ACADIA: THE PRE-LOYALIST MIGRATION AND THE PHILADELPHIA PLANTATION.*

BY WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELEE.

I.

ACADIA.†

In the nooks and crannies of colonial history repose records of a past thrown into deep shadow by the brilliancy of later events. Seldom disturbed except by local historians, the creation of subsequent political divisions, diverting interest along other channels, has made these dark corners even more obscure.

Especially true is this in connection with the history of Acadia, long neglected both in Canada and in the States, due to the prepondering influence, on the one hand, of the Loyalist migration; on the other, of the American Revolution.

Thanks to Mr. Longfellow and the English requirements in our secondary schools generations of girls and boys have grown to maturity with the idea that Acadia was an area somewhere near the Bay of Fundy, limited in extent by its waters and the forest primeval.

As a matter of fact it was some three years before King James granted a charter to the Virginia Company which resulted in the temporary settlement at Popham, on the Kennebec river in North Virginia, and the permanent settlement at Jamestown, that King Henry IV, of France, bestowed upon the Huguenot Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, seignorial rights

* A paper read at a meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, December 13, 1926.
together with hunting, fishing and trading privileges over the extensive territory of La Cadie, or Acadia, which if superposed upon a modern map would cover the region from Philadelphia to Montreal.

Early in the year 1606 the grant of King James I, of England, to the Virginia Company was made, and as it overlapped in generous measure the de Monts grant from King Henry IV, with the establishment of the English at Jamestown, the stage was set for some lively scenes to follow.

In 1604 de Monts, accompanied by Champlain and others, established his colony upon an island at the mouth of the St. Croix river. The merciless severity of the winter season was enough to discourage the colonists remaining alive in the Spring, and a new location was sought across the Bay of Fundy at Port Royal, now Annapolis Royal.

Because of the remonstrances of a group of Paris merchants de Monts did not long enjoy his monopoly, for the charter of La Cadie was revoked by King Henry in 1607.

Some six years later, Antoinette de Pons, Marquise de Guercheville, concluding that there ought to be a Christian mission in America, purchased what remaining rights de Monts might have had, and in addition obtained from the young King Louis XIII a grant of the Atlantic coast as far south as Florida. Plans for a Jesuit settlement on the Penobscot soon matured; but her colonists, some forty-five in number, fog bound near Mount Desert Island, planted their cross instead at Fernald's Point on the western side of the entrance to Somes Sound.

Here they were apprehended early in July, 1613, by Captain Samuel Argall, commissioned by a Virginia quarterly court the year before to remove the French who were settling without permission within the limits of North Virginia.
Argall speedily accomplished his purpose, firing the first shot in the long conflict between France and England for supremacy on the North American continent—a struggle not to terminate until early in September, 1760, when the Marquis de Vaudrieul surrendered to the victorious General Sir Jeffrey Amherst at Montreal.

More than seven years before the Leyden pilgrims signed the memorable compact in the cabin of the Mayflower Virginia’s chartered rights were successfully defended by the first Englishman to land on Mount Desert Island, who also destroyed the settlement at Port Royal.*

**NOVA SCOTIA APPEARS ON THE MAP.†**

With England in possession of Acadia a new charter issued to the Plymouth Company conferred territory extending from the fortieth to the forty-eighth parallel which included not only the original Acadia but a lot more in addition on the north. Out of this vast area King James, in 1621, set aside a considerable portion of the northern part as the province of New Scotland, or Nova Scotia, for Sir William Alexander, afterwards first Earl of Stirling.

It is to be noted that Nova Scotia was limited on the west by the St. Croix river—a definite physical boundary mentioned for the first time in an American grant. The Gorges and Mason grant was made the next year, afterwards to be divided by the Piscataqua river into

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* The author’s Mount Desert; The Story of Saint Sauveur, a paper read at a meeting of the Bangor (Me.) Historical Society, April 5, 1921; published in Sprague’s Journal of Maine History, 9:101, also Sir Samuel Argall, a paper read before the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Oct. 25, 1923; published in Sprague’s Journal, 12: 201.

New Hampshire and the Province of Maine, with the eastern limit of Maine fixed at the Kennebec river.

Hence the region between the Kennebec and the St. Croix, known as the Territory of Sagadahoc, was a sort of left over claimed by England as under the jurisdiction of the Council for New England which allotted Mount Desert Island to Sir Robert Mansell, Admiral of England, though the grant was never consummated, and by France maintained to be a portion of Acadia.

To the loss of Acadia France could not become reconciled; and during the time of King James made several unsuccessful attempts through diplomatic channels to regain possession. Some years later, with Quebec in possession of the English under Sir David Kirke, French affairs in America had become desperate.

Rising to the occasion and playing to the greed of Charles I who had married Henriette Marie, Duchesse d'Orléans, France strongly intimated that the English king might whistle for the unpaid half of his queen's dowry unless restitution be made of New France.

Hard gold to the amount of four hundred thousand crowns weighed the balance against English interests, and into the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 1632, went the clause effecting the transfer.

It was "Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries," never defined, which reverted, without mention of Sir William Alexander's Nova Scotia—Acadia, with an ambulatory western boundary, which even at this date had wandered from Philadelphia to the Kennebec river, and was destined later to travel even farther to the eastward.

In compensation for the loss of Nova Scotia Alexander's successor received the County of Canada, so called, extending from Pemaquid to the St. Croix, together with lands on Long Island Sound and else-
where; a transfer which years later was to add to the confusion in English official circles in regard to land titles between the Kennebec and the St. Croix rivers.

In Cromwell's time a powerful armament had been gathered in New England preparatory to an attack upon the Dutch at New Amsterdam, but news of the peace between England and Holland left these troops without an occupation. Instead of disbanding, acting under secret orders from Cromwell, so it has been said, they turned their attention to Acadia whose strongholds soon capitulated.

Again France threatened and argued, but all to no avail, for Cromwell was obdurate. He knew the importance of keeping this eastern region under the jurisdiction of England, and his answer to France was his grant of Acadia to Sir Thomas Temple and others, with Temple as governor.

The Commonwealth terminated; Charles II succeeded to the throne; more war, and another treaty of peace—this time of Breda—and as might have been expected with a Stuart king eager to propitiate Louis XIV, "Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries," never defined, was given back to France.

The English king was a merry joker as well as a merry monarch. But there was a certain grimness in the trick which he played upon Sir Thomas Temple, whom he ordered to vacate Pentagoët, or Castine, in Acadia, at the same time bestowing upon his brother James, Duke of York, lands in New England from Pemaquid to the St. Croix river, which was Alexander's County of Canada, now designated as the County of Cornwall, and known also as the Duke's Province.

Lands in those days could readily change their status; for when the Duke of York became King James II his province was thus a royal one—a dependency of Pemaquid, under the jurisdiction of the governor
of New York—later to be annexed to the government of New England.

But with the exiled James in seclusion at the chateau of St. Germain, his host, Louis XIV, signed documents at Versailles, in 1689, which put Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac in possession of a feudal grant of Acadia comprising some hundred thousand acres of land, including Mount Desert Island, lying well within the limits of the County of Cornwall, of which the Seigneur de Doïaquet et Monts Desèrts was deprived under the terms of the treaty of Utrecht.

THE CHARTER OF WILLIAM AND MARY AND SOME OF ITS RESULTS.

Many years having elapsed since the New Englanders had indulged in an attack upon the so called strongholds of Acadia, with William and Mary on the throne the time seemed propitious for the launching of an expedition for that purpose. Sir William Phips was the commander; and some of the earlier historians make almost as much of the fact that he was one of the youngest of his mother's twenty-six children as of Port Royal's falling an easy captive to his spirited assault.

The year 1691 was a memorable one in the annals of Massachusetts, for the colonial charter dating from 1629 was revoked, and the charter of William and Mary substituted. By it the Provinces of Maine, Acadia, or Nova Scotia, the Territory of Sagadahoc, and the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth were all combined into one by the name of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England; a move which did not please our Puritan ancestors.

Though the bounds of the newly erected province extended on the north to the St. Lawrence river, and on the east to include the peninsula of Nova Scotia, in the eyes of the New Englander the acquisition of
these great wilderness spaces was in no sense commensurate with his loss of personal liberties.

King William’s War was terminated by the treaty of Ryswick which brought about more of a truce between England and France than a peace. One article of the treaty provided for a mutual restitution of “all territories, islands, forts, and colonies, wherever situated” to the powers which possessed them before the war; or in the now well known phrase—Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries, never defined, reverted once more to France.

The seventeenth century closes with France still contending that Acadia extends westward to the Kennebec river, and the English equally determined in claiming possession eastward to the St. Croix. The eighteenth century opens with war clouds gathering on the horizon of England and France, and in Queen Anne’s War the capture of Port Royal by Nicholson was an outstanding feature.

By the treaty of Utrecht Acadia did not revert to France, for England was now strong enough to dictate terms. Port Royal was renamed Annapolis Royal, and remains to this day under the British flag. But it was “Acadia or Nova Scotia” that was ceded to England—an instance of glaring ignorance or indifference on the part of the English members of the Utrecht commission who could permit the use of a wrong conjunction when the text of the treaty should have read Acadia and Nova Scotia.

Confusion caused by this slip in language was serious and far reaching in consequences. When the Norridgewock Indians, on the east bank of the Kennebec, remonstrated with emissaries from Quebec because their lands had been ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht, they were told that this was not true; that no disposition of territory west of the St. Croix had been made.
Angered by the encroachments of English settlers east of the Kennebec, and spurred on by Vaudrieul, governor of Quebec, the Indians were soon on the war path; and the outcome of Father Rale's War is too well known to warrant repetition. In a word, from the French viewpoint of expediency the western boundaries of both Nova Scotia and Acadia were now coincident.

On the other hand, in the Journals of the British Board of Trade,* under date of July 6, 1756, it is recorded that a petition was read from Samuel Waldo, of Boston, in New England, praying that the Board would recommend to his Majesty "to make him a Grant of all the Lands in the Province of Nova Scotia lying between the Rivers Penobscot and St. John, bounded on the north by the St. Lawrence River and on the south by the Ocean."

The petition was refused, not because a large part of the territory requested comprised almost all of what is now Eastern Maine, which never was a part of Nova Scotia, though of Acadia, but because of "the Inconveniences and Mischiefs which have so frequently arisen from the making of Grants of exorbitant quantities of land in America."

A somewhat complicated situation arose relative to Pemaquid,† which lies east of the Kennebec but west of the Penobscot, when Thomas Coram attempted to put into practice his scheme for settling lands between the Kennebec and the St. Croix rivers.

Thirty men, under command of David Dunbar, were sent from Nova Scotia to occupy the fort at Pemaquid

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* Manuscript copy, Journals of the Board of Trade, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to which frequent reference has been made in the preparation of this paper.
and to promote settlement; an act of which the Pemaquid proprietors complained to Governor Belcher, of Massachusetts, who issued a proclamation enjoining the inhabitants of the region to remain in their allegiance to his province.

Dunbar, however, maintained that "all the lands to the eastward of the river Kennebec were deemed to be Nova Scotia when it was proposed to settle them, and had been included in Gov. Philips' commission."

The situation was relieved by an order in council, made upon a representation of the proprietors of the eastern lands, declaring jurisdiction to be with Massachusetts (May 4, August 2 and 10, 1732). Dunbar withdrew and a Massachusetts garrison was placed in the Pemaquid fort.

Even more notable is the long drawn out controversy in regard to the right of Massachusetts to originate land grants between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers, precipitated by the grant of Mount Desert Island by the General Court of Massachusetts, in February of 1762, to Governor Francis Bernard.

The charter of William and Mary, though extending the boundaries as already noted, made it obligatory upon the Province of Massachusetts to obtain the approbation of the sovereign before granting any territory east of the Penobscot. For a period of more than sixty years not even the most venturesome of settlers cared to dwell in a region where property was insecure and life uncertain.

But towards the close of the French and Indian War the situation changed; the General Court of Massachusetts, deluged with petitions for land between the Penobscot and St. Croix, provided for twelve townships east of the Penobscot before a violation of the charter of William and Mary was sensed.

It is a striking coincidence that at this juncture
Governor Bernard,* for reasons not necessary here to state, should have been inveigled into asking for Mount Desert Island. A resolve in his favor immediately passed the General Court; but when the approbation of George III was sought the somewhat startling information was forthcoming from John Pownal, secretary of the Board of Trade, that the Massachusetts title to lands east of the Penobscot was not valid since the territory belonged to Nova Scotia.

To further complicate the situation Governor Bernard’s petition to accept the grant met with a collision in the Privy Council with one from the heirs of the Earl of Stirling† praying that they be put in possession of the County of Canada, as it had not been sold years before with the Long Island properties to James, Duke of York, so they claimed, but had come into his possession “by design or otherwise.”

William Alexander, of Baskenridge, New Jersey, claimant of the Earldom of Stirling, went so far as to advertise lands for sale on east Penobscot Bay; but his real estate boom was frustrated by a proclamation of Governor Bernard warning of defective title.

After years of discussion and discouragement Bernard finally won; though it was not until the year 1771 when he was two years back in England that the question of title was settled, with the Mount Desert grant approved and confirmed “without prejudice to the right of the Crown in and over the Territory of Sagadahock.”

Subsequent events testify to the importance of this decision; and if a digression may be pardoned it will be recalled that just before the close of the Revolutionary War, with the British in possession of Castine,

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* The author’s Sir Francis Bernard and His Grant of Mount Desert, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 24:197.
it was proposed to establish the Loyalist province of New Ireland in this eastern region. The King and the Privy Council approved, but the Attorney General, ruling that such an act would constitute a violation of the sacredness of the Massachusetts charter, the project was abandoned.

In spite of it all "Acadia or Nova Scotia," a heritage from the Utrecht treaty, persisted as synonymous terms in the mind of British officialdom even after the Revolutionary War had been fought.

During the preliminary discussions which finally resulted in the treaty of Paris, 1783, the British commissioners contended that the Kennebec river should form the international north-eastern boundary. To this the American commissioners would not listen; and it later transpired that if the Kennebec claim should prove untenable, the British members had their instructions to agree on the Penobscot as the boundary, and to hold fast there.

A suspension of the negotiations resulting, John Adams* called upon Count Gravier de Vergennes, the French intermediary, showed him, among other documents bearing on the boundary question, papers relating to the confirmation of Bernard's grant of Mount Desert Island, and added that if the British would but put their Penobscot claim in writing it would be answered accordingly.

This was not done; and by the treaty of Paris the boundary between what is now the Dominion of Canada and the United States was determined at the St. Croix river, the western boundary of Sir William Alexander's Nova Scotia, at the mouth of which upon a little island in 1604, under letters patent from King Henry of Navarre, dwelt for a time the colonists of Sieur de Monts, original grantee of Acadia.

* Diary of John Adams under date of Nov. 10, 1782.
THE PRE-LOYALIST MIGRATION.*

The French inhabitants refused to take the oath of allegiance when the ship of war, Caulfield, visited the St. Croix for the purpose of proclaiming King George I the lawful sovereign of Acadia; and for almost forty years British jurisdiction over "Acadia or Nova Scotia" was merely nominal.

The founding of Halifax in 1749—in reality, more of a military move than one of colonization—brought several thousand people of English stock to the shores of Chebucto Harbor; with the exception of a few scattered garrisons, the only British on the peninsula peopled for the most part by Indians and French. For them, safety or security did not exist beyond the range of the garrisons' ordnance.

In high official circles it was impossible for the British and the French to approach a mutual understanding in regard to the ridiculously worded declaration in the Utrecht treaty ceding "all of Nova Scotia or Acadia comprised in its ancient limits, as also the city of Port Royal" to Great Britain.


What Acadia had been, with ancient boundaries never defined; what Acadia was in Queen Anne's time; what Nova Scotia was in the days of Sir William Alexander, and what it was when the commissioners met to interpret the terms of cession under the treaty of Utrecht were problems which defied solution.*

The English, on the one hand, claimed that *Nova Scotia* included all of the present province of New Brunswick, the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and Eastern Maine; while on the other hand, the French insisted that all territory north of the Bay of Fundy, including New Brunswick, and a portion of the east coast of Nova Scotia belonged to them as *Acadia,* and would be held until the "true limits of Acadia in New France had been regulated by the two crowns."

The delicate experiment of transforming a hostile French population into British subjects would not function; and to make matters worse, the French had erected Fort Beauséjour about a mile and a half from

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* "The extent of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadie, according to the notion the Britains have of it is from the limits of the Government of Massachusetts Bay in New England, or Kennebec River —to Cape de Roziers on the South side of the entrance to the River of St. Lawrence,—and its breadth extends from the Easternmost part of the Island of Cape Breton to the South side of the River of St. Lawrence."—Letter of Paul Mascurene, engineer, transmitted to the Lords of Trade. By Gov. Philipps, 1720. Nova Scotia Archives, 39.

In regard to French officers commanding at stations on the St. John river, La Jonquière, governor of Canada, in a letter to Gov. Cornwallis, dated at Quebec, Oct. 25, 1749, states that "they have orders to maintain their positions and to prevent the formation by you, of any establishments there until the true limits of Acadia in New France have been regulated by the two crowns; and until then I am quite right in observing to you, Sir, that you cannot maintain with so much precision that the coast of the river St. John belongs to the King of Great Britain."

To which Cornwallis, in a letter dated at Halifax, Nov. 1, 1749, made reply: "Notwithstanding the proofs which you think you can give to the contrary, I am quite right in maintaining that the whole coast of St. John and those places into which you write to me that you are sending detachments, are comprised in Nova Scotia."—Nova Scotia Archives, 374.
the village of Beaubassin, on the isthmus of Chignecto, which lay partly on the French and partly on the peninsula side.

In 1755 Beauséjour fell to an English attack, and in September of that year the Acadians were removed from their farms and scattered throughout the colonies.

Immediately after the expulsion Governor Lawrence was concerned with the problem of repeopling the vacated lands. Massachusetts soldiers to whom grants were offered, did not care to remain in Nova Scotia; and although notice was given that settlers from the older British colonies would be welcomed, so unsettled were conditions that no eagerness to occupy the lands was shown.

Communications upon the subject of settlement passed between Lawrence and the Board of Trade; but it was impossible to obtain results for reasons set forth in a letter from their Lordships, dated at Whitehall, March 10, 1757.*

"We entirely agree in opinion with you," they wrote, "that in the present Situation of things and vexed and harassed as the Province is by the Hostilities of the French and Indians, it will be vain to attempt to induce hardy and industrious people to leave Possessions which perhaps they may enjoy in peace in other Colonies, to come and settle in a Country where they must be exposed to every distress and Calamity which the most inveterate Enemy living in the Country and knowing every Pass and Corner of it can subject them to and therefore we do not desire nor mean to press this measure upon you further than the Circumstances of the Province & of the times will admit of."

Another deterrent to migration was the arbitrary

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* Nova Scotia Archives, 722.

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form of Nova Scotian government, vested entirely in
governor and council.* This in his communications to
the Board of Trade, Lawrence would not concede, add-
ing in one of his letters, after a visit to Boston, "that
to the want of a House of Representatives it was prin-
cipally owing that the evacuated lands were not al-
ready settled the more I enquired into the truth of
such reports the better I became convinced that they
were without the least foundation."

This letter, dated November 9, 1757, contains an
interesting allusion to the New Englanders as a people
"whose notions of liberty and of Government your
Lordships are too well acquainted with to need any
account of them from me."

But the agitation for a representative government,
precipitated by a group of New Englanders at Halif-
xax, and sponsored by the home government, gathered
momentum; and on October 2, 1758, there was held at
Halifax the first legislative assembly in Nova Scotia.

Ten days later Governor Lawrence issued a procla-
mation inviting immigration to the "One Hundred
Thousand Acres of intervale Plow-Lands producing
Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, Hemp, Flax, &c. These have
been cultivated for more than a Hundred Years past,
and never fail of Crops, nor need manuring."

In addition, attention was called to "more than One
Hundred Thousand Acres of Upland, cleared and
stocked with English Grass, planted with Orchards,

* With reference to an assembly "their Lordships" wrote to Lawrence
(Whitehall, Feb. 7, 1758): "We have fully considered the part of your
Letter, which relates to the calling of an Assembly . . . it only now
remains for us to direct its being carried into immediate execution,
that His Majesty's Subjects (great part of whom are alleged to have
quit the Province on account of the great discontent prevailing for
want of an Assembly) may no longer be deprived of that privilege
which was promised them by His Majesty, when the settlement of this
Colony was first undertaken, and was one of the Conditions upon which
they accepted the Proposals then made." Id. 725.
Province of the
Massachusetts-Bay. 
Boston, October 31, 1758.
As is following, Proclamation being published, in
Nova Scotia, and transmitted to this Government,
was read in Council, and ordered to be published in this
Province.

Tho's Clarke, U. Sec'y

By His Excellency,
CHARLES LAWRENCE, Esq.
Captain-General and Governor in Chief in and over
His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia,
in America. Vice-Admiral of the same, &c. &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.
WHEREAS by the late Success of His
Majesty's Arms in the Reduction of Cape-Breton,
and its Dependencies, as also by the Demolition
and entire Destruction of Gaspe, Memiche, and other
French settlements, situated in the Gulf of St. Law-
terence, and on St. John's River in the Bay of Fundy,
the Ennemy, who have formerlyoplaced and harried
the Province of Nova Scotia, and much obstructed
its Progress, have been compelled to retire and take
Asylum in Canada, a favorable Opportunity now pres-
ting, of the people and cultivating, as well the Land
so fared by the French, as every other Part of this
vast Province;
I HAVE therefore thought fit, with the Advice of
His Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation,
declaring that I shall be ready to receive any Proposals
that may be hereafter made to me, for effectually sett-
ing the said vacant, or any other Lands within the
Province aforesaid; A Description whereof, and of the
Advantages arising from their peculiar Nature and Sit-
uation, I have ordered to be published with this Pro-
clamation.

written in the Council Chamber at Halifax, this Twelfth
Day of October 1758, and in the 32d Year of His
Majesty's Reign.

By His Excellency's Com-
mand, with the Advice of
His Majesty's Council,

JOSEPH Dufart, Sec: Turst.

O GOD use the KING,

A DESCRIPTION of the Lands ordered to be
published pursuant to the foregoing Proclamation;
which consist of upwards of One Hundred Thousand
Acres of Interval Plow-Land, producing Wheat, Rye,
Rye, Oat, Hemp, Flax, &c. There have been cultivated
more than a Hundred Years, and never fail of
Grains, nor need manuring.

Also more than One Hundred Thousand Acres of
Table-land, clear'd and Rock'd with English Grains,
planted with Orchards, Gardens, &c. These Lands, with
good Husbandry, produce often, two Loads of Hay
per Acre.

The wild and unimproved Lands adjoining to the
above, are well timber'd and wooded, with Beach,
Birch, Ash, Oak, Pine, &c.

All such Lands are to be measured on the
Firth, and may have a proportionable Quantity of Plow-
Land, Grass-Land, and Wood-Land; and are all
fertile about the Bay of Fundy, upon Rivers navigable
for ships of war.

PROPOSALS will be received by Mr. Hancock of
Boston, and Mr. Meffrs De Lancey and Watts of
New-York, to be transmitted to the Governor, or
written to the Lieutenant-Governor, or Pres-
ident of the Council at Halifax.
Acadia.

Gardens, &c., and "situated about the Bay of Fundy, upon Rivers navigable for Ships of Burthen."

It has been said that Lawrence exaggerated somewhat the amount of cleared lands; and of the text of his proclamation Haliburton offers the somewhat cryptic comment: "Flattering, but faithful."

As the document of October 12th was silent upon everything but the quality of the land, Lawrence was urged to state in explicit terms the nature of the constitution, the extent of the franchise, and the guarantees of civil and religious liberties. This he did in a second proclamation, dated January 11, 1759, not inaptly termed the charter of Nova Scotia.

The ready response to the second proclamation belies the contention that the lack of a constitutional assembly had no influence on migration; for almost immediately companies of prospective immigrants were formed in New England and elsewhere, agents appointed to visit Nova Scotia and to critically view the lands offered for settlement.

Within three months five men,† the vanguard of many more to follow, representing over three hundred people in Connecticut and a number in Rhode Island, arrived in Halifax. Before their departure the official forms of the land grants were drawn up, and these first comers, having their choice, selected their holdings bordering on the Basin of Minas, near the Gaspereau river.

Other grants in various parts of the province were drawn up in quick succession, and it is of interest to note that most of the early settlers on the vacated lands of the French were Congregationalists from Puritan New England.

* Published in the Boston Gazette, No. 188, Nov. 6, 1758; copied from the original in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

† Major Robert Denison, Joseph Otis, Jonathan Harris, and James Fuller from Connecticut; John Hicks from Rhode Island. (Murdock, History of Nova Scotia, 2: 364.)
A detailed account of their migration would be worth while, but Governor Lawrence's convincing summary of the situation in a speech before the Assembly, August 1, 1759, will serve for the moment.

"Very extensive tracts of the vacated lands on the Banks of the Bay of Fundy," said the Governor, "have been lately granted away to Industrious and substantial Farmers, applications for more are crowding in upon me faster than I can prepare the grants, and I make no doubt but that the well peopling of the whole will keep pace with our warmest and most rapid wishes."

An illustration of the zeal displayed by Lawrence in promoting settlement in his province is found in an address* to him in the Assembly on December 5, 1759. Herein mention is made of the grateful sense of his paternal care in the wise and prudent steps he had taken "to engage such great numbers of substantial and reputable Protestant families from the neighboring colonies to settle on the vacated lands and other lands of this province which your Excellency has been enabled to effect by rightly improving the favorable opportunity which the success of His Majesty's Arms has afforded."

The Board of Trade had intended that these lands should be given as a reward to officers and soldiers disbanded at the peace. But Lawrence had a decidedly poor opinion of disbanded soldiers as prospective settlers, and he did not propose to have the fertile lands of the Acadians occupied to the exclusion of the New England planters.

His letters upon the subject were before the Board of Trade on February 20, 1760, and referred to in the Journal as "in answer to their Lordships' Letter of the 1st of August last, and in justification of his Con-

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* Nova Scotia Archives, 740.
duct in passing Grants of part of the evacuated Lands without waiting for further Orders from hence."

On the following March 5, with Nova Scotian affairs under discussion, the Journal notes that "the Secretary laid before their Lordships an order of His Majesty in Council approving a Representation of this Board upon the proceedings of the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia in granting out Lands in that Province evacuated by the Removal of the French Inhabitants and ordering the said Governor and Council to carry out the Measures into effectual Execution upon the Terms proposed."

As already noted, Lawrence had been putting his measures into effectual execution for some time past, and the provincial records testify that a tide of immigration was setting towards Nova Scotia, which, from New England, was to assume the proportions of an exodus. New England historians ignore this migratory movement, though brief references* to it are to be found in a few town histories; and comment by Canadian writers has been reserved until fairly recently.

It was early in May, 1760, that the first of the New England planters, as they have been called, arrived in Nova Scotia—forty-five families from Connecticut—who settled in the regions of Annapolis, Minas, and

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* History of Nantucket, Obed Macy, Boston (1835), 55; History of New London, Conn., Frances M. Caulkins (1852), 470; History of Norwich, Conn., also by Miss Caulkins (1866), 309.

"For Menis or Chignecto, the Sloop Defiance, Obadiah Ayer, Master." New London Summary, Aug. 1760. (History of Norwich, 309.) In a single trip 137 settlers were carried to Nova Scotia from New London county. (Id.)

Eaton, History of King's County, N. S., 71, states that nine tenths of the earliest settlers in King's were from eastern Connecticut towns: New London, Norwich, Saybrook, Colchester, Lebanon, Lyme. They settled at Horton and Cornwallis, granted May 21, 1759; Falmouth, granted July 21, 1759; Newport, set off from Falmouth, 1761, and Windsor, 1764.
Piziquid. They were followed later in the same month by thirty-five settlers in the sloop Sally, Jonathan Lovett, master, and twenty-three more in the sloop Lydia, Samuel Toby, master, who made the trip from Newport, Rhode Island, to Falmouth.

During the month of June, 1760, a fleet of some twenty vessels, under convoy, brought many families from Connecticut to Cornwallis; and Captain Rogers from New London in charge of six transports brought settlers for Horton. So great was the desire on the part of so many people who had been induced to become subscribers that scores were left behind for lack of accommodation.*

Closely following the land agents from Connecticut who were at Halifax in April, 1759, were others from numerous New England communities. In July, 1759, Cumberland township was erected; and by the year 1763 sixty-five families of Rhode Island emigrants and of disbanded soldiers had taken up land on the isthmus of Chignecto.†

Though the people from Connecticut and Rhode Island were the first to apply for the Acadian farms, settling principally at Cornwallis, Horton, Sackville, and Cumberland, they were followed almost simultaneously by immigrants from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, with a few from Maine.

As early as July, 1759, a schooner under the command of Captain Robert Gowan left Boston for Chester, where land was allotted to sixty five grantees of the province of Massachusetts Bay.‡

Grants at Annapolis were also made in 1759, and Henry Evans, of Sudbury, Massachusetts, chartered

* At this time a grant of land at Lunenburg was made to 260 proprietors from Connecticut, but abandoned after a few months and subsequently granted to Germans and others. Cf. DesBrisay, History of Lunenburg County, 181.
† Records of Chignecto, 35, 36, Nova Scotia Historical Soc., Coll. vol. 15, articles not paged consecutively.
‡ DesBrisay, History of Lunenburg County, 256.
the Charming Molly, Captain Grow, master, which cleared with a large company for Annapolis Royal, arriving there on June 25, 1760.*

In the Spring of 1761, some forty families with their cattle, other stock and utensils were transported, at government expense, from eastern New England to Chester, about half of them settling at Liverpool, the others at Amherst.†

The first grant in the vicinity of Yarmouth‡ was made in September, 1759, one hundred of the hundred and thirty odd grantees being from New England. A second grant was issued about a year later, and between 1760 and 1763 eighty families from Cape Cod and Nantucket took up homestead lots at Barrington; others followed from Cape Cod and north shore coast towns of Massachusetts, and in 1767 a new grant of Barrington was issued to one hundred and two persons, all of them settlers.

The year 1761 saw many planters and fishermen from the same localities on Yarmouth township grants, thus introducing into the southwestern part of Nova Scotia numerous lineal descendants of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins whose affairs of the heart—again thanks to Mr. Longfellow—are as well known as the misfortunes of Gabriel and Evangeline.

Governor Lawrence, it will be recalled, made many

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* Calnek-Savary, History of Annapolis County, 160.
† Murdock, History of Nova Scotia, 2: 403.
‡ Among the early settlers of Yarmouth, 1762, was George Ring from Kingston, Mass., whose ancestry traces back to Andrew Ring, at Plymouth, Mass. 1629; m. Deborah, dau of Stephen Hopkins of the Mayflower. Also Lemuel Bartlett, from Plymouth, Mass. to Yarmouth, 1773; descendant of Robert Bartlett who came in the Ann, 1623; m. Mary, dau of Richard Warren of the Mayflower. Also Nathan Weston from Plympton, Mass. to Yarmouth, 1766; immigrant ancestor Edmund Weston, at Boston, 1635, rem. to Duxbury; s. Edmund m. Rebecca, dau of George Soule of the Mayflower; grandson Edmund m. Desire, dau of Alexander and Sarah Alden Standish, grand dau of Myles and Rose Standish on father’s side, and on mother’s, of John and Priscilla Mullins Alden.
grants of the cleared Acadian lands without orders from "their Lordships" who wished them reserved for disbanded soldiers. Some of his arguments in justification of his conduct were that soldiers made but indifferent settlers, and that, moreover, there was plenty of good land along the St. John river which could be utilized for soldiers' grants.

The garrison at Fort Frederick, on the Carleton side at the mouth of the St. John, was composed almost entirely of Massachusetts men from Essex county. When the migration from New England to Nova Scotia began these soldiers decided to form a colony in the vicinity. In 1761, one of their number, Captain Francis Peabody, was sent to Halifax to ask for a township survey; and in the Journals of the Board of Trade, under date December 16, 1763, reference to a "memorial of Francis Peabody and other disbanded officers for lands on the river St. John, where they have made settlement," is found.

A township* of 100,000 acres was accordingly granted to Francis Peabody and his associates, "for their accommodation and such others as shall come to join them in that settlement."

But before the grant to the Essex county soldiers could be perfected a party of thirty-one men on board the schooner Wilmont, William Storey, master, set sail from Newburyport on April 10, 1762, en route to

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David Hersey from Plymouth, Mass. to Yarmouth, 1763; his son David m. Jan. 4, 1774, Desire Weston, dau of Nathan, thus making his children descendants of Myles and Rose Standish, John and Priscilla Alden, George Soule, and Richard Warren. Cf. Brown, History of Yarmouth 164. All of which adds weight to the statement of Sir John Bourinot (Builders of Nova Scotia), who says: "No better class probably could have been selected to settle Nova Scotia than the American immigrants. The majority of whom were descended from the Puritans who settled in New England and some were actually descended from the men and women who landed from the Mayflower."

the mouth of the St. John river, reaching their destination eight days later.*

The ultimate result of the Wilmont's voyage was the permanent settlement here—the present city of St. John, New Brunswick—by Simonds, Hazen, and White, and the establishment of township 109, some twelve miles down the river from what is now Fredericton, by families from Rowley, Boxford, Byfield, Ipswich and Marblehead who came, some in 1763 in a packet sloop, Captain Newman, master, and others the next year in several vessels one of which was in command of Captain Howe.

Unfortunately, there was at the outset a dispute in regard to the lands; for Nova Scotia could not give a clear title to the Massachusetts emigrants since the home government, as already indicated, had here made reservations for former soldiers who had been stationed at Fort Frederick.

Through the efforts of Joshua Mauger, employed as London agent, matters were finally arranged satisfactorily and title obtained. In grateful appreciation, the new settlement was named in his honor, Maugerville. A survey made in October, 1765, by Charles Morris, indicates sixty five heads of families resident or represented on tract 109—the towns of Maugerville and Sheffield, Sunbury county—known as the Maugerville grant.†

More might be said about the movement from New

† Among the list of settlers on this grant the following surnames are found: Barker, Burpee, Esty, Garrison, Hart, Howard, Jewett, Palmer, Peabody, Perley, Russell, Saunders, Smith, Stickney, Upton. William Lloyd Garrison's grandfather, Joseph Garrison, and his great grandfather, Daniel Palmer, were original grantees.
England to Nova Scotia, including other districts partly cleared by the Acadians or never occupied by them, which came within the sphere of action of the Pre-Loyalist migration.

**Population of Nova Scotia.**

*Based upon a return of the several townships.*

*January 1, 1767.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>American</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amherst</td>
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<td>123</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annapolis</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>513</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barrington</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>376</td>
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<td>Blandford</td>
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<td>Cape Breton</td>
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<td>727</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
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<td>334</td>
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<td>Dublin</td>
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<td>Newport</td>
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<td>Onslow</td>
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<td>Sackville</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. John Is. (Prince Edward)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>519</td>
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<tr>
<td>Truro</td>
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<td>301</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilmont</td>
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<td>Windsor</td>
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<td>243</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yarmouth</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John River &amp; Cape Sable</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**6,913** **13,374**

The extent to which people from the older British colonies in America took up land prior to 1767 is shown in the foregoing tabulation in which those listed as "American" were, for the greater part, from New England.

It is a mistake to suppose that many of the former New Englanders left the province at the outbreak of the Revolution. Relatively speaking, the number in Cumberland county in sympathy with the Colonies was small; and although it has been estimated that there were about two hundred whose loyalty to Great Britain was in question, only about sixty men joined Colonel Jonathan Eddy in his unsuccessful attack upon Fort Cumberland, formerly Beauséjour. Upon defeat they left hurriedly, some appearing at Machias and at Mount Desert; and later, others received grants of land at Eddington, on the Penobscot river.

The Maugerville settlers* petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for aid; but it cannot be said that any number of them bore arms either for or against the Continentals; and though the ringleaders were apprehended and imprisoned, the British government treated them with leniency.

The liberality displayed in Nova Scotia land grants to settlers from Connecticut and Rhode Island who were removed at public expense, "united to cause among the majority of people a grateful feeling towards the crown that would hardly suffer them to scrutinize too minutely the principles of the obnoxious acts of parliament."†

In tracing New England influences in the history

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* The St. John, N. B. Globe for Sept. 18, 1926, gives an account of the dedication of a monument at Sheffield (Maugerville grant) to the memory of the New England pioneers who founded the first Protestant church in what is now New Brunswick, which did not enter the United Church of Canada until 1925.

of Nova Scotia it appears that the region to the westward of the Intercolonial Railway has been largely dominated by New England; while the eastern section is principally Scottish; and "that the Congregational church and their descendants still show marked traces of the character of New England Puritanism.”

A Canadian historian† has pointed out that the Pre-Loyalist migration was one of the most important events in the history of the province of Nova Scotia; that it has been confused with the Loyalist migration which it preceded by nearly a quarter of a century; "which in influence on the political and industrial development of what is now Nova Scotia it undoubtedly surpassed.”

Or, as Sam Slick‡ once said to the Judge during one of his many disquisitions "about us and the bluenoses" —"a pretty considerable share of Yankee blood in them too, I tell you; the old stock comes from New England, and the breed is tolerable pure yet, near about one half apple sauce, and tother half molasses, all except to the Eastward where there is a cross of the Scotch.”

PHILADELPHIA LAND COMPANIES IN NOVA SCOTIA.

Governor Lawrence died on October 19, 1760, in the fifty-first year of his age. Whatever his shortcomings —and he has received his deserts because of his con-

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* History of St. Matthews Church, Halifax, Collections, Nova Scotia Historical Society, 16:149.
† Dr. David Allison, president of Mt. Allison University, Sackville, N. B.; superintendent of Education, Nova Scotia; member of Nova Scotia Historical Society; author of many historical papers of inestimable value.
‡ Thomas Chandler Haliburton, “Sam Slick” (1796-1865), emigrant ancestor Andrew Haliburton, from Scotland to Boston in early part of 18th century. Of Loyalist descent on his mother’s side, Judge Haliburton traces back on father’s side to the Otis family of Scituate, and to the Littles of Marshfield. His grandfather, William Haliburton, removed from Newport, R. I. to Windsor, N. S., early settler.
connection with the expulsion of the Acadians—it is noteworthy that the initiative which he took in the formulation of a colonizing plan that the evacuated lands might be repeopled was justified.

His last communication to the Board of Trade, noted in the Journal, November 5, 1760, mentions "that the settlement goes on well." But there soon came a time under his successor, Montague Wilmont, when all did not go on well. Speculation ran wild; and there followed a period which has been characterized as a veritable carnival of land grabbing.

By the close of the year 1765 so enormous and so numerous had been the grants, and in some cases to irresponsible persons, that such proceedings were severely criticised; and of this period Murdock* says: "Reflecting on the very large land grants sanctioned by Colonel Wilmont and his Council, I cannot help thinking it was an ugly year, and the growth of the province was long retarded by the rashness of giving forest lands away from the power of the crown or the people in such large masses."

Interest in the speculative phase of Nova Scotia lands was wide spread; and among the lists of grantees, together with the names of Cape Cod fishermen and Connecticut farmers are those of Philadelphia capitalists, British statesmen, royal governors, and members of the nobility.

The New England migration proved successful for those directly concerned as settlers; the same cannot be said in regard to the non-resident proprietors. Several of the early grants were escheated and other grants issued over the same lands; while in certain instances properties were disposed of at sheriffs' sale, to be bid in by the settlers themselves.

Frequent mention is found in the Journals of the

Board of Trade relating to Nova Scotia lands requested by "Alexander McNutt* and his associates," while in the records of the Privy Council, June 5, 1766, it is stated that "the Governor of Nova Scotia has informed the Board of Trade that in the other less sparsely populated colonies associations have been formed for making settlements in Nova Scotia and has sent an account of lands requested by those Companies."

In a previous letter† to the Board it was stated that several persons from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and some of the neighboring colonies had arrived in Nova Scotia, and that there was good prospect that the province would soon be peopled by the accession of many settlers from those parts. That these were the expressions of an optimist and far from realization can soon be proved.

Some of McNutt's associates were represented by John Hughes, merchant, farmer, and iron master; and a letter‡ written by Hughes to McNutt, dated at Philadelphia, May 29, 1764, contains some interesting in-

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* McNutt, a Virginian, was invited by Lawrence to procure settlers, 1760, and through his efforts hundreds of families in the older provinces were induced to remove to Nova Scotia. In 1761 his further plans were laid before the Board of Trade which reported favorably, but upon arrival in Nova Scotia he found that the necessary orders had not been transmitted to the governor. He also brought many Irish to the province until restrained by the government. For several years memorials of his were before the Board of Trade setting forth damages and losses sustained because his engagements had not been confirmed by the government; praying for relief and compensation. Cf. Col. Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlement of Nova Scotia, W. O. Raymond, Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, 5, section 2, 23-115.

† April 30, 1765, from Lieut-Governor to Board of Trade; quoted in Patterson's History of Pictou, 47. Original reference is found in the Journals of the Board of Trade under date June 5, 1766, MS copy, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

‡ Swedish Holsteins in America, Mrs. Anna M. Holstein, Norristown, Pa., 1892. (Holstein Family History), 272.
formation concerning difficulties met with in their Nova Scotia venture.

Hughes having received advertisements in regard to Nova Scotia settlement, together with certain directions and orders, informed his friends and acquaintances, in Philadelphia and vicinity, of the land schemes inviting them to participate.

"Whereupon," to quote from the letter, "several persons of Merit and fortune undertook at my Instance to engage Settlers for the Colony of Nova Scotia and have on the Strength of my Engagements and Letters procured Great Numbers to put themselves in a Posture for Removing this Spring and many are now and have been some time past on Expences to their Great Disappointment and Damages So that Some of them are Determined to go Elsewhere."

Hughes was thus placed in a somewhat unenviable position, for he adds: "But all threaten to Arrest me, and Some I believe will, and I make no Doubt will Recover Considerable Damages as many put themselves out of Business in the way of their Trades, and many others Sold or Gave up their little farms, being freely persuaded of the truth of our Information."

In the matter of reservations for the several so called companies in which Hughes and McNutt were interested speed and effectual methods were urged, with a demand for an account of the transactions as soon as perfected, in order that the prospective settlers might be informed, whom Hughes says were ready to tear him to pieces, and not without cause.

Then follows a tirade against McNutt for going "home to Britain" after entering into engagements which he had not fulfilled, leaving Hughes a sacrifice to the people and "his character as an honest man Call'd in Question." Then threat of a lawsuit for breach of contract, toned down somewhat by an expression of hope that McNutt will, upon his arrival
fully come up to his agreement and the purport of his advertisements.

McNutt* was in Philadelphia in January, 1765, and entered into an agreement with several gentlemen of prominence, among whom was Benjamin Franklin, renewing his promise to procure grants of land for them in Nova Scotia. His difficulties with the home government had been adjusted and now he could live up to his agreements; and on March 6, 1765, among the list of grants made by the council of Nova Scotia was one to McNutt and associates, merchants and others chiefly from Philadelphia, for two hundred thousand acres at or near Port Roseway.

At the same time an application was made for a charter for a city to be erected on the site of Shelburne which was to be called Jerusalem. The council advised in favor, Governor Wilmont representing McNutt to be active and zealous in promoting settlement, and the people he introduced as useful and valuable settlers.†

Several land grants were made to Benjamin Franklin and associates‡ which indicate his somewhat ex-

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* Following is the text of the agreement, Holstein Family History, 273: “Phila. Jan'y 1st 1765. Whereas I the subscriber have promised Messrs Benjamin Franklin John Foxcroft John Hughes John Cox John Reed Samuel Miles and Benjamin Davis that I will use my Best Endeavors, to have four Townships allotted in the Province of Nova Scotia, for them and their associates I do hereby also acknowledge to have Received from the sd John Hughes a paper bearing even Date herewith Sign'd by him and them which paper contains Some further agreements on their parts And as I have no Doubts of their fully Complying with every part of their Engagements I therefore Do promise them and each of them that no Endeavors of mine shall be wanting to fulfill Every Expectation as I have Given them As witness my hand the Day and year above Written.

Alex McNutt.”

† Murdock, History of Nova Scotia, 2: 449. Also More, Queens County, 22.

‡ Among associates mentioned are the names of Alexander McNutt, Matthew Clarkson, Edward Duffield, Geradus Clarkson, John Nagle,
tensive interest in Nova Scotia lands. Of two on the same day, October 31, 1765, the first was for one hundred thousand acres on the St. John river, the other for the same amount at Petitcodiac.*

Early in the Spring of 1765 Anthony Wayne had been sent to Nova Scotia as a surveyor by Franklin and associates with instructions to view lands in various parts of the province, and to report to Mr. John Hughes. Upon his arrival at Halifax, after a somewhat stormy and tempestuous passage of thirteen days, he was kindly received by Colonel McNutt, who introduced him to Governor Montague Wilmont and the members of his council.

In his report† to Hughes mention is made of "great bodies of Iron oar on the river Petitcoodiack and the bay of Vert, but nobody to carry on the Iron works for want of Money."

Hughes replies to Wayne, June 3, 1765; mentions his pleasure because of Wayne's cordial reception at Halifax; expresses the hope that he will improve all advantages, and sends a list of gentlemen in whom Hughes says confidence can be placed, namely: John

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Anthony Wayne. (Matthew and Geradus Clarkson, brothers, sons of Matthew and Cornelia de Peyster Clarkson, N. Y.; came to Philadelphia, 1743 with mother and step-father Rev. Gilbert Tennent. Matthew associated with mercantile house of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan; also surveyor, Delaware and Chesapeake Canal Co.; member of Am. Philosophical Soc., 1768, treas, 1793; mayor of Philadelphia, etc. Geradus, M.D., one of organizers of Phila. Medical Soc., member of Am. Philosophical Soc., 1768, etc.)

* The first settlement at Petitodiac after the expulsion was made by nine families of Germans who left the Rhine in 1749 and dwelt for 14 years on the Schuylkill, 12 miles above Phila. In 1763 induced by grants of free lands these people chartered a vessel and removed to Petitodiac. Cf. Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Coll., 15: 80.

Baynton, Samuel Wharton, John Jones, Christian Deirk, Lindsay Coates, John Coates, Joseph Galloway, John Roberts, George David, John Coryel, and George Hitner; “all men of Reputation and Character and are my particular Friends.”

Wayne† writes that a reservation of three townships on the St. John river and two at Petitcodiac has been made; and that sixteen townships were voted to as many companies, ten on the St. John, one at Petitcodiac, one on St. Mary’s Bay (between Cape Sable and Annapolis), one on Milford Bay, one on river St. Mary’s, one at Pictou, and one at Merimache. In a postscript Wayne adds: “I forgot to tell you that the 16 townships is left to me to choose which can’t be attended with any Disadvantage to our Side.”

On October 7, 1765, Wayne reports that a squabble has occurred over the terms of the settlement of townships; mentions the great difficulty in obtaining grants, and refers to “a Sort of a mess between the Councell and us,” with the comment that “things Don’t go on as fast as I could wish.”

Satisfactory arrangements must have been made soon after, for, as already noted, a grant‡ was made to Benjamin Franklin, Wayne, McNutt and others about

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* Baynton and Wharton were of the mercantile firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. Samuel Wharton was also a member of the Ohio Company; planned to settle the Northwest Territory, 1767; intimately associated with Benjamin Franklin and Sir Wm. Johnson. (Jordan’s Colonial Families in Philadelphia, 542.) Lindsay Coates was Hughes' son-in-law; Joseph Galloway, Hughes' partner in the steel works, one of the earliest Pennsylvania industries of the kind.

† Wayne to Hughes, Halifax, July 9, 1765. In this letter Wayne says of McNutt that he “has Embibed a notion in many of the Gentlemen of the Councell here that he will be the only man that is Capable of Complying with the terms of Settlement, and Has done his Endeavours to make the Other Companys Insignificant and not Equal to the Undertaking.”

three weeks after Wayne penned the above statements; and he returned to Philadelphia in December with "a satisfactory report." In the Spring of 1766 Wayne was back in Nova Scotia, again engaged in surveying and making further efforts to settle the townships granted the Autumn before. But because of the trouble brewing between Great Britain and the Colonies, his activities were brought to a close at the end of the second season.*

The name of Benjamin Franklin appears frequently among the lists of Nova Scotia grantees; but the extent of his interests and the exact location of his holdings are matters quite difficult of determination.

In addition to the grants to Alexander McNutt and associates, in which Franklin shared (October 31, 1765), upon which Anthony Wayne commented to John Hughes, there is record of twenty thousand acres—location not stated—allotted to "Benjamin Franklin, LL.D.," in May and early June, 1767.†

In addition to lands in the vicinity of Port Roseway, Petitcodiac, and the St. John river, it is possible that Franklin was also concerned at Monckton and Frankfort, since a notice of a meeting of proprietors of these two townships appears in the Pennsylvania Gazette‡

* Anthony Wayne, C. J. Stille, 1893, 8. Id. by J. R. Spears, 1903, 8. Messrs. Hope and Cummings of Philadelphia obtained large grants of land on the Albert side of Petitcodiac river. Messrs. Peter Hughes, John Hughes, William Grant, and Clarkson and Co. had land on the Westmoreland side on condition of settling the same; but agreements were never fulfilled, and the settlers obtained judgment against the grantees; bid in the land at sheriff's sale and became permanently established. Records of Chignecto, Collections, Nova Scotia Historical Society, 15: 82.

† Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Period, 4: 598.

‡ "The Grantees in the two Townships of Monckton and Frankfort, in the Province of Nova Scotia are desired to meet at the House of Israel Jacobs in Elbow Lane on Friday the 14th of February at 6 o'clock. Matthew Clarkson."

Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 6, 1776; copied from the original.
signed by Matthew Clarkson; and both he and Franklin are frequently mentioned as associates of McNutt.

Though nothing, so far, has come to light in Franklin's correspondence with reference to his Nova Scotian speculations, there is a letter from his son William which bears directly upon the subject.*

Under date of October 23, 1767 he writes that there is not the least doubt but something handsome might be made of the lands if well managed; but adds "which I am well informed is far from being the case with the lands in which you and Mr. Hughes are concerned."

William then states that Mr. Jacob Hall, a member of Franklin's company, "who keeps a tavern at the Wheat-Sheaf, near Frankford," has lately returned from Nova Scotia, bitter in complaints against Hughes, and other members, who refused to honor his expense account for conducting settlers thither and supplying them with the necessities of life.

"In short," William concludes, "it appears that the company want a head to contrive and conduct matters for them, and that they are too parsimonious and contracted in their views for such a design. I much doubt if you don't meet with difficulty in getting repaid the

* Letters to Benjamin Franklin from his Family and Friends, 1751-1791; New York, 1859. William Franklin's letter also contains the statement: "Mr. Hall tells me that the lands which have fallen to your share are very valuable, being some of the best in the patent." A statement which bears testimony to the discriminating sense of land values possessed by the youthful Anthony Wayne.

"Capt. Caton and Mr. Jacobs are sailing soon for the river St. John in order to Survey all the good land they find there and in a few days Coln. McNutt, Parson Lyon and myself Sails Westward along the coast of mines bason, and so up the bay of Founday and river Petit-coodiack and meet Capt. Caton and Mr. Jacobs at the head of said River." Wayne to Hughes, April 10, 1765. The "Mr. Jacobs" was probably Israel Jacobs, of Elbow Lane.

That John Hughes was an intimate friend of Franklin is shown by Franklin's letter to his wife, London, June 10, 1758: "I think no body ever had more faithful correspondents than I have in Mr. Hughes and you." (Holstein Family History, 256.)
fees you have advanced to the clerk of the Council in their behalf."

Of the Nova Scotia venture Benjamin Franklin* has but this to say: "Those many principal persons in Pennsylvania whose names and associations lie before your Majesty in Council for the purpose of making settlements in Nova Scotia have several years since been convinced of the impracticability of exciting settlers to move from the middle colonies to settle in that Province, and even those who were prevailed upon to go to Nova Scotia the greater part have returned with complaints against the severity and length of the winter."

As it was necessary, in order to hold the lands,† to settle within ten years one person for every two hundred acres, in many instances, with the colonies disturbed by political upheavals culminating in the Revolutionary War, the proprietors could not fulfill their contracts with the Nova Scotian government; but in the case of Benjamin Franklin's holdings they served as a vehicle of reprimand to his Loyalist son William, bequeathed to him by will with the caustic comment: "The part he acted against me during the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavored to deprive me of."

PHILADELPHIA PLANTATION

Of the sixteen townships reserved for as many companies in July, 1765, to which Anthony Wayne made

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* Franklin's Writings, Sparks, 4: 354.
‡ Reference to Nova Scotia lands made in will of John Hughes, "Late of the Province of Pennsylvania, but now collector of His Majesty's Customs at Charles Town in South Carolina," dated Jan. 31, 1772. Holstein Family Papers, 244.

"My will is that if John Baynton and Samuel Wharton should obtain a grant which they are soliciting for and clear off the bonds wherein
reference in one of his letters to John Hughes, there was one of two hundred thousand acres north of the Basin of Minas between Onslow, Truro, and Tatamagouche, known as Pictou.

Because of the fact that in this instance Alexander McNutt's associates were men residing principally in Philadelphia and known as the Philadelphia Company; that the township at Pictou was to be known as the Philadelphia Plantation, and that the first settlers were families from Maryland, near the Pennsylvania line, this grant is of peculiar interest.

Since upon viewing the lands reserved for the Philadelphia Company, they were found deficient in quantity, the company was given "liberty to choose the aforesaid quantity between Tatamagouche and Pic-

I stand bound with them then the following donations and bequests shall take place. . . . I give and bequeath my lands in Nova Scotia between my two sons, John Hughes and Isaac Hughes, to be equally divided between them. . . . Provided always that in case the above named John Baynton and Samuel Wharton do obtain their grants wherein I am concerned, then my will is that my share therein be divided between my five children . . . ."

Hughes' Nova Scotia lands, or some of them, did descend to his son John who disposed of them by will. Will of John Hughes, of Lower Merion Township, Philadelphia County, Phila. Will Book P, p. 489, no. 345. (Will proved, Dec. 1, 1773.)

In the inventory of John Hughes, Senior's estate mention is made of some of the gentlemen who were interested in Nova Scotia lands, as follows:

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<th></th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benj. Franklin, note</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Deirk</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Anthony Wayne, note</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Benj. Davis, bill &amp; int.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baynton, Wharton, old bond and int.</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Holstein Family History, 261.)

Benjamin Davis, mentioned in McNutt's agreement, Jan. 1, 1765, and referred to March 1, 1794.—"at Mother's Cosen Ben Davis there, went away with the British in the year 78 not seen him Since, before to Day, Bene at Jamaica & Novi Scotia."

(Diary of Joseph Price of Lower Merion; abstract from MS copy in possession of Charles R. Barker.)
Acadia.

tou." This was done, and the requisite acreage selected near the present site of Pictou; and on October 31, 1765, the grant was made to Edmund Crawley, Rev. James Lyon, John Rhea, Richard Stockton, George Bryan, William Symonds, John Wykoff, Isaac Wykoff, Jonathan Smith, Andrew Hodge, John Bayard, Thomas Harris, Robert Harris, David Rhea; "one equal undivided tenth part to Edmund Crawley, Esq. & the remaining nine tenths to and among the others mentioned."

Difficulty in obtaining settlers who were willing to leave the middle colonies and remove so far north compelled the Philadelphia Company to ask for more time in developing the grant. The petition was granted by the Nova Scotia government, and the time extended to June, 1767.

On April 25 of that year there appeared in the Pennsylvania Chronicle the following notice:

"The Owners of the Land at Pictou, in Nova Scotia, having hired the Brigatine Betsey, John Hull, Master, being a double decked Vessel, almost new, and very well accommodated to carry Passengers, hereby give notice to such Persons as are minded to accept of their Proposals and settle on said Tract, that the Brigatine will take them on board at Philadelphia any Day next Week, and at Reedy Island on Monday and Tuesday the 4th and 5th of May; and then proceed on the Voyage without Delay. For further Information apply to Andrew Hodge and George Bryan, in Philadelphia, and to such of the concerned as shall attend at Reedy Island. N. B. Passengers for Halifax, will be carried at the most moderate Rates."


† Copied from the original in files of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
The maritime news, as published in the Pennsylvania Chronicle, states that the Brig Betsey, Captain J. Hull, cleared from Philadelphia on May 4, 1767, for Rhode Island and Halifax; but according to Pictou records, it was the brig Hope, Captain John Hull, which reached Philadelphia Plantation on June 10, with six families of settlers; Dr. John Harris, the agent, and his wife; Robert Patterson, wife and five children; James McCabe, wife and six children; John Rogers, wife and five children; Henry Cummingger, wife and four children, and one other family whose name is not known.

The next year the Philadelphia Company announced in a newspaper advertisement that some good families had settled Philadelphia Township, Nova Scotia, and that any persons "inclining to become settlers on the said land, will meet with very great encouragement, the particulars of which will be made known by applying to James James at Piles Grove, Daniel Lethgow at Salem Bridge, Benjamin Davids [sic] at Croswicks, John Jones in Germantown or to Nathan Sheppard, William Ball, John Lukens, James Haldane and Benjamin Armitage, Philadelphia."*

Though but few settlers took advantage of opportunities to acquire homestead lots in the wildernesses and alder swamps of Pictou, the number of proprietors was on the increase.† In spite of the "very great encouragement" promised in the foregoing notice to those "inclining to become settlers," either few people

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* Copied from the original in the Pennsylvania Chronicle, No. 2040, Jan. 28, 1768.
possessed the inclination to remove to Philadelphia Plantation, or the inducements offered fell short of their expectations; for the fact remains, that it was three years before the colony was augmented, and then by but two families—those of Matthew Harris and of Barnabas McGee.

Discouraging as were the efforts of the Philadelphia Company to promote settlement, subsequent events, involving two signers of the Declaration of Independence and centering in Philadelphia Plantation, accord to that tract a history unique in the annals of Nova Scotia land grants.

Richard Stockton, an original member of the Philadelphia Company, afterwards Signer for New Jersey, was in the British Isles in 1766–67. It was during a trip to Scotland that he prevailed upon the Reverend John Witherspoon* to accept the presidency of the College of New Jersey.

The Witherspoons arrived in Philadelphia early in August, 1768, where they were the guests of Andrew Hodge, also an original member of the Philadelphia Company; thence to Princeton, visiting for some time at "Morven," the home of Richard Stockton. Incidentally, the house is still standing.

Since Dr. Witherspoon bought an interest in Philadelphia Plantation, it is a foregone conclusion that he learned of the lands through both Hodge and Stockton. Later he became associated with John Pagan, of Greenock, Scotland, who acquired three undivided shares in the Philadelphia Company, and the two gentlemen interested themselves in transporting Highland Scotch to America.

Unfortunately for many Highlanders, with the expansion of the British wool industry, grazing lands in Scotland were sold or leased by their owners, thus ne-

cessitating the removal of many families from homes which had been occupied for generations.

These people would not go to the cities, and they could not remain where they had always lived; but at this critical juncture, through the instrumentality of Pagan and Witherspoon, who provided a ship for the purpose, many were induced to migrate to New England in the year 1770.

Three years later, the same ship, the Hector, transported from Scotland one hundred and eighty-nine Highlanders who were landed at Pictou, September 15, 1773, assuring the permanency of the settlement begun by the Philadelphia Company in 1767 with thirty men, women, and children who sailed from Philadelphia in May, of that year.

The Scottish migration to Philadelphia Plantation, inaugurated by Pagan and Witherspoon, continued for many years after they had passed from the scene, with the result that today in Pictou county out of a population of 36,000 more than 27,000 are of Scotch descent.*

In conclusion, it may be said that though the major subjects of colonial history have been thrashed out, some of the obscure corners may contain material, the importance of which yet remains to be realized. Indices of what one may expect to find in the dust encrusted pigeon holes are exemplified by this brief discussion relating to Acadia; the fragmentary records of the Pre-Loyalist Migration, and the incomplete accounts of the Philadelphia Plantation.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PHILADELPHIA COMPANY

May 5, 1767, seven of the Philadelphia Company, namely: George Bryan, William Symonds, Andrew Hodge, Robert Harris, John Bayard, and John Smith, all of Philadelphia, and Thomas Harris, of Baltimore county, Maryland, executed a power of attorney to John Wykoff, of Philadelphia, merchant, and Dr. John Harris, of Baltimore county.

* Historic Pictou (1925), Joan MacGregor Fraser.
Maryland, empowering them to grant and sell in the name of the Company, their land on such terms as they should see fit. At the same time Rev. James Lyon executed a similar paper to Dr. John Harris.

(History of Pictou, 55.)

John and Peter Wykoff were in the real estate business in Philadelphia; they also dealt in negroes. Their advertisement appears in the Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 2, 1766.

John and David Rhea, Philadelphia merchants; give notice in the Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 28, 1766, that they have removed their store from their late dwelling house in Front street "to the House of Casper Wistar in Market street, opposite the Indian King Tavern; where they have for Sale a large and neat Assortment of Dry Goods suitable for the Season, which they will dispose of on very low Terms, for Cash or short Credit."

George Bryan (1731-1791), jurist; engaged for some years in commercial pursuits; delegate to Stamp Act Congress, vice president Supreme Council, Pennsylvania; zealous in his endeavors for gradual abolition of slavery; judge of Supreme Court, 1780 until his death. See George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, by Dr. Burton Alva Konkle, Philadelphia, 1922.

Richard Stockton, graduate of College of New Jersey, 1748; admitted to the bar, 1754; lawyer, judge of the Supreme Court; member of King's Council for New Jersey, etc.; signer of the Declaration of Independence for New Jersey. See Stockton Family, by Thomas Coales Stockton, 1911.

Rev. James Lyon, graduate of College of New Jersey, 1759; licensed to preach, New Brunswick, N. J., 1762; ordained as missionary, 1764; sent to Onslow, Nova Scotia in that capacity. He is mentioned by Anthony Wayne in letter to John Hughes, April 10, 1765, as one of the party which accompanied McNutt and Wayne along the coast of Minas Basin and up the Bay of Fundy. Lyon was in Boston, 1771, when the proprietors of Machias, Me. voted to employ him in order to comply with terms of their grant; in 1772 he settled at Machias; in 1782 organized the first Congregational church. He was an ardent patriot; died at Machias, Oct. 12, 1794, aged 59 years.

Andrew Hodge (1711-1789), from north of Ireland to Philadelphia; one of the foremost men of his day; leading importer; prominent socially; original subscriber to Philadelphia Academy, now University of Pennsylvania; strongly in favor of the Revolution. See "North American" April 12, 1908, article on the Hodge Family by Frank Willing Leach.

Col. John Bayard, founder of the Philadelphia family of Bayards; leading importer, in partnership with his father-in-law, Andrew Hodge. In non-importation agreement, 1765, Bayard's name heads the list. Member of Committee of Correspondence and Safety; delegate to Provincial Congress, Carpenter's Hall, July 15, 1775; early identified with the Sons of Liberty. See "North American," June 14, 1908, article on the Bayard Family by Frank Willing Leach.
Some of the Settlers on Philadelphia Plantation.

Robert Patterson, a native of Renfrew, Scotland; resided for a time in Maryland a few miles south of the Pennsylvania line; surveyor; sutler in the army prior to 1763. He became the leading man at Pictou; laid out all of the first grants; died 1808.

John Harris, son of Thomas Harris, member of the Company, was attorney for the Philadelphia Company; first magistrate at Pictou; register of deeds.

James McCabe, native of Belfast, Ireland, wife Ann Pettigrew, a north of Ireland Presbyterian. They with sons John and James came in the "Hope," also two daughters and two other children.

John Rogers, from Glasgow, Scotland, to Maryland; thence to Pictou.

Barnabas McGee, native of north of Ireland; wife from London; came to Maryland, thence to Pictou, 1770.

Matthew Harris, son of Thomas who was a member of the Company, removed to Pictou, 1770. It is of interest to note that Jane, daughter of Matthew Harris, m. 1799, at Pictou, Simon L. Newcomb, grandson of Simon Newcomb who removed from Lebanon, Conn. to Cornwallis, 1761. John Burton, son of Simon and Jane Harris, m. Emily Prince; removed with family to the States, 1852. One of their children was Simon Newcomb, the famous astronomer, who was thus a great grandson of Matthew Harris, early settler on Philadelphia Plantation.

Mr. George Simpson Eddy has called my attention to a bibliographical item bearing upon Philadelphia interest in Nova Scotia lands which he found in Evans' American Bibliography, vol. 1751-1764, p. 241:

No. 8493 SMITH, WILLIAM & CO. agreement between William Smith and others as William Smith & Co. and certain adventurers and proposed settlers, concerning 1,000,000 acres of lands in Nova Scotia (Phila: 1759? pp. 4, folio).

Evans does not mention any known copy; nor does Hildeburn, who also lists the item (1:336), mention the whereabouts of any example.