

The Acadian Refugee Camp on the Miramichi, 1756-1761

by

Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc

translated by John Estano DeRoche in consultation with the author



Image 1. Boishébert's Island (Beaubears Island), Miramichi, New Brunswick

Photo by "Fralambert" 2010. Creative Commons Licence 3.0.

An earlier version of this article was published in French in the journal *Acadiensis*.

LeBlanc, Ronnie-Gilles. 2012. « Les réfugiés acadiens au camp d'Espérance de la Miramichi en 1756-1761 : un épisode méconnu du Grand Dérangement », *Acadiensis* XLI, n° 1 (Winter/Spring) : 128-168.

*Based on subsequent research,
the author has added new material
for this January 2018 translation.*

This article addresses one of the least-known parts of Acadian history: the experience of families who remained in Acadie¹ between 1755 and 1764. Most studies of Acadian history have treated this question quite briefly or superficially, preferring to focus on the fate of the families who were exiled to the Anglo-American colonies or to Europe in this period.² And yet, it is one of the most significant episodes in the legacy of Acadie, since the families who stayed behind constitute a major part of the ancestry of the Acadian community of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Canadian region.

A great many of these families spent the winter of 1756-1757 at Camp Espérance on the Miramichi River.³ Famine and contagion spread death through the population, already worn down by dislocation, dispossession, and flight. How many Acadian refugees were at Camp Espérance during this fateful winter? And how many persons met their end there?

Some researchers – including Alonzo LeBlanc and Fidèle Thériault in the 1980s – have already raised these questions and tried to piece together a few partial answers.⁴ LeBlanc concludes that 600 to 700 people died there that winter, in a population of 3,500 Acadian refugees. Thériault estimates the population at

The author extends special thanks to Stephen A. White, genealogist at the Centre d'études acadiennes Anselme-Chiasson at the Université de Moncton, for providing access to the manuscript notes for Mr. White's *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles acadiennes* (hereafter *DGFA*), Moncton, Centre d'études acadiennes, 1999. Without those genealogical materials, it would have been impossible to complete this study, for Mr. White undertook a true labour of love to identify the Acadian individuals and families appearing in the various censuses and lists of the period from 1754 to 1763 in Acadie. Also, the author thanks Stephen A. White and Paul Delaney for kindly agreeing to review the draft of this article. He is grateful for the wise and abundant advice they provided. Warm thanks to the editorial team of the journal *Acadiensis*, who accepted this study for publication, and who subsequently agreed to the public distribution of this translation. Finally, the author wants to thank John Estano DeRoche for his fine work in translating this article, and for his helpful advice on ways to round out some of the material.

¹ We have retained the French name *Acadie* in the translation. "Acadia" emerged only in the 19th century as English usage. Before 1755, the British called the land "Nova Scotia" or sometimes "Accadie." In recent times, the original French spelling has come into increasing use among anglophone researchers and translators.

² See, among others: Landry and Lang 2001; Griffiths 2005; Faragher 2005. The latter study devotes a chapter to this period, entitled "*Chasse à mort! The Refugees, 1756-1760*," 393-415 & 530-532.

³ During our research on this topic for the 2012 publication, we found only a single mention of the name given to the Miramichi refugee camp, that is, "Camp Espérance." (Translator: in this context, *espérance* connotes "hope.") This usage occurs in a document that Placide Gaudet transcribed in 1884, in the Memramcook area. It is a promissory note dated 11 Aug. 1758, addressed by the custodian of the royal stores at Miramichi to the widow of Jean Part, for services as a baker "at *camp d'Espérance*." See Placide Gaudet to Benjamin Sulte, 23 Dec. 1884, Placide-Gaudet collection, file 1.31-6, Centre d'études acadiennes Anselme-Chiasson (hereafter CEAAC). We use that label in this study. After this article appeared in 2012, however, Régnald Lessard of the Archives nationales du Québec discovered a set of documents concerning French Acadie (present-day New Brunswick) for the years 1751 to 1760. Although the item addressed to Jean Part's widow is missing there, the collection includes 4,554 others of the same kind. These materials are found in the Archives nationales de France, series V, Grande Chancellerie et son Conseil, sub-series V7, Commissions extraordinaires du Conseil d'État du roi, 346 (hereafter series V7). Discovery of these documents has allowed us to flesh out this study, especially in relation to Camp Espérance and the site at Restigouche or Petite-Rochelle.

⁴ A. LeBlanc 1985, 53-60; Thériault 1986, 1987, 1988. Also, in his study of the Acadian community of the Miramichi region, Maurice Basque provides numbers based on the studies by Fidèle Thériault and by Nicolas Landry and Nicole Lang: see Allain and Basque 2005.

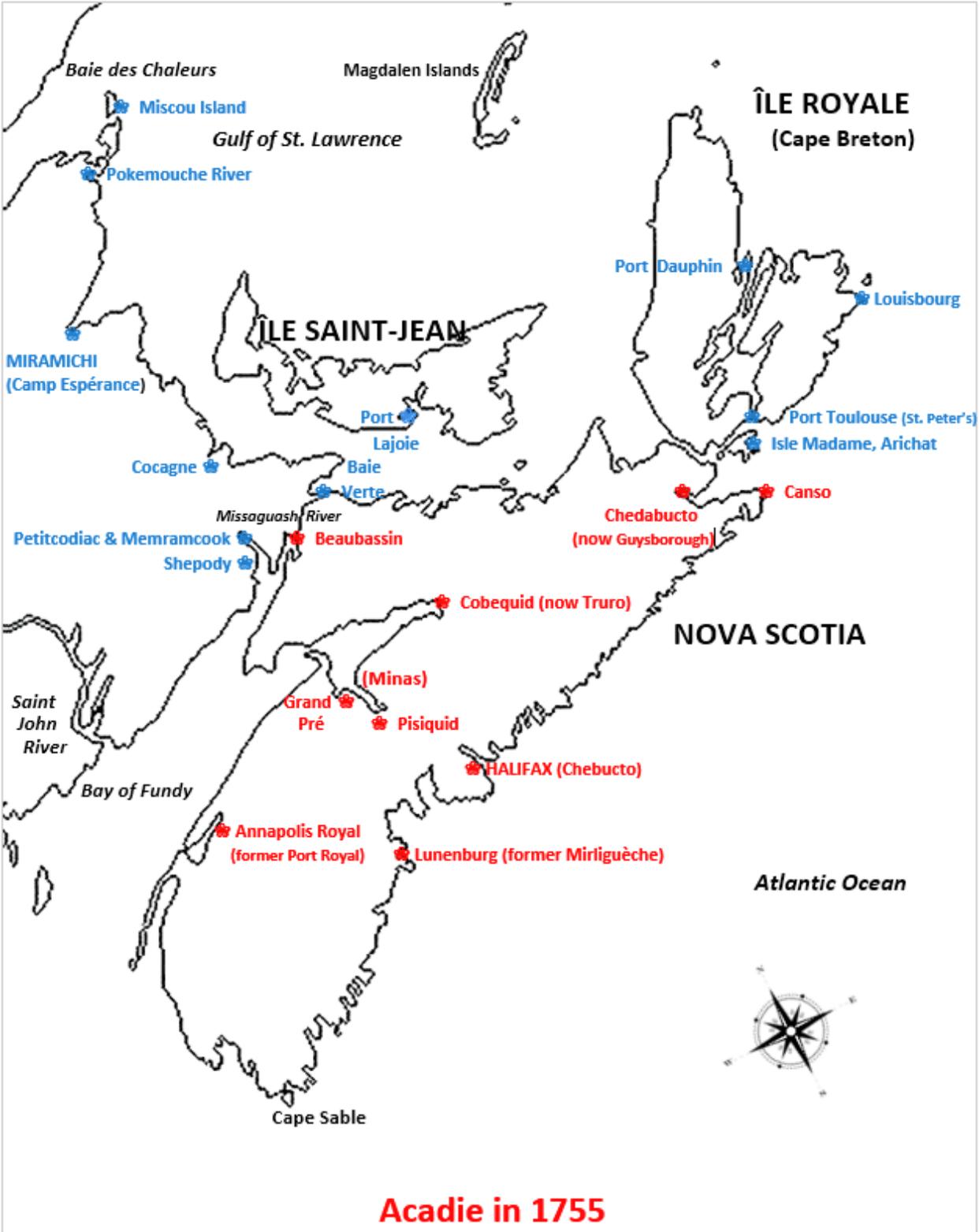


Image 2. Key sites in the region of Acadie ca. 1755. Prepared by the translator with an open-access outline map.

around 6,000, and the death toll at 500 to 800, “according to the sources”⁵ – that is, Robert Cooney, who numbers the victims at over 800, Bona Arsenault at around 600, James Fraser at 500, and Marguerite Michaud at more than 400.⁶ Neither Cooney nor Fraser cites sources, but clearly their figures are based on oral tradition; the longer the elapsed time since the event, the more inflated the numbers become. Arsenault and Michaud offer the reader no specific sources, and consequently, their statistics must be taken as hypothetical.⁷

Why would these authors put out such divergent numerical estimates? Maybe to dramatize more powerfully the tale of the Grand Dérangement?⁸ Possibly. We prefer to question those statistics and to try to ascertain more precisely the real number of victims at Camp Espérance in light of the documentation now available. In the first place, very few of those studies refer to primary sources, that is, official documents from those times and especially the censuses or lists of Acadian refugees. Besides that, by basing our analysis on genealogical data now at our disposal for this period,⁹ we have learned that some accounts have grossly exaggerated the number of refugees at Camp Espérance on the Miramichi in the winter of 1756-1757, as well as the number of deaths.

Some statistics

Unquestionably, the events leading to the creation of Camp Espérance constitute one of the most significant chapters in the entire annals of the Acadian people. In June 1755, the British capture of Fort Beauséjour and Fort Gaspareau sounded the death knell for France’s dreams of empire in Acadie, but for the Acadian community, its consequences were utterly disastrous. It meant destruction and expulsion at

⁵ A. LeBlanc 1985, 56-57; Thériault 1986, 15-16.

⁶ Cooney 1832, 32-35; Arsenault 2004 (1966), 226; “Notes from Tradition and Memory of the Acadian Removal by Mr. Fraser of Miramichi 1815,” in Gaudet 1996 (1906), 248-249; Michaud 1967, 89. Wright, by contrast, offers no figure for how many people appeared at Camp Espérance (1944, 14-15). Placide Gaudet writes: “A letter from the Bishop of Québec says there were 900 persons in 1757 and 200 of them died in that one winter alone.” Unfortunately, he gives no exact reference, and we could not locate the letter or document containing such information. See the Placide-Gaudet collection, 1-31-6, CEAAC.

⁷ Marguerite Michaud writes (1967, 89): “More than 400 died of destitution and hunger during the winter of 1755-56, according to Abbé Le Guerne.” In scrutinizing the two Le Guerne letters, we found nothing to that effect, besides which, Michaud refers to the wrong winter, since it was during the winter of 1756-1757 that the Acadian refugees suffered this sad fate, and not the winter preceding.

⁸ (Translator’s note.) Although the expression “deportation of the Acadians” is in extremely wide circulation, we have avoided the word “*deportation*” when referring to the removal of Acadians during the period, since (in today’s English) it might suggest they were aliens in this land, whereas their ancestors had been in Acadie for multiple generations. (Note that the term does not carry a similar connotation in French, where “*Déportation*” is used routinely in this context.) Instead, we use “expulsion” or “the Expulsion” when referring specifically to the shipment of Acadians out of their homeland. However, to describe the scope of the broader series of events, the word “expulsion” is too restrictive, by failing to encompass the breadth, complexity, or duration of the disaster visited upon the Acadians. To capture the uprooting of the Acadians in the wider sense, we have settled on the untranslated expression most commonly used in Acadian circles, both popular and academic, which is: the **Grand Dérangement**. The equivalent English would be the “Great Upheaval” or “Great Disruption.” The French term, moreover, is now quite widely understood and used among those anglophones who concern themselves with this history. On this entire question of the terminology and the underlying conceptualization (in French), see R.-G. LeBlanc 2005. For readers who speak no French: pronounce “dé” as in *daybreak*, “ran” like the nickname *Ron* (keeping the “n” silent), “ge” as in *triage*, and “ment” as if it were the “mo” in *Monty Python* (again, silent “n”).

⁹ These, of course, are the unpublished notes for the *DGFA*, which Stephen A. White has been working on for more than 42 years.

the hands of the British. Within the Acadian population of around 14,100 in 1755,¹⁰ the English-controlled territory (peninsular Nova Scotia) accounted for 6,345. In the region of Beaubassin¹¹ and the “Three Rivers” – Shepody (*Chipoudie*), Petitcodiac (*Petcodiac*), and Memramcook – there were 2,897. This is a total of 9,242 persons, as claimed by the Abbé de l’Isle-Dieu in a letter to the Minister of the Marine in France, in the fall of 1755.¹² The greater part of the Acadian population of peninsular Nova Scotia was expelled between October and November 1755, except for the settlements in the Cobequid region, Tatamagouche, and the Cape Sable area, and a few families in the districts of Pisiquid (or *Pigiquit*), Minas (*Les Mines*), and Annapolis Royal (*Port Royal*). These exiles numbered approximately 5,056, including: 50 from the Lunenburg area (*Mirligouèche*); about 1,100 from Pisiquid; 2,242 from Minas (Grand-Pré and Rivière-aux-Canauds); and 1,664 from Port Royal.¹³ Another 1,014 individuals were taken from Beaubassin and the Three Rivers (Shepody, Petitcodiac, and Memramcook).¹⁴ And so, from a total Acadian population of 9,242 in peninsular Nova Scotia and present-day southeastern New Brunswick, around 6,070 were expelled to the Anglo-American colonies in the autumn of 1755. What about the other persons, estimated at 3,172,¹⁵ who were not caught and expelled by the colonial authorities of Nova Scotia in this first phase

¹⁰ White 2005, 56. Until this study by Stephen A. White, authors disagreed on the number of Acadians present in the mid-18th century. The most generous estimates were 18,500, while the most restrained assessed the population at about 10,000. Hence the need to establish, once and for all, a better approximation of the reality. See M. K. Roy 1980, 135-207; R. Roy 1975; Faragher 2005, 424. Thanks to genealogical reconstructions, and to a 1755 estimate by the Abbé de l’Isle-Dieu based on data supplied by the missionaries in Acadie and in the Île-Saint-Jean and Île Royale colonies, White arrived at an approximation of 14,100 Acadian persons in 1755. Previous authors had tended to inflate the numbers, seemingly to emphasize the hideous nature of the Grand Dérangement. We believe it is better to stick to more realistic data. This in no way reduces the tragic quality of the events through which the Acadian people lived in the middle of the 18th century.

¹¹ (Transl. note.) The name “Beaubassin” can be confusing, because it has more than one referent. First, it pertains to the original village site on the Nova Scotian edge of the Missaguash (*Mésagouèche*) River and to the immediate vicinity – although locals of the period came to know the place more commonly by the river’s name instead. But also, “Beaubassin” applies to the entire collection of settlements that evolved southward, on the Nova Scotia side, and westward across the marshlands of the Isthmus of Chignecto region and on into the Three Rivers area, in today’s New Brunswick. The Sieur Michel LeNeuf de La Vallière used Beaubassin as the name of the vast seigneurie granted to him in 1676, which encompassed this region. After the 1713 treaty by which France surrendered mainland Nova Scotia, France continued to claim (and effectively control) the territory on the far side of the Missiguash, despite British objections. In 1750, the French ordered the Acadians of the Nova Scotia communities to relocate westward to the French-controlled part of Acadie, and forced the move by burning their settlements. See the map of these places in [Image 3](#), p.6. On the latter episode, see: R.-G. LeBlanc 2011; Webster 1930, 31-32; Griffiths 2005, 392-393; Faragher 2005, 265-268.

¹² Abbé de l’Isle-Dieu to the minister, 29 Nov. 1755, series C11A vol. 100, f239v, Archives nationales de France, Archives des colonies (hereafter AC). By our calculation, based on the census of 1754-1755, the number should be 2,779 individuals. Now, data on several families are missing from the version of the census that we consulted in the Thomas Pichon collection. Undoubtedly the Abbé de l’Isle-Dieu used data that were more complete and thus more accurate than those in the Pichon collection. See the Thomas Pichon collection, F 559, CEAAC; and the Thomas Pichon collection C 857, nos. 17-21, Bibliothèque de Vire, in Normandy, France.

¹³ Thibodeau 2010, 261; and letter from Abraham Adams to John Winslow, 8 Dec. 1755, *ibid.*, 263.

¹⁴ Delaney 2005, 260, note 54. Twenty-one men originated in Tatamagouche, where they had been captured by the British. They were brought to Fort Cumberland or to Fort Lawrence [both near the Missiguash River], and from there they were deported with the Acadians of Beaubassin and the Three Rivers, while their wives and families took refuge on Île-Saint-Jean.

¹⁵ To this number, we must likewise add the 36 families – comprising 228 persons – who were expelled from Port Royal aboard the *Pembroke*. That group managed to seize control of the ship, which they sailed to the mouth of the Saint John River at the beginning of January 1756. Most of these families made their way directly upriver and

of the Acadian Expulsion? For the most part, these people had to find refuge in the existing settlements on French-held Île-Saint-Jean and Île Royale (today's Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton), or else in the surrounding forest, the latter not being the easiest option for a sedentary rural people who had drawn their living mainly from their own crops.

In the Port Royal district, as we learn from Abbé François Le Guerne,¹⁶ “only about thirty families were saved, most of whom retreated into the woods to live with the inhabitants of Cape Sable, while the rest stayed in the forest nearby.” He adds that the British authorities did not target the Cape Sable region

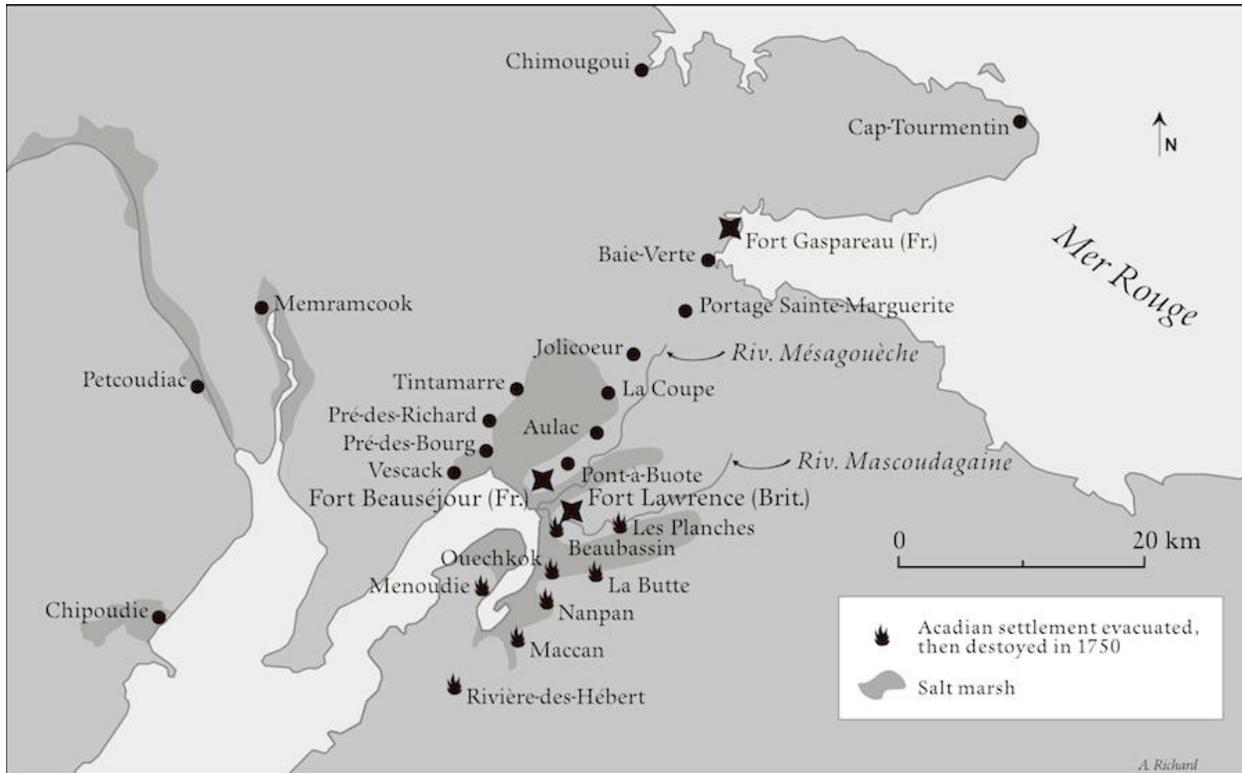


Image 3. The greater Beaubassin region, including Three Rivers. Created by André Richard, 2005, copyright Chaire d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton. Originally published in Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc (ed.), *Du Grand Dérangement à la Déportation, Moncton, Chaire d'études acadiennes*, 2005. Accessed Jan. 2017 in R-G LeBlanc, "Beaubassin, vestiges de l'Acadie historique," *Encyclopédie du patrimoine culturel de l'Amérique française*, at http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/fr/article-491/Beaubassin_vestiges_de_l%2%80%99Acadie_historique.html#.WH47IPkrLcs.

across to Québec. (In this period, the St. Lawrence River colony in present-day Québec province was called “Canada.” However, to minimize confusion for today’s reader, we have used the term “Québec” for the whole colony, and specified “Québec town” or the like when referring pointedly to that urban centre). At least eight families, however, stayed in Acadie and proceeded to Camp Espérance: Pierre (38) Boudreau and Madeleine Belliveau, Charles (18) Dugas and Anne Robichaud, Joseph (5) Guilbeau and Madeleine Michel, Pierre (30) Melanson and Marie-Josèphe Granger, Charles (29) Melanson and Anne Breau, Grégoire (16) Pellerin and Cécile Préjean, Charles (6) Raymond and Madeleine Petitot *dit* Saint-Seine, and possibly Alexandre (6) Guilbeau and Marguerite Girouard. In all, these families contained 58 persons. (The parenthesized numbers are those that Stephen White assigned to these men in the *DGFA*.) See Delaney 2004. Karen Theriot Reader’s English translation of the latter (no date) is posted on the website of Lucie LeBlanc Consentino at www.acadian-home.org/PD-Pembroke.html. Accessed Jan. 2017.

¹⁶ Finn 1997.

during this first stage of the Expulsion.¹⁷ Nonetheless, in the spring of 1756, with the return of the New England militia who had carried out the Expulsion in autumn 1755, a contingent stopped in the Cape Sable area and captured some of the inhabitants, who were put onto ships and carried off to Massachusetts. In the fall of 1758 and spring of 1759, two more expeditions would scoop up some more Cape Sable Acadians and transport them to Halifax, and from there, they would be exiled to France.¹⁸ As for the families from Port Royal who had found temporary shelter there in the fall of 1755, most left the area in the spring of 1756 for a new refuge along the Petitcodiac River, and reached that destination by the summer.¹⁹ At that same time, some families from Minas also arrived at the Petitcodiac. According to Abbé Le Guerne, these families “numbered about 50 or 60,” and first made it to the Petitcodiac in mid-August. They subsequently left for Cocagne,²⁰ then moved along to the Miramichi,²¹ where they reunited with their neighbors who had escaped expulsion via the *Pembroke*.²²

The fate of the Tatamagouche and Cobequid families was similar, except they found refuge on Île-Saint-Jean.²³ Some families from the Minas and Port Royal areas – or some individuals, at any rate – apparently stayed in peninsular Nova Scotia to conduct armed resistance against the British forces.²⁴

In the region of Beaubassin and the Three Rivers, close to two-thirds of the population eluded expulsion, that is, 1,883 of the 2,897 persons tallied in the census of autumn 1754 and winter 1755, just before the fall of Fort Beauséjour. Of this number, close to 500 persons from the Beauséjour and Tintamarre districts made their way directly to Île-Saint-Jean in November of 1755, under the guidance of Abbé Le Guerne.²⁵ The group consisted of around a hundred women and their children, along with several youths, some old

¹⁷ Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, in Gaudet 1996 (1906), 349; and series C11A vol. 87, f392r, AC. Le Guerne, moreover, tells us he had just been informed that only 10 or 11 families remained at Minas, hiding in the woods and just waiting for a chance to get away.

¹⁸ d'Entremont 1981, 1984-2008 & 2065-2104.

¹⁹ Vaudreuil to the minister, 1 Jun. 1756, f13r, AC; and Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f81v, AC.

²⁰ Two promissory notes were issued to François Béliveau and a man named Landry for transporting the possessions of refugee families of Les Mines, from Petcoudiac to Cocagne: 8 & 31 Dec. 1756, series V7, f360.

²¹ Le Guerne to (the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu [?]), spring 1757, in Gagnon 1889, 47-48. At first glance, this figure seems a bit inflated, for Le Guerne himself tells us, in his letter of the winter of 1756, that 40 or so families from Port Royal and about 10 from Minas had escaped the Expulsion. See Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f392r, AC. However, according to information from Stephen A. White, some Port Royal families took refuge along the Saint John River as early as the fall of 1755. On this point, see Vaudreuil to the minister, 18 Oct. 1755, series C11A vol. 100, f88, AC. So it is possible that a certain number of them moved on to the Miramichi. See the census of the Saint John River, “12 Août 1763. – Liste de françois Accadiens demeurants prisonniers a La riv. St Jean...” in J.-E. Roy 1911, 627. Also, the eight families who escaped from the *Pembroke* (see note 15, above) were likewise from Port Royal, and it is highly probable that they spent some time along the Saint John River before proceeding to the Miramichi. See Delaney 2004.

²² Delaney 2004.

²³ Vaudreuil to the minister, 19 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f7r, AC. It is estimated that 225 refugees were still present in the Cobequid area in the spring of 1756. See Prévost to the minister, 6 Apr. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f5v, AC. Also, 21 men from Tatamagouche were expelled, while their wives and families crossed to Île-Saint-Jean.

²⁴ On this point, see Knox 1914. Those persons undoubtedly appear among the prisoners held at Fort Edward [at Pisiqid, today's Windsor] and at Annapolis Royal in 1762-1763. See: A4-1-1, CEAAC; Isaac Deschamps collection, vol. 32, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (hereafter NSARM); Brun 1969, 158-164; J.-E. Roy 1911, 628.

²⁵ Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f394v, AC; Gagnon 1889, 40-42.

people, and five or six younger adult men. The core of the group were wives and children of men who had been expelled without them. These women had, in fact, followed Abbé Le Guerne's advice in refusing to join their husbands. The priest had assured them that their husbands would come back to them, no matter where their exile took them. Thus, some 300 families from the Tintamarre, Memramcook, Petitcodiac, and Shepody River settlements did escape expulsion in the fall of 1755.²⁶ Although some left for Île-Saint-Jean, about 250 families remained in the region at the end of autumn.²⁷



Image 4. Paul Sandy and Peter Benezeh (after Hervey Smyth), A View of Miramichi, a French Settlement in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, destroyed by Brigadier Murray detached by General Wolfe for that purpose, from the Bay of Gaspé (Vue de Miramichi Etablissement François dans le Golfe de St. Laurent, détruit par le Brigadier Murray, détaché à cet effet de la Baye de Gaspé, par le Général Wolfe). Source: Le musée du Nouveau-Brunswick / The New Brunswick Museum, Webster Canadian Collection, W 1097.

The Memramcook region was particularly vulnerable to incursions of British troops, because it was close to Fort Beauséjour (renamed as Fort Cumberland) and to nearby Fort Lawrence at the destroyed village of Beaubassin. Indeed, Memramcook was targeted in at least three such expeditions during the fall and early winter of 1755-1756. In their last raid, the British came within “half a league of a spot from which, by good fortune, over 80 families had just moved away; and it so happened that the English were unable to see the path they had followed, thanks to a cover of snow.”²⁸ In the wake of that incursion, Le Guerne

²⁶ Gagnon 1889, 37.

²⁷ Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f394v, AC.

²⁸ Gagnon 1889, 44. In his letter to Prévost, Le Guerne specifies that it was only 20 families: 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f395v, AC.

was able to draw away 50 families (230 persons).²⁹ They spent the winter at Cocagne before proceeding to Île-Saint-Jean.

Le Guerne also tried, unsuccessfully, to convince the inhabitants of Shepody (*Chipoudie*) to do likewise. However, on Pentecost Sunday in early June of 1756, the British attacked the community and took several prisoners. “This mishap opened their eyes,” wrote Le Guerne. “They came to see me and, in concert with Monsieur de Boishébert, I got them to leave the area, after which I had them transferred to Île-Saint-Jean.”³⁰ Unfortunately, Le Guerne does not mention the number of persons involved in the move,³¹ but if we can rely on the figures that the French colonial authorities reported, Île-Saint-Jean took in 1,257 refugees between the fall of 1755 and the following spring, not including, it seems, those who came across from Cocagne and Cobequid in the spring and summer of 1756.³² These refugees put quite a burden on Île-Saint-Jean. To lighten the load, the colonial administrator of the island, Gabriel Rousseau de Villejoux, sent several of them to Québec during the summer of 1756. By that autumn, nonetheless, he found himself with another 1,400 persons who needed rations.³³ In the same period, there were still around 1,000 people in the Three Rivers region of Shepody, Petitcodiac, and Memramcook, not counting the 50 or 60 families who had just arrived from the Port Royal and Minas areas,³⁴ and excluding thirty-some persons who had returned from South Carolina.³⁵

A difficult situation

The day after capturing Forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau at the end of June 1755, the British turned their attention to Fort La Tour or *Ménagouèche* at the mouth of the Saint John River. This French post, under the command of the young officer Charles Deschamps de Boishébert,³⁶ had a meager garrison of only 30 men. They could not withstand a siege or attack by the British from Beaubassin. Assessing the futility of resistance, Boishébert sent all the munitions upriver and ordered his force to flee. A few days later, the British pulled back, not wanting to venture further upstream for fear of attack from Boishébert and his troops. They were also afraid that the First Nations allies of the French and the local Acadians would come to the fort's defence.³⁷

²⁹ Vaudreuil to the minister, Montréal, 7 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f85r, AC. In the same letter (f85v), Vaudreuil says that 87 other Acadian refugees went to the Island (Île-Saint-Jean), including 16 of the 50 who had made their way back from exile in South Carolina.

³⁰ Gagnon 1889, 47.

³¹ These might be the 71 persons (87 minus the 16 returnees from South Carolina) that Vaudreuil refers to in his letter to the minister, 7 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f85v, AC.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Villejoux to Druccour and Prévost, 3 Nov. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f35r, AC; Prévost to the minister, 26 Nov. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f158r, AC. These two documents inform us that a certain number of refugees from Île-Saint-Jean went not only to Québec but also to the Miramichi. Vaudreuil estimates 1,300 as the number of refugees that Villejoux had to feed in the winter of 1756-1757. Vaudreuil to the minister, 19 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f7r, AC.

³⁴ Gagnon 1889, 47-48. Vaudreuil mentions thirty-some families (*une trentaine*). See Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f80r & v, AC.

³⁵ Vaudreuil to the minister, 7 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f85v, AC.

³⁶ P. E. LeBlanc 1997.

³⁷ Information on this siege and ensuing events was taken from the following two documents: Boishébert “Journal” in Gaudet 1996 (1906), 176-177; Clos 1763, 17-18.

Immediately, Boishébert notified the Governor of New France, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, who approved the commander's actions, under the circumstances, for Boishébert's tactic had stopped the British from taking the post, and had "prevented the inhabitants from falling into English hands, where they would have suffered the same ill treatment that the people of Beauséjour underwent."³⁸ Governor Vaudreuil also ordered him to make camp wherever Boishébert thought best, but offered him the option of going home to Québec. Boishébert turned down the latter alternative. He preferred to stay in



Image 5.
Marquis de Boishébert — Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot (1727–1797).
McCord Museum of Canadian History. Wikimedia Commons.



Image 6. Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, Marquis de Vaudreuil (1698-1778). Library and Archives Canada/MIKAN 2838030, Acc. No. R3938-1. Purchased with the assistance of the Minister of Canadian Heritage under the authority of the Canadian Cultural Property Export and Import Act. Copyright: Expired.

Acadie until the fall, hoping that the situation would improve enough by then to let him get help from Québec.³⁹ Toward mid-August, responding to Acadian appeals, he proceeded to the Petitcodiac River with a detachment of 120 men, comprising 30 White soldiers and 90 Aboriginal fighters. There, on 2 September 1755, he surprised a detachment of New England militia, who were aiming to destroy the settlements along the Petitcodiac, having done the same on the Shepody the day before. In a few hours of fighting, Boishébert and his men inflicted a punishing defeat on the Anglo-American troops, who suffered heavy losses before retreating to their vessels and heading back to Fort Cumberland.⁴⁰

Boishébert updated Vaudreuil right away, stating his intention to remain in Acadie, and begging the governor to send supplies to the Saint John River for the approaching winter.⁴¹ But it was at Cocagne that Boishébert decided to set up his camp. On the one hand, it was easier to have supplies delivered there by sea from Québec, and on the other hand, it was a more advantageous location from which to evacuate Acadian refugee families, should the need arise.⁴² That decision resonated with Vaudreuil's own preference. The governor offered several arguments in favor of allowing Boishébert to stay in Acadie. First, he thought it was a way to guarantee French claims in Acadie, and to ensure loyalty among the Acadians and the Native people, who otherwise would feel abandoned and might go over to the English. Beyond that, it would allow Boishébert to foster solidarity among the Acadians and to draw together the Aboriginal people, in order to push back the enemy, if need be. In addition, Vaudreuil could use these men both to spy on the enemy and to harass them, especially at Beauséjour, to prevent them "from gathering their firewood." And finally, it was essential to safeguard the Saint John River as a communication nexus between

³⁸ Boishébert "Journal" in Gaudet 1996 (1906), 176.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Surette 1988, 31-74; "Lieut.-Colonel Monkton's Journal of 1755" in Webster 1930, 115; Thibodeau 2010, 131-133 (letter from Jedediah Prebble to John Winslow, Fort Cumberland, 5 Sep. 1755) and 133-134 (letter from Thomas Speakman to John Winslow, Camp Cumberland, 5 Sep. 1755).

⁴¹ Boishébert "Journal" in Gaudet 1996 (1906), 177. He mentions that he had sent 30 "especially needy" families (*familles "les plus embarrassées"*) to the Saint John River.

⁴² Vaudreuil to the minister, 18 Oct. 1755, series C11A vol. 100, f88, AC; Gagnon 1889, 42-43.

Louisbourg and Québec.⁴³ Vaudreuil left it up to the minister to decide whether to follow this approach. If the minister were to decide that they could not drive the British out of Acadie or even to maintain a force capable of containing this enemy, then Vaudreuil would have the Acadian refugees and the Aboriginal supporters brought to Québec. The governor added: "The total number of Acadians [remaining refugees] might be about 2,000 souls, including 700 men in arms. It would be troublesome if they were to cross over to the English."⁴⁴ Governor Vaudreuil of New France was not the only one to recognize that French interests relied significantly on Acadie. One Louisbourg officer testified in 1757: "The squadron has consumed three hundred cattle brought in from Isle-Saint-Jean and Acadie. It is amazing that we still get cattle from Acadie, devastated as it is. There is no stronger evidence of the fertility of that land, and of how badly France would need it for expansion of its fishery."⁴⁵ By the summer of 1756, Vaudreuil was still waiting for the minister's decision on the matter.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the refugee families had to be fed, both on Île-Saint-Jean and at Cocagne. During the winter of 1755-1756, the people of Cocagne were able to live off the livestock they had been able to salvage from the Beaubassin region after the British takeover. But according to Abbé Le Guerne, it was unhealthful to eat only meat, as shown among the sixty or so refugee families there: "Also, we have a kind of epidemic, manifesting as indigestion, accompanied by migraine and stitches in one's side, followed by intense dysentery. This illness lasts a long time. It remains prevalent and has carried off several persons."⁴⁷

It was a bit better on Île-Saint-Jean, because the new refugees were at least able to live in villages where their predecessors had already settled at least five years earlier. Those earlier Acadian arrivals had fled from the Pisiquid and Cobequid regions in the spring of 1750. It was, moreover, mainly families from Cobequid, including relatives of people in the earlier wave, who came seeking refuge on the Island in the fall of 1755 and spring of 1756. The newcomers brought some of their livestock, and continued to go back for more of the animals during the summer of 1756, in anticipation of a hard winter, given the poor harvests on the Island, as well as the blockade of Louisbourg that had stretched from the spring into the fall of 1756. The colony of Île Royale, including Île-Saint-Jean, was deprived of the usual assistance from France, since no shipload

⁴³ Vaudreuil *ibid.* This is exactly the strategy that Boishébert would implement in the ensuing years, with the Aboriginal allies and the Acadian partisans.

⁴⁴ Vaudreuil *ibid.*; and Le Guerne to Prévost, Belair near Cocagne, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f399r, AC.

⁴⁵ Joubert to de Surlaville, 15 Oct. 1757, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 223. To learn more about the prevailing circumstances at Louisbourg before the siege of 1758, see Johnston 2007.

⁴⁶ Vaudreuil had tried again in the spring of 1756, when he wrote: "I would have liked very much, My Lord, to have received your orders on the question of the Saint John River and the Acadians. Insofar as the situation in the colony will permit me, I shall enable Monsieur de Boishébert to hold out there, by sending him food supplies to help the Acadians and the Natives. Nor shall I overlook military materiel. And from the accounts that I have the honour to send you, My Lord, you may see that my orders have not failed to yield benefits, when I undertook to arrange that the Acadians and the Natives not receive this assistance in vain. I hope that this month's news will be as good as the reports I have received thus far. I will not recall M. de Boishébert or the missionaries, nor will I withdraw the Acadians from the heart of the colony, except as a last resort, should it become morally impossible for me to continue." See Vaudreuil to the minister, 1 Jun. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f13v-14r, AC. Two months later, he repeated his request: "As I have not received your orders, My Lord, concerning the arrangements I have made, I am obliged to carry on in the same way. It is essential to secure the well-being of the Acadians as a precondition for sending them to war. Our continued hold on the Saint John River depends on this. The livestock remaining on the land is very scarce and will quickly disappear, the crops and even the seed stores will be eaten, and we will, in the end, be forced to abandon Acadie." See Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f82v-83r, AC.

⁴⁷ Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f396v, AC.

of provisions could make it through this blockade, maintained by the British in an effort to weaken their enemy's position.⁴⁸ No wonder that British Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia was able to write to Lord Loudoun in spring 1757 that some recently captured Acadians had told him that:

they were driven from St. John's Island to the place where they were taken, by absolute want owing to the distressed situation of the French at Louisbourg, who are unable to furnish them with any further supplies or provisions and I have the greater reason to believe this account true as a few days ago a party sent out from Fort Edward [at Pisiquid] to scour the Country had the good fortune to fall in with a number of the French and take from them ninety horned Cattle, which with great labour & difficulty they had collected in the woods with a view I presume of carrying them to the relief of Louisbourg.⁴⁹

Louisbourg had actually been spared from hunger so far, thanks to the livestock that Acadians had brought back from Nova Scotia to Île-Saint-Jean and then to the fortress town. One officer estimated that they had managed to bring 4,000 cattle (*bêtes à cornes*) out of Nova Scotia⁵⁰ and another officer added that they had brought "more than four hundred to Isle Royale, which did us an enormous service, however costly it might have been."⁵¹

Adding to the distress, the harvest of 1756 had been completely ruined by heavy winds on Île-Saint-Jean,⁵² and the situation was just as bad in Québec. As a result, besides being deprived of food supplies from France, Louisbourg could no longer count on Québec, where harvests had likewise failed, and all that the St. Lawrence colony could send was a small cargo of peas.⁵³ Governor Vaudreuil in Québec told the minister he had informed Governor Augustin Drucour (or Drucourt) of Île Royale about "our extreme food shortage, and advised him to seek a remedy from you himself."⁵⁴

It is easy to imagine the sad situation in which the Acadian refugees found themselves in 1756. Although hunger prevailed throughout New France, these Acadians were the first to feel its effects, since they depended entirely on the anticipated aid from France, and all the more so because food had already run short

⁴⁸ Even before the blockade began, Prévost was bemoaning the shortages at Louisbourg in the early days of spring 1756: "In private homes, there is nothing to eat and there are no other resources but those in the royal storehouses. Supplying the people will considerably deplete the provisions that you arranged for, and that are indispensable for the subsistence of the general population." See Prévost to the minister, 6 Apr. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f6v, AC.

⁴⁹ [This is the original English, not a translation.] Lawrence to Loudoun, 24 Apr. 1757, Loudoun collection, 3451, Huntington Library. Lawrence adds that he is going to send his troops around to prevent the Acadians from gathering up livestock and removing them from Nova Scotia. He will also have ships cruising the coasts to block the transport of livestock to French territory.

⁵⁰ Du Fresne du Motel to de Surlaville, 1 Dec. 1756, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 205.

⁵¹ Joubert to de Surlaville, 15 Dec. 1756, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 207.

⁵² Prévost to the minister, 27 Sep. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f134v, AC; Villejoûin to Drucour and Prévost, 3 Nov. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f38r, AC; Drucour and Prévost to the minister, 25 Nov. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f31r, AC; and Joubert to de Surlaville, 15 Dec. 1756, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 207.

⁵³ Joubert to de Surlaville, 15 Dec. 1756, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 207; Prévost to the minister, 27 Sep. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f134r, AC.

⁵⁴ Vaudreuil to the minister, 3 Nov. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f139r, AC; Bougainville 1924, 243-244.

during the winter of 1756 in the refugee camp at Cocagne.⁵⁵ Indeed, the latter is precisely what had motivated the French in the following spring to evacuate 230 persons to Île-Saint-Jean and then to send them on to Québec.⁵⁶ These, then, were the difficult circumstances in which the Acadian refugees found themselves by the summer of 1756, while the governor of New France continued to wait for word from France about how to straighten things out.

Camp Espérance

From the outset, the question of the Acadian refugees posed a problem for the French colonial authorities, who did not know quite what to do with them. They had to be fed, which would cost the public treasury dearly and make an already difficult situation worse, especially in these times of shortage.⁵⁷ Abbé François Le Guerne and Boishébert had been trying since the fall of 1755 to direct these refugees either to Île-Saint-Jean or to the Saint John River, intending that they eventually be moved to Québec City or elsewhere in Québec.⁵⁸ The Acadians, however, were very lukewarm to the idea of taking refuge in Québec. Their reticence is spelled out in this passage from Le Guerne,⁵⁹ who had been pushing unsuccessfully since autumn 1755 for them to do this.

Acadian people, in general, are quite surprisingly irresolute. They do not want, for all the world, to be taken captive [by the British]. They would rather be brought to Michilimackina.⁶⁰ On the other hand, going to Québec means committing to an even greater sacrifice. It means saying farewell to

⁵⁵ Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f397r, AC. Also see the promissory note to Claude Richard for two loads of meat brought from Chédaïc (Shediac) to Cocagne, 2 Feb. 1756, series V7, f350v; and another to one Lescaut for four loads of foodstuffs delivered from Chédaïc to Cocagne, 8 Feb. 1756, series V7, f358v-359.

⁵⁶ Vaudreuil to the minister, 7 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f85r, AC. Villejouin had taken this action on orders from Drucour, sending to Québec “the least industrious inhabitants,” in accord with Vaudreuil’s intentions.

⁵⁷ Joubert wrote that “these Acadians, who escaped their English pursuers, are eating up a lot of our provisions.” Joubert to de Surlaville, 15 Dec. 1756, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 207. Le Guerne added: “So, we are presently working to save these poor Acadians who absolutely did not want to surrender to the English. Their numbers, truthfully, are not great, and they are still dispersed and living in the most difficult circumstances. But they are French, after all, and dear to us. They are Christians and very dear to Jesus Christ. These are reasons enough for us in no way to abandon them.” Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f391v, AC. However, in the summer of the same year, Vaudreuil wrote that Villejouin “still hopes to attract good inhabitants from the shores of Cobequid, Minas, or Pisiquid who are well-supplied with livestock and money, and to add these people to those he has already assembled, thus having a sufficient population to establish some fine settlements on Île-Saint-Jean.” See Vaudreuil to the minister, 7 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f85r, AC. Clearly, the Acadians were, first and foremost, meant to serve the interests of France. On this point, see Johnston 2005. Vaudreuil took a dim view of the Acadians’ lack of action against the British in the summer of 1756, and he intended to urge Boishébert and the missionaries to incite the Acadians and the Natives to make war on the British, for “it would not be right that they be in the King’s care unless they prove for certain that they are zealous in His Majesty’s service.” See Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f79v & 81v, AC.

⁵⁸ Boishébert “Journal” in Gaudet 1996 (1906), 177; Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f391v & 399r, AC; Gagnon 1889, 41-42 & 46-48; Drucour and Prévost to the minister, 6 Apr. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f6v-7v, AC; Joubert to de Surlaville, 15 Apr. 1756, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 184.

⁵⁹ (Transl. note.) The translator has taken some minor liberties in rendering this and the subsequent long quotation from Le Guerne, to clarify the meaning without distorting the original sense.

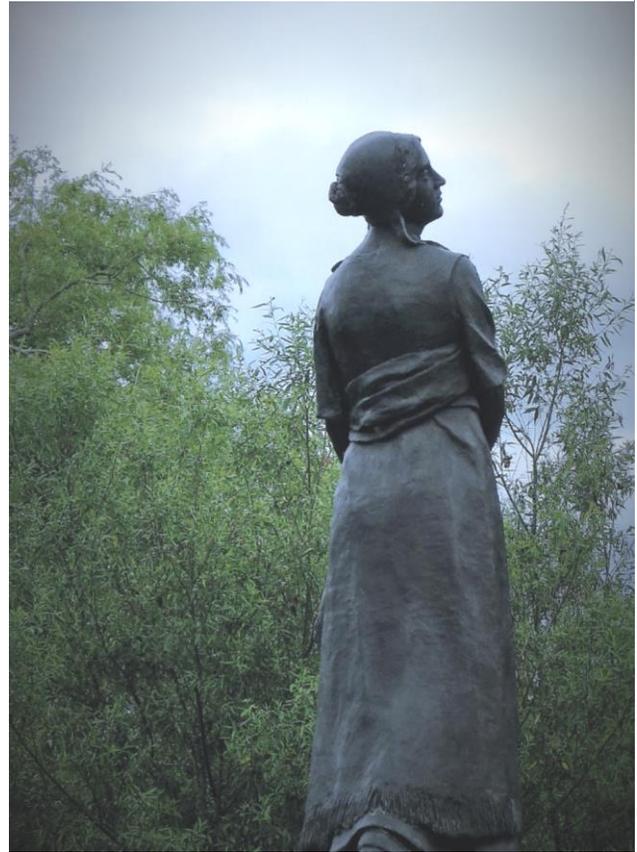
⁶⁰ (Transl. note.) “Michilimackina” is Le Guerne’s metaphor for a far-away and remote locale in the wilderness. “Fort Michilimackinac” was an 18th-century French trading post on the strait joining Lake Huron and Lake Michigan (Straits of Mackinac). See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Michilimackinac. Accessed 15 Mar. 2017.

their country, their settlement, their houses, abandoning their animals and so many other things to which they are deeply attached. It is hard even to think about that. They suppose, with some reason, that they would undergo considerable hardship even before embarking, and during the journey to Québec itself. (Our people would go more willingly to Île-Saint-Jean or to the Saint John River, but they fear famine in the latter place and the English in the other.) It distresses them to consider that, once in Québec, they would never return from exile. That is the way these good folks think, these people who have never travelled outside their own country. To hear them talk, they would be miserable anywhere else, with never enough meat to fill their bellies. Acadie, they say, until these recent years, was Paradise on Earth.⁶¹

Despite this reluctance among his parishioners, Le Guerne remained convinced, into the summer of 1756, that emigration to Québec was the best option for them. Villejoui could accommodate no more refugees on Île-Saint-Jean, and Vaudreuil was still waiting for a decision from the minister in France about which approach to take with these people. The situation was all the more pressing, given that 50 or 60 families from Port Royal and Minas in Nova Scotia were asking to transfer to French territory, not to mention the families still present in the Three Rivers region of the Shepody, Petitcodiac, and Memramcook.⁶² According to Le Guerne:

A certain interest-group has emerged, wanting to bring them to Miramichi. Even one of our colleagues – not having thought it through very carefully – has joined this group and has secretly done all he could to persuade the Acadians that this is their best choice. In this, he has been all too successful, with negative consequences for these poor folks, who were more than happy that someone offered a way to avoid leaving their own country. Trusting that those leaders sought nothing but the well-being of the Acadians, the refugees sent representatives to Monsieur the General to persuade him that Miramichi was an excellent locale, a haven from the English, with abundant hunting and fishing.⁶³

Image 7. Évangeline, romanticized icon of the Acadian Expulsion. Grand-Pré National Historic Site. Photo by the translator, 2011.



⁶¹ Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756. See http://archive.org/stream/cihm_05323/cihm_05323_djvu.txt. Accessed 15 Mar. 2017. Le Guerne affirmed essentially the same thing the following spring (1757): “The Acadians absolutely do not want to leave their country. Apart from a natural concern, which blinds them and obscures the danger, what most strongly anchors them there is the hope that the French will soon reconquer Acadie, and that is what holds them back.” Gagnon 1889, 46.

⁶² Clos 1763, 24; Gagnon 1889, 47; Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f79v, AC.

⁶³ Gagnon 1889, 48.

He does not name the persons responsible for establishing a refugee camp at Miramichi, but it most probably was Boishébert and Abbé Jean Manach,⁶⁴ the priest in charge of the mission in the Mi'kmaw community at Miramichi. In fact, Boishébert would state in 1763 that it was he himself who first ordered the Acadian refugees to move to Miramichi, and that Vaudreuil had agreed to this request.⁶⁵ That is likely what happened, but this is what Vaudreuil wrote on the matter:

The Acadians all sent me representatives who claimed to Monsieur the Intendant and me that Miramichi is the only place to which they can withdraw in order to make it through next winter. They argued that the fishery is abundant there, and with a little help sent down from Québec, they hope to manage. They said that such aid could reach them more easily there than on the Saint John River, given the difficulty of transportation via Thémiscouata. We have agreed to their request. I have ordered Monsieur de Boishébert to move all the Acadians from Cocagne to Miramichi, along with those families along the Saint John River that cannot be supplied, and to put them to work making sheds to store the supplies that Monsieur the Intendant is going to send.⁶⁶

The transfer of refugees from Cocagne to the Miramichi was carried out when the Acadian deputies returned in August 1756. Some refugee families, however, did stay at Cocagne, and remained a responsibility of the French after that.⁶⁷

By summer's end in 1756, the refugee camp of Miramichi, or Camp Espérance, took shape. The Acadian refugees were not the only people to find refuge there. There were also Aboriginal families, allies of the French, whose menfolk had been recruited to fight the British in return for sustenance.⁶⁸ Like the Acadian refugees, the First Nations people living as the King's dependents were expected to prove themselves useful to him.⁶⁹

In the refugee camp at Cocagne, during the winter of 1755-1756, there were several families of Caniba (Kennebec), Malecite, and Abenaki who had followed Boishébert after his retreat from Fort Ménagouèche at the mouth of the Saint John River. The men had participated in Boishébert's campaigns on the Petitcodiac River and in the Isthmus of Chignecto region during autumn 1755. These were the Aboriginal fighters who retrieved from the British the livestock confiscated from the Acadians during the preceding

⁶⁴ Johnson 1974.

⁶⁵ Clos 1763, 25.

⁶⁶ Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f81v-82r, AC. According to Le Guerne, the site of Camp Espérance was "10 leagues above the Native mission in a frightful location, where no crop has ever been planted, and where there is nothing to hunt and little to fish." See Gagnon 1889, 29, note 1.

⁶⁷ Various promissory notes were issued in payment for such support, at least between 31 December 1756 and 12 April 1757. See series V7, f196-196v, 324v, 648, & 648v.

⁶⁸ Le Guerne to Prévost, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f397r, AC; Gagnon 1889, 42; Drucour and Prévost to the minister, 6 Apr. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f6r-v, AC; Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f82r-v, AC. It seems that the First Nations fighters, and especially the Abenaki, were not hesitant to negotiate over their participation in French military campaigns, to hear Joubert tell it. He wrote: "I could never express to you the trouble I have had in managing the Abenaki. Every day I had to meet with them, and they always asked for something more." Joubert to de Surlaville, 15 Oct. 1757, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 222.

⁶⁹ Relations between the Aboriginal and Acadian communities in this period are still poorly known, but recent research has shed new light on the question. Contrary to the narrative that used to typify Acadian historiography, we now understand that relations between the two communities became more and more tenuous during the Expulsion years (1755-1762). See: Wicken 1994; and Blais 2004.

summer and fall. With these animals, both the Native and the Acadian refugee families were able to feed themselves over that winter.⁷⁰ It is hard to judge how many people comprised this group of First Nations families, but they certainly numbered several hundreds of individuals, based on Le Guerne's remarks: "Boishébert collaborated with Father Germain to sustain the neediest families [of Acadians] and 400 to 500 Native families whom he kept for military operations."⁷¹ It appears that these families moved to Camp Espérance in the summer of 1756 with the Acadian refugee families and were to winter over there in preparation for the siege of Louisbourg, which the French believed would occur in the summer of 1757.⁷²

It happened that Camp Espérance was established at a time of scarcity throughout New France and the colonies of Île Royale and Île-Saint-Jean. As early as the beginning of the winter of 1756-1757, Camp Espérance ran short of food. At first, just as promised, Intendant François Bigot sent out from Québec a ship loaded with provisions for the Miramichi, even though the whole of Québec itself was low on food. Unfortunately, contrary winds forced the ship to stop along the way.⁷³ Boishébert also looked to Île-Saint-Jean for help, but Villejouin could do nothing for him, since that colony was down to the last of its own provisions.⁷⁴ As a result, by the beginning of winter, with the fish depleted – and despite the 40 cattle that had arrived from the Petitcodiac⁷⁵ – the shortage was so severe that Boishébert was forced to reduce rations for the Acadian refugees, the Aboriginal families, and the soldiers.⁷⁶ The bread ran out very quickly. People resorted to eating the hides of the cattle they had consumed the year before, along with the small remaining supply of seal oil.⁷⁷ Once those items were gone, breast-feeding children died.⁷⁸ The desperate Acadians began suspecting that surplus food had been hidden from them. In January of 1757, they rebelled and

⁷⁰ Clos 1763, 23. They brought some 1,000 cattle to the Cocagne camp during the winter of 1755-1756.

⁷¹ Le Guerne's letter to Prévost was transcribed by an assistant in the office of the French Ministry of the Marine, so it is possible that the statement referred to 400 to 500 individuals rather than families. The former seems more plausible. See Le Guerne to Prévost, Belair near Cocagne, 10 Mar. 1756, series C11A vol. 87, f390r, AC. In his journal, Bougainville himself (1924, 241) wrote during November 1756 that there were 600 or 700 "*sauvages*" on the Saint John river. He added that the Acadians "number around 2,000 men, women, and children." We think Bougainville meant refugees on the Saint John river and at Camp Espérance that autumn, but his actual wording is a bit confusing, since he referred to Father Germain and "la rivière de l'Île-Saint-Jean," and even "l'Île-Saint-Jean," while apparently intending "la rivière Saint-Jean."

⁷² Vaudreuil to the minister, 3 Nov. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f138v, AC.

⁷³ Vaudreuil to the minister, 17 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f32r, AC.

⁷⁴ Vaudreuil to the minister, 19 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f23r, & f7r-v, AC; Villejouin to Drucour and Prévost, 3 Nov. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f35r, & 36r, AC; Prévost to the minister, 26 Nov. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f158r, AC.

⁷⁵ Many promissory notes were issued between 31 Dec. 1756 and 8 May 1757 for the purchase of oxen, bulls, cows, horses, pigs, sheep, wheat, and even cod, to meet the needs of the refugee families at Camp Espérance. From 31 Dec. 1756 to 9 Jan. 1757, notes show the purchase of 31 oxen and 32 cows, mainly from residents of Petcoudiac. See series V7, f124v, 196, 288, 288v, 316-316v, 320v, 324v, 542v, 589, & 596v. These promissory notes were issued by, or on behalf of, Boishébert, in his role as commander of the posts on the Saint John River and the Miramichi. In a message on 15 Jan. 1757, Boishébert informed the authorities in New France that the camp "is feeling the effects of the general food shortage in Canada. The Acadians are subsisting on 10 pounds of beef and 10 pounds of peas" (Bougainville 1924, 252).

⁷⁶ Vaudreuil to the minister, 17 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f32r-v, AC.

⁷⁷ Clos 1763, 25. Most of the following details come from this document, unless otherwise noted.

⁷⁸ Vaudreuil to the minister, 17 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f32v, AC. Clos says that all the children perished, which seems unlikely, while Vaudreuil specifies that it was the unweaned children.

armed themselves to force the supposed hoarders to share.⁷⁹ Boishébert had to intervene. He demanded to know what they thought they were doing, to which they responded: “*Prolonger nos jours*” (i.e., “staying alive”). Boishébert was so distressed and moved by the answer that he immediately turned over half of his own food reserves. He then recruited anyone with enough remaining strength to build sleds to transport the weakest persons over the snow to the Pokemouche River, about 26 leagues away (some 100 kilometers).⁸⁰ A group of 500 persons undertook that painful journey, of whom 83 died. Had it not been for some cattle hides that Abbé Manach gave them as they passed by his mission (10 leagues, about 40 kilometers, from Camp Espérance), the death toll would have been even greater.⁸¹



Image 8: Pokemouche NB today. Google Earth street view 2013 (edited).

Boishébert, meanwhile, still had 1,200 persons to feed, Acadians and Aborigines as well as soldiers. But he had no food left. So, he suggested that another group follow the earlier migration to the Pokemouche River and bring back a supply of fish for those staying behind. Of the party who went, three did not make it to the destination, but after 11 days, the others returned to Camp Espérance with the bit of help everyone was waiting for. This sustenance was enough to enable another wave of the feeblest refugees to set out for the Pokemouche. By many repeated excursions for fish, the camp was able to get through the winter. By the end of March, however, the ice had become too thin to allow any more trips to the Pokemouche, and the supplies of fish and eels were quickly depleted. People had to fall back to eating any leftover beaver skins, and soon had nothing to consume but their deerskin footwear. And so, Boishébert, “the officers, soldiers, and Acadians, all completely debilitated, collapsed to the ground,” waiting to die. Just at that point, a ship loaded with provisions from Québec made it through the ice to Miramichi.⁸²

⁷⁹ Bougainville tells us (1924, 267) that Boishébert wrote a letter on 29 May 1757, saying “that the famine has provoked a rebellion in the group he commands. With nothing to come and go on, these unfortunate people wanted to raid the storerooms. Monsieur de Boishébert was able to put their minds at rest.”

⁸⁰ (Transl. Note.) The Pokemouche River, with its highly sheltered opening to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is on what is now called the “Acadian Peninsula” in northeastern New Brunswick. See map in [Image 2](#) on p. 3, and [Image 8](#) on p. 17.

⁸¹ Manach’s mission to the Mi’kmaq was in the area of today’s Burnt Church, a First Nations community on the north shore of the estuary of the Miramichi River. See the aerial photograph in [Image 11](#) on p. 26.

⁸² Clos 1763, 25-27. Here is Vaudreuil’s account, undoubtedly based on reports that reached him from, especially, Boishébert and Le Guerne: “The Acadians are watching their children die at the breast, unable to sustain them. Most have to stay in their shelters because they lack even the rags to conceal their nudity. Many Acadians have died. A considerable number are ill, and those who are convalescing cannot get back on their feet because of the poor quality of their food. They are often forced to eat emaciated horses, walrus, and the hides of cattle. Such is, My Lord, the condition in which the Acadians find themselves.” Vaudreuil to the minister, 17 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f32v, AC. Besides the famine, according to Le Guerne, the Acadians also suffered from a contagious disease. “Last winter these poor people died in great numbers from hunger and want, and those who

Vaudreuil, in fact, was quite conscious of the troubles afflicting Camp Espérance, and he informed the Minister of the Marine in France that Bigot would be sending a shipload of provisions as soon as the winter ice broke up, bringing as much assistance as Québec could spare.⁸³ The ship did not leave Québec until 9 May. Vaudreuil used that opportunity to send along his correspondence for Louisbourg and Paris.⁸⁴ An additional supply boat for Miramichi left Port-Toulouse, Cape Breton, after 30 April 1757, under the command of Alexandre LeBlanc, a son of the Joseph LeBlanc known as “LeMaigre.”⁸⁵ It seems that the order came from François-Gabriel d’Angeac,⁸⁶ commander of the posts at Port-Dauphin and Port-Toulouse, but it likely originated with Augustin de Boschenry de Drucour, governor of Île Royale, who was quite aware of the harrowing situation at Camp Espérance, since Boishébert would certainly have requested his help as well. Although falling far short of the need, food supplies did continue to flow during the winter⁸⁷ from the Acadians of Petcoudiac, Chipoudie, Memramcook, Caraquet, and even the folk displaced from Beaubassin. But starting in the spring of 1757, supply ships arrived regularly, ensuring provisions for Camp Espérance. Specifically, we know that schooners and ships (some of them from Québec) unloaded cargos on the following dates: in 1757, on 12 and 15 June, 8 and 20 September, and 30 December; and in 1758, on 1 and 8 September, as well as 8, 11, and 12 October, and 5 November.⁸⁸ As a result, the winters of 1757-1758 and 1758-1759 were much less onerous for the refugees of Camp Espérance, who at least had a bite to eat, probably including meat, lard, and salt fish.

Numbers

Just how many people were at Camp Espérance on the Miramichi in the winter of 1756-1757 and what was the death toll? Relying on the figures that Clos provides in his memoir, we can establish the total number of occupants at around 1,800, counting Native people, soldiers, and refugees. This figure includes the breast-feeding Acadian children who perished, the 500 or so refugees who left for the Pokemouche River, and some 1,200 other surviving individuals who stayed behind at the camp. Of the latter 1,200, then, how many were Acadian refugees, how many were Aboriginal (fighters and family members), and how many were White soldiers?

First of all, the Clos memoir mentions the “small garrison” of Camp Espérance, which suggests that soldiers were a minor component of the total.⁸⁹ At the end of the spring of 1757, as expected, Boishébert

eluded death [in that season] have failed to escape a horrible contagion, and famine has driven them to eat their shoe leather, spoiled animal carcasses, and, in some cases, even animal dung, and propriety forbids me from saying more.” See Gagnon 1889, 29-30. On this matter, Bougainville wrote: “They are also eating walrus and scrawny horses. This bad food is bringing on much sickness” (1924, 252).

⁸³ Vaudreuil to the minister, 17 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f32v, AC.

⁸⁴ Bougainville 1924, 260 and 263; Vaudreuil to the minister 17 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f42r-v, AC.

⁸⁵ “Bordereau des ordres donnés au Sr LeBlanc dit LeMaigre, accompagné de la lettre de Jean-Louis Le Loutre à M. Du Buc,” 26 Jun. 1767, series C11D vol. 8, f283v, AC; “Bordereau des paiements qui ont été faits à la colonie de l’Isle Royale,” 16 Dec. 1757, series C11C vol. 14, f99r, AC; “Mémoire à présenter à Monsieur le Duc de Pralin... en faveur de nommé Joseph Leblanc dit Lemaigre âgé de 70 ans,” 1 Aug. 1767, series C11A vol. 105, f577-580v, AC.

⁸⁶ Crowley 1979.

⁸⁷ Between 9 February and 8 May 1757, 28 oxen, 6 cows, 5 horses, 9 pigs, 6 sheep, 25 sea bass, and 50 quintals of cod were purchased from Acadians in these various locales. See series V7, f124v, 125, 196, 196v, 197, 288v, 289, 324v, 361, 527v, 542v, 543, 569, 569v, 606v, 615, & 648.

⁸⁸ Series V7, f82v, 87, 125, 125v, 126, 127, 197v, 198, 201v, 202, 291v, 320v, 325v, 327, 431v, 432, 543v, 544, & 607-607v.

⁸⁹ Clos 1763, 25.

had to go to the aid of the fortress town of Louisbourg, under siege by the British. Joubert was the Louisbourg officer under whom Boishébert and his men came to serve. He wrote that Boishébert had with him, in July 1757, “a hundred and ten Caniba [Kennebec], Malecite, and Abenaki and a hundred Mi’kmaq whom sieur de Boisbert [sic] brought from Acadie with eighteen soldiers and one hundred and fifty Acadian militiamen.”⁹⁰ Assuming that Boishébert left some of his soldiers at Miramichi – maybe a dozen men – we can estimate the total size of his garrison at some 30 men, which is to say, similar to the size of his garrison at Fort La Tour (Ménagouèche) at the mouth of the Saint John River, two years earlier, these soldiers having come with him to Cocagne.⁹¹

What of the Aboriginal people in Camp Espérance? Assuming a mistake on the part of Le Guerne (or of the person who transcribed his correspondence to Prévost) when writing 400 to 500 “families” instead of “persons,” we venture to say that they numbered around 500 individuals at most.⁹²

Subtracting 500 First Nations persons and 30 soldiers from 1,200, we are left with a figure of approximately 670 Acadian refugees. To find the number of Acadian refugees occupying Camp Espérance at the *beginning* of the winter of 1756-1757, we add the 500 who migrated to Pokemouche in mid-winter, plus the breast-feeding children who died of starvation (and whose number we estimate below). Basing our analysis on the data in the official documents, then, we arrive at total of approximately 1,250 at the start of the season. Now, let us examine this approximation more closely. Is there additional support for that conclusion?

We can test the count by two additional methods: first, by calculating from reports on migrations; and second, by extrapolating from census data and genealogical compilations.

We begin with migrations. Vaudreuil claims that there were, besides Aboriginal people, 600 persons⁹³ at the Cocagne camp the preceding winter (1755-1756), including 230 individuals or 50 families from Memramcook who departed for Île-Saint-Jean in the spring. That left 370 Acadians at Cocagne. Later, 87

⁹⁰ Joubert to de Surlaville, 15 Oct. 1757, in du Boscq de Beaumont 1899, 222-223. Prévost gives the following statistics: 100 Canadians or Acadians and 200 Aboriginals or “*sauvages*.” Prévost to the minister, 12 Jul. 1757, series C11B vol. 37, f94v, AC. Also see “Bordereau des paiements qui ont été faits à la colonie de l’Isle Royale,” 16 Dec. 1757, series C11C vol. 14, f101r-104r, AC. Bougainville (1924, 278) says he received a message from Boishébert, dated 20 Jun 1757, where the latter wrote “that during the winter period he spent at Miramichi, his troops subsisted by eating beef hides. Also, that once the convoy sent by the Marquis de Vaudreuil had finally arrived, he had been preparing to march toward Fort St. George [Fort George at today’s Thomaston, Maine], but he received an order from Monsieur de Drucour to leave Miramichi with his detachment of 100 French and 100 Mi’kmaq, and also to bring the Aboriginals from the village of Ocpack on the Saint John river – consisting of 70 warriors alongside 30 French – and to proceed to Port Toulouse [in southeastern Île-Royale], in order to reinforce the troops of that post, and to continue to Isle Royale [i.e., to the Louisbourg area] with this force of probably five or six hundred men.” Bougainville added that “the courier who brought Monsieur de Boishébert’s dispatches had encountered, on the 1st or 2nd of July, a few leagues below the village of Medoctek [Meductic on the Saint John], 12 local Aboriginal men who were returning from Fort St. George, where they had taken 8 scalps and 4 prisoners.” Taking Boishébert’s word for it, his First Nations allies of the Saint John river must have gone home in the spring of 1757, since they are no longer found at the Miramichi by that time.

⁹¹ Boishébert “Journal” in Gaudet 1996 (1906), 176. Bougainville (1924, 267) tells us that Boishébert lost four men from his detachment during the winter of 1757.

⁹² During his expedition to Louisbourg in 1757, only about 100 Aboriginal fighters from the Saint John River area accompanied Boishébert. Had there been 400 to 500 *families*, as Le Guerne’s letter says, then Boishébert would have had at least 400 to 500 fighters, which was not the case. See note [90](#), above.

⁹³ Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f80r & v, AC.

more Acadian refugees migrated to the Island, including 16 of the 50 returnees from South Carolina,⁹⁴ before Villejoui refused to accept any more. Now, just around that time, Le Guerne arranged for some families from Shepody to move to the Island. It is highly likely that the latter families account for most of those 87 persons, that is, 71 of them. But there was also migration in the other direction. Once Camp Espérance was established at summer's end, some of the migrants to Île-Saint-Jean moved to the Miramichi, although we can only guess at how many of them did so.⁹⁵ Besides those people, we must add those who arrived in the summer of 1756 from Port Royal, whose number Vaudreuil estimated at 30 families and Le Guerne at 50 or 60 households.⁹⁶ Furthermore, Boishébert advised Vaudreuil in the summer of 1756 that there were 1,000 Acadians still in the region of the Three Rivers – Shepody, Petitcodiac, and Memramcook – and that 250 of them were planning to move to the refugee camp.⁹⁷ Obviously, it is possible that this move never came to pass, but if it did, then we are left with an estimate of 1,250 to 1,300 Acadian refugees at Camp Espérance by the autumn of 1756.⁹⁸

Now, having established that estimate based on contemporary documents, let us see whether we can arrive at a comparable figure by analyzing genealogical data from censuses and from lists of Acadian families between 1754 and 1763, along with the *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles acadiennes*.⁹⁹

A large proportion of the families who ended up at Camp Espérance had come from the region of Beau-bassin and the Shepody, Petitcodiac, and Memramcook Rivers. So we examined the census taken in that area during the fall of 1754 and winter of 1755, that is, less than a year before the Expulsion began.¹⁰⁰ Through Paul Delaney's research, we were able to identify those families who were expelled, as well as the men who were expelled without their families.¹⁰¹ These were the last of the families that Le Guerne managed to help move to Île-Saint-Jean in November 1755 – at least, a great many of them. That migration involved some 500 persons, the majority of whom later left for Québec. Besides these people, some other families fled directly up the Saint John River to Québec. Still more were to make the two-stage journey to Québec via Île-Saint-Jean, such as those who crossed from Cocagne in 1756. We must stress at the outset that we could not establish conclusive numbers here, for not until autumn 1757 do these families

⁹⁴ Vaudreuil to the minister, 7 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f85v, AC.

⁹⁵ Villejoui to Druccour and Prévost, 3 Nov. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f35v, AC; Prévost to the minister, 26 Nov. 1756, series C11B vol. 36, f158r, AC.

⁹⁶ Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f80r & v, AC. Le Guerne tells us that 50 or 60 families from Port Royal and Minas arrived at the Petitcodiac on 14 August 1756. See Gagnon 1889, 47-48. These families would represent somewhere around 250 individuals.

⁹⁷ Vaudreuil to the minister, 6 Aug. 1756, series C11A vol. 101, f80v, AC.

⁹⁸ Here is how we came up with that number. First, we know that 370 persons remained at Cocagne, to which we can add 34 returnees from South Carolina, 250 more from the Shepody, Petitcodiac, and Memramcook settlements, plus about 250 from Port Royal and Minas, and another 400 or so from Île-Saint-Jean. Obviously, most of these figures are estimates. Writing about a message of 15 Jan. 1757 from Boishébert, Bougainville (1924, 252) says that Boishébert "retired to Miramichi and vicinity to winter over with his Acadians, about 1,500 of them, not counting women and children." Might Bougainville have misinterpreted the information from Boishébert, who actually stated a total of 1,500 Acadians, both sexes and all ages combined? Otherwise, our estimate of the total would readily reach 6,000 or 7,000 persons.

⁹⁹ Again, the author is very grateful to Mr. Stephen A. White for providing him access to the unpublished notes for the *DGFA*.

¹⁰⁰ This census possibly was carried out in part by Abbé François Le Guerne, but a copy is to be found in the Thomas Pichon collection. See F 559, CEAAC; Thomas-Pichon collection, C 857, nos. 17-21, Bibliothèque de Vire.

¹⁰¹ Paul Delaney counted a total of 1,014 such individuals. See Delaney 2005, 260, note 54.

show up in parish registers along the St. Lawrence, appearing especially at the town of Québec, where hundreds of Acadian refugees died in an epidemic of smallpox.¹⁰² Now, we know that at least 120 Acadian refugees, having survived the hard winter of 1757 at Camp Espérance, proceeded to Québec and arrived in mid-June 1757.¹⁰³ Because these individuals are unidentified, it is difficult to distinguish them from the other Acadian refugees who were already at Québec the previous year or by the fall of 1755.¹⁰⁴ It is also appropriate to eliminate those families living in the region of the Shepody, Petitcodiac, and Memramcook Rivers in the winter of 1757, especially the ones on the upper Petitcodiac and close to the Memramcook. Most of those families surrendered to British authorities in the autumn of 1759 and on into 1760, and were transported to Halifax, where they were still to be found in 1763.¹⁰⁵ All of that taken into account, we come up with a figure of 847 persons who were enumerated in the 1754-1755 census surveys, and who possibly turn up among the Acadian refugees present at Camp Espérance in the winter of 1757.¹⁰⁶

In addition, to tabulate the families who spent the winter of 1756-1757 at Camp Espérance, we combined the following materials: the list of refugees at Restigouche, compiled by Bazagier in October 1760; the census of refugee families around the Bay of Chaleurs and on the Miramichi, prepared by Pierre du Calvet

¹⁰² Journal of Abbé Jean Félix Récher, 7no72a, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, p. 25. He says: “Note, first, that since the beginning of November 1757 until the first of March 1758, smallpox [*la picote*] has killed 300 Acadians, old and young, out of the 1,300 who were in the town.”

¹⁰³ Bougainville 1924, 267.

¹⁰⁴ Stephen A. White, in fact, has identified at least two families who stayed over at Camp Espérance before leaving for Québec in the spring of 1757. The two couples were René LeBlanc and Anne Thériault, and Jean-Baptiste Vincent and Élisabeth Comeau. However, the former both died at the Miramichi, while their surviving children were undoubtedly among the 120 persons who went on to Québec, where three of them died between the 7th and 12th of January 1758. As for the other family, the father, Jean-Baptiste, died at the Miramichi; only his widow and her remaining children got to Québec. See: the Departmental Archives of Morbihan [Brittany, France], series E, Généalogie des familles acadiennes établies dans les paroisses de Bangor, Locmaria, Sauzon et Le Palais, à Belle-Île-en-Mer; “Déclaration de généalogie des familles acadiennes établies en 1767 à Belle-Île en Mer,” Internet site of Racines et Rameaux français d’Acadie, at <http://www.rffa.fr/bull/declgenealogie.pdf>; “Documents inédits du Canada français, Documents sur l’Acadie, Registres des Acadiens de Belle-Île-en-Mer,” *Collection de documents inédits sur le Canada et l’Amérique, publiés par le Canada-français*, Québec, L. J. Demers, tome II (1889), 175, & tome III (1890), 112. In order not to distort the statistics, we omitted these two families from the list of refugees at Camp Espérance in the winter of 1756-1757, as shown in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁵ We must point out that this list is incomplete, because it shows only the names of persons who declared themselves ready to move to French territory. The same is true for the people listed at Fort Beauséjour and at Annapolis Royal in 1763.

¹⁰⁶ We included 572 individuals who appear in the 1754-1755 census and in the various lists of refugees or prisoners between 1760 and 1763, plus 270 other persons who show up in the census and who likely stayed at Camp Espérance, but who do not appear in those lists. Finally, we added 10 people who are identified in the census, yet could not be found in the lists or who left no further trace. That brought us to the figure of 852. We incorporated, moreover, 224 persons who are missing from the 1754-1755 census (since most of them are from Port Royal), yet do appear in other lists of refugees. Finally, it was appropriate to add some 168 unmarried men who apparently spent the winter of 1756-1757 at Camp Espérance. This last group were likely among the Acadians who participated in the two Louisbourg campaigns of 1757 and 1758, either as resistance fighters or militia under Boishébert’s command, as well as other anti-British expeditions between 1755 and 1758. In fact, as previously noted (on page 19 with references in note 90), Joubert mentions “a hundred and ten Caniba [Kennebec], Malecite or Abenaki and a hundred Mi’kmaq whom sieur de Boisbert [sic] brought from Acadie with eighteen soldiers and a hundred and fifty Acadian militiamen”. See the Appendix.

in August 1761; and the lists of Acadian prisoners at Fort Edward in 1761-1762, and at Fort Beauséjour (Cumberland), Halifax, and Annapolis Royal in 1763.¹⁰⁷

Through these sources, as well as Stephen A. White's genealogical notes, we believe we have identified the majority of the households and individuals who stayed at Camp Espérance in 1756-1757. We present the list in the Appendix.¹⁰⁸ Besides the people appearing in those lists, we have identified 27 families (131 persons) who came from Port Royal, 9 families (48 individuals) from Minas, 7 families from Beaubassin, Chipoudie, Malpègue, Remsheg, and Tintamarre (41 persons) and 10 families (40 people) whose origin we could not determine. These latter three groups comprise a total of 53 families containing 260 persons.¹⁰⁹ If we add this number to the 852 people from the region of Beaubassin and the Three Rivers, along with the 168 single men, we arrive at a figure of approximately 1,280 individuals. We should also tally in the 120 persons who moved on to Québec in the spring of 1757, which brings us to a total of 1,400. That number is roughly a hundred more than the figure of 1,250 to 1,300 that we calculated by means of the documents of the time.¹¹⁰

The remaining task is to discover the approximate number of people who met their death at Camp Espérance during the fateful winter of 1756-1757.

¹⁰⁷ A4-1-1, CEAAC; Isaac Deschamps collection, vol. 32, NSARM; Brun 1969, 158-164; "12 Août 1763 – Liste des François Accadiens demeurants prisonniers a halifax...", in J.-E. Roy 1911, 628-631; Bazagier to the minister, Nov. 1760, series C11A vol. 105, f319, AC; WO34/8, pp. 131-134, The National Archives (United Kingdom) (hereafter TNA), War Office; and "Liste des habitants de ce Poste...à Ristigouche," in Brun 1970, 266-268 (hereafter: the Amherst Papers); WO34/1, pp. 160-164, TNA; and Pierre du Calvet, "Livre pour le dénombrement des familles Accadiennes réfugiées le long des Côtes de L'Accadie...", Jul.-Aug. 1761, in the Amherst Papers, pp. 296-301; WO34/12, pp. 339-342, TNA; Roderick MacKenzie, "List of Acadian Families lately brought in to Fort Cumberland," 8 Nov. 1761, in the Amherst Papers, pp. 308-309; WO34/12, pp. 343-345, TNA, and "List of Acadians inhabiting from Gaspay to Bay Verte not surrendered at Fort Cumberland," 8 Nov. 1761, in the Amherst Papers, pp. 309-311. Also see series 12, vol. I, f22-26, AC; Baudry 1965; and "Port Royal Liste generale des habitants accadiens...", series G1 vol. 466, no. 34, AC.

¹⁰⁸ The Appendix, entitled "List of Refugee Acadian Households at Camp Espérance on the Miramichi, 1756-1757" includes the following elements: husband's surname; husband's given name followed by the ID number that Stephen A. White assigned in the *DGFA*, and then, in parentheses, the given name of the husband's father, along with the latter's *DGFA* ID number; surname of the wife; wife's given name and, in parentheses, her father's name and ID number; date of the couple's marriage; place of origin of the couple or of the husband; the number of persons within the household during the census of 1754-1755 in the region of Beaubassin and the Three Rivers; the number of persons in Bazagier's October 1760 list at Restigouche; the household's site of refuge according to Pierre du Calvet's census of July-August 1761; the size of the household noted in du Calvet's count; the household size according to MacKenzie in November 1761; ditto in the lists of Acadian prisoners at Fort Edward in 1761 and 1762; the place of incarceration of the household or the individual in the summer of 1763; the household size listed for prisoners at Fort Beauséjour, Annapolis Royal, and Halifax that summer; and the place where the household members subsequently settled. Note also that the list is in three parts: the first 358 households spent time at Camp Espérance; the next 69 probably did; and the last 5 remain unidentified and have left not a trace.

¹⁰⁹ To this number, we added 21 persons from Beaubassin who did not appear in the census of 1754-1755. A few families might have been counted already in the table, particularly among those originally from Port Royal that were counted among the families – 120 individuals, according to Bougainville (1924, 267) – who left for Québec in June 1757.

¹¹⁰ As just noted, we have probably counted some persons twice, because we added in the 120 individuals to whom Bougainville refers, but some of those people undoubtedly were already enumerated in the table

Eye-witness accounts of this tragic episode offer very few details about the number of victims. Le Guerne says merely: “Last winter these poor people died in great numbers from hunger and want.”¹¹¹ What was in Le Guerne’s mind when he said: “great numbers”? We will probably never know. We do, at least, have Boishébert’s statements. According to the document prepared for his defence when he was tried for his role in the “Canada Affair,”¹¹² 86 persons perished in the first two trips to the Pokemouche River and “all the children died.”¹¹³



Image 9: Artistic representation of an Acadian family at the time of the Grand Dérangement. Museum display at the Monument Lefebvre cultural centre, Memramcook NB. Photo by the translator, 9 Aug. 2016.

The latter is a rather audacious claim, given what we know about the survivors of Camp Espérance.¹¹⁴ Vaudreuil is more careful in his comments – undoubtedly based on information from Boishébert himself or from Le Guerne – saying that it was, in fact, unweaned babies who died. (Shades of modern-day television images of children dying in droughts and other disaster zones.) How many such children might have perished? Among the families at Camp Espérance, we found 140 wives who could have borne a child.¹¹⁵ It is quite unlikely that all these women were nursing a baby at the same time, but it is reasonable to suppose that at least half of them were doing so, thus, about 70 women.

If we assume that 70 nursing babies were lost, and add those who did not survive the trips to Pokemouche, the total death toll (according to Boishébert) would be about 156 over that winter of 1757.

There is yet another statistic from that tragic episode. It appears in a memorandum presented to the Duke de Choiseul around 1762, concerning a manifesto delivered by “the powers of Canada” – meaning

¹¹¹ Gagnon 1889, 29. Vaudreuil is just as vague as Le Guerne, when he writes: “Many Acadians died.” Vaudreuil to the minister, 17 Apr. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f32v, AC.

¹¹² (Transl. note.) The “Canada Affair” was a scandal, with legal proceedings, around financial mismanagement in the St. Lawrence River colony (which, as noted earlier, was known at the time as “Canada,” while “Québec” referred only to the town). Boishébert was accused of having had a role. In her Boishébert biography in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, P. E. LeBlanc (1979) comments as follows: “After the fall of Canada in 1760 Boishébert returned to France. He was accused of having participated in Intendant Bigot’s schemes and shortly after was imprisoned in the Bastille. It was claimed that he had profited personally from the purchase in Quebec of supplies for the starving Acadians. After 15 months in prison he was acquitted.”

¹¹³ Clos 1763, 25.

¹¹⁴ The toll was heavier for some families than for others. We especially have in mind one of the founding families of Caraquet, that of Alexis Landry and Marie Thériot, who lost at least four of their youngest children at the camp. See Placide Gaudet, *Généalogies acadiennes*, no place or date, 2654. (Translator’s addition: Alexis and his family are the subject of a French-language historical novel by Edmond-L. Landry [2003] focusing on the events of 1750 and following.)

¹¹⁵ That is, women who got married in the period 1740 to 1756.

the British authorities in control of Québec – to the Court of France, opposing the treaty of neutrality and pacification signed by the Acadians in February 1760.¹¹⁶ Here is the argument presented to the duke as a basis for denouncing the conditions under which the Acadians were forced to surrender to the British: “The authors of this manifesto have taken insufficient care to inform themselves of the sore necessity and extreme difficulty in which the Acadians and their missionary found themselves for several years, with no food of any kind, to the point where more than 400 of them died for lack of sustenance and nutrition.”¹¹⁷ This memorandum does not identify its author, but we suspect it was Abbé de l’Isle-Dieu, who was unquestionably one of the most well-informed people in France at the time, apart from the Acadians themselves and their missionaries, from whom this individual would have obtained his information. The missionary referenced in the memo is no doubt Abbé Jean Manach, who had been deported from Acadie a year after advising the Acadians to sign the treaty of neutrality and pacification that is mentioned in this document.¹¹⁸ That priest was present at the Miramichi in the winter of 1757, so he himself was in a position to know in full detail the misery that prevailed among the Acadian refugee families in Camp Espérance. That figure of 400 deaths comes closer to Le Guerne’s portrayal of the scope of the tragedy, and is quite close to Fraser’s claim of 500 victims.¹¹⁹ In his unpublished notes on the hardships among Acadian refugee families on the Miramichi, Placide Gaudet estimates that 400 died there.¹²⁰ Assuming that the figure of 400 victims is correct, we have to conclude that around 1,000 survivors remained in the spring of 1757, out of the 1,400 Acadian refugees who had been at Camp Espérance the preceding autumn. Of

¹¹⁶ By this treaty, Acadians of Petcoudiac, Memramcook, Bouctouche (and Cocagne), Richibouctou, and Miramichi surrendered to the commander of Fort Cumberland, Capt. Joseph Frye, in the autumn of 1759 and the winter of 1760. See: Akins 1869, 310-318; and Gaudet 1996 (1906), 189-197.

¹¹⁷ “Mémoire...présenté à Monseigneur le Duc de Choiseul,” polygraphie 7, no. 34, v. 1762, Archives du Séminaire de Québec. Considering that this memorandum was penned five years after the events at Camp Espérance, it is possible that the figure of 400 victims includes not only the people who died in the winter of 1756-1757 but also some other Acadian refugees who died later on. Now, even if hardship persisted on the Miramichi and elsewhere in the region, this does not mean that the later mortality rate matched the proportion who died at the camp in that terrible winter. On this issue, see the following: 2.1/P70, Archives du Séminaire de Québec; letter of Pierre Maillard, Aug. 1758, in Casgrain (1894, 335), where Maillard writes, “The inhabitants of Île-Saint-Jean are all bound and determined not to leave their island whatever the English do to them, preferring to hold out there as best they can, rather than leaving for a certain death by starvation at Miramichi.” Villejoui reported that the English gave him three weeks to evacuate the country, but he could not possibly do so: “Miramichi, which was closest, had no food and still does not. As a result, a number of our inhabitants who were nearest, and who went there, were obliged to retrace their steps, prepared to give up everything rather than die of hunger.” See Villejoui to the minister, 8 Sep. 1758, series C11B vol. 38, f166r, AC (quoted in Casgrain, 339). To learn more about the expulsion from Île-Saint-Jean, see Lockerby 2008. On the conditions among the Acadian refugees, also see: series C11A vol. 105, f320v, AC; and Bazagier to the minister, Nov. 1760, in the Amherst Papers, 265, where Bazagier writes: “The inhabitants of the three sites of Miramichi, and of Shippagan [*Chipagan*], and of the 3 at Caraquet, all were complaining loudly in July. They were complaining of having been in the same conditions for several years already. Those of the different places on the Restigouche were undoubtedly just as unhappy. They are all skillful but lazy and independent-minded if they are not supervised.” The Restigouche site was suffering great hardship when the French arrived in May 1760; see Beattie and Pothier 1996, 14.

¹¹⁸ Akins 1869, 319.

¹¹⁹ In Gaudet 1996 (1906), 249. There is no mention there of the number of First Nations people who died. Cooney, however, says that “A great number of the Indians had also died” (1832, 35).

¹²⁰ Shédiac, Cocagne et Miramichi, Placide Gaudet collection, 1.30-8, CEAAC. It could be that Gaudet was familiar with the memorandum addressed to the Duke of Choiseul in 1762, but he made no mention of it.

those who made it through that winter, 120 then left for Québec,¹²¹ while approximately 880 persons remained in Acadie.

Bishop de Pontbriand of Québec wrote in October 1757 about the sorrowful condition of the Acadians: “And then there are still 800 or 900 at Miramichi, north of Isle St. Jean just across the water, who would like nothing better than to make it over there, where they could settle at Malpek or Bedek [Malpèque or Bedèque], if they are to have any hope of surviving instead of perishing from want and suffering at Miramichi.”¹²² Bazagier’s Restigouche list of October 1760 tells of 529 persons at Restigouche,¹²³ 194 at Miramichi, 150 at Caraquet, and 26 at Shippagan, giving a total of 899 individuals who could have spent time at Camp Espérance, but this list was prepared four years after the refugee camp was set up, so the list could have been inflated by births that occurred in the interim. If we sum up the data from 1763 in the lists of Acadians at Fort Cumberland (Beauséjour), Halifax, and Annapolis Royal, we get a total of 658 persons. If we add to this figure the 230 persons imprisoned at Fort Edward in 1761 and 1762, we get a total of 888 individuals who could have been at Camp Espérance.¹²⁴ Here likewise, we must exclude children born since 1757. When we then add in the people who are missing from the 1763 lists but who did spend the winter of 1757 at the Miramichi refugee camp, we get a lot closer to the figure of 880 survivors of that winter who stayed in Acadie afterward. Taking this into account, then, it is realistic to set the number of victims in Camp Espérance at about 400 persons, which is the figure provided in the memorandum to the Duke de Choiseul around 1762.

Epilogue

With the fall of Louisbourg in July 1758, the fate of Camp Espérance was permanently sealed. The following spring, Boishébert, commander at the site, would return to Québec from Restigouche, his new headquarters, leaving the latter under the command of Lieutenant Jean-François Bourdon de Dambourg¹²⁵. But in the meantime, upon leaving Louisbourg in the summer of 1758, he had first headed toward the Saint John River region. Further down the Atlantic coast of present-day Maine, he fought a highly successful battle against the British around Fort George.¹²⁶ Just as he and



Image 10. Bay du Vin NB today. Photo by AirScapes International Inc.

¹²¹ Bougainville, entry for 16 Jun. 1757 (1924, 267).

¹²² Bishop of Québec to the minister (?), 30 Oct. 1757, series C11A vol. 102, f297r, AC.

¹²³ Bazagier to the minister, Nov. 1760, series C11A vol. 105, f319, AC; and Amherst papers, 265. In summing the persons in his list, Bazagier erred. He reported a total of 1,003, while the actual number was only 876 – of whom 529 would have been present at Camp Espérance in 1756-1757.

¹²⁴ See the Appendix.

¹²⁵ Rodger 1979.

¹²⁶ James Murray to James Wolfe, 24 Sep. 1758, CO5/53, f205-206, TNA, Colonial Office. The report was reproduced in Ganong 1914. Also see Clos 1763, 29. Several promissory notes were issued to pay for this expedition, between 6 September 1759 and 15 May 1760. See series V7, f88, 90, 90v, 204v, 291, 291v, 293, 293v, 317, 320v, 327v, 329v, 337v, 338, 338v, 366, 367v, 368, & 370. (Translator’s addition: Fort George was at the marine approach to Thomaston. The expedition also included a raid at the nearby village of Meduncook, now called Friendship.)

his men were getting ready to set off again, they got word that the British were attacking sites on the Saint John and the Miramichi.¹²⁷ In fact, on the day after the surrender of Louisbourg, the commander of the British army in North America, General Jeffery Amherst, had ordered Brigadier-General James Wolfe to lead an expedition against the settlements of the Miramichi, Gaspé, and others in the vicinity.¹²⁸ To execute those orders, Wolfe assigned Colonel James Murray to lead a force of close to 800 men against the settlements on the Miramichi River. Murray got there aboard the *Juno*, captained by John Vaughan, who, on 15 September 1758,¹²⁹ urged Murray to act as quickly as possible, since the ship was riding in difficult waters at the mouth of Miramichi Bay, exposed to onshore winds that threatened to drive the vessel aground on the coast.¹³⁰ With 300 of his men, Murray led an assault on the French post of Baie des Ouines (present-day Bay du Vin on the south side of Miramichi Bay), which had been deserted, except by surgeon Jean-Louis Bazert and his family, who were taken prisoner. When he learned of another settlement on the opposite shore of Miramichi Bay – the Mi'kmaq mission now known as Burnt Church – Murray immediately sent troops to burn the church as well as the homes of the Mi'kmaq and the Acadian refugees.¹³¹ Bazert also told Murray:

That Ten Leagues up the River there was another Settlement very considerable of neutrals and some Family's who had fled from the Island of St. John's since the taking of Louisbourg. That the whole were in a starving Condition, had sent away the most part of their Effects to Canada [Québec], and were all to follow immediately as they every Hour expected the English, & besides could not subsist since they could not now be



Image 11. Esgenoopetitj First Nation (Burnt Church) today, with Miramichi Bay in the background. Original source could not be traced. Accessed Apr. 2017, with permission, from the band's Facebook page at <https://www.facebook.com/252579691484895/photos/pcb.1057074317702091/1057073661035490/?type=3&theater>

¹²⁷ Clos 1763, 30.

¹²⁸ Order from Jeffery Amherst to James Wolfe, 15 Aug. 1758, CO5/53, f166-167, TNA.

¹²⁹ The following details come from Murray: James Murray to James Wolfe, 24 Sep. 1758, CO5/53, f205-206, TNA. Also see James Wolfe to William Pitt, aboard the *Namur*, 1 Nov. 1758, CO5/53, f203-204, TNA.

¹³⁰ Accompanying the *Juno* were the fire ship *Aetna* and six troop-carrying vessels. See ship's log of the *Juno* by Capt. John Vaughan, ADM51/495, TNA, Admiralty; ship's log of the *Juno* by master George Elmslie, ADM51/906, TNA; ship's log of the *Aetna* by Capt. Bickerton, ADM51/4106, TNA.

¹³¹ Capt. Bickerton wrote in his ship's log (*ibid.*) on 18 Sep. 1758 [appearing here in the original English]: "At 6 am sent the cutter & pinnace to Assist in removing the Troops having destroyed & Burnt the Town of Miramiche Consisting of Church & 20 Houses & taken some prisoners. At 9 weighted & made sail...."

supported by Sea as they formerly were before Louisbourg was taken, that the Inducement for settling in that River was the Furr Trade, which is very considerable, no less than Six Vessels having been loaded there with that Commodity this Summer. That Mons^r. Boisbert commands the whole as well as the Settlement on St. John's River, that he is at present with his Company at Fort George, against which he is to act in Conjunction with a Detachment from Montcalm's army & is no more to return to Miramichi, which is abandoned for the reasons above given.¹³²

Bazert also informed Murray that the river passage to Camp Espérance was very narrow, but deep enough for his sloop. With the mild weather, Murray wanted to travel upriver to destroy Camp Espérance, but after consulting with Captains Vaughan and Bickerton, he decided to drop the idea and bring his men aboard ship.¹³³ Since the ships' commanders were distinctly nervous about the security of their ships, the little fleet weighed anchor on September 18¹³⁴ and regained Louisbourg a week later, leaving Camp Espérance intact.¹³⁵

Boishébert implies that he and his men arrived at the Miramichi just before James Murray's expedition left the place.¹³⁶ Now, this seems implausible, since Boishébert only learned of Murray's expedition when

¹³² [This is the original English, not a translation.] James Murray to James Wolfe, 24 Sep. 1758, CO5/53, f205-206, TNA. It is interesting to note that some Acadians from Île-Saint-Jean had taken refuge on the Miramichi, contrary to what Maillard and Villejouis implied. See the following documents on this point: Letter from Pierre Maillard, Aug. 1758, 2.1/P70, Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Casgrain 1894, 335 & 339; Villejouis to the minister, 8 Sep. 1758, series C11B vol. 38, f166r, AC. It seems that the fur trade is what tipped the balance in favour of the Miramichi when Boishébert was choosing a site for his encampment, and that is no doubt what Le Guerne meant when he wrote (as mentioned earlier): "A certain interest-group has emerged, wanting to bring them to Miramichi": Gagnon 1889, 48. Boishébert tells us that he was ordered to return to Québec in the fall of 1758, but he was back in Acadie by winter 1759, recruiting Acadians to help defend Québec town, which would inevitably come under British attack the following spring. See Clos 1763, 31.

¹³³ On September 16, Vaughan sent two messages to Murray, describing the worrisome anchorage of his ship and urging the commander to wind up the expedition regardless of his desire to continue up the Miramichi to destroy the enemy site. See the Placide Gaudet collection, 1.32-5, CEAAC; John Vaughan to James Murray, aboard the *Juno*, 16 Sep. 1758, CO5/53, f166-167, TNA. The next day, Capt. Vaughan sailed his vessel into deeper waters, undoubtedly fearing it might run aground on the sandbars of Miramichi Bay. See ship's log of the *Juno*, by Capt. John Vaughan, ADM51/495, TNA; ship's log of the *Juno*, by master George Elmslie, ADM51/906, TNA.

¹³⁴ After consulting Capt. Vaughan, Murray did the same with Bickerton: "I likewise took care to have Capt. Bickerton consulted about the Situation of the Fleet who declared he could not Sleep while it continued where it was." See James Murray to James Wolfe, Louisbourg, 24 Sep. 1758, CO5/53, f205-206, TNA. Boishébert claimed, instead, that Camp Espérance was spared thanks to the defensive measures the French had taken in anticipation of inevitable attack. See Clos 1763, 30; and Bougainville, entry for 11 Sep. 1758 (1924, 276-277).

¹³⁵ Contrary to what may have been written about the destruction of Camp Espérance, it seems clear that the post was destroyed neither in September of 1758 by James Murray's expedition nor, as Esther Clark Wright concluded, in the summer of 1760 after the Battle of Restigouche. She claims it was destroyed by the captain of the *Fame*, John Byron, known as "Foul-weather Jack." See Wright 1944, 14-15. In fact, Camp Espérance was still around in the 1760s, as evidenced in documentary references that Fidèle Thériault found. See Thériault 1988, 10-12 & 19-20. Much more recently, Paul Delaney did in-depth research on the topic in the British archives, on behalf of Les Amis de l'île Boishébert, and came to the same conclusion as Thériault, namely, that Byron did not destroy Camp Espérance in July 1760. The author is much indebted to Mr. Delaney for having kindly shared his discoveries, as well as copies of the ships' logs of the British vessels in the September 1758 expedition, and of the order from Wolfe, and of James Murray's report to Wolfe. See the ship's log of the *Fame*, by George Marsh, ADM51/3830, TNA; ship's log of the *Fame*, by master Philip Madge, ADM52/852, TNA. The research directed by Les Amis de l'île Boishébert was funded by Parks Canada, for which this not-for-profit organization is very grateful.

¹³⁶ See Clos 1763, 30.

Monckton's own expedition reached the mouth of the Saint John on September 16, which is the day after Murray's force arrived at Miramichi. The latter left there on the 18th. Boishébert would have needed more than 48 hours to get from the Saint John to the Miramichi, especially since his forces were travelling in canoes with long portages to cross.

According to Cooney, Camp Espérance was: "...a Town comprising upwards of *two hundred houses* including a Chapel and Provisions Stores at Beaubair's [i.e., Beabear's or Boishébert's] Point."¹³⁷ This refugee camp was, indeed, a quite substantial establishment. Besides the chapel and houses, it included the structures typical of any military post of the time, that is, the commander's house, barracks, a hospital, a forge, a bakery, the priest's house, warehouses, and even a wharf.¹³⁸ In addition, houses and sheds or storehouses were built at Caraquet¹³⁹ and at Baie-des-Ouines, and even a house upriver on the Miramichi at the starting-point of the portage to the Saint John.¹⁴⁰ Cooney also reports that, besides the refugees at Camp Espérance and Baie-des-Ouines, some families were living at Néguac and at Canadian Point, and that artillery batteries had been installed on Beabear Island and at French Cove.¹⁴¹ He adds: "They moreover had a manufactory for arms, as well as a ship yard and Commissariat Store at Fawcett's Point, now owned by Joseph Cunard & Co. but then called after the French Commissary."¹⁴²

In the spring of 1759, Boishébert, along with his successor Bourdon, transferred the encampment from the Miramichi to the Restigouche, further north.¹⁴³ The families from Île-Saint-Jean followed, along with the refugee families who had been at Camp Espérance since the summer of 1756. Some of those families had already left that unhappy locale in 1758, as we hear from Murray: "that there are several Habitations dispersed all over the Bay, for many Leagues both above and below where we were."¹⁴⁴ Wolfe adds: "From Pas-beau round the Bay des Chaleurs to Caraquet, there are no french Inhabitants, from Caraquet to Miramichi, there may be about forty, who either fish, or trafick with the Indians for Furr."¹⁴⁵ According to the information that Wolfe drew upon, along with what the surgeon Jean-Louis Bazert told James Murray, the majority of the refugee families were still at Camp Espérance at summer's end in 1758. So too

¹³⁷ Cooney 1832, 32.

¹³⁸ Much of the construction was carried out in the autumn of 1758, after the fall of Louisbourg, which shows that Boishébert had no intention of abandoning the Miramichi site at that time. Numerous payment notes were issued for the construction, maintenance, and heating of the various buildings. See series V7, f124v, 195v, 201v, 204, 250, 288, 289v, 290, 300, 300v, 301v, 312, 326v, 328v-329, 363, 363v, 364v, 367, 368, 368v, 527, 527v, 542v, 543, 543v, 544, 544v, 590, 597v, 599v, 607, 615v, 648, 649v, 650, & 652.

¹³⁹ Series V7, f292, 431v-432, & 527v.

¹⁴⁰ Series V7, f292, 336, 431-431v, 527v, & 544v.

¹⁴¹ Cooney 1832, 32-33. (Translator's addition. Canadian Point and French Cove are sites on the Miramichi, a short way downriver from "Beabear(s) Island." Canadian Point is on the southeast shore in the area known as Chatham Head, while French Fort Cove, as it is now called, is the estuary of a small tributary on the opposite shore.)

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 32. The man in charge of the storehouses at Miramichi, during this time, was named Poisset. Could "Fawcett" be a distortion of Poisset?

¹⁴³ Pierre du Calvet, head of stores at Camp Espérance, moved the royal supplies to the new camp of Restigouche in June 1759. See du Calvet 1784, 3.

¹⁴⁴ [This and the next quotation are in the original English.] James Murray to James Wolfe, 24 Sep. 1758, CO5/53, f203-204, TNA.

¹⁴⁵ James Wolfe to William Pitt, aboard the *Namur*, 1 Nov. 1758, CO5/53, f205-206, TNA.

were some families from Île-Saint-Jean. They would subsequently move to the camp that Bourdon established on the Restigouche River where we find them in October 1760.¹⁴⁶

Actually, the migration of Acadians from Île-Saint-Jean to Camp Espérance started at the beginning of September 1758 and lasted until mid-October.¹⁴⁷ The following spring, the movement picked up again around the end of May, when more Acadian families left the Island, heading first to Restigouche and then to Camp Espérance. Mid-June saw families beginning to move to Caraquet, but even more to the post at Restigouche or Petite-Rochelle,¹⁴⁸ which was under the command of Boishébert, succeeded by Lieutenant Bourdon shortly afterward (at the end of June 1759).¹⁴⁹ The flow of families from the Island to Restigouche continued until the end of autumn that year.¹⁵⁰ The food shortage in the winter of 1759-1760 was especially gruelling for these refugee families, just as it had been at Camp Espérance in the winter of 1756-1757. Since Québec had already fallen, the people had no source of aid.¹⁵¹ At first, they managed

¹⁴⁶ This new camp of Petite-Rochelle was located close to the present-day National Historic Site of the Battle of the Restigouche, in a place also known at the time as the “pointe à Bourdon,” now called Pointe-à-la-Croix, on the north (Québec) shore of the river, just where the Restigouche opens into its estuary. The British did not manage to attack this position, but they did assault and destroy a village downriver. That village had, by all estimates, anywhere from several to 150 or 200 houses, and a British officer mistakenly called it “Petite-Rochelle.” It was apparently a refuge established in the spring of 1760, mainly by families from the Miramichi, Richibucto, and other havens to the south of the Bay of Chaleurs. Actually, these families had flocked to the place in June 1760 when news came that French vessels had arrived. François Chenard de La Giraudais, commander of the French fleet, noted that “several Acadian boats came to us daily, bringing a great many Acadian families seeking food, because they were in utter distress” (*quelques gouelette Batteaux Et Esquif cadien qui venoient journellement ce Joindre à nous avec Beaucoup de famille Cadienne pour avoir du Secour En vivre Estant dans la derniere miserre*): Knox 1916 (“Journal de la Campagne du S. Giraudais sur le n[avi]re le Machault” Oct. 1760), 363. Some were still there in October of that year, when Bazagier made up the list of persons at the Restigouche site. Here is what Capt. John Byron of the British ship *Fame* had to say about it [text in the original English]: “LeBlanc [Joseph known as Le Maire] who had done so much mischief to our trade came in here the day before we did (in the *Fame*) with nine vessels from Miramichi & all the inhabitants from thither [?] as they intended this place for their chief settlement.” In the ship’s log is written [again, text in the original English]: “sloops & schooners Chiefly from Miramichy, 9 from thence arriving here on the 21 of June the Inhabitants of that as well as other places hearing of this armament from Europe being in Chalr Bay moved here (as was supposed) wt an Intent to settle.” This document contains essentially the same information as Byron’s reports do, except concerning the number of buildings destroyed at Restigouche, for the ship’s log says “set fire to... several wooden houses they found within the woods,” whereas Byron, in reports for 11 & 14 Jul. 1760, mentions the destruction of 150 and 200 houses respectively. See the ship’s log of the *Fame*, by George Marsh, ADM51/3830, TNA; John Byron to the Admiralty, aboard the *Fame*, Bay of Chaleurs, 11 Jul. 1760, ADM1.1491, TNA; Byron to Colville, 14 Jul. 1760, ADM1/482, TNA. Also see Bazagier to the minister, Nov. 1760, series C11A vol. 105, f319, AC; WO34/8, pp. 131-134, TNA; and “Liste des habitans de ce Poste,” 24 Oct. 1760, in the Amherst Papers, pp. 266-268; Beattie and Pothier 1996; de Valigny 1966, 64-82; Goudreau 2017.

¹⁴⁷ Series V7, f250v, 291v, 300v, 367-367v, 543v-544, & 591v.

¹⁴⁸ Series V7, f205v, 474v-475, 475, 544v, 570v, 593, 608, 652, & 652-652v.

¹⁴⁹ Of the payment notes that Boishébert issued as commander of the Restigouche post, the last is dated 22 June 1759, while the first one issued by Bourdon, the successor, is dated four days later, 26 June. See series V7, f 625 & 475 respectively.

¹⁵⁰ Series V7, f302v, 330v, 367-367v, 378v, 433v, 474v-475, 543v-544, 544v, 562-562v, 570v, 571, 591v, 608-608v, & 652-652v.

¹⁵¹ We actually turned up only one mention of a ship being unloaded at Restigouche: a promissory note to Jean-Baptiste Periel for discharging a cargo, 19 Sep. 1759, series V7, f321.

to get some cod from nearby fishing stations,¹⁵² but very quickly had to resort to eating moccasins¹⁵³ and hides of cattle and beaver that were brought in to help them survive.¹⁵⁴ When three French ships arrived to take shelter at Restigouche, around 17 May 1760, they found the refugees of Petite-Rochelle in great distress. This is how Captain Gabriel-François d'Angeac described their circumstances: "In this place of misery, I found more than 1,500 souls, worn down by their tribulations and dying of hunger, having had to eat beaver skins all winter long. I had my crew supply them with half a pound of flour each day and a ration of beef, while awaiting orders from Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil. This small assistance pulled them back from the threshold of death, and I have been continuing this allocation up to the present."¹⁵⁵ Likewise, in the fall of 1760, Bourdon himself tells us that he was about to depart for France, for "fear that, by waiting any later in the year, I would be putting myself through another round of misery like the one I endured last winter, reduced to eating the hides of cattle, beaver, and dogs...."¹⁵⁶

With his list of refugees at Restigouche in October 1760, Bazagier also reported 194 persons within 35 families at three sites on the Miramichi, namely Néguaac (on the north shore, between Burnt Church and the mouth of the bay), Camp Espérance, and the Baie des Ouines (Bay du Vin).¹⁵⁷ The following year, the Restigouche site was completely abandoned, and the refugee families spread themselves around the Bay of Chaleurs – especially in Bonaventure, Nepisiguit (now Bathurst), Caraquet, and Shippagan – but also on the Miramichi, where Pierre du Calvet enumerated them in his census of August 1761. On the Miramichi,

¹⁵² Between 4 July 1759 and 14 April 1760, there were several promissory notes for the purchase of quintals of cod: series V7, f206v, 294, 294v, 317v, 425, & 610. They also got some wild geese (13 Feb. 1760, series V7, f317v-318), and oxen (3 Mar. 1760, series V7, f294v).

¹⁵³ From 6 March to 8 April 1760, no fewer than 124 pairs of cattle-hide shoes were bought, to enable Acadian and First Nations families to subsist: series V7, f207, 294, 306, 331, 433-433v, 604v, 608, & 609v. On 15 May 1760, another 160 pairs were purchased: series V7, f318.

¹⁵⁴ Several cattle hides were bought between 4 March and 11 April, for subsistence needs of the refugees: series V7, f207v, 294v, 609, & 609 v. On 16 May 1760, 45 cattle hides were purchased to clothe and feed the Acadian families: series V7, f99v. From 4 to 27 April 1760, several beaver skins were bought for the same purpose: series V7, f207, 207v, 208, & 318.

¹⁵⁵ Knox 1916 (Gabriel François d'Angeac, "Relations depuis Notre depart de Royant jusqu'au Jour de Nôtre Combat avec les anglais Le huit Juillet mil Sept cent Soixante," camp de Ristigouche, 5 Aug. 1760), 367. Incidentally, here is another account from d'Angeac, written sixteen years after the events: "I arrived there on May 17, and found the people dying of hunger. Sieur Bourdon, a lieutenant in the Isle Royale forces, was in charge of the group. I found him in the worst condition of all. He and the people under him were surviving on nothing more than the hides of wild animals. They would scrape off the fur, then boil the hides until they were cooked enough to chew. By the time I arrived at the bay, they had been reduced to consuming their old shoes. I provided them with all the help I could, enabling them to get back their strength...": Letter of reference of François-Gabriel D'Angeac, Soubise, 9 Jan. 1776, in the dossier of Bourdon de Dambourg, Jean-François, Archives nationales de France, series E 48-6.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* (Letter from Bourdon to the minister, Camp Restigouche, 11 Oct. 1760), 396.

¹⁵⁷ Series C11A vol. 105, f320v, AC; Amherst Papers, p. 265; WO34/8, pp. 131-134, TNA; and "Liste des habitans de ce Poste," 24 Oct. 1760, in the Amherst Papers, pp. 266-268; Knox 1916 ("Quantité des personnes dépendants du poste," Bazagier, Paris, 31 Dec. 1760), 394-395. He also counts 68 persons in 11 families at Richibouctou, 150 individuals in 36 families at Caraquet, and 26 people in 5 households at Chipagan. In another accounting, dated 16 Sep. 1760, Bazagier estimates the Miramichi population at 262 persons in 46 families (including 11 households containing 68 individuals at Richibouctou), along with the 150 people in 36 families within three villages at Caraquet, and the 26 persons in 5 families at Chipagan (Knox 1916, 386).

he counted 24 families, including 3 at Bay des Ouines.¹⁵⁸ However, he does not distinguish between the refugee families at Néguaac and those at Camp Espérance, so it is impossible to identify the families who were still living at the latter site three months before Capt. Roderick MacKenzie and his men raided the place and arrested them in November 1761, along with most of the other families that Pierre du Calvet had surveyed earlier.¹⁵⁹

In the years that followed, the British held these families as prisoners, until the autumn of 1764, when they were released to go where they wanted. Of the households and single individuals who had been at Camp Espérance in 1756-1757, more than half decided to stay in Acadie,¹⁶⁰ while the rest settled mainly in Louisiana, but also in Québec, France, and Saint-Domingue (Haiti). Thanks to the *DGFA*, we are able to track the refugee families of Camp Espérance, as shown in the Appendix. Of the 429 households or unattached individuals who were at the camp, we know where 308 of them settled, specifically: 121 in Acadie (48 in Nova Scotia, 5 in Prince Edward Island, and 68 in New Brunswick), 101 in Louisiana, 53 in Québec, and 33 in France (including 22 in Miquelon and 5 in Saint-Domingue).¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Eleven families, then, must have left the Miramichi between October 1760 and the du Calvet census of August 1761, unless he overlooked those families in the latter count. We think that those families went elsewhere. Many families moved around quite a lot during this period of uprootedness. For an example, see the travels of the family of Pierre Bois and Jeanne Dugas during the *Grand Dérangement*: Têtu 1903, app. A, p. 176, note 1; and White 1991, 22-26. (Translator's note. The life story of Jeanne Dugas has also been told as a historical novel in English: Cohoon 2013.)

¹⁵⁹ WO34/1, pp. 160-164, TNA; and Pierre du Calvet, "Livre pour le dénombrement des familles Accadiennes réfugiées le long des Côtes de L'Accadie...," Jul.-Aug. 1761, in the Amherst Papers, pp. 296-301; WO34/12, pp. 339-342, TNA; Roderick MacKenzie, "List of Acadian Families lately brought in to Fort Cumberland," 8 Nov. 1761, in the Amherst Papers, pp. 308-309; WO34/12, pp. 343-345, TNA, and "List of Acadians inhabiting from Gaspay to Bay Verte not surrendered at Fort Cumberland," 8 Nov. 1761, in the Amherst Papers, pp. 309-311.

¹⁶⁰ Here we mean Acadie in the broadest sense. Besides the Maritime Provinces, we are including Miquelon, the Magdalene Islands, and Québec's Bonaventure County (on the north shore of the Bay of Chaleurs).

¹⁶¹ Note that some of these households or persons left descendants in more than one place. This can explain the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the 308 such households and single individuals in the inventory, and on the other hand, the total of 373 refugees with their descendants included. We thought it would be helpful to list the main Acadian settlements where descendants of the Camp Espérance people are to be found, based on our information about where family members eventually settled.

In **Nova Scotia**: Arichat and Petit-de-Grat in Richmond County on Cape Breton Island; the Baie Sainte-Marie region in Digby County (Anse-des-Belliveau, Grosses Coques, Meteghan, and Pointe-de-l'Église or Church Point); Chéticamp and Margaree in Inverness County, Cape Breton Island; Chezzetcook, Halifax County; Havre-à-Mélasse (Port Felix, along with Larry's River and Charlos Cove, all on Tor Bay), Guysborough County; Havre Boucher and Tracadie in Antigonish County; Minudie (Menoudie), Cumberland County; Pisiqid (present Windsor area) in Hants County; and Sainte-Anne-du-Ruisseau, Yarmouth County.

In **Prince Edward Island**: Egmont Bay, Miscouche, and Tignish in Prince County; and Rustico in Queen's County.

In **New Brunswick**: Barachois, Cap-Pelé, Dieppe, Memramcook (including Beaumont and Pré-d'en-Haut), Scoudouc, Shédiac, and Shemogue (Chimougoui) in Westmoreland County; Bouctouche, Cocagne, Grande-Digue, Richibucto, Richibucto-Village, Saint-Louis-de-Kent, and Saint-Charles-de-Kent Parish in Kent County; Néguaac in Northumberland County; Bathurst (Nepisiguit), Caraquet, Petit-Rocher, Shippagan, and Tracadie in Gloucester County; and Saint-Basile in Madawaska County.

In **Louisiana**: New Orleans, Ascension Parish, Attakapas (St. Martin's Parish and Saint-Martinville); Côte-Gelée (now Broussard, in Lafayette Parish), Opelousas (in St. Landry Parish), Plattenville (in Assumption Parish), Pointe-

For lack of sources offering precise details, we will probably never know that exact number of Acadian refugees who lived at Camp Espérance on the Miramichi during that winter of 1756-1757, nor the number who died there. One thing is clear, however: in the various earlier studies of this episode, the figures appear to be inflated, judging by the information we have extracted from documentary materials of that time. That conclusion is especially clear from the genealogical notes, which give indisputable data on the persons who survived that fateful winter. Our best estimate is that approximately 1,400 Acadian refugees were at the camp then. Relying on the finding that 880 persons survived and were living in Acadie in the immediate aftermath, and that another 120 departed for Québec, we place the number of deaths at about 400 individuals, which is to say, close to one-third of the Acadian refugees who began the winter of 1756-1757 at Camp Espérance.

Coupé Parish, St. Gabriel-d'Iberville (Iberville Parish), St. James Parish (including St. Jacques de Cabahannocer and the erstwhile Saint-Michel-de-Cantrelle), and Thibodaux (in Lafourche Parish).

In **Québec**: Bonaventure County on the north shore of the Bay of Chaleurs in the Gaspésie (including the communities of Bonaventure, Cascapédia, New Richmond, Paspébiac, and Tracadieche or Carleton); the Magdalene Islands (Havre-Aubert, Havre-aux-Maisons, and Lavernière); four locales not far north of Montréal, namely, Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (now part of Laval City), Sainte-Thérèse de Blainville, Mascouche, and Saint-Jacques (formerly Saint-Jacques-de-l'Achigan); four places on or near the Richelieu River (running north from New York State to Sorel on the St. Lawrence), namely, L'Acadie, St. Luc, Chambly, and Saint-Charles-sur-Richelieu; along the south side of the St. Lawrence, moving downriver, there are 15 settlement sites, which are Saint-Ours, Sorel, and Saint-François-du-Lac, then Nicolet, Saint-Grégoire-de-Nicolet, Bécancour, Gentilly, and Saint-Pierre-les-Becquets, and then (beyond Lévis and Québec City) Saint-Charles-de-Bellechasse, Saint-François-du-Sud, L'Islet, Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, Kamouraska, and finally (downriver from Rivière-du-Loup) Cacouna and L'Île-Verte; on the north side of the St. Lawrence, Champlain (just downriver from Trois-Rivières), followed by Deschambault, then Québec City itself and its present-day suburb of L'Ancienne-Lorette, and finally, Saint-Joachim.

In **France**: Belle-Île-en-Mer, Nantes, and Port-Louis in Brittany; Bordeaux in Aquitaine; Cherbourg in Normandy; and Rochefort in Poitou-Charentes. And in **France overseas**: Miquelon (the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon); and Saint-Domingue or Haiti (Fort Dauphin, Le Mirebalais, Môle-Saint-Nicolas, and Port-au-Prince).



Image 12. Camp d'Espérance Memorial at Wilson's Point, Miramichi. Photo by I. R. Walker, 2007. Creative Commons Licence 2.5. (Note: The author's research shows that the plaque contains an overestimate of the number of refugees at the site.)

Works Cited (excluding archived primary sources)

- Akins, Thomas B. 1869. *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*. Halifax, Charles Annand, Publisher.
- Allain, Greg, and Maurice Basque. 2005. *Du silence au réveil: la communauté acadienne et francophone de Miramichi, Nouveau Brunswick*, Miramichi, Centre communautaire Beausoleil.
- Amherst Papers. See Brun 1970.
- Arsenault, Bona. 2004 (1966). *Histoire des Acadiens*. Montréal: Fides.
- Baudry, René. 1965. "Liste des Acadiens prisonniers au Fort Beauséjour en 1763" *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne* I (7: Mar.): 21-26.
- Beattie, Judith, and Bernard Pothier. 1996. *La bataille de la Ristigouche 1760*. Ottawa: Parks Canada.
- Blais, Christian. 2004. "Les Micmacs et les Acadiens au XVIII^e siècle: de la cordialité à l'animosité." *Magazine Gaspésie* 41 (1: winter): 24-27.
- Boishébert, Charles des Champs de. "Journal que j'ay tenu sur les différents événements qui se sont passés en l'Acadye depuis la prise du fort de Beauséjour." (after 25 Sep.1755). In *Acadian Genealogy and Notes Concerning the Expulsion*, by Placide Gaudet 1996 (1906). Pawtucket RI: Quintin Publications.
- Bougainville, Louis-Antoine de. 1924 (1756-1759). "Journal de Bougainville." In *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1923-1924*, 302-393. Québec: L.-A. Proulx. Also accessible online (Apr. 2017). http://collections.banq.qc.ca/jrn03/rapportarchiviste/src/1923/52334_01_1590.pdf.
- Brun, Régis S. 1969. "Liste des prisonniers acadiens au fort Edward, 1761-1762. Les papiers de Deschamps." *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne* III (3-4: July-Sep.): 158-164.
- Brun, Régis S. 1970. "Papiers Amherst (1760-1763) concernant les Acadiens, 24 octobre 1760." *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne* III (7: April, May, June): 256-309. The full text of the Amherst journal is accessible online. See: *The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by J. Clarence Webster, 1931, Ryerson Press (Toronto) and University of Chicago Press (Chicago): https://archive.org/stream/journalofjeffery00amhe/journalofjeffery00amhe_djvu.txt.
- Casgrain, Henri-Raymond. 1894. *Une seconde Acadie*. Québec: Imprimerie L.-J. Demers & frère.
- Clos, prosecutor (*procureur*). 1763. *Mémoire pour le Sieur de Boishébert, Capitaine, Chevalier de Saint Louis, ci-devant Commandant à l'Acadie*. Paris: Imprimerie de Moreau.
- Cohoon, Cassie Deveaux. 2013. *Jeanne Dugas of Acadia*. Sydney NS: Cape Breton University Press.
- Cooney, Robert. 1832. *A Compendious History of the Northern part of the Province of New Brunswick and of the District of Gaspé, in Lower Canada*. Halifax: Joseph Howe.
- Crowley, T. A. 1979. "Angeac (Dangeac, Danjaique, Don Jacque), François-Gabriel d'" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Accessed 23 Mar. 2017. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/angeac_francois_gabriel_d_4F.html.
- Delaney, Paul. 2004. "La reconstitution d'un rôle des passagers du *Pembroke*." *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne* XXXV (1-2: Jan.-June): 4-75.
- Delaney, Paul. 2005. "The Acadians Deported from Chignectou to 'Les Carolines' in 1755: Their Origins, Identities and Subsequent Movements." In *Du Grand Dérangement à la Déportation: nouvelles perspectives historiques*, edited by Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, 247-389. Moncton NB: Chaire d'études acadiennes.
- d'Entremont, Clarence-J. 1981. *Histoire de Cap-Sable de l'an mil au Traité de Paris, 1763*. Vol. 4. Eunice LA: Hebert Publications.

- de Valigny, Pacifique. 1966. "Ristigouche: métropole des Micmacs, théâtre du 'dernier effort de la France au Canada.'" *Revue d'histoire de la Gaspésie* 4: 64-82 *Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Québec*: 18-21 (1924-1927), reprinted in.
- du Boscq de Beaumont, Gaston. 1899. *Les derniers jours de l'Acadie, 1748-1758*. Paris: Émile Lechevalier. Also accessible online (Apr. 2017): <https://archive.org/details/lesderniersjours00dubo>.
- du Calvet, Pierre. 1784. *The Case of Peter Du Calvet, Esq. of Montreal in the province of Quebeck*. London: no publisher named. Also accessible online (Apr. 2017): https://archive.org/details/cihm_34622.
- Faragher, John Mack. 2005. *A Great and Noble Scheme*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Finn, Gérard. 1997. "Le Guerne, François (sometimes written Guerne or De Guerne)." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Accessed 19 Mar. 2017. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/le_guerne_francois_4E.html
- Gagnon, Charles-Octave. 1889. *Lettre de M. l'abbé Le Guerne missionnaire de l'Acadie*. Québec: A. Côté.
- Ganong, William Francis. 1914. "The Official Account of the Destruction of Burnt Church." *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society* 9: 301-307
- Gaudet, Placide. 1996 (1906). *Acadian Genealogy and Notes Concerning the Expulsion*. Pawtucket RI: Quintin Publications.
- Goudreau, Michel (sous la direction de). 2017. *Familles rebelles de La Petite-Rochelle. Les Acadiens de la résistance sur la Ristigouche 1760*. Pointe-à-la-Croix QC : La Société historique Machault.
- Griffiths, Naomi E. S. 2005. *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Johnson, Micheline D. 1974. « Manach (Manack, Manachs), Jean (Jacques *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Accessed 19 Mar. 2017. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/manach_jean_3F.htmlhttp://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/manach_jean_3F.html.
- Johnston, A. J. B. (John). 2005. "French Attitudes Toward the Acadians, ca. 1680-1756." In *Du Grand Dérangement à la Déportation: nouvelles perspectives historiques*, edited by Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, 131-166. Moncton NB: Chaire d'études acadiennes.
- Johnston, A.J.B. (John). 2007. *Endgame 1758: The Promise, the Glory and the Despair of Louisbourg's Last Decade*. Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press; & Sydney NS, Cape Breton University Press.
- Knox, John. 1914. *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760*. Vol. I. Toronto: Champlain Society.
- Knox, John. 1916. *Appendix to an Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760*, edited by Arthur G. Doughty). Vol. III. Toronto, Champlain Society. Also accessible online (Apr. 2017): <https://archive.org/details/historicaljourna10knox>.
- Landry, Edmond-L. 2003. *Alexis, roman historique*. Saint-Nicolas, QC: Les Éditions de la Francophonie.
- Landry, Nicolas, and Nicole Lang. 2001. *Histoire de l'Acadie*. Sillery, QC: Septentrion.
- LeBlanc, Alonzo. 1985. "Le camp d'Espérance de la Miramichi, 1756-7." *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne* XVI (2: June): 53-60.
- LeBlanc, Phyllis E. 1979. "Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot, Charles," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Accessed 21 Mar. 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/deschamps_de_boishebert_et_de_raffetot_charles_4F.html.
- LeBlanc, Ronnie-Gilles. 2005. "Du 'dérangement des guerres' au Grand Dérangement: la longue évolution d'un concept." In *Du Grand Dérangement à la Déportation: nouvelles perspectives historiques*, edited by Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, 11-20. Moncton NB: Chaire d'études acadiennes.

- LeBlanc, Ronnie-Gilles. 2011. "Beaubassin, vestiges de l'Acadie historique" *Encyclopédie du patrimoine culturel de l'Amérique française*. Accessed Jan. 2017. http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/fr/article-491/Beaubassin,_vestiges_de_l%E2%80%99Acadie_historique.html#.WHzGRvkrLcs.
- Lockerby, Earle. 2008. *Deportation of the Prince Edward Island Acadians*. Halifax NS: Nimbus.
- Michaud Marguerite. 1967. *Les Acadiens des provinces Maritimes: Guide historique et touristique*. Published by the author.
- Rodger, Andrew. 1979. "Bourdon de Dombourg, Jean-François." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Accessed 20 Mar. 2017. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bourdon_de_dombourg_jean_francois_1720_1789_4F.html.
- Roy, Joseph-Edmond. 1911. *Rapport sur les archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada*. Publications des Archives du Canada no. 6. Ottawa: Parmelee.
- Roy, Muriel K. 1980. "Peuplement et croissance démographique en Acadie" In *Les Acadiens des Maritimes*, edited by Jean Daigle. Moncton NB: Centre d'études acadiennes.
- Roy, Raymond. 1975. "La croissance démographique en Acadie de 1671 à 1763." Master's thesis in demography, Université de Montréal.
- Surette, Paul. 1988. *Petoudiac: colonisation et destruction 1731-1755*. Moncton NB: Éditions d'Acadie.
- Têtu, Mgr. Henri. 1903. *Journal des visites pastorales de 1815 et 1816 par Monseigneur Joseph-Octave Plessis, Évêque de Québec*. Québec: Imprimerie franciscaine missionnaire. Accessible online (Apr. 2017): <http://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/2022115>.
- Thériault, Fidèle. 1986. "Boishébert et la Miramichi: 'le camp de l'Espérance.' 1755-1761. Recherche documentaire." Unpublished manuscript (Jan.). Fredericton NB: Ministry of Tourism, Leisure and Heritage, Archaeological Service of New Brunswick.
- Thériault, Fidèle. 1987. "La Pointe de Miramichi." Unpublished manuscript (Nov.). Fredericton NB: Ministry of Tourism, Leisure and Heritage, Archaeological Service of New Brunswick.
- Thériault, Fidèle. 1988. "Le camp de l'Espérance." Unpublished manuscript (Feb.). Fredericton NB: Ministry of Tourism, Leisure and Heritage, Archaeological Service of New Brunswick.
- Thibodeau, Serge Patrice. 2010. *Journal de John Winslow à Grand-Pré*. Moncton NB: Perce-Neige.
- Webster, John Clarence. 1930. *The Forts of Chignecto*. Shediac NB: Published by the author.
- White, Stephen A. 1991 "Le périple de Jeanne Dugas." *Contact-Acadie* 18 (Dec.): 22-26.
- White, Stephen A. 1999. Manuscript notes for the *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles acadiennes*. Moncton, NB: Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- White, Stephen A. 2005. "The True Number of the Acadians." In *Du Grand Dérangement à la Déportation: nouvelles perspectives historiques*, edited by Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, 2156. Moncton NB: Chaire d'études acadiennes.
- Wicken, William. 1994. "Encounters with Tall Sales and Tall Tales: Mi'kmaq Society, 1500-1760." PhD diss. in history, McGill University (Montréal).
- Wright, Esther Clark. 1944. *The Miramichi: A Study of the New Brunswick River and the People Who Settled Along It*. Sackville NB: Tribune Press.