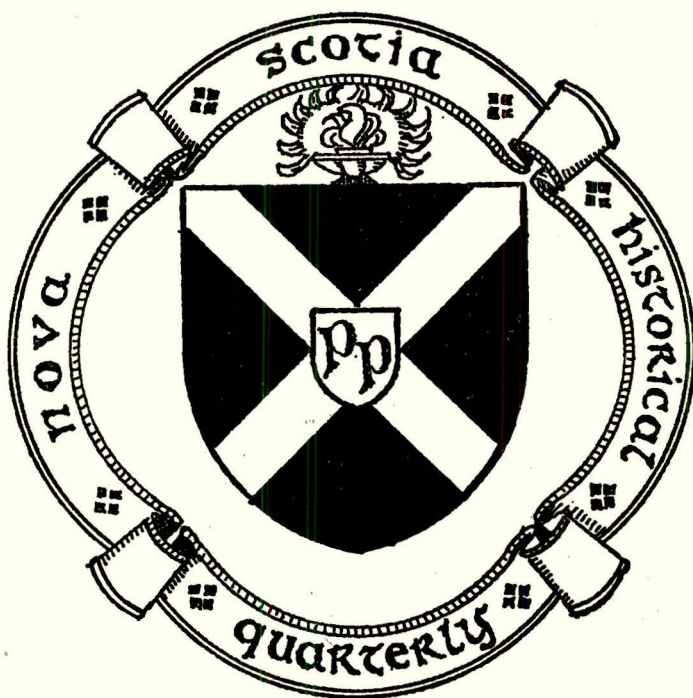


# The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 3, Number 1, March 1973



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# *A Bluenose Privateer Of 1812*

JOHN LEEFE

The call of the sea has always had a strong pull on Nova Scotians for no one in this sea girt province lives far enough from salt water to avoid its influence, no matter how slight. This siren song has a largely emotional effect on Bluenoses today but in times gone by it called many to a life on the grey Atlantic. At war or at peace, Nova Scotia's well being was dependent on the carrying trade; bottoms deep with timber and fish bound for foreign lands, or crowded with the manufactured goods of England, the rum and sugar of the West Indies, and sugar of the West Indies, and the produce of New England for consumption at home. When normal traffic was disrupted by foreign conflict the sailors often traded their manifests for letters of marque and set off in search of glory and gold only too often to find at best a hollow image, at worst an alien grave.

These fishermen and traders turned privateer were well versed in the perils of the sea and knew intimately the coasts on which they became the predators—the West Indies, the North Atlantic Seaboard of the United States. This is the tale of the first life of Nova Scotia's most successful privateer, the Liverpool Packet, which wreaked havoc on the New England States during the War of 1812.

On November 10th, 1811 a sleek schooner, her two masts stepped at rakish angle, slipped over the bar past Fort Point and the widow Dexter's tavern and into Liverpool Harbour.<sup>1</sup> She had sailed straight from Halifax where she had recently been condemned as a prize by the Court of Vice Admiralty and auctioned off in the rooms of the "Spread Eagle" or "Split Crow" at the foot of Salter Street. Built for speed in the carriage of illicit goods, this Baltimore clipper had dimensions which belied her trade—LO A 53 feet, beam 18 feet 11 inches, depth of hold 6 feet 6 inches and a weight of 67 tons, British admeasurement.<sup>2</sup> She had been the tender to a slaver and was popularly named the Black Joke.

Among the bidders was a sharp Halifax merchant who had recently come to the capital from Liverpool, a bustling little timber and fishing community some 70 miles down the coast. Being a man of shrewd reputation and some substance, Enos Collins probably had little difficulty in outbidding his competitors who likely saw only limited usefulness in the foul smelling ex-slaver. After all, she was too narrow to accomodate general cargo on anything but a small scale and she was certainly not suited to the fishery. So, on behalf of himself and his Liverpool partners—Benjamin Knaut and John and James Barss<sup>3</sup>—he purchased a little vessel for the neat sum of £420. He had her fumigated with a concoction of vinegar, tar, and brimstone<sup>5</sup> so she would not be distinguished by the odors of her previous occupation, and christened her the "Liverpool Packet." She was perfect for the new task her owners had cut out for her—to ply the waters between Halifax and the South Shore as a speedy packet.

Upon her arrival in Liverpool, the Packet was placed under the command of Captain Benjamin Ellenwood<sup>6</sup> and subsequently Thomas McLarren<sup>7</sup>. Throughout the winter and spring of 1811—1812 she sailed the waters of southern Nova Scotia carrying passengers, mail, and small cargo between the

outports and Halifax. It seems that she must have had fairly commodious accommodations for on several occasions she carried in excess of half a dozen passengers<sup>8</sup>. It was not long however, before her insignificance gave way to a less ignominious role.

On the Saturday of June 27th, 1812 Capt. Richard Byron, H. M. S. *Belvidera*, a second rate of 36 guns, sailed into Halifax harbour with news and clear proof that the United States was at war with Britain. Four days previous, while cruising 80 miles SW by S off Nantucket, she had been attacked by the U.S.S. *President*, the U.S.S. *Constitution* and three smaller vessels. With several dead and wounded, she was able to get off in a favouring wind and make for Halifax. Not to be denied some retribution, *Belvidera* carried three American vessels into port which she had captured on the way home<sup>9</sup>.

The news of the war was not welcomed by Nova Scotians nor for that matter, was it welcomed by their New England Kin. But the old ties across the Bay of Fundy were somewhat less strong in 1812 than they had been in 1776 and each side determined to make the best of a bad thing. With their eyes turned to profit, the owners of the *Liverpool Packet* soon determined that she was ideally suited to prosecute the war on her own terms—as a privateer. In order to avoid being charged with piracy it was necessary for the master of a privateer to receive a letter of marque or a privateering license from the governor. It was possible to apply for such a document to operate against Napoleon's France, but Sir John Sherbrooke, the governor of Nova Scotia, could not on his own authority issue one against American shipping. While an order-in-council from London was awaited, the *Liverpool Packet* sailed as a government cartel to Boston.

"The schooner *Liverpool Packet*, cartel, Capt. Freeman, arrives here (Boston), seven days from Halifax,

having on board Francis Lowell, Esq., lady and family, and several others taken from the brig. Minerva, which had been captured by the Africa, 64 guns, and sent into Halifax.”<sup>10</sup>

On her return to The Halifax Dockyard the Packet was outfitted with Five Carriage Guns, . . . one Gun Carrying Six pounds Shot and Four Guns Carrying Twelve pounds Shot.<sup>11</sup> Her master, John Freeman, was undoubtedly given explicit instructions by her owners to concentrate on raiding commerce, to take only those vessels worth-while, and to avoid at all times, engagements with other armed vessels. No matter how heroic a sea duel might seem, it would prove most unprofitable if she were sunk or captured. Sometime in mid-August she sailed for Liverpool.

Freeman received a letter of marque on August 24th, 1812,<sup>12</sup> John Moody of Halifax and Colonel Joe Freeman and Enos Collins of Liverpool putting up £1500 bail to ensure that marine law would be complied with.<sup>13</sup> Undoubtedly it was the influence of these three men which had prompted Sherbrooke to offer the necessary document. Moody was a wealthy and influential Halifax merchant, Freeman was Colonel of the militia in Queens County and M.L.A. for Liverpool township and Collins star was on the ascendency. Officially the governor's action had been taken on the advice of His Majesty's Council in expectation of instructions from London and on the promise that Sir John would endeavor to obtain for the Packet the surrender of the King's rights in prizes she might take.<sup>14</sup> The feeling amongst the partners must have been one of apprehension for they were risking bail, boat, and booty on a tenuous promise. If things, went awry their futures could rather abruptly change for the worse as the letter of marque issued to Freeman was directed against French, not American vessels.

The motive behind arming the Liverpool Packet and sending her out against American shipping was not necessarily



based solely on profit. Indeed, it could be contended with some justification that this was as much a defensive effort as it was a commercial venture. Nova Scotians knew from past experience, particularly from the American Revolution, how exposed to attack they were. In fact, Liverpool itself had been attacked and partially held by American privateers during that time and Lunenburg had actually had to ransom itself on the threat of being burned to the ground. Shortly after the *Belvidera* arrived at Halifax with the news of the commencement of Anglo-American hostilities. Yankee privateers were operating against Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shipping.

“Despatch, Halifax, July 20—American privateers are swarming on our coast and in the Bay of Fundy. Hardly a day passes but we hear of captures made by them. A schooner hence to Liverpool, N.S. was taken last Friday near Port Medway. A schooner hence with arms and ammunition for Country Harbour was taken into that harbour on Wednesday last, also a Liverpool Schooner returning from Labrador. Two schooners from Lunenburg were captured last week and considerable sums of money taken out of them, but the vessels were released. Indeed, so numerous are the privateers around the coast, that we consider it very improvident for any vessels to sail from this port (Halifax) unless under convoy.<sup>15</sup>

On August 30th, 1812, the *Liverpool Packet*, 45 men strong, glided over the harbour bar, past Western Head, and set a course for American waters. Her mission was straight forward enough, pursue enemy shipping, capture it, and return it safely to Nova Scotia. Her destination was the potentially prize rich area of Massachusetts Bay—Cape Cod—Martha’s Vineyard. This area was particularly susceptible to attack as it lay on the major coastal shipping lanes as well as intersecting the trans-Atlantic route. Also between Boston and Buzzard’s Bay

there were no naval stations and the coastal population was sufficiently light to allow impunity in the use of the many inlets and harbours. Further evidence that a long voyage was intended may be seen in her stores. She was provisioned for 60 days, carried 200 pounds of cannister shot, 300 round-shot, 400 pounds of gunpowder, 25 muskets, 40 cutlasses, 2 anchors, 2 cables, and 300 pounds of spare cordage.<sup>16</sup>

A week out of Liverpool, on September 7th, the Packet claimed her first victim. Lying on George's Bank she captured the ship *Middlesex* (325 tons) bound for the United States from Britain. In her hold they found a cargo of coal, salt, and earthenware, a pretty prize to be brought before the Court of Vice Admiralty in Halifax. The master of the *Middlesex*, James Pollard, produced a British license which should have been honoured by Freeman as a ticket for release. Instead, Freeman sent her to Halifax under Sam Poole as prize master, probably under the possibility that the license was a forgery, a not uncommon ploy in times of war. When Pollard later pleaded his case before the courts he was determined to have been under the protection of the crown at the time of his capture and the *Middlesex* and her cargo were released.<sup>17</sup>

On the same day the *Factor* (291 tons) bound from Oporto, Portugal to Norfolk was overtaken by Captain Freeman. She had previously been ravaged by the British privateer *Hero*, so that the Packet was left only with the bones to pick over. Apparently part of the remainder of a large cargo of wine was consumed by the crew of the Packet, the rest being sent on to Halifax under John Peach. Again bad luck dogged Freeman for although the *Factor* was subsequently condemned and sold, her cargo, judged to belong to friendly Portugal, was returned to Thomas Learning, it's Philadelphia consignee.<sup>18</sup>

Captain Freeman turned southward to harass New England shipping closer to the coast where it would be more

numerous and probably less wary of a schooner of American design than it ought to be. The Liverpool captain continued his successful ways later in September when he captured the *Maria* on the 23rd, herself a prize of the American privateer *Marengo*.<sup>19</sup> By this time her crew had probably been reduced by more than half in order to man her prizes and she headed home.

Her crew restored to full strength, the Liverpool Packet ventured southward again in mid-October. Freeman's success was almost instantaneous as witnessed by this report in *Boston Centinel* of October 24, 1812.

"The Liverpool Packet captured in three days last week, schr. *Polly*, Charleston, S. C., for Boston with rice; schr. *Union*, from Philadelphia for Bath, with flour and corn; schr. *Four Brothers*. Thomaston for Boston; and sloop *Ambition*, Boston for New York. The captain of the Liverpool Packet is one Freeman, a native of Cape Cod, and his surgeon is an Irishman who married a short distance from Boston."<sup>20</sup>

The schooner *Anson* (97 tons), Boston for Baltimore and the schooner *Little Joe*, Boston for New York were also captured by Freeman on this voyage.<sup>21</sup> Apparently satisfied with her success the Liverpool Packet returned to Nova Scotia sometime after the 19th of October, the date of the *Anson's* capture.

At this juncture John Freeman left the Liverpool Packet. Perhaps he was satisfied with his successes for in less than two months he had been responsible for the capture of no less than nine vessels. It has been postulated that he was relieved of his command by the owners as the result of the crew's drinking bout upon capturing the wine laden *Factor* but this seems unlikely. It seems more probable that caution got the better part of him and he decided to be satisfied with the success he had attained on the first voyage.



The Liverpool Packet's most famous master succeeded John Freeman. Joseph Barss, a son of one of the schooner's owners was given command sometime in late October or early November. Wasting no time, Barss followed Freeman's example and made for New England waters. A Salem newspaper of November 22nd claimed that the Liverpool Packet had recently captured eleven prizes.<sup>22</sup> Among these were undoubtedly counted the schooners New Forge (47 tons), New York for Boston, Lucretia (97 tons), Boston for Savannah, Edward and Hiram (108 tons), Nantucket for Kennebeck, Julian (80 tons), Boston for New York, and the brig Economy (80 tons), Alexandria for Boston.<sup>23</sup> The same night that the Lucretia was captured

"she took the schooner Mary, Boston for New York. Capt. Johnston, who arrived here yesterday says he was boarded by the Liverpool Packet and was told that she had recently captured twelve vessels. While in sight, Capt. Johnston—saw her board nine more vessels, and keep six of them."<sup>24</sup>

The Packet lost a November prize through a rather interesting turn of events. The sloop Jane was captured on the 18th of November and the crew taken out of her except for her master, Captain Robinson. She was ordered to Liverpool but on the way home the mate navigating the vessel was knocked overboard by the mainsail. In the ensuing confusion Captain Robinson managed to arm himself and forced the prize crew to turn about and sail for Boston.<sup>25</sup> It must be assumed that the Liverpool crew was interned there.

It was during this point in her career that the Liverpool Packet met the first determined attempt by the Americans to rid themselves of her. On November 12th, 1812, the schooner Helen was loaned by her owners to a crew of Salem men for the express purpose of capturing the Nova Scotia privateer. She

was "fitted out and seventy volunteers put on board in the remarkably brief time of four hours. Captains Upton and Tibbetts, the leaders of the expedition, organized a parade through Salem streets, led by a flag-bearer, a fifer and drummer, and had not made the circuit of the town before the full crew was enlisted. Four six-pounders were borrowed from the privateer John, and before nightfall of the same day the Helen was heading for sea. Some of the crew leaped aboard as she was leaving the wharf and signed articles while she was working down the harbour."<sup>26</sup> Despite all the hurrah, the Helen returned to port empty handed.

It was probably just as well for the Helen that she did not meet the Packet for she carried lighter armament and, despite the larger crew, had not had time to gain that cohesiveness so necessary amongst men in battle. The anger of the Americans over the schooner's success is summed up in the *Boston Palladium* of November 20th, 1812 where it speaks of the rumour that her skipper is a native born American. "The Privateer would, if caught, with insolent exultation, say that he was naturalized. But this assertion might not save his neck . . ."<sup>27</sup> Despite the threats, Barss was still off Chatham on Sunday the 15th, where she was reported by Captain Phillips of that port to have taken several coasters, one of which under Captain Woodsom of Casco was allowed to go.<sup>28</sup> Sometime during the fourth week of November the Packet sailed for home. Upon arriving in Liverpool, Barss found his commission waiting for him, dated November 24, 1812. In part it stated:

"Wherefore I do authorize and direct you, Joseph Barss, Junior, Commander of the schooner Privateer Liverpool Packet, to apprehend, seize and take any vessel or goods belonging to the citizens of the United States or bearing the flag of the said United States, and to bring the ships, vessels and goods into a British port, there to remain until His Majesty's

pleasure and final determination shall be known therein.”<sup>29</sup>

From the 9th of December to the 18th the Liverpool Packet cruised successfully off Massachusetts Bay. During this period she captured the schooner Chase (98 tons), 9th December, Portland for Norfolk, the schooner Fenelon (109 tons), 16th December Baltimore for Boston, the schooner Dove (17 tons), 17th December, Philadelphia for Gloucester, the sloop Susan (39 tons) 17th December, Alexandria for Boston, the schooner Three Friends (79 tons) 18th December, Baltimore for Boston, and the schooner Columbia (87 tons) 18th December, Richmond for Boston. These successes were further attested to in a Boston newspaper of December 21st.

“The Liverpool Packet has just captured and sent in the Dolphin of Beverly, with flour and tobacco; the Columbia of Dennis with 600 barrels of flour and 203 kegs of tobacco; the Two Friends of Boston, with a cargo of flour; and the Susan of Sandwich, with a cargo of flour. She could have captured many more, but had only seven men left to navigate her to Liverpool.”<sup>30</sup>

On the 18th of December, Captain Robinson of the Jane, sought to revenge himself for the temporary loss of his vessel to the Liverpool Packet a month before. This tale of daring do was well advertised in the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston.

“All Awake! It will be seen by an arrival yesterday that the British privateer Liverpool Packet has again visited our coast and added several more of our vessels to her many previous captures. There being no governmental arrangement to check these depredations, we are pleased to learn that Capt. Robinson had volunteered his sloop Jane to go out after the

Privateer, if a number of men will volunteer, or the merchants shall hire men sufficient for the enterprise. We detest the privateering system, but there is now an opportunity to gather laurels and protect our interests, which it is hoped will be improved before it is too late. One hundred and twenty, we learn, have already volunteered.”<sup>31</sup>

Several important implications can be drawn from this article. Perhaps the most obvious is that the *Liverpool Packet* had become infamous in Massachusetts after only four months of operations. It is also apparent that the Royal Navy had, even by this stage in the war, greatly reduced any protection New England Shipping might hope for from the United States Navy. In point of fact the U.S. Schooner *Ferret* was in New England waters at this time. Her impotence, and by implication the impotence of the United States Navy, was settled to by the *Columbia Centinel* which declared, “We wish the government would ferret the *Liverpool Privateer* for us, or capture her,” and the newspaper was talking of New England interests being almost beyond retrieval. Despite this bold gesture of defiance the *Jane* never did engage, let alone capture the *Liverpool Packet*.

The greatest testimony to the success of the *Packet* in her first four months of operation was written on New Year’s Day, 1813 in the *Boston Messenger*,

“The depredations repeatedly committed on our coasting trade by this privateer seem to be no longer regarded the moment we hear she has left our bay (Massachusetts Bay) for the purpose of convoying prizes safely into port, although the property taken be enormous. That an insignificant fishing schooner of five and thirty tons (Sic) should be suffered to approach the harbour of the metropolis of Massa-



chusetts, capture and carry home in triumph eight or nine sail of vessels valued at from seventy to ninety thousand dollars, and owned almost exclusively by merchants in Boston, in the short space of twenty days from the time she left Liverpool, N.S., would seem utterly incredible were the fact not placed beyond any doubt. Let it be remembered too, that the seventy or ninety thousand dollars are the fruits of but one cruise, and that this same marauder had but a few weeks before being captured within ten miles of Cape Cod, vessels whose cargoes were worth at least fifty thousand dollars . . ." <sup>33</sup>

The fall of 1812 had been a profitable one for those associated with the Liverpool Packet, or so it seemed. However, the winds of fortune changed for the privateersmen once the prizes were brought before the Court of Vice-Admiralty. Chief Justice Brenton Halliburton, Samuel George, secretary of the province and Edward Brazon Brenton, Judge of the Supreme Court filed claims on behalf of the crown for eighteen of twenty-one prizes brought in by the Packet. Their reasoning was two-fold: firstly that the original commission was made out to John Freeman and not Joseph Barss, and secondly that the letters of marque had not been issued for attacks on American shipping. Not unexpectedly the Court of Vice-Admiralty upheld the crown in its case,<sup>34</sup> this despite the assurances that Sir John Sherbrooke had given in the early fall. To Sir John's credit he did write London appealing for a settlement in favour of the Packet's owners<sup>35</sup> who themselves appealed the decision. The only prize money reaching the Nova Scotians at this time was from the sale of the Factor which brought about £12 to each crew member. Later, in January 1814, the appeal succeeded and Barss received about £1,000, the crew £156 each.<sup>36</sup>

With the adverse decision of the courts and the onslaught of winter the Liverpool Packet returned to Liverpool. Her

crew, master, and owners must have been greatly soured by the blow they had received in Halifax. Amongst other things, as a result of her four months privateering, the schooner's condition must have left much to be desired. A report of January 27th reads,

"The Liverpool Packet is in Liverpool refitting. The owners are undetermined whether to send her off to Cape Cod again or not."<sup>37</sup>

It appears that the decision favouring the return of the Packet was not made for some time as she apparently did not return there until March. In fact, the decision likely was not made until after Barss received his letter of marque on February 10th, 1813.<sup>38</sup> This commission was the result of an Order in Council signed by the Prince Regent on October 13th, 1812 authorizing attacks on American vessels.<sup>39</sup> It had not reached Halifax until December 1812.

It was fortunate for those connected with the Packet that an affirmative decision had been made for the cruise she embarked on in the spring of 1813 proved to be her most profitable. This cruise was heralded in a letter of March 6th to a gentleman in Dartmouth, New Hampshire.

"A number of privateers are now being fitted out in Liverpool, N.S., for the purpose of cruising against our vessels, some of which are heavy, particularly the Thorn privateer, late of Marblehead, bought of government by a company at Liverpool.<sup>40</sup> Our coasting trade will be entirely stopped unless we should take some considerable pains to protect it. A gentleman lately in Halifax says he recently talked with the captain of the Liverpool Packet, who assured him that in the last three cruises off Cape Cod he took prizes to the value of \$3,000,000, exclusive of the vessels.<sup>41</sup>

Between March 5th and 14th she captured the schooner Friendship (114 tons) March 5th, Oporto for Boston, the sloop General Green (83 tons) March 8th, Boston for Albany, the schooner Lawry (104 tons) March 9th, Boston for New York, the schooner Reliance (56 tons) March 10th, Boston for New York, the schooner Bunker Hill March 10th, Newbury for New York, the brig Swift (197 tons) March 4th, Savannah for Providence, and the schooner Nymph (48 tons) March 14th, Virginia for Salem. She was also credited by the capture of the William of Gloucester with a cargo of 4,000 bushels of corn.<sup>42</sup> This vessel is also shown as a prize of the Retaliation,<sup>43</sup> another Liverpool privateer schooner of 71 tons. She was captained by Thomas Freeman and owned by Freeman and Snow Parker. This confusion probably results from the fact that the Liverpool Packet, Retaliation, and Sir John Sherbrooke accompanied each other to Cape Cod on this voyage.

It must have seemed to the New Englanders that March had indeed come in like a lion. A letter published in the *Commercial Advertiser* of New York gives a good account of the reaction of the New Englanders to the Packet's appearance off their coast.

"Capt. Boddily, of schr. Bunker Hill arrived in town (Boston) from Newburyport yesterday, and says that he was captured by the Liverpool Packet and his vessel ordered to Nova Scotia. The privateer also captured the fine ship Reliance, Capt. Crowell, and the schr. Hero, Capt. Finney. The privateer Retaliation, Capt. Freeman a fine schr. of 90 tons, full of men, had joined the Liverpool Packet, had just captured the brig Richmond. When Capt. Boddily left the privateer she had but 25 men. She had captured eight vessels and had manned them all. Capt. Winsor, of Holmes Hole, says all the vessels sailing from that

place in the morning put back when they heard the Liverpool Packet was off the coast."<sup>44</sup>

Sometime around the middle of March the famous little schooner headed northward to Liverpool and Halifax, transferring prizes to the capital to be brought before the Court of Vice-Admiralty in order to be condemned. On April 7th, 1813 at 12 o'clock several ships and vessels with their cargoes were sold at auction in Halifax. Among them were the Bunker Hill, herself a privateer, and the Friendship, both Packet prizes.<sup>45</sup>

While the schooner's owners were busy counting their profits, the Liverpool Packet was actively pursuing quarry off Cape Cod. She captured the schooner Lydia (113 tons) April 4th Warren for Havana, the sloop Defiance (104 tons) April 4th, Wiscarset for New York, the brig John (130 tons) April 15th, New York for Nantucket. She then went on to capture the "schooner Branch and schooner Sukey from New York; the Portland Packet from Newburn, N.C., with tar, and seven other vessels, some of which were released as of little value."<sup>45</sup> A week later she had been credited with capturing a full-rigged brig and several other vessels in Massachusetts Bay.<sup>47</sup> It seems more likely that these last prizes were actually taken by the Retaliation and Sir John Sherbrooke which captured five vessels between the 16th and 30th, one of which was a brig.<sup>48</sup>

Sometime around the 15th of April the Liverpool Packet came very close to being captured not once, but twice. While cruising she had the misfortune to fall in with the American privateer New Orleans under Captain John Crocker. Fortunately for the Bluenoses, sweeps had been found in the cargo of the Defiance and despite the light winds, she was able to evade her would be captor.<sup>48</sup> Following this near escape she made for Vineyard Sound, the strait lying between Martha's Vineyard and Cape Cod. Here she laid over in Tarpaulin Cove on Naushon Island. Again she was almost captured by the Fal-



mouth privateer, Little Duck, but once again putting the sweeps of the Defiance to work, she managed to escape. She subsequently captured the schooner Susanna and Lucy (117 tons) May 5th, Lynn for North Yarmouth, chased a New Bedford packet sloop into Woods Hole and raided Holmes Hole without success. On May 23rd, 1813 she arrived in Halifax with two vessels and a week later monitions of the Court of Vice-Admiralty were nailed to the masts of her thirty-three prizes in Liverpool.<sup>51</sup>

About June 8th the Liverpool Packet began her last cruise under Joseph Barss. On the 11th of that month she mistook the American privateer Thomas for a merchant vessel and engaged her, soon learning her mistake. The *Acadian Recorder* gives an account of the capture.

"... at 9 gave chase to a sail, which proved to be a schooner under a press of sail, at 2 p.m. cruising up with the colours—at half past two commenced firing her stern chasers—at 3 she rounded too and struck her colours—ran along side and ordered her under our lee—in the act of veering she fell on board of us, her men ran forward to bear off—our men thought them going to board us, jumped on board of her at the same time the marines fired a volley of musketry, which killed 2 of our own men on her deck, viz. William Thomas and Patrick Train—and Lewis Pellham on our own deck, The schr. proved to be the Liverpool Packet, of 5 guns and 35 men. Capt. Barss, 3 days from Halifax on a cruise.

TRAITORS—on board the Liverpool Packet was a man named York, said to belong to North Yarmouth, who has acted as pilot in her marauding expeditions on the eastern coast—He states that the Liverpool Packet and the Sir John Sherbrooke are

partly owned in Boston, and that if he must suffer, he will not be alone in punishment.”<sup>52</sup>

The arrival of Captain Shaw with the Liverpool Packet as a prize must have been wildly welcomed in Portsmouth. Once landed the crew was turned over to the United States Marshall and guarded by New Hampshire militiamen, were marched along Islington Street to the jeers of the assembled crowd and unceremoniously cast into jail. Captain Barss was given particularly uncomfortable treatment being kept in fetters and fed on a diet of water and hard tack.<sup>53</sup> This was apparently in retribution for the rough treatment allegedly accorded a Captain Nicholls of Newburyport whose Decateur had sometimes previously been captured by the British.<sup>53</sup> The rancour of the Thomas's crew over the boarding incident is neatly summed up in the statement of her second lieutenant, William Damerell, who “expressed great sorrow he had not put every soul on the Liverpool Packet to death.”<sup>54</sup>

Barss' treatment evidently caused great concern in Nova Scotia and it was only through the efforts of Sir John Sherbrooke that an exchange was made possible. The parole under which he was released required that he not again involve himself in privateering against the United States. He subsequently returned to Liverpool and took up the West Indies trade.<sup>55</sup> Despite this pursuance of a less bellicose profession, Captain Barss was again captured by the Americans in the fall of 1814.<sup>57</sup> He was probably released some time in March, soon after peace was learned of in New England. Now in his forties, he returned to Nova Scotia and in 1817 moved to a Kentville farm with his wife and family where he died on August 3, 1824.<sup>58</sup>

The Liverpool Packet was subsequently sold to a Captain Watson who retained the name Liverpool Packet<sup>59</sup> and then to William B. Dobson, formerly skipper of the Young Teazer of

Mahone Bay fame. After one cruise with no prizes he sold her to Captain John Perkins who renamed her the Portsmouth Packet and sailed in October to carry out depredations in the Bay of Fundy. During this cruise she was captured by H.M.S. *Fantôme* off Mount Desert after a chase of thirteen hours. On November 9th, 1813 she was sold to Enos Collins and Joseph Allison of Halifax,<sup>60</sup> and returned to her old home port of Liverpool. Placed under the command of Caleb Seely late of St. John (and Collins' brother-in-law) and later Lewis Knaut, the Liverpool Packet worked successfully as a privateer until December 1815 when she captured her last prize of the war.

In ten months of war, from September 1812 to June 1813, the Liverpool Packet captured some sixty or more vessels. Of these, thirty-one are known to have been condemned by the Court of Vice-Admiralty. Of those others some were disallowed as prizes, and some were let go upon capture because they were of too little value or they held a valid British license. It seems likely too, that some were lost on the long voyage home to Nova Scotia.

To what can one attribute Barss' obvious success as a privateer? It would be most helpful if the Packet's logs were extant but they were apparently lost long ago. All in all, it can only be conjectured that skillful seamanship and good luck combined to make Barss one of the most feared men on the New England coast. Snider estimates the prizes of the Packet to have been something in excess of \$264,000.<sup>61</sup> It seems likely that over half this amount would have resulted from the first ten months of operations under Freeman and Barss. It seems safe to suggest that the little schooner was Liverpool's most lucrative industry in 1812-1813 and that her profits provided foreign capital of a different nature than we see today.

## FOOT NOTES

1. Simeon Perkins Diary, p. 402
2. Janet E. Mullins, **Liverpool Privateering 1756-1815**, Q.C.H.S. Liverpool, 1936, p. 42.
3. C. H. J. Snider, **Under the Red Jack**, Toronto, Mussen, 1927, p. 227
5. *Ibid.*, p. 11
6. Simeon Perkins, **Op.Cit.**, pp. 407-408
7. *Ibid.*, p. 438
8. *Ibid.* pp. 431, 434-436, 438
9. Beamish Murdoch, **A History of Nova Scotia**, Halifax, James Barnes, 1867, Vol. III, p. 327
10. **Centinel**, Boston: July 25, 1812, Boston
11. P.A.C., R.G. 13, A1, Vol. 140, No. 4 Warrent, Liverpool Packet 20 August 1812.  
Oddly enough in the declaration of the master for obtaining letter of Marque 24th August 1812 the armament is given as two twelves, two fours, and a six. However, Barss' warrant for a commission gives the armament one six and four twelves. I have used the more frequently quoted armament.
12. *Ibid.*, P.A.C., Letter of Marque, August 24, 1812
13. *Ibid.*, P.A.C., Bond £1500 August 24, 1812
14. Beamish Murdoch, **Op.Cit.**, p. 337
15. **Herald**, Newburyport, Mass., August 7, 1812
16. P.A.C. **Op.Cit.**, Declaration of the Master, August 24, 1812
17. C.H.J. Snider, **Op.Cit.**, pp. 14-15
18. *Ibid.*, p. 18
19. *Ibid.*, p. 18
20. **Centinel**, Boston, Oct. 24, 1812
21. George E. E. Nichols, "Notes on Nova Scotia Privateers", **N.S.H.S.** 1908, pp. 142-143 Vol. XIII
22. R. J. Long, "The Privateers Viewed from Another Angle", p. 6d, Q.C.H.S.
23. George E. E. Nichols, **Op.Cit.**, p. 146
24. R. J. Long, **Op.Cit.**, p. 5C
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, p. 4d
27. **Palladium**, Boston, Nov. 20, 1812
28. **Evening Post**, New York, Nov. 24, 1812
29. Janet E. Mullins, **Op.Cit.**, p. 49
30. R. J. Long, **Op.Cit.**, p. 6d
31. **Columbian Centinel**, Boston, Dec. 19, 1812
32. *Ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1812
33. **Messenger**, Boston, Jan. 1, 1813
34. C. H. J. Snider, **Op.Cit.**, pp. 17-18
35. Beamish Murdoch, **Op.Cit.**, p. 337
36. C. H. J. Snider, **Op.Cit.**, p. 18
37. **Commercial Advertiser**, New York, Jan. 27, 1813
38. P.A.C., **Op.Cit.**, Letter of Marque and reprisal to Joseph Barss Junior, Feb. 10, 1813



39. C. H. J. Snider, **Op.Cit.**, p. 30
40. This was likely the Sir John Sherbrooke of 273 tons. She generally is referred to as the brig. of war Rattlesnake before her capture by the British. She carried eighteen guns and 150 men under the command of Joseph Freeman. Her owners were Enos Collins, Benjamin Knaut, Joseph Freeman, and John and James Barss.
41. R. J. Long, **Op. Cit.**, p. 5e
42. **Evening Post**, New York, March 16, 1813
43. George E. E. Nichols, **Op.Cit.**, p. 147
44. **Commercial Advertiser**, New York, March 15, 1813
45. Beamish Murdoch, **Op.Cit.**, p. 357
46. R. J. Long, **Op.Cit.**, p. 5e
47. **Ibid.**
48. George E. E. Nichols, **Op.Cit.**, p. 147
49. C. H. J. Snider, **Op.Cit.**, p. 34
50. George E. E. Nichols, **Op.Cit.**, p. 147
51. Janet E. Mullins, **Op.Cit.**, p. 53
52. **Acadian Recorder**, Halifax, June 26, 1813
53. C. H. J. Snider, **Op.Cit.**, p. 42
54. Beamish Murdoch, **Op.Cit.**, p. 345
55. **Ibid.**
56. Janet E. Mullins, **Op.Cit.**, p. 54
57. **Acadian Recorder**, Halifax, Oct. 28, 1814
58. Charles Brewster, **Rambles About Portsmouth**, n.p., 1869, p. 289
60. C. H. J. Snider, **Op.Cit.**, p. 48
61. **Ibid.**, p. 227

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

N.S.H.S.—Nova Scotia Historical Society  
 P.A.C.—Public Archives of Canada  
 Q.C.H.S.—Queens County Historical Society

# *The Pineos:*

## *A Political Pair From Pugwash*

JAMES E. SMITH

Merchant, shipbuilder, landowner, politician: these were some of the roles filled by a man whose lifespan extended from the Napoleonic era, through the winning of responsible government for Nova Scotians, to the post-Confederation years. He was born at Cornwallis, N.S., on 4 Nov. 1798 and was named Henry Gesner Pineo. The only son of David Sampson Pineo, Henry was probably called after his father's brother-in-law, Henry Gesner, who had married Sarah Pineo. The family's lineage gave Henry descent from the New England Planters as well as two Pilgrim Fathers, Myles Sandish and John Alden of the "Mayflower."

As a teenager, Henry moved with his father's family to Pugwash, the just-developing shipping-port on Nova Scotia's northern shore. An astute business mind must have belonged to young Henry because he eventually rose in pioneer Cumberland County to become, it is said, the first storekeeper at Pugwash. Trade was evidently brisk because he branched into the mercantile business and shipbuilding. Moreover, he became an extensive landowner; his name and that of his son (Henry, Jr.) appear on more than 700 documents involving land transactions as recorded at the Registry of Deeds in Amherst.

Henry's wife was the former Harriet Sophia Seaman (1809-1885), daughter of Abraham Seaman, one of the first settlers in the Pugwash district. Their children included Henry Gesner, Jr. (1830-1874), Edward (died before 1872), Mary Sophia (1836-1908)—wife of Dr. Edwin Clay, Adelia (still living 1880)—wife of Dr. William McDonald, Emeline (1841-1887)—widow of ———— Black and wife of Cumberland County Warden Alexander Wilson, and Alexander (1846-1862).

As the years passed, Henry's affluence and influence rapidly expanded. His independent social and economic position was recognized in May, 1846, when he was appointed to the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia as the Conservative member for Cumberland. (The Council, which compares with the Canadian Senate, was abolished in 1928.) Not everyone was pleased with the new appointee. The anti-Government newspaper, *The Novascotian*, noted sarcastically:

#### "MORE NO-PARTY APPOINTMENTS

The Government Organ of Saturday says that Messrs. John E. Fairbanks, of Halifax, David Crichton, of Pictou, and H. G. Pineo, of Pugwash, have been appointed to the Legislative Council—all good Conservatives and true."

— May 11, 1846

Then, the paper, which had all along been openly and harshly critical of Lieutenant Governor Lord Falkland, editorialized that the Governor was frantically creating more peers before going out of office. "Knowing that he (Lord Falkland) dare not face the indignant population he has deceived, and seeing that the men he sought to crush will come back at the head of a triumphant majority, to give the lie to every declaration he has put forth, and every slander he has written, he hopes, by cramming the Legislative Council with inveterate

Tory tools to obstruct the beneficial labours of a Liberal majority. Three new Peers are, we are informed by the Post, to be created forthwith—

John E. Fairbanks

David Crichton

Henry G. Pineo.

“Queer reasons are given for the appointment of the first. We shall not allude to them further, than by confessing that the *honor* is hardly worth the *sacrifice*. The second is about as bigotted a Tory as there is in Nova Scotia, and the third has been for years a ready and servile follower of Sandy Stewart’s. (Stewart, a Cumberland County resident, was a powerful provincial Tory leader.) Not one of these men have ever represented the people of Nova Scotia, and it is but fair to assume, that, were our Senate elective, scarcely one of the six persons appointed within the present year by Lord Falkland would ever have cast their shadows upon its walls. The Liberals of Halifax, Cumberland, and Pictou will see in these appointments only further incitements to union, courage and determination.” (May 18, 1846.)

*The Novascotian’s* objections went unheeded by the Government and Queen Victoria’s confirmation of Pineo’s appointment was gazetted on 16 May. Now known as the Hon. Mr. Pineo, Henry, Sr., had to spend periods of time at Halifax pursuing his legislative duties. At one time he was Emigration Superintendent for the city and he became a life member of the Halifax Club. Meanwhile, his eldest son, Henry Pineo, Jr., seems to have assumed some of the business responsibilities at home.

Probably no political issue has ever aroused Nova Scotians to the fevered height that the Confederation arguments did. One suspects that the voices for and against Nova Scotia’s joining Canada in 1867 were about equal, at least in volume. It



was around this controversial Confederation debate that the Pineo family rose to their most prominent legislative level.

In the beginning, Councillor Pineo lined up with Joseph Howe and William Annand to oppose any move toward Confederation.

Following are some extracts from a speech that Pineo delivered in the Council chambers on 2 May 1865 and as reported on 18 May by *The British Colonist*. The motion under discussion was one agreeing to carry on negotiations for a Maritime Union and Pineo's address was not only the last on the subject but was the last of the session which was closed after his speech. He said:

"... I have seen nothing to convince me that the scheme propounded there (Quebec) has ever corresponded with my views. The time may come when a Union of all the Colonies may be found expedient, but that time has not arrived yet. I believe that since the Delegates returned, the more speeches they have made, the stronger the feeling has grown against the Union ...

"The people of Prince Edward Island felt that as a small Province, they would lose their importance by Union. That was a reasonable conclusion. I could have told the Delegates before they went to Charlottetown that that was the view of the people of the Island, for I had conversed with the leading men there ... They feared that under Union in every important question, they would be voted down by population. I think that was a very fair conclusion for them to arrive at, and I quite agreed with them. They said to themselves that by a Union of the Lower Provinces (i.e. the Maritimes) they would become nonentities, just as the Maritime Provinces would under Confederation.

“ . . . I hope the day is far distant when that union will take place. I do not view the bargain as an extraordinarily good one for Nova Scotia, transferring her mines and minerals. Fancy the humiliating position in which Nova Scotians as a people would be placed under that union. I never want to see it in my life, and shall regret exceedingly if it ever takes place.

“ . . . it is the boast of Englishmen and of Nova Scotians, that their constitution is the best in the world. If we enter this union, we shall never be able to get back what we shall have lost. We shall be like an old gentleman parting with all his property before he dies, and I never knew one that did it who did not regret it.

“The scheme destroys our local Legislatures. According to the principles laid down, this House is to be disbanded. 10 of us are to go from here to Ottawa. Who are to be these ten? If they refuse to go, I don't know what is to become of them. Perhaps they may be transported to Botany Bay. (Laughter.)<sup>1</sup> The eleven who are left will not be considered quite so respectable as they are now . . . We would be asked to sign our death warrant, and to turn ourselves out of doors . . .

“I should like to put a proviso in this resolution as to who should be appointed.

“I am not prepared to send the same men.

HON. MR. DICKEY.—I see that the picture I drew of the happy time the delegates had in Canada has had its effect. (Laughter.)

HON. MR. PINEO.—Our delegates, I understand, received the best of treatment, and the greatest hospitality in Canada . . .

"... It seems to me that had I been one of the delegates from Nova Scotia I should have had some suspicion when I found the Canadians at Charlottetown. They went there not for the benefit of Nova Scotia, but of Canada. I think this country should not be thrown away to settle the internal difficulties of Canada. There has never been any complaint of disloyalty brought against Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. Such a charge was brought against Canada for not passing a Militia bill.

"I am dissatisfied with the whole scheme. If a better one can be prepared, I shall be prepared to consider it when it comes up. I am afraid there are some secrets in the proceedings of that Quebec Conference . . .

"... I am willing to let any union, so far as we are concerned, stop with a union of the Maritime Provinces."

THE QUESTION was then taken on the resolution which passed *nem. con.* (no one contradicting).

However, on 16 Apr. 1866, Henry informed the Legislative Council that he had decided union of the provinces was desirable. Citing defence problems as a major cause for his change of heart, *The British Colonist*, a Halifax newspaper, reported that Pineo was convinced "that union was more a matter of necessity than of choice."

The paper continued: "He should be sorry if any man in this Province would prefer annexation to the United States to union with Canada . . . Halifax would be the great outlet for all the united Provinces . . . He should have much pleasure in voting for the resolution." (Apr. 28, 1866.)

Later the same day, Councillor Pineo injected a touch of humor to the debate. *The British Colonist* recorded the exchange:

“Hon. Mr. Tupper (not Charles)—We were told that all the bishops and clergymen were in favor of Confederation. He was sorry to differ from any clergyman, but he could tell them that Confederation was not gospel, and that they should not diminish from the Bible. It was said that all the laywers were in favor of this union.

Hon. Mr. Pineo—Then you have both law and gospel for it. (Laughter.)”

As this particular chapter of the Confederation debate droned on, the Solicitor General was moved to sigh that “the question was not a new one, but one which had been discussed until it was threadbare.” (Ibid.)

Finally, on 16 Apr., the Hon. Mr. Pineo joined the 13 yeas to outvote the 5 nays and thus the Council agreed to send provincial delegates to the London Conference that finally brought about Confederation.

At this point, Henry Pineo, Jr., became involved in the fray. Once Confederation was a reality on 1 July 1867, the Nova Scotia Government had to face the electors for their approval—or disapproval! Joseph Howe was trying to round up a powerhouse of anti-Confederation candidates while Charles Tupper was doing the same for the pro-Unionists. Young Henry was invited to join the Tupper group and stand as the candidate for eastern Cumberland County in the Provincial Legislature. He accepted the challenge; the campaign was on.

Henry, Jr., was not a complete novice in the official world. At the age of 23 he was appointed United States Consular Agent in Halifax and six years later (1859) he became Swedish and Norwegian Vice Consul in Halifax. In the present situation, he was running on the Cumberland ticket with the great Charles Tupper who was seeking election to



Parliament in Ottawa. A third candidate, one to represent western Cumberland County at the provincial level, was chosen at a largely attended meeting at Parrsboro on 27 July 1867. Mr. Edward Vickery was selected to join Tupper and young Pineo "who expressed himself in a position to convey from the electors of the eastern section the assurances of their determination to give their whole support to the Candidate selected by the people of Parrsboro . . ." The gathering then "dissolved with three cheers for the Queen and three for the Union Candidates." (*The British Colonist*, Aug. 3, 1867.)

The opposing anti-Confederation candidates were William Annand (at the national level) with Amos Purdy and W. Fullerton at the provincial level.

During the course of the election campaign, Charles Tupper visited Pugwash to stump for his running-mates. The Conservative (pro-Confederation) paper, *The British Colonist*, reported: "A rusty old match-lock, known as the Amos Purdy, was tried to be let off against him at Pugwash, but, after working with it for an hour, it could not be got to make any report, and was withdrawn." (May 30, 1867.)

The same newspaper commented with a prejudiced eye on a visit to Pugwash by Joseph Howe. "He (Howe) has always calculated upon the ignorance of the people, and forgotten that Nova Scotians were not what they were thirty years ago . . . The result of the meeting in Pugwash was decided favourable to the Union party; rousing cheers being given for Union and great enthusiasm prevailing." (July 16, 1867.)

The Liberal (anti-Confederation) paper, *The Weekly Citizen*, Halifax, mentioned in September that their good cause had been triumphant at Amherst where "Annand and Purdy were carried home from the hustings; while the Doctor (Tupper) had to foot it."

These humorous shafts hurled from one party to the other degenerated during the Cumberland campaign into a personal attack on the Pineos. Although it was par for the course in 1867 politics, today the incident would probably result in a major lawsuit for libel, slander, and defamation of character. On Aug. 23, a letter to the editor appeared in Halifax's *Morning Chronicle*. It said in part:

"A great deal has appeared in the Union press on the subject of the Hon. Joseph Howe. I have often wondered why nothing has been written on a far greater man—(in his own estimation)—the Hon. H. G. Pineo. The hon. gentleman claims that he has for years past been the ruler, not only of Cumberland county, but of the Province . . . The candidate for legislative honors is H. G. Pineo, Jr., 'a worthy son of a worthy sire,' as I may show by-and-bye. Should this scion of the old stock succeed in becoming a representative, it is generally understood that he will be a representative, not of the people, but of his father.

"My grounds for this assertion is that the young gentleman was a strong Anti-Confederate until the return of his father from Halifax, when he imitated one of the most dexterous somersaults of his parent, and jumped right into Tupper's team, where he has been pulling away as hard as he can ever since . . . A man who has a seat in the upper house, and aspires to have a representative all to himself in the lower house, is surely worth a newspaper article . . .

"Some say that all love and benevolence, however far reaching, is directly traceable to self love. If this theory is true, Mr. Pineo is one of the most brilliant instances of morality that exists in this country, for I believe he never did an act in his life that did not spring from pure unadulterated selfishness . . ."

The writer continued by giving an example of the Councillor's alleged selfish tactics.

"He (Henry, Sr.) went to this man, who owed him a few pounds, and told him that he wanted him to vote the Union ticket, or pay him the amount of his debt. The man told him he was afraid he could not go the whole ticket: the pill was almost too nauseous. He was then told that if he would give Henry a 'plumper,' he would let the money stand as it was. The man told him he thought Henry would take more bumpers than plumpers, and as he happened to have the money for him, believed he would vote as he pleased. The old gentleman has a number of mortgages, and before each election he adopts the regular highway slang of 'your money or your vote.' . . . It is very unfortunate for young Mr. Pineo that the first public act of his life happens to be a somersault, as it has led to the belief that it is constitutional in the family, like hereditary insanity or some such disease.

"The Antis here feel that they are perfectly safe so far as one Local man is concerned, for even if Mr. Pineo is returned, they reckon that the old gentleman's time for a turn over will soon arrive, when, of course, he will take his representative with him.

More Anon."

Councillor Pineo was quick in responding to this attack on his integrity. Addressing himself "To the People of the County of Cumberland," he wrote from Pugwash on 26 Aug. that he had "observed a silly, slanderous production" in the *Morning Chronicle* accusing him of campaigning only for his son and not the whole Union ticket. The letter's "gross falsehoods" included "that the Hon. H. G. Pineo claims that he has for years been the ruler, not only of Cumberland County, but of the Province . . ." This "assertion" declared the senior

Pineo, "has arisen from the imagination of a distracted brain in the head of an outcast renegade." The author of the *Chronicle's* letter signed himself "More Anon" but Pineo made it clear that it had been written by Dr. Tupper's opponent in Cumberland County, publisher William Annand. (This was nineteenth-century politics at its grittiest.)—(*The British Colonist*, Aug. 29, 1867.)

Through most of August and into September, the Cumberland Confederation candidates ran this advertisement on the front page of *The British Colonist*:

"To the Electors of the County of Cumberland.  
Gentlemen.

The undersigned have been requested by a large number of the Electors, to become Candidates for the Representation of Cumberland, at the approaching General Election, respectfully solicit your suffrages and pledge themselves to use all the influence in their power to promote the best interests of Nova Scotia, and especially of this County.

Charles Tupper,  
For the House of Commons  
H. G. Pineo,  
Edward Vickery,  
For the Local Legislature of  
Nova Scotia!"

Just about the last opportunity for campaigning was Nomination Day when all the candidates presented themselves at the Court House in Amherst to be officially registered and to address the assembled crowd. *The Amherst Gazette* reported that Mr. Pineo "was the first to speak," followed by Mr. Vickery "who was not heard as distinctly as the others," Mr. Purdy who "appeared to be the favorite," Dr. Tupper "who made a



lengthy speech," Mr. Annand who "spoke until late in the afternoon," and Mr. Fullerton whose few remarks "terminated the proceedings of the day."

Voting took place on Sept. 18. The results: Tupper edged into the federal Parliament by 87 votes while young Henry Pineo of Pugwash outdrew all of the candidates at the provincial level by polling 1,337 votes. His running mate, Mr. Vickery, fared less well with his 1,284 votes as compared with 1,309 for Amos Purdy and 1,291 for W. Fullerton.<sup>2</sup> Thus it was that Cumberland sent Pineo (pro-Confederation) and Purdy (anti-Confederation) to the province's first Legislative Assembly after Confederation.

Pineo's election was not only a testimony to his popularity (witness his drawing the largest number of votes for the county) but it is even more illustrative of his position when one discovers that there was only one other pro-Confederation candidate elected in the entire province! That was party leader Hiram Blanchard in Inverness. The other 36 members were all anti-Confederates. (Moreover, Tupper was the only pro-Confederation member from Nova Scotia sent to Ottawa.)

The Liberal paper, *The Weekly Citizen*, noted acidly: "Except for the return of Tupper, Pineo and Blanchard, there is nothing to mar our triumph, or to diminish our very pardonable exultation." (Sept. 28, 1867.)

*The Novascotian* went even further with its announcement of the results in Cumberland: "Dr. Tupper for the Dominion; Amos Purdy, Anti, and H. G. Pineo, Jr., Confed., for Local, elected. Scrutiny will be demanded. Wholesale bribery and gross violation of the law." (Sept. 23, 1867.)

However, young Henry Pineo was *in* and on 30 Jan. 1868 he joined his father, plus Mr. Blanchard, Premier Annand and

other legislators in Halifax at the opening of the Council and Assembly for their stormy first sessions following Confederation.

Predictably and almost at once, the new anti-Confederation Government introduced a Repeal Act to take Nova Scotia out of the union. Repeal meetings were held all over the province and, at Amherst, the Liberal *Halifax Citizen* reported that the Court House was "filled to overflowing" while the Tory *British Colonist* countered that the Court House held only 350 people and that among the crowd were many Unionists, attracted there by "curiosity."

In the Legislature, the entire job of defending Confederation was in the hands of Henry Pineo, Jr., and his leader, Hiram Blanchard. Indeed, during the early days of the session, Henry found himself alone owing to Mr. Blanchard's illness. Therefore, it was Henry who moved on behalf of his leader a long series of amendments to hold up and hopefully kill the Repeal movement. After his first address to the House, the editor of the *British Colonist* was moved to remark:

"Mr. Pineo on that day also addressed the House, and in a style which could not fail to secure him the respect of all who have come there with a desire to advance the best interests of the Province." (Feb. 4, 1868.)

Then, on 12 Feb., young Henry delivered his first major speech. The topic was, of course, about Confederation and he said in part:

"... It (the Act of Union) was proclaimed the law of the land—I believe it to have been constitutional; but whilst I entertain that view, I still feel that it was hasty on the part of the government to have passed the measure into law without having first submitted it to the people at

the polls . . . Now, the county I have the honor to represent abounds in coal fields, grind stone, lime stone, and other stone quarries . . . We have facilities for all kinds of manufacturing. We have as industrious men and women as are to be found in any part of the world, but we have not the capital to encourage and stimulate the energy and enterprise of our people, and develop our resources. Now, the Act of Confederation secures to us the construction of the Intercolonial Railway . . . and necessarily will involve the expenditure of a large sum of money. Here, then, will be employment for our people. The construction of this work will open up a market for everything that our country produces. The circulation of money will stimulate our people, and assist them in establishing those manufactures which are so very essential to it, and will be the means of bringing back to Nova Scotia thousands of our people who have left us to seek employment elsewhere. To repeal the Act of Confederation will destroy all this . . .

“ . . . Entertaining the opinions I do of the resolutions moved by the hon. Attorney General, and believing as I do that time and circumstances will prove me to be right, I feel it to be my duty to support the amendment of the hon. member for Inverness. (*Halifax Citizen*, Feb. 25, 1868.)

Of course, the Repeal movement never did succeed and it was effectively killed shortly after its inception by Joseph Howe's desertion to the forces of Sir John A. Macdonald, thus saving Nova Scotia for Confederation.

By the time the next election was called in 1871, Henry Pineo, Jr., had acquitted himself well enough to have his name re-offered for the Legislature. Once again, Edward Vickery was his running mate and a week before voting day *The British Colonist* proclaimed: “The feeling is strong in favor of Messrs.

Pineo and Vickery, whose election is certain." (May 11, 1871.) Their confidence was justified on 16 May when Pineo received about 62% of the vote for a resounding victory and, this time, Mr. Vickery also made it. The final figures were: Pineo (Cons.)—1,605; Vickery (Cons.)—1,584; George Hibbard (Lib.)—1,043; Jonathon K. Elderkin (Lib.)—946.

By now Confederation was an established fact and both Pineos, father in the Council and son in the Assembly, devoted themselves to other matters facing Nova Scotia at the time. The family's future was, however, to come to an unfortunate and premature conclusion in 1874. The shadows began to gather with an exchange in the Legislature on 2 Apr. and was recorded by *The Citizen* (Apr. 11, 1874.)

"Mr. Pineo asked the hon. Prov. Secretary to substitute some other name for his in the committee, as he would be obliged to leave for home soon on account of severe illness in his family. He had been unable for that reason to give full attention to the public accounts.

"Hon. Prov. Secretary said he would much prefer to have the hon. gentleman act on the committee if he could, as he had been on the committee of public accounts, and was for that reason better qualified than many others, and the house had every confidence in him.

"Mr. Blanchard said it would be cruelty to the hon. member for Cumberland to keep him on the committee while some members of his family are almost on the verge of the other world. He would suggest the name of Mr. McKay, who had been on the Committee of Public Accounts, on the part of the opposition.

"Hon. Prov. Sect'y said he had no objection. Mr. Pineo had been a member of the house since 1867, and he knew



the opposition had confidence in him, and he (P.S.) believed that hon. member stood as high in the opinion of the house as any of its members. He should therefore have been happy to have had him serve on the committee, but Mr. McKay was equally honorable, and he had no objection to his name being substituted." (These words from the same man supposed to have written the defamatory 1867 election letter about young Henry and his father!)

This was young Henry's last appearance in the Assembly as he returned for a final visit home to Pugwash. Consumption had attacked his family and Henry contracted it almost at once. His decline was noted by the *Morning Chronicle* of 16 Apr.: "Mr. H. G. Pineo, Jr., M. P. P. for Cumberland, we are sorry to learn, is dangerously ill."

This was followed on 25 Apr. with another statement: "The health of H. G. Pineo, Jr., M.P.P., is unimproved and but slight hopes are entertained for his recovery. His throat is so affected that he is only able to take the slightest nourishment. Mrs. Pineo is also prostrated by severe illness."

The final word appeared on 13 May:

"Mr. Henry G. Pineo, Jr., M.P.P. for Cumberland, whose severe illness has been several times noticed in the press, died at his residence in Pugwash, yesterday afternoon, at 3:30 o'clock. Mr. Pineo was a son of Hon. H. G. Pineo, M.L.C., was born at Pugwash on the 6th of March 1830, and, therefore, was in the 45th year of his age. He was one of the two supporters of Confederation elected to the House of Assembly in 1867, and was re-elected in 1871. His course in public life was moderate, consistent and honorable, and, with his many estimable personal qualities, made for him a host of friends, without, we believe, a single enemy."

Thus ended the promising career of a young Pugwash politician. His wife, the former Charlotte Amelia Kerr, survived him by only three weeks, dying on 4 June 1874. They had no family.

But death was not yet finished with the Pineo family in 1874. By September, Councillor Pineo, who had seen that year's legislative session to a conclusion, was also mortally ill. *The British Colonist* observed on 12 Sept. that "Hon. Mr. Pineo's recovery is pronounced hopeless." The end came on 14 Sept. and the next day the *Morning Chronicle* issued a statement: "A dispatch from Rev. Dr. Clay informs us that his father-in-law, Hon. H. G. Pineo, died at Pugwash, at 6:50 o'clock last evening." He was 75.

The existence of a Pineo family at Pugwash did not long survive the councillor's death. His four Pineo grandchildren (by his son, Edward) evidently moved elsewhere and the passing of the Councillor's wife<sup>3</sup> in 1885 virtually ended the family in the community they had so affected. However, the name itself has remained precariously attached to one of Cumberland County's most famous houses—Pineo or Thinkers Lodge, the residence of Councillor Pineo and his wife during much of their lifetime.

The early history of the Pineo Lodge property is not quite clear. The land that now comprises the community of Pugwash on the eastern side of the harbour was originally granted in two sections: one grant extended from present-day Queen Street and south to Pugwash Basin and was awarded to James Black; the second grant ran north from Queen Street and was awarded to Thomas Roach and James Shannon Morse in 1813. The Pineo Lodge property was included in this second grant.

James Black divided his land into town lots and accordingly sold them. A map, a copy of which is dated 1845 and

which can be seen at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, shows Black's plan. However, the writer has been unsuccessful in trying to find a map (which did at one time exist) of the Roach and Morse Grant.

Then, on 7 Apr. 1835, Henry Pineo bought a further  $2\frac{3}{4}$  acres from Oliver King, another early settler in the area who owned additional land along the harbor shore. (One assumes that King got his land from Roach and Morse.) At any rate, the property bought by Henry Pineo is described (with spelling errors) as "all that Certain tract or parcle of Land situate lying and being on the North side of Pugwash Harbour *whereon the said Henry G<sup>l</sup> Pineo now resides* Beginning at a stake at the shore thence North twenty seven degrees East one Chain and nine links to the center of a well thence North seventy degrees east two chains and twenty eight links to the gate post at the Road thence North five and a half degrees east three Chains and five links to a Stake thence following the Road at the edge of the same down to the shore thence following the shore up stream the Course of the shore to the place of beginning, Containing two and three fourths Acres, more or less with all buildings Improvements belonging or in any wise appertaining thereto . . ."

This description sounds very much as if it were of the Pineo Lodge property. Moreover, the statement that Henry Pineo was already residing on the land indicates that this was his home at that time; he was definitely living at Pineo Lodge when C. F. Church drew up his map of Cumberland County around 1870 for the map clearly shows that Councillor Pineo was occupying the property in question.

In his will (1871), the Councillor referred to his property as the "Homestead lot"<sup>4</sup> and gave its boundaries as "southerly by Pugwash Harbour and (Oliver's son) Elias King's line Easterly by Water Street and Northerly and Westerly by the Shore . . ."

The terms of Councillor Pineo's will declared that the Lodge was to pass to his wife for her use during her lifetime and then it was to be sold. However, by a codicil attached to his will after the death of Henry, Jr., Mrs. Pineo, Sr., was given the rights to her son's house on Black Street where she and her husband lived during the few months separating the deaths of Pineo, Jr. and Sr.

The Lodge itself was acquired by the Councillor's daughter, Mrs. Mary Sophia Clay, who, as a widow, sold it in 1887 to her son, the Rev. Frederick M. Clay, a roaming evangelist who occasionally returned to Pugwash to visit and preach in a tent. The Rev. Mr. Clay passed the property on to Lelia Clay in 1899 who in turn sold it (1918) to Fred R. Dakin, a local businessman. Mr. Dakin disposed of the property in 1929 to the Acadia Trust Company, or, in other words, to the Cleveland industrialist and multi-millionaire, Cyrus Eaton, a native of the Pugwash area. Before the sale to Mr. Eaton, the house had been occupied by several tenants.

Of course, it was Mr. Eaton who gave the Lodge its international reputation as a home for "Thinkers" when he put it at the disposal of Bertrand Russell and others in 1957 as the site of the first Pugwash Conference of Nuclear Scientists. Actually, there had already been two Pugwash Conferences—1955 and 1956—attended by such figures as Sir Julian Huxley, the British biologist, and Dr. Heinrich Bruening, the last Chancellor of Germany before Adolf Hitler.

The series of conferences begun in 1957 have been held only twice at Pugwash—1957 and 1959—but, while the meetings have moved all over the western and communist parts of the world, Pineo Lodge is recognized as the movement's birth-place. Besides hosting Nobel Prize winners and the other distinguished conference delegates, the Lodge has been visited by various prominent guests including Yuri Gagarin, the first man to be fired into space.



NOTE: Harriet Pineo's will (1880) describes various rooms and items of Victorian furniture as found in an affluent Nova Scotian household at that time. Her home contained a drawing room, long room, new dining room, library, etc. Furnishings include extension, corner, breakfast, and other tables, piano, sofas, worked chairs and ottoman, hair-cloth armed chairs, removable mantle, liquor stand and ale tumblers, sack-bottomed chairs, tea services, chandeliers, white and gilt desk, carpets, book cases, wardrobes, wash stands, bedsteads, flower stands, etc.

Other items mentioned in her will and that were peculiar to the period were cake baskets, a wheel and swifts, iron stretcher with bed and mattress, sleigh, large buffalo robe, and a wolf-skin buffalo (presumably another robe).



## FOOTNOTES

1. Botany Bay was the first penal colony established in Australia.
2. At Pugwash, the count was: Pineo - 238; Purdy - 293; Vickery - 199; Fullerton - 185.
3. See extra note at the end of this article.
4. The property has had several names applied to it including Pineo Lodge, Eaton Lodge, and Thinkers Lodge, the last being its currently designated name.

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8. Land Transaction Records, Registry of Deeds, Amherst.
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# *Census of Nova Scotia: 1861*

DAVID E. STEPHENS

Under the *Act of Provincial Parliament*, the census for the province of Nova Scotia was taken on March 30, 1861. This census has proved to be one of the most interesting, and most valuable, in the province's history. It was, as the secretary of the Board of Statistics pointed out, "... a first attempt to make a complete Census, since after 1867, the Dominion Government took over the task, and thus was the last time that the census was to be taken by counties. For this reason, it has proven to be a valuable tool in research into Nova Scotia's history.

The Board of Commissioners were the Hon. Adams G. Archibald, the Hon. Jonathan McCully, and the Hon. William Annand. The completed Report of the census was presented by the secretary, Mr. Stephen Fulton, dated December 31, 1861, at the Census Office in Halifax. The published Report was printed by order of the government, by E. M. McDonald, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, in 1862.

## COLLECTING MATERIAL

In his Report, the secretary explained that he examined the various census forms that were in current use in both Great Britain, Upper Canada and Lower Canada. From these forms,

he adopted what he felt applied to his needs in making up the "Householder's Schedule", with some additions and changes. For the 1861 census, these schedules were sent by the various enumerators throughout the province, to the head of each family, well in advance of the date set out for the taking of the Census—March 30.

Whenever a census was taken in the Canadas, it was done by townships, but as this province had no regularly set boundaries for townships, polling districts were used instead. This posed many problems for the enumerators, for there was considerable disparity in both the sizes of the districts, and the population of the districts. In addition, the provincial legislature was constantly changing the boundaries for the polling districts, and as a result, there were few really permanent boundaries in existence. The secretary suggested that before the next census, that either the boundaries for the polling districts be properly established, or even better, the counties should be divided up into townships (or at least Census Districts).

There was no difficulty encountered in locating suitable enumerators, for the secretary asked each member of the legislature, which was then in session, to supply him with names of competent residents for each area. Each of these selected persons were supplied with all necessary printed information, and considering "... this was the first time of taking the Census in this Province by the mode adopted", they were reported to have carried out their duties in a prompt and efficient manner.

There were some problems encountered in collecting the material, however, on the census forms, for at that time, the giving of census information was chiefly voluntary. Some people refused to give all the necessary data, while others even refused to give any information, fearing that their taxes would be increased. Every effort was made to explain to people that the material was to be used solely for compiling averages and



totals for each county, and the whole province. Even the clergy was called to help in obtaining the information, often by making statements in the newspapers as to the real reason for taking a census. In addition to those forms returned for industries and manufacturing concerns, there were approximately 55,000 "Householder's Schedules" returned to the Census Office, providing enough material to make a fairly honest picture of Nova Scotian life at that time.

The personal census proved to be the most difficult for the secretary, and the most tedious, for he had to use 150 columns for the abstracts (age, deaths, marriages, male, female, &c.), as well as classifications for origin, religion, occupations, &c.

The cost for the census was estimated at \$12,500, with the actual cost (including publishing the report) being under \$13,000.

The secretary made several suggestions in the Report, in the belief that they would make the next census more accurate, and the collecting of data easier. He felt that a Census Commissioner (such as the County Sheriff) should be appointed to select the enumerators, collect the returns (after checking them over with the enumerators), and return them to the census office in Halifax where the abstracts could be prepared in a uniform manner.

## POPULATION

The total population for the province according to the 1851 census was 276,117. The 1861 return showed an increase of 54,740 to a total of 330,857 (19.82%). There were 5,927 colored persons (20% increase over 1851), 1407 Indians (33% increase, which the secretary assumed was inaccurate—he felt that the 1851 return was incorrect), and 20,859 Acadian French.

The county with the highest increase was Cumberland (36.22%), followed by King's (32.48%), with the lowest increase in Shelburne County (0.43%). (The secretary wrote to the local government officials in Shelburne, who informed him that the returns must be correct, as they trusted the integrity of the enumerators completely.)

The 1851 census showed a male/female ratio with the females exceeding the males 1 in 200, while the 1861 return showed the males exceeding the females 1 in 500.

The average number in each family was 6.07, which was about par with Canada, and higher than Great Britain.

The return showed that there were 160% more widows than widowers, while there were 12% more male deaths than female. According to the secretary, "The disparity can only be reasonably accounted for upon the principle that a much greater number of widowers than widows marry again, and that they do not generally select widows as partners. In Canada the difference is not as great, being under 100 per cent., although the relative mortality of the two sexes is nearly equal; widows must be more fortunate in obtaining husbands there." The mortality rate for the province in 1851 was about 1% of the total population, while in 1861 it was up to 1.41%, which was explained thus: "The increased mortality as exhibited in the present Census, is owing to the ravages of that, in this Province comparatively new, and fatal disease, Dyptheria, it having carried off over 1,000 during the year."

The origin of the population was 294,706 persons native to the province, with 36,151 (or 10.92%) coming from outside Nova Scotia.

## RELIGION

The "Householder's Schedule" asked every person over the age of 14 years to give their "religious persuasian". It was

assumed that those under the age of 14 belonged to the same religious group as the family head, and although the method was open to question, it was found to be the best possible. It was impossible to make any comparison with the 1851 census, as there were 19,862 persons not accounted for, the result of either an error or omission.

The leading 5 churches were as follows:

<i>Church</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Buildings</i>
Church of Rome	86,281	121
Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces	69,456	143
Baptists	55,336	216
Church of England	47,744	139
Methodists	34,055	136

The lowest was Deists, with 3 members.

## HEALTH

The number of "Deaf and Dumb" was 1 in 1100 for the province, while the average for the civilized world was 1 in 1550. The number of blind persons increased from 136 to 185, but no sources were given to indicate the cause of blindness, so the suggestion was made that this be included in the next census.

In 1851 there were 166 "Lunatics" (1 in 1660), while in 1861 there were 340 (1 in 970). For 1851, 299 "Idiots" were listed, as compared to 317 for the year 1861. It was assumed that in 1851 some listed as "Idiots" were returned as "Lunatics" in 1861.

The list of deaths and causes of deaths posed problems, especially when families didn't know the exact disease that the person died from, or else used a name different from that used

in other parts of the province, for the same disease. The main causes of death were:

Epidemic, Endemic, and Contageous Diseases ....	1592
Diseases of the Nervous System .....	284
(Included 52 for "Brain Fever")	
Diseases of the Digestive Organs .....	371
(Included 13 for indigestion, 26 for worms, and 9 for teething)	
Violent and Accidental Deaths .....	175
(Included 1 frozen to death in Halifax City, and 1 murder in Sydney* County)	
Diseases of the Respiratory and Circulating Organs .....	1359
(Most died from "Consumption", while 3 died from cough and 153 from Sore Throat, with most of the latter assumed to actually be by Dyphtheria.)	
Diseases of Urinary and Generative Organs .....	58
Diseases of Uncertain Seat .....	384
(Included 149 as dying from old age.)	
Diseases of organs of sight and hearing .....	4
Causes not specified .....	452
TOTAL .....	4679

The Report noted that about one third of the total deaths were due to epidemics. The secretary of census checked in the city of Halifax, and found that there were 550 interments as compared to 324 deaths reported on the returns. The main difficulty seemed to be that the poor did not always give the correct returns, especially in regards to the contagious diseases. It was felt, however, that the returns for all other areas were correct, as in rural areas most people know what is going on, and are aware when other people die.

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\* Later became Antigonish County



## OCCUPATIONS

According to the returns, one-quarter of the male population (37,897) listed themselves as farmers, with 14,322 being listed as fishermen. It was noted that many of those listed as farmers also kept a boat and did seasonal fishing, and thus were included on both lists. Some of the other professions and trades were:

Mariners .....	5242
Carpenters & Joiners .....	4463
Merchants, Shopkeepers & Traders ....	1947
Shoemakers .....	1976
Blacksmiths .....	1518
Coopers .....	1145
Shipwrights .....	1122
Teachers .....	864
Clergymen .....	385
Physicians .....	170
Lawyers .....	147
Miners .....	665
Brokers .....	5
Bankers .....	8
Brush Makers .....	7
Coppersmiths .....	2
Dentists .....	5
Ice Dealers .....	1
Match Makers .....	7
Naturalists .....	2
Organ Builders .....	1
Professors of Music .....	1

## AGRICULTURE

Land yielding crops increased 188,710 acres, from a total of 839,322 acres in 1851 to 1,028,032 acres in 1861. This increase was not general throughout the province. The estimated

value of this land was \$18,801,365. but it represented considerable discrepancies due to local estimates, market location, productiveness of the land, as well as local prejudices.

(Most of the returns for agricultural improvements are for the year 1860, but are listed as part of the 1861 census.)

Colchester County had the greatest hay production in the province, as it did in 1851. The total tonnage produced in the province for 1860 was 334,287.

Wheat increased 14,924 bushels to make a total of 312,081, with the largest quantities coming from Pictou, Cumberland and Sydney Counties, which was the area also reported to have the best quality wheat (and thus the best flour). Some areas, however, had difficulties with the weevil, and thus production was down somewhat.

Barley was increased by 73,481 bushels to a total of 269,578, one-quarter of which (or 71,078 bushels) came from Lunenburg County.

1860 saw 195,340 bushels of buckwheat grown, 117,524 bushels of which came from Colchester and Cumberland Counties.

Most of the province's oats came from Pictou, Colchester, Sydney, Inverness, and Cape Breton Counties, the total being 593,700 bushels.

The total bushels of timothy seed raised was 9,882.

Rye decreased in production by 1,732 bushels to 59,706, due partly to the fact that no winter rye was grown that year (1860).

Indian Corn also decreased to 15,529 bushels from 37,475 bushels on the 1851 return. Most of the Indian Corn was grown in the western counties.

The increase in potato production was general throughout the province, and amounted to nearly 100% over the 1851 census, giving a total of 3,824,864 bushels. The growing of potatoes was due mainly to the fact that it was a good product, and there were excellent markets for them.

Turnips increased 87,191 bushels to 554,318, while peas and beans had a small decrease to 21,333 bushels, as a total. Returns showed apples being 186,484 bushels and plums 4,335 bushels. The yield of maple sugar was 249,549 pounds.

Products of the dairy were also up in volume. Butter production was up 918,821 pounds to make a total of 4,532,711 and cheese was up 249,227 pounds to a total of 901,296 pounds. This meant a yield of 41.02 pounds of butter and 8.15 pounds of cheese per cow, which was quite low. It was assumed that many omitted products that were kept for home use and not sent to market, while others only listed the number of cattle without giving their yield.

The total number of horses increased 13,138 to 41,927, mainly because they were starting to replace oxen, which were used mainly for rough and rocky land. Neat cattle totaled 151,793, while the demand for butter and cheese increased milch cows by 23,648 over the 1851 return, giving a total of 110,504. There were 332,653 sheep (1851 - 282,180) and 53,217 swine (1851 - 51,533).

## FISHERIES

The fisheries industry was almost completely inshore, "... the deep sea or bank fishery being as yet, as far as this Province is concerned, almost wholly untouched."

<i>Census</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Boats</i>	<i>Men</i>
1851	812	5161	10,394
1861	900	8816	14,322

Increased catches in dry fish were reported (total 396,425) quintals—increase of 199,991), as well as increases of 140,970 barrels of herring (total 194,170), 7,222 barrels of alewives (total 12,565), 4,113 barrels of shad (total 7,649), and 20,148 boxes of smoked herring (total 35,557). Decreases were reported only in mackerel catches (total 66,108 barrels, down 33,939). Fish oil amounted to a total of 230,979 gallons.

### LUMBER AND TIMBER

Deals amounted to 25,072 thousand feet, with 17,794 thousand feet coming from Cumberland County. Pine boards came to a total of 46,607 thousand feet, over half of which (25,361) was from Queen's. Spruce and Hemlock boards were quite general over the province, coming to a total of 36,422 thousand feet, while 22,592 tons of squared timber was produced. Staves amounted to 7,659,000, about half of which (3,236,000) came from Halifax County.

### SHIPPING

There were (approximately) 3,118 vessels (234,743 tons) registered in Nova Scotia on 30 September 1860. Halifax city had 1,581, Arichat had 264, Digby 212, Windsor 196, and Lunenburg 163. The lowest number was in Baddeck, which had only 4 vessels registered. The total number of nets and seines came to 43,965.

During the year 1860, there were 2,408 boats built in the province. The leading 5 counties were:

Lunenburg.....	431
Shelburne.....	320
Halifax.....	289
Guysborough .....	265
Richmond.....	214



During the same year, 1860, there were 211 vessels launched from Nova Scotian shipyards, with a tonnage total of 26,049. On Census Day, 1861, there were 295 vessels on the stocks (under construction), which meant an estimated 47,922 tons.

## MANUFACTURING

The census contained a short list, by counties, of several of the various goods produced in Nova Scotia during the year 1860:

PRODUCTS	QUANTITIES	VALUE
Fulled cloth .....	281,709 yds.	\$———
Not fulled cloth .....	1,039,214 yds.	\$———
Bricks .....	7,659 M	\$ 51,703
Grindstones .....	46,496	\$ 44,100
Quarried gypsum .....	126,400 tons	\$ 85,076
Manufactured leather .....	—————	\$240,386
Carriages manufactured .....	2,131	—————
Lime burnt .....	136,848 bush	—————
Malt Liquor .....	109,867 gals.	—————

(Including 109,000 gals. for Halifax City)

There were several popular types of mills in operation in Nova Scotia, that were reported in the 1861 census:

Type	Number	Propelled by				Value
		Water	Steam	Wind	Employees	
Grist	414	408	5	1	582	\$356,820
Saw	1,401	1,386	15	0	2,979	661,084
Carding	77	77	0	0	116	39,440
Shingle	130	129	1	0	242	42,010

Nova Scotia had a fairly long list of industries and manufacturing concerns:

Type	No.	Value	Comments
Lath mills	6	\$ 2,010	Half in Colchester County
Block factories	4	1,650	Half in Yarmouth County
Soap & Candle fac.	3	7,000	All in Halifax County
Axe factories	3	3,130	Halifax, Pictou, Queen's
Rake factories	2	1,400	Halifax, Annapolis
Chair factories	3	4,400	1 included a pail factory
Cloth factories	3	14,800	
Paper mills	1	1,000	Halifax County
Tobacco factories	1	800	Halifax County
Iron Foundries	11	114,600	4 in Halifax Co., 3 in Pictou
Nail factories	2	6,000	Halifax County
Carriage fac.	10	19,940	Hants 3, Digby 4, Yarmouth 2, Halifax 1
Tanneries	44	74,600	Fairly general
Cabinet factories	3	7,100	
Brush factories	1	1,200	Halifax
Gas factories	1	180,000	Halifax
Trunk factories	1	\$ 300	Halifax
Breweries	5	46,000	Halifax
Joiner's factories	2	14,400	Halifax, Yarmouth County
Brick factories	2	8,200	
Fulling mills	15	18,800	
Shoe factories	8	4,000	7 in Yarmouth County
Saw & Plan. mills	2	7,000	
Plaster mills	1	400	Colchester County
Oats mills	4	1,600	
Grindstone fac.	1	4,000	Cumberland County
Wooden factories	1	800	Pictou County
Coal oil factories	1	1,000	Pictou County
Bakeries	2	7,000	Halifax Co., Pictou Co.
Factories, kind not designated	12	59,000	
Engine factories	1	4,000	Cape Breton County
Potteries	1	500	Annapolis County
Bark mills	6	7,900	4 in Yarmouth Co., 1 in Queens, 1 in Lunenburg.
Pail factories	1	100	Yarmouth

## BUILDINGS

The total number of houses that were inhabited was 49,569, with 1,918 homes vacant, and 1,738 under construction. There were 3,322 stores and shops (highest was 422 in Halifax City and the lowest was 40 in Victoria County), 63,293 barns and outbuildings, and 1,227 school houses, with

the highest (116) in Pictou County and the lowest (32) in Richmond County. On March 30th, there were 865 schools in actual operation.

Temperance halls amounted to a total value of \$43,340, in the form of 49 buildings. Nine of the buildings were in Hants County, 8 in King's, 5 in Cape Breton, none in Sydney, Richmond or Victoria Counties, and the rest scattered over the province in a fairly general manner.

The province had 93 public buildings, with a total value of \$984,160. The greatest number of public buildings, naturally, was in Halifax City (19), followed by Colchester and Pictou Counties (8 each) and then Cumberland and King's Counties (6 each).

### PRINTED REPORT

There are several copies of the 298 page published Report still in the province, an excellent copy of which is located at the Nova Scotia Museum (Summer Street, Halifax) in the Reference Library. Although material cannot be borrowed from this library, it houses an excellent collection of material for the serious researcher, under the capable and patient direction of the head librarian, Mrs. Barbara Shaw.

Although this article has only given some background material, and the highlights of the census, the actual text of the Report can be extremely valuable.



# *The Establishment of the Consulate of the United States of America in Halifax*

CHARLES BRUCE FERGUSON

The appointment of John Morrow as Consul of the United States of America at Halifax in 1833 was, in a sense, an end as well as a beginning. For at least fifteen years the government of the United States of America had desired the admission of consuls into certain British North American ports. Now the question of the reception and recognition of an American consul at Halifax was finally settled, for John Morrow was commissioned as consul by the President of the United States on March 26, 1833, and shortly afterwards his appointment was confirmed when he was granted the Royal Exequatur authorizing him to enter upon the exercise of his consular functions.

For a long time the relationship between Nova Scotia and New England had been so close that Nova Scotia had been New England's outpost, Charles Le Tour had not only solicited aid from Major Edward Gibbons and others in Boston in the seventeenth century, but he had also sent an agent to Boston on more than one occasion with a proposal for free trade between New England and Acadia. His rival d'Aulnay also sent a commissioner to Boston in 1644 to arrange for a treaty of peace



and commerce between those colonies. Later in the same century Sir Thomas Temple, who was the governor of Nova Scotia from 1657 to 1670, had New England merchants associated with him in trade.

After Phipp's capture of Port Royal in 1690, the government of Massachusetts considered Nova Scotia a dependency of that colony by right of conquest, and in the charter of William and Mary to Massachusetts, dated October 7, 1691, the territory of Nova Scotia was united to and incorporated in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. In times of war, indeed, New England efforts were of crucial importance in Nova Scotia.

Soon after the founding of Halifax in 1749, when steps were being taken to make Nova Scotia British in fact as well as in name, New Englanders became the dominant element in the new capital of Nova Scotia. Between 1760 and 1763, moreover, about 4,500 New Englanders migrated to Nova Scotia, and in 1767 when the population of the province was 13,374 over half of them were listed as Americans. On the eve of the American Revolutionary War, when the population of peninsular Nova Scotia numbered over 20,000, persons of New England origin comprised about one-half of the total.

As a result of that war, an influx of about 22,000 Loyalists, refugees, and disbanded soldiers doubled the peninsular population. In ensuing years, moreover, although most immigrants then were from the British Isles, smaller numbers of Americans became settlers in Nova Scotia.

As T. C. Haliburton described it, the province was for a time a land of "comers and goers." Immigrants were arriving from the British Isles or Newfoundland or New England, and emigrants were going to New England in such numbers that the balance had turned definitely in favour of the United States.

Nevertheless population was increasing and the economic foundations of an evolving colonial culture were being laid.

By their numbers and by their influence in Halifax and in the western parts of the peninsula, New Englanders had not only made western peninsular Nova Scotia virtually a new New England before the American Revolution, but they exercised a marked influence upon the character and the institutions of Nova Scotia. Even after the independence of the United States, when Nova Scotians and New Englanders became rivals in the North Atlantic fisheries, the carrying trade, and the supply of provisions and other necessities for the West Indies and Newfoundland, there still were intimate relations between the people of the two areas. As Brenton Halliburton, the Loyalist Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, said, nearly fifty years after the Treaty of Versailles, an American was never *felt* to be an alien in the British province.

The American Revolution had shattered the first British Empire, but the loss of the Thirteen Colonies did not cause Great Britain to abandon her old colonial system. Pitt's bill of 1783, which was based on "the most enlarged principles of reciprocal benefit to both countries" would have provided for the admission of United States ships to the ports of Great Britain on liberal terms of trade and to the trade to and from the British colonies in North America subject only to the same duties as those to which British subjects were liable. This measure did not command adequate support, and the order-in-council framed by William Knox for the regulation of trade was based upon the principle that it was better to have no colonies at all than not to have them subservient to the maritime strength and commercial interests of Great Britain.

In Knox's opinion, the object was to exclude foreigners from communication with the British colonies. He would have liked to continue the wartime prohibition of all trade between

the British West Indies and the United States. But he recognized that the remaining British North American colonies could not for the present fully supply those islands and that for the time being some of the supplies for those islands must be obtained from the United States. This trade, however, was to be strictly confined to British ships, owned by British subjects, and navigated according to law. On account of the extraordinary demand created by the arrival of a large number of Loyalists, the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia allowed American ships to bring provisions into the ports of this Province for two years, but in 1785 a similar policy of excluding American shipping from trade with the British colonies in North America was adopted.

Between 1807, when war with the United States seemed imminent, and the outbreak of the War of 1812, trade with the United States was affected by the American Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts, as well as by Nova Scotian proclamations designed to encourage the importation of lumber, live stock, and provisions in neutral as well as British ships. Moreover, in December 1811, to counteract the American non-intercourse bill, the port of Halifax was opened to neutral vessels, and it remained open to American vessels until the declaration of war in 1812.

Even during the War of 1812, New Englanders and Nova Scotians remained on almost friendly terms, and trade between them continued for most of the period. The demand for British goods by New England merchants, who were opposed to the war, induced the British Government to permit a licenced trade with New England. Under the protection of the British navy this trade flourished during 1812 and 1813. Its scope is indicated by the fact that 107 American ships called at Halifax in 1813. Generally, however, a vessel sailed from Halifax, laden with dry goods, to be met at sea by another vessel with a clearance from Newport and New London to New York or Bruns-

wick with the same goods listed in her clearance, although she had sailed in ballast. The goods were then transferred from one vessel to the other in an outport, and by this means British manufacturers were spread over the continent of America free of duty.

By its efforts to stop this trade, the government at Washington succeeded in making it so hazardous that a number of Boston merchants proposed a new plan to the authorities at Halifax. This was that they might be allowed to send a privateer along the coast to "capture" ships laden with British manufactures and West India produce and to carry those articles to a port in the United States. Those merchants were willing to deposit \$50,000 in Halifax as a security that such a privateer would commit no depredations upon British property.

A similar scheme, whereby British ships from Halifax allowed themselves to be "captured" off the coast, had some success. When this ruse was discovered by the American patrol boats, merchants on both sides worked out a plan for the British navy to prevent any interference with "captured" vessels or with American ships sailing to Halifax. Unfortunately for the merchants of Halifax, who imported more than a million pounds worth of British goods for the American market in 1814, the British navy blocked the American ports in that year and the licenced trade was almost entirely discontinued.

Meanwhile John Mitchell had been appointed by the President of the United States to superintend the concerns of the American prisoners of war at Halifax. Commissioned as Agent for Exchange of American Prisoners of War, Mitchell arrived at Halifax on or before October 7, 1812, when Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke wrote to the Colonial Secretary to inform him of Mitchell's appointment and arrival. "From what I can judge of Mr. Mitchell at present," Sherbrooke wrote, "he seems to be an intelligent man." "He has resided for several years in



France, and in other foreign countries," Sherbrooke added, "Where he appears to have acquired a considerable degree of information and has no doubt been selected by the American Government for his present mission." He had, in fact, been Consul to Santiago de Cuba in 1811.

The character and the competence of Mitchell caused Sherbrooke to suspect that he had been also commissioned to communicate to his government such information as he might from time to time be able to collect. Lord Bathurst wondered whether it would not be expedient for the British to do likewise by employing some intelligent person in a similar capacity within the United States, and he asked Governor-in-Chief Prevost at Quebec to consider the matter. "In the Event of your deeming it advisable to adopt the example thus afforded by the American Government," Bathurst wrote, "you will not fail to communicate your intentions to Sir John Sherbrooke & concert with him the points to which the attention of the British Agent should be principally directed." "In the event also of any refusal on the part of the American Government to receive such an Agent," Bathurst added, "you will not hesitate to adopt a similar Line of Conduct with respect to Mr. Mitchell."

It soon seemed as if Sherbrooke's suspicions were fully confirmed. From a neutral brig arriving from the United States in December 1813, T. N. Jeffery, the Collector of Customs at Halifax, received reports that no fewer than ten licensed vessels carrying British and Colonial manufactures and produce from Halifax to American ports had been tried for trading with the enemy and condemned, and that those vessels had been seized in consequence of the information which was sent from Halifax by Mitchell to the prisoners of war on parole near Halifax.

Other instances of this sort had already resulted in Sir John Sherbrooke and Admiral Sir J. B. Warren having serious conversations about the impolicy and inconvenience of contin-

uing Halifax as a depot for American prisoners of war. Now Sherbrooke hoped that this additional instance would induce Warren to use his influence to get the depot removed to a less objectionable place, particularly as additions would have to be made to the prison at Melville Island if the depot were to remain there. Perhaps Pictou or some other place in the eastern part of the peninsula or Louisbourg or any other convenient port in Cape Breton Island, Sherbrooke suggested, might appear to Warren better adapted for a depot of prisoners of war than Halifax. Perfectly convinced that the inconveniences stated by Sherbrooke did actually exist, Warren felt constrained to suggest to the Lords of the Admiralty the eligibility of taking the matter into consideration and of establishing the depot at Louisbourg, which was, in his opinion, quite out of the way of commercial speculations and where provisions were cheap and abundant.

Officials of the Transport Board in London agreed with Warren and Sherbrooke about the propriety of moving the depot for prisoners of war from Halifax. They believed, however, that unless Louisbourg had changed a great deal within the last few years considerable expense and delay would be incurred in building a prison and difficulty would be encountered in procuring the necessary supply of provisions. "It appears however so desirable," they wrote, "that the Prisoners should be removed from Halifax, & particularly that there should be no American Agent of Mr. Mitchell's character at that place, that we beg to recommend that some directions be given to Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, to adopt some Measures for this purpose, in concert with Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, who no doubt will watch over the security of Cape Breton, if it should be finally determined to remove the Prisoners to that Island."

After giving the matter their earnest consideration, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were inclined to order

the removal of all prisoners on parole from Halifax to Louisbourg and the sending of all other prisoners to England by every opportunity. As they understood that Colonel Barclay, the British Agent in the United States, had been obliged by the American Government to reside in the interior, they stated that Sir John Sherbrooke should be instructed to treat Mitchell exactly in the same manner as Colonel Barclay might be treated. If these suggestions met with Lord Bathurst's concurrence, he was to give the necessary orders on the subject.

The War of 1812, effectively excluding the Americans from the fisheries and from the West Indies, and furnishing an opportunity for a flourishing trade with New England, brought prosperity to Nova Scotia. As it drew to a close Nova Scotians hoped for the continued exclusion of the Americans from the fisheries and from the West Indian trade. The Treaty of Ghent was disappointing to them in the lack of agreement on the fisheries or commercial relations.

By the Treaty of Paris, at the close of the War of Independence, the people of the United States were accorded the *right* to fish on the Banks of Newfoundland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and elsewhere in the sea, the *liberty* to take, but not to cure or dry, fish on part of the coast of Newfoundland and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other British dominions in America, and the liberty to dry and cure fish in any unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, the Magdalen Islands, and Labrador. The British authorities maintained that those liberties were only privileges and that they had been terminated by the war, whereas American officials contended that the Treaty of Paris was not only a treaty but a solemn compact which could not be broken.

Between 1815 and 1818 American fishing vessels were seized, bad feeling was engendered, and the fear of causing international complications was so acute that the Vice-Admiralty



Court at Halifax was constrained to return the seized ships to their owners. To the dismay of Nova Scotians the Convention of 1818 admitted Americans again to the fisheries. Americans were thenceforth to have the liberty to fish on parts of the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador and the liberty to dry and cure fish in the unsettled areas of part of southern Newfoundland. They were not to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of the coast of other British dominions in America, but they were to be admitted to such bays or harbours for shelter, repairs, wood, and water.

Significant modifications of commercial policy were soon made. Following the War of 1812 the enforcement of the Laws of navigation excluded American ships from the ports of British North America and the British West Indies. The United States resorted to countervailing legislation restricting trade to the West Indies to American vessels and vessels owned in the islands. Minor concessions offered by the British were rejected by the Americans, and in January 1818 the United States passed a new law which provided that after September 30th the ports of the United States would be closed to British vessels sailing to or from colonial ports from which American vessels were excluded. Meantime a new policy was being evolved for Nova Scotia, and on August 18th, pursuant to an Imperial order-in-council, the Council of Nova Scotia opened Halifax as a free port, effective July 16, 1818. Saint John was also made a free port in 1818.

As the British Free Port Acts opened to American shipping the ports of Halifax and Saint John, as had already been the case in a port in Bermuda, John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States, considered that an obvious necessity had arisen of admitting a Consul or Commercial Agent of the United States to those parts. He directed Richard Rush, United States Minister to Great Britain to consult with Lord Castlereagh about the matter as soon as possible, as well as about



admitting consular or commercial agents to the ports of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Although not prepared to give an immediate opinion, Castlereagh not only promised an early answer but seemed to hint that there would be no insurmountable objections in regard to the ports in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Bermuda, while expressing himself more doubtfully as to the East Indies.

A few days later, on October 3, 1818, Rush discussed with Lord Bathurst the question of admitting consuls or commercial agents into Halifax and the other ports mentioned in the previous conversation. Although Bathurst observed that the admission of consuls into Halifax and Saint John would also be a departure from their common system, he seemed to think that there were peculiar reasons favouring the reception of consuls from the United States at those ports whilst those of other powers were still excluded. Although that part of the request might be regarded very favourably, Bathurst said that it would be most agreeable to the British Government to wait awhile until actual experience would have disclosed what portions of the trade of the two countries were likely, in a permanent way, to flow through those channels. As respects Bermuda, Bathurst spoke more doubtfully.

For several years the question about consuls remained without a positive and definite answer, while the competition for trade with the British West Indies persisted. In 1822, however, both were affected by new developments.

Robinson's act, largely the result of measures taken by the United States in retaliation for the continued exclusion of American ships from the British West Indies, permitted the importation into designated free ports in the British colonies in America and the West Indies of such articles as grain, flour, vegetables, live stock, lumber, and naval stores produced in foreign countries or colonies in America and the West Indies in

ships of the producing country or colony, as well as in British ships, and the exportation directly to the country or colony to which the ship belonged of any articles produced in any of the dominions of the British crown or of any other articles which had been legally imported into those ports. To give the British North American colonies a moderate degree of protection against American competition, however, duties were imposed on foreign commodities imported into the free ports. Robinson's act provided that no discriminating duties would be imposed on foreign ships or goods imported in them. In the United States, however, there were such duties and in 1823 Congress, in effect, decided that those duties would be maintained unless and until products of the United States carried in ships of the United States were admitted to the colonial ports on the same terms as similar British or colonial products.

Meantime, in 1822, George Canning, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had informed the United States Minister to Great Britain that the British Government could not consider the reception and recognition of American consuls in ports of the British colonies as a matter of mere reciprocity. That was so because the United States did not possess any colonies where a practical reciprocity could be exercised, and because American consuls had already been received in all the ports of Great Britain. His Majesty's Government, however, was willing to direct the Governors of Lower Canada, Jamaica, and any one of the Leeward Islands to receive and confirm the appointment of American consuls and if this limitation proved to be of any practical inconvenience the American proposition would be reconsidered.

In 1823 the United States not only appointed a consul in Barbados in the Leeward Islands, an appointment to which the British Government had consented, but nominated a consular agent in Demerara, a nomination to which no agreement had been given. After Rush was told that the British Government

was not prepared to go beyond the limits contained in the earlier note, he declared that his government would have to reserve the right of excluding from the protection of British consuls in the United States all British vessels, mariners, and merchants arriving in the United States from such of the colonial ports as excluded American consuls from a residence within their jurisdiction.

Canning now contended that the British Government had assented to the appointment of one consul for Lower Canada, one for Jamaica, and one for the Leeward Islands, after the opening of the colonial ports to American ships on the expectation of American ports being opened to British ships on other terms than had since proved to be the case. Pending the approaching negotiations which might result in more satisfactory terms, Canning did not, at that juncture, wish American consular appointments to advance any farther.

Further negotiations took place, and an interesting stage was reached early in July 1827, when Henry M. Morfit arrived at Halifax from Washington, presented his credentials as Consular Commercial Agent of the United States, and opened the office of the United States Consular Commercial Agency at 229 Upper Water Street. He not only directed the captains of American vessels then in and thereafter arriving at Halifax to exhibit their registers at his office, in pursuance and under the penalty of the Act of Congress of February 28, 1803, but, in an official letter addressed to the Secretary of the Province, he requested that "the usual notice of recognition" might be given at a convenient day.

Believing such an appointment in a British Colony to be unprecedented and also unsanctioned by any treaty between Great Britain and the United States, Lieutenant-Governor Kempt requested the legal advice of the Attorney General for his guidance upon the occasion. Being of opinion that the Gov-



ernment of the United States had no right under the commercial treaty between Great Britain and the United States to appoint a consul to reside at any port in the British colonies, and that the Lieutenant-Governor had no power officially to recognize any such appointment, Uniacke advised the Lieutenant-Governor to request from Morfit a copy of his credentials to be forwarded to the Secretary of State, to instruct the Collector of Customs to inform Morfit that he was not to take upon himself any power or authority whatever in this Province until His Majesty's pleasure was known, and to see that announcements were made revoking Morfit's advertisement in the newspaper and stating that the United States had at present no Consular or Commercial Agent in this Province.

The whole matter was then considered in Council on July 11, 1827 and a diplomatic letter was drafted to inform Morfit that his appointment would not be recognized without His Majesty's sanction. Lieutenant-Governor Kempt hoped that the course which he had taken would be approved and that he would receive instructions without delay for his future guidance upon the subject. The Lieutenant-Governor might have permitted Morfit to carry into effect *privately* the instructions of his own Government as far as his own countrymen were concerned; but when Morfit continued to execute the duties of the office of Consular Commercial Agent of the United States under the title of Commercial Agent, by requiring the masters of American vessels to bring their registers to him and by exacting fees, he considered it necessary for him to disown Morfit in that public character. The result was that Morfit decided to leave Halifax. He sailed for Boston in the *George Henry* before the end of July.

Meantime, Charles R. Vaughan, the British Minister at Washington, to whom Lieutenant-Governor Kempt had written on July 13th, had consulted the Secretary of State of the United States about the question. "Mr. Clay is perfectly aware,"



Vaughan reported, "that the Govern. of the United States has not any claim to the Admission of Consuls in the British Colonies, but it appears that in some of the British West India Colonies, Americans have been permitted to reside, and Mr. Morfit was sent to Halifax in a similar capacity." The result of Vaughan's interview with Clay was a conviction that nothing more was expected by the Government of the United States than that Mr. Morfit might be allowed to reside at Halifax in the unofficial character of a Commercial Agent, and that it remained with the Lieutenant-Governor to decide whether in courtesy he could allow him to do so.

It was soon evident that an accommodation in regard to Halifax seemed to be possible. At the request of the Colonial Secretary a letter, dated September 24, 1827, was written to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs to say that Huskisson had no objection to the principle of the appointment of a Consular Agent for special commercial purposes and that he would have no objection to sanctioning the recognition of Morfit, "provided the nature of his proposed functions shall be previously shown to be of the nature contemplated, and that a compliance with any future application of a similar nature will depend upon the special circumstances which may be referred to as making such an appointment necessary."

The principle or the propriety of receiving consuls in the West India Islands and in the colonies generally, unless some special objection existed in any particular case, having been acknowledged, steps were taken not only to appoint but also to confirm a Consul of the United States of America at Halifax in 1833. That consul was John Morrow.

Born in Windy Nook, Durham County, England, in 1795. John Morrow was the second son of Robert Morrow and Mary Atkinson. Obtaining a job as a clerk in the office of the Newcastle *Mercury*, he was shortly afterwards unlucky enough to

win in a literary competition a £ 100 prize which had been intended by the proprietor for his own son. Morrow was given a three months' notice, but the prize kept him comfortably until he was selected by the Liverpool agent of a Halifax merchant for a position of clerk in James Bain's office in Halifax. A fellow clerk was John Duffus, whose sister Maryanne Morrow married in 1820. Later Morrow became head clerk in the office of his brother-in-law Samuel Cunard in Halifax. He continued in this position until he was appointed Consul of the United States of America at Halifax. When *The Novascotian* of April 11, 1833 contained a notice, dated at Boston, April 2nd, of Morrow's appointment, its editor added: "We feel pleased at the above appointment—a more worthy man does not exist, nor one better calculated to fulfill the arduous duties of a public office."

Realizing that his commission of March 26th seemed to confine the functions of the consulate to the port of Halifax, Morrow pointed out that his authority should be wide enough to embrace nearly all the Province, since Halifax was the only Port of Registry and several harbours, including Pictou, Sydney, and Bridgeport, where the coal mines were situated, were frequented by American vessels. He also suggested that he might be permitted to exercise an influence in New Brunswick where there were only two Ports to which American vessels resorted, and in Newfoundland, with which from his central situation he could always have information on every subject. Shortly afterwards he received a new commission as Consul of the United States of America "for the Port of Halifax and all other Ports which may be nearer to Halifax than the residence of any other Consul." The district over which he had jurisdiction included the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Canadas, and also the Islands of Newfoundland and Prince Edward. He estimated that the number of vessels entering annually would probably be three or four hundred.

Having requested the United States Chargé d'Affaires in London to apply on his behalf for the usual Exequatur, Morrow received the official recognition from the British authorities for exercising his functions. Before the end of June, 1833, he appointed Consular Agents at St. John's, Saint John, Pictou, Sydney, Bridgeport, Yarmouth, and Liverpool. Moreover, in the spring of 1834, he appointed additional Consular Agents at Windsor, Barrington, Amherst, Annapolis, Guysborough, Arichat, Quebec, St. Andrews, Charlottetown, and Halifax. Subsequently, in 1837, when the President of the United States commissioned James Primrose and John De Wolf to be Consuls of the United States of America at the Ports of Pictou and Sydney, the Council of Nova Scotia, apparently convinced that it would be more convenient and would provide more uniformity and dispatch if there were but one accredited Consul who should reside at the seat of Government, recommended that no alteration should be made in the existing consular arrangement.

John Morrow was the first accredited Consul in the British North American Colonies. He was a British subject, and this aspect of the appointment was questioned by at least one American in the first year of his incumbency. In the early years of the Consular Service of the United States a foreigner serving as consul was not a rarity. Eventually, however, the practice was prohibited by law in 1855. Meantime John Morrow's services as Consul of the United States of America at Halifax ended with the commissioning of a citizen of the United States to the post on February 7, 1841, and the entering of Thomas Barclay Livingston upon the duties of the office on March 25, 1841. John Morrow, after remaining in Halifax for a time, worked in railway offices in England and Scotland for nearly four years. After returning to Halifax he opened an office as a notary public and then he became accountant of the Nova Scotia Railway from its commencement in 1854. He had charge of the construction books and also of the revenue books of that railway. Owing to increasing infirmity and advancing years, Morrow

resigned from his position with the railway on February 20, 1861. He died on February 21, 1862, in his 68th year, and he was buried in Camp Hill Cemetery.





## *Contributors*

JOHN GORDON LEEFE was born in Saint John, New Brunswick, and pursued his early studies there. He continued his education at the University of King's College and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the degree of Bachelor of Education at the University of New Brunswick and Master of Arts from Dalhousie University, where he earned a Graduate Studies Scholarship and a Graduate Studies Research Grant.

Mr. Leefe is a member of the Board of Governors of the University of King's College. He is also a member of the Queens County Historical Society and the Nova Scotia Teachers Social Studies Association.

He has held teaching positions in Saint John, New Brunswick, and Halifax, Nova Scotia, and is now residing in Liverpool with his wife and two children and holds the position of Head of the Social Studies Department, Liverpool Regional High School.

JAMES FRANCIS SMITH was born in Amherst, Nova Scotia, and attended school in both Truro and New Glasgow.

He graduated from Nova Scotia Teachers' College, Truro, in 1965, having won several scholarships and earning the Richard Gordon Memorial Award for literature.

He has done extensive research on the history of Cumberland County and has written several newspaper articles on this subject.

He is a member of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society, the North Cumberland Historical Society, and Editor for the Association of Teachers of English of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Smith lives in New Glasgow and teaches Junior High School English.

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DAVID ERNEST STEPHENS was born in Truro in 1946 and received his education there at the Colchester County Academy. He studied Industrial Arts Education at the Nova Scotia Teachers College and received two scholarships during that time. Following graduation he received three scholarships for further study from the State University of New York.

Mr. Stephens collects Nova Scotia relics and publications as a hobby and does extensive historical research and writing.

He has written numerous educational and historical articles for several Canadian and American publications, is a regular contributor on local history to the *Dartmouth Free Press*, and has previously contributed to the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*.

Mr. Stephens is presently instructor in Graphic Communications at Eastern Shore District High School. He is married with two daughters and resides in Musquodoboit Harbour.

**CHARLES BRUCE FERGUSSON** was born in Port Morien, Glace Bay.

He attended the Provincial Normal College in Truro, Nova Scotia, and received his early education there and in Nova Scotia, where he won the Governor General's Medal. He continued his education at Dalhousie University, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Great Distinction, and was designated Nova Scotia Rhodes Scholar.

After further study at Oxford University, he was granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honors, Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Fergusson is the recipient of the Centennial Medal.

As Archivist of Nova Scotia and Assistant Professor of History, Dr. Fergusson has a vast knowledge of our province and wide writing experience; being the author of books, articles, pamphlets, papers, reviews, etc., too numerous to mention here. His most recently published work is "The Mantle of Howe."

He is actively involved in several historical associations and committees including past President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and a member of the Nova Scotia Historic Sites Advisory Council. Dr. Fergusson is also a member of the Editorial Board of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly.

# *Book Reviews*

LORNA INNESS

**Forgotten Trades of Nova Scotia by David E. Stephens.  
85 pages, paperback, illustrated.  
Petheric Press Ltd., \$2.95.**

This book is a collection of the articles on forgotten trades which have appeared in this *Quarterly* and which have been brought together and expanded to form a record of some of the major old crafts and trades of this province.

Certainly it is true that people built the province and while history recalls the deeds of statesmen, admirals and generals, much of the building was done by the unsung millers and coopers, shipwrights, blacksmiths, farriers and sawyers. These were the men who made sure that the young province was not lost for want of a plank or a nail.

That there is interest today in these old crafts is shown by the popularity of the displays at, for example, the Ross Farm where there is an active cooper's shop.

David Stephens, a young Nova Scotian teacher, writes that "The several trades included in this short book are only representative of dozens of trades that have existed over the years . . ." and that, although the information is basic an effort has been made to relate the trades to this province. Also, shipwrights have been dealt with briefly because the "topic is covered in many books still in print."

The book is aimed at the "general reader"; more technical information can be found elsewhere and there is a bibliography at the end of the book for anyone wishing to learn more about some of our forgotten trades.



**Iron Roads, Railways of Nova Scotia, by David Stephens.**  
76 pages, paperback, illustrated, publishing 1972.  
Lancelot Press, \$2

This is another book for the "general reader" by David Stephens. In this instance, it opens the door to the somewhat neglected history of the development of railways in this province.

Briefly, Stephens discusses the early lines, various private lines, the DAR and the CNR system. There are sections on special railways—electric and marine railways, on Dieselization and the railways today.

There are some fine photographs in the book and Stephens has drawn his own maps of the lines.

This book is useful as a capsule summary of what remains a large, relatively untapped lode.

**Railways of Canada, A Pictorial History, Nick and Helma Mika.**  
176 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published December 1972.  
McGraw Hill-Ryerson Ltd., \$9.95.

This book is a labor of love brought about by the interest in railway history shared by Nick and Helma Mika, the husband-and-wife team operating Mika Studios, Belleville, Ontario. The Mikas have been reproducing facsimile editions of county histories, atlases and other old books about Nova Scotia and the Maritimes.

This is a pictorial history and it is profusely illustrated with maps, photos of old engines and railway stations, of tickets and railway notices.

As the Mikas point out, the history of the growth of Canada's railways is also an epic of "man's dreams and ambitions, of daring adventure and back-breaking labor clearing the rights-of-way in the wilderness, bridging lakes and canyons, blasting through solid rock and filling seemingly bottomless swamps to lay the tracks."

One has only to look at the photos of the trestle bridges on the run of the Esquimaux and Nanaimo Railway to realize the extent of the engineering feats that were accomplished by hundreds of men without the modern aids to construction which we tend to take for granted. In those far-off railroad building days, much of the work was done with an ax and a pick and shovel, and manpower took the place of today's earth-moving machines.

The Mikas document the growth of rail lines across Canada, and include a section devoted to railways of the Maritimes.

The two engines, Hercules and Samson, were the pride of the European and North American Railway which ran from Saint John to Shediac and Point-du-Chene. The engines were built at the Boston Locomotive Works in 1854, and the Samson is still on exhibit in this province.

The Nova Scotia Railway, the Intercolonial Railway, the Chignecto Ship Railway and various New Brunswick lines are dealt with by the Mikas.

As Joseph Howe told a public meeting in Halifax in 1850, "Many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and to make the journey to the Pacific in five or six days." It was another Nova Scotian, Sanford Fleming, who was to do much to make that prophecy come true.

This is a beautifully produced book with some rare photographs.

**"Keep Me Warm One Night", Early Handweaving in Eastern Canada by Harold B. Burnham and Dorothy K. Burnham. 387 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published November, 1972. University of Toronto Press, \$27.50.**

The title for this charming book is the name of a pattern for a coverlet which the Burnhams found in Cape Breton. The Burnhams travelled extensively throughout eastern Canada gathering the material for this book, and visited Britain and parts of Europe on the track of weaving techniques which the early settlers brought to this country with them.

The Burnhams trace the development of weaving beginning with the Acadians both before and after the Expulsion. If readers recall the model of an Acadian woman in the museum at Grand Pre the skirt she is wearing is early 19th-century, comes from the Chezzetcook area and is the "only old Acadian skirt known to have survived in its original form."

The Scots, the Loyalists, and others all brought their distinctive patterns and equipment.

The work of professional weavers in the Maritimes is outlined and it is noted that "The old traditions have survived longest in Cape Breton, and are not yet dead today."

"The handwoven materials that have survived in the Maritime Provinces are now dominated by the overshot coverlets," it is stated, "but wool carpeting, many patterned linens, blankets, sheets, and clothing materials were also produced in quantity."

The authors note that most of the homespun materials and many of the blankets woven in the Maritimes eventually became part of hooked mats and lost their identities.

The weavers and patterns of Quebec and Ontario are dealt with at length and there are many photographs of designs with notes about the patterns for the benefit of today's weavers.

The book is another welcome addition to those volumes which chronicle some aspect of domestic life in early Canada.

**A History of the County of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, by the Rev. D. J. Rankin. 390 pages, hardcover, first published in 1929, facsimile reproduction Mika Studios, Belleville, Ontario, \$15. directly from publisher.**

This is the latest in the series of reproductions of Nova Scotia county histories to come from the Mika Studios.

The Rev. D. J. Rankin was a member of the Historical Society of Nova Scotia, and a vice-president of the Cape Breton Historical Society. His book, which is chiefly a collection of rambling geneological material about families, is dedicated "to the memory of every stout heart and toilworn hand that contributed towards the converting of a primeval wilderness into the land of peace and plenty that is now Antigonish County."

There is a brief history of the settlement of the county, plus some interesting observations on the state of the roads and the difficulties of getting from one place to another.

The material on the families may help anyone who already has a well-documented account with which to compare it. Otherwise, separating the MacDonalds from the McDonalds and the Macdonalds would be a Herculean labor.

There is a surprising absence of dates and, for example, an assumption that readers will know which Mr. Reddell married Maggie, daughter of William MacDonald. Perhaps in 1929 these things were fairly easy to establish.

Wading through the jungle of names and places, one finds such interesting items as: "Father John Chisholm was drowned during a voyage to Newfoundland with a cargo of cattle, the majority of which had been donated to him for the purpose of building an academy at Arichat."

**Stories From Atlantic Canada, an anthology collected and edited by Kent Thompson.**

**231 pages, hardcover and paperback, published 1973**

**The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., hardcover \$10., paperback, \$2.50.**

An anthologist's lot is not a happy one. Readers always have their own favorite stories or poems and are critical if these are omitted. An anthologist is always faced with the problem of more material than space in which to use it, and must make some painful choices.

Thompson, who is a professor of English at the University of New Brunswick, admits this in his introduction to this collection. Further, he has concentrated on Nova Scotia and New Brunswick writers, omitting some of the ones "who have made the most money", skipping over better known Newfoundland authors and slighting Prince Edward Island.

But "one of the functions of a good anthology", he points out, "is to invoke the writers it omits as well as those it represents."

Some old familiar friends are represented: Haliburton, Raddall, Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, Ernest Buckler. There are newer writers: Ray Smith, Stephen Boston, Alden Nowlan, Elizabeth Brewster. There are also some obvious omissions.

Readers may be tempted to assemble suggested anthologists of their own.



## **COLES CANADIANA COLLECTION**

Two recent additions to this series of paperback reprints of early Canadiana are:

**In The Days of the Canada Company, 1825-1850, by Robina and Kathleen MacFarlane Lizars.**

**494 pages, paperback, first published 1896, reprinted 1972.**

**Coles Publishing Company Ltd., \$5.95.**

It was the aim of the Misses Lizars, to present a story "of the settlement of the Huron Tract and a view of the social life of the period", rather than an historical account.

In their preface, written at Stratford in 1896, to the original edition of the above work, they make two points which if anything are even more valid today.

They quote a Professor Ramsay Wright on the importance of collecting historical data: "Histories of individual families should therefore be collected, and the accounts of various local enterprises carefully noted. Information should be obtained from individual recollection of events, traditions, private and public letters, manuscript letters and diaries, old newspapers and pamphlets, grants and commissions . . ." If this sounds familiar, it's the message historians and archivists keep repeating today as more and more individuals become interested in knowing more about our heritage and taking steps to preserve it.

The other point is one which bedevils those who dig for information about some past event from people who lived through it. "Lack of proper sequences and statements seemingly contradictory are accounted for by, say, three old settlers, all eye-witnesses of some particular event, and all sure they know every detail, telling, in common with the event, some three distinct tales, until, impossible to find a casting vote, one exclaims with Beaconsfield, 'What wonderful things are events!'"

The book deals at length with the efforts of John Galt to attract worthy settlers to the Huron Tract and with some of the individuals and social customs of the time. Of Galt's literary quality the authors write that "... his tales of journeying with 'singing boatmen, a race fast disappearing,' ... make us think that the poetry of travel which disappeared with the advent of steam can never be made up to us by present speed and comforts."

The introduction to the original edition was written by one G. M. Grant, DD, LLD, principal of Queen's University, Kingston, who will need no introduction to Nova Scotians. He commented that it had been "an unmixed delight to read the proof." In its warm accounts of pioneering days, the book can still delight readers.

**Alaska and the Klondike Gold Fields, by A. C. Harris.**

**528 pages, paperback, first published in 1897.**

**Coles Publishing Company Ltd., \$5.95.**

For the enterprising young man of the Nineties, this was a "practical Instruction for Fortune Seekers", with notes about life in the North and directions for finding gold.



Safely back home in civilization, out of the cold, hardship and general misery of the trail, it undoubtedly made fascinating reading. Through these pages one could scale the heights of adventure.

The spread of the Klondike fever is documented and there are such tantalizing items of information as one to the effect that Canada's Yukon placers produced \$355,000 worth of gold in 1896. Who knew what might lie around the next boulder!

There is a section warning about bogus stock companies and those "organized to exploit the pockets of the people at home."

There are suggested routes, but the prose describing the Chilkoot Pass, for example, would hardly prepare the prospective fortune seeker for the hardships that were to be found there.

It is noted that steamer traffic is booming with ship construction and fares rising. The railway surveyors are at work in the wilderness and, it is stated, " 'Uncle Sam' has had his eye on short routes to Alaska for some time . . ." Which sounds rather like today's arguments about pipeline routes to the North.

Other sections deal with camp life, domestic life in the wilds and how various women coped with it, a resume of the mining laws (vital for any wary prospector), and accounts of "rushes" in other days.

Throughout the book, in descriptions of the territory, there are suggestions of the richness of the land in the prairies and in British Columbia. One wonders how many enterprising young men who read this book might have found less spectacular but perhaps more durable fortunes in the fields and farms of the West.

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**The Canadian Oxford Desk Atlas of the World.**  
166 pages, hardcover, 3rd. edition.  
Oxford University Press, \$7.95.

The latest revision of this compact desk atlas has 128 pages of maps, most of them with a photo-relief effect. There are 18 pages of statistical tables and 38 pages of Gazetteers (Canada and the World).

There are environs maps of major cities around the world, with new information about place names, new countries and transportation facilities, etc.

A statistical supplement has 28 tables of information giving all you ever wanted to know on various aspects of Canadian industries and resources.

It's 7 3/4 inches by 10 1/4 inch size makes it especially handy for the small office or for home use.

**The Work of the Historic Buildings Board of the Greater London Council.**

**59 pages, hardcover, illustrated.**

**Published by the Greater London Council, London SE 1, England.**

This is not a current book, although copies still might be available from the Greater London Council. The book was encountered in the Halifax City Regional Library and is included here because it will be of exceptional interest to anyone concerned about the preservation of historic buildings. Its library index number is 720.942, G7861W.

The message of the book is that "the bulldozers are always ready and waiting" and it sets out examples of what was done to save some historic buildings and blocks in London.

London's council is faced with the problems common to most cities; how to find more space for more people, how to cope with transit needs, find space for parks, preserve the environment. In London's case, the problems are greater and involve buildings of considerable age, with exceptional qualities worth preserving.

An Osbert Lancaster cartoon in the book highlights a problem Haligonians face with their Citadel. A tour bus driver is telling a group of tourists as the bus speeds past a block of high-rise office buildings: "That's St. Paul's, that was."

The subjects range from country mansions in the suburbs to churches and rows of town houses. A tremendous restoration job has been done on Westbourne Terrace, where, following the war, the four and five-storey buildings were supported by metal scaffolding and consisted largely of dilapidated bed-sitting rooms.

One of the most interesting and imaginative restoration projects, designed to preserve the past while meeting today's needs, involves the Rum Warehouses at Deptford in the heart of the city's dockland. In 1795 the Royal Navy used the warehouses to store rum for its ships of the line. The exteriors of the buildings have been restored but left largely unchanged. The interiors have been converted into some 65 flats.

The work of the Historic Buildings Council is outlined, as is the legislative framework designed to protect historic buildings. The book cites some of the less attractive features of a city's landscape and asks that perennial question: "Why are not all these ripe for redevelopment so that historic buildings could be left alone?" Why, indeed?

If any reader is particularly interested in what is being done in this field it is worthwhile seeking out this book, from the library, through inter-library loan, or directly from the Greater London Council.





## Notes on Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's largest Acadian population lives in Digby Co.

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The first condensed milk factory in Canada was opened in Truro, Nova Scotia in 1883 and produced "Reindeer Brand" milk.

\* \* \*

The first Catholic Emancipation Act in the British Empire was in Nova Scotia in 1783.

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St. John's Church in Lunenburg was founded in 1754 by Royal Charter. The communion vessels were presented by King George III.

\* \* \*

The first entire cargo of Nova Scotia lumber to be shipped to England was taken on at Jordan River, Shelburne County.

\* \* \*

Shortly after the settling of New Germany, Lunenburg County, Mr. Thomas Penny, resident, walked from Bridgewater, seventeen miles with one and a half bushels of seed potatoes.

