fort and proceeded to erect another at Grand Cibou. . . . As early as 1597 Charles Leigh, who made a voyage to Cape Breton, mentions the ‘harbour of Cibo.’ Here Daniel left a garrison of forty men, with the two Jesuits, Vimont and Vieuxpont, and took the English colonists to their country, except a few whom he carried to France as prisoners.”—(Thwaite's Rel., 4, p. 270).

II

It was THE SITE OF AN EARLY JESUIT MISSION.

One Jesuit Father, Bartholomew Vimont, came with Daniel and was the very first to have his foot landed on what is now Cape Breton. He had been rector of the Jesuit College at Vannes. A companion was brought to him in a very tragical manner.

The same storm that had thrown Daniel's ship on this shore had, a few days before, thrown on the rocks of Canso another ship on which was another Jesuit Father, Father Noyrot, who had with him three other members of his order, and many passengers, all bound to Quebec. They were shipwrecked on August 24th at nine o'clock in the evening. Two fathers were drowned and two saved—Father Lallemant, the Superior of the Canadian Missions, and Father de Vieuxpont. This one asked his Superior the permission to spend the winter with some Indians whom they had met. One of them informed them that Daniel was building a fort twenty-five leagues from the place of shipwreck and offered to take the Father there in his canoe. The offer was accepted and they left Canso on the 6th of October. Father Lallemant returned to France with some Basque fishermen. We may imagine how great was the joy of Father Vimont to receive a companion so unexpectedly in so remote a place. It was those two fathers who gave the place the name of St. Anne's—not surely to imitate St. Anne de Beaupre, which was not established until twenty-nine years later, nor St. Anne d'Auray in Brittany, whose sanctuary was just opened the year previous, but undoubtedly in pursuance of a recommendation of the pious Queen Anne of Austria, mother of Louis XIV.

This was the very first church named thus and dedicated to that glorious saint in North America. There were two or three St. Anne's in South and Central America and one in Mexico, but none at all in North America before this St. Anne's in Cape Breton. There are now thirty-seven churches in Canada and twenty-eight in the United States which followed this one and are named after the saint.³

³See Fr. Chorlond and Fr. Pacifique, p. 53.

During the first winter both missionaries had much to do. The dreadful disease of scurvy made its appearance⁴ and Father Vimont had a hard task to attend the sick, watch the dying, bury the dead. Twelve men died during the winter and are buried somewhere here under our feet, which makes the place more pathetic, not to say more sacred. Father de Vieuxpont spent the winter in the woods, as he had wished, with the Indians, who became so fond of him that they readily brought to him their children to be baptized, and invited him to their camps.⁵

These were the same class of missionaries that their brethren of Nova Scotia had seen and heard and loved at Port Royal in 1611. Their mission there had been short, being destroyed by Argall in 1613; but it was long enough to win to themselves the heart of this interesting tribe, who readily called their teaching the "Doctrine of the Black Robes"—"Magtaoegenagaoei"—and call it thus still.

After the Jesuit Fathers there came to Port Royal, now Annapolis, Franciscan Fathers, called at that time Recollets, in 1619; then Capuchin Fathers in 1632, another branch of the same order, to which your humble speaker has the honor to belong. These had a house at St. Peter's and may have come here occasionally after the departure of the Jesuit Fathers. Naming what first struck their sight, the simple children of the forest called their teaching the "Doctrine of the Bare Feet"—"Sesagigeoei"—and still use the same word. Of course they knew it was the Doctrine of Christ, the Christian Doctrine—"Alasotmamgeoei"—but delivered unto them by those two classes of their pioneer missionaries.⁶

Two or three events of the first year of St. Anne's Mission, as told by the pious Malapart, a companion of the Captain, may prove of interest. He thought they were due to the merits of the missionaries, and there is of course nothing impossible therein, and we have an eye-witness.

In a cruise, he says, our men were in such danger that all prepared for death; but one of the fathers, having cast

⁴"It is now known that scurvy is not due to emanations from newly cleared ground, but to lack of certain constituents, called vitamins, in the food, those vitamins being present in fresh foods, but not in salted kinds."—(W. F. Ganong).

⁵Monumenta MSS., quoted by Rochemonteia, I, p. 181.

⁶Fr. Pacifique, p. 54.

into the raging sea a relic of the Holy Cross, there came a great calm. Another time an Indian boy, grievously wounded on the head with an axe, was blessed by another father and perfectly healed.⁷

But a spiritual healing more important was the conversion of an old medicine man, ninety years of age, who was like the high priest of those pagan Indians. So thoroughly was he changed that he would destroy by fire all his superstitious articles. We may hail him as the first convert of St. Anne in Cape Breton, a worthy follower of Membertou, the first convert of the whole tribe in Port Royal twenty years before. Unfortunately, the name of this one is not given, but as Membertou was a title rather than a personal name (meaning general leader), so we could, if my Micmac friends had no objection, quite properly give him that name, "Gtjppoooin"—"the Great Wizard."⁸

The first two missionaries stayed at St. Anne's only one year and then returned to France like their companions at Quebec.

During their and the Captain's absence a very sad event occurred, which reminds us of the crime which stained the foundations of ancient Rome, when one of the founders was murdered by his brother. Gaulde had a very bad temper and could not get along with Martel, his assistant. It became evident that the latter should be recalled to France, and so it was decided, but not before the Captain's return. Gaulde, however, had not the patience to wait, and one evening after supper—on Pentecost Monday, 1631—he went into the fort whilst Martel was playing outside in the bowling alley, took his rifle, fired at him and killed him. Of course the Captain, would have punished him according to his desert, but he made his escape into the country at once.⁹

This and other hardships caused the poor colony to long for the return of Daniel and the Missionaries. The former was back on the 26th of June, but for a very short time. His brother Andrew was with him, and he left him in charge of the fort and again crossed the ocean. After the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (1632), which restored Canada to France,

⁷Ibid., p. 49.

⁸Ibid., p. 50.

⁹J. Felix, p. 71.

he returned for the third time, bringing with him two other Jesuit Missionaries. One of them was his own brother, Father Antoine Daniel, who was to be later one of the holy Canadian martyrs murdered by the Iroquois July 4, 1648; the other was Father Devost. They remained here till May, 1633, when Champlain, returning to Quebec, called at St. Anne's and carried them with him to the Capital.¹⁰

Two others came in 1634, Father Richard and Father Perrault, and in 1636 Father George d'Endeman. These were the seven pioneer Missionaries of St. Anne's; indeed, the only ones that were resident here. Father Perrault wrote a very interesting and long relation of what he saw during his short stay. He praises greatly the natural qualities of the Indians. He says that they are faithful, honest and modest in their behavior. Seeing once a young man who gave a kiss to a young woman, and knowing that they don't practice such familiarities before being married, he asked the young man if she was his wife. He answered that she was, each humbly blushing for his suspicion. For these and other qualities Father Perrault thought they were likely to receive willingly the Christian doctrine as soon as the Missionaries were able to teach them. Seeing the French forming the sign of the cross on their breast, they tried to do the same, very respectfully, guessing that there must be a deep meaning in such a simple ceremony, and to pronounce the holy names of Jesus and Mary.

From their intercourse with the French at St. Anne's they derive that devotion, let us say love, that fondness for the gracious saint whom they call their Grandmother and their Queen. They always celebrate her feast most solemnly. When there was no longer any mission here they repaired to Malagawatch and then to Chapel Island, where they continue meeting.

The Jesuit Mission at St. Anne's came to an end in 1641, when Father Richard was sent to Miscou, though the place continued to be visited occasionally until 1660. After the departure of the Missionaries the other settlers left also; but

¹⁰For details and references see Fr. Pacifique. The long rel. of F. Perrault is in the English text in Thwaité's edition, vol. 8. What he says of their modesty is confirmed by the striking fact that in their many legends there is no story, no proceeding, even no insinuation of an improper kind.

Simon Denys, whose brother Nicholas was at St. Peter's, established there a farm and fishery. He had his sixth child born here in 1651 and baptized under the name of Marguerite.¹¹ But Le Borgne, a tradesman of La Rochelle, seized their property as a would-be creditor of D'Aunay. This right, however, was not recognized in France, and he was bound to give it back when Nicholas Denys was appointed in 1654 a general grantee and governor of the whole coast. Curiously enough, the capture of Port Royal by the English did not molest them in the least. Simon's grandson, Denys de la Ronde, Captain of Infantry, 1713, was told by the Indians that his grandfather had at St. Anne's cultivated fields and orchards—he saw some apple trees himself and picked good apples.¹²

He was still at St. Anne's in 1659, but afterwards we know nothing of the place. In a census of 1686 there is not one European family mentioned in the whole Island of Cape Breton. In a report of September 9th, 1713, signed by the new French Governor, Saint Ovide, and Father de la Marche, Superior of the Recollet Fathers, also by La Ronde Denys, they stated that at their arrival they found only one French family and twenty-five or thirty Indian families.

III

We come now to the last part of the inscription, which is the longest on the tablet, but my comment thereon will be the shortest. It reads: "Selected, 1713, as a naval base, and one of the principal places in Isle Royale; named Port Dauphin and strongly fortified. Its importance declined with the choice, 1719, of Louisbourg as the capital."

After the Treaty of Utrecht the necessity of a strong naval station in Cape Breton was evident, but much consideration was given to the choice of a site, and there was much

¹¹"In a genealogy of the Denys family I found that Marguerite, 6th child of Simon Denys, was born at Ste. Anne, Port du Cap Breton. The date was not given, but as her next older brother, Paul, was born June 13, 1649 (he was baptized at Paris), and her sister, Barbe, was born June 14, 1652 (baptized at Quebec), she must have been born in 1651. This seems good evidence that Simon Denys was then living at Ste. Anne."—(W. F. Ganong.)

¹²Cf. Bourinot, p. 20. But this author calls him wrongly grandson of Nicholas Deuys; he was grandson of his brother, Simon.—(W. F. Ganong.)

hesitation between St. Anne's and Havre a l'Anglais, on the south shore. Denys de la Ronde sent a report to the Minister of Marine strongly recommending the former, which he called the most beautiful harbor in the world, far better than Havre a l'Anglais, recommended by others. This one, however, was chosen by the local authorities and the choice was approved by the King (Louis XIV) on January 26th, 1714, and the troops were sent there. The publisher of Daniel's "Relation" says that it was a mistake to have preferred it, the ground being not so good to cultivate and much more expensive to fortify. This last consideration became so evident that both the authorities and the King changed their minds and decided for St. Anne's as the principal establishment, without leaving Louisbourg.¹³ The English Governor at Annapolis remarked sadly in 1715, Nov. 23rd (see Nova Scotia Archives, II, 34), "the regulars are moved to St. Peter's and St. Anne's to work on the fortifications, and that there is a very great resort of traders there from all parts of France." The fact that he does not name Louisbourg at all shows that it was then definitely left in the background.

This was the new name given to Havre a l'Anglais when chosen in 1714; St. Anne's was called Port Dauphin; St. Peter's, Port Toulouse, and the whole island, Isle Royale. But those names did not last very long, except Louisbourg, and especially did St. Anne send away the Dauphin, leaving to him only a cape at the entrance of the bay. Some years after the English tried to change the name of the harbor into Conway Harbour, which she did not like any better, and left to him also a small point and retook to herself bay, harbour, mountain and post office. And nobody regrets it today. Even those who would not venerate her as a saint cannot help appreciating her as a beautiful historical character and a model to mothers.

Its importance declined after 1719, but continued to have a regular religious service held by the Recollets from Louisbourg. In 1753 it was a Father Julian that ministered at St. Anne's. A garrison continued also to occupy the fort. Captain Dangeac, the glorious defender of our own Ristigouche fort, was sent there in 1744 with provisions for one year. It

¹³ J. Felix, page 69. See other details, Fr. Pacifique, p. 62, footnote.

was not molested at the first fall of Louisbourg, nor at the second; it was never taken by the English, but passed into their hands by virtue of the capitulations of Montreal in 1760, whereby all French establishments in North America passed to the British Crown.¹⁴

The French disappeared altogether and the fort went into ruin, St. Anne's Chapel also. Vernon says "These ruins may still be traced. The bell used at this church was found a number of years ago and carried to the United States (Cape Breton, p. 105)." I tried to trace it, if not to get it, but without success.

Today, if we still see only these ruins, they will now be linked to a glorious, often heroic, past by the attention of the present settlers and visitors, for whom the Memorial Tablet will stamp out forgetting.

¹⁴ Since writing this I read a paper by my friend Dr. Webster, stating that St. Anne's and Espagnol (Sydney) were occupied (Can. Hist. Ass., 1926, p. 104). He must have good ground for saying so, and I accept his statement.



DUC D'ANVILLE BURIED AT LOUISBOURG

BY JUDGE CROWE

Read before the Society January 25th, 1932



THE SUBJECT to which I wish to devote a few minutes this evening is that great Armada which France sent to America in the summer of 1746. I have been led to a little study of the subject for two reasons—one, the scanty attention paid to it in our school histories; and the other by reason of the fact that the burial place of the unfortunate leader of the expedition, the duc d'Anville, seems to be uncertain, or at any rate it is differently stated by different writers on that period of our history.

It will be my object to show that this expedition, with its splendid equipment of ships, men and munitions of war, might have profoundly affected the destiny of this part of the world had not tragedy overtaken it. Chiefly, however, it will be my purpose to state the result of a re-examination of such authorities—secondary as well as otherwise—available to one remote from authorities or libraries or the primary sources of information, and to show that the remains of the unfortunate commander still lie in the ruins of Louisbourg.

It is true that Senator McLennan, whose monumental work on Louisbourg, to which he devoted years of research and which was published in 1918, speaking of the period after 1749 when the French resumed possession of Isle Royale under the provisions of the Treaty of Aix la Chappelle, says:

The ordinary courtesies were exchanged with Cornwallis at Halifax. Good feeling on the part of Cornwallis was further marked by his co-operation in sending to Louisbourg the body of the duc d'Anville. "Le Grand Esprit" bore it from Chebucto to French territory, and, with fitting ceremony, it was reinterred at the foot of the high altar in the chapel of the Citadel.

One would think the statement just quoted would be conclusive as to the Duc's burial place. But in 1928 appeared "The Rise and Fall of New France," a work in two volumes by G. M. Wrong, then Professor of History in the University of Toronto. At page 736, referring to the foundation of Halifax, he says, quoting Cornwallis, "the country is one continual wood, and no clear spot to be seen or heard of;" and then he adds: "The place had tragic associations, for here it was that d'Anville's fleet had been ruined by disease. The unmarked tomb of the hapless leader was there; later the body was carried back to lie among his own people."

Now Dr. Wrong is a Canadian author and historian of note, and for years was one of the editorial board of our most authoritative review of publications relating to the history of Canada. Any statement he makes, therefore, is entitled to be received with great respect. It must be presumed, too, that he was not unacquainted with the statement I have quoted from Senator McLennan's work; and furthermore, it is to be noted, his book was published later by ten years than the Senator's, and presumably as a result of original investigation of the primary sources—or at least the verification of authorities—and that therefore his statement should be the more authoritative.

Shortly after Dr. Wrong's book appeared I wrote to him offering such references and statements as were then available to me in support of the conclusion arrived at by Senator McLennan. In reply he said: "Your evidence is such that I am pretty sure that the statement in my book is incorrect, though I must have had some authority for it. It would be easy for a careless writer to say 'France' for 'Louisbourg' in regard to the destination of the body. I think, therefore, that your view is the correct one and my statement due to an error."

That Dr. Wrong did indeed have authority for his statement is true, for in "The Journal," which is a description of conditions in Nova Scotia at the time of the settlement of Halifax, though neither the exact time when it was written nor its author appear, there is this:

This was the state of the Country when Mr. Cornwallis came to this Province with a handful of Adventurers, not the most regular, nor most industrious, as you may suppose. And now our Governor set about his first settlement or Town of Halifax. Here it was that the Duke d'Anville's

shattered squadron collected themselves in the year 1747 (*sic*) after their many disasters and sickness at sea. Here the Duke was buried, but his Bones at the request of his ancient family have been removed to Old France.

And even so well informed a student of this period of our history as Mr. Harry Piers, former Secretary and later President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, who has been a life-long investigator of the local incidents in connection with the d'Anville expedition, speaking of the death and burial of the unfortunate Duke, says:

At dawn of the following day (17th-28th Sept., 1746) a boat bearing a shrouded body rowed to Isle Raquette, now George's Island; and there in a grave beneath the trees was solemnly laid the remains of the unhappy commander. His heart had been removed and later was deposited in the tomb of his distinguished ancestors (?). Upon the settlement of Halifax his body was removed to Louisbourg and reinterred at the foot of the high altar of the citadel chapel. Some say it was afterwards removed to France.

You will by this time have noted the discrepancies in the different statements I have quoted. Before this paper is finished I shall cite statements and authorities in support of the position taken by Senator McLennan that d'Anville was buried in Louisbourg.

It seems to me, however, that before coming directly to the evidence making for the solution I have indicated, it will not be unprofitable if a few minutes are devoted to an account of this famous expedition itself.

The objects of the d'Anville Expedition cannot be understood except in the light of the situation in America at that time. Here England and France had colonies more or less flourishing and increasing in population and wealth. Those of England were extended along the Atlantic seaboard from Georgia to and including the mainland of Nova Scotia. French colonization had confined itself mainly to the valley of the St. Lawrence, but there was now beginning the establishment of trading posts and trading forts in the interior of the continent from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and naturally this effort largely confined itself to the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. In 1713 Great Britain had secured the peninsula of Nova Scotia by cession from France. France immediately occupied Cape Breton Island, now to be known as Isle Royale, and began the foundation of Louisbourg and

its development into a strong place. The increasing importance of Louisbourg commercially, its strategic position at the gateway of the St. Lawrence, and above all its threat to all the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, and particularly to the fishing and mercantile interests of New England, led to an early discussion as to the urgent and vital necessity of its reduction if the British colonies were to continue the profitable development of their trade and commerce.

And so it came about that in 1745 the New England colonies, urged on by the enterprising Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, captured Louisbourg with a small army of New England fishermen, farmers and mechanics assembled in raw militia regiments, in which gallant enterprise they were greatly assisted by the British ships of war under the command of Warren. Short of powder and munitions of war, with few breaching cannon and lacking in discipline, nevertheless Pepperell, in forty-nine days, reduced this formidable fortress, and the feat was none the less remarkable even if, as it seems, the garrison was disaffected, if not mutinous, and the fortress itself in bad order.

Flushed with the triumph of this remarkable feat of arms, Shirley and all New England called for the reduction of Quebec. The middle and southern colonies promised assistance, and by the early summer of 1746 between 6000 and 7000 men had been raised, a fleet was assembled in England and all preparations made for the great attempt.

At the last minute, however, the English ships with their troops were directed to an attempt on L'Orient in France. This meant, of course, that any attempt on Quebec must be abandoned. It was then decided to make an effort to capture Crown Point, known to the French as Fort Frederic—the French advanced post on Lake Champlain; this, however, came to nothing, and the colonial troops were disbanded.

Thus there was a lull in America when there came the startling news that France was despatching a mighty fleet across the ocean. France was to indicate the value and importance she placed on the possession of Louisburg by the diplomacy which resulted in its return to her under the treaty negotiated two years later. Meantime, the war was in progress and she smarted under its loss. She now prepared an expedition for the operation she proposed in America, in which quite one-half of the French navy was to participate.

The expedition was made up of twenty-one ships of war carrying 824 guns and upwards of 7000 seamen. Besides these first-class ships of war there were twenty other frigates and privateers, each having ten to twenty guns. A number of transports bore the two battalions of the regular regiment of Ponthieus, and the militia regiments of Saumur and Fontenoy le Conte and a battalion of marines—in all, 3200 fighting men. No such powerful fleet had ever crossed the western ocean, and years were to elapse before its equal was to be seen in American waters.

The mighty fleet was in command of M. de la Rochefoucauld—of one of the most illustrious families of France—better known as the duc d'Anville. He was in the prime of life, being about 40 years of age, and great reliance was placed on his courage and skill.

The instructions from the French Court to the Duc were to proceed to Louisbourg and to capture and dismantle it. Next he was to go to Annapolis Royal, take it and leave a small garrison there. Thereafter he was to go to Boston and burn it. He was to annoy and distress the English on the American coast, and finally he was to visit the English sugar islands in the West Indies and harass them.

The news that this mighty fleet—a second Armada—had sailed from Brest for North America startled New England and filled it with consternation. Such steps as were possible were taken for defence. The Massachusetts troops then on the march to Crown Point—for by this time the proposed capture of Quebec had been abandoned—were at once recalled; the country militia was mustered and within a few days 8000 of them crowded the streets of Boston.

Meanwhile, nothing could be done to reinforce Louisbourg. Shirley's New England levies had gone home after leaving nearly one thousand of their number there in graves, nameless and unmarked to this day. The garrison of British regulars was weak in numbers, having but two battalions and they much reduced in strength. The fortifications were in extremely bad order, for they were not yet completely repaired from the damage done in the siege the previous year. Further, a force from Quebec of 1700 Canadians and Indians was on the march to Chignecto, where it was to rendezvous and await the orders from the fleet when it arrived at Chebucto.

Thus, with an insufficient force in the shattered fortress of Louisbourg, with a crumbling and decayed fort at Annapolis Royal garrisoned by a mere handful of men, with no fleet to scout the western waters and to patrol the American shores, there seemed to be nothing to do but wait the inevitable destruction sure to follow the arrival of the French fleet. In the light of the facts as we know them, it is surely not too much to say that had d'Anville's fleet successfully crossed the ocean its objects could have been accomplished. Or, as one writer puts it, "the expedition sent from France possessed full power to attain the ends proposed." It can be seen that the destiny of this part of the world was involved in the success or failure of this expedition.

It was not until June 20th that d'Anville's fleet, fitted out in Rochelle, sailed from Brest. With the initial delay troubles began. The Bay of Biscay was rough and boisterous and spars, sails and bowsprits were carried away. Some of the fleet were dull sailors, and after a week at sea the rest were forced to shorten sail and wait for the laggards. In the longitude of the Azores there was a dead calm and the whole fleet lay idle for days. Then came a squall with lightning. Several ships were struck and many men killed. On one a box of cannon and musket cartridges blew up, killed ten men and wounded twenty-one. A store ship which proved to be sinking was abandoned and burned. And then, to crown all these misfortunes, came the tragedy of a dreadful pestilence which broke out in the fleet, so that in some of the ships there were more sick than in health.

So much had the expedition been delayed that it was not till September that they were nearing the coasts of Nova Scotia and in dread of the shoals of Sable Island. The ships groped their way through dense fogs and then a fearful storm burst upon them. One transport dashed against the ship "Amazon" and went down with all on board. The fleet was scattered far and wide, and when the morning came only five sail could be seen. D'Anville himself, in the "Northumberland," kept on and found himself at last in the harbour of Chebucto—the appointed rendezvous. He expected to find there four first class ships which had been detached to the West Indies and had been ordered to join him in that harbour. But Conflans, their commander, had arrived earlier in the

month, and finding no trace of d'Anville and his ships, had concluded not to wait and had sailed away for France. D'Anville must by this time have had many an anxious moment, for he knew that the two ships that reached Chebucto with the "Northumberland" were filled with sick and dying men, and besides, provisions were running short, for it was nearly three months since they had left Rochelle.

Suspense, anxiety and distress so wrought upon d'Anville's mind that upon the morning of 16-27th September he died of apoplexy, though there is a whisper in the chronicles of the time that he took poison.

The remainder of the tragic story must be hurried over. Destournelle succeeded to the command. At a council of war he urged that the remnant of the expedition should return at once to France, but this was opposed by the other commanders, for by this time a number of other ships had reached Chebucto. All agreed that an attack on Louisbourg was impracticable, but the projected capture of Annapolis Royal was thought possible and it was decided to make the attempt. Overcome with vexation and humiliation Destournelle committed suicide. To him succeeded La Jonquiere, later Governor-General of Canada, and he did his best to restore spirit to the fleet. Five ships were turned into hospitals for the sick. But as this measure did not stay the pestilence, ultimately all the crews of all the ships were camped on the shores of Bedford Basin. Whether the disease was in truth a pestilence, or more probably the then deadly ship fever, certain it is that over 1200 men were buried in the woods around Halifax Harbour—at Dartmouth, on George's Island and along Bedford Basin. The Indians, too, who crowded in to be of assistance, were infected and died by scores. One of our historians records that at the settlement of Halifax, three years later, bodies of French soldiers were found reclining against the trees with their muskets—man and weapon alike undergoing decomposition and decay.

A measure of health did return to the fleet, and after burning one of the hospital ships the shattered remnant of the fleet set sail on October 4th to make the attempt on Annapolis Royal. But sickness still continued, and some New England vessels, busy scouting and gathering information about the expedition, reported that "a great number of

dead were dropped into the sea every day." It must have been, therefore, with greatly demoralized crews that Jonquiere set forth to Annapolis. But again misfortune overtook them. Off Cape Sable a severe storm dispersed the ships, and some days after, when two of the ships looked into Annapolis Basin and found there a British ship—the "Chester" of 50 guns, and the Massachusetts frigate, the "Shirley"—it was concluded that attack was impossible and nothing remained to be done but to sail away for France, which was at last reached on December 7th after incredible hardships, including, it is said, the eating of human flesh to stay the pangs of hunger.

Thus ended the d'Anville expedition in total and absolute failure.

To return now to the query which should interest us in Cape Breton—Where was the Duke buried?

We have seen that on 28th September, 1746, his mortal remains—except his heart—were committed to the soil of Isle Raquette in Halifax Harbour. There they reposed until the late summer of 1747.

On 8th September, 1779, we and Des Herbiere, the Governor at Louisbourg—by that time returned to the French under the Treaty of Aix la Chappelle—reporting to the French minister in these words:

I have the honor to inform you that in the course of the conversation which M. Prevost and myself had with the English Governor, we often spoke of the late duc d'Anville and requested that the spot where he was buried should not be destroyed in the works which they were carrying on at Chebucto. He promised to write the General in charge in this part of the country and even to send his body to us should the exact burial spot be found, and if the remains were in a fit state to be transported, and this was accomplished. The vessel "Grand Esprit" brought the body here and he was given the military honors due to his rank and birth. I also gave him the same military honors when the body landed.

He is buried in the King's Chapel at the foot of the altar in the sanctuary, which chapel is being used as a parish church. M. Prevost did all that was possible to carry out a befitting funeral service. He arrived in the port and was inhumed on the 3rd September.

That Des Herbiere in all the matters reported had the approval of the Minister is evident from the following extract from a letter to the Governor and his Intendant, Prevost, dated 19th May, 1750: "His Majesty also has approved of

the reclamation which you have made of the body of the late M. le duc d'Anville, as well as of the honours you have rendered to him at the time of entombment in the King's Chapel at Louisbourg." And on the same date the Minister writes to Prevost, the Intendant, who would have to do particularly with any expenditures in that connection: "His Majesty has approved of such expenditures as you have made for the ceremonial burial which you have given to the body of M. le duc d'Anville."

It ought not to be difficult to reconstruct the scene which occurred on what was probably a fine early autumn day in Louisbourg in 1749.

Hopson, the English Governor, completed the transfer called for by the Treaty by delivering the keys of the fortress to Des Herbiere, the new French Governor, on 23rd July, and then sailed for Halifax with the garrison. Doubtless it was with Hopson that Des Herbiere had discussed the reburial of d'Anville on French soil, and doubtless it was Hopson who had written to Cornwallis, as Des Herbiere says, and doubtless all the preliminaries had been arranged to the perfect satisfaction of both parties.

It would have been pleasing to read that it was an English vessel that conveyed the remains to Louisbourg. But the fact was, the English were short of ships and the transfer of Louisbourg had been thereby delayed. The evacuation was to have been completed on 12th July, but four of the five transports only reached the port on the 13th. Then there was a huge quantity of military stores to be transported, and had not French vessels been loaned for the service there would have been further delay.

It may well be that "Le Grand Esprit" was freighted with stores on her voyage ^{to} Halifax. In any event her mission was known and her return ^{to} Halifax would be anxiously expected. She arrived on 3rd September and was received with thundering salutes from the guns of L'Isle de l'Entree, or, as we now call it, Battery Island. After the ship had passed the port channel these salutes would be repeated from the Grand Battery. And as the ship approached her anchorage in front of the sea wall more salutes would be fired from the Circular Battery, or rather from the Cavalier, for the English had not rebuilt the Circular Battery during their three

years' occupation. All the troops of the garrison would be drawn up to receive the body when it came on shore. A suitable carriage for the transfer of the coffin was on hand, and, accompanied by troops, the body was slowly and reverently borne through the crowded streets to the King's Chapel in the Citadel, which had been suitably draped for the ceremony. Here the solemn ritual of the church's burial service was performed and the mortal remains of the duc d'Anville finally committed to French soil.

This description is not imaginary nor fanciful, because we know that salutes were fired on the occasion. There is before me a copy of a return of the receipt and expenditure of ammunition into and from the magazines of Isle Royale from the transfer by the English on July 23rd, 1749, up to and including 1st September, 1751. Among the items on the expenditure side is 388 livres (or pounds of eighteen ounces) of powder "Pour les funerailles de feu M. le duc d'Enville," which I freely translate as salutes on the occasion of his funeral obsequies.

Another memorandum of expenditures made at Isle Royale from the time possession was taken in 1749 up to October 20th of that year shows these items:

1. Au S. Milly pour drap noir et autres fournitures pour l'enterement du corps de M. le Duc d'Enville, Lieutenant-General des armées du Roi, 546 l. 5s.
2. A Louis Logier pour une chaise pour le corps de feu M. le Duc d'Enville, 18 l.
3. Au Pere Athanaze Cure pour l'enterement et funerailles de M. le Duc d'Enville, 454 l.

Here, then, is evidence of the fact that the Chapel was draped, that the body was conveyed thither in a suitable carriage, and that the funeral service of the church was performed at the interment.

At this point the sad story of the d'Anville expedition might well end, but it seems appropriate to add, in order to make the narrative complete, that there is not a document or scrap of evidence available alleging, much less proving, that the body of the Duc was ever moved from its resting place in the King's Chapel. We do know, however, that within two weeks after the remnant of the expedition had reached France under the command of Jonquiere, the Minister wrote him

that at his discretion he was to deposit the heart of d'Anville either in the parish church of Port Louis or L'Orient.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that the body of the duc d'Anville lies to this day unmarked in the chapel at Louisbourg, where it was deposited with all befitting ceremonies on 3rd September, 1749.

It was a graceful gesture which prompted Canada to erect a suitable monument on the shores of Bedford Basin in commemoration of the sufferings and untimely death of so many sons of France there. That it was appreciated by France was shown by the presence on the occasion of its dedication of one of its finest war vessels, specially sent to take part.

The traditional chivalry of the English was not, to say the least, conspicuously displayed when they scuttled out of Louisbourg, having done their best to obliterate it and to destroy even the memory of it, and so left abandoned to the world the unmarked grave of this man and many other Frenchmen of high degree interred there. However, what it did not do in the case of its own children, dead in the service of their country from wounds or disease at Louisbourg, we could hardly expect it to do for men of an alien race.

It would, it seems to me, even at this late date, be truly appropriate for those in charge of the Louisbourg National Historic Park to make a determined and careful search for the Duke's place of sepulture, and assuming that place can be properly identified, to mark it with a tablet bearing a suitable inscription. Surely he is entitled to that much at our hands when we consider his illustrious birth, his high rank, his great talents, and his tragic and unparalleled misfortunes.

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[It is to be noted that on June 21st, 1932, workmen of the Department of the Interior at the Louisbourg National Historic Park, while carefully excavating on the site of the King's Chapel in the Citadel, uncovered the remains of a body believed to be that of the duc d'Anville. These remains were found not far below the present surface; there were traces of a wood coffin, and the place in which they were found was approximately "at the foot of the altar." The skeleton was that of a man of large stature, and the place itself and the remains have been thoroughly protected by a structure of concrete slabs.]



