
Operations at Fort Beauséjour and Grand-Pré in 1755: A Soldier's Diary

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INTRODUCTION

On July 2, 1755 Jeremiah Bancroft wrote in his diary “in a Letter to Co[] Munkton Gov. Lawrence Returns us thanks for the good service we had done him, the officers were desired to acquaint the men with it.” And on October 15, 1755 Bancroft recorded that “I went with ... a party of 100 men to put the French on board the vessels...”² The first entry relates to the successful reduction of Fort Beauséjour by an Anglo-American military force, an achievement which would pave the way for the capture of Louisbourg three years later. The capture of Fort Beauséjour was the only instance in which New France was compelled to yield ground in 1755, a year which was generally disappointing for Great Britain in its undeclared war with France.³ Bancroft's second entry relates to a gloomy chapter in Maritime history: the deportations of the Acadians of Nova Scotia. More specifically, it relates to operations at Grand-Pré. While several other diaries chronicle events during and after the siege of Fort Beauséjour, including the deportation of Acadians from the Chignecto area, only one other diary is known to record events attending the deportation in 1755 of Acadians living farther south in Nova Scotia.⁴

Who was Jeremiah Bancroft and what was his background? He was the ensign in Captain Phineas Osgood's Company, one of eleven companies comprising the First Battalion of the Regiment of Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts.⁵ The Battalion was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow of Marshfield, Massachusetts. It and a Second Battalion had been raised in New England, chiefly Massachusetts, in the early months of 1755 by Governor Shirley and Lieutenant Colonel Robert Monckton.⁶ At the time that Captain Osgood's Company embarked at Boston on the *Swan* for Chignecto, it numbered 103 officers and men. All together, the Anglo-American force consisted of approximately 1,950 New England provincial troops and 270 British regulars.⁷

Bancroft was born in Reading, Massachusetts, on July 27, 1725 and died there from smallpox on November 25, 1757. His father, Samuel, was a captain in Reading. The Bancroft family had emigrated from England to Massachusetts in 1632 and Jeremiah was the third generation to have roots in Reading. Jeremiah was an uncle of

Judge Samuel Bancroft who moved with his family from Reading to the Annapolis Valley in 1762 and who is the progenitor of some, if not all, of the Bancroft families currently resident in Nova Scotia.

In 1749 Jeremiah married Elizabeth Nichols and by the spring of 1755 when he embarked for Chignecto, Jeremiah and his wife had one daughter, a second child having died in infancy. Nothing is known of Jeremiah's schooling. However, judging by his diary, it seems fair to conclude that he had received a basic education, being moderately literate and with a writing ability not unlike that of some other junior officers in the American colonial troops. His periodic reference to religious matters suggests that he was a man of faith, but that was probably the norm among mid-18th century New Englanders. Jeremiah was apparently not a wealthy man since the value of his estate was only a little over 66 pounds.⁸

Until now, the diary of Jeremiah Bancroft appears to have remained virtually unknown to historians. Interestingly, Jeremiah Bancroft does figure prominently as a character in a recent historical novel concerning French-British dynamics in Nova Scotia, including the Chignecto area, during the period 1749 to 1756. Author Bill Smallwood has drawn extensively from the Bancroft diary, among other documents, for the writing of his novel, not only for his characterization of Jeremiah Bancroft himself, but for events generally at Chignecto and the Grand-Pré area during the capture of Fort Beauséjour and the subsequent deportation of Acadians in 1755.⁹

THE BANCROFT DIARY IN CONTEXT WITH OTHERS

Until the Bancroft diary surfaced, the diary of John Winslow (1703-1774) had appeared to be the only surviving military diary describing the deportation of Acadians in 1755 by forces operating out of any part of Nova Scotia other than Chignecto.¹⁰ Of the two, the Winslow diary is the more extensive because it incorporates many documents Winslow wrote or received as a commanding officer, giving a much broader perspective on events. Nevertheless, Bancroft's diary is valuable in that it offers historians an alternative and supplementary vantage point. Bancroft occasionally reveals details not found in Winslow's writings, and at other times corroborates Winslow's version of events, which is important given that such corroboration is often lacking elsewhere.

In the case of the siege of Fort Beauséjour, soldiers' eye-witness accounts are somewhat more plentiful, and indeed we possess several accounts from opposite sides of the parapet. The most important French officer's diary is that of Louis-Thomas Jacau de Fiedmont (c. 1723-1788), an artillery officer and acting engineer at the fort at the time that it was attacked.¹¹ A shorter diary was kept by Louis-Léonard Aumasson de Courville (c. 1722-after 1782), who in 1754 was commissioned as New France's Royal Notary in Acadia, with headquarters at Fort Beauséjour.¹² Because of his spying activities for the British while he was based at Fort

Beauséjour as a civilian officer, many historians, particularly Francophone historians, have not been kind to our next eyewitness, Thomas Pichon.¹³ Nevertheless, he has left us with a reasonably comprehensive diary, penned from May 15 to June 26, which entirely encompasses the duration of Anglo-American operations against the fort. Pichon (1700-1781) was perhaps better educated than any of the other diarists, French or British.¹⁴ Finally, the priest Jean-Louis Le Loutre (1709-1772), who has received his share of criticism for his manipulation of the Acadians and his encouraging Mi'kmaq attacks against British settlements and fortifications in Nova Scotia, has left a very brief account, though it can hardly be said to be a diary.¹⁵

On the Anglo-American side, apart from the diaries of Winslow and Bancroft, we have those of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monckton (1726-1782); Captain Abijah Willard (1724-1789) of Lancaster, Massachusetts; and John Thomas (1724-1776), a lieutenant and surgeon's-mate in the First Battalion. For reasons already mentioned, the diary of Winslow is particularly important in interpreting events relating to the siege and deportation activities at Chignecto. At the same time, Willard's diary is exceedingly comprehensive and detailed, much more so than that of Bancroft.¹⁶ Only Willard's diary records events in the Chignecto region through the late fall of 1755 and into the early part of the following January. The diary of Willard and the briefer one of Thomas are noteworthy for their detailing of attacks against Acadian settlements following the capture of the fort.¹⁷ Monckton's diary is relatively short, but is unique in that it was written by the man who had overall responsibility for Anglo-American operations at Chignecto in 1755.¹⁸

Because of the number of other extant diaries relating to the siege of Fort Beauséjour and the deportation from the Chignecto area, Bancroft's words are not as important here as in the context of Grand-Pré. Yet one may find information in Bancroft relating to Chignecto which is not found elsewhere. These are not earth-shattering revelations, to be sure, but are nevertheless unique vignettes relating to occurrences in 1755 at Chignecto, which is where the deportations began. A more specific discussion of the unique revelations and contributions of the Bancroft diary, and interpretation of same, follow the presentation of the diary.

PREFACE TO THE BANCROFT DIARY

The whereabouts of Bancroft's original diary are unknown; possibly it no longer exists. In 1925 a Judge William B. Stevens of Stoneham, Massachusetts, made a transcript of the diary and subsequently a typed transcript was presented to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, now known as Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (NSARM). An amateur historian, Judge Stevens was much interested in military matters. He was an elderly man, 82 years of age, when he transcribed the Bancroft diary, but how, where or from whom he gained access to it are unknown. One may conclude that he was a man of letters since he had two published books to

his name at the time that he transcribed the Bancroft diary, one of which was republished as recently as 2002.¹⁹

The file folder in which the transcript is kept at NSARM bears the following handwritten note: "Presented by Judge William B. Stevens of Stoneham Mass. who copied the diary in 1925." This would imply that it was Judge Stevens, himself, who presented the transcript to NSARM, and that the transcript so presented was typed by Stevens or by someone under his direction and purview. However, the top of the first page of the 9-page typed transcript within the folder bears the following words: "DIARY OF A NEW ENGLAND SOLDIER, SERVING IN NOVA SCOTIA? IN 1755-1756. THIS IS A LITERAL COPY, MADE IN 1925, BY THE LATE JUDGE WILLIAM B. STEVENS, OF STONEHAM, MASSACHUSETTS." The NSARM transcript thus appears to have been typed by someone after Stevens' death and could not have been presented to NSARM by Stevens himself.²⁰ It is not known whether the transcript actually prepared by Stevens was a hand written or typed, and the least we can say is that document held by NSARM is a transcript of a transcript, a fact that should be borne in mind when evaluating the document's veracity. No other copy of this document is known to have been provided to any other archives.

It would be surprising if Stevens did not make at least a few transcription errors, but without the original the old judge's work cannot be checked. Nevertheless, it appears that he intended to transcribe the diary as faithfully as possible, for he appears not to have yielded to any temptation to "correct" words, or the spelling of words, or to modernize them. It is all but certain that the individual who typed the document presented to NSARM made his or her own transcription errors, however. There are a number of likely typographical errors that seem to have occurred when the typist accidentally hit an adjacent key (e.g. there are two references to men being 'shipt' when the context makes it clear they were 'whipt', and we see an entry made for 'Gebbruary' instead of 'February'). Parts of sentences also appear to be missing in one or two places (e.g. in the July 26th entry), probably due to a lapse in the typist's attention. We have noted these instances, but there may be several other typographical errors that are more difficult to detect. Great care has been taken in ensuring that the transcript presented in this paper faithfully reproduces the document held by NSARM. Where it was felt that clarification is needed, this has been effected both in-text and by means of annotative footnotes. The parenthetical notes in the document likely originated with Judge Stevens, and occur in the NSARM transcript, while the notes in square brackets are our own. Page numbers in the NSARM transcript are indicated in square brackets.

As is common in 18th century diaries, in English as well as in French, the spelling of words is often phonetically based, and not infrequently erratic and irregular. This usually suggests a limited degree of education on the part of the diarist, and Jeremiah Bancroft is no exception. In his diary some expressions are used which are now

archaic and occasionally may be difficult to fathom. For the benefit of the reader, we have interpreted these obscurities to the best of our ability. The Bancroft diary is here presented in full.²¹

THE BANCROFT DIARY

DIARY OF A NEW ENGLAND SOLDIER, SERVING IN NOVA SCOTIA,
IN 1755--1756.

THIS IS A LITERAL COPY, MADE IN 1925, BY THE LATE JUDGE WILLIAM B. STEVENS, OF STONEHAM, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE DIARY DESCRIBES THE TAKING OF FORT BEAUSEJOUR AND
THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.

APRIL

BOSTON, 9-10, 1755.

Jeremiah Bancroft's journal book in the expedition to the eastward in the company under Capt. Phenehas Osgood, Lieuts. Charles Buckley, Timothy Wheller, Jeremiah Bancroft, Ensign, Sergeants, Joseph Walker, William Stimpson, Simon Godfree, Isaac Lawrence-Corpls. Samull Wench, Nathan Simons, David Pervus, William Sawyer,-Drummers, Bill Senter, Solomon Wyman.

The tenth of April, the Regament appear'd at Boston and passed muster and received thare cloths also the remainder of thair bounty and thaire wages from thare inlesting to the fourteenth of April inclusive.²²

May ye 1. We had orders to sail and fall below Casel Wiliam²³ anchored near Deer Island. We lay for some days. The 3 of May, died a man belonging to Capt. Perys²⁴ company and was buried on said island.

Sunday, May ye 11 being on ye quarter deck²⁵ I had ye pleasure of seeing the Snow²⁶ pass by us which had our arms on bord. After that I went on shore and heard Mr. Phillips²⁷ preach from Luke 3 and 14.

Saturday, the 17th. following we had orders to be in rediness to sail ye first fair wind.

Sunday the 18th. Parson Phillips preacht from the first of Timothy 4 and 8. Being wind bound, we did not set sail till Thursday ye 22nd. We came to sail at 6 o'clock in the morning and arrivee²⁸ in the Bason of Annapolis on Munday evening ye 26th. with the fleet all safe which I desire to bless God for and hope He will stil prosper us in our voyge.

Wednesday ye 28th. It being acention²⁹ we drank a helth to those we left at home. Nothing more remarkable while in the Bason of Anapolis Royal but cursing and swearing because they³⁰ wars dinyd thare alowence of rum.³¹

Sunday ye 1 of June. We set sail for Forte Lawrence³² at Chignecto whare we ar-

rived on Munday ye 2nd. at Sd forte and on Wednesday the 4th. set out for the french forte and having a bridge to lay over the river in order to go over to them opposit to a block house³³ whare the french had placet 6 canon also a _____³⁴ battery they had and we marcht in Batalion form came to the place where we war met by a great number of french and Indians who made a hideous yelling³⁵ and then firing upon us with thare canon and small arms. We had 4 field peaces which ware six pounes which we or at least our guners got ready and returned thair shot as good as they sent and much better, then a smart engagement began between the two party our man firing and husaing that within an half hour they set thar block house on fire and several other buildings and our men furiously pushing forward with undaunted courage that in an hour and a half we drove them of and took possession of thare village.³⁶ We set down to refresh ourselves, afterward we marcht a mile and camp^t.³⁷ Meanwhile the french returned to the forte and set thare mass house on fire and several other buildings.³⁸ We had but one man killed that [2] belonged to thee regulars and six or seven wounded though we ware all on the open march.³⁹ Blessed be God for granting us success thus far.

On Thursday, ye 8th [5th], we marcht but a little way and halted cleared a rode and built our camps about a mile and a quarter of the forte.⁴⁰

Friday ye 6th. Capt. Cob⁴¹ came up the river⁴² at which ye french fire 2 canon and running down to the marsh, firing with thare small armes intending to bord him but they ware soon obliged to return by reason our men ran upon em firing also Capt. Cob firing his swivel.⁴³ We Judgd that we kild fore or five of em but have recd no hurt from them also this even we had a skirmish with the french and indians but recd no hurt.⁴⁴

Saturday ye 7th, and soon we begin to get our canon to shore and clear a rode⁴⁵ acrost ye hill from ye marsh to ye main path in order to pitch our tents and hall our artilery-- also this night ye indians fired at us but did us no hurt. We still continue to get our artelery toward the forte.

Sunday ye 8th. the Indians touck ensign Hay⁴⁶ who belonged to ye regulars also our men tuck a frenchman. Also this day Col. Winslow⁴⁷ went out with 400 men and had an engagement with ye french Driving them into ye forte and soon after returned. Afterward came a flagg of truce⁴⁸ in order to exchange prisoners which was not agreed to. They say they will keep ye forte as long as they have powder and ball.⁴⁹

Tuesday ye 10, Col. Winslow being out with 340 men Discovred about 20 or 30 of ye enemy f[i]red upon em and they returning a few guns fled.⁵⁰

Wednesday ye 11th⁵¹ Col. Winslow went out to ye hill whare they intent to entrench the french fired several canon but hurt no one.⁵²

Thursday ye 11th. (12) Capt. Adams⁵³ being out with 100 men 2 or 3 of the⁵⁴ and tuck one prisoner also came one of his own acord which deserted from ye forte.⁵⁵

Also Col. Scott⁵⁶ went out with 300 men and with them ye regulars in order to entrench the enimie being awaw of them came out and had placed themselves in thare Lurking Places⁵⁷ and as soon as our men came to ye hill ye enemy fired upon them, a smart engagement soon begun between ye partys which lasted an hour and a half and in ye skirmish they wounded Majr. Prebble⁵⁸ in his [thigh which] affronted so that _____ he ordered the men to run upon them which they perceiving nd also seeing Capt. Adams with his company coming, fled to ye forte.⁵⁹ They have kild 1 man and wounded five or six of which one was our chief guner.⁶⁰ We must in this acknowledg the goodness of God who seems still to be on our side and smiles at our undertaking.

Friday ye 13. We have 5 cochorns⁶¹ to Play upon the forte and have thrown 3 or 4 Bums⁶² into ye forte which we hope has dun some good execution[.] The french has returned our shot but have not hurt no man this day except one that [h]ad his carteridg box shot from his side and his britches cut on one thigh and his Baonet brockin 3 peaces.⁶³

Saturday ye 14th. This morning tha[r]e was very brisk firing⁶⁴ on Both Sides but we have recd no Damage except one of our 8 inch morters was split by a canon ball also a number of french and indians ware on ye marsh akillin gatl which our men spied and sent out 50 men which Drove them of an tuck ye ox they had kild and brought away.⁶⁵

Sunday [y]e 15th, Last night was very rainy till teno'clock this morning During which time thar but 4 or 5 guns fired from either party and then they fired briskly.⁶⁶ This day we got our 13 inch mortar and h[o]ve near 20 Bums of those the most of which we think did good execution one in particular set a house on fire⁶⁷ but they soon extinguisht it; the french shot 143 canon and about 20 Bums at us this day but did (not) hurt any men and our men h[o]ve about 100 Bums small and great and hope they have done good execution.

Munday ye 16th. After we had hove a few Bums the enemy sent a flagg of truse to ye trench of Col Scott and Requested a cessation of arme for 48 hours but it was not granted; whereupon they came to Col. Munton⁶⁸ to the campt but thare request was not granted by him but the Col demanded ye forte and told them that if they did not give up soon he would hoist his Bloody Flag⁶⁹ and not take it down till he had Destroyed them all and so gave two hours to Consider and mak Return. Soon after the truce was gon the indians fired upon our centrays and the Bullets flew among our tents the word was [3] given Stand to your arms which was Dun as it seemed in a minute and we fired so furiously upon them that they emediately withdrew and tuck to thare heals but we tuck one Indian that we wounded that was calld Capt. John⁷⁰ and many of ye English knew him he was mortelly wounded but not past speaking and he informed us that we had killd several of them which they had halld away; the french hearing the engagement hurried away as fast as they

could with another truce and note that Col Scott hearing ye engagement thought ye truce was only a trick ordered all ye mortar to be loaded and was aputing the match too when Capt. Speakman⁷¹ standing on the bank of trench calld out a truce upon which they forebor fireing and they came to Col Munkton and resigned ye forte after which Col Scott marched in the first he being then at ye trench and at evening Col Winslow with a party marcht in which caused great joy more especially to the sick and lame. Note this night Capt John died at 10 oclck.

Tuesday ye 17th. Col Munkton named the Forte (Forte Cumberland)⁷² and the English flagg was Hoisted. also this night the french came from Gasperou at the Bay of Vert and resignn the forte⁷³ to the English.

Wednesday ye 18th. Col Winslow went to Gasperou to take Possession of that forte; I went also myself.⁷⁴ I found it to be a very Pleasant place and more so by our finding Sum Quantity of Brandy and wine for our Comforte.⁷⁵

We stayed till ye 23rd Instant then being relieved by Capt Speakman and 200 men we returned to our camp at Beausejoure.⁷⁶

On Wednesday 25th two men Rid the horse⁷⁷ by order of a Court Martial.⁷⁸

On Sunday 29th Parson Phillips Preachd from those words in the 46th ch of Isaiaah, 8 verce, afternoon in the 5th ch. 2d Book Corinth, and 11 verce also by a vessell which arived hear from Boston we hear that our army was marchd for Crown point⁷⁹ also that a fast was Proclaimed throuout the Province to be kept on 3rd July.

June 30th was Dismiste from his Majesties Service one Ensign Willis for scandalously taking a snuff box from a gentleman of the forte.⁸⁰

On 2nd July in a Letter to Co Munkton Gov. Lawrence Returns us thanks for the good service we had done him, the officers were desired to acquaint the men with it.

Aug [July] [3]d Two men whipt for Stealling.

Ye 4th one man whipt.⁸¹

Also this night thare was a considerable mutiny by the men be(ing) denied thare Rum⁸²

Sunday ye 6th Parson Philips Preached from those words Ecclesiastes Ye 6, ch. 11 and 12 verces afternoon from ye 11 chap of The same Book and 9 verce.

Tuesday July ye 8th 2 men ware shipt⁸³ and 3 Rid the wooden horse which was taken in the mutiny before mentioned.⁸⁴

Fryday ye 11th 3 men ware whipt for stealling,⁸⁵ also by a gun accidentally fired a man was shot throe one ancle by which his leg was cut off⁸⁶ and Like wise throe the other leg. I would also remark that we had 2 Indians died yesterday.⁸⁷

Sunday ye 13th Parson Philips Preacht from 15 ch Proverbs & 21st Verce Afternoon Psalms cxxxlll 1 Verce.

Sunday ye 20th Parson Philips Pt from 24th ch Matthew 12V afternoon from 1 ch of the same Book from the 16 to 20 Verce. Nothing more remarkable But on Wednesday ye 23rd at night ware mustered by a false alarm the centrays thinking

they espied Indians. Also a man was whipt 50 lashes for Stealling⁸⁸

Ye 24th last night as a noble of our men ware coming from forte Lawrence one of them must need⁸⁹ by the block house and was beset by about 50 Indians which shot at him and wounded his hand. But he continued firing at them getting behind the Dykes⁹⁰ and beat them off and made his escape as he relates the story where-upon a party of 50 men ware sent out. But could make no Discovery of the enemy and afterwards the Doctr, Dressing his wounds Perceived his hand to be burnt with Powder which makes it appear to be the Story of a man Drunk.⁹¹

Ye 25th We are informed from Gasperoe that the Indians have very [4] Barbarously killd a man thare that belonged to Capt Cobb.⁹² A party of 200 men are marcht thence comanded by Majr. Brown⁹³ this day. Also a man this Day was whipt 20 lashes.⁹⁴

July 26th Doctr Whiteworth⁹⁵ a soldier that belonged to Capt Adams for which He was forst to pay sum acknowledgement. Also this day was taken Serjt Fleming that had Deserted sum Days ago.⁹⁶

Sunday Parson Philips preacht from Numbers 23^d & 10th. Afternoon from Mathew xxlll V 28th.

Sarjt Moses Brewer⁹⁷ had a Commission for His Valour in taking the first french Prisoner.

29th. A man whipt 20 lashes. Also this Day we sent home sum of our sick men.⁹⁸

31st. We ware alarmed by our centrays firing but we found no enemy.

On Fryday ye 1st of Augt We had orders and removed our tents from our first camps and Pitchd in about a half mile of Forte Cumberland.⁹⁹

Aug 2nd A Man whipt 20 lashes¹⁰⁰ and Serjt Malcomb Brock¹⁰¹ for be Drunk upon Guard

Sunday ye 3rd Parson Philips from Jeramiah 17 & 27

Ye 5th A man whipt 20 lashes for selling his Provision for rum and getting Drunk¹⁰²

Ye 6 A party of 100 men commanded by Capt Lewis¹⁰³ Marcht for Cobegit¹⁰⁴

Ye 7th A man whipt 20 lashes¹⁰⁵

Orders that Co Winslows Capt Adamses Hobbsses¹⁰⁶ and Osgodds companys be in Rediness to Imbark at a minuts warning¹⁰⁷

Ye 8th A french shellop¹⁰⁸ coming down the river war brought too by firing two cannon from the forte

Sunday ye 10th Came into the forte between 4 and 500 French¹⁰⁹ and was made Prisoners thare. Their lands and stock became forfeited to the King. This day Parson Philips preacht ect.

Munday ye 4th [11th]. A large Detachment of men went over the River to West-cok¹¹⁰ and Tantremer¹¹¹ and those Villages in Sarch of the french that had not come in. They were commanded by Majr Proble — they Returned on Wednesday ye 13th

and Brought with them nine Prisoners¹¹²

On Thursday Aug ye 14th 1755 we had orders to march with our tents and bagage to Forte Lawrence in order to Imbark for Pisquit¹¹³ four Companys (viz) the Cols Capt Adamses Hobbeses & Osgoods this evening we Pitched our tents at Forte Lawrence where we taried till Saterday ye 16th then Imbarked on Board the Stoop¹¹⁴ York Nathl Preble Master we wayed anchor at 6 oclock in the afternoon with a Pleasant Gail we arived at Pisquit Munday morning ye 18th at 7 oclock we went on shore Refreshed and Regailed ourselves till eventide then we reimbarkt and sailed for Mines¹¹⁵ where we arrived the next morning and marcht to thire Mass house¹¹⁶ took possession and Hoisted an English Flagg the Col Gave Orders to the Soldiers not to take anything from the french not so much as a fowl Afterwards he entertained his Officers with a Good Dinner.¹¹⁷

After Diner the Co[l] sent for sum of the head of the french to take such things out of their Mass house as was sacred for his soldiers must Lodge in it which they did without objection

NB from Chignecto to Pisquit is 36 Leags from Pisquit to Mines Back is 5 leags.¹¹⁸ I left my Kinsman roe At the point of Deth at Chignecto and hear he soon expired

We now began to Live like men we had fresh provision and Coold get Green Sauce for our People and we begun to Conceit ourselves almost home.

On Thirsday Aug't 21st our men was set to work a getting and setting up Piequits¹¹⁹ in order for a Garison it was Laid out to Enclose the Mass house and ye two Dwelling houses it was 117 rods in Length and nine rods in Bredth.¹²⁰

We finished our Picketing by Tuesday 26th¹²¹ and set the Guard within the Garison giving the word Alls well after the manner of a forte Parol Boston.¹²² [5]

Satterday 30th the Co ordered the Burying Place¹²³ to be enclosed which was dun this Day with pickets the Coll marches this Day with 50 men to se the cittuation of the french villages¹²⁴ 3 Sloops arrived hear from Boston¹²⁵ Sunday 31st Lieut Crooker¹²⁶ set out with a Boats crew for Chignecto Munday 1st Day of Sept. 1755¹²⁷

Lieut Bulkeley¹²⁸ marches with 30 men to Fort Edward¹²⁹ whare to tary sum days and as many of the regulars came for our Pilots in the villages at Mines¹³⁰

Tuesday 2nd Col Winslow & Doctr¹³¹ went to Forte Edward by water returned at evening Capt Adams with 60 men to the River Kanar¹³²

Wednesday 3rd two parties (viz) Hobbs and Osgood to take a view of the villages Round about Grand Pree.¹³³

Thirsday ye 4th 2 men was [w]hipt 1 20 lashes for offering to force a french woman the other 30 lashes for steeling from the french.¹³⁴

Fryday ye 5th the french being ordered to come to the Co into the forte as they supposed to receive sum new orders but contrary to their expectation the Gate was shut and they confined as Prisoners the Co showing them by his orders which was

that they must be sent off and that the lands and cattle was become forfeited to the King. Seeing themselves so Decoyed the shame and confusion of face together with Anger so altered their countenance that it cant be express¹³⁵ NB the Co Suffered 20 of the french to be out of the Garison at the time¹³⁶

Sunday 7th Lieut Crooker returned from Chignecto and informs us that Majr Fry¹³⁷ had Ben to Shepardee¹³⁸ to Burn the villages and that the enemy had fallen upon a party of them and had killd and taken 23 of our men one of which was Lieut March¹³⁹

Tuesday ye 9th Ensign Gay¹⁴⁰ and Fasset¹⁴¹ with a party of 50 men went to River Canar to take the names of the People in those village.¹⁴²

The 10th Neer 300 men of the french put on board the transports¹⁴³ the 13 one comings of Capt Adamses company Was Drowned.¹⁴⁴

15th Day two men whipt for Steeling¹⁴⁵

19th Lieut Peabody¹⁴⁶ march with a party for Anapolis¹⁴⁷ to guard a number of French.

20th put on Board 100 more of the French

27 two French men pulled Down 2 picketts and went out of the Garrison unperceived¹⁴⁸

Munday Sept 29th Enseign Fassett marcht with a party for Hallifax.¹⁴⁹

Thursday Octover ye 2nd 1755.

Lieut Bulkeley returned with his Party from Cobiget¹⁵⁰ haveing Burnt all their Buildings¹⁵¹ the 4th Instant Lieut Fit[c]th¹⁵² with a Party for Anapolis.

Wednesday ye 8th about 12 men made their escape from on board the transports¹⁵³ which so affronted the Co that he went out and Burnt two of their Houses.¹⁵⁴ He said if they Do not return quick he will Burn all their effects. Next Day parties was sent out to gather the women and children to put on Board which we accomplished the Day following with out much difficulty.¹⁵⁵

Satterday ye 11th Ensign Carr¹⁵⁶ with a party of 40 went to the River Abitong¹⁵⁷ after sum french that as we heard was about to run away when they came to the village they se a french man moun his horse and endeavored to make his escape they call'd him to stop. But he Dubled his pace upon which they Shot after him Gave him such a wound that he expired in a few minutes.¹⁵⁸

He returned the Day following haveing taken 5 of the french¹⁵⁹

Tuesday ye 14th I went with a party of 30 men to find those that ware stragleing and to order the women to get theire effects on Board I returned with one prisoner which was sent on Board with the Rest.

October y[e] 15th I went with Capt Adams and Hobbs with a party of 100 men to put the french on board the vessels¹⁶⁰ we returned on Thursday ye 23rd and there not being vessels enough to put all the french on Board we Brought with us to Grand Pree about 600 persons.¹⁶¹

On Wednesday ye 29th the fleet saild with the french from Mines leaving those 600 for want of transports.¹⁶²

Satterday Nov ye 1st 1755.

We are informed that we are like to Winter in Nova Scotia [6]

Ye 2nd we begun to burn there villages and this Day Burnt the villages that was By the River Gotro¹⁶³ and ye Day following I went with a party of 90 men to the River Canar and the nex Day was joind by the Col and a small party in order to Burn those villages we returned on Fryday ye 7th haveing accomplished our Business and as the old french say Burnt 1000 Hogsheads¹⁶⁴ of wheet.¹⁶⁵ On Tuesday last Capt Adams & Hobbs with a party of 80 men marcht for Anapolis Royal in order to gether the french that lived thereabouts.

Fryday 14th Col Winslow with a party of 80 men marcht for Halifax 30 of which was left at Forte Edward¹⁶⁶ Capt Osgood was now commedante at Grand Pre.

On Sunday ye 30th by a Scooner from Boston we are informed of a great earthquake¹⁶⁷ which was on the eleventh of Nov

Tuesday 2 Decembr arived in the Bason 5 vessells with the remainder of the first Batn¹⁶⁸ ye 3e Majr Preble Parson Philips Capt Thomas¹⁶⁹ and Capt Speakman came to Grand Pre. I was then the officer of the Guard I mustered my men and a nobre of others to join them and upon those gentlemen entering the forte Honour'd them with a Handsom vollie the next Day sd Gentlemen together with Doctr Whelworth¹⁷⁰ & The Adjetant set out for Hallifax.¹⁷¹

Sunday ye 7th Ensign Cobb¹⁷² with a party of 45 men to joyn us we being sum what sickly in our Camp N. B. this Day was a Bad snow storm

On Tuesday ye 9th instant Died our Majr Drumer Ye 10th we were a puting sum of the last of the french on board which we accomplished on Firday ye 19th instant and the same Day the transports sail'd one for Boston the other for Carolina¹⁷³ we hear by a party that came from Annapolis that Corpl Pollard of Capt Hobbses company haveing taken three french men thay seeming to be onest men he did not bind them but as they war going to Annappolis the Capt haveing but one man with him the french ran upon them Snatcht away their arms and one shot Pollard in his sholder and then made their escape.

Nothing more remarkable but on the 21st instant Ensign Fasset set out for Hallifazx¹⁷⁴ ye 22 Corpl Kenne¹⁷⁵ for Anapolis ye 24 Wm Hodge¹⁷⁶ recd 10 Lashes for striking Sergt Walker

Ye 26th one of the regulars Recd 30 Lashes one of our troops 45 also this Day Died a man in our camp the 29th Capt Adams & Hobbs returned with their Party from Annapolis nothing more Remarkable this month; Thus in Mines at our Camp at Grand Pree I end the year 1755.

January ye 1st Day A D 1756

This morning I set out for Hallifax with a party of 0¹⁷⁷ men and coming to

Pisquit River the tide be flood we ware forst to camp on this Side opposet to Forte Edward¹⁷⁸ ye 2^d night at a Village call'd the five houses¹⁷⁹

Ye 3 on the woods ye 4th at Forte Sackwell¹⁸⁰ after a tedious Days march one of our men being froze. We stayed at sd forte the 5th Day and ye 6th arived at Hallifax where I stayed till the 9th Day of April¹⁸¹ Dureing which time I remarke nothing seing little Els but Confusion.

On the 23rd Instant Cpts Adams Hobbs & Osgood arived hear with the whole of there men excepting Lieut Bulkeley & 20 men which came sum time after.

And now the mens time being expired they grew very uneasy & want to get home.

Gebruary¹⁸² ye 9th 1756 being favored with a wind our Battallion being on board the Transports we sail'd from Hallifax under the convoy of the Man a Wa[r] Sloop Vultre we put into Mallagash¹⁸³ for fear of a Storme. The Day following where we Lay till the 14th and then the whol[e] fleet intending to stop at Port La Ture¹⁸⁴ we being b[e]calm'd anchor'd this evening In LaHave but came to sail before morning. Leaving the fleet we had a good [7] wind and on the 17th ware in hope of ariving at Boston 18th but a storm arose and we ware cast on Autucket Shooles where we all expected to be Lost not knowing where we was but at Day Brake we found to our sorrow that we had Lost our way but ware forst to Go forward and it was very foggy but before night we got to Autucket to our Great joy we Lay wind Bound till the 25th and then set sail having got a good Pilot but we ware oblig'd to Put into Cape Cod where we ware wind till the 24 then being favored with a good wind we arived at Boston our Desired porte having Lost 4 men on our Passage.

UNIQUE ASPECTS AND VALUE OF THE DIARY

Despite its rudimentary style — a trait it shares with most if not all of its fellows — Bancroft's journal is a welcome addition to our body of evidence for the 1755 campaign. The document has intrinsic value even at a basic level of analysis, for it illuminates several previously darkened subjects. The “shame and confusion... together with Anger” sweeping the faces of the Grand-Pré Acadians as they were placed under arrest offers a dramatic example. Probed more deeply, and read in conjunction with our other sources, we begin to feel something of the social texture of the events of that summer. While the following cannot offer an exhaustive discussion of the document's significance, the matters of religiosity, discipline and punishment, archaeology, and the nature of the violence directed toward the Acadians offer at least a starting point in what we hope will be further analysis.

To begin with the supernatural, it is not surprising that Bancroft sees his God as present and actively involved in the Beauséjour campaign. While the details of his writing in this respect conceal no devil, they do perhaps say something about the contractual nature of this man's relationship with his divinity. Bancroft refers

to God three times, all in the short span of time before the fall of Fort Beauséjour, and on each occasion either prays for protection (on commencing his voyage) or gives thanks for deliverance from harm's way.¹⁸⁵ God merits no reference during the subsequent eight months, though Bancroft diligently records the subjects of the regimental minister's sermons until Sunday August 10th, when he notes only that "This day Parson Philips preach't ect." We have no way of knowing if Bancroft's previous attention to scriptural detail might have returned after this date, for his detachment departed for Pisiquid on August 14th, leaving Parson Philips behind. The pattern that emerges accords not only with a long established hypothesis among anthropologists linking magico-religious appeals to instrumental ends, but also with the notion that threat and uncertainty tend to promote such appeals. Gemelch's engaging study of the use of magic in the game of baseball makes this point well in a modern context, for the players who tend to engage most often in superstitious behaviour on the baseball diamond do so in the contexts of pitching and hitting, high pressure activities that are subject to chance.¹⁸⁶

Parson Philips' selections of scripture for his sermons appear to have been partly influenced by the New England force's circumstances, and by a desire to shape its response to these conditions. Between April 10th, when the regiment mustered at Boston, and the last week of February 1756, when it returned home, Bancroft records the subjects of 13 Sunday sermons, two before the fall of Beauséjour and 11 after. There is a general agreement between Bancroft and Willard on this subject, though the latter was evidently not as diligent in his efforts to record his parson's efforts (Table 1). At least one scriptural critique of idolatry¹⁸⁷ and a citation of Jesus' invective against the hypocrisy of the Pharisees¹⁸⁸ may have offered Philips an opportunity to assail the Catholic enemy, but without the texts of the sermons themselves we will never know for certain. More personally instructive was the sermon delivered at Deer Island before the force left Massachusetts, after which Abijah Willard notes "we was Entertained a Discourse be content with your wagers."¹⁸⁹ Bancroft records Luke 3:14 as the subject of the following week's sermon, which makes the very same point.¹⁹⁰ Morning and afternoon sermons on July 6th likewise encourage listeners to reflect on their actions, offering an injunction against vanity as well as a reminder that a divine judge presides over all: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for these things God will bring thee into judgment" (Eccl. 11:9). The following week's sermon, based on Proverbs 15:21, may have reinforced this point ("Folly is joy to him that is destitute of wisdom: but a man of understanding walketh uprightly"), and was accentuated by an encouragement to greater social harmony: "Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity" (Psalms 133:1). Words such as these are well deployed among hundreds of armed young men, whose frequent misdemeanors did

not escape Bancroft's notice. The breaches and infractions recorded in his journal become more frequent in the period after Beauséjour's capitulation.

Table 1: Parson Philips' Sermons According to Witnesses

Date	Scripture	Source
13 April	no mention chapter & verse unrecorded	Bancroft p. 1 Willard p.
20 April	no mention chapter & verse unrecorded	Bancroft p. 1 Willard p. 13
27 April	no mention chapter & verse unrecorded	Bancroft p. 1 Willard p. 13
4 May	no mention Preaching on Deer Island "Entertained a Discourse be Content with your Wagers"	Bancroft p. 1 Willard p. 14
11 May 1755	Luke 3:14 chapter & verse unrecorded	Bancroft p. 1 Willard p. 15
18 May 1755	1 st Timothy 4:8 "Capt. Probey Read Prayers and Sermon"	Bancroft p. 1 Willard p. 16
25 May 1755	At sea (Boston to Annapolis Royal)	
1 June 1755	At sea (Annapolis Royal to Chignecto)	
8 June 1755	In action before Fort Beauséjour	
5 June 1755	In action before Fort Beauséjour	
22 June 1755	Bancroft detached to Fort Gaspereau First time Parson Philips preached since forces arrived at Beauséjour.	
Date	Scripture	Source

29 June 1755 (AM)	Isaiah 46:8 Indicates Philips preached morning and afternoon but chapter & verse unrecorded	Bancroft p. 3 Willard p. 27
29 June 1755 (PM)	2 nd Corinthians 5:11	Bancroft p. 3
6 July 1755 (AM)	Eccl. 6:11,12 Eccl. 11:12 ¹⁹¹	Bancroft p. 3 Willard p. 28
6 July 1755 (PM)	Eccl. 11:9 Eccl. 11:9	Bancroft p. 3 Willard p. 28
13 July 1755 (AM)	No mention Proverbs 15:21	Willard p. 29 Bancroft p. 3
13 July 1755 (PM)	Psalms 133:1	Bancroft p. 3
20 July 1755 (AM)	Matthew 24:12	Bancroft p. 3
20 July 1755 (PM)	Matthew 1:16-20	Bancroft p. 3
20 July 1755	Matthew 19:16 (doesn't indicate am or pm)	Willard p. 30
27 July (AM)	Numbers 23:10 Numbers 23:10	Bancroft p. 4 Willard p. 31
27 July (PM)	Matthew 23:28 Matthew 23:23 ¹⁹²	Bancroft p. 4 Willard p. 31
3 August	Jeremiah 17:27 Jeremiah 17:17 ¹⁹³	Bancroft p. 4 Willard p. 32
10 August	Chapter & verse unrecorded Willard detached to Cobequid	Bancroft p. 4 Willard p. 35
17 August	Bancroft detached to Pisiquid Willard in Tatamagouche area	Bancroft p. 4 Willard p. 42

Bancroft refers to indiscipline on 18 occasions between May 28th and December 26th 1755 (Table 2). Sixteen of these events result in courts martial leading to the corporal punishment of 28 individuals. Of cases tried, the majority involved theft (10) or insubordination (9). Drunkenness and assault were charged in two cases, and the charges are unstated in seven others. At least two cases, perpetrated at Grand-Pré on September 3rd and September 15th, involved soldiers stealing from the Acadians. Bancroft's account testifies to the dim view his commander took of such actions, reportedly warning his men on their arrival at Grand-Pré "not to take anything from the french not so much as a fowl." If concern for Acadian property appears out of place in the mind of a destroyer, it should be remembered that the Deportation effectively transferred most Acadian property to the crown. As such, stealing from the Acadians equated to stealing from the government. Winslow likely regarded these petty depredations as a needless source of agitation to the already burdened inhabitants, and to the extent that these practices heightened the risks to his own men and mission, probably felt justified in suppressing them on purely practical grounds. Beyond this, however, Winslow appears — not only through his private reflections but through his actions — to have strived to limit the suffering of the Acadians he was charged to deport. The September 15th theft and subsequent court martial came on the heels of an order to his troops dated September 13th and recorded in Winslow's journal, stating that "no party or person will be admitted to go out after calling the role on any account whatsoever, as many bad things have been done lately, in the night season to the distressing the distressed French inhabitants in this neighbourhood and that in the day season when the companies want water a Serjt or Corporal to go with the party who are not to suffer the men to intermeddle with the French or their effects."¹⁹⁴ In both cases cited above, the offenders were subjected to the lash in the same manner as their fellow thieves whose targets were English-speakers.¹⁹⁵

Flogging was clearly the preferred form of punishment, employed in 21 of the cases and applying anywhere from 10 to 50 lashes (though in many cases the exact number is unstated). Offenders rode the wooden horse in 5 cases and were either dismissed or demoted in two. On the whole, considering the New England force numbered nearly 2000 men, this may not indicate an outrageous degree of disorder. If the recorded rates of trial and punishment are at all in line with the actual rate of offense, the undisciplined among Shirley's Regiment are a fraction of the estimated 10 per cent of British troops said to have been given over to permanent 'black-guardism' during the Napoleonic period.¹⁹⁶ Indiscipline in the British Army peaked in 1868, when courts martial involved 13.7 per cent of the force, resulting in 25,612 convictions in an army numbering 186,508.¹⁹⁷ Much of this was symptomatic of drink, but that this high rate of disorder should prevail at a time of relative peace for the British Army, at least in the traditional theatre of Europe, may be no accident.

Table 2: Indiscipline According to Bancroft's Journal

Date	Event	Punishment ¹⁹⁸
28 May	Rumblings over rum ration	None
25 June	Unknown	Horse
25 June	Unknown	Horse
30 June	Theft	Dismissal
3 July	Theft	Whipping
3 July	Theft	Whipping
4 July	Verbal abuse	Whipping
4 July	"Considerable mutiny" over rum	None
8 July	Rum mutiny	Whipping
8 July	Rum mutiny	Whipping
8 July	Rum mutiny	Horse
8 July	Rum mutiny	Horse
8 July	Rum mutiny	Horse
11 July	Theft	Whipping
11 July	Theft	Whipping
11 July	Theft	Whipping
20 July	Theft	Whipping (50)
25 July	Theft	Whipping (20)
29 July	Unknown	Whipping (20)
2 August	"Sausiness"	Whipping (20)
2 August	Drunkenness	Demotion
5 August	Drunkenness	Whipping (20)
7 August	Unknown	Whipping (20)
3 September	Theft	Whipping (30)
3 September	Assault	Whipping (20)
15 September	Theft	Whipping (30)
15 September	Theft	Whipping (10)
26 December	Unknown	Whipping (30)
26 December	Unknown	Whipping (45)

The timing of indiscipline among the men of Shirley's Regiment deserves comment, for punishable offences appear to coincide with periods of relative inactivity.¹⁹⁹ With the exception of rumblings over interruptions in the rum ration at Annapolis Royal on May 28th, we hear of no disturbances until a little over a week after the fall of Beauséjour, after which time significant offences occur almost weekly. John Winslow acknowledges this correlation in a letter to Charles Lawrence penned on

July 3rd, in which he requests that his men “may not be Kept in a State of Indolence for by Long Experience I find that to be the Most Hurtful to them of anything I Can Immagine.”²⁰⁰ The timing of this letter is even more significant in light of Bancroft’s journal, for although Winslow is mute on the subject, Bancroft writes on July 4th of “a considerable mutiny by the men be[ing] denied thare Rum.” Perhaps Winslow had tightened the taps to quell disorder? Alcohol, which has played an important role in bolstering martial courage since ancient times, has always been a dubious gift for the warrior.²⁰¹ One local example of drink gone wrong, which may have been known to Winslow and Bancroft through New England military lore, arose during Benjamin Church’s 1704 raid on Grand-Pré. His force temporarily collapsed into disorder when, in the midst of their pillaging, the men discovered large quantities of brandy and claret in the Acadian homes. Gorging themselves on free liquor, they quickly became drunk, “firing at every pig, turkey, or fowl they saw... which endangered our own men.”²⁰²

Bancroft’s words have much to offer the historical archaeologist, as recent efforts at Grand-Pré National Historic Site have demonstrated. Here, every summer since 2001, an archaeological field school project — a joint initiative of Parks Canada,



Figure 1: Constructed in 1922, the Memorial Church at Grand-Pré, with the statue of the fictitious heroine, Evangéline, in front, is the most prominent touchstone of the Acadian deportation experience

Saint Mary’s University, and the Société Promotion Grand-Pré — has explored traces of the Acadian village now concealed by gardens, hedges, and manicured lawns. Tasked with evaluating the claims of folklore, which situate the parish church of St-Charles-des-Mines at or near the site’s iconic memorial church (Figure 1), we have found in Bancroft something of a devil’s advocate. The journal records that the first phase of Winslow’s palisade enclosed the church and two houses,²⁰³ and measured approximately 85m by 45m.²⁰⁴ Winslow’s subsequent order to enclose the cemetery on August 30th presumably required part of the palisade line to be dismantled, repositioned, and extended, thus enlarging the camp’s footprint. This move is both a gain and loss for the modern researcher, for although the Acadian cemetery may now be assumed to have been within the palisaded enclosure of the New Englanders’

camp, the camp's modified dimensions are no longer clear. Fortunately, the location of the cemetery is known archaeologically, and is currently marked by a stone cross built by John Frederic Herbin in 1909. Once the boundaries of this cemetery are established archaeologically, a goal which should be attainable in the near future, Bancroft's testimony of the camp's dimensions can then be applied to the site in order to identify the church of St-Charles-des-Mines and its associated buildings. At this stage the validity of traditional interpretations, which place the original church under the foundations of the memorial structure, is uncertain. The memorial church may be too far west of the cemetery (in excess of 130m) to be accommodated within Bancroft's camp dimensions, which pose something of a challenge to traditional knowledge.

The elusive ruin of the church of St-Charles-des-Mines speaks to the fragility of received wisdom under the weight of new evidence. In this instance Bancroft's words no doubt strain our traditional model, but his journal compensates for the aggravation by raising new questions. One significant way in which it does so is by offering evidence — some supporting and some entirely new— concerning the occasional use of deadly force, or of other forms of grievous assault directed against the Acadian population during the campaign, as well by providing hints of Acadian resistance.²⁰⁵ While the Deportation of 1755 did not witness massacres like those accompanying the forced migrations of more recent times, the Anglo-American troops did on occasion use deadly force against civilians. The supporting evidence of one such instance takes the form of a reference to at least one unarmed Acadian man shot while trying to flee a New England detachment on October 11th. The individual in question had been among the group of young men who had escaped from the transports anchored at the mouth of the Gaspereau River on the night of October 7th. Winslow describes the shooting in these terms in an October 12th journal entry:

Our Partys being reconnitering the Countrey Fell in with One of the French Deserters, who Endeavord to Make his Escape on horse Back. They Hald him & Fired over him, but he Persisted in riding off when one of our men Shot him Dead of his horse. and also Meeting with a Party of the Same People Fired upon them. but they made their Escape into the woods.²⁰⁶

This event became the subject of some media attention when in 2001 the University of Louisiana acquired a letter written by John Winslow to an individual identified only as "Dear doctor."²⁰⁷ It describes the shooting as follows:

These acquaint you that the camp in general is well. We have ship of here 1510 of the inhabitants. We had the whole collected and for want of transport have left 600 people. Have had no uncommon disturbance. The young

fellows took in on their head, to desert our party. Kil'd one & I believe one other as he has not been heard of and the rest return. I yesterday began to burn the out posts & march this afternoon to proceed on that business. I expect to see the battallion soon united at Halifax. I refer you to Capt. Gorham for news. Am yours, etc. John Winslow. P.S. — I would not have you or Mr. Tyler tarry if it can be helped but in case of necessity. Direct the Commanding Officer as a favor to me that Doctor Tyler is left and you joyne the Regiments. I have sent Mr. Tyler letter therefore him this.²⁰⁸

The contents of the letter, when compared with the events described in the journals of Bancroft and Winslow, suggest it was penned on November 3rd. Winslow wrote a letter to Monckton at Chignecto on this date, a copy of which he entered into his journal, and presumably this letter was sent with it.²⁰⁹ Bancroft's journal entry for October 11th not only confirms the event, but provides additional details, indicating that a party of 40 men under the command of Ensign Carr (perhaps Par) shot the man in a village on the Habitant River. With respect to Acadian resistance, in Bancroft's journal we also find mention of prisoners fleeing the New England camp by pulling up pickets (September 27th), and overpowering New England troops on the road to Annapolis to make their escape (December 9th).²¹⁰

An even more interesting cross reading of the sources is possible with events on the eve of Winslow's reading the deportation order to the Acadians assembled at Grand-Pré. We pick up this thread in Winslow's journal on September 3rd, when, "Past nine in ye Evening," guards at the west end of the camp opened fire on a fleeing soldier. Winslow immediately ordered the roll called and discovered the missing man to be Private William Jackson of Hopson's Regiment, one of the regulars swapped from Fort Edward to act as a guide.²¹¹ Jackson was taken into custody and faced a court martial the next day, where he was sentenced to 20 lashes. So Winslow leaves the matter, but Bancroft notes his crime as "offering to force a french woman." This was almost certainly a sexual assault. As with the thefts and abuse of alcohol previously noted, assaults of this type are not unexpected in the context of a military occupation, particularly with a disarmed civilian population.²¹² Yet the broader circumstances suggest Private Jackson's aggression may have formed part of a more complicated narrative. He and his fellows had been sent to Grand-Pré to act as guides because they knew the area, likely because they had been in the garrison at Fort Vieux Logis sometime during that post's lifespan (1749-1754). Possibly owing to the enduring power of the *paradis perdu* myth,²¹³ it is not often enough recognized that Grand-Pré was subject to an extended military occupation in the years before 1755.²¹⁴ *Contra* Longfellow, all was not verdant and pacific prior to Winslow's arrival. If Jackson had been part of the Vieux Logis garrison, he would have had some degree of experience with the inhabitants, which raises the possibility that

he might already have known, and been known by, the French woman he “offered to force” on the night of September 3rd. Bancroft’s words support us this far down the path of plausible speculation before giving way underfoot. This new source does, however, suggest that the time has arrived for a more serious study of gender in the Deportation — a subject that has strangely attracted very little discussion to date.

Readers may question the extent to which the Bancroft diary, in fleshing out events such as the thefts, shooting, and assault noted above, contributes to the growing debate concerning the applicability of terms like ethnic cleansing and genocide to the Deportation of the Acadians. Some writers have adopted this language without much discussion,²¹⁵ while others have resisted the notion out of a conviction that their use obscures the geopolitical complexities surrounding the deportation, or simply commits the sin of anachronism.²¹⁶ This is not the place to fully discuss this complex subject, but it is worth noting that the wanton violence and cruelty typically associated with modern understandings of these terms are not essential components of either. The validity of John Mack Faragher’s assertion — to take perhaps the most well-known advocate of the case — that the Deportation of the Acadians can be properly understood as “the first episode of state-sponsored ethnic cleansing in North American history” does not, therefore, rely on our ability to detect episodes of mass murder among its events.²¹⁷ The definition of ethnic cleansing Faragher employs is drawn from a United Nations Security Council report commissioned in 1992 to investigate atrocities then being committed in the former Yugoslavia. At its core it states: “ethnic cleansing’ is a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas.”²¹⁸ As such, the fact that mass murder is not a feature of the deportation diaries simply misses the point.

While the resolution of the question of ethnic cleansing must necessarily await further consideration, in the meantime Bancroft’s diary does offer evidence, as does Winslow’s, to lower the temperature on at least part of the discussion. Even if, as Faragher rightly maintains, “the plunder and wanton destruction of communities” was a feature of the Acadian Deportation, such was not the case everywhere. As the evidence of the courts martial described above indicate, at least some commanders showed a level of restraint.²¹⁹ Probing the motives of all the actors and gauging the significance of their deeds requires sensitivity to nuance and an awareness of individual narratives and viewpoints. Regardless of the outcome of the ethnic cleansing debate, stereotype and caricature must not be permitted to blur the edges of such minute but nonetheless very important details.

CONCLUSION

Jeremiah Bancroft did not live a long life, but he lived in interesting times. Whatever possessed him to record the daily activities of he and his fellows, we can never

know for certain. Unlike John Winslow, he did not likely see himself as part of a political-military dynasty, saddled with the honourable burden of detailing the trials of his command for the benefit of posterity. Bancroft may have simply responded to the impulse that animates so many diarists: an acute sensitivity to the passage of time, coupled with a desire to capture and convey some impression of his youthful adventures to his future self in old age. The journal bears the mark of a writer sometimes scribbling in haste, occasionally retrospectively, and not infrequently recording, in a very human way, the little details that struck him as personally significant. This last facet of the work, admittedly left virtually unexplored here, may prove yet another fruitful area for research. We detect a faint hint of this promise in his mention of Lawrence's word of thanks after the reduction of Beauséjour, or in the obvious satisfaction Bancroft felt in honouring Major Preble's party with "a Handsom vollie" upon their arrival at Grand-Pré on December 3rd. The commingling of these feelings of camaraderie and solidarity amid the devastation of Acadian Minas give us pause to reflect on the meaning of humanism, if indeed these words serve to humanize the New England volunteers at all. Although the smallpox that took his life within two years of his return to Massachusetts thwarted any personal mnemonic intent of Bancroft's diary, we are fortunate that this fascinating document has survived and at last finds itself before historians and the public.

ENDNOTES

1. The authors would like to thank A. J. B. Johnston, Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, John Reid, Jeff Turner, and the editorial committee of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society for their instructive feedback and editorial vigilance during the preparation of this paper.
2. "Diary a New England Soldier, Serving in Nova Scotia in 1755-1756," NSARM, MG 100, Vol. 143, No. 2, pp. 3, 5.
3. Under General Major General Edward Braddock, plans in early 1755 called for pushing back the frontier with New France by capturing, not only Fort Beauséjour, but also Fort Niagara, Fort Duquesne on the Ohio River and Fort St. Frédéric on Lake Champlain. The year ended with no advances against Fort Niagara and Fort St. Frédéric, and Anglo-American forces being decimated in a disastrous attempt against Fort Duquesne which cost Braddock his life. See William M. Fowler, *Empires at War: The Seven Years' War and the Struggle for North America 1754-1763* (New York, 2005), pp. 49-73; George F. C. Stanley, *New France The Last Phase 1744-1760* (Toronto, 1968), p. 92; Francis Parkman, *France and England in North America*, Vol. II, (New York, 1983), p. 970.
4. The one other diary is that of Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow. It relates to both the siege at Fort Beauséjour and the deportation of Acadians from the Minas Basin area. Interspersed with notes of day-to-day happenings are copies of letters and orders Winslow issued and received. This material was published in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, III (1883), pp. 71-196, and in IV (1885), pp. 113-246.
5. In colonial armies, ensign was the most junior rank among the commissioned officers. The ensign carried the regimental colours into battle.

6. Monckton, an officer among the 47th Regiment, had overall command of the force which besieged Fort Beauséjour. Bancroft's military background has been gleaned largely from "The Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, IV (1885) (hereafter *Winslow IV*) pp. 134, 137-138. His family background may be found in Tim Bancroft and Allan Bancroft, "The Diary of Jeremiah Bancroft April 1755 to February 1756," 2002, a 35-page manuscript report held by the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, and by Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management [hereafter NSARM], Halifax.
7. *Winslow IV*, p. 144; I.K. Steele, "Robert Monckton," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. IV (Toronto, 1979), pp. 540-542.
8. "Diary a New England Soldier, Serving in Nova Scotia in 1755-1756," NSARM, MG 100, Vol. 143, No. 2, p. 8.
9. Bill Smallwood, *Abuse of Power: The Acadians* (Ottawa, 2004), pp. 117-395.
10. Most of the Acadians rounded up by Monckton and Winslow while the latter was encamped at Beauséjour were from the Chignecto region. However, a few were taken from as far afield as the Northumberland Strait communities of Tatamagouche and Remshag (Wallace), and possibly Cobequid at the head of Cobequid Bay.
11. Jacau's diary was first published (without the author being identified) in H.-R. Casgrain, *Relations et journaux de différentes expéditions ...* (Québec, 1895), pp. 7-51 (Vol. 11 of the 12-volume work by Casgrain entitled *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis* published at Québec from 1889 to 1896). For an English translation see J.C. Webster, *The Siege of Beausejour in 1755* (Saint John, 1986) (hereafter *Jacau*), pp. 4-42. As a measure of the smallness of the social world our subjects inhabited, it is worth noting that Jacau was the son of Anne Melanson, who was the daughter of one of Grand-Pré's founding families, Pierre Melanson and Marguerite Mius d'Entremont. The New England men upon whom he trained his guns during the Beauséjour siege were, within a few weeks, to be occupying his mother's village and deporting its inhabitants. See Stephen White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes*, Vol. II, (Moncton, 1999), pp. 867, 1149.
12. De Courville's diary was first published in *Mémoires sur le Canada* (Québec, 1838), pp. 42-51, at which time the author of the memoirs was unknown. Subsequent editions contain the name of the author, Louis-Léonard Aumasson de Courville. An English translation may be found in John Clarence Webster, *Journals of Beausejour: Diary of John Thomas, Journal of Louis de Courville* (Halifax, 1937), pp. 41-54.
13. See, for example, Albert David, « Le Judas de l'Acadie, » *Revue de l'université d'Ottawa*, Vol. III, 1933, pp. 492—513 and Vol. IV, 1934, pp. 22-35.
14. Pichon's diary is part of a bound volume of manuscripts at NSARM entitled "Manuscript Correspondence in 1754 and 1755 between M. Pychon (or Tyrell) at Beauséjour and Halifax and British Officers. Memoirs by the same on Beauséjour and Louisbourg, &c. Collected and arranged under the direction of the Commissioner of Public Records at Halifax, 1861." An English translation may be found in John Clarence Webster, *Thomas Pichon 'The Spy of Beausejour'*, (hereafter *Pichon*) (Halifax, 1937), pp. 100-107.
15. Le Loutre's description of the attack against Fort Beauséjour was published as part of Le Loutre's autobiography by Albert David in *Nova Francia*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (Paris, 1937), pp. 1-34. An English translation appears in John Clarence Webster, *The Career of the Abbe Le Loutre in Nova Scotia* (Shediac, 1933), p. 49. For an example of particularly negative assessment of Le Loutre's role in Acadia, see Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (London, 1964 [1884]), p. 92.
16. Willard's diary is held by the Huntington Library at San Marino, CA. It was published by J.C.

Webster, *Journal of Abijah Willard 1755* (Saint John, c. 1930) (hereafter *Willard*). See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. IV, (Toronto, 1979), pp. 769-770.

17. The Thomas diary, which is held by the Massachusetts Historical Society, was first published at Boston in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 33, 1879, pp. 383-398, and subsequently (without notes) in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, I (1878), pp. 119-140. For a published version with annotations see John Clarence Webster, *Journals of Beausejour: Diary of John Thomas, Journal of Louis de Courville* (Halifax, 1937) (hereafter *Thomas*), pp. 9-39.
18. The diary of Monckton while at Fort Beauséjour is among the Cumberland Papers at the Royal Library of Windsor Castle. It was published in John Clarence Webster, *The Forts of Chignecto* (Shediac, 1930) (hereafter *Monckton*), pp. 110-116.
19. In 1891 Stevens published the 352-page *History of Stoneham* which has been republished more than once, the last time being in 2002. In 1907 he published *History of the Fiftieth Regiment of Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia in the Late War of the Rebellion*. In early 1899 it was Stevens who gave the “welcome home” address at Stoneham to a company of the 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry which had just returned from serving during the previous year in Puerto Rico in the war against Spain. It appears that at some point he ran as a Republican for the office of District Attorney. For Stevens’ books and year of birth see the Library of Congress webpage <http://catalog.loc.gov/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search%5FArg=stevens%20william%20b&Search%5FCode=NAME%5F&CNT=25&PID=28698&BROWSE=2&HC=2&SID=1>. For Stevens’ address in 1899 see www.spanamwar.com/6thMass.htm
20. From the layout of the typing on the first page of the transcript at NSARM one can be reasonably certain that someone has not simply used a typewriter to add a few lines, i.e. the words of the upper case quotation appearing in the above text, to a typed transcript which had already been prepared by, or under the direction of, Stevens. The evidence clearly points to someone having typed, or retyped the transcript that Stevens had prepared, and to the transcript provided to NSARM having been typed sometime after Stevens’ death. Unfortunately, records at NSARM can shed no light on precisely when this institution acquired the transcript or from whom (other than the notation on the file folder that it was presented to NSARM by Judge Stevens!). It should also be noted that the typing style, e.g. word spacing irregularities, in the typescript provided to NSARM suggests that this typescript may have been produced by someone who was neither particularly meticulous nor a well-experienced typist. Finally, the appearance of a question mark after the words “Nova Scotia” is intriguing. In fact, not only a question mark appears here, but both a question mark and a comma, one of which is overwritten on the other. Since the word “Nova Scotia” does not appear in the diary, it is possible that Judge Stevens, or the typist, was not entirely sure that Nova Scotia was the setting for Bancroft’s military activities. It is more probable, however, that a comma after “Nova Scotia” was intended, and by error a question mark was inserted and subsequently partially corrected by overwriting with a comma.
21. Certain information which is contained at the back of the diary, but not forming part of the diary proper, has been omitted here. This includes “Elisabeth Bancrofts Memerandam,” a compilation of genealogical data relating to the Bancroft family and individuals related by marriage, but not penned by Jeremiah. Also omitted is an inventory of the estate of the late Jeremiah Bancroft compiled a little over a year following his death, and a compilation of distances from one place to another along the way from Boston to Annapolis Royal. The latter was probably penned in the diary by Bancroft himself, perhaps during his trip to Chignecto in 1755, but possibly subsequently.
22. An undated letter by John Winslow to Massachusetts Governor William Shirley, recommends the volunteers be paid “fifteen Pounds old Tenor pr. Man (viz.) Ninety Shillings pr. Man at the time of Enlistment, and Ten. Pound, ten Shillings, at their Mustering at the Place of Rendevous”

(*Winslow IV*, p. 114). Winslow's instructions from Shirley, dated February 12th 1755, direct him to pay "each Man at the time of his Enlistment two Dollars, in Part of ten Pounds, Old Tenor as Bounty Money, the Remainder to be paid them after their Arrival at Head Quarters, and Having passed Muster." Clothing and equipment were to be supplied by the crown (*Winslow IV*, pp. 116-117). The wage is later described as "Six Pence pr. day, from the date of his Enlistment, up to the 14th Instant inclusive, and four Pence more pr. Diem from the 25th of March inclusive to the Day of their Embarkation" (*Winslow IV*, p. 120).

23. Castle William the fortification guarding Boston Harbour. The brick fort of Bancroft's day dated from the late 17th century.
24. Captain Nathaniel Perry's Company, initially comprising 99 officers and men, was one of 10 companies forming the Second Battalion of Shirley's Regiment (*Winslow IV*, pp. 138, 142).
25. The quarterdeck is part of a ship's upper deck near the stern; usually reserved for officers. Osgood's Company sailed on the sloop *Swan* (*Winslow IV*, p. 134).
26. A snow is a two-masted merchant vessel with square sails and a supplementary trysail behind the main mast.
27. Parson John Phillips, a staff officer attached to the First Battalion and chaplain to both First and Second Battalions, was an acquaintance of John Winslow and William Shirley; see "Journal of Colonel John Winslow of the Provincial Troops, While Engaged in Removing the Acadian French Inhabitants from Grand Pre, and the Neighbouring Settlements, in the Autumn of the Year 1755," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, III (1883) (hereafter *Winslow III*), pp. 187, 191. Also *Winslow IV*, p. 138.
28. The word should likely be "arrived." This could be the typist's error rather than Bancroft's, as the keys 'd' and 'e' are adjacent and thus easily miss-keyed.
29. Ascension Day, the 40th day after Easter Sunday.
30. The soldiers.
31. Daily rum allowance. Winslow makes no mention of this disturbance, nor does Willard or Thomas.
32. Built by Charles Lawrence on Fort Ridge in September 1750 on the site of the Acadian village of Beaubassin, which had been destroyed the previous April. The fort was the subject a rescue archaeology program in 1992. See Stephen Davis, Laird Niven and M. Vance "Preliminary Report On The Fort Lawrence Salvage Project" in *Archaeology in Nova Scotia 1991*, edited by Stephen Powell, Nova Scotia Museum Curatorial Report 81, 1996, pp. 144-151.
33. This fortification was located at Pont à Buot about 5 km from Fort Beauséjour and about 150 meters from the west bank of the Missaguash River. Though referred to as a "blockhouse" by Bancroft, Willard and Thomas, it was in fact a triangular-shaped redoubt of wooden pickets and earthworks. Two wooden barracks were close by. See John Clarence Webster, *The Forts of Chignecto* (Shediac, 1930), pp. 46-48 and *Willard*, p. 19.
34. There is a gap in the manuscript here. Future voids are marked in this same manner.
35. According to Willard (*Willard*, p. 19), there were "sum hundreds" of French and Indians. Winslow estimates the number of French regulars, Indians and inhabitants to be about 400 (*Winslow IV*, pp. 146, 172). Jacau reports over 300 men, including 50 Indians (*Jacau*, p. 23).
36. Winslow estimates the initial engagement took only about 15 minutes, but then provides details of a more prolonged exchange of musketry omitted by Bancroft (*Winslow IV*, pp. 146-147).

37. The overnight camp was located just above the marsh on the east side of the ridge, later known as the Fort Cumberland Ridge, a little over a mile southwest of Pont à Buot.
38. The “mass house” in question was the church recently completed by the Abbé Le Loutre. The bell of this church has survived and is on display at Fort Beauséjour – Fort Cumberland National Historic Site.
39. Marsh. Winslow writes “we had a Serjant of the Regulars Kild and three wounded. four wounded of Each of our Battallions and two of The Traine” (, p. 147). Surgeon’s-mate John Thomas records that one man was “Killed Dead on the Spot 2 mortally wounded 10 more thath are likely to Recover of thare wounds” (*Thomas*, p. 15).
40. They “Incampnt from the Marsh to the Top of the Hill and is between the Marsh and the Rhoad that Leads from Forte Beausejour to Bay of Verte... the Regulars next to the Marsh on a Plaine Clear Ground the Second Battallion in the Center the First next to the Road” (*Winslow IV*, p. 147). This camp, on the east face of Mt. Whatley, then known as Butte à Mirande, served as the main base for the siege.
41. Silvanus Cobb (1710-62), a mariner from Plymouth Massachusetts, was active in Nova Scotian waters from 1745. The British employed Cobb and his 80-ton sloop, *York and Halifax*, during the campaigns at Beauséjour and Louisbourg, and in the deportation of the Acadians of Shepody and the Saint John River. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. III (Toronto, 1974), pp. 128-129.
42. The river in question is evidently the Missaguash, a winding tidal creek that serves as the present border between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, just as in the period 1750-55 it was the *de facto* border between British Nova Scotia and continental New France. Judging from the next day’s events, it appears that Cobb was delivering artillery.
43. A small caliber muzzle-loading cannon mounted on an iron swivel, hence “swivel gun”, or in Bancroft’s usage, simply “swivel”.
44. Willard records enemy losses as one killed and several believed wounded (*Willard*, p. 21), while Pichon, on the French side, claims no losses (*Pichon*, p. 101).
45. The new road, which included a new bridge over the Missaguash River near the base camp, greatly reduced the travel distance between Fort Lawrence and the encampment.
46. Alexander Hay (?-1755), ensign in the 40th Regiment. Hay was captured by a group of Mi’kmaq and Acadians led by Joseph Brossard dit Beausoleil. See *Jacau*, pp. 5, 6; *Winslow IV*, p. 174; Chris M. Hand, *The Siege of Fort Beauséjour* (Fredericton, 2004), p. 73.
47. John Winslow (1703-1774), of Marshfield Massachusetts, came from a prominent New England family with a strong military background. Governor Shirley placed him in command of the provincial troops raised for the reduction of Beauséjour in 1755, and after the fall of the fort Monckton dispatched Winslow to Les Mines, where he was to oversee the deportation of the Acadians from Grand-Pré later that year. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. IV, (Toronto, 1979), pp. 774-775; *American National Biography* Vol. 23, (Oxford, 1999), pp. 649-50; *Dictionary of American Biography* Vol. X (New York, 1964), pp. 396-397; Cynthia Krusell, *The Winslows of Careswell in Marshfield* (Marshfield Hills, MA, 1992), pp. 24-39. On this occasion, Monckton had ordered Winslow to reconnoiter the ground overlooking Beauséjour with Winckworth Tonge, their engineer. They found the French waiting for them (*Winslow IV*, p. 148).
48. The bearer was “Majr Barlong” (*Winslow IV*, p. 149). The name was spelled “Baralon” by the French officer, Jacau (*Jacau*, pp. 21, 22).
49. Such a claim by the French is not recorded by any of the other Anglo-American diarists and

would have been at least partly bravado. The garrison, already under strength, had dispatched urgent appeals for assistance to Louisbourg upon first sight of the British flotilla on June 2nd. This help would never arrive. Privately, at least some of the French officers questioned their fort's ability to withstand a siege owing to its poor location and condition (See Hand, *The Siege of Fort Beauséjour*, pp. 22-25). Indeed, the New Englanders were about to exploit the former weakness by placing their artillery in a commanding position. Yet, military etiquette demanded at least a show of resistance if honour was to be preserved, even if some of the defenders may have deemed their resistance to be futile.

50. Winslow does not mention this exchange, but Thomas does (*Thomas*, p. 16).
51. In the typescript "11" has not been typed. Rather, it has been inserted by hand.
52. Winslow's mission this day was to reconnoiter a route for a road for advancing the artillery toward the fort (*Winslow IV*, p. 151).
53. Nathan Adams (1721-1776), a captain in Shirley's provincial regiment, First Battalion (*Winslow IV*, p. 141).
54. The typing crosses the right edge of the page here.
55. No other diarist, English or French, records that a French prisoner was taken this day. However, Winslow, in a letter written two weeks later, probably to Shirley, mentions it (*Winslow IV*, p. 174).
56. In 1755 George Scott (?-1767) was a captain in the 40th Regiment who had commanded Fort Lawrence 1753-54. Bancroft's reference to him as a colonel refers to Scott's rank with respect to the provincial volunteers. Scott was noted for his ability as a skirmisher, and his skills were put to use at the second siege of Louisbourg, where he established the beachhead at Kennington Cove. In 1758 Scott's men laid waste to Petitcodiac, and in 1759 Wolfe employed Scott to raze the French settlements between Kamouraska and Quebec. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. III (Toronto, 1974), pp. 589-590.
57. This use of language betrays a tendency on the part of men like Bancroft to see their enemies in almost animalistic terms. For a discussion of New England perspectives on Aboriginal military tactics, see Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians* (Baltimore, 1993), pp. 27-31. Grenier argues not only that New England military culture in the colonial period evolved out of a synthesis with Aboriginal military cultural norms, but that the Deportation of the Acadians was carried out in the spirit of this doctrine, which "accepted noncombatants as a just and proper target of violence." See John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607-1814* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 19, 84-86.
58. Jedediah Preble (1707-1784), of Portland Maine, saw action in Nova Scotia during King George's War (1744-48), having been with Colonel Arthur Noble at the Battle of Grand-Pré in 1747. Preble served under Winslow as a Major in the First Battalion of Shirley's regiment of provincial troops in 1755 (*Winslow IV*, p. 138).
59. Winslow records Col. Scott's detachment as consisting of 500 men (*Winslow IV*, p. 152).
60. According to Winslow, the man killed was named Pike, of Major Fry's Company (*Winslow IV*, p. 153).
61. The Coehorn was a mortar first employed by Menno van Coehoorn, 'the Dutch Vauban', in 1674. It resembles a stubby cannon and is designed to lob shells at a high trajectory into an enemy's defensive works.

62. Bombs.
63. Among the diarists, only Bancroft mentions this minor damage sustained by his comrades.
64. In his journal Winslow writes “The Enemy this Day Fired at us 140 Cannon Shott and in the Evening Divers Ten Inch Shells which Came near us but Did no Damage” (*Winslow IV*, p. 155).
65. There is no mention of this skirmish in Winslow’s journal or by any of the other diarists.
66. One wonders if a portion of the original sentence was lost here, either by Judge Stevens or the unnamed typist.
67. There is no reference to this in Winslow’s journal or in any of the other journals — English or French.
68. Robert Monckton (1726-1782) was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 47th Regiment during the Beauséjour campaign. Although he had overall command of the operation, he appears to have delegated much of the initial work to Winslow and Scott. Monckton had been commander at Fort Lawrence from 1752-53, and went on to play a prominent role in the Deportation of the Acadians from Chignecto (1755) and Rivière St-Jean (1758), later serving with distinction as Wolfe’s second in command at Quebec. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. IV (Toronto, 1979), pp. 540-542.
69. This may be an instance in which Bancroft’s journal preserves the speaker’s very words, or at least the version of them our author encountered as hearsay about the camp (there is another — and more direct — example on August 19th when Bancroft records Winslow’s admonition to his troops at Grand-Pré).
70. Willard identifies this victim as a “Mickmack” and “the Chief Indian a Sagamore from the Island of Saint Johns”, i.e. a Mi’kmaq chief from what is now Prince Edward Island (*Willard*, p. 25). Winslow describes him only as “one of the Chief of the Indians” (*Winslow IV*, p. 158). Bancroft presumably refers to the English established in and around the garrison at Fort Lawrence, rather than the New England volunteers, when he writes that “many of the English knew him.” Bancroft is the only diarist who identifies the Indian chief and indicates that he was known to the “English.”
71. Thomas Speakman (1722-1757) held the rank of captain in Shirley’s provincial regiment (*Winslow IV*, p. 138). He died as a result of having been scalped during the conflict at Fort William Henry. See Stephen Brumwell, *White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery and Vengeance in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), p. 86.
72. The name he adopted was Fort Cumberland, honoring Prince William, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765), who was the third son of George II. Cumberland was the victor at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, which effectively terminated the Second Jacobite Rebellion.
73. Fort Gaspereaux, established by the French at Baie Verte in 1751, was a small post guarding the northeastern end of the portage route across the Isthmus of Chignecto. From this post, goods were shipped to and from Canada, Ile-Saint-Jean, and Ile-Royale. Fort Gaspereaux is a national historic site located near modern Port Elgin, NB.
74. Winslow led a detachment of 500 men. They marched out at 11 AM and arrived at Fort Gaspereaux by sunset, having been delayed by a destroyed bridge (*Winslow IV*, p. 162-163).
75. Bancroft was the only one of our diarists, other than Winslow, to make the trip to Fort Gaspereau. Since alcohol is not among the stores and provisions inventoried by Winslow’s men at Fort Gaspereau, one may presume that the “comforting” brandy and wine, which is mentioned only by Bancroft, came from private homes or stores. As a transshipment point, Baie Verte saw a great

deal of commercial activity linking the Acadian settlements of Chignecto, Louisbourg and Ile-Saint-Jean. Winslow thought “the Inhabitants of this Vilage Live in better form and more after the English Manner than Any I have Seen in this Province,” largely on account of their trade. He was less impressed with Fort Gaspereau, however, summing up this latest conquest as “Miserable to the Last Degree” and recommending to Monckton that they demolish it (*Winslow IV*, p. 164).

76. Captain Speakman's detachment arrived on the evening of the 22nd, while Winslow's departed at 4 AM on the 23rd. It was a rainy walk back to Fort Cumberland, where the bulk of the party arrived by noon (*Winslow IV*, p. 166).
77. A form of corporal punishment in which the subject is placed astride a squared log arranged edgewise. As the height of this 'horse' prevented the victim from touching the ground, the edge of the log applied excruciating pressure to the tailbone. This pressure could be intensified by attaching weights to the subject's feet. For example, Private Michael Jeffrey of Winslow's Company, having been convicted of (rather ambiguously) neglecting his duty, was sentenced to ride the horse “half an hower with Two Fire locks to his Legs” on July 31st (*Winslow IV*, p. 214).
78. There is no mention of these events in Winslow's journal or in those of Willard or Thomas.
79. Under the command of General William Johnson, this expedition against Fort Saint-Frédéric (Crown Point) did not achieve its objective, having been opposed on the march by Baron Dieskau, but resulted in the construction of Fort William Henry on Lake George (Fowler, *Empires at War*, pp. 79-85).
80. There is no reference to this in Winslow's journal or the other journals.
81. This may be Private William Nottage of Captain Speakman's Company in the First Battalion, who had been tried by a court martial the previous day for “abuse & Contemtous Treatment of his officers” and had been deemed “worthy of Twenty lashes on his Bare Back” (*Winslow IV*, p. 190). The only diarist to mention the whippings of July 3 and 4 is Bancroft.
82. There is no reference to this disturbance by Winslow, but it is recorded by both Willard and Thomas. It occurred on July 5th.
83. Noting the adjacent keys, this is likely a transcription error for ‘whipt’.
84. According to Willard, these three had to “sett 2 hours” (*Willard*, p. 29). Thomas, who participated in the court martial relating to the affair, states that only one man was whipped (*Thomas*, p. 19).
85. They were John McDaniel of Captain Lamson's Company and Moses Cascoine of Captain Cobb's Company, both of whom were members of the First Battalion (*Winslow IV*, p. 200).
86. The injury victim was Christopher Allen of Lamson's Company, who appears on 17 July sick list with the notation: “Lost his Leg by an accident Not to be moved without a Surgeon” (*Winslow IV*, p. 207 and *Thomas*, p. 20).
87. The deaths of the Indians are mentioned only by Bancroft. Very likely they were not only allies, but part of Winslow's army. No less than 14 Indians serving with the First Battalion were “on Command at the Isthmus Block House” at the end of 1755 (*Winslow*, p. 193). An Indian of Captain John Malcolm's company was tried at a court martial on July 24th for “fighting with his Mess Mate and Bighting a piece of his arm” (*Winslow IV*, p. 211). For the most part, these Indians had Anglicized names and one must presume that they came with the forces from Massachusetts. However, it is possible that the two Indians who died were Mi'kmaq prisoners, since it is known that captured Mi'kmaq were retained as prisoners, the last one being released on August 3rd (*Winslow IV*, p. 224).

88. There is no reference to this alarm or to the whipping in the journals of Winslow, Willard or Thomas.
89. This may refer to the destroyed French fortifications near the bridge across the Missaguash at Pont à Buot, though the bridge near the base camp would have offered a more direct route. The soldier who claimed to have been shot in the hand was David Fling of Captain Abijah Willard's Company. Willard also appears to have doubted the veracity of Fling's claim (*Willard*, p. 30).
90. Dykes were a prominent feature of Acadian marshland farming, preventing seawater from inundating low-lying, fertile marshland. Where the dykes crossed tidal creeks, they were often fitted with wooden sluices equipped with one-way valves. Known as *aboiteaux*, these structures allowed excess rainwater to drain out during low tides, at the same time preventing salt water from flooding the fields at high tides. Such technology is still a feature of marshland agriculture along many of the tidal estuaries surrounding the Bay of Fundy. See J. Sherman Bleakney, *Sods, Soils and Spades: The Acadians at Grand Pré and their Dykeland Legacy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).
91. There is no reference to this in Winslow's journal or in those of Willard or Thomas.
92. Almost certainly Captain Thomas Cobb of the First Battalion (*Winslow IV*, p. 138), who commanded Fort Gaspereau at this time (*Winslow IV*, p. 187). The man killed may have been James Whitcomb (*Thomas*, p. 20 and *Winslow IV*, p. 131). The perpetrators were believed to be Indians from Saint John's Island (*Thomas*, p. 21; *Monckton*, p. 114).
93. Major Brown (or Bourn) of the Second Battalion (*Winslow IV*, pp. 126, 133, 135, 138). Confusion with spelling exists, but Major Brown and Major Bourn were probably one and the same.
94. William Mitchell of Captain Speakman's Company, received "Twenty Stripes upon his Naked Back" for disrespect to officers (*Winslow IV*, p. 212).
95. Miles Whitworth (?-1778), a surgeon, held the rank of lieutenant in the First Battalion (*Winslow IV*, p. 138). Although there is no space in the document, a word appears to be missing here.
96. John Fleming of Capt. Malcolm's Company, was confined at Fort Lawrence (*Winslow IV*, p. 213). He had deserted three to four weeks earlier.
97. A military inquiry investigated Sergeant Brewer, of the Second Battalion, on July 6th, along with Lieutenant Noyce, for allegedly calling Captain Nathan Adams "a Damd Coward." Both men were found guilty and publicly apologized. Adams accepted (*Winslow IV*, pp. 195-196). Bancroft is the only diarist to record the honour bestowed upon Brewer.
98. Both of these events are mentioned only by Bancroft.
99. The camps on the eastern side of Mt. Whatley were disbanded and a new one established about half a mile north of Fort Cumberland, near the trenches used for the siege (*Thomas*, p. 21; *Willard*, p. 32).
100. Possibly Private William Mitchell, who Winslow records this day as receiving "Thirty Lasses upon his Naked Back &c." (which he may not have minded had it been put to him this way) for the crime of "Saussiness to his officers & for Profane Cursing & Swearing" (*Winslow IV*, p. 219).
101. Broke. A court martial demoted Sergeant John Malcolm (sic) to the rank of private (*Winslow IV*, 219).
102. Not mentioned by Winslow, Willard or Thomas.
103. On August 2nd Monckton had ordered Captain Thomas Lewis of the Rangers with a detachment of 150 men to go to Cobequid (*Monckton*, p. 114). They set out on August 4th, according

to Willard (*Willard*, pp. 32, 33), not August 6th as stated by Bancroft. Lewis was later joined by Captain Willard with additional forces and Willard's diary throws much light on the operations at Cobequid and subsequently at Tatamagouche and Remshag (Wallace, N.S.). Captain Lewis drew up a detailed map of the Acadian settlements of the eastern Minas Basin during this period, which exists in at least two iterations: (1) *A Map of the Surveyed Parts of Nova Scotia taken by Captain Lewis*, one version of which is in the British Library (BL Additional MS. 15,494.7), while another may be found at NSARM F 202-1755; and (2) *A Map of a Part of Nova Scotia or Acadie*, NSARM v 7 F 205-1755. The authors would like to thank Norris Whiston for locating the first of these at NSARM.

104. The eastern end of the Minas Basin, around modern day Truro, was conceded in fief to Matthieu Martin in 1689. Known as Cobequid (from the Mi'kmaw word "Wagobagitk," meaning "bay which runs very far up"), by 1755 this district was home to approximately 120 Acadian families (*Collection de documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amérique*, Vol. 2 (Québec, 1889), p. 86).
105. Mentioned only by Bancroft.
106. Humphrey Hobbs (1711-1756) held the rank of captain in the First Battalion (*Winslow IV*, p. 138).
107. Winslow first learned of Lawrence's intention to deport the entire Acadian population during a meeting with Monckton on August 6th (*Winslow IV*, p. 221), and Monckton had learned of Lawrence's orders only the previous day (*Monckton*, p. 115). During his meeting with Monckton, Winslow was told that he was being dispatched to Pisiquid to await further instructions (*Winslow IV*, pp. 221-222). Winslow received orders to prepare his men on August 7th (*Winslow IV*, p. 223), and then further orders August 13th to embark with four companies for Pisiquid (*Winslow IV*, p. 230). However, their departure was delayed by logistics and also by a dispute between Winslow and Monckton over Winslow's desire to take the King's Colours (*Winslow IV*, p. 238-241).
108. Shallop: Anglicized version of the French word "chaloupe," meaning a small boat capable of being rowed or propelled by fore and aft sails on one or two masts; used to fish or transport merchandise, munitions, passengers or fish.
109. Acadians. A letter from Moncrieffe to Winslow dated August 10th and preserved in the latter's journal describes this event as follows: "This Day the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Villages Mustered in Considerable but Not So Many as was Expected. upon which they were ordered to Tarry all Night under the Guns of the Garrison and others Notified &c." (*Winslow IV*, p. 225). Winslow records the actual deportation order as being read to the assembled Acadians from "Tantamar, Wescoat, olake, Bay of Verte Beausejour & Places adjatent" on August 11th (*Winslow IV*, p. 227). Winslow does not record the number of Acadians imprisoned on August 10th. Monckton notes that "upward of 400" were in detention on August 11th at Fort Cumberland and at Fort Lawrence (*Monckton*, p. 115).
110. Westcock is the Anglicized name of an Acadian village which was located about 2 km south of the present-day Sackville, N.B.
111. Tintamarre was the name of a scattered Acadian village near the present-day Upper Sackville, N.B. It derived its name from a French word meaning "racket" or "hubbub," on account of the great noise of myriad waterfowl resorting there each autumn and spring. The village was large enough to have its own church. The word survives in "Tantramar River" and "Tantramar Marshes."
112. On August 13th Winslow records Preble as bringing in only three prisoners, "all the rest being Fled into the woods." He notes a separate detachment to Aulac, commanded by Captain Perrey,

had brought in 11 Acadians on the 12th (Winslow IV, p. 230). The total number now incarcerated was 420 — all men.

113. Pisiquid was the Acadian district in which Fort Edward, the expedition's destination, had been established in 1750. The district's name derives from the Mi'kmaq "Pigiquit", meaning "the place where the tidal flow forks" (C. Bruce Fergusson, *Place Names and Places of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1967) p. 737). At the time of Bancroft's arrival, Fort Edward was under the command of Captain Alexander Murray of the 45th Regiment.
114. Sloop. Two schooners were also used to transport the four companies (Winslow IV, pp. 230, 241).
115. By the early 18th century this term had become synonymous for the Acadian community at Grand-Pré. Founded in the early 1680s, this was likely the oldest Acadian settlement in the Minas Basin.
116. A pejorative term often used by Protestant New Englanders to refer to Catholic churches. By focusing on the mass in this way, they emphasized the 'otherness' of Catholic Christians. This particular building was the parish church of St-Charles-des-Mines, founded in 1687 (William Inglis Morse *Acadiensia Nova* Vol. I (London, 1935) p. 151), and located in what is now Grand-Pré National Historic Site of Canada.
117. After Bancroft departed Chignecto with Winslow, leaving Monckton, Willard and Thomas behind, the only journal which may be usefully compared to Bancroft's journal, generally speaking, is that of Winslow.
118. The marine league that Bancroft is likely referring to is the equivalent to 3 nautical miles. Therefore, his estimated distance from Chignecto to Pisiquid is 200 kilometers, and that from Pisiquid to Grand-Pré is approximately 28 kilometers. Both estimates, particularly the former, are reasonably accurate.
119. Pickets were sections of tree trunks, usually left round, planted vertically and side-by-side to form a defensive palisade. They were held in place by sinking the bases of the posts several feet into the ground. Winslow, probably fearing a repeat of the Noble disaster of 1747, at which time French and Indian forces attacked and defeated an undefended New England garrison at Grand-Pré, enclosed his camp in this manner. His comments in his own journal make it abundantly clear that he felt his position was dangerously exposed (e.g. Winslow IV, p. 244; Winslow III, pp. 71, 72, 75, 103). In an ironic twist, Winslow subsequently employed the palisade as a tool to discipline his own men, ordering them to be within the pickets by nightfall (Winslow III, p.113).
120. 1 rod equals 5.029 meters. The figure of 117 rods must surely be a transcription error. If 17 was the intended number, which seems reasonable, the initial camp would have measured approximately 85m x 45m.
121. Winslow initially predicts his men would complete this work on August 24th or 25th (Winslow III, p. 76), but he later states that picketing was in fact completed on August 28th (Winslow III, p. 78).
122. A password. "Something said or spoken; an oral statement or declaration; an utterance; a word. Chiefly in Law; now only in the legal phrase *by parol*, by word of mouth." *The Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition*, Vol. XI (Oxford, 1989), p. 248. Note that this was the password Winslow records for August 25th (Winslow III, p. 77).
123. This burying place can be none other than the parish cemetery, the location of which is marked by a stone cross erected by John Frederic Herbin in 1909 (Brenda Dunn, *From Pasture to Posterity. The Development of Grand Pré Park* (Ottawa, 1982), p. 8). Archaeologists have ground-truthed this tradition by examining four grave shafts adjacent to this monument (Anita Campbell,

Archaeological Investigations at Grand Pré National Historic Park, August 1982. Research Bulletin No. 204 (Ottawa, 1983)). By including the cemetery within his camp, Winslow effectively enlarged the compound's footprint, but Winslow himself does not mention this work.

124. Winslow records on August 31st: "in the afternoon Took a Touer with Doctr Whitworth & Mr. Gay & 50 men Two Third parts round Grand Pre. Finde abundance of wheat &c on the Ground. returned in the Evening" (*Winslow III*, p. 89).
125. They were the *Endeavor*, Master John Stone, *Industry*, George Gooding, and *Mary*, Andrew Dunning (*Winslow III*, p. 86).
126. Job Crooker (1708-1785), a lieutenant in Captain Humphrey Hobbs' Company, First Battalion (*Winslow IV*, p. 138). Lieutenant Crooker nearly drowned when he and his detachment were fording the Avon at Pisiquid in early January, 1756 (*Winslow III*, p. 194).
127. The trip was made by whale boat in order to deliver letters from Lawrence and Winslow to Monkton (*Winslow III*, pp. 88, 89).
128. Lieutenant Charles Buckley, or Bulkely, who like Ensign Bancroft, belonged to the company of Phineas Osgood. He marched to Fort Edward to carry a letter from Winslow to Captain Murray (*Winslow IV*, p. 138).
129. Major Charles Lawrence established the blockhouse at Fort Edward, in present-day Windsor, in June 1750 following his abortive expedition to Beaubassin. This original blockhouse still stands on the site, and it is the oldest structure of its kind in Canada. Fort Edward guarded the overland route between Halifax and the Bay of Fundy, and between 1755 and 1762 it served as a detention center for over 1,000 Acadians. Fort Edward is now a national historic site of Canada.
130. Although Winslow had been to Grand-Pré previously, he did not know the district well. See Brenda Dunn, *The Acadians of Minas* (Ottawa, 1985), p. 21. Therefore, he and Captain Murray, who commanded Fort Edward, organized a troop exchange. This brought men who were familiar with the area under Winslow's command (*Winslow III*, p. 88). In this connection it is worth recalling that the British government maintained a garrison at Grand-Pré (Fort Vieux Logis) from 1749-1754 (See William G. Godfrey, "John Handfield" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. III, p. 277; Harry Piers, "The Fortieth Regiment, Raised at Annapolis Royal in 1717; and Five Regiments Subsequently Raised in Nova Scotia" *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 21 (1927), p. 134). When it was disbanded, the garrison was removed to Fort Edward. Now, one year later, it seems likely that some of these men returned to Grand-Pré.
131. Doctor Miles Whitworth. The purpose of the trip was to confirm the timetable for the deportation order and finalize plans (*Winslow III*, p. 90).
132. The Canard River is a small and mostly tidal river emptying into the southwest part of Minas Basin. By the mid-18th century approximately 150 Acadian families lived along its banks farming the reclaimed salt marsh bordering this river (Charles Morris, *A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia; With an account of the several attempts of the French this war to recover it out of the hands of the English*, (1748), p. 85, Library and Archives Canada MG 18 F 10). Captain Adams and his men had been reconnoitering the villages along not only the Rivière aux Canards, but also those along the Rivière des Habitants (today's Cornwallis River) (*Winslow III*, p. 91).
133. This phrasing is significant in that it underscores the distributed nature of the Acadian communities in the landscape. While Grand-Pré was a convenient collective term, in actual fact it was composed of several distinct hamlets established by different families on separate land grants (*rotures*). Bancroft's use of language here suggests that the settlement pattern within broader Grand-Pré gave the impression of these clan clusters, or *hameaux* as they have sometimes been called (e.g. John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the*

French Acadians from Their American Homeland (New York, 2005), pp. 188-89).

134. Winslow's journal makes it clear that the man who received 30 lashes, Abishai Stetson of Winslow's Company, had stolen goods from the French. The other man had breached orders by being out of the camp at night. Bancroft sat on the court martial (*Winslow III*, p. 92). For more on the 'forcing' felony, see discussion shortly before Conclusion.
135. Winslow records that 418 men and boys aged 10 and over answered his summons (*Winslow III*, pp. 90, 94). Other than the very brief notes of Winslow himself, Bancroft's is the only eyewitness account of the Acadians' reaction upon being made prisoners (*Winslow III*, p. 95).
136. This was done in response to a petition from the Acadians, who asked that some of their number be permitted to make the rounds to their villages to tell their families what had taken place. Half were from the villages around Grand-Pré and half were from the rivers Habitant and Canard (*Winslow III*, 95-97).
137. Joseph Fry (1712-1794) of Andover, Massachusetts, served with the provincial troops at Louisbourg in 1745 and with John Winslow in the Kennebec campaign of 1754 before joining the campaign against Fort Beauséjour. He nearly lost his life in the massacre following the fall of Fort William Henry in 1757, but subsequently reenlisted and returned to Nova Scotia to command Fort Cumberland in 1759-60. Fry went on to become a prominent settler at Fryeburg, Maine, which community bears his name. Robert E. Moody, *Dictionary of American Biography* Vol. IV (New York, 1960), pp. 50-51.
138. Chipoudie, present-day Shepody.
139. On August 27th Major Joseph Fry had been sent to the Shepody (Chipoudie), Petitcodiac (Petcouadiac), and Memramcook rivers to capture Acadians living in these areas and to burn their buildings. The engagement referred to by Bancroft happened at present-day Hillsborough on the Petitcodiac River on or about Sept. 1. A group of Acadians and Aboriginal warriors led by Charles des Champs de Boishébert, a Canadian militiaman, ambushed the New Englanders (J.C. Webster, *The Forts of Chignecto* (Shediac, 1930), p. 68). Lieutenant Jacob March served as surgeon's mate in the Second Battalion of Shirley's Regiment (*Winslow IV*, p. 188). Monckton informs Winslow of this attack in a letter dated September 4th (*Winslow III*, p. 99). Two letters from Jedediah Preble and Thomas Speakman to Winslow, both dated September 5th and preserved in Winslow's journal, provide first-hand accounts of the skirmish. The authors of these two letters refer to Lieutenant March as "Doctr March" (*Winslow III*, pp. 100-102).
140. Jonathan Gay, ensign in Winslow's Company, First Battalion (*Winslow IV*, p. 138).
141. Benjamin Fassett (1717-1771), ensign in Captain Hobbs' Company, First Battalion (*Winslow IV*, p. 138).
142. The list of inhabitants appearing in John Winslow's journal, which is effectively the last census of the community, compiled by an Acadian named François Landry acting under Winslow's orders, was submitted on September 13th (*Winslow III*, p. 123). In a letter written September 7th from Winslow to Capt. Murray, we learn of Winslow's plan to send a detachment "to the upermost Housses & to Examin Every Individual by the List & if any Fowle Play is about Shall Make Examples as Instructed" (*Winslow III*, p. 104).
143. Winslow and his officers decided to embark a number of the Acadians after discovering "Some Uncommon Motions" among their prisoners that morning (*Winslow III*, p. 108-109). Up until this time, the prisoners appear to have remained quiet. The five transports employed were the previously mentioned sloops, the *Endeavor*, *Industry*, and *Mary* (*Winslow III*, p. 86), and the more recently arrived schooners *Neptune* and *Leopard* (*Winslow III*, 91, 98).

144. Presumably Cummings.
145. The men in question were privates Simon Blood of Winslow's Company and Ephraim Parker of Hobbes' Company. A court martial found them guilty of "Stealing from the French Last Night Twenty one Dunghil Fowles" and delivered a sentence of "Thirty Lashes apiece well Lade on" (*Winslow III*, p. 123). "Dunghill fowl" were domestic chickens of common breed. In New England, dunghill fowl were a mixture of various types imported in the 17th and 18th centuries. Typically, they scrounged for food around a barnyard, dung hill, or garden, their diet occasionally being supplemented by corn.
146. William Peabody was a lieutenant in Capt. Nathan Adams' Company (*Winslow IV*, p. 138). Peabody's orders were to deliver the Acadian Deputies from Annapolis to Major Handfield and "Scouer the Villages on the River as you go down and Carry into Annapolis all the men you Can Finde" (*Winslow III*, pp. 134-135).
147. Annapolis Royal was the scene of a separate deportation operation under the direction of Major John Handfield who, like Winslow, took his orders from Charles Lawrence (See Brenda Dunn *A History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal 1605-1800* (Halifax, 2004), pp. 202-207; Faragher *A Great and Noble Scheme*, pp. 346-348).
148. There is no reference to this escape in Winslow's journal.
149. Along with 30 men Fassett carried letters from Winslow to officials in Halifax, including acting Governor Lawrence (*Winslow III*, p. 159).
150. Cobequid. See note 104.
151. Lieutenant Bulkely was among those who Winslow sent to Cobequid to round up Acadians there. Captain Thomas Lewis was in charge of this 100-man force (*Winslow III*, pp. 128, 129).
152. Lieutenant Jonas Fitch of Captain Nathan Adams' Company, First Battalion. He was sent to Annapolis Royal to deliver a packet to Major John Handfield (*Winslow IV*, p. 138; *Winslow III*, p. 164). Fitch's party accompanied the transports back to Grand-Pré, having complained to Captain Handfield "of a Soreness in their feet Occationed by the Badness of the Roads" between Grand-Pré and Annapolis Royal (*Winslow III*, p. 168).
153. Winslow records this event taking place on the night of the 7th and involving "Twenty Four of the French young men," who escaped from the *Leopard* and the *Endeavor* (*Winslow III*, p. 165).
154. According to Winslow, investigations demonstrated that a certain François Hebert "was Either the Contriver or abetter" in the escape. On October 8th, he had the man's possessions removed from the vessel into which they had just been loaded and returned to his house before ordering the house and barn burned in front of their owner. Moreover, Winslow "Gave Notice to all the French that in Case these men Did not Surrender them Selves in Two Days, I Should Serve all their Frinds in the Same Maner & ... when Ever those men Should Fall Into the English hands they would not be admitted to Quarter" (*Winslow III*, p. 166). According to Winslow's list there were three men named François Hebert among his prisoners, only one of whom appears to have been a head of a household. All three lived in a hamlet named Michel (*Winslow III*, pp. 114-122), which was located near Grand-Pré (*A Map of the Surveyed Parts of Nova Scotia MDCCLVI*, NSARM 200-1756, 3.5.2 1756).
155. It was Winslow's intention to keep the Acadian families together so far as was possible (*Winslow III*, pp. 164, 166).
156. There is no mention of an ensign by this name in Winslow's journal. However, there is an Ensign James Par, which raises the possibility that either Judge Stevens or the mystery typist made an error here (*Winslow IV*, p. 138).

157. Rivière des Habitants (today's Cornwallis River).
158. Though Winslow does briefly mention this event (*Winslow III*, p. 171), he does not mention Ensign Carr (or Par) or the location of the shooting. This is a rare reference to the use of lethal force by soldiers during the Deportation of the Acadians from Grand-Pré (see below).
159. Winslow does not refer to the capture of these five men. He does, however, indicate on October 13th that "This Evening Came in and Privately Got on Board the Transportes the remains of Twenty Two of the 24 Deserters and off whome I Took notice. the Other one accordg the Best accts from the French Suffered yesterday with his Comrade" (*Winslow III*, p. 173).
160. Bancroft is referring here to the embarkation of the inhabitants of St-Joseph parish, which included the settlements around the Rivière aux Canards. This took place at Boudrot's Bank (the landing on the Cornwallis River upon which Cornwallis Town Plot is fronted, east of modern Port Williams) (*Winslow III*, p. 176-177, 182).
161. The inhabitants of the Canard area were thus billeted in the recently emptied houses of Grand-Pré to await the arrival of more vessels. As a consequence, when Winslow's men set about burning the outlying hameaux, the houses of Grand-Pré — at least for the time being — remained standing. Some maintain that they were never burned (e.g. Placide Gaudet *Le Grand Dérangement; Sur qui retombe la responsabilité de l'Expulsion des Acadiens* (Ottawa, 1922), pp. 49-50), and a letter penned by Charles Morris in 1760, while the Connecticut Planters were establishing Horton Township on the site of Acadian Grand-Pré, seems to point in this direction. Morris observed the New Englanders were "extreme busy in taking down ye old houses." Charles Morris to Charles Lawrence, July 20th 1760, Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Papers of Professor Andrew Brown (1763-1834), ABrown6 Gen. 156, Bundle #2.
162. A summary of the vessels is provided in *Winslow III*, p. 178.
163. Gaspereau River. The substantial Gautrot village located here seems to be what inspired Bancroft to refer to the river by this name. This appears to be a unique appellation.
164. Measure of volume deriving from England. The exact volume Bancroft refers to here is difficult to estimate, as the size of the hogshead varied by date, jurisdiction, and by the material being measured, but the eventual standard of approximately 239 liters provides a fair impression of the scale of the destruction (Russ Rowlett, *How Many? A Dictionary of Units of Measurement*, (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000); www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/dictH.html). The destruction of such a large harvest, which passes without comment by Winslow, appears counter to Lawrence's order of September 11th that "All Posable Care must be Taken to Save as Much of the Grain as you can for the Good of the Publick..." (*Winslow III*, p. 124).
165. Winslow's journal records that his men destroyed 698 buildings during the period of November 2nd — 7th (*Winslow III*, p. 185).
166. These 30 were presumably the Regulars he had previously swapped with Captain Murray (see note 132).
167. Almost certainly the massive earthquake which shook all of New England, not on November 11th, but November 18th, 1755. Centered near Cape Ann northeast of Boston, the quake was felt in Nova Scotia and in Montreal. At an estimated 6.0 to 6.5 on the Richter scale, the quake remains the strongest ever experienced in the eastern USA. There is a remote possibility that the quake referred to was the Great Lisbon Earthquake of November 1st, 1755 which was far more devastating and destroyed most of Lisbon. However, there would have been probably insufficient time for news of this quake to have reached Grand-Pré via Boston. For New Englanders, the Boston event would have overshadowed the Lisbon event. For the Boston quake, see geology.about.com/library/bl/blboston1755eq.htm and www.masshist.org/objects/2005november.cfm

168. The First Battalion of Shirley's provincial regiment.
169. Surgeon's-mate, John Thomas.
170. Doctor Miles Whitworth (*Winslow IV*, p. 138).
171. Some of the group went as far as Pisiquid by whale boat while others marched. From here all marched to Halifax (*Thomas*, p. 30).
172. Thomas Cobb, Jr., ensign in the company of his father, Captain Thomas Cobb (*Winslow IV*, p. 138).
173. Two vessels had already sailed on December 13th: the brigantee *Swallow*, commanded by William Hayes, containing 236 Acadians, and the sloop *Dove*, commanded by Samuel Forbes, containing 114 Acadians. The two vessels that departed on the 19th were the schooners *Racehorse*, commanded by John Banks, carrying 120 Acadians bound for Boston, and *Ranger*, commanded by Nathan Monroe, carrying 112 Acadians and bound for Virginia (*Winslow III*, pp. 188, 192).
174. Another typographical error resulting from key adjacency.
175. Corporal Henry Kinnie of Captain Hobbs' Company (*Winslow III*, p. 107).
176. Of Captain Osgood's Company, probably with the rank of private (*Winslow III*, p. 107).
177. The digit preceding the 0 is too faint to be properly read, but may be either a 1 or a 4. There may also be another digit preceding this, which would make Bancroft's detachment a sizeable one.
178. Perhaps not as inconvenient as it sounds, for Bancroft would have found the recently deserted Acadian village of the Babins in this vicinity, which they most likely occupied for shelter.
179. Located on the Windsor side of the St. Croix River near the road to Halifax, this village figures in period narratives (e.g. Ronald Rompkey, ed., *Expeditions of Honour; The Journal of John Salisbury in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1749-53* (Newark, 1982), p. 81; and maps (e.g. *Map of Nova Scotia or Acadia; with the Islands of Cape Breton and St. Johns, from Actual Surveys by Captain Montrossor, Eng.^r 1768*, Acadia University Special Collections). That these sources refer to it without its family name may owe to the fact that this hamlet was abandoned by 1750.
180. At the northern end of Bedford Basin in modern Bedford, this small military post was the first to be established by Cornwallis after the founding of Halifax in 1749. This fort, and the town of Sackville near Fort Beauséjour, were named after George Germain, First Viscount Sackville (1716-1785), a British military commander and, later, politician.
181. Bancroft probably meant February.
182. Typographical error resulting from adjacent key.
183. Merligueche (variously spelled) was an early name for Lunenburg (See Joan Dawson, *The Mapmaker's Eye: Nova Scotia Through Early Maps* (Halifax, 1988), p. 54).
184. Port La Tour.
185. The references are made on Sunday May 18th, Sunday June 1st, and Thursday June 12th.
186. George Gmelch, "Superstition and Ritual in American Baseball," *Elysian Fields Quarterly*, 11 (1992), pp. 25-36.
187. Sunday June 29th(Isaiah 46:8).
188. Sunday July 27th(Matt. 23:28). Willard records the subject as Matthew 23:23.
189. Wages. *Willard*, p. 14.

190. Either Philips returned to this theme the following Sunday, or one of our sources has mistaken a date. Either way, the argument stands.
191. As there is no such verse, Willard's error probably consists of his omitting the chapter and then confusing verse 11 for chapter 11. Thus, we may justifiably favour Bancroft here.
192. This discrepancy is likely a transcription error (in Willard or Bancroft).
193. This discrepancy is likely a transcription error (in Willard or Bancroft).
194. *Winslow III*, p. 113.
195. For additional evidence of Winslow's stance in this respect see *Winslow III*, pp. 157, 171.
196. Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London, 2002), pp. 151-152.
197. Holmes, *Redcoat*, p. 153.
198. Where recorded, the number of lashes applied is indicated in parentheses.
199. The authors acknowledge Emilie Gilbert, a former student at Saint Mary's University, who first suggested this connection in a seminar in 2004.
200. Winslow to Lawrence, July 3rd 1755 (*Winslow IV*, p. 192).
201. Victor Davis Hansen, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece* (Berkeley, 2000), pp. 126-131.
202. Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War...* (Exeter, 1829), p. 274.
203. One of which was the priest's house (*Winslow III*, p. 71). Note that Winslow records two start dates for the work: August 21st and 22nd (*Winslow IV*, p. 246; *Winslow III*, p. 74), but the first may relate only to the trenching and cutting of pickets — as confirmed by Bancroft — whereas the second might refer to the actual setting of pickets.
204. See entry for Thursday, August 21st.
205. For Plank's interesting hypothesis linking the physical violence inflicted upon the Acadians of the St. John River in 1759 to the New England soldiers' "sense of vulnerability in a landscape that was foreign to them, and very far from home," we see little evidence in Bancroft's diary. That said, Winslow's men operated in much more open country than Hazen's. See Geoffrey Plank "New England Soldiers in the St. John River Valley, 1758-60" in J. Hornsby and John G. Reid, eds., *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons* (Montreal, 2005), p. 72.
206. *Winslow III*, p. 171.
207. By way of elimination, Dr. Miles Whitworth appears to have been with Winslow, and Winslow was already aware that Dr. March had been killed prior to this date. Surgeons and surgeon's mates still remaining at Chignecto were Philip Cast, John Tyler and Cornelius Nye. See Allan Everett Marble, *Surgeons, Smallpox and the Poor: A History of Medicine and Social Conditions in Nova Scotia, 1749-1799* (Montreal and Kingston, 1993), pp. 47-49.
208. Chris Lambie, "Expulsion or execution? The history books tell us the Acadian Expulsion was a bloodless affair. But new evidence suggests that at least some British soldiers were shooting to kill." *The Daily News* (Halifax) October 28th 2001, p. 4. The letter was purchased from a New England rare books/manuscript dealer and may now be found at: University of Louisiana at Lafayette Library Special Collections and Archives MSS 149 (Bruce Turner, Head of Special Collections, Edith Garland Dupré Library, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, personal comm., 8 June 2007). Something appears to be missing from the last line of the letter.

209. *Winslow* III, pp. 182-83.
210. Our best source, John Winslow, makes no mention of either event.
211. *Winslow* III, p. 92.
212. Regarding the methods employed by British forces to disarm the Acadians, see Papers of Rev. Andrew Brown, British Library, Add. MSS Vol. 19,073, No. 4, p. 121. Reprinted in *Le Canada-français: revue publiée sous la direction d'un comité de professeurs de l'Université Laval. Documents Unédits du Canada-Français. Documents Sur L'Acadie*, Vol. I (Québec, 1888), pp. 138-139.
213. A.J.B. Johnston, "The Call of the Archetype and the Challenge of Acadian History" *French Colonial History*, 5 (2004), pp. 63-92.
214. Jonathan Fowler, "Fort Vieux Logis" in Harold Selesky, ed., *Colonial Fortifications in North America (1541-1763)* (Baltimore, forthcoming).
215. E.g. Dean Jobb, *The Acadians: A People's Story of Exile and Triumph* (Mississauga, 2005), p. 2; James Laxer, *The Acadians: In Search of a Homeland* (Toronto, 2006), p. 184.
216. Thomas G. M. Peace, Review of John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of Expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland*, H-Canada, H-Net Reviews, August, 2007. URL: <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=205341191173128>; Jean-Francois Mouhot « La grande déportation des Acadiens, » *L'Histoire*, 304 (2005), pp. 70-74;
217. Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, pp. 470, 473.
218. Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, p. 469. Source: Commission of Experts, Final Report (S/1994/674), May 24th 1994. Digital text available at www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/report_toc.htm
219. Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, p. 469.