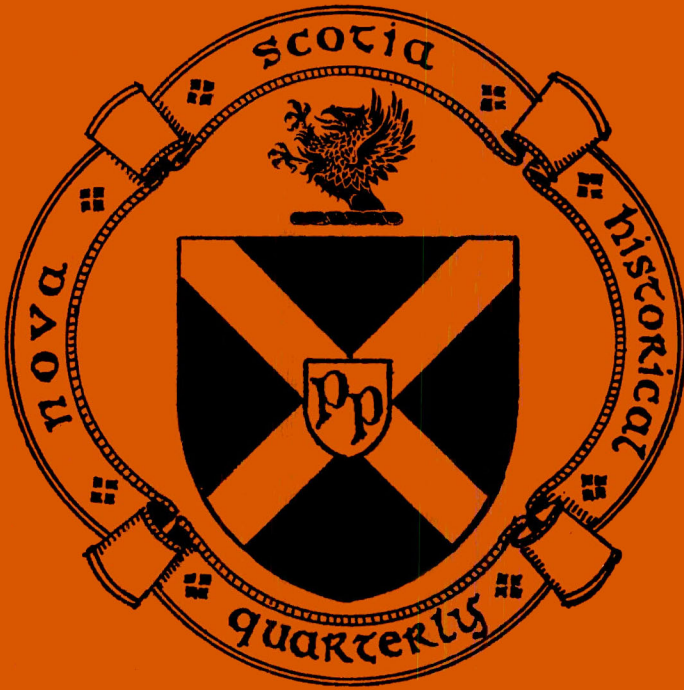


# The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 8, Number 4, December 1978



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# The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

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## *Charles Rogers Ward, Editor of The Cape Bretonian*

C. B. FERGUSON

The name Charles Rogers Ward should be reminiscent of the romantic background of the man himself and of a family which achieved a measure of prestige and prominence in England and in colonial America. The family traces its ancestry back to a Norman who went to England with William the Conqueror; a man named Ward was one of the first settlers of Jamestown; and Andrew Warde who settled in Connecticut in 1630 has had distinguished descendants, including the subject of this paper.

*His* father was Edmund Ward, who was born in Guilford, Connecticut, about 1758. Family tradition has it that, as a young man, Edmund Ward served on the British side during the War of American Independence, rising to the rank of Captain. Taken prisoner in the Battle of Long Island in 1776, he was held for a time in the home of Dr. Rogers, who was on the revolutionary side, and whose daughter fell in love with Edmund Ward and helped him to escape by hiding him in a secret room and giving him women's clothing as a disguise. Subsequently, it is said, Hannah went to Nova Scotia to marry him. In the meantime, Edmund Ward joined the British forces at New York in 1779 and shortly after the war ended he began to be employed at

Halifax in the Barrack Department. Two sons were born there, one in 1787, the other in 1789, and his family afterwards also included four other children.

Edmund Ward's name appears in the Capitation Assessment in the Township of Halifax for 1792 and 1793, and he was being paid a salary of £50 per annum in the Barrack Department in 1793. In the early autumn of 1798 he was given additional duties and increased pay, being promoted from Clerk to the Deputy Barrack Master General to Assistant and Issuer to the Barrack Master of the Garrison of Halifax. Late in 1799, moreover, he was appointed Clerk to the Acting Barrack Master General and given an extra allowance of 1/6 per day.

After being employed in the Barrack Department for nearly eighteen years, Edmund Ward petitioned, on September 14, 1804, for two lots of land in the township of Digby, situated on Digby Neck, near Petit Passage, fronting on St. Mary's Bay.

Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Wentworth referred Ward's memorial to the Surveyor General, Charles Morris, who described Ward as "a deserving Loyalist," with a large family, and worthy of the favourable consideration of government. The Surveyor-General reported that as the lots for which application had been made (numbers 22 and 23) were vacant, they should be granted, if the Lieutenant-Governor issued his warrant for that purpose. Such a warrant for those two lots, containing 860 acres, was issued on October 15, 1804.

Edmund Ward died intestate at Halifax on November 23, 1808, at about 50 years of age. In 1813, the administrator and administratrix of his estate (his son Edmund and his wife Hannah) sold the two lots of land in the Township of Digby to Thomas Richie of Annapolis, at public auction, for £35.

Charles Rogers Ward, son of Edmund and Hannah (Rogers) Ward, was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on January 10, 1789. (In the church records, however, his parents' names have been transcribed as Edward and Sarah.) After receiving a fair amount of schooling, perhaps at the Halifax Grammar School, he entered into employment in the store of Jonathan and John Tremain, of Halifax, in 1805 or 1806, being boarded

and clothed by those Loyalists merchants until he became of age. He then engaged to remain with them and to keep their books for a year, at the rate of £120 per annum.

In the spring of 1811, Ward's attention was turned towards Cape Breton Island. Richard Stout of Sydney desired one of the brothers of Jonathan and John Tremain to go to Sydney to enter into partnership with him there in the mercantile line. None of those brothers was available for that opportunity, and Ward's employers proposed that he should go to Sydney to see Stout and that they would recommend him in the place of one of their brothers. Early in May, of 1811, Ward proceeded to Sydney and made preliminary arrangements to enter into business with Stout. By that time, however, Jonathan Tremain who had also visited Sydney, proposed to take a lease of the coal mines at Sydney and the arrangements for Ward to enter into business with Stout were suspended. A lease of those mines was obtained, with Jonathan and John Tremain to be one-half concerned, and with Stout and Ward to have the other half, and the business to be known as J. & J. Tremain & Co. Ward went to those mines in the summer of 1811 to take charge and reside there, and he remained in that location until the summer of 1812, when their lease of the coal mines was discontinued.

Upon the termination of the lease, Ward resolved to return to Halifax, despite the urging of Richard Stout that he should become his partner in Sydney. In 1814 Messrs. Collins and Allison (Enos Collins and Joseph Allison), of Halifax, offered him a position as book-keeper at £100 per annum and board, and he accepted their offer. There he remained until the spring of 1815 when he was hired on commission by his employers to go to the United States to collect money due them and to dispose of goods there for them. Upon his return to Halifax, they offered to send him as supercargo in a vessel sailing to the Mediterranean, but circumstances induced him to decline this offer. For a time he speculated in articles which he sent to the United States for sale or was otherwise employed.

In the spring of 1817 Ward went to the United States for pleasure rather than on business. He sailed from Halifax to



Boston, and from Boston to Philadelphia, and then proceeded by land, via Princeton and Trenton, New York. From there he sailed in a schooner to Halifax.

Shortly afterwards Ward visited Sydney, arriving there a little after the middle of July and returning to Halifax after a brief stay in Cape Breton Island. In the autumn he again visited Sydney with a few goods, being again treated with great kindness by Lieutenant-Governor Ainslie.

Happening one day to wander into the Court House in Sydney, Ward found that the Court of Sessions was at a standstill because there was no Clerk of the Peace and no money to pay one. He immediately wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, offering to act as Clerk of the Peace, without salary, for the current session. Ainslie was so pleased at being freed from embarrassment that he accepted Ward's offer, had him appointed, and continued to find funds to pay his salary.

Ward's cordial relations with the Lieutenant-Governor resulted in his being assigned to other public offices. He was appointed as Coroner in 1818, Judge of Probate, Notary Public, and Captain in the Militia. On August 14, 1818, he was commissioned as Justice of the Peace; during James Crowdy's leave of absence, he was Deputy Secretary and Deputy Clerk of Council from late in 1818 to about the middle of 1819; in 1820 he was Acting Comptroller; and upon the death of John Hartley, he was appointed Acting Provost Marshal, a position which he held until Hartley's successor was appointed from England.

Meantime, on May 24th, 1819, Ward applied to Lieutenant-Governor Ainslie for a grant from the Crown of two lots of land, numbered 1 and 2, to be called "The Retreat," at Harwood Hill near Sydney, on the east side of the road leading to Mira and Louisbourg, and between the road leading to the Cottage and Melony's Creek. This memorial was referred to Surveyor-General Crawley, who stated that those lots appeared to be vacant. A warrant to survey was issued on June 3, 1819, and the grant was made on September 20, 1819.

In 1820 Ward became a Member of the Council of Cape Breton Island. Called to that office by Lieutenant-Governor

Ainslie, he took his seat as a Member of His Majesty's Council on June 14, 1820, and he sat regularly in that body from that date to October 4, 1820, excepting July 6, 1820.

Upon the annexation of Cape Breton Island to Nova Scotia in 1820, Ward was appointed High Sheriff of Cape Breton County, which then embraced the whole island. He held that office for ten years. On December 23, 1820, the date on which he was first commissioned as High Sheriff, he was also appointed Deputy Registrar of Deeds at Sydney.

On Thursday evening, October 14, 1824, Charles R. Ward and Eliza Julia Dumaresq were married in Halifax by the Reverend J. T. Twining, curate of the Parish of St. Paul. The bridegroom was then Sheriff of the County of Cape Breton, and the bride, at that time of the Parish of St. Paul, was a daughter of the late Philip Dumaresq, who had been Collector of Customs in Sydney. They had at least five children between 1827 and 1839, four sons and one daughter. Charles R. Ward was described as Sheriff when two of the children were baptized in 1827 and 1829, as merchant when his daughter was baptized in 1831, and as Justice of the Peace when two sons were baptized in 1835 and 1839.

In the meantime, if a typescript purporting to be "Extracts from a Diary written by Charles Rogers Ward about the year 1846" is accurate, *The Cape-Bretonian* newspaper, sometimes erroneously regarded as Cape Breton Island's first newspaper, printed and published by A. W. Haire, was established and commenced in Sydney in 1833 and conducted and edited by Charles Rogers Ward until 1835. There may be minor discrepancies in these dates for, although it is clear that it was begun in 1833, it may have ended on August 2, 1834, when the editor declared that it would be unavoidably suspended for the present, on account of inadequate support. There are nine issues of this newspaper in The Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Volume I, No. 51, is dated January 25, 1834; other issues are dated February 1, 1834, February 15, 1834, March 22, 1834, March 29, 1834, May 3, 1834, May 17, 1834, May 24, 1834, and August 2, 1834; and the last of those issues is Volume II, No. 26.

This newspaper bore the title *The Cape-Bretonian; and General Reporter, for the North-Eastern, Southern, & North-Western Districts*. It contained accounts of the proceedings of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada, and the House of Commons and the House of Lords in Great Britain. It included news from many quarters, including shipping news, reports of shipwrecks, prices current in Sydney and Halifax, and comments on crops, commerce, and currency. In it were printed Sydney and Halifax advertisements and a variety of effusions of poetry. Charles R. Ward, its editor, strove to promote the interests of Cape Breton Island, advocating more adequate representation in the House of Assembly, improved roads, bridges, and postal service, as well as lighthouses at Scatari and St Paul's Island, and other aids to navigation, a free warehousing port at Arichat, and a fire engine for Sydney.

Within a few months of its commencement, Joseph Howe expressed his encouraging encomium to the editor and the printer of this Sydney newspaper. He did so in the following words:

The Cape-Bretonian. Though we may be late in congratulating the Proprietors of this neat and spirited little Paper, upon the very creditable exertions they have made to establish a useful and independent Press in the Island, we beg to assure them that the tardiness of the acknowledgement takes nothing from its sincerity. We rejoice to see Cape-Breton possessed of a Paper, relying not for support upon the contributions of a joint stock company, but upon the golden opinions which its management may gather from the intelligent portion of its own population. Messrs. Ward and Haire have, in the few numbers they have sent forth, given a fair guarantee of the value of their future exertions. They have laboured to put the people of Cape Breton in possession of such information as more immediately concerned them; and to furnish to distant readers facts illustrative of the agriculture, commerce, and resources of the Island. We sincerely trust that their labors may be crowned with the success they are so well calculated to merit.



Unfortunately, that expectation was not fully realized, and Charles Rogers Ward, the editor of *The Cape Bretonian*, whose brother Edmund Ward was the publisher and proprietor of *The Free Press* in Halifax and other newspapers in Halifax, Fredericton, and Bermuda, was compelled by circumstances to discontinue his newspaper in Sydney. It is interesting to note that his nephew Robert Ward (son of Edmund Ward) was editor of the *Bermuda Herald*, and that his own son James Putnam Ward was afterwards editor and proprietor of *The Cape-Breton News*.

Charles Rogers Ward's interest in public affairs was exemplified time and again. Early in 1830, for instance, he got up a meeting and drafted resolutions urging that Sydney be made a free warehousing port. Those resolutions, supported by Richard Brown of the General Mining Association, were forwarded to London, and by an Order-in-Council, dated November 1, 1830, Sydney was made such a port. With a view to having the annexation of Cape Breton Island to Nova Scotia in 1820 annulled and the constitution of 1784 restored, Ward lent his services to the cause by drafting a petition to the Queen-in-Council which was evidently heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Ward was of opinion that a change had been wrought in the sentiments of certain Sydney gentlemen by the attempt to move the sittings of the Supreme Court from Sydney to Ship Harbour [Port Hawkesbury], though not by that alone. When he was asked whether the good citizens of the County of Cape Breton really desired to return to the same posture of affairs as prevailed previously to its forming a portion of Nova Scotia, he stated that the monosyllable "Yes", was immediately and emphatically rejoined, "by one of our most grave, moderate and cautious speaking citizens." "In fact disguised as it may occasionally be," he added in a letter dated July 19, 1830, to the Deputy Provincial Secretary, "there is and ever has been a general aversion to state and thing disagreeable or displeasing to His Majesty's Representatives, who have honored us with their visits, when here; and which aversion appears likely to remain, until the



present generation at least shall have passed away and been forgotten . . .”

Although James Stephen, Counsel to the Colonial Department, in London, and the Lord Chancellor were of opinion that the annexation was illegal, it was asserted that the multiplication of petty legislatures was objectionable. As it happened, the movement for repeal of the union of Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia was unsuccessful.

In later years Charles R. Ward held other public offices. In 1835 he was again appointed Justice of the Peace, as well as Judge of the Inferior Court Pleas, for the North-Eastern District of Cape Breton. In 1837 he was appointed one of the Commissioners relative to the Mira Grant.

Seven years later his mother made her will, leaving to him one of the two equal shares of the residue of her estate after her funeral expenses were paid. At that time he is said to have been ailing.

Eventually, on March 6, 1864, Charles Rogers Ward died in Sydney, after having had a long notable career in public life and having been the editor of an early Cape Breton newspaper. He died at the age of 75.

The typescript entitled “Extracts from a Diary written by Charles Rogers Ward about the year 1846,” was prepared by or for J. Sydney Burchell, great-grandson of Charles Rogers Ward in 1936. It is hoped that the original diary will be discovered. The typescript is the following:

**Extracts from a Diary**

**Written by**

**Charles Rogers Ward**

**About the Year 1846**

Was put to Jon & John Tremain suppose about 1805 or 1806 and remained in their Store to be boarded and clothed by them until of age; at the latter period engaged with them to remain and keep their books for a year, at the rate of £120 per annum. In the Spring of 1811, they proposed to me to go to

Sydney C. B. to see Mr. Stout there, and to whom they would recommend me in the place of one of their brothers whom Mr. Stout had written to them he wished to come and enter into partnership with him in the mercantile line at Sydney. Early in May 1811 I repaired to Sydney and on my arrival there made preliminary arrangements so to enter into business with that gentleman; but Jonathan Tremain about that time having visited Sydney and proposed taking a Lease of the Coal Mines at Sydney the arrangements for entering into business with Mr. Stout were suspended, and a Lease of the said Mines was taken, Jonathan and John Tremain to be one half concerned, and Mr. Stout and myself to be the other half, under the Firm of J & J Tremain & Co., and I repaired that summer to those Mines to take charge and reside there, where I continued until the next summer when our connexion with the Mines ceased, the lease which we had entered into and subsequent Agency there being discontinued, when, as will be presently stated, I returned to Halifax. Mr. Stout after my return, as he had previously also done, again urged my joining him in business at Sydney, but this I declined. The American War having taken place, and there being danger of capture by sea, I returned by land to Halifax as above stated in company with Jon Tremain, in the summer of 1812. At that time there was only a blind path from Sydney to the Portage, at the East Bay. The Indians carried their Canoe from the head of Sydney River to the Portage at the Lake, and Mr. Tremain and myself carried our provisions and spare clothing suspended on a pole, each bearing an end of it on our shoulders, and having occasionally to wade through brooks on our way. We embarked in our Canoe at the shore of East Bay where he came out, and there were then no houses, and were paddled in the Canoe up the lake until we reached St. Peter's; after dining with Law Kavanagh Esq. there, and otherwise partaking of his hospitality, we were conveyed in a boat to Mrs. Balhashe's at the Strait of Canso (having the evening we left St. Peter's, crossed to Descouse and remained there the night, the next night we lodged at Mrs. Balhashe's) and the following morning left by water for Antigonish, at which place we arrived the same evening. Next morning after breakfasting with Major Cunningham there, we rode to Merigomish, and went in a Canoe to Pictou. It was Sunday we arrived there, and we went to Mrs. McGeorge's, who kept a boarding house there, and were soon called on by several, and asked to dine with the well known Edward Mortimer Esq., and after dining took horse on our route for Halifax. We reached Key's that night and next morning proceeded on to Halifax.

In the year 1814 Messrs. Collins and Allison having called and offered me the situation of Bookkeeper in their Establishment and proposed £100 as the Years Salary, in addition to board at their table, I accepted the situation as Bookkeeper to them, and there remained until the next Spring, when they made me an offer to go to the United States to collect monies due them, and dispose of goods there for them, they paying all my travelling expenses and allowing me a commission for goods I should sell for them, which offer I accepted, and I took passage for Nantucket in March 1815 in the Schooner Consolation, Capt. McPheson, which vessel went to carry home the Nantucket Whalemens who had been captured and been Prisoners of War at Halifax; and on the way calling at Bridgetown, shortly after arrived at Nantucket, from which place I proceeded in an American vessel for New York on the 4th April. The vessel grounded on one of the Nantucket Shoals or Bars and got so much injured that she had to put back, when I took passage in another vessel (the Experiment) and safely arrived about the 12th at New York. After arranging some business there for Collins and Allison and selling at Auction there Goods of theirs amounting to about 4,400 dollars, I took passage on the 26th. of the month back to Nantucket, where I collected various sums for Collins & Allison in addition to large sums I had before collected for them; all of which was in the course remitted to them by me; and after remaining there for a few days took passage for Boston to get a conveyance thence to Halifax, where I arrived in May. Collins and Allison appeared quite satisfied with my attention to their business in the States, as a proof of it I had charged them with about 110 dollars, which was all I considered I had a right to do under our agreement, and which I was quite satisfied; but they voluntarily told me they considered it too little, and told me instead to charge them 200 dollars, besides my travelling expenses and board, which were of considerable amount. They had a vessel prepared for the Mediterranean, and offered me to send me as Supercargo of her, and to keep me employed as a Supercargo as long as I might wish, but circumstances induced me to decline their handsome offer, and I passed some time speculating in articles which I sent to the United States for sale, and some of which speculations turned out very well, and was otherwise employed for some time later.

In the Spring of 1817, I took passage for Boston in Capt. Don Kelly's vessel, where we arrived in due time. Passengers, besides myself, Wm. Ninns Esq., Mrs. Jackson and son



(afterwards Mrs. Noble) and a Lieut. Conolly of the Army. This time I was not on a business visit, but merely a traveller. Took passage from Boston with several other passengers for Philadelphia and safely arrived there, after a pleasant passage. A vessel sailed in company with us that failed to arrive for several days after we got there, which we much wondered at, but she eventually got in, when it was found that poison had been administered to the passengers which had caused the detention, and one or more died from the effects. It appeared that poison had been put into the sugar by one of the passengers who avoided eating his breakfast, which the others did, and thus used the poison which had been privately put into the sugar, the guilty person was not at the time suspected, as he appeared to have some medical skill and administered oil so to counteract the poison, with some; suspicion first arose some days after, he having pretended to be a relation or friend of the passenger who died and taken possession of his trunks after his death; and it was concluded that he administered correctives to prevent suspicion falling on him, and having succeeded in poisoning the one whose effects he wanted to get possession of. Suspicious conduct, such as his, frequently changing his boarding house and having each time different persons to convey his trunks so as to prevent being traced, led to its being supposed he was the poisoner; but the offence could not be brought home to him. He afterwards attempted to seduce persons to join him and take passage in another vessel, intending to rise upon the master and to run away with the vessel; he was detained to answer this charge, altho he could not be for the poisoning; in addition strong suspicions existed of his having been concerned in some flagrant crime on board a vessel out of New York some time before, and steps were taken to seek for evidence of it. This case is minutely dwelt on, as he had endeavored to obtain a passage in the same vessel I went from Boston to Philadelphia in, but there was not room for him, and he took passage in a vessel in consequence, which lay next to us, and I thus escaped being poisoned. After remaining several weeks in Philadelphia I went by land in July, to New York via Princeton and Trenton; from New York I took passage in a Schooner, Captain Boyd, for Halifax passengers Andrew W. Cochran, Esq., son of Dr. Cochran of Windsor, and a Mrs. Parker, and safely arrived there in due time. In a short time I went on a visit to Sydney, at which place I arrived, not much after the middle of July, though as late as the 4th. July (Independence Day) I was in Philadelphia. At Philadelphia I saw President Nunn [Monroe], who arrived there the same day

that I did, on his way to visit different parts of the Union. After spending a short time at Sydney, I returned to Halifax, and in the autumn again visited Sydney with a few goods. General Ainslie the Lieut. Governor of the Island, having treated me with great kindness, both during my former visit as well as this one, I felt under obligation to him, and wandering one day into the Court House where the Sessions of the Peace was held, I found the Court was at a stand for the want of a Clerk of the Peace, there appearing to be no fund out of which to pay one. I immediately wrote to the Lieut. Governor stating that I had accidentally found out the dilemma the Sessions were in, and offering during my stay, which would be longer than that Present Court would sit, to do the duty without a salary. The Magistrates had waited on the Gov. to state the want of a Clerk of the Peace, and, as he thought, they were pleased to see him perplexed how to act, and while so doing, my note was delivered to His Excellency, upon which he was enabled to tell them I would act; and he was so pleased with my offer, that he had me appointed, and continued to obtain funds to pay a salary, which he nearly doubled; and from that moment he endeavored to serve me. He appointed me also as a Coroner, Justice of the Peace, Judge of Probate, Notary Public and Captain in Militia; and when the Colonial Secretary and Clerk of Council, James Crowdy, Esq., went to England, next year, he insisted on my being appointed Depy. Secretary, and during his absence, although Mr. Crowdy was anxious to appoint some other person, which situation, one of much confidence and responsibility, large sums of money being deposited as such in my hands, I filled Mr. Crowdy's return. The Governor also appointed me Acting Provost Marshal, upon the death of Mr. Hartley the Provost Marshall, and which I held until his successor was appointed from England. Upon the accession of George the Fourth to the Crown I was appointed to read the document proclaiming him in Sydney, for doing which I was paid Ten Pounds. Upon the Office of Comptroller becoming vacant, I was appointed Acting Comptroller, which I held until after the annexation, and until a Comptroller was appointed from England subsequently to a seat in Council, and various other benefits were conferred on me by His Excellency; all of which I think he was induced to bestow on me in consequence of my coming forward and offering to do the duty of Clerk of the Peace without salary, at a time he at first was perplexed how to pay one.



Upon the annexation of this Island in 1820, to Nova Scotia, His Excellency Sir James Kempt appointed me High Sheriff of the Island, which was then one County, also Depy. Registrar of Deeds, Justice of the Peace, Notary Public, and Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. I was also Clerk of the Peace under the Nova Scotia Government, and County Treasurer; and a special Court having been appointed for the trial of prisoners in jail, Capt. Ousely and myself, we joined with Judge Marshall to try them.

It being considered advisable to endeavor to have the annexation annulled, I lent my humble services in the cause, and drew up the Petition to the Queen, and subsequently to the Queen in Council, which was eventually heard before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but which was unsuccessful. At a previous period I got up a meeting and drew up Resolutions praying Sydney might be made a Freewarehouseing Port, which proceedings were kindly forwarded to England by Richard Brown, Esq., who forwarded them with his recommendation, whereupon the prayer of the Resolutions was granted. Upon occasion of the great fire at Miramichi in the year 1825, I lent my best aid in raising subscriptions for the sufferers by that fire, and a large sum was raised here, and a vessel sent with supplies, but was unfortunately frozen up before she could reach Miramichi. A gentleman of the Customs having been sent here to examine into the expediency and to report upon the propriety of removing the Customs Establishment from Sydney, I drew up a Letter to him embodying the objections which occurred to me to such removal, and got signatures to it, and presented it to him, to which he replied that he had considered many of the objections; and his Report prevented, at that period, [the removal] of the Customs from Sydney.

The "Cape Bretonian" News Paper was established and commenced in Sydney on 2nd. March 1833 and conducted, owing to the inability of the inhabitants properly to support it. During its continuance every exertion was constantly made by me to advocate the interests of the Island therein. At that period the Supreme Court sat but once a year at Sydney and at Arichat, and did not sit in the North Western District at all; neither had that District a single Member to represent its inhabitants in the Assembly, and there were but few Members for the Island at large or other parts of it. The Post route was very defective and uncircumscribed, and the mail not so often received at Sydney as since. The Roads and bridges in the Island were in a deplorable state. Arichat was without a Free Port, or Light House or Buoys,

and Scatari and St. Paul's without Light Houses. Editorials repeatedly appeared in the Cape Bretonian, urging again and again remedies for those evils, all of which have been since attended to. It is not pretended that the notices alluded to, caused the improvements referred to, but it is conceived that the repeated and earnest advocacy of these measures may have strengthened the hands of those who brought them about. The evils of the original Mire Grant, and necessity of a remedy were also warmly urged. Isle Madame, Mire, East Bay, the French Village and other places were briefly described and brought into notice in the Cape Bretonian. Many improvements called for in Sydney were suggested, many of which have since taken place. A Fire Engine there, pointed out as required for Sydney, has since been obtained and organized by the spirited and patriotic conduct of Henry Ingles Esq. Roads and bridges have since been better attended to, and various interests advocated and evils pointed out, and other subjects touching the interests of the Island brought to notice; all of which justifies the opinion being entertained that much benefit accrued to this community and to the Island at large, by the "Cape Bretonian" Newspaper, while it existed, which would not otherwise, so soon at least, have taken place.

Took passage from Sydney for Halifax, in Schooner Amelia, U. Bousajour Master, 17th. September, 1817.

Wednesday evening 17th September. Get under weigh about midnight, or before daylight next day. Wind about West. In the morning when we were off Langan, the wind changed to about S.S.W. Passed Flint Island about 2 o'clock. Just before night saw a brig which we took for the Vixen, astern of us. Lay to this night a little to leeward of Mainadieu.

Next morning the 19th, a fine breeze from N.N.E., sprang up about an hour before daylight; as we had to pass between Scatari and the Main, we could not take advantage of the wind until daylight. We soon passed Porto Nova Rock, and were shortly abreast of Louisburg. The land N.E. of Louisburg is remarkable from two hillocks which appear. Our course today about W. by S. at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12, were abreast of St. Esprit. Saw a large brig ashore, etc. St. Esprit is about 3 leagues N. of Isle Mosha, which latter is the S. point of C. B.

On opening St. Peter's Bay, the wind blew very hard, which obliged us to take reef in the foresail, and double reef the mainsail. Pat Keho's shallop which had hitherto been ahead of us, was obliged to close reef and drop astern, and was not able to reach Arichat, at which place we anchored about 11 at night, as



did also Charles Fougere's Schooner which had hitherto kept company with us. At Little Arichat are many Fishermen. Petit de Grat is 2 or 3 miles from Arichat, the Barrissois next it is some distance by water, near A by land, principal Fishermen reside here. St. Peters is about 6 or 7 leagues from A by water—to Disgoose is 14 miles by land—6 or 7 miles hence to St. Peters. Lardoise, Harbour Bushy, and Disgoose deal with Kavanagh.

Cure about 50,000 Quintals of Cod Fish per year. St. Peter's about 20,000 Qtls., besides Oil, Mackerel, Herrings Etc. **Saturday 20th.** Went on shore at Arichat this morning. The town consists of scattered houses—a handsome chapel, painted white, is here, and makes a neat appearance—the harbor lies East and West, and running up East ends in a cove—the houses are in the **North side of the harbor**—a few large houses and two wharves and stores appear on the opposite side—the one on the point belongs to Kavanagh. On the North side Mr. Hubert has a good wharf and stores and a handsome dwelling house not building. A Mr. Taylor has a wharf and an establishment also, and are now loading a Brig for Jersey—besides there are several other wharves about the middle of the town. There is an appearance of regularity near where the Collector lives. The street in front of the houses, which are not in a regular line, is generally very crooked and irregular—a Main street back, runs East and West in a straight line, and on even ground—this is in the rear of the houses—the land near the water is very irregular being in hills and vallies—a great deal is cleared here; but very little of corn, or vegetables even, seem to be raised here. A building for Jail and Court House is in the rear of the town—there are but few good wharves—the town if properly so called, extends perhaps  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

**Arichat Island or Isle Madame** is 7 leagues long, and lies about E and W. The whole population of the Island may be about 600 families. St. Peter's lies about N. from this. The point at the South or rather Eastern entrance is called Cape Hogan—a shoal runs out from the south point of the Island at the entrance of Arichat. Petit de Grat is situated East of Cape Hogan between it and Red Point (believe Beausejour says, Cape Hogan is 3 leagues N. by W. of Canso, and about 19 leagues from Louisburg.)—from Cape Hogan to Isle Hogan is E. by N. 5 leagues—Mosha to St. Esprit E. by N. 6 leagues—Fourchie to Gabarus point E. by N. 3 leagues—Gabarus to Louisburg E & by N. 2 or 3 leagues—Louisburg to Porta Nova E.N. 4 leagues. Porta Nova to Maingue and Scatari 2 Leagues. Scatari to Flint Island N.N.E. 3 Leagues—Flint Island to Low Point N.W. 7



leagues—Low Point to Sydney 3 leagues (West.) From Halifax to Canso 45 leagues—course from Halifax outside Jedore ledges, E.S.E.—from A to Canso, E. and by N—from Canso to Low Point is 35 leagues.

About  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12 o'clock got under weigh—fresh breeze—about N.N.W.—steered S&S by W., run between Canso Islands between 2 & 3 o'clock—the wind now north. Saw a number of vessels anchor, amongst them Angus Rose's shallop, which left Sydney, Monday last, and Gallatin LeBlanc from Halifax. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 rounded White Point and hauled up about W. & by S., the last land we saw this day was between Torbay and Country Harbour; being near the land and night steered S.W. to avoid a ledge off Country Harbour, kept out all night—in the morning supposed ourselves near Beaver Harbour—Wind more moderate than before. Saw a vessel going East when off Canso—Fougere close in company all day. Saw none of the vessels that sailed in company since we went into Arichat.

**Sunday 21st.** Wind North course about W & by N—wind moderate—about 9 or 10 A.M. were up to Jedore—course now about W.N.W.—passed inside Jedore Head—at 10 o'clock were off Three Fathom Harbour, which is 3 leagues from Devil's Island, at Halifax, and 45 leagues from Arichat, which distance we have run in 24 hours. At  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 3, were abreast Devil's Island and hauled up N.W. and shortly after reached Halifax.

Believe arrived at Louisburg in Thomas Townsend's vessel from Halifax on 14th May, 1811.

Sailed in American Brig Albert, Galston, Master, from Nantucket for New York April 4th, 1815—grounded on the Bar in the morning, in the evening got off—about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12 dropped anchors, they soon dragged and we stuck on a shoal in a gale of wind, hove her off in about an hour after, the best bower parted and we remained striking hard until next morning at 7 o'clock slipped the other cable, the vessel leaking much and in apparent danger of bilging—sea beating. Then set sail and worked off the shoal, when we made a course for Nantucket and grounded on the Bar about 4 o'clock. The shoal proved to be the Hedge Fence we touched on and on Tuckanuck Shoal but got off.

Transhipped the cargo from Brig Albert to Schooner Experiment, and sailed again from Nantucket for New York on Sunday, 9th April midday. Arrived at New York, Wednesday following at 3 P.M. (12th.) Sailed from New York for Nantucket in Sloop Amy, afternoon of 25th of April.

# *Joseph Howe and the Struggle for Railways in Nova Scotia 1830-1858*

D. CHARD

In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester Railway opened in England as a public railway carrying both goods and passengers. This venture excited the imagination of enterprising individuals throughout Britain and North America. Before long the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was underway in the United States and the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad Company had received a charter in the colony of Lower Canada. In Nova Scotia Joseph Howe noted such events and drew the attention of his readers to them in his newspaper, the *Novascotian*. On 21 January 1830 Howe mentioned an item in the *Quebec Mercury* on the prospects for railways in Upper and Lower Canada. Howe noted that further discussion was invited on the topic, and suggested that "as it is one of great importance, we hope to see it fully and ably investigated." Off and on, over the next few decades, railways were discussed and investigated in Nova Scotia, largely at Howe's instigation. It was the beginning of an era, one which culminated in the opening of the Halifax to Windsor railway in 1858.

A great booster of his own province, Howe was quick to note evidence that railway technology could be applied to Nova Scotia. He was quite taken with a primitive rail line at Albion

Mines (present-day Stellarton.) In 1830 the line used horse-drawn carts to move coal. Howe was very impressed with the prospects for its expansion, and informed his readers on 21 July 1830 that the line, "one of the most important and expensive operations carried on by the Company . . . is to extend from the pits about a mile and a half to the spot where the coal is taken in the Boats." Despite the fact that much of the line had apparently only just been completed, Howe saw nothing inappropriate in suggesting an expansion of the operation. Howe noted that the movement of the coal from the boat landing to waiting vessels was the most expensive part of its transportation, and speculated that if

the Company would go to the expense of continuing the Rail Road to New Glasgow, and clearing away some of the Oyster Banks which obstruct the navigation so that the vessels might come up and take in the coal without the agency of Boats, it would ultimately repay them amply.<sup>1</sup>

By 1835 Howe obviously felt that it was time for action. Construction of the Champlain and St. Lawrence has begun. The Baltimore and Ohio had extended 133 miles by 1833. On 1 October 1835 Howe proposed a railway from Halifax to Windsor. He saw the railway as a means for Halifax to tap the agricultural riches of the Annapolis Valley. No longer would the city be denied a hinterland by the rocky hills which separate it from the best farmland in Nova Scotia. The railway would perform the same function for Halifax that the Saint John River performed for Saint John. Would not, Howe suggested, Halifax then "command the whole trade of the Bason (sic) of Mines (sic) . . . and grow into a place of immense wealth and influence within a very few years?"

Within weeks it became clear that the project had fired Howe's imagination. Through the columns of the *Novascotian* he spiritedly pointed out to fellow Haligonians the advantages of his scheme. elaborating on his earlier remarks, Howe argued that:



A Railroad to Windsor at once strikes off from Halifax the ancient reproach of barrenness and sterility—it annihilates the bad land by which we are surrounded—it brings the finest tracts in the Province, may we not say in North America, thirty miles closer to our doors . . . No longer sighing for a River flowing into our harbour, we should have one with the tide of steam running both ways, and bearing us to and fro at twenty knots an hour. What River—what Canal—could possibly be half as good?<sup>2</sup>

Other newspapers, in Halifax and New Brunswick, saw merit in the proposal. The *Acadian Recorder* noted that the trade of Windsor found an outlet in St. John rather than in Halifax. It declared that unless a railway was built to Windsor, Halifax would lose the trade of the western part of the province, particularly when the proposed Avon River bridge was built. The *St. John City Gazette* noted that Nova Scotians were “all alive” to railroads. It complimented Howe on the clarity of his arguments, and expressed the opinion that the venture would “infuse new life and vigor into the languishing condition of that once prosperous province.”<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, Howe filled the columns of the *Novascotian* with information on the state of railway operations in other parts of the world, and enlisted support where ever he could find it. On 29 October the paper reported that the stock of the London and Birmingham Railway had risen from £60 ls. Moreover, the London papers had announced plans for a railway from Whitechapel through Cambridge to York and Norwich. By early November T. C. Haliburton had entered the campaign, using his mythical creation, Sam Slick, to marshal support for Howe. Never averse to offering advice to Nova Scotians, the Yankee clock pedlar proclaimed that:

“Halifax is nothing without a river or a back country; add nothing to nothing, and I guess you have nothing still—add a Railroad to the Bay of Fundy, and how much do you git? That requires cyphering”—“What does a clock want that’s run down” said he—“undoubtedly to be wound up” I replied; “I guess you’ve hit it this time. The folks of Halifax have run down, and they’ll never go to all eternity, till they are wound up into motion—the works are all good, and it is

plaguey well cased and set; it only wants a key. Put this railroad into operation, and the activity it will inspire into business, the new life it will give the place, will surprise you . . . it will enlarge the sphere and the means of traffic, open new sources of traffic and supply—develop resources—and what is of more value perhaps than all—beget motion; it will stool out and bear abundantly; it will touch the folks that go astarn or stand stock still . . .”<sup>4</sup>

Not everyone, supported the proposed railway, and eventually attacks on it had their effect. The backers of the Shubenacadie Canal must have paled at the thought of an enterprise which threatened their very reason for existence. Perhaps this explains the attack on Howe’s idea by the *Halifax Times*, which called the railroad a “monstrous absurdity . . .” By January 1836 Howe began to acknowledge the opposition, and spoke of people disposed to ridicule the effort. But while he noted the existence of critics, Howe also took pleasure in announcing that “practical men, of information and experience, take a very different view of the subject.” Howe had written Captain William Moorsom, an English officer who had served in Nova Scotia, and published some sketches of the colony in 1830. Since leaving the Army Moorsom had devoted his time a study of railways, and when he replied to Howe’s letter he was engineer of a projected new railway in England. Here was an authority on whom Howe could call for support. He informed Howe that he would like to assist him in every way that he could, in promoting a project “so calculated to advance the prosperity of the Province, if judiciously pursued.”

In early 1836, just when the project seemed to be picking up momentum, it suffered a major setback. Proponents of the railway had asked interested parties to subscribe to a fund to have a survey and estimate of costs made by a competent engineer. The readers of the *Novascotian* were informed that a greater part of the £300 needed had already been subscribed. Moreover, a resolution had been moved in the Legislature that the colonial government provide a grant. Eventually the resolution was defeated, after an apparently heated debate. Howe referred to a “personal contest between two members of

the Assembly which seems to have arisen out of words spoken in the Rail Road Debate." As for those who opposed the railroad, Howe declared that they had a right to vote as they had, but that he would take another opportunity to promote the cause, being convinced that the railway would sooner or later be built.

By mid-May Howe was clearly on the defensive. He informed the public, through the *Novascotian*, that if it could be shown that the work could not be done, that it would not pay if it were, that it was too soon to begin collecting information, and that it would be time enough to talk about it in ten years time, then he would be satisfied. He would hold his peace for ten years. Until then he would "continue to trouble the waters, until, from the depositories of truth which are said to be at the bottom, something like conviction rises to the surface."

True to his word, Howe continued to present Nova Scotians with information on railways, including letters against his proposals, as well as favourable ones. On 1 June 1836 he published a letter suggesting that a railway to Pictou would be both technically feasible, and profitable as well. On 15 June he published a letter condemning interest in the Windsor railway as a delirium. The author accused Howe of having neglected to keep the "mental pestilence" away from Nova Scotia's borders, and suggested that Howe was leading Haligonians into a "feverish excitement, by dinging the story of making a Rail Road from Halifax to Windsor in their ears. I tell you, Mr. Editor, you will make them crazy—you will bring us into a national state of insanity."

It is doubtful if Howe took the writer's advice seriously, but the mounting weight of criticism left its mark and Howe gradually set railways aside for politics. Not until the autumn of 1845 does there appear to have been a substantial revival of public interest in railways in Nova Scotia. At that time Howe was waging vigorous political warfare against the Tories, and feelings were running high. In a foray to Amherst in 1844 Howe was greeted by placards calling for him to be tarred and feathered. Not one to hide from a fight, Howe mentioned the placards at the meeting, and dared the individual who prepared



them to lay a finger on him, alone, and unarmed, in the street. Howe then allegedly declared that he would tar and feather the man if he ever set foot in Halifax, and suspend him in a basket from the lamp post at Province Building.<sup>5</sup>

At first Howe seems to have ignored the revival of interest in railways, but on 29 September 1845, almost ten years to the day after his first call for a Halifax-Windsor railway, Howe was goaded into joining the new debate. When the *Acadian Recorder* expressed concern at the apathy of Haligonians, Howe retorted that he had not been idle. He had been waiting to see how the project would be received. From that point on Howe became more actively involved. In November he attended a Halifax meeting called to discuss a proposed Halifax-Quebec railway. Before he could leave the meeting he was appointed to a committee set up to respond to the proposition.

Before the end of 1845 there were also renewed proposals for a Halifax-Windsor railway, and Howe was again involved. He attended a meeting in Halifax on the subject in mid-December, spoke of his earlier enthusiasm for the project, and remarked that he now considered it a mere question of time before the railway was built. Shortly afterwards there was a meeting at Windsor to discuss the proposal, and objections or at least doubts were raised. Subsequently, Howe's paper denounced those who had obstructed the proceedings. In an editorial very likely written by Howe, the paper declared that:

though sufficiently disgusted with the obliquity of vision shown by many who have kept away from this meeting, and (by) the maudlin inebriety of some who attended, for the credit of the community—for the advancement of a design in which we have ever taken a deep interest—nay, from very shame at the spectacle which our political opponents, whether present or absent, exhibited, we refrain from any comments, and published our Reporter's outline of the proceedings, without any desire to add one word distasteful to any human being.

Having whetted the reader's appetite, Howe soon elaborated on the incident at Windsor, and used it to issue a warning about the partisan nature of criticism of the project.

The *Novascotian* stated that most Tories in the Windsor area had stayed away from the meeting, but had sent a half-dozen rowdies, some of them helplessly drunk. Out of an apparent belief that the project required broadly-based support for success, or perhaps in an effort to blame the Conservatives if it failed, Howe advised Liberals not to proceed a step further, "until the Conservatives, whose property is to be largely benefitted, frankly tender their cooperation. If they hold back, then throw the work upon their hands, and let them bear the consequences of their own folly."

Progress was halting at times, as backers of the Windsor line, including Howe himself, were occasionally distracted by glimmers of hope for a line to Quebec. In 1848, with a survey of a proposed route to Quebec completed, the Nova Scotia legislature pledged its support for the venture. The scheme sputtered along for several years before it became apparent that fulfillment was far in the future. In the meantime Howe kept returning to the Windsor railway. He suggested that the government undertake the project, and anticipated and countered a number of objections. To the opponents of government operation Howe pointed out that highways, lighthouses and the post office were all public enterprises and that no one suggested that they should have waited for private enterprise to become interested. To the argument that government should not tax prosperity, Howe stated:

I believe that legislators have no right to tax posterity for extravagance, for high salaries, for foreign and aggressive wars. But we are the trustees of the people, and as no farmer would hesitate to mortgage his farm to drain or improve it, so it is our duty not to hesitate to use the credit as well as the capital of Nova Scotia to build what will make it more valuable for all time to come.<sup>6</sup>

Howe's enthusiasm for the railway reveals much about the basic forces which inspired him. On one occasion in the early 1850's Howe visited Boston to participate in a three-day celebration marking the completion of railway communication with the west, and communication with Europe. What he saw



made Howe yearn for similar accomplishments for his native province. In a speech he made during his visit Howe stated that he "marked the thronged streets in which the citizens of Boston conduct their profitable commerce, and observed the praiseworthy evidences of the skill and ingenuity of your mechanics." Then, echoing the sentiments of the Loyalist under Edward Winslow, who had declared in 1784 that "we will be the envy of the American States," Howe stated: "I hope, sir, that many years will not pass away before you are invited to a railway celebration on British soil, and this I promise you, that when that day comes, even if our railroads should not be as long as yours, the festival shall be as long and the welcome as cordial."<sup>7</sup>

Finally, in 1854 Howe obtained the government support he needed, and the construction of the line to Windsor began, with Howe as Chairman of the Railway Commission. The construction and its effect on the province is a story in its own right. Although it caused Howe some grief, it would not be unreasonable to sum up Howe's involvement as energetic, efficient, and honest. His energy awed the Governor of Nova Scotia, if Howe was accurate when he noted in a letter: "The Governor swears that I would undertake the building of a Line of Battle Ship, and lay the keel in 24 hours. Perhaps I would if she was wanted to defend Nova Scotia, for whose sake I do not know the thing I would not attempt at all events." As for his efficiency, Howe opened the first section of railway within a year, and completed the line in 1858. As for his honesty, it is notable that the scandals which plagued railway ventures in other British North American colonies were absent from Nova Scotia while Howe was railway commissioner. Lacking any evidence of wrong-doing, Howe's critics could only charge him with spending the province into bankruptcy. To this charge Howe responded with the story of the girl at a boarding school who returned from a party with her dress soiled. Leaping to conclusions, the matron told her that she was ruined. The girl replied that if she had been ruined, she would like to be ruined that way every night. To judge from the esteem most Nova Scotians had for Howe, it would appear that they did not feel that he had ruined the province.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Joseph Howe, **Western and Eastern Rambles. Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia**, M. G. Parks, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 160, 161.
2. **Novascotian**, 15 October 1835.
3. **Acadian Recorder**, 31 October 1836.
4. "Recollections of Nova-Scotia," No. 7 **Novascotian**, 5 November 1835.
5. **Novascotian**, 21 October 1844.
6. Joseph A. Chisholm, **The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe** (Halifax: Chronicle Publishing Co., 1909), 87, 88.
7. D. C. Harvey, **Heart of Howe** (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939), 151.

# *Marriage Patterns Among Early Quakers*

JANE KEYES

In the city of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia there is an almost-200-year-old Quaker Meeting House preserved by the local historical society as a tourist attraction. During summers, guides are even dressed as Quakers purportedly once did. Late in the eighteenth century, a small Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) had been established in Dartmouth, but before 1800 had dawned, that particular Meeting was gone, and only its House remained.

Being a Quaker sociologist who now lives in Halifax, I wondered what had caused those forebearers to abandon their toehold in the Maritimes. Through various connections I was given the Minutes of the Dartmouth Friends Meetings for Business, as copied from a set now held by the Nantucket (Massachusetts) Friends Meeting.

Upon persual of these Minutes, it became clear to me that perhaps one reason affecting the flickering out of the Dartmouth group was their unduly strict attitude toward members who married out of the Meeting. The Minutes are very sketchy and a little bit puzzling; but some surmises can be made.

## **Quakers in Nova Scotia**

The mainstream of Quaker immigration to this country was a result of the American Revolution when, because of both their pacifism and loyalty to England, many members of the Society of Friends relocated on the frontiers of Upper Canada. Nova Scotia settlements are a notable addendum to the history of the Society of Friends in Canada, because this province is the one chosen by the earliest Quakers to live in Canada, and because the reason they did so differed from Friends who crossed the border elsewhere and later. Economic attractions rather than political repulsion brought Quakers to Nova Scotia—it was located closer to the fishing grounds which supplied their livelihood.

The earliest Friends settlement was in Barrington Township, when a group from Nantucket attempted to begin a colony in 1762. After fourteen years the effort was abandoned and the Barrington Friends returned to Massachusetts.

Dartmouth Quakers, like their Barrington predecessors, came from Nantucket. Governor Parr of Nova Scotia hoped to encourage population growth and community stability by providing the hard-working Quaker fisherman with land and funds. With the financial help of the government and the encouragement of Nantucket Friends, a small Quaker settlement was begun in Dartmouth, in 1786. It was no more enduring than the first Quaker group in Nova Scotia. Although individuals remained in the area, the Friends Meeting existed only until 1798, after which most of the settlers left Dartmouth and returned to Nantucket.

## **Quaker Customs**

The Friends Meeting for Worship forms an essential core of the life of any Quaker community. Friends believe that each individual has something divine within him, consequently there is no need for a separate clergy to interpret or explain the word of God. Each individual can communicate directly with the Divine Spirit. Worship itself is based on silent meditation, which is enriched by individuals speaking what they feel to be divine



truths. The business of the Religious Society of Friends is carried out with the same principles, with one member of the group being chosen as Clerk to preside over the meetings. Decisions are reached only when the group has consensus so as not to overwhelm or deny any opinion. Both the Meeting for Worship and the Monthly Meeting for Business figure in Quaker marriage customs.

A community Friends Meeting, combining both worship and business, can create an extension when it is willing to take responsibility for a group of Friends in an area where no Meeting exists. The Dartmouth meeting, called a Preparative Meeting in Quaker usage, was such an offshoot of the Friends Meeting in Nantucket. Friends there provided spiritual support and guidance as well as practical encouragement and advice to the Dartmouth group. Visitation back and forth was encouraged for religious growth and development. Dartmouth Friends were not left isolated from external Quaker contacts, but kept in close touch with Nantucket Meeting and through it the larger community of Friends.

The marriage customs among the Society of Friends have remained the same from its earliest days to the present, and the practices of the early Dartmouth Quakers are not unique to either them or that period.

The first step in arranging a Quaker wedding is that the couple announce their intentions to marry each other to a Meeting for Business. The Meeting requires the consent of both sets of parents, regardless of the age of the couple. After this, a committee of overseers are appointed, usually two of each sex, to speak to the couple and determine their "clearness" (to use the language of Friends) from other relationships and the realistic consideration given to marriage by the couple. At the next Monthly Meeting, the overseers reported. If the Meeting consents to the marriage, a date for it is determined. Marriages can take place either in the regular Meeting for Worship or in special meetings held for that particular purpose.

At the actual ceremony, the bride and groom usually sit facing the rest of the gathering. A man and a woman marry each

other, without the assistance of any ordained clergy, by repeating their marriage vows to one another. Once the Meeting for Worship is over, all present sign a marriage certificate. This becomes the property of the couple and is copied into the official meeting records thereby providing Quaker and social recognition of the marriage.

### **Marriage Among Dartmouth Quakers**

The Society of Friends, like many other religious denominations, originally believed that members should marry within their own faith in order to protect the group from losing its uniqueness by contact with the outside world and for the individual to prevent conflict and tension in the marriage. Concern with what the Quakers called "unity" in marriage (or what sociologists call endogamy or most people call marriage within your own faith) was dominant in colonial America. Marriage out of unity (or mixed religious marriage) was the most frequent offence for which Quakers were disowned or thrown out of their meetings. (Frost: 159—In earlier times Friends were disowned for a variety of acts which violated Quaker principles. Nowadays such "excommunication" almost never occurs.) In Pennsylvania, for example, the most heavily Quaker of all the colonies, the number of disownments for mixed marriages was negligible before 1700, and grew from 228 in the 1740s to 748 in the 1760s. (Marietta quoted in Frost: 159) Quakers were not tolerant of these mixed marriages, although after 1750, according to Frost, there was a practice of accepting back into membership those marrying outside the Society who had repented of the violation of Quaker procedure. The out-marrying individual was not considered culpable for having married a non-Friend, but for deviating from the procedures of the Society.

In the period from 1786 when the meeting began until 1798 when the minutes abruptly ended, there were 10 marriages involving members of the fledgling Dartmouth meetings. Vital information on these marriages is listed below:

Groom	Bride	Date of Marriage
? Swain	Mary Foster	Prior to 28 Sept. 1789
Edmund Macy	Suzanna Coleman	1 January 1790
Paul Worth	Phebe Barnard	9 Sept., 1790
Isaac Coffin	Margaret Swain	Prior to 8 Mar. 1792
? Greene	Lydia Coffin	Prior to 8 Mar. 1792
Benjamin Coffin	Mary Paddack	Prior to 9 Aug. 1792
? Allen	Rebecca Coleman	Prior to 30 May, 1793
John Brown Coleman	Elizabeth Coffin	28 Sept. 1789 (sic - really 1794)
? Collins	Phebe Coffin	Prior to 22 May, 1794
William Paddack	Elizabeth Coleman	5 Nov., 1795

Of the ten marriages within the Dartmouth Quaker group during its existence, only four were completely satisfactory from a purist Quaker point of view. These four marriages were all between members of the Society of Friends and followed the given procedure. There are the ones listed with precise dates above, namely the marriage between Edmund Macy and Susanna Coleman; Paul Worth and Phebe Barnard; John Brown Coleman and Elizabeth Coffin; and William Paddack and Elizabeth Coleman.

The minutes of the Dartmouth Preparative Meeting carefully document the steps these couples took en route to marriage much as described above. A copy of the actual wedding certificate complete with signatures is included. The entry following that is usually an account that the marriage had taken place in accordance with the procedures of Friends.

It is the other six marriages which make the reader of the minutes wonder what the implications were for the couples—and the Meeting. Of course the Minutes are rather dry and dull and give very little feeling for any of the people concerned. Two of these six were marriages between two members of the Meeting but in each case these couples (Isaac Coffin and Margaret Swain; Benjamin Coffin and Mary Paddack) did not follow the



procedure of Friends. The minutes report in both cases that the couples were married by a "priest" (a term of derision among Friends for any ordained clergy).

The remaining four marriages were between one member of the Meeting and a non-member. In all of these weddings, the bride was Quaker, her groom was not. All of these marriages took place outside the Meeting but the fact that they did occur is noted in the Minutes. In fact, in all six cases, the Minutes record the marriages with sorrow indicating regret rather than anger.

With two exceptions, nothing is known about whether any of these individuals were ever again involved in the Friends Meeting. These two exceptions are a certain Mary Foster Swain and Phebe Coffin Collins. Mary Foster Swain's marriage was the first recorded in the Minutes and the Meeting's treatment of her was in accord with Frost's suggestion of tolerance of mixed marriages. The Minutes record

"We had a solid satisfactory opportunity with Mary Foster respecting her going out in Marriage and believe that her acknowledgement to Friends proceeded from true conviction and think it may be safe for the meeting to continue her in membership."(SIC)

Phebe Coffin Collins, however, did not receive a continuation of her membership because of having married out of meeting. Nothing specific is mentioned about any of the others.

Although the Meeting documents give so little information on these marriages, there are two distinct categories. The first is marriages of a Quaker to another Quaker but outside the practices of the Society of Friends, as occurred twice in the short history of the Dartmouth Meeting. The second is a marriage between a Quaker and non-Quaker. Both warrant brief comment.

### **Marriage Inside or Outside One's Group?**

Sociologists use the term endogamy to refer to marriage within a particular group, be it religion, nationality, race or whatever. Exogamy is marriage outside the group.



Contemporary family sociologists see two conflicting, though not necessarily contradictory trends at work. The first is the increasing rate of religious intermarriage probably because of the diminishing influence of religious identity. The second trend is the essential continuous strength of religion as a factor in mate selection, so that religion is second only to race as an endogamous factor. Both positions depend in part on the salience of religion as a factor in shaping behavior in contemporary society.

Marriage patterns of the early Quakers in Nova Scotia illustrate these considerations, with consequences not only for Quakers but for other small religious groups. First for the case of the marriages of two Quakers to each other. It is probably safe to conclude that the reason these couples married outside the Meeting was not due to rejection by the Meeting of their request. If the Meeting had been asked, the request would have been mentioned in the Minutes, but was not. Therefore it was not made, possibly because the couples knew they could not meet the requirements of Friends. (As mentioned previously these were: no entanglement in other relationships, parental consent, and time for adequate consideration). We will never know precisely why these two couples married as they did, but we can still suggest reasons for their actions. We may assume parental consent would not have been a problem, since it is unlikely that one set of Quaker parents would legitimately withhold this from offspring marrying with the Society. The two factors left are time, and other relationships. Of these probably time would have been crucial. Possibly demands of work made an immediate marriage desirable since a sea-faring Quaker might want to settle his bride before departing. Possibly the decision to wed was spontaneous and there was no desire to wait. Perhaps there was a romance on the rebound. Pre-marital pregnancy might have been involved, or, possibly a couple or individual were seeking a way out of a stressful home environment or away from the social control which the Society of Friends exercised over its members. The consequence for the Dartmouth Friends was a loss of two potential family groups to other denominations.

In the cases of the marriages between a Quaker and non-Quaker, the superficial explanation for the lack of involvement of the Friends Meeting is easier to see. Clearly in a situation of a minority religious group, the Quaker marrying the non-Quaker was likely to take on the dominant religion. This was particularly true in marriages where the woman Quaker married a male non-Friend—as in the four cases at hand. Why did these four women choose marriage to a non-Friend when it meant breaking ties with their own religious community? One factor historically was the number of potential partners in one's own religious group. Many studies footnote have shown that as the percentage of a religious group in the total population increase, the percentage of interreligious marriages decreases. There are more Jewish (or Catholic) intermarriages in an area of few Jews (or Catholics) than in an area of a large number of each group. So it was with Friends. Probably there were so few potential partners within the Friends group that none seemed desirable as a mate. Possibly one reason it was only women who married outside the group was that Quaker men found it easier to travel (and hence meet other Quaker women) or postpone marriage. And obviously, some of the factors which influenced Friends to marry each other outside of Meeting may have had a role to play in Friends marrying non-Friends.

Certainly in both types of exogamous marriages, the Society of Friends, based on the available evidence, does not seem to have encouraged these members to remain involved with the Society. This resulted in a loss for the Society of individuals who might have provided new generation of young people for the group.

### **Mixed Marriage and the Fate of the Dartmouth Quakers**

Three fairly obvious conclusions can be drawn, I think, based on the sketchy evidence of the early Dartmouth Quakers. First, that religiously endogamous marriages while desirable for a group wishing to preserve its homogeneity, are impossible when suitable partners are not readily available. Second, that frequently and in a very practical way, the urge to marry

transcends the barriers of religious dogmatism, even at times in history when religious values were far more influential than in contemporary society. And third, that the consequences feared by the Society of Friends (and other religious groups both historic and contemporary) from exogamous marriages caused this, or whether it followed from the way in which the group treated the errant newlyweds is unclear. By denying membership to out-marrying individuals, the Dartmouth Friends Meeting may have been equally responsible for speeding its own demise. When most of its members left Nova Scotia to return to Nantucket, those who remained were not involved enough or interested enough to continue a formal Meeting and the Society of Friends ceased to exist in the province. It was not until over 150 years later that another Friends Meeting was begun in the Halifax-Dartmouth metropolitan area and not until 1975 that a marriage following the procedure of Friends took place in Nova Scotia.

review of court martials for desertion at Halifax, St. Johns, Newfoundland and Bermuda from 1782 to 1814 shows 101 men were tried for that offence, of which 74 were at Halifax. Despite the most severe punishment of flogging and sometimes even death, the loss by desertion went on. Just what percentage the 74 was of the total that got away is not known, and it is now well nigh impossible to find out.

On the North America Station any ship that was in the vicinity of the American shore was quite likely to have men who would try to desert. In 1809 good seamen at Boston were being paid \$40.00 per month, and there were always berths for British seamen. This was the bait held out to the ship's company of H. M. Sloop *Columbine* in the summer of 1809.

H. M. Sloop *Columbine* was built by Adams of Bucklers Hard on the Beaulieu River, being launched on 16 July 1805. She was rigged as a brig with an armament of 16 32pdr. carronades and 2 6pdr. long guns. The authorized complement was 121. She sailed from Spithead for North America on 26 November 1806, returning to Spithead on 9 February 1810, and was eventually lost off Sapienza Island on 25 January 1824. In July 1809 out of a ship's company of 103 borne, 57 were pressed men and 7 were American born.

One of the duties of H.M. ships on the North American Station was providing the escort for merchant vessels. Various rendez-vous were established where they could gather and be met by the men of war who were to act as their escort. In most cases this consisted of one or two ships. For vessels bound for the West Indies from ports in the Bay of Fundy, Harbour de Lute on the west coast of Campobello Island was used. It is about one mile from the American shore and a great source of temptation to any seaman thinking of deserting.

H.M. Sloop *Columbine*, 18, Captain George Hills, R. N. was ordered to act as the escort for any vessels bound for the West Indies from Bay of Fundy ports in July 1809. She arrived at Harbour de Lute on 3 July and found an empty anchorage. There were no vessels waiting for a convoy.



On the night of 4 July 6 men deserted including the 2 gangway sentries. They were fired on, and Captain Hills was under the impression that some were killed or drowned. In fact they all got away to the American shore near East Port on Moose Island. The following day 13 seamen and 3 marines deserted by cutting away the jolly boat which was lying astern. Two cutters, manned and armed were sent in chase, but the jolly boat escaped. According to the *Columbine's* Muster List 26 men were shown as RUN (deserted) on 6 July 1809.<sup>6</sup> This included one able seaman, 14 ordinary seamen, 5 landsmen, 2 boys, one "cap force", and 3 marines.

On 5 July Captain Hills wrote to the magistrate at East Port to ask for his help in recovering the deserters, and to the British Consul at Boston to inform him of what had happened.<sup>7</sup> Mr. John Burgin, the magistrate replied that he thought the deserters had gone "to the westward," but that he would help if possible.

Captain Hills decided to shift his berth to an anchorage below St. Andrews on 7 July. Here he could be in a position to stop merchant vessels and press the men he needed to replace the deserters. This he did on 13 July when he sent his boats on the Impress Service. They returned with 16 men. Three days later the jolly boat with an officer and crew and 4 pressed men was sent to collect their wages and clothing. According to the *Columbine's* log for 16 July, "at 4 pm saw the Jolly Boat with the impress men and crew (7 in number) making their escape to the American shore, and a strange boat with the officer in chace of them. Sent the cutter in chace, fired several shots at the Jolly boat without effect."<sup>9</sup> The boats returned the following day, 17 July, having failed to catch the deserters who made their escape.

On 1 August 1809 Captain Hills was made aware of a plot by the major part of the ship's company to kill all the officers, seize the boats and escape to the American shore. In his letter from Saint John, New Brunswick on 11 August to the Commander in Chief at Halifax, Vice Admiral of the White, the Rt. Hon. Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart., K.B., Captain Hills stated, "I am concerned to say that the Boatswain and Carpenter are at the head of the Mutineers—the former I have in

confinement, the latter is not aware of his conduct been known to me—in fact Sir there does not appear to be ten exceptions throughout the ships company—they appear to have been led by three French black men; and had laid their plans to put myself and Officers to death and then take the boats and go to the American shore—this intention was fortunately made known to me about half an hour previous to the time the attempt was to have been made.”<sup>10</sup> On 1 August Captain Hills discovered that Henry Lloyd was one of the ringleaders in the planned mutiny. He was age 44, born in Philadelphia and had joined the *Coumbine* on 13 August 1806. According to Captain Hills, he ordered Lloyd to come on deck which he refused to do. Hills thereupon shot him dead. The only mention of this incident was in Hill’s letter to the Commander in Chief,<sup>11</sup> and in the Muster List where Lloyd is shown as D. D. (discharged dead) on 1 August, “shot in the act of mutiny.” Life was cheap in 1809.

On 1 August the *Columbine* weighed her anchor and proceeded to Indian Town. The following day she moved on to East Port, and on 3 August finally came to an anchor at Saint John, New Brunswick. Owing to the apparently mutinous state of the ship’s company it is a wonder that Captain Hills was able to get his ship to a safe anchorage. As only 4 of his marines were not implicated in the attempted mutiny he wrote to Major General Martin Hunter at Saint John to ask for a party of soldiers to act as marines during the passage to Halifax. Major General Hunter belonged to the New Brunswick Fencible Infantry and was the Administrator under Sir Guy Carleton, the Governor. Hill’s request was refused, but a party of 27 New Brunswick Fencibles was sent onboard to act as marines while the ship was in harbour. On 5 August 7 Royal Artillerymen also joined to act as marines. On this day 3 of the alleged mutineers were discharged to H.M. Schooner *Mullet* for passage to Halifax. She did not sail until the 12th. On the 19th, 4 of the New Brunswick Fencibles were discharged, followed two days later by all the artillerymen.

Captain Hills was much relieved when H.M. Sloop *Observateur*, 18, Commander Richard Smith, R.N., arrived

from Halifax with 22 marines on the 26th. Hills then discharged the remaining New Brunswick Fencibles and also sent 10 seamen and 3 marines, alleged mutineers, to the *Observateur*. Amongst those still onboard the *Columbine* were the Boatswain, the Carpenter, the Cook, 11 seamen and the Pilot.

The *Columbine* weighed her anchor and proceeded to sea with the *Observateur* in company on Monday, 28 August. Once clear of the harbour they ran into thick fog and anchored. The following morning it being clear both ships weighed their anchors and proceeded, arriving at Halifax on Saturday afternoon, 2 September.

On Tuesday morning, 5 September, the *Columbine* answered a signal for a court martial onboard HMS Pompee, 74, Captain George Cockburn, R.N. This was the firing of one gun and the hoisting of the Union Flag at the mizzen peak. The evidences (presumably witnesses) and the following alleged mutineers were sent to the *Pompee*:-

**Mr. William Coates**, Boatswain, charged with "repeated drunkenness between 5th of May and 30th of June 1809, both days included, and for being present while under arrest at several mutinous assemblies between 5th July and 1st August, and for concealing mutinous designs."<sup>12</sup> Articles of War of 1749, Sections 2, 19 & 20.

**Mr. Alexander Gilmore**, Carpenter, charged with being drunk on 4 July 1809, and for being present at several mutinous assemblies and for concealing mutinous designs."<sup>13</sup> Articles of War of 1749, Sections 2, 19 & 20.

**Mr. Joseph McPherson**, Cook, **Mr. Richard Norris**, Pilot, 11 seamen and 3 marines, charged with "making several mutinous assemblies, and uttering words of sedition and mutiny, and endeavouring to persuade the Ship's Company to rise on Captain George Hills and the Officers of the *Columbine*, and disposes them of their Command and Authority in the said Sloop, and to take away the Boats and desert to the American shore."<sup>14</sup> Articles of War of 1749, Sections 19 & 20.

The accused and the witnesses returned onboard the *Columbine* three days later. On the afternoon of Wednesday, 13



September sentence was passed on the prisoners as follows:-

Mr. William Coates, Boatswain.	Death.
Mr. Alexander Gilmore, Carpenter	Banished for 14 years in irons as a convict.
Mr. Joseph McPherson, Cook.	Banished for 14 years in irons as a convict.
Mr. Richard Norris, Pilot	3 months solitary confinement, and never again to be employed as a pilot in H.M. Service.
Pierre Francoise, Seaman.	Death, sentence remitted.
*Jacque L'Oiseau, Seaman.	Death.
*Alexander McKinley, Seaman.	Death.
*William Stock, Seaman.	Death.
James Jackson, Seaman.	500 lashes and banished for 7 years in irons as a convict.
Edward Coughlan, Seaman.	300 lashes and banished for 7 years in irons as a convict.
Thomas Herne, Seaman.	500 lashes and banished for 7 years as a convict.
Richard Sheppard, Seaman	Admonished.
Nicholas Coriser, Seaman.	Admonished.
Joseph Garden, Seaman.	300 lashes and banished for 7 years in irons as a convict.
Thomas Kelly, Seaman.	300 lashes.
William McGarth, Seaman.	300 lashes.
Marinius Brookes, Seaman.	500 lashes.
William Selbourne, Seaman.	200 lashes.
*Edward Kelly, Marine.	Death.
Henry Coffee, Marine.	Death.
John Sheridan, Marine.	300 lashes and banished for 7 years in irons as a convict.

\*The bodies of Jacque L'Oiseau, Alexander McKinley, William Stock and Edward Kelly "were to be hung in chains in such conspicuous place as the Commander in chief shall think fit."<sup>15</sup> This was almost certainly Maughers Beach on the west side of McNabs Island and on the main shipping channel into Halifax Harbour.



The following 4 seamen were convicted by court martial onboard HMS *Pompee* in Halifax Harbour on 12 September 1809 of having attempted to desert from H.M. Sloop *Columbine* on 5 July 1809.<sup>16</sup> Articles of War of 1749, Section 16:-

John Hilch, Seaman.	150 lashes
150 lashes.	
John Kennedy, Seaman, American born.	300 lashes.
Jacob Smith, Seaman.	200 lashes.
James Gray, Seaman.	200 lashes.

The 6 men sentenced to death were visited constantly by the Rt. Rev. Edward Burke, Roman Catholic Bishop of Halifax, the Rev. Robert Stanser, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, and the Rev. George Wright, Garrison Chaplain. They attended these unfortunate men up to the point of execution.

On the 14th and 15th September, Mr. James Edwards, Master of H.M. Sloop *Columbine* was tried by court martial onboard H.M.S. *Milan*, 38, Captain Sir Richard Lawrie, Bart., R.N. in Halifax Harbour. He was charged with "leaving the Deck in his watch in the night of the 4th July last and for repeated drunkenness between the 4th July and the 8th July, both days included." Articles of War of 1749, Sections 2 & 27. The first charge was proved, the second in part proved. He was sentenced to be dismissed from his situation as Master in His Majesty's Service and to serve in such situation in his Majesty's Navy as the Commander in Chief shall think fit.<sup>17</sup>

The Commander in Chief in his letter to the Admiralty dated 14 September 1809, reporting the desertion of 22 of the *Columbine's* ship's company and the discovery of a planned mutiny, stated that it was his intention "to cause the sentence of death to be carried into execution on the Boatswain and five others."<sup>18</sup>

By the 15th September the morale of those onboard the *Columbine* must have been very low. There had been a steady succession of court martials with all the attendant anguish and mental stress, but the sorry tale of her misfortune was not yet ended. It was the custom that men sentenced to death should be

executed onboard the ship in which the offence was committed. An entry in the *Columbine's* log for Sunday, 17 September reads, "AM. Carpenters employed erecting a scaffold for execution."<sup>19</sup> This was followed on Monday, 18 September by the following entries, "Answered Signal 257 by a Yellow Flag."<sup>20</sup> At 8.10 executed Mr. William Coates, Boatswain, Alexander McKinley, William Stock and Jacque L'Oiseau (Seamen), Edward Kelly and Henry Coffee, Marines for mutiny, being condemned by sentence of court martial. 9.10 sent the bodies of William Coates and Henry Coffee to the Hospital."<sup>21</sup> It is not known where their remains were buried. Possibly they found a resting place in the naval cemetery. On Tuesday 19 September the bodies of Alexander McKinley, Willaim Stock, Jacque L'Oiseau and Edward Kelly were sent ashore to be hung in chains, presumably on Maughers Beach. One can assume that in due course their remains were buried somewhere in the vicinity, near those other unfortunates who ended up in chains on the gibbets that marked that dreadful place.

The final chapter in this sorry account of attempted mutiny and death was written on the morning of Wednesday, 20 September. The *Columbine's* log tells the story:-

"AM Sent a boat manned and armed onboard the *Penelope* to attend Punishment. (HMS Penlope, 38, Captain John Dick, R.N.).

At 5.50 answered signal 257 from *Penelope*. 7 came alongside a launch with the Prisoners J. Jackson (500 lashes) and Thomas Herne (500 lashes) seaman. Punished them with 40 Lashes each per sentence of court martial. At 7.40 came alongside a launch from the *Pompee* with the Prisoners Joseph Garden (300 lashes) and Edward Coughlan (300 lashes) seamen and Jno. Sheridan (300 lashes) marine. Punished them with 24 lashes each by Sentence of Court Martial."<sup>22</sup> The following day these 5 men were discharged to the naval hospital.

The punishment inflicted on these men was what was known as "flogging round the fleet." An examination of the logs of the other of H.M. ships in Halifax Harbour on this day will

most probably contain similar entries as that for H.M. Sloop *Columbine* on Wednesday, 20 September 1809.

The carpenter, the cook and the 5 men sentenced to transportation were sent back to England in HMS *Squirrel* to be disposed of "as my Lords may think proper further to direct."<sup>23</sup> Mr. Gilmore, the Carpenter and Mr. McPherson, the Cook were discharged to HMS *Royal William* on 28 November 1809. On 20 January 1810 Gilmore joined HMS *Hope* an able seaman and apparently was never transported. McPherson was discharged from the *Royal William* on 7 March 1810 as unserviceable and seems to have escaped his sentence of transportation. History does not tell us what happened to the other 5 men.

A fearsome example had been made of those who attempted to desert or take part in a mutiny: Justice was swift and certain. There were no more court martials for mutiny or desertion in Halifax Harbour until 17 September 1810. The harbour has witnessed many scenes over the years, but none so disturbing and fearful as the public execution of six men at one time on the morning of Monday, 18 September 1809.

## ABBREVIATIONS

PRO — Public Record Office.  
ADM — Admiralty.  
NMM — National Maritime Museum.

## REFERENCES

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6. PRO, ADM 37/1098.
7. PRO, ADM 1/499, pp 217, 219.
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9. PRO, ADM 51/2227.
10. PRO, ADM 1/499, p 212.
11. **Ibid.**
12. PRO, ADM 1/5399 - August - September 1809.
13. **Ibid.**
14. **Ibid.**
15. **Ibid.**
16. **Ibid.**
17. **Ibid.**
18. PRO, ADM 1/499, p 208.
19. PRO, ADM 51/2227.
20. NMM, "In the General Signal Book signal 257 signifies, a boat from each ship is to be sent to attend a punishment to be inflicted."
21. PRO, ADM 51/2227.
22. **Ibid.**
23. PRO, ADM 1/499, p. 208.



## *Loyalists are Stuffy, eh?*

T. M. PUNCH

Have you ever reached the point when you have started wishing that Loyalists had been ordinary mortals? Have you spent years having to grin and bear with the tales of heroic Loyalists who were human paragons? You know the type. They lost their vast plantations and thousands in money through their single-hearted true blue devotion to the loyal royal cause. A few of the wealthy and powerful among the Loyalists did get to Nova Scotia. Once here, they exerted their talents to make certain that they would soon be rich and mighty once again.

John M'Alpine was one Loyalist who did not rank among the great of the earth. He may have been a scallywag, a humbug, or even a barefaced cheat. You will have to judge that for yourselves. He was a Highlander who went home to Scotland in the middle of the American Revolution to publish a memoir which flattered neither side. A man who has four wives, paddles up rivers all night to escape those who wish to denounce him, and gains a reputation for striking his foes as readily as looking at them, does not seem like the dull plodders we meet in our history books. Johnnie M'Alpine was not a boring fellow. He was a man of action, the mercurial type of Scot: fiery and stubborn, independent and warm, and very very human withal.

His career falls logically into three phases. The first period is based upon his own showing, gathered from his published memoir. It is the story of a young Scottish immigrant caught up

in the American Revolution. Then followed the time when M'Alpine was discovering that the former settlers in Nova Scotia did not welcome Loyalists in their midst when the latter had official duties and tried to carry them out! Simeon Perkins is the leading witness to that part of our tale. Finally, we use a wide variety of sources to trace M'Alpine's career at Halifax, as he followed a dazzling variation of careers and expedients.

## I — REVOLUTION

Revolution is a strange thing. There are leaders and mobs of followers, some of whom believe in a cause, some who see a chance for improvement, and some who wish plunder and revenge. Others take no part in a revolution. Many of the men and women who were branded 'Tory' or Canonized as 'Loyalist' in the American Revolution were mere neutrals. Those who fought the revolution did so, often for the same reasons as John M'Alpine. It was self-defence, forced upon them by circumstances which they themselves did not understand, often against men whom they had considered friends. It gained the special bitterness that distinguishes civil wars. M'Alpine's account is no less interesting because it is partisan.

Written in 1779 or 1780, while the American Revolution was still unsettled, the account of M'Alpine's experiences has the advantage of being the contemporary evidence of an eye-witness to the events being described. On the other hand, we ought to be aware that M'Alpine, more than most people, had reasons why his version of occurrences reflected favourably upon himself. The principal motive for publication of his memoir was M'Alpine's desire, not for vindication, but for reimbursement for his losses. The reader is advised to bear this in mind while pursuing what M'Alpine has to tell us.

In May 1773 John M'Alpine, then aged about twenty-five, brought his wife, Jane from Scotland to settle in the colony of New York. Upon arrival in the New World, he bought 600 acres of uncultured land from Colonel Reid, and moved upcountry to take possession. There was no official Vermont then, and there

was bad blood between New Hampshire and New York about the territory situated between them near Lake Champlain. Poor M'Alpine did not know that, apparently, until a group calling themselves 'the Green Mountain Boys', from New Hampshire arrived and dispossessed him before ever he had properly settled.

Soon afterwards, in November, M'Alpine moved to fifty acres in Major Allan Campbell's district, which was only four miles from Crown Point, and presumably within reach of protection. There, on 31 December 1773, his son, John, was born. There also M'Alpine enjoyed thirty months of peace, almost the last he would have for many years. During this interval, the Highlander acquired some stock, cleared and planted several acres of land, and had the joy and the sorrow of the birth and early death of another infant.

One whom fate has marked out for a tumultuous life is usually not left alone for long. Some of the American colonists had reached the point of exasperation and a revolt was breaking out, almost piecemeal, against the British authority. M'Alpine, in common with most of the recently-arrived settlers from the homeland, was too busy making a home to be very active in the political broils of the more long-settled districts. Although born in Scotland, within easy living memory of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, M'Alpine probably shared the feeling of most people born in Britain that somehow the royal authority existed and was not something to be questioned by ordinary men such as M'Alpine, particularly when they were living miles upcountry among the forests and streams of northern New York, seeking to wrestle a livelihood out of the wilderness lands.

M'Alpine found out about the outbreak of the American Revolution in May 1776 when a party of American stragglers attacked and arrested him. Twice again that year hostile mobs carried him off, but on each occasion he was released. In the autumn he went to Ticonderoga to purchase supplies for the winter, but he found that the Americans there would not sell him provisions. After having thoroughly reconnoitered the place, M'Alpine waited for nightfall and slipped away quietly.

He had not travelled very far along the road when he caught up with two of his neighbors, neither of whom had much good to say for the British. The three of them stopped at an inn to dine. During the evening the landlady of the place managed to reveal to M'Alpine that his companions planned to denounce him as a Tory to the first armed body of Americans they should meet. For the second time in one evening M'Alpine was obliged to leave furtively. He fled in more urgency, the danger of arrest over him. He got hold of a raft. By paddling until the following afternoon, he managed to reach home safely.

Within days he heard a rumour in the neighbourhood that a British force, led by General Guy Carleton, would soon come by water down Lake Champlain from Canada. M'Alpine's excitement got the better of his caution. He took horse on the open road and set out to carry his intelligence about Ticonderoga to the British commander. Unfortunately, our hero galloped northwards into an American crowd which was in flight southwards before Carleton's advance. They pulled him from his horse and beat him. The American officer refused to call off his patriots. Instead he growled at M'Alpine, "Damn your blood, your friends are too near us; but they shant get you, for you shall have the pleasure or pain of accompanying me in my batteaux to Ticonderoga!" M'Alpine contented himself with the wry comment that "a colonel in command and a poor farmer, a prisoner, would not suit so well or comfortably in the same boat."<sup>1</sup> The colonel had his way, and M'Alpine was carried to Ticonderoga.

After a few days, he was released and returned home only to find that all of his cattle had been carried away or scattered in his absence. When an American party attempted to fire his house, M'Alpine fled in a canoe, paddling four miles in the dark to Carleton's flotilla. The general summoned the refugee at once. M'Alpine gave Carleton the disposition of the American forces and told him the sentiments of the district.

M'Alpine was engaged to procure and drive in cattle to supply the needs of Carleton's army. A certain friendly rivalry grew up between M'Alpine and some of the other leaders of



cattle raids to have the honour of passing the closest to American positions. Our hero admits that his "natural warmth" asserted itself when he led his party of Rangers and Canadians near the Americans.<sup>2</sup> They succeeded in avoiding incident and on one particular raid M'Alpine's party brought in 107 beef cattle to the British, then at Crown Point.

A sergeant and twelve men accompanied M'Alpine home and conveyed his wife and young son safely to Canada, within the British lines. At St. John, some of M'Alpine money was stolen by a party of British soldiers who were quite deep in drink. Having seen his family safe, M'Alpine agreed to convey a number of horses to General Phillips of the Artillery at Crown Point. M'Alpine was twice refused boats by British officers, and in the end he and his men had to swim the horses across to Crown Point.<sup>3</sup>

During the remainder of 1777, M'Alpine was kept busy in his post as assistant commissary of horse, at a payment of 10/6 Sterling per day. He delivered nearly two hundred horses to Ticonderoga, and successfully drove in beef cattle to the army. In the late summer, M'Alpine was supposed to take a party of American prisoners to make hay. At Ticonderoga, the British commissary engaged Alpine in a serious argument, during which the prisoners escaped in the boats on the shore in which M'Alpine's party was to have embarked.

M'Alpine was becoming increasingly disgruntled as autumn came on. The war was beginning to become prolonged, and his treatment by some of the British officers was irritating M'Alpine. The denouncement came in October 1777, when M'Alpine was told that General Burgoyne had paid a former rebel 500 guineas to be a messenger. M'Alpine felt that he, having been loyal to the Crown throughout the period, deserved at least equal treatment to that given a double traitor. Instead, when he was sent for by Burgoyne, they had a violent quarrel. M'Alpine commented, "I instantly withdrew, both parties much displeased, particularly me."<sup>4</sup>

The fiery Scot left the British camp late that night and swam his horse across two rivers. At five the next morning he had

reached Fort George, some thirty-four miles away. From there he was sent to Ticonderoga. He was there but a few days when word arrived of Burgoyne's stunning surrender at Saratoga.

Soon he was taken prisoner with his family by some Americans who took everything but the clothes off their backs. His wife and only surviving child were packed off to Canada with a party of returning Canadians, the Americans giving the forlorn little group two days' provisions for a six day trip. M'Alpine does not say so, but it seems possible that this was the last time he ever saw his first wife. He himself was conveyed to Bennington as a prisoner-of-war. When he refused to join the American side, M'Alpine was sent to Hartford, where he was released on parole not to take arms for the British. Through the cartel he ended up in New York, a British stronghold during the American Revolution.

At New York, M'Alpine made a friend and revived an enmity. He was next to destitute when he reached New York, and made the first of three agreements with the commissary, Francis Green, to furnish fuel to the British there.<sup>5</sup> Soon enough, there was trouble. M'Alpine found that the barrack master at New York was cramming 1,000 cords of wood in the carts so tightly that it was being measured in as 800 cords, when M'Alpine was paid for it. Who was getting the money for the balance, M'Alpine could only suspect. However, the other supplier was one Francis Clark, once in the service of General Burgoyne.

There was a quarrel between M'Alpine and Clark in 1779 and the former tried to deliver his wood directly to New York. Americans put out from the Connecticut shore opposite that part of Long Island and captured two of M'Alpine's boats. He pursued the rebels on shore at Greenwich and captured eight of them, whom he brought back with him to Long Island. A brief period of calm followed, and since M'Alpine says so little about it in his memoir, we may take it that he was for the moment getting along with everyone.

Soon there was a crisis in the fuel supply at New York City. It was scarce and M'Alpine tried to supply the city and was prevented from doing so. He was quick to announce that the

problem was a false panic brought about by Gilbert Wauch, whom he denounced as a bankrupt banker from Edinburgh.<sup>6</sup> Wauch ordered M'Alpine to get his animals off certain property on Long Island. M'Alpine went to Col. Clark and had a bitter quarrel. Wauch and Clark attempted to get John to throw in his lot with them. He refused scornfully to become enmeshed in their schemes.

M'Alpine fell seriously ill in the late summer of 1779. Wauch went out of his way to treat him badly, and M'Alpine was loud in opinion of "Bashaw Wauch".<sup>7</sup> M'Alpine took himself off to Long Island, where a raiding party of Connecticut men attacked his place. He himself only escaped bodily harm or worse by hiding under some hay which had been cunningly piled up in an outhouse. When he managed to get away to New York, M'Alpine asked General James Pattison, commandant of the British forces, for some reparation of the goods which had been plundered from him by Wauch and Clark. Pattison, evidently in the awkward position of trying to keep everyone happy in a ticklish situation, tried the sensible course of arranging a compromise. This pleased no one, and M'Alpine felt it was the last straw.

Within a few weeks, M'Alpine had made up his mind that he would have to go to the homeland if he was to find the redress he felt that he deserved. On 23 December 1779, M'Alpine sailed for England on the "Houghton", which brought him safely to Milford Haven, Wales, within a month. From there he proceeded to the capital, London. He was asked to draw up an exact account of what he felt he had owing to him, and the circumstances under which he had lost or had stolen from him his valuable property. It is unclear whether his published memoir of 1780 is the account he submitted to the authorities or whether it represents an attempt to publicize his grievances in order to embarrass the government into buying his silence through a settlement.

From Edinburgh, Scotland, M'Alpine published his narrative of sixty-seven pages in 1780. The sting in his narrative comes at the tail. The last three pages are a statement of what he



felt was owing him for his losses, services rendered, and to repay the damages done to him by Wauch and Clark. The arithmetic is appalling, and the figures outrageously inflated. M'Alpine's claim totalled the large sum of £5,009., quite a tidy fortune at that time. As a piece of special pleading a masterpiece, as a piece of accounting it was (to speak charitably) unusual.<sup>8</sup>

John M'Alpine's personal experiences of the War of Independence would seem to have ended in 1780. He emerged from the American Revolution with an attitude that might fairly be summed up in the words, "A curse on both of your houses!" The Americans he considered but little removed from freebooters and gangs of ruffians. The word "patriot" would not form in his mouth with reference to an American; "rebels" they would ever be, as far as John M'Alpine went.

The British for their part did not escape the strictures of this tempestuous "native Highlander". The British, said M'Alpine, put too much trust in men "who misled or betrayed our people, while our commanders distrusted and despised their loyal adherents and substantial friends."<sup>9</sup> There was no questioning in M'Alpine's mind as to which side in the Revolution had been right, and which side wrong. But he minced no words in suggesting why the War had been lost. M'Alpine came out of the War more protestingly loyal than ever, but within him seethed a feeling that poor British leadership and lukewarm patriotism among the "loyal" had cost Britain her Thirteen Colonies.

## II — REJECTION

Just as he had been a cork on the troubled waters of the American Revolution, so M'Alpine was caught up in the toils of greater things when he attempted to start life anew in Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia had not been one of the colonies to revolt against the mother country. Historians are still arguing about the weight to be given to the various reasons for Nova Scotia's rejection of the Revolution, but it is reasonably certain that the province's loyalty—or rather, neutrality—stemmed more from negative than from positive considerations.<sup>10</sup> The Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia in the mid-1780's took no special pains to



ingratiate themselves with the pre-Loyalists, most of whom were former New Englanders. There is reason to believe that the two groups looked down on each other. When Loyalists with their desire for compensation began chasing every government appointment, the older settlers were understandably upset. The newcomers also appeared to consider Nova Scotians politically backward. A period of political adjustment took place towards the end of the 1780's, and most of the rancour cleared away afterwards.<sup>11</sup> As shall be seen, John M'Alpine played his small part in these big events of those years in Nova Scotia.

John M'Alpine removed himself to Nova Scotia immediately after the Revolution had ended. His wife, never more than a shadowy figure in the pages of his memoir, had apparently died a few years previously, leaving the one son, John. In an entry dated 17 November, Simeon Perkins, the Liverpool diarist, refers for the first, but not the last, time to Captain John M'Alpine. In Shelburne he received a town lot, a water lot, and 50 acres of land in 1784, with an additional 500 acres near Liverpool. This was neither an unusually liberal nor a particularly meagre bounty to be awarded to a Loyalist of M'Alpine's standing.

There were many Loyalists, including M'Alpine, who were hopeful of receiving more by way of compensation for losses and troubles during the late War in America. He submitted a memorial to the board which had been appointed to investigate the claims of such people as himself. M'Alpine's account of what had happened to him is substantially that he had already set forth in his published memoir of 1780, and which has been recapitulated above. In February 1785 the Board described M'Alpine's claim as very improper and unworthy of compensation: "The Board are of opinion that this is a fraudulent Claim & that it ought to be so reported to the Lords of the Treasury."<sup>12</sup> Evidently the government took a different view of things, for Perkins reported in his *Diary* on 28 November 1786 that "Capt. John McAlpine has a letter from . . . London . . . advising that he . . . is allowed £70 a year on a Military List for

Services in the Late war . . . Three years pay will be due the 24th of next month."<sup>13</sup>

There are several possibilities that could explain this turnabout. Perhaps the man had performed services for the authorities that the claims commissioners know nothing about. Perhaps M'Alpine had influence or a patron at the seat of imperial power in London. Perhaps someone or something had prejudiced the commissioners against his cause. Whatever the reason, M'Alpine had got a very decent pension from the Crown.

Meanwhile, M'Alpine had embarked upon the fascinating variety of endeavours and experiences that would make his Nova Scotian career at least interesting as anything he had experienced previously. He began by opening a place of public entertainment in Liverpool early in 1784, so we may infer that his Shelburne stay had been a brief one. The first Mrs. M'Alpine having died about 1780, Capt. John married his second wife, the widow of David Barss. Rebecca was a woman about the same age as himself, and the mother of two young daughters who became attached to their step-father, which argues in his favour.

For a short while, M'Alpine busied himself with various peaceful tasks, such as serving dinners at his establishment to prominent visitors to Liverpool, and the operation of a ferry across the Mersey River at Liverpool. M'Alpine was one of a group of six, including Simeon Perkins, that decided in December 1786 that they would meet each fortnight to discuss town affairs. As long as M'Alpine was a retired officer and the husband of the widow Barss, he was able to enjoy good standing and the best company the town could offer.

His status was rising despite minor troubles such as that noted in Perkins' *Diary*, 15 November 1786. M'Alpine was fined ten shillings and costs for assault and battery on one Edward Smith. This incident may have been regarded as a kind of temporary aberration due to hard liquor, since Perkins noted on 7 March 1787 that an election dinner at M'Alpine's inn had been accompanied by "rather too free a use of" Alcoholic beverages. John Wentworth, that champion of Loyalists, was then

Surveyor-General of the Woods in America. On 18 August 1787, Perkins reported that Wentworth had made M'Alpine his deputy surveyor on the Mersey River at a daily payment of ten shillings. M'Alpine was also performing several road-mending duties to the satisfaction of the community.

What might have been a great opportunity came M'Alpine's way in July 1789. The provincial Naval Officer, Winckworth Tonge, appointed John M'Alpine as his Deputy Officer for Queens County, with orders to see that the vessels fishing in the harbours of the district had the proper papers, by checking them every month or two. Perkins told M'Alpine that these instructions were oppressive.<sup>14</sup> The captain might have made a good thing out of this appointment, and accepted small fees to overlook his duties. He might have acted only occasionally, when a vessel belonging to an outside interest strayed into his territory. It seems, however, that M'Alpine was too straightforward an individual to take his duties so lightly. The ink was scarcely dry on his commission of appointment when M'Alpine proceeded to take action. As noted by Beck, the period 1789-1791 was the height of the conflict between Loyalists and pre-Loyalists in Nova Scotia. The naming of a Loyalist as Deputy Naval Officer in such a staunchly pre-Loyalist township as Liverpool almost begged for trouble in 1789. When the Loyalist in question, M'Alpine, began to carry out his new duties, a clash with the community was to be expected. M'Alpine's "natural warmth" only aggravated matters.

M'Alpine took his new responsibilities to heart. Within a few days, Perkins was remonstrating with him, telling him that he had "proceeded with too much violence, & would set the place in confusion . . ." by the manner in which he had seized a shallop for lack of the proper papers.<sup>15</sup> Some of the local magistrates drew up an address to the Naval Officer, Tonge, asking that he remove M'Alpine, not for any misconduct, but because he had caused "great uneasiness among the people." There were echoes here of the usual country-versus-Halifax rivalry that often bothered Nova Scotia, but there was something else. The cause



of the unease may have stemmed from the fact that some Liverpudlians used their proximity to the new United States to trade with their Yankee cousins without troubling His Majesty's Customs officers over the matter. They would naturally feel discomfort at what John M'Alpine could find during one of his inspections of a vessel. Having expressed their concern to the Halifax authorities, the magistrate of Liverpool must have been quite distressed when both Tonge and Governor Parr refused to dismiss M'Alpine. The governor said he would take no action unless there were charges of misconduct against M'Alpine.

Relations thereafter began to turn decidedly ugly between M'Alpine and the men of property in Liverpool. Continued agitation by the latter to effect M'Alpine's removal came to naught. By September 1789, only three months after M'Alpine's appointment, Simeon Perkins had ordered the Scot out of his house, and had joined the others in the business of writing complaints about M'Alpine. When the navy party from Halifax came down to Liverpool, they boarded or seized almost every vessel in the harbour. M'Alpine may not have summoned the two naval ships, but for the irate people of Liverpool it would be much easier to take their revenge upon the individual at hand—M'Alpine—than against the King's vessels.

This vengeance started to take shape in November, following the failure of yet another attempt to get M'Alpine fired. Elkanah Freeman, a member of one of Liverpool's leading families, built a high fence on his land in order to shut off M'Alpine "from his territories".<sup>16</sup> The later got a governor's order to take down the fence, but when they attempted to remove the barrier a mob collected. M'Alpine wrote a note to Perkins making the complaint that his house was "surrounded by a mob, or bandits, almost all night, etc." Next morning Freeman and M'Alpine had some words, and Freeman told him if he would come from where he was, he would whip him."<sup>17</sup> This episode turned out to be merely the preliminary skirmish to a round of hostilities between the parties that lasted for the winter.



Three weeks later matters took a very dangerous turn, if we may believe the words of M'Alpine's complaint to Perkins against Freeman. Perkins was told that Freeman had "surrounded his House at 12 o'clock of night, with some others with loaded firearms, & threatened to kill some of his family." A Mr. Carder, who boarded at Freeman's house, told the magistrate that M'Alpine's step-daughters, Hannah and Rebecca Barss, were seen taking away some timber from Freeman's. Carder reported that Freeman next "took an old gun, without any charge, and went out to see if he could detect any person besides them." We may safely venture to assume that the person Freeman wanted to see was John M'Alpine. Perkins continues:

It was between ten & eleven o'clock. McAlpine had his window open & spoke to Freeman, & asked him what he was doing about there at that time of night. He told him that he, or some of his gang, had been stealing his timber, and that if he caught them, he would give them that charge.<sup>18</sup>

Next day Freeman swore out a charge against M'Alpine and his step-daughters. The elder girl, Hannah Barss, was remanded on bond to the next Sessions of the County. Elkanah Freeman attempted to place the blame of the Alpine household for placing horse dung and hay in his well, but there was no evidence that it had been there intentionally.<sup>19</sup> However, Hannah, then sixteen years old, was actually brought up before the sessions, admonished and dismissed, at its regular meeting on 27 April 1790.

The affair began to deflate quite quickly after this. M'Alpine himself went to Halifax and remained for several weeks, and word reached Liverpool at the end of April that all of the Deputy Naval Officers were going to be dismissed. This rumour proved to be accurate. By the time M'Alpine returned to Liverpool on 18 May, the official notification had already gone forth relieving all the Deputy Naval Officers of their duties.<sup>20</sup>

While M'Alpine was away in Halifax and the rumours of his possible loss of his position were current, his second wife, Rebecca Barss, nee Gammon, died. She had borne M'Alpine

two sons, neither of whom lived to manhood. Her death may have been unexpected at that particular point, but Perkins' *Diary* says that she had been sick for a long time "and had made use of a surprising quantity of opium, until lately. It had not the desired effect . . ." <sup>21</sup> Bereft of his wife and of his foremost official appointment, M'Alpine had come to the low point of his career in Liverpool.

He was not without friends, though they would seem to have been powerless to help him. One of these gentlemen, Captain Buller of H.M.S. "Brisk", called at the port of Liverpool soon after these unhappy events. This naval officer was evidently one person who felt that M'Alpine had been ill-used by the people of Liverpool. Describing the latter as "damned rascals", Buller told Perkins and his ilk that if he had them in his power he would drive them "all to hell" for their mistreatment of Captain M'Alpine. <sup>22</sup>

M'Alpine at Liverpool was in part the victim of his own zealousness. Indeed, he may have been guilty of officiousness. It was at least tactless for such a Loyalist to offend the leading members of a "neutral Yankee" community such as Liverpool. Much of the trouble arose, of course, from the spreading antipathy in the province at that time between the two elements: pre-Loyalists and Loyalist. M'Alpine, as an agent of the centralizing power of Halifax, posed a threat to the independence of the outpost magistrates of Liverpool.

The death of his wife, and the loss of the post of Deputy Naval Officer removed M'Alpine's reasons for remaining at Liverpool. He could build roads, run an inn, or collect his £70. a year just as well somewhere else. His departure from Liverpool to live at Halifax was made in a spirit of vexation rather than of sorrow. Nor did he waste time making the removal. Apart from a few parting complaints, M'Alpine had given up his Liverpool interests within months. The last mention of M'Alpine by Perkins' *Diary* appears after an absence of nearly two years. Late in 1792, Perkins reports that M'Alpine's house had been sold at Liverpool to the highest bidder . . . Elkanah Freeman! <sup>23</sup> Need we say more?

### III -- RECOVERY

John M'Alpine was not a man to spend time mourning what might-have-been. His sanguine temperament led him to contemplate future prospects rather than to worry about what was over and done. It is not surprising, therefore, to see his name on a marriage license bond dated at Halifax on 4 December 1790. Although only seven months had elapsed since his second wife had died, he had been left with a four-year-old son, and in those times widowers in such circumstances generally remarried more quickly than they would today. It is also fairly plain that his late wife had been so only in name for a considerable time before her demise. The third Mrs. M'Alpine was Sarah Caverly, and, like the second wife, was a widow. Within the year, M'Alpine had two of his sons baptised at Saint Matthew's Church, Halifax. On 5 November 1791, the five-year-old, Francis Green M'Alpine, by his former wife, and the infant, Anthony Grigor M'Alpine, by his present wife, were christened.

The first recorded occupation of M'Alpine in Halifax may come as at least a bit of a surprise, in view of his previous methods of gaining a livelihood. Yet we must remember that he was a man willing to turn his hand to any work should it be necessary. A notice in the newspaper at Halifax in the autumn of 1791 requested that anyone who should find the body of Captain Henry Wilson, lost off his schooner near Jeddore, "deliver it to Mr. M'Alpine for Internment."<sup>24</sup> This suggests that our hero was then serving the town in the character of undertaker. During 1792 and 1793 M'Alpine was a butcher, according to the poll tax rolls.<sup>25</sup>

His financial straits must have been considerable at this point of his career, and he was in his middle forties, a time by which most men hope to have attained a place in the world. M'Alpine's temper, notably short in normal circumstances, was on a shorter fuse even than before. Between March 1792 and March 1795, M'Alpine was involved in at least seven assault cases at Halifax. For assaulting Frederick Major, M'Alpine was fined and bound to keep the peace. On another charge of assault, tried the same day, he was ordered held in jail until both fines



were paid.<sup>26</sup> M'Alpine was reduced to supplying saddle horses—he had four in 1793—and carrying dispatches for hire.<sup>27</sup> These were honest occupations, but quite a comedown for one who had hobnobbed on a footing of equality with Simeon Perkins and navy officers.

M'Alpine was slowly recovering financially by the mid-1790's. In the autumn of 1795 he sold off a lengthy list of articles "in order to pay all Debts contracted by him in Nova-Scotia."<sup>28</sup> At least some of the money was probably used to make two purchases of land at or near Halifax. In August, M'Alpine, farmer and grazier, bought one hundred acres of land in Dutch Village. By November of the same year, M'Alpine, by now promoted to "gentleman", bought ten acres on what later generations knew as Strawberry Hill, on the eastern side of the northern end of Windsor Street.<sup>29</sup>

It seemed that each change in M'Alpine's fortunes was accompanied by the taking of a new wife. Jane had been his companion during the upheavals brought by the American Revolution. Rebecca had been his spouse during his Liverpool years. Sarah Caverly had been his helpmeet in adversity during the first hard years at Halifax. Now, in May 1795, the third Mrs. M'Alpine went to her reward, leaving her husband with at least two little boys to rear. For the fourth time in his career, M'Alpine a perennial Benedict, took unto himself a wife. Again he had not waited very long, for the licence under which he married Sarah Walker was dated 22 February 1796, just nine months after the death of Sarah Caverly. However, this second Sarah lived to become John's widow, over thirty years later.

Soon after this latest marriage, M'Alpine was granted sixteen and a half acres of land near the lands on the Peninsula of Halifax, which he had recently bought.<sup>30</sup> He was now conducting some farming, and shortly he began selling potatoes as well as horses.<sup>31</sup> By 1797, M'Alpine was selling oxen and young cows, and in the following year he was offering to supply sea-stock and sedan chairs. The advertisement for the latter is also interesting as it marks the first appearance of M'Alpine's best-known address, "Edward's Valley".<sup>32</sup> This refers to the area



where Windsor Street (then called Windsor Road) descended the hills towards the shores of Bedford Basin at its southwestern corner. Since Edward, Duke of Kent, had first appeared on the Halifax scene in May 1794, M'Alpine very probably coined the name in honour of the royal personage who must have passed his premises frequently during his time in Halifax. Whether the prince ever dismounted and entered the establishment is not known.

These commercial occupations were not John M'Alpine's only activity as the eighteenth century wound up. He was in receipt of nearly £150 in 1799 for the bridge and road work he had superintended near Halifax.<sup>33</sup> In view of the Duke of Kent's residence at Prince's Lodge, and that royal personage's love of both riding and coach travel at high speeds, the responsibility of keeping up the main road between the town and the royal estate was one to be taken quite seriously. The prince was not a man to endure second-rate workmanship, and the lack of complaints made about M'Alpine's work must be taken as evidence that he was a competent road overseer. In 1806, M'Alpine was district overseer of highways, so that it can be argued he had some proficiency in such matters. He always had a great interest in the condition of the roads, a natural enough concern for one who was a settler, a horseman and innkeeper in a rural place.

By 1797 M'Alpine had constructed the large house on the eastern side of the Windsor Road, on a hill above the Basin, in which premises he opened his wellknown hostelry. "Edward's Valley Inn" seems to have been both busy and widely-known during the next two decades. The building did not stand on the hillside in solitary grandure. A few years later, M'Alpine built his dwelling-house as a distinct house, and not as an appendage of the inn. The local historian, Mullane, reported that there was a slaughter-house on M'Alpine's land, where the drovers killed cattle for market in town.<sup>34</sup> There was a tannery nearby where the hides were probably being sold. As a former partner with John Albro in a tanning business, it is very probable that the old Scot was still connected with the business in a profitable way.

As the first decade of the nineteenth century drew near its conclusion, the danger of a war between the United States and Great Britain became more than a rumour. The British authorities in North America grew concerned that should hostilities break out they would not be able to hold the colonies. The danger of war came distinctly closer in 1807. In June, the British ship "Leopard" had taken crewmen off the American vessel "Chesapeake", and in December, the Embargo Act was passed by the United States. Should trouble occur, the British wished to retain Nova Scotia for strategic reasons. The harbour of Halifax was especially necessary for operations against Napoleonic France. Halifax was to be protected, and John M'Alpine would be involved in the arrangements.

Fears were expressed that an American force might be landed on the coast and attempt an overland march to outflank the major Halifax defences, which were seaward. To forestall a surprise attack, or at the least to delay any such attempt to seize the town from the rear, the authorities decided that a fortification should be constructed to guard the landward approaches to Halifax peninsula. There were several points where American forces might be put ashore, but the military decided that the most likely stroke by land would begin when an American fleet had landed troops at the head of the Bay of Fundy, at Windsor or Truro. These would be able to take the roads to the shores of Bedford Basin, and then proceed against Halifax. The hill which commanded the road along the shores of the Basin, and which yet would permit maintenance of an interior line of communication with Halifax proper was that owned by John M'Alpine.

The military therefore assembled a work force in the vicinity and quickly erected a large pentagonal blockhouse on the crest of the hill, above "Edward's Valley Inn".<sup>35</sup> There was a barracks, whose occupants provided a fairly regular custom for M'Alpine's establishment. Quite probably, some of the officers at the post would have preferred a comfortable room in such a handy inn to the more spartan quarters of the blockhouse and barracks. As time passed, establishments such as M'Alpine's

were required to accommodate soldiers. M'Alpine joined his colleagues on the Windsor Road and petitioned the authorities in 1809, asking clarification as to what rations they were expected to provide for the troops billeted and quartered with them.<sup>36</sup>

For a time, there was a minor local fad of "going out to Fort M'Alpine!" A Mr. W. Madden advertised in Halifax in 1811 that he was prepared to convey one person to M'Alpine's for six shillings, and two persons for only ten, by hackney coach. A party of five or six could share the expense of having to pay twenty shillings to reach the hill above the Basin.<sup>37</sup>

M'Alpine was still receiving a government pension. He was carried on the books of the government as a half-pay provincial officer at a rate of £68/5/0 per annum.<sup>38</sup> Whether this was the same as the £70 a year pension from the time of the American Revolution, or another as former Naval Officer, is unclear.

When the war scare had ended, the army took away their armaments, two 12-pounder cannonades, and the blockhouse was allowed to deteriorate.<sup>39</sup> Apparently, M'Alpine, as owner of the land, was free to reap any benefit he could from the military improvements on top of his hill. Although his military boon had ended, M'Alpine still raised occasional sums through sale of timbers and hardware from the abandoned fortification.

Once again, John M'Alpine trundled out his favourite stories of the hard times he had endured during the American Revolution. Once again, he appealed to the government for assistance. The difference was that, this time, he was asking on behalf of his son, Charles, who was soon to reach legal majority. The government took a favourable view of the petition. He sought the eight or ten acres of land just east of M'Alpine's new house—"cottage" he called it, and found his son recommended for 200 acres, including that which he wanted.<sup>40</sup>

As he approached the classic three score and ten, the elderly Scot appeared snug with his inn, his cottage, his pension, and his growing family. But Fate had one more misfortune to hurl at M'Alpine. Late on a Saturday evening in the winter of 1818-19 M'Alpine experienced the loss by fire of his cottage. With the house went all of the furniture and most of the family's clothing.



The icy wind that blows out of the north across the length of Bedford Basin in February fanned the blaze and allowed it to spread through the upper part of the house before it was detected. The contemporary report of the fire concludes with the melancholy sentence: "Mr. McAlpine's loss has been very great."<sup>41</sup>

Even now, in the later years of his life, the doughty old Highlander did not admit defeat. Within a year and a half, he had erected a new and better house.<sup>42</sup> He had begun to show his age, though, and within another year he had leased his inn to Henry Maycock, who operated it through 1821-1822, offering good diet, excellent beds, grazing land, board and lodging on reasonable terms.<sup>43</sup>

The old gentleman sold off much of his real estate hereabouts and in Falmouth, and rented his "Edwards Valley Inn" to various tenants such as John Northrup. In February 1827, John M'Alpine signed a petition that sought a grant of funds to permit improvements to be made to the road to the North West Arm.<sup>44</sup> This, his last public act, was concerned with roads which were a subject that had ever been among his most favoured topics. On Tuesday, 29 May, *The Free Press* reported his death in one sentence: "Died on Saturday last, Mr. John McAlpine, in his 79th year, an old and respectable inhabitant of this town." He was old for the times, and he had been generally respectable, but what a wealth of human experience could have enriched that bare notice?

M'Alpine's will was produced and an inventory of real and personal property was made. It showed his worth as £660/19/10½, a tidy but not a vast amount for the 1820's. His heirs were his wife, Sarah; his half-brother, Daniel M'Alpine; and his three surviving children: John, Charles, and Jane Margaret, who was then married to Samuel Avery of Horton, N. S.<sup>45</sup>

Ten years after his death, in 1837, the house in which M'Alpine had died was finally offered for sale by the estate. From its description we can see that M'Alpine, if not exactly



well-to-do, had lived comfortably enough. The building was described as

well adapted for a Gentleman's residence, consisting of Dining, Drawing, and sitting Rooms, three Bedrooms, an excellent Kitchen, Pantries and frost proof Cellars, with a never failing well of water, and Stable, Coach house, Barn and Outhouses attached. There is also an orchard, well stocked with choice fruit trees, three vegetable gardens, in all about ten acres of land.

Likewise, we can learn from the inventory of his effects that the house had contained, among many other things, mahogany tables and bedsteads, Windsor and birch chairs, a sofa, decanters, candlesticks, some silver, and so forth, while there was a horse, a chaise and a sleigh, should they be needed.<sup>47</sup> I think M'Alpine had, in the words of his contemporary John Skerry, the ferryman, "a Gentleman's living yet."

Thus we come to the end of the several careers of John M'Alpine, Scottish Highlander, settler, Loyalist, horse trader, Deputy Naval Officer, undertaker, drover, innkeeper, road builder, cattle dealer, husband, prisoner, pensioner, fugitive, captain, and man of considerable "natural warmth". John M'Alpine led what Lady Bracknell would have termed "a life crowded with incident." And so it was. It is the true story of a man in adversity for much of his life. It reveals beyond argument that an ordinary garden-variety Loyalist could be, and sometimes was, reduced to many shifts in order to support himself. M'Alpine asked the government for quite a deal in his time, yet the expedients to which he resorted to make his own way in the world should supply ample proof, if any be required, of his willingness to fend for himself.

John M'Alpine emerges as a very human soul. He was quarrelsome and decidedly hot-tempered, fond of a drink, and probably not always the soul of scrupulous honesty. He certainly attempted to make the most of his considerable misfortunes. But he was also a man of resourcefulness and physical courage, an optimist whose ambitions ever overcame adversity. M'Alpine was unmistakably a home-loving soul, fond of the pleasures of the home and the hearth.

In M'Alpine, we can experience the dilemma of many of the colonists during the American Revolution. Here was a man who detested the mobs which plundered him and others in the name of liberty and freedom. At the same time, he could see that his own leaders among the British would not trust and rally the loyal men such as himself. M'Alpine could not turn his back once events caught up to him in 1776. And so, he did what he could. Somehow he survived.

Again in Liverpool, M'Alpine was the prisoner of circumstances, and yet their cause. As the visible and apparently efficient agent of the central power in Halifax, the Loyalist Scot had to bear the brunt of the wrath of the pre-Loyalist "neutral Yankees" of Liverpool. These older inhabitants of the province had come from New England. Though they had not overtly rebelled during the Revolution, it would be surprising if there had not been some sympathy for their fellow-New Englanders. Following the revolution these people were not predisposed to welcome with open arms the Loyalist hordes which flooded into Nova Scotia. Their resentment of the newcomers was returned in full coin by the Loyalists who may have felt that the older elements in the province had been rebels at heart but had lacked the desperate courage to rebel. M'Alpine did not sow the whirlwind which he reaped at Liverpool, but he served to provoke it by his lack of tact.

Let us take our farewell of old John M'Alpine at the door of his inn. The fiery Highlander, with a flash in his clear eyes, closes the big front door behind a departing guest. As he turns back to the company let us hope that an expression of contentment plays upon his rosy face. His "Edwards Valley Inn" was bringing him at last the peace that he had always wanted, with every now and then a guest who can provoke him to a good argument as to the quality of a horse or the politics of a mutual acquaintance.

## FOOTNOTES

1. John M'Alpine, *Genuine Narrative and Concise Memoirs . . . Adventures of J. M'Alpine, a native Highlander, 1773-1779* (Greenock, 1780), p. 12. This pamphlet was reprinted in 1883 by the New York Historical Society, and the page references here are those used in the 1883 reprint.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 23. The first refusal was made by Col. Francis Clark, aide-de-camp to Burgoyne. The bad blood between Clark and M'Alpine will resurface presently.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
5. Francis Green (1742-1809) was a New Englander, the son of Hon. Benjamin Green, onetime provincial Treasurer of Nova Scotia. After the Revolution, he owned "Maroon Hall" in Preston, and was High Sheriff of Halifax County, N. S. He was, like M'Alpine, a Loyalist.
6. M'Alpine, p. 54.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
8. For example, \$70.00 is converted at a rate of \$2.50 to the pound, to give £28., instead of £14., which the proper rate of exchange would have permitted.
9. M'Alpine, p. 36.
10. G. A. Rawlyk, ed., *Revolution Rejected* Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1968), pp. 18-54, presents some of the main contentions on this point.
11. J. Murray Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 29.
12. Hugh Edward Egerton, *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists 1783 to 1785* New York: Burt Franklin, 1915; reprinted 1971), V, pp. 306-7.
13. C. B. Fergusson, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 195), II, p. 345.
14. *Perkin's Diary*, II, p. 484; entry dated 18 July 1789.
15. *Ibid.*, Entry dated 20 July 1789.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 508; entry dated 27 November 1789.
17. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 8-9; entry of 30 January 1790.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 12; entry of 21 February 1790.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 13; entry dated 22 February 1790.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 23; entry of 10 May 1790.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22; entry of 4 May 1790. The death took place on 1 May.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 23; entry of 1 June 1790.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 188; entry of 24 October 1792.
24. *The Weekly Chronicle*, 19 Nov. 1791.
25. P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 444, 445.
26. P.A.N.S., R.G. 34, Vol. 7 (Quarter Sessions, Halifax Co.); entry of 8 June 1792.
27. *Royal Gazette & Nova Scotia Advertiser*, 26 March & October 1793.
28. *The Weekly Chronicle*, 10 October 1795.
28. Halifax County, Registry of Deeds, lib. xxxi, folios 420, 422 (24-25 Nov. 1795).
30. P.A.N.S. Land papers 1796; Certificate of Survey dated 28 July 1796.
31. *The Royal Gazette & the Nova Scotia Advertiser*, 19 July 1796.
32. *Ibid.*, 15 May 1798.
33. P.A.N.S., R.G. 34, Vol. 7 (Quarter Sessions, Halifax Co.); entry of 13 Dec. 1799.



34. George Mullane, "Old Inns and Coffee Houses of Halifax," **Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society**, XXII, p. 20.
35. Reported "nearly completed" in a letter of 2 March 1808 (P.A.N.S., M.G. 12, RE. 5 [1806-1817], p. 61).
36. P.A.N.S., R.G. 1, Vol. 225, doc. 69 (petition dated 17 November 1809).
37. **The Halifax Journal**, 16 September 1811.
38. P.A.N.S. M.G. 32 (Great Britain Half Pay Officers, 1807-1813), *passim*.
39. Harry Piers, **The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress 1749-1928** (Halifax: P.A.N.S., 1947), pp. 32-33.
40. P.A.N.S., Land Grants, Vol. 40 (1814:Mc.).
41. **The Halifax Journal**, 22 February 1819.
42. Halifax County, registry of Deeds, lib. xlvii, folio 156 (dated 14 Oct. 1820).
43. **Acadian Recorder**, 13 October 1821.
44. P.A.N.S., R.G. 5, Vol. 92, petition received 13 February 1827.
45. Halifax County Probate Records: Original Estate Papers: File Mc-2.
46. **The Novascotian**, 7 June 1837, p. 184.
47. Halifax County Probate Records, *Ibid*.

#### GENEALOGICAL APPENDIX

Peter M'Alpine of Scotland married (1st) Christian — and had a son,

1. Capt. John M'Alpine, b. ca. 1748, d. 26 May 1827, he marr. (1st) Jane — (who d. ca. 1780-81). They had two children:

- (1) John, b. 31 Dec. 1773 at Crown Point, perhaps the man of that name who d. at Halifax, 29 Oct. 1845, aged 61 (sic!). He marr. 16 Oct. 1808, Ann Stump (d. 3 Feb. 1841, aged 57), and had issue:
  - (1a) John, bapt. 5 Mar. 1809.
  - (2a) William George, bapt. 24 Mar. 1811.
  - (3a) Samuel, bapt. 22 Aug. 1813.
  - (4a) James, bapt. 25 Nov. 1818; m. 7 Feb. 1840, Abigail Turple. Issue:
    - (1b) Ann Elizabeth, bapt. 2 June 1844; m. 1 Apr. 1868, William Chambers, Jr., 4th. Regiment, b. England 1843.

- (2) a child, b. and d. 1775.

Capt. John M'Alpine marr. (2nd) 29 Jan. 1784, Rebecca (d. 1 May 1790), dau. of William and Fear Gammon, and widow of David Barss (d. 1778 at Port Mouton, N. S.). They had two children:

- (3) William, b. 11 Nov. 1784, d. 16 Aug. 1786.
- (4) Francis Green, b. 10 June 1786 at Liverpool, bapt. 5 Nov. 1791 at Halifax, d. young. Capt. John M'Alpine marr. (3rd) MLB dated 4 Dec. 1790. Sarah Caverly (buried 25 May 1795, aged 35), widow Hills. They had two children:
  - (5) Anthony Grigor, bapt. 5 Nov. 1791, bur. 7 July 1796.
  - (6) Charles McAlpine, J. P., b. Aug. 1793, bapt. 19 Jan. 1794, d. 1 Feb. 1869 at Louisbourg. He marr. 25 Jan. 1827, Mary Margaret Irving, b. 1804, living 1871. Issue:
    - (1a) Catherine Margaret, b. 4 Oct. 1827; m. 11 July 1849, William Crane, Esq., merchant at Horton, N. S.
    - (2a) Charles Caverly, b. 15 Jan. 1829, d. 2 July 1867 at Dartmouth, N. S.
    - (3a) daughter, bapt. 16 May 1831, living 1861.
    - (4a) John, b. 17 May 1832, living 1861.
    - (5a) Mary Jane, bapt. 9 Sep. 1834, living 1861.
    - (6a) Harriet Maria, bapt. 21 July 1836, living 1871.
    - (7a) William Henry, b. 1839, d. 1897; married Margaret Evelina, dau. of Charles Ward, Hfx. Issue:
      - (1b) Charles, b. 1869.

(8a) Edmund S., b. 1844, d. 1904; Collector of Customs at Louisbourg; married Mary, widow Townsend (d. 1906/07).  
Issue:

(1b) Anne McC., living 1906.

(9a) Emily, b. 1848, living 1871.

Capt. John M'Alpine marr. (4th) MLB dated 22 Feb. 1796, Sarah Walker (living 1827), and had two children:

(1) Catherine Susannah, bapt. 10 Jan. 1798, d. 17 June 1813, aged 16.

(2) Jane Margaret, bapt. 24 Mar. 1800, d. 23 June 1866; m. 7 Mar. 1824, Samuel Avery of Horton (17 Oct. 1788-31 May 1875), and had a large family.

Peter M'Alpine married (2nd) —?— and had:

2. Daniel M'Alpine, living 1826.

# *The History of the Apple Industry — Part 7*

KEITH HATCHARD

With the commercial development of the Nova Scotia Apple Industry in the King's County sector of the Annapolis Valley, it is sometimes overlooked that the original plantings were made at the mouth of the Annapolis River, at Port Royal. Mr. F. G. J. Comeau was able to establish in his investigation of the *Origin and History of the Apple Industry in Nova Scotia*,<sup>1</sup> that 'apple seeds, seedlings, or root-grafteds were, in all probability planted at Port Royal in 1606, or in 1610 by Sieur Jean de Poutrincourt.' This conclusion was supported by the finding of apple trees in thriving condition in 1635 and in large numbers in later periods.

By the time that the New England Loyalists arrived to take over the homesteads abandoned by the Acadians after their expulsion in 1755, many of the trees were old and considerable grafting on to these old French trees had to be carried out. Among the early Acadian plantings were the Bellefleur (a predecessor of Bishop Inglis's Yellow Belleflower or Bishop Pippin) and the L'Epice or 'spicy apple'. Isolated survivors, of tremendous age and girth, of these Acadian apple trees survived until fairly recent times. In 1919 some twenty carloads of these old apple trees were shipped out to Philadelphia to be fashioned into a large variety of tool handles.<sup>2</sup>



The New England Loyalist families that took up the first land grants at Annapolis, Granville, Wilmot and Clements featured names that were to be interwoven with the history of the developing apple industry as much as those of Prescott, Starr, Haliburton, and their fellow horticulturists in King's County. One of the most interesting histories is that of the Bent family, descendants of John Bent of Penton-Grafton, Hampshire, England.

John Bent of Penton-Grafton in West Hants about eighty miles from London, England was the grandson of John Bent who had been a trusted subject of the first Queen Elizabeth. The younger John Bent was born on 20 November 1596 and in 1638 he became the first member of the Bent family to settle on American soil at Sudbury, Massachusetts. John Bent's grandsons David, Micah, Peter and Hopestill were listed among the grantees of the township of Annapolis in 1759.<sup>3</sup> Peter died shortly after his arrival and Hopestill and Micah returned to their old Massachusetts homes. David with his wife, Mary, settled in the locality known as Bentville. David's cousin, Samuel Bent, was in the service of General Wolfe, as an apprentice to Captain John Wade, on the Plains of Abraham. Tradition has it that this Samuel Bent had the honour of hoisting the British flag after the great victory over the French. Being a mechanic, young Bent was detailed to secure a flag-staff from the tall, straight fir-trees that lined the heights. However, these young 'mechanics' forgot the essential step of receiving a lanyard through the top of the pole, so that a flag could be hoisted on it, before it was steeped. Rather than dismantle the pole again a contest was run to see who could shin to the top of the pole to secure the rope. This contest was won by young Samuel Bent who was given the honour of the hoisting of the flag as a reward.<sup>4</sup> A year after the capture of Quebec, Samuel Bent came to Granville, N. S. where he married Rachel, sister of Moses Ray, also one of the original grantees.

David Bent has been credited as the man responsible for introducing some of the post-Acadian varieties of apple into Nova Scotia. He brought with him from Massachusetts the

Greening Spitzenberg, Pearmain and Vandevere. David Bent of Bentville died in 1795 in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia.

The descendants of David and Samuel Bent spread through the apple-growing areas of Annapolis County and contributed greatly to the commercial development of the area. One who made a very significant contribution was Ambrose Bent of Paradise. Ambrose Bent was the son of Jesse Bent and the grandson of Samuel Bent of Quebec fame. He was born in 1817 and married first Amoret Morse, secondly Eunice Ross and thirdly Clara Foster.<sup>5</sup> He was for more than fifty years one of the largest apple growers in the county of Annapolis as well as running the village store and venturing into other commercial exploits such as shipbuilding.

In the year 1849, long before the tentative exportations from Port Williams, Ambrose Bent of Paradise and Benjamin Weir of Halifax made a small shipment of apples from Halifax to London, England. This is the first recorded attempt made to commercially exploit the potential wealth of the Annapolis fruit produce outside of Nova Scotia. It was Ambrose Bent again in 1856 who made a shipment of 700 barrels to Boston by the schooner PARADISE. This was the first shipment made to the New England market and was made in a schooner built by Ambrose Bent at a site south of the Paradise bridge. The village of Paradise, which has been featured in the writings of Doctor William Inglis Morse, lies between the township of Bridgetown and Middleton on the banks of the Annapolis River. Dr. Morse tells us that among the ships of fairly small tonnage built at Paradise were the STILLMAN built by Stillman Bent, the PARADISE built by Ambrose Bent and the ANNIE LAURIE built by William Saunders. Possibly two other craft were built there by Warren Bent and A. Phinney & Connell.<sup>6</sup> Ambrose Bent is reported to have sold his first shipment of apples to Boston for \$2.75 per barrel and the shipment to London, England for \$2.00 per barrel.

In 1861 a consortium made up of A. W. Corbitt, one of the leading merchants of Annapolis Royal, along with George Wells, Dr. Frank Robinson, and Pardom Sanders, began apple

shipments direct from Annapolis Royal to London, England. John Lithgrow of Halifax also made a shipment from Annapolis Royal to London in the same period. Neither of these two ventures proved particularly profitable but this trend was soon reversed and later shipments produced very satisfactory results. It was our enterprising friend, Ambrose Bent, again, that made the first consignment by steamer from Annapolis Royal. This was the 6806 barrels of apples shipped on the steamer NEPTUNE in April 1881. The greater part of this shipment belonged to Ambrose Bent and Benjamin Starratt of Paradise. Ambrose Bent went along as supercargo on this voyage which took just fourteen days. By the turn of the century this volume of exports had increased to 40,000 barrels annually.<sup>7</sup>

Dr. William Inglis Morse has left us some picturesque descriptions of nineteenth century life in the hamlet of Paradise some of which feature Ambrose Bent in his capacity as storeowner. Ambrose Bent's store was the main centre for gossip for many years and the villagers would gather there on cool evenings, light their clay pipes and mull over the latest news and tidbits of gossip. 'Many early Paradisionians had sound constitutions and excellent appetites but their opinions of each other did not always conform to the Sermon on the Mount.'<sup>8</sup> These ways changed in the twentieth century and after the death of Ambrose Bent the store became vacant and was finally dismantled. But the memories lived on and Dr. Morse recalls that "in Ambrose Bent's store, as a tiny boy, I bought my first nickle's worth of sugar plums—the best ever. Surprising how the smallest trifle can be treasured by a child."

The Bents did not confine themselves to the mild pastures along the banks of the Annapolis River. Charles Grandison Bent, born around the turn of the century, son of Seth Bent and first cousin to Ambrose Bent, chose to head for the backwoods of Annapolis County. Down near the border of Lunenburg and Annapolis Counties, near the village of Springfield, is the settlement of Lake Pleasant. Charles Grandison Bent, who, like most of the Bent family, was endowed with marked physical strength and hardiness, obtained a letter of Occupation, or a



grant of a block of land resting its eastern side on the stream at the outlet of Lake Pleasant. Grandison had married Lydia Saunders, a descendant of another of the pre-Loyalist colonists and, on horseback, she would have accompanied her husband into this remote area. The courage of these early pioneer women is remarkable indeed. Often separated for long periods of time from family, church and other features of the more developed townships, they had to haul their supplies by horseback or on foot into these remote areas, and in the event of sickness or childbirth were completely dependent on their own resources.

Charles Grandison Bent set to clearing his lot, and soon after erected a dwelling-house and saw-mill, a barn and other buildings.<sup>9</sup> The land proved to be of fine quality and Grandison was soon able to provide himself with ample crops which, with the output from the saw-mill, left himself and his family relatively well provided for. They were able to grow some apples but, never, of course, in the profusion that cousin Ambrose was able to do in Paradise. Grandison Bent came to be known as the father of the Lake Pleasant settlement.

In more recent times, we learn that Lawrence Bent's apple orchard is producing outstanding fruit including first quality commercial fruit—there are no old 'Greenings', 'Ben Davis', and 'Non-Pareil'.<sup>10</sup> Evidently the varieties introduced by the pre-Loyalists and Loyalists have given way to more acceptable commercial varieties.

Other descendants of John Bent of Penton-Grafton have left their mark on the history of the United States. The four Bent brothers, Charles, William George, and Robert, sons of Silas and Martha (Kerr) Bent of Charleston, West Virginia, and later of St. Louis, Missouri, fill a large space in the annals of the Colorado-New Mexico frontier. All four brothers became interested in the fur-trade and between 1829 and 1832 they built at a point on the Arkansas River, near the present La Junta, Colorado, the most famous of the old trading posts, Bent's Fort. William Bent, who, after the death of his brothers, and the retirement of their partner Ceran St. Vrain, took over the sole management of the fort, became the first permanent white



settler in Colorado. The reputations of all four brothers for probity and fair dealing became widespread throughout the developing West and they shared the confidence of the Indians to a degree unshared by any other trader.<sup>11</sup>

This courage and uprightness of character has been demonstrated here in Nova Scotia, perhaps, most noticeably, by two members of the Bent family who distinguished themselves militarily.

Lt. Col., Charles Edward Bent, C. M.G., D.S.O., was born at Pugwash, N. S., on 2 Jan., 1880, the son of Edgar and Emma A. Bent, and direct descendant of John Bent of Penton Grafton. He married Daisy Lydia Catherwood Culton on 5 June and they raised three sons Charles Edgar, Herbert Cyrus and Donald Edward. Charles Edward Bent was educated at Pugwash and Halifax and on the outbreak of war in 1914 he was a Captain in the 93rd Cumberland Regiment. He immediately enlisted in the active forces and, as adjutant of the 17th Battalion, accompanied the 1st Division to England. He was attached to the 13th Battalion and commanded a draft to France 26 April 1915. He was quickly appointed to command a platoon and then a company after the fighting at Festubert in 1915. Colonel Bent took over command of the 15th Battalion in May 1916 and took part in all the fighting with the first Canadian Division until wounded at Caix, east of Amiens on the ninth of August 1918. During this period he saw action at Festubert (1915), Givenchy (1915), Messines (1915), Ypres (1916), Ploegstreet (1916), Hill 60 (1916), Sanctuary Wood (1916), Somme (1916), Vimy Ridge (1917), Hill (1917), Paschendaele (1917), Telegraph Hill (1918), Amiens (1918), Drocourt (1918) and all other actions in which the division took part up until the signing of the Armistice. During this period he received the C.M.G., the D.S.O., and Bar, and was, no less than seven times, mentioned in dispatches. He survived the war and proceeded, as a brigade commander with the army of occupation, to post war duties. Colonel Bent later returned to Nova Scotia to take up a position as Collector of Customs. He died in Amherst, N. S. in 1960.<sup>12</sup>

Another member of the Bent family was quicker to see action than even Charles Edward Bent had been. Second Lieutenant (acting Lt. Col.,) Philip Eric Bent took the shortcut route joining up with the British Army and, probably for that reason, his subsequent military career was unreported and largely unknown in Nova Scotia despite the fact that he was, and is, Halifax's sole recipient of the Victoria Cross in the 1914-1918 War.

Philip Eric Bent was born in Halifax, the son of Frank and Sophie Bent, on the 3rd of January 1891. He was educated at Halifax schools and enlisted with the Royal Scots on the 2nd October 1914. He was granted a temporary commission as a second lieutenant with the Leicester regiment the following month. This temporary commission was converted to a permanent one in 1916, but in the meantime he had been promoted to acting Lieutenant, acting Captain, and, after a temporary stint with the Bedfordshire Regiment was transferred back to the Leicesters as acting Lt., Colonel in 1916. Philip Bent won the Distinguished Service Order in 1917 and later in the same year won the Victoria Cross in the action at Polygon Wood, Belgium. His official citation (London Gazette, 11th January 1918) reads as follows: "For most conspicuous bravery, when, during a heavy hostile attack, the right of his command, and the battalion on his right were forced back. The situation was critical owing to the confusion caused by the attack and the intense artillery fire. Lt. Col., Bent personally collected a platoon that was in reserve, and, together with men from other companies, and various regimental details, he organized and led them forward to the counter attack after issuing orders to other officers as to the further defence of the line. The counter attack was successful and the enemy was checked. The coolness and magnificent example shown to all ranks by Lt. Colonel Bent resulted in the securing of a portion of the line, which was of essential importance for subsequent operations. This very gallant officer was killed whilst leading a charge which he inspired with the call of Come on the Tigers."<sup>13</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

1. **Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections**, vol. XXIII, Page 26.
2. **Ibid.**, Page 29.
3. **History of the County of Annapolis**, by W. A. Calnek, Belleville, Ont., 1972, Page 160.
4. **Ibid.** Page 478.
5. **History of the County of Annapolis**, by W. A. Calnek, Belleville, Ontario, 1972, Page 479.
6. **Local History of Paradise, Annapolis Co.**, by William Inglis Morse. D. Litt., published by Nathan Sawyer & Son, Boston 1938 page 11.
7. **History of the County of Annapolis**, by W. A. Calnek, Belleville, Ontario 1972 (Reprint), page 322.
8. **Local History of Paradise, Annapolis Co.**, by Wm. Inglis Morse, D. Litt. published by Nathan Sawyer & Son, Boston, 1938, page 56.
9. **History of the County of Annapolis**, by W. A. Calnek, Belleville, Ontario, 1972, (Reprint), Page 281.
10. **'Beaconsfield'**, Bridgetown, Annapolis Co., by Arnold Hall, October 1977 page 10.
11. **Dictionary of American Biography**, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1963, Page 205.
12. **Prominent People of the Maritimes Provinces**, published by the Cdn. Publicity Co., St. John. (Printers J. & A McMILLAN). 1922 page 94.
13. **The Atlantic Provinces and the V. C.**, article in the Atlantic Advocate, by George C. Machum, Nov. 1957, Vol. 48, #3, University Press of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N. B.

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1. **The Origin and History of the Apple Industry in Nova Scotia**, F. G. J. Comeau, Halifax, N. S. read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Nov. 9, 1934, and issued in Volume XXIII of the N. S. H. S. Collections.
2. **History of the County of Annapolis**, by W. A. Calnek, Belleville, Ontario, 1972. (Reprint)
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## *Raymond Genealogy—Part 2*

### ANN RAYMOND

Daniel Raymond was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, on 18 March, 1744. As a young man, Daniel removed to Nova Scotia where he settled first at Chebogue by 1772 and then at Cape Forchu (Yarmouth), where he plied his trade of housewright. He died shortly before 14 January, 1799, when Miner Huntington and Thomas Dane made an inventory of his effects. It has not been possible to establish an exact date of death, although the cause of death was probably smallpox. He had married on 10 May, 1775. Rebekkah, a daughter of Jonathan Crosby and had eleven children. Rebekkah survived him for many years and is mentioned in the 1827 census of Yarmouth. Their eight sons and three daughters were:

1. Daniel Raymond, Jr., born 20 June 1776.
2. John Raymond, born 13 January 1778.
3. Jonathan Raymond, born 11 January 1780.
4. Rebekkah Raymond, born 7 September 1782.
5. Hannah Raymond, born 8 October 1784.
6. Joseph Raymond, born 29 October 1785.
7. Mary Raymond, born 14 September 1787.
8. Abijah Raymond, born 10 March 1789.
9. Joel Raymond, born 21 February 1793.
10. Josiah Raymond, (twin) born 8 August 1796.
11. Asa Raymond (twin) born 8 August 1796, d. 31 August 1796.

We have discussed the descendants of the third son, Jonathan, in the September installment. Here we shall follow the fortunes of the other ten children.

1. Deacon Daniel Raymond, mill-wright, lived first at Cape Forchu (Yarmouth), then settled at Beaver River on 250 acres of land abt. 1807, after the birth of his dau. Margaret; built a saw mill on the Beaver River Stream, later a mill at Cedar Lake with his brother Jonathan Raymond; petitioned Governor Sherbrooke with others, Josiah Porter, Daniel and Ashabel Corning, Jonathan Corning Sr. and Jun. and William Perry in 1813 for this land and additional property; one of the first officers of the Beaver River Temperance Society formed in 1828; removed to Carleton, Yar. Co., 1833 by boat, followed the Tusket River, landed where the Carleton Bridge is now and built a mill nearby; Deacon, Third Yar. United Baptist Church,



Pleasant Valley, b. June 1776, d. 5 Aug 1856; m. 1st) 2 Jan 1798, Abigail Magray, b. 21 July 1775, dau. of Capt. John. Issue: 3 sons, 5 daus. m. 2nd) Mary Dennis, d. 20 Apr. 1854, aged 82 yrs.

- 1) Jane Raymond, b. 26 July 1798 at Yarmouth; m. Joseph C. Wetmore, son of John.
- 2) Daniel Raymond, ship carpenter, b. 10 Nov 1799 at Yarmouth d. July, 1878, widower at Beverly, Mass; m. 1825 Mary Trask dau. of Thomas of Beaver River. Had 4 sons, 4 daus. all b. in N. S.
  - 1a) Robbins Raymond, Lynn, Mass., b. 10 Mar 1825; m. 22 Oct. 1845 Elizabeth Shaw. Issue: 2 sons, 7 daus.
  - 1b) Mary E. Raymond, b. 11 Dec. 1846; m. 8 June 1864 Reubin Ellis.
  - 2b) Marita Raymond, b. 9 May 1848, d. 26 Sept. 1848.
  - 3b) Jessie A. Raymond, b. 29 Oct. 1849, d. 22 June 1864
  - 4b) Silvetta J. Raymond, b. 15 Mar. 1851, m. 10 May 1869, David Harwood.
  - 5b) George N. Raymond, b. 24 Apr 1853; m. and had Frederick Raymond, b. 1880; Arthur Raymond, b. 1882; a son, name unknown, b. 14 Oct 1884; lived in Calif.
  - 6b) Eva Florence Raymond, b. 23 Mar. 1855; m. 9 July 1875 Charles Ingalls.
  - 7b) Laura Ann Raymond, b. 26 July, 1856; m. 22 Feb. 1879 Thomas H. Gifford.
  - 8b) Ellen C. Raymond, b. 1 Apr. 1861.
  - 9b) Frederick L. Raymond, b. 9 July 1865.
- 2a) Mary Raymond, b. 4 June 1828, d. 23 Dec. 1876, prob. unkm.
- 3a) Lorenzo Dow Raymond, d. 13 Jan 1902 prob. aged 73 yrs res. Hyde Park, Mass. bur. Mt. Cem., Yar. (living in Beaver River, Digby Co. 1845) m. 1st Margery Tooker Flint, d. 14 Feb. 1857, res. Yar. They had 1 dau. Margery Thompson Raymond, b. Feb. 1857, d. 10 Oct. 1857, aged 8 mos. Lorenzo Raymond m. 2nd) Anne A. Tooker of Yar. and had 2 ch.:
  - 1b) Jennie Gertrude Raymond, b. 20 Dec 1860
  - 2b) Arthur Clements Raymond, b. 9 Sept. 1863; m. Helena C. —, d. 17 June 1920, age 47 yrs 5 mos, bur. Mt. Cem. Yar. lived at Brookline, Mass.
- 4a) Susan Raymond, m. William Collier, res. Lynn, Mass. 1886.
- 5a) George N. Raymond, res. Melbourne, Australia, 1886; had 1 son Lorenzo Dow Raymond, perhaps other ch.
- 6a) Margaret A. Raymond, m. George GOLDTHWAIT, res. Essex, Mass. 1886.
- 7a) Daniel Raymond, lived in Lynn, Mass. 1886.
- 8a) Almira Raymond, b. 1840; m 14 Oct 1860, Stephen ROBERTS of Beverly, Mass.
- 3) John Raymond, farmer, arrived at Carleton in 1833 from Beaver River with his family and his father, Daniel Raymond. He later removed to Pleasant Valley and lived in the house now owned by Fraser Murray, b. 8 Aug 1801 at Yar., d. 3 Mar 1890, aged 89 yrs.; m. Lucy Bethune, b. 1805, d. 25 Apr. 1893, aged 88 yrs. They had 4 daus.:
  - 1a) Elizabeth Raymond, her home in Carleton was called Cedar Hall and is now owned by Clyde Hennigar; she d. 29 Oct 1894, aged 69 yrs.; m. 1st) Seth TINKHAM, d. 30 Sept 1865 aged 38 yrs., son of Seth; m. 2nd) Thomas H. UHLMAN. No issue.
  - 2a) Harriet Raymond, d. 12 July 1847, age 21 yrs, bur. Carleton Cem., Yar. Co., Lot No. 68, with Ashabel and Mary E. Corning; m. 6

- Jan 1845 Isaac Foote PORTER, son of Josiah Porter of "Sunrise" (now Springdale) They had 1 son, Isaac Porter, b. 1846, d. 1936.
- 3a) Lucy Raymond, b. 1829 at Beaver river; she was 4 yrs. old when her family settled at Carleton.
  - 4a) Hannah P. Raymond, b. 1831; m. 17 May, 1854, Nathan CROSBY, son of Nathan. Had issue.
  - 4) Elizabeth Raymond, b. 12 July 1803 at Yar., d. 30 Mar. 1884 bur. Pleasant Valley Cem. Yar. Co., m. 1 Sept 1833 Thomas GOUDEY, d. 18 Mar. 1888, aged 80 yrs son of Capt. Thomas.
  - 5) Heman Raymond, b. 15 Apr 1805 at Yar. d. 21 Sept 1806.
  - 6) Margaret Raymond, b. 10 Mar 1807, m. Capt. Samuel DURKEE.
  - 7) Nancy Raymond, m. John BYRNE, son of Capt. Thomas.
  - 8) Abigail Raymond, b. by 1813, living in 1827.
2. John Raymond, carpenter, stock holder in the 1st. Marine Insurance Co. in Yar. 1809; shareholder of the Inland Navigation Co. 1811-1820, formed to build a series of locks between the heads of Yarmouth Harbour (Milton) and Lake George through the intervening Ponds. The locks were to facilitate the transportation of produce to the inland settlers and move lumber by boat or raft from the interior to the sea. Two locks were built at Milton and John Raymond was the principal "architect". No work of importance was done at Hebron or beyond. The locks at Milton were enclosed canals 20 feet wide, 286 feet in length, equipped with 3 gates so that the level of water could be changed to raise or lower the boats from one level to another. Some 30 vessels were built on the shores of the First and Second Ponds (Milo Lakes) and then floated into Yarmouth Harbour successively through the locks and onto the tidal water at high tide. The toll for passing through was a half dollar per ton. In an article by Robert Legget in the magazine "Canadian Consulting Engineers" he writes that the locks "must hold a place of honor in the records of Canadian engineering as the second civilian canal work to have been built in this country". John Raymond, b. 13 Jan. 1778, d. 12 Dec. 1851 at Yarmouth, lived on Vancouver St.; m. 30 Oct. 1799. Abigail Williams, dau. of Richard of Chegoggin. They had 6 sons, 3 daus.:
- 1) John Raymond, d. 10 Oct. 1807, aged 7 yrs.
  - 2) Samuel Raymond, yeoman, carpenter at Yar., b. 3 June 1802, d. 4 Sept. 1860; m. Eunice Bent. Issue: 6 sons, 1 dau.
    - 1a) Capt. James Raymond, of Milton, Yar., living in 1864, left his ship in England, not heard from by 1886; m. Mary Smith at Halifax N. S. Issue: 1 son, 1 dau. perhaps others.
    - 1b) William J. Raymond, mariner, b. abt. 1851; m. Sept. 1876 at Riverdale, Digby Co. Charlotte Wyman, aged 26 yrs. dau. of Wellington and Esther Wyman. They had Bertha, Charlie, Nellie and Jackie. Living in Pleasant Lake, Yar. Co. when Charlotte Raymond d. William removed to U. S. with his ch.
    - 2b) Ella Jane Raymond, b. abt. 1853, m. at Yar. 23 Apr. 1873, Herbert Huntingdon RICHARDS, age 22 yrs., ship-carpenter at Yar. son of John and Mary Richards, Chebogue.
  - 2a) Thomas W. Raymond, yeoman at Yar. 1862, tailor, res. Beverly, Mass. 1886; m. Frances Cann of Yar. and had: Fannie May Raymond, b. abt. 1860; m. Wm. WOODBURY, Beverly, Mass.; Benjamin Raymond, d. 1863 aged 15 mos.; Florence Raymond b. abt. 1873.
  - 3a) Nelson Raymond, d. 2 Jan. 1850, unm. at Yar.
  - 4a) Ellen Raymond, m. 28 Feb. 1861, Capt. Albert BAKER, Yar.
  - 5a) William Raymond, d. unm.

- 6a) Leonard Raymond, d. aged 8 yrs.
- 7a) Capt. Charles D. Raymond, yeoman, master mariner at Yar.; m. 20 Mar. 1864, Annie Sullivan.
- 3) William T. Raymond, b. 17 Oct. 1804, living in 1852. m. 1838 Rebecca Bain, dau. of Capt. Alex. She m. 2nd. Samuel Wheeland.
- 4) Richard Raymond, yeoman, cabinet maker, Vancouver St., Yar., b. 1 Apr. 1807, d. 28 Jan. 1899; m. Eunice Pearl Allen, b. 1 Dec. 1804. Issue: 1 son, 4 daus.
  - 1a) Lydia Anne Raymond, d. 1 Oct. 1833, aged 3 yrs., badly burned her clothes coming in contact with the fire.
  - 2a) Thomas W. Raymond, carpenter, b. 3 Nov. 1835; m. 20 Nov. 1866 Selina Roberts, b. 3 Mar. 1847, dau. of Benj. of Beverly, Mass. Issue at Beverly: Charles Walker Raymond, d. 25 Nov. 1868, 5 mos.; Charles Walker Raymond, b. 12 Sept. 1869; Martha Adelaide Raymond, b. 20 Dec. 1871; William Henry Raymond, b. 20 Feb. 1875; Edgar C. Raymond, b. 25 Aug. 1877, d. 23 Feb. 1880; Florence C. Raymond, b. 25 May 1881.
  - 3a) Lydia Anne Raymond, b. 15 Nov. 1837, m. 10 Aug. 1857, Warren Augustus CANN: Had issue. at Yar.
  - 4a) Isabella Raymond, b. 16 Jan 1839 m. 13 Nov. 1861, Dennis C. CROCKER, son of Dennis. Had issue, Yar. Co.
  - 5a) Amelia Raymond, b. 2 Nov. 1843; m. 1st) 12 Dec 1867 at Milton, John A. McMUNN, 21 yrs., harnessmaker at Yar., son of John and Catherine McMunn, Ireland; divorced, m. 2nd) 25 Oct. 1884 at Milton, John GRANT, age 38 yrs. widower at Lynn, Mass., son of Charles & Isabella Grant, Yar.
- 5) Hannah Raymond, b. 25 Nov. 1808; m. Moses BAIN, b. 6 Mar. 1807, d. 16 Jan 1897. Issue: 3 sons, 3 daus.
- 6) John Raymond, yeoman b. 17 July 1812, d. 15 June 1854 at Milton, Yar. m. Mary Jane Neal. Issue:
  - 1a) Eliza Raymond, m. Capt. Pearl R. DURKEE, res. Milton, Yar. Their dau. Mary, 7 yrs., with Matilda, 6 yrs. granddaughter of Richard Raymond, drowned in Lake Milo, 16 Feb 1884 in a hole cut for obtaining ice.
  - 2a) Theodosia Raymond m. at Yar. 1865 Capt. Norman DURKEE.
- 7) Wesley W. Raymond, yeoman at Yar., b. 6 Aug. 1815; m. 9 Oct. 1842 Harriet Dalton, dau. of Maurice of Chegoggin. Issue: 2 sons. She m. 2nd) ca. 1852 Asahel Whitman, Vancouver St., Yar. who became the guardian of her only living son by Wesley Raymond. By Asahel Whitman, she had two further sons.
  - 1a) William Henry Raymond, mariner, sailed in northern waters, grocer at Milton, 1875, manager, Milton Iron Foundry, Yar; b. 14 Aug. 1843 at Chegoggin, d. 21 May 1913 at Yar.; m. 30 Apr. 1874 at Hebron, Georgiana Hemeon dau. of Abraham of Plymouth, Yar. Co. b. 28 Jan. 1848 at Plymouth, d. 31 Mar 1930 at Yar. Issue: 1 still born, 1 son, 4 daus. all b. at Milton, Yar.
    - 1b) Still born child, d. 28 Dec. 1874.
    - 2b) Josephine Maud Raymond, b. 8 Oct 1875, d. 15 Aug, 1942 at Yar. Hospital, unm.
    - 3b) Luella Adelaide Raymond, taught at the old Centre School, Yar., b. 30 Jan. 1879, d. 24 Dec. 1924 of cancer; unm.
    - 4b) Ada May Raymond, b. 1 Dec 1880 d. 11 Dec 1940; m. 11 May 1920 Joseph Ethron HOPKINS of Yar. No issue.
    - 5b) Ivalo Winnifred Raymond, b. 16 May 1890, d. 20 Feb. 1902 of pneumonia at Yar.



- 6b) Douglas Dalton Raymond, mem. Masonic Order, Gloucester, Mass., mechanic, Yar. b. 11 May 1893, d. 23 Apr. 1977 at Yar. m. Seretha Ellen Smith, dau. Henry Moore Smith, b. 26 July, 1907. Issue: 2 sons.
- 1c) Douglas Gordon Raymond, Regional Administrator, Dept. of Social Services, res. Yar. b. 13 Sept. 1930 at Yar; m. 16 July, 1954 at Annapolis Royal, Hazeleta Pearl Moses, b. 22 June 1936 dau. of Edgar Moses, Deerfield. Issue: 3 sons, 2 daus.
  - 1d) Douglas Bryan Raymond, b. 14 Mar. 1955, Doctor's Cove, Shelburne Co., law student, Dalhousie.
  - 2d) Gary Edgar Raymond, b. 9 July 1956 at Kentville. Education student, Acadia.
  - 3d) Heather Ellen Raymond, b. 19 Apr. 1958, Kentville, child psychology student, Acadia.
  - 4d) Gregory Scott Raymond, b. 3 Apr. 1963, Kentville.
  - 5d) Gillian Beth Raymond, b. 27 Feb. 1972, Yar.
- 2c) Bruce Dalton Raymond, Real Estate Broker, b. 14 June 1937 at Yar; m. 7 July 1959 Ann Trask b. 25 June 1938, Port Maitland, dau. of Leland G. and Bernice (Ford) Trask, Yar. Issue: 2 ch.
  - 1d) Kathryn Ann Raymond, b. 25 Nov. 1960, Halifax.
  - 2d) Peter Bruce Raymond, b. 15 May, 1963, Halifax.
- 2a) Augustua, d. young child.
- 8) Jane Raymond, b. 5 Aug. 1818, m. Willoughby SOLLOWS of Yar. yeoman, son of Willoughby.
- 9) Susannah R. Raymond, b. 22 Apr. 1826, m. 5 Jan. 1848, Robert McINTOSH, res. Milton, widowed by 1854.
4. Rebekkah Raymond, b. 7 Sept. 1782 at Yarmouth, m. Benj. ELLIS.
5. Hannah Raymond, b. at Yar. 8 Oct. 1784, d. 3 Oct. 1870; m. 22 Apr. 1802 Deacon Joseph ROBBINS of Chebogue. Had issue.
6. Deacon Joseph Raymond, farmer at Chebogue, b. 29 Oct. 1785, d. 24 Oct. 1855; m. Tabitha (Dennis) Crawley, widow of John, d. 16 Jan. 1855, aged 77 yrs. Bur. Town Pt. Cem. Issue: 1 son, 4 daus.
  - 1) Cynthia Raymond, b. 27 April, 1808, d. 28 Dec. 1892; m. Capt. John CROSBY.
  - 2) Thirza Raymond m. Capt. Charles P. MORRILL.
  - 3) Tabitha Raymond, b. 26 Apr. 1812, d. 13 Aug. 1891; m. 25 Sept 1833 Vincent HARRIS.
  - 4) Joseph Raymond, b. ca. 1815, d. 11 Dec. 1892 in Australia; m. 18 Dec. 1838, Letitia Flint, dau. of Capt. Thos. They had Elizabeth; Mary Hannah, d. young; Arthur, d. young; Joseph; Mary m. Capt Isreal CANN.
  - 5) Susan Raymond, d. 20 Apr. 1826, aged 5 yrs. 3 mos. 3 days.
7. Mary Raymond, b. 14 Sept, 1787 at Yarmouth, d. 10 July, 1860; m. Michael HUTCHISON.
8. Abijah Raymond, farmer, Temperance worker, plied his trade of ship joiner making the woodwork that was necessary to finish the interior of the ships, such as the deckhouse, sky-lights and cabins, lived at Beaver River with his first family & then removed to Hebron, Yar. Co.; b. 10 Mar. 1789, at Yar., d. Nov. 1870; m. 1st) Zilpha Crocker, b. 1793, d. 1842 and had 10 ch.
  - 1) Zilpha Raymond, b. 1815, d. 1842; m. Rene WETMORE.
  - 2) Eleazer Raymond, farmer, shipbuilder at Beaver River, later at Port



Maitland where he also had a general store with his son Jacob Whitman Raymond and son-in-law, Geo. Brown, b. ca. 1818, d. 12 July, 1892; m. 5 Dec. 1841, Mary Eliza Porter, dau. Josiah, b. 2 Sept. 1822, d. 1907. Issue: 3 sons, 9 daus.

- 1a) Zilpha Raymond, b. Apr. 1843 at Port Mait., d. 30 Sept. 1912 at Lynn, Mass. m. James C. MOSES.
- 2a) Jacob **Whitman** Raymond, carpenter, lived in Port Mait. b. 25 July, 1844; m. 28 Nov. 1866 Sarah Sollows, dau. of Walter. Issue: 4 daus. Laura, Flora, Phoebe and Winnifred.
- 3a) Capt. Charles Raymond, master, Barque "Napier", 1177 tons, sailed from Pensacola, Fla. 16 Oct. 1885 for Antwerp with cargo of deals and boards, not afterwards heard from; b. 7 May, 1846, d. Oct. 1885; m. at Yar. 26 Dec. 1874, Alice Maria PERRY, age 27 yrs. d. 13 May, 1929, dau. of William and Mary (Sollows) Perry, Port Maitland. No issue.
- 4a) Vincent Raymond, farmed, built ships at Port Maitland shore; b. 12 Apr. 1848; m. at Beaver River, 5 Sept. 1878, Hannah PERRY, dau. of Capt. John of Brookville. She d. 26 Feb. 1909, aged 52 yrs of consumption at Port Maitland.
- 5a) Almaretta Raymond, b. 22 June, 1850, d. 30 May, 1913 at Port Maitland; m. 11 Dec. 1869, Anthony D. SOLLOWS, age 22 yrs., seaman, son of John. Had issue at Maitland.
- 6a) Sarah Raymond, b. 1852, d. 20 Nov. 1897 at Port Maitland and; m. 14 Nov. 1874, Clements SOLLOWS, age 25 yrs., mariner son of George. Had issue at Maitland.
- 7a) Lois R. Raymond, b. 25 Feb. 1854, d. 1 June, 1905; m. 14 Nov. 1874, George Cann Brown, age 23 yrs., shoemaker, later merchant at Port Maitland, Yar. Co. son of Thomas & Elizabeth Brown, Chegoggin. Had issue at Maitland.
- 8a) Mary Eliza Raymond, b. 6 Feb. 1856; m. at Yar. 9 Sept. 1876, C. Howard CURRY age 23 yrs., joiner, son of Thomas Curry, Maitland. Had issue.
- 9a) Dora E. Raymond, b. 12 Feb. 1858, d. 19 Mar. 1912 of anemia; m. Capt. Charles NICKERSON, Barton, Digby Co.
- Grace LILLIAN Raymond, b. 6 Oct. 1860, d. 24 June, 1885, unm.
- 11a) Josephine Raymond, b. May 1863, d. infant.
- 12a) Harriet Raymond, b. 7 Mar. 1866 at Port Maitland, d. 16 Dec. 1938, Brookline, Mass; m. at Maitland, 12 Mar. 1887, Norman J. CROSBY, b. 17 May, 1863, d. 6 July, 1927, son of Norman Crosby of Ohio. No issue.
- 3) Almira Raymond, d. 3 July, 1838; m. Benjamin PORTER, son of Josiah, he m. 2nd) her sister Rebecca Raymond.
- 4) Edward Raymond, d. young.
- 5) Rebecca Raymond; m. 1841 Benj. PORTER. Had issue.
- 6) Abijah Raymond, lived at Beaver River, later shipcarpenter at Boston, Mass; m. 1st) Abigail Crosby, m. 2nd) Mary Shehan. He had 7 ch.
- 7) Lydia C. Raymond, m. Thomas C. PIPER, Ohio, Yar. Co.; her children lawfully took the name of Raymond. Issue: 3 sons.
  - 1a) George Augustus Raymond.
  - 2a) Frederick C. Raymond, importer, Brooklyn, N. Y. at age 24 yrs. m. 19 Aug. 1880, at Beaver River, Alice M. Raymond, age 20 yrs., dau. of Wm. C. Raymond, builder, and Mary A. Raymond, Beaver River.
  - 3a) Joseph Eleazer Raymond, shipbuilder, prob. at Beaver River.

- 8) William C. Raymond, shipcarpenter builder at Beaver River active Temp worker, 1859, res. N. Y. 1886; m. 29 Dec. 1853, Mary A. RAYMOND, dau. of William S. Raymond of Beaver River. Issue at Beaver River: 4 sons, 4 daus.
  - 1a) Gilman E. Raymond, b. 20 Sept. 1854, mariner, Beaver River; m. there on 23 Apr. d. 1881, Hattie, age 26 yrs., dau. of Nathan and Hannah Crosby, farmer, Pleasant Valley, Yar. Co. Lived in Taconia, Wash. Issue: 1 ch. perhaps others.
  - 1b) Alice Raymond, b. June, 1884.
  - 2a) Evelyn Weber Raymond, New York City, b. 16 Feb. 1856; m. 1st) 1 Mar. 1882, Annie Palmer of Kingston, N. S. She d. 24 Oct. 1883, N. Y. they had 1b) a son, b. 18 Aug. 1883. He m. 2nd) at Lawrence-town, N. S., 29 Dec. 1886, Clara Belle Marshall, b. 13 Jan. 1860 at Mt. Hanley, N. S. d. 28 May, 1939, N. Y., dau. of Theodore and Susan Marshall, farmer. CLARA BELLE MARSHALL, first woman graduate of Acadia College, B.A., 1884; Matron at College Girls Res., Acadia, 1909-19. issue: 1 son, 2 daus.
  - 2b) Vera Raymond, d. Smith's Cove; m. 1st) Herbert CORNWALL of Roseway, Digby Co. and had 2 sons, Woodrow and Lincoln CORNWALL; m. 2nd) Jack LANGMAN, Ont.
  - 3b) Cecil Raymond, b. 6 Apr. 1892, N. Y., d. Jan. 1970 at Digby; m. 28 Sept. 1920, Annie Katherine b. 8 Mar. 1898 at Smith's Cove, dau. of John Kelsey Cassaboom.
    - 1c) Kelsey Raymond, artist, studied, Mt. A.; National Academy of Design, U.S.; b. 5 Apr. 1926, N. Y. City; m. Mary Louise MILLS of Salt Springs, N. S. They have 2 adpt. ch. and live in Smith's Cove, Digby Co.
    - 1d) David Harold Raymond
    - 2d) Anne Mary Raymond
    - 2c) Twins, d. infants.
  - 4b) Mary Marshall, b. 28 Aug. 1893, Yonkers, N.Y.; B.A. Acadia, 1914; M.A. 1915; B.S. Simmons, 1917; Head Cataloger, Engineering Societies Library, N.Y. City, retired; mem. Am. Library Assoc. Res. N.Y.
- 3a) Arthur W. Raymond, b. 26 Apr. 1857.
- 4a) Alice M. Raymond, b. 1 Apr. 1860, d. 15 Sept. 1883, N. Y.; m. at Beaver River, 19 Aug. 1880, Frederick C. RAYMOND, age 24 yrs., importer, Brooklyn, N. Y., son of Lydia (dau. of Abijah RAYMOND) who had m. Thomas PIPER, her ch. lawfully taking the name of Raymond.
  - 5a) Florence B. Raymond, b. 21 Dec. 1861.
  - 6a) Stella E. Raymond, b. 29 Mar. 1863.
  - 7a) Nettie Raymond, b. 26 Oct. 1865.
  - 8a) Vernon Raymond, b. 20 Apr. 1875, d. 20 July, 1877 at Beaver River.
- 9) Tabitha Raymond, m. 22 Nov. 1855, Capt. John SANDERS.
- 10) Joseph Raymond, lost at sea ca. 19 yrs.
- 11) Anthony D. Raymond, merchant at Yar; m. age 26 yrs. at Hebron, 23 Apr. 1872, Deborah Rogers, age 26 yrs., dau. of Capt. Joseph and Sarah Rogers, Hebron.
- 12) Augusta Raymond, m. age 19 yrs. at Yarmouth, 5 Dec. 1867, Edward B. STEEL, age 23 yrs, Hebron, son of James and Diadema Steel, Anna. prob. m. 2nd) John G. PERRY, had issue. and lived at Port Maitland.
- 13) Watson Raymond.

9. Joel Raymond, living in Beaver River, Digby Co. in 1828 where he lost his home and a barn in the great fire of 1820, removed to Eastport, Maine and d. there; b. 21 Feb. 1793 at Yar. N. S. m. Hannah, dau. of Charles Huckins Crosby of Yar. Co. and had 3 ch. perhaps others.
  - 1) Hiram Raymond
  - 2) Joel Raymond
  - 3) Sarah A. Raymond, m. William G. HAMMOND of Liverpool, Eng.
10. Deacon Josiah Raymond, (twin), farmer, Hebron, Yar. Co.; active mem. Yar. Co. Agric. Soc.; municipal councillor, 1857-58; Justice of Peace, 1859; b. 8 Aug. 1796, Yar., d. 23 Oct. 1869; m. 1st) 15 Apr. 1819, Hannah Flint, b. 26 Sept. 1798, d. 20 Sept. 1868. They had 5 sons and 5 daus. He m. 2nd) 10 Mar. 1869, Mary Alice Vickery, widow, age 43 yrs. dau. Capt. Nathaniel and Alice POWER, Ohio, N. S. No. issue.
  - 1) Catherine Raymond, b. 11 Jan. 1820, d. 18 Dec. 1826.
  - 2) Jacob Raymond, b. 27 May 1823, d. 11 July 1844, umn.
  - 3) John F. Raymond, b. 18 Oct. 1825, d. 3 July, 1827.
  - 4) Catherine Matilda Raymond, b. 30 Dec. 1827, d. 29 Feb. 1852. m. 7 May 1844, Gilbert F. CLARK.
  - 5) Harriet A. Raymond, b. 16 Dec. 1829, d. 16 Sept. 1914; m. 1st) David James LANDERS, d. 2 Mar. 1863, son of David; m. 2nd) 29 Jan. 1873, John F. DOWLING, d. 11 May 1900. After Josiah Raymond's death, Mrs. Dowling became heir to her father's farm at Hebron and lived there for many yrs.
  - 6) Josiah Raymond, b. 2 June, 1834, d. 4 July, 1846.
  - 7) Hannah Raymond, b. 3 Dec. 1836, d. 10 Apr. 1837.
  - 8) Samuel Flint Raymond, stone cutter (marble worker), removed to Yar. after his father's death. b. 17 Mar. 1838, d. 23 Jan. 1872 after a short illness; m. 4 Dec. 1862, Margaret Hannah Clements, b. Apr. 1840, d. 23 Jan. 1900, dau. of Capt. Charles. They had 7 ch.
    - 1a) Annie Raymond, b. 1 Sept. 1863, d. 13 Oct. 1863.
    - 2a) Harry Howard Raymond, internationally known in the shipping circles of America, left school age 17 yrs. to become a clerk with the Clements Steamship Co. (named for his mother's family) which ran vessels from Yar. to Boston; progressed to world prominence as President of the Clyde and Malory Lines and Chairman of the Board, Atlantic Gulf and West Indies Shipping Lines. He was director, part owner of the Eastern Steamship Co. operating the "Yarmouth", "Acadia", "Evangeline". from Yar. to Boston and N. Y. A well known sportsman, he maintained homes in N. Y. and Florida, spending his summers in Hebron, formerly the home of his grandfather, Josiah Raymond, which he rebuilt in 1928 and renamed "Scotian Farm". (presently the Manor Inn) Don Prosser of Wellington managed the farm for 39 yrs. for H. H. Raymond, then for his nephew Don Raymond, raising purebred cattle and horses. b. 16 Dec. d. 27 Dec. 1935 at Hebron; m. 1st) — 2nd) Nellie Dalgreen Raymond, widow of his brother Joseph. No issue.
    - 3a) E. Francis (Frank) Raymond, d. 2 Jan. 1931, age 65 yrs. of heart trouble at N. Y. Steamboat Manager.
    - 4a) George G. Raymond, b. 8 Feb. 1867 President of Todd Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. Ltd., lived in Hoboken, N. J.
    - 5a) Hattie L. Raymond, d. 8 May, 1869, age 6 mos.
    - 6a) Josiah S. (Joseph) Raymond, active in YMCA, Yar. & Charlot-town, PEI; manager, Clements Feed Store; auctioneer; removed to N. Y. and Jacksonville, Fla; Vice-pres. Clyde Mallory Line of



- steamers; b. 23 Sept. 1870, d. 27 Feb. 1916 at Essex Fells, N. J.; m. 30 Aug. 1893 at Yar. Nellie Adelia Dalgren, b. 28 July, 1870, at Weymouth, Digby Co., d. 17 July 1945, dau. of Wm. Henry Dalgren and Margaret A. Jones. They had 1 son.
- 1b) George Donovan (Don) Raymond, prominent yachtsman, mem. Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron, Halifax; General Agent, 1931, Eastern Steamship Lines operating between Yar. and Boston, and N.Y.; founded Motor Mart Ltd., Yar. 1934. b. 19 Jan. 1896 at Yar. d. 1 Mar. 1970 at Hebron. m. 1st) Robin Young, b. 13 Mar. 1898 in Tenn. d. 12 Aug. 1940 at Yar., dau. of Melvin Young of N.J. and Margetta Bowers, Tenn.; m. 2nd) Beulah Brown, b. 26 Mar. 1921, d. 1 Sept. 1965 at V. G. Hospital, Halifax, dau. of Ralph U. Brown and Evelyn Raymond of Yar. No issue.
- 7a) Harriet P. Raymond, d. 20 Oct. 1873, age 2 yrs., 6 mos.
- 9) Emily Hannah Raymond, b. 17 Oct. 1840, d. 24 Feb. 1862, unm.
- 10) Jacob Alvin Raymond, yeoman, merchant at Yar., b. 23 Oct., 1844, d. 22 Sept. 1867 in Barbados, W. I. of Consumption; m. 14 June 1864, Lizzie L. Gardner, dau. of Nathaniel B. Gardner, shipbuilder, Yar. and had 3 ch. Lizzie Raymond, m. 2nd.) age 25 yrs. at Yar. Edward B. Cann, son of Louis and had 2 daus. Helen and Jeanette.
- 1a) Rev. Garrett Percy Raymond, b. 15 Mar. 1865 on an English ship in the harbour of Bridgetown, Barbados, d. 29 Mar. 1933, Fla.; B.A. 1890, M.A. 1895 (Acadia); Pastor Bapt. Churches in N. S. and P.E.I. and Starke, Fla.; Fruit Grower, Berwick; District Manager Can. Life, Kentville, later Starke, Fla. m. 1st) 28 Dec. 1887, Annie Sanford of Weston, N. S. and had 2 sons, 1 dau. He m. 2nd) 1909, Ruby Lorraine MacDonald, of Halifax, she d. 19 Jan. 1959, age 74 yrs. They had 3 sons.
- 1b) Charles Sanford Raymond, b. 21 Sept. 1888, d. 28 Sept. 1978; m. Kate Bartlett. Res. Rousseau, Ont.
- 1c) Ralph Raymond, b. 2 June 1916, lives in Burlington, Ont., m. twice. He has a dau. Joyce, b. 20 Aug. 1939.
- 2b) Harriet Maud Raymond, b. 10 Mar. 1890, d. May 1948 at Luzon. Philippines; served as a Baptist missionary and teacher 30 yrs. in the Philippines, taught in the Bible Training School for many years, opened the Kalinga Academy, 1927; held prisoner by the Japanese in the Baguio Internment Camp 1942, released when the American troops captured the town, 1945; returned to the field, 1946, to Ifugao Academy until her death, unm.
- 3b) Harold Gardner Raymond, Underwriter, Canada Life in Halifax, b. 2 Aug. 1897 at New Glasgow, d. 8 Apr. 1972 at Halifax; m. at Liverpool, 21 June, 1921, Mary Seeton Hendry, b. 12 Aug. 1897 at Liverpool, d. 23 Aug. 1973, dau. of Abram Hendry; she was chairman and lifetime honorary vice-pres. of the Red Cross, Women's Work Comm. N. S. Div. They had 1 son, 2 daus.
- 1c) Lorna Raymond, b. 25 Mar. 1922 at Halifax; m. 27 Dec. 1948, Kenneth Onslow MITCHELL, b. 18 Sept. 1919, Oyster Pond, Jeddore, Hfx. Co. d. 23 Jan. 1972, son of Cecil Mitchell, Insurance Agent, Canada Life, Halifax. Issue: 2 daus.
- 1d) Catherine Priscilla Mitchell, b. 28 Oct. 1949 at Antigonish; grad. Acadia, 1972; lives in Halifax.

- 2d) Mary Anne Mitchell, b. 27 Apr. 1952 at Halifax; m. 13 Nov. 1976, Bruce Edward McDONALD. Lives in Pictou Co.
- 2c) Phillip Hendry Raymond, Pres. Scotia Equipment Ltd. Halifax; b. 27 June 1927 at Halifax; m. 1 Aug. 1950, Eula Gloria Verge, b. 11 Aug. 1926, Watt Section, Hfx. Co., dau. of Howard Verge. They have 5 ch.
  - 1d) Paul Verge Raymond, engineer with C.I.L. Montreal, b. 18 May, 1951 at Halifax; m. 5 Aug. 1978, Diane dau. of Marcel Blondin, Montreal.
  - 2d) Andrew Harold Raymond, b. 23 Mar. 1953 at Montreal. Res. Vancouver.
  - 3d) Jane Eula Raymond, b. 7 June 1954, Montreal. PhD. Psych. Dalhousie, Halifax.
  - 4d) Mary Hendry Raymond, B.N. Dal., b. 29 May, 1955.
  - 5d) John Phillip Raymond, b. 29 June, 1967.
- 3c) Priscilla Raymond, R.N., b. 5 Feb. 1929 at Halifax; m. 15 Mar. 1974, Gordon Stewart BAULD, widower, b. 10 Feb. 1917, Gen. Insurance Agent, Halifax.
- 4b) George Manning Raymond, b. Anna., d. 1959, age 48 yrs, Gulfport, Miss. m. Roberta — No issue.
- 5b) Deacon Garrett Paul Raymond, Security Div. Fla. State Prison, retired, Apr. 1978; m. Ethel Moore and lives in Starke, Fla. No issue.
- 6b) Edward Cann Raymond, Manager, Robertson's Home Hardware, Shelb. N. S., b. 7 Nov. 1919 at Berwick; m. Edith Lillian Reid, b. 20 May 1920 at Haliberry, Ont., d. 20 Jan. 1976 at Yar. dau. of Wm. Reid. Issue: 3 daus.
  - 1c) Diane Raymond, studied at Conservatory of Music, Halifax, piano, voice, b. 14 Sept. 1947; m. Stanley NICKERSON son of Elliot. They have 2 daus. Marcia & Kira and live in Truro.
- 2c) Pauline Raymond, (twin) Acadia, BEd., music, b. 1 Feb. 1951; m. Dec. 1976, Paul BLADES of Continental Seafoods, Shelburne Fisheries, Robertson's Home Hardware, Shelb. N. S. Issue: 1 dau. Hannah Blades.
- 3c) Paulette Raymond, (twin) Acadia BEd., music; b. 1 Feb. 1951; m. Victor HARRIS. Live in Mt. Denson, Hants Co.
  - 2a) Flora May Raymond, d. 3 Aug. 1867, aged 15 mos.
  - 3a) Emily Frances Raymond, Librarian, Old Yar. Library, b. 25 Dec. 1867, d. 22 Jan. 1962 at Yarmouth, unmd.
- 11. Asa Raymond (twin) b. 8 Aug. 1796, d. 31 Aug. 1796.

## APPENDIX

Yarmouth was the first area in British North America to get caught up in the temperance movement which was then sweeping the English-speaking world. It was, as D. C. Harvey has said, a time of intellectual awakening in Nova Scotia. The men of Yarmouth were probably no more sunk in rum than were many citizens of other communities around the province, but the town was then a great ship-building centre, and very much in the current of the times. The town had a library from 1822, and in 1827 a newspaper had been attempted. It was a time and a place where a man with an idea and the energy to pursue it could dare to try and hope for success.

An early settler, Joseph Porter of Springdale, became deeply concerned about the rising tide of intemperance he saw all around him. His alarm over the effects of drunkenness on his community resulted in the founding of the first group in British America dedicated to abstinence from liquor. On April 23, 1828, he was instrumental in founding the Beaver River Temperance Society.

One day as he was chopping fire wood, he was pondering the miseries endured by so many in his neighbourhood because of the abuse of strong drink. He decided that the time had come to take action. Leaving the axe buried in a log, he turned and strode into the house. He announced to his startled wife that he must go to Beaver River.

His first stop was at the bar-room kept by Jonathan Raymond. To his surprise he found that Jonathan had also been deeply concerned about the villagers drinking to excess. Together they went from house to house and found six others who would join them. It was suggested that they meet in the little schoolhouse at Beaver River Corner. They were not sure how best to organize themselves when the schoolmaster came in. John Wetmore was a Yale graduate, and he agreed to use his gift with the pen to write out a temperance pledge for them. It read: "We, the undersigned, firmly believing that the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage is injurious to the bodies and souls of mankind in general, both spiritual and temporal, and to remedy their great and spreading evil, we, whose names are hereto annexed do forever renounce the use of such, except when prescribed by a physician as a medicine in case of sickness. And we pray Almighty God to establish our hearts and strengthen our serious resolutions.

Jonathan Raymond  
Josiah Porter  
Daniel B. Corning  
William Perry Sr.  
Ebenezer Corning  
David Corning, Sr.  
Joseph Corning  
David Corning, Jr.

Jonathan Raymond went home from the meeting, closed his barroom and emptied his rum kegs. In 1844, his son Reuben M. Raymond wrote an account of the Temperance Society at Beaver River. Here in Reuben's own words and original spelling, he tells the story.

Now a little about the habit of the people at that time of the fire the most of them were almost abstainers from rum but some say that Drunkenness prevailed to a great degree but that is a wrong statement for it did not

Well you would say how did the people live through the coming winter well, they had moved away in the woods to form a settlement they were a steady hard working people they were not easy daunted and you remember there was three houses that was not burned that answered for the most of the people for the time being a few families had to be moved away tel their house could be built



they got a little help to begun with they verry soon built one of their sawmills to procure lumber for their buildings likewise for market through the winter to buy such things as they must have to save life and so they worked through the loss

Now as a sample of the Drunkenness in Beaver River I will take the man that was with all called as great a Drunkard as any in the place he had every thing burned house and everything in it not even so much as a spoon or a handkercheif saved his barn and hay the most of his cattle and fences swept clean and his potatoes mostly burned in the ground Now he had a family of little children to provide for what could he or what would he do as a Drunkard he went to work as all other sober men does he owned part of a fish house on the beach at the seashore that did not burn he procured that, hauled it to a convenient place and took his family in it and took care of them and got material and built a good house and barn, fenced his farm, renewed his stock and made a living all this he done in a few years now this was a time when rum was plenty and he could get any quantity of rum if he was a mind to do so but he done as I have stated now where is the great Drunkenness of Beaver River

Now to that mans honour I will tel you who he was Brother Daniel B. Corning and he was one who volunteered to make up that little band of worthys who first signed the teatotal Gospel temperance pledge and he kept his pledge sacred to the day of his death

Now again where was the great drunkenness of Beaver River it was not in existence there

I believe it was because the people of Beaver River at that time was a God serveing people that he took them and made them his instruments to do his work to unfir and raise the banner of temperance that should flow from that little place and should flow on to and through the different Kingdoms and Nations of the world to stay that growing eveil the tide of intemperance . . . . .

### Notes on Sources

1. Cemeteries: (Yarmouth) Carleton, Centreville (Digby Co.) Chebogue, Hebron, Mountain Cemetery, Pleasant Valley, Port Maitland—Beaver River, Riverside.
2. Census Records: PANS 1827, 1871.
3. Durkee Memorial Library, Carleton, Yar. Co., Curator, Miss Alice Richardson.
4. "In Days Gone By", George A. MacInnis, Yar. Vanguard, 19 Apr. 1978.
5. Josiah Raymond's Bible, courtesy Raymond Family of Halifax.
6. Newspapers: Chronicle Herald, Yarmouth Herald, Yarmouth Telegram.
7. Notes on Families: "Genealogy of the Raymond Family of New England" by Samuel Raymond, pub. 1886; notes on the Benj. C. Raymond Family of Beaver River and N. Y. collected by Mrs. Etta (Raymond) Walters of N. Y.; notes on the Raymond Family 1967-1978 compiled by Ann Raymond.
8. Personal: The assistance given by the following people was greatly appreciated: Dr. Blakeley, Associated Archivist, PANS; Mrs. Diane Ellis, Carleton; Miss Marion Hilton, Yar.; Commander Louis and Mrs. Mae (Raymond) Parry, N. Y.; Mrs. Beth Pierce, Wellington, Yar.; Mrs. Beth (Raymond) Parry, N. Y.; Mrs. Beth Pierce, Wellington, Yar.; Mrs. Evangeline Pothier, Beaver River; Mr. Terrence Punch, F.R.S.A.I., Halifax; Mrs. Hazel Raymond, Yarmouth; Miss Marilee Richardson, Carleton; Eric Ruff, Curator, Yar. Co. Historical Society Museum; Mrs. Walter Thomas, Port Maitland; Miss Alice Wetmore, Yarmouth.
9. Probate Records at Yarmouth.
10. Registrar of Deeds, Yarmouth; PANS Yar. Co. deeds, micro-film 1773-1817.
11. Sweeney's Funeral Records in Yar. & the I. W. Killam Library, Halifax.
12. Temperance Society at Beaver River and notes on Josiah Porter, courtesy of Sabra Ellis, Hebron, Yar. Co.
13. Vaughan Memorial Library, Acadia Univ., "Hebron Church Records, 1837-41, Pat Townsend, librarian.
14. Vital Statistics: Marriage Bonds, N. S., counties of Anna., Digby & Yarmouth; "Township of Yarmouth, Births, Deaths, Marriages, 1760-1811", PANS, Mss Room Sec 10/D.
15. Yarmouth County Historical Society Museum Library:
  1. "Canada's First and Only Tidal Lock at Yarmouth, N. S." by Robert F. Leggett in "Canadian Consulting Engineers" 1978.
  2. Cemetery Records, Clem Doane.
  3. Minutes of the Inland Navigation Co. 1811-20, Yar.
  4. McAlpines Directory, 1868-69.
  5. Records of Early Marriages & Deaths in Yar. Rev. Jonathan Scott.
  6. "Wooden Ships & Iron Men", by Frederick Wallace.
  7. "Yarmouth Reminiscences", J. Murray Lawson.
  8. Yarmouth Town and County Directories, 1890, 1895.
16. The Acadia Record. 1838-1953", Watson Kirkconnell, 1953.

## *Contributors*

CHARLES BRUCE FERGUSSON was born in Port Morien, Nova Scotia, and received his early education there and in Glace Bay.

He attended the Provincial Normal College in Truro, 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. He was also the recipient of the Centennial Medal.

Dr. Fergusson retired from his position of Archivist of Nova Scotia in 1977 and passed away suddenly in September of this year. He was Assistant Professor of History at Dalhousie University and had a vast knowledge of our province and wide writing experience; being the author of books, articles, pamphlets, papers, reviews, and many other works too numerous to mention here.

He was 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 was also a member of the Editorial Board of the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, and when called upon, was most generous in his assistance to the publication.



DONALD F. CHARD is a Nova Scotian and received his early education here. He was granted a Bachelor of Arts from King's College, Halifax, a Master of Arts from Dalhousie University, Halifax, and Doctorate from the University of Ottawa.

Dr. Chard is very interested in history and writing and his work has been published in **American Neptune**, Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and the **Dictionary of Canadian Biography**.

His present occupation is that of Historic Park Planner. He is also a university lecturer and a research assistant at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

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JANE GORDON KEYES was born in New York City. She was granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Antioch College, Ohio, and received her Masters and Doctoral degrees from Southern Illinois University. She undertook further studies in Switzerland and India.

Dr. Keyes is especially interested in the family in history. An article co-authored by Dr. Keyes appeared in **The American Sociological Review**, while another article by Dr. Keyes appeared in **The Journal of Thought**.

Dr. Keyes taught junior high school for a time in India and is now Professor in the Sociology Department of Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax. She was married in the Quaker persuasion and is active in their work.

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HUGH FRANCIS PULLEN was born in Toronto, Ontario and received his early education at Lakefield Preparatory School, Lakefield, Ontario. He attended the Royal Naval College of Canada, Esquimalt, British Columbia and the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, England.

Rear Admiral Pullen served with the Royal Canadian Navy since 1942 and was mentioned in Dispatches during World War II. He is also the recipient of the O.B.E. and C. D.

He is author of "The March of the Seamen", "Montreal's Monument to Nelson", "Atlantic Schooners" and "The Shannon and the Chesapeake".

He is a member of the Society for Nautical Research, Navy Records Society, Canadian Historical Association and Nova Scotia Historical Society.

Rear Admiral Pullen is retired and lives in Chester Basin, Nova Scotia.

TERRENCE MICHAEL PUNCH was born in Halifax and received his early education in Halifax public schools. He received degrees in Arts and Journalism from St. Mary's University in 1964, and the degrees of Bachelor of Education and Master of Arts since that time.

He is a member of the Canadian Historical Association, the Irish Genealogical Research Society, the Historical Association, the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Charitable Irish Society, and was elected a life Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland in 1963. Mr. Punch was a member of the Centennial Committee of the N. S. Teachers' Union in 1966-67, and was winner of the first prize in the historical article section of the literary contest held in 1975 by the Nova Scotia branch of the Canadian Authors' Association and the Department of Recreation.

He lives in Armdale with his wife, Pam, and three young children.

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KEITH ALFRED HATCHARD was born at Poole, Dorset, England and received his early education there. He attended Sir George Williams University and Saint Mary's University where he was granted the degree of Bachelor of Commerce and Master of Business Administration.

He has written numerous University papers and is interested in local history and genealogy.

Mr. Hatchard is Senior Contracts Administrator at Hermes Electronics Ltd. of Canadian Marconi Company and resides in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.

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ANN RAYMOND is a Nova Scotian from Yarmouth. She has an avid interest in genealogy and local history in which she has done extensive research.

She is on the executive of the Yarmouth County Historical Society, a Trustee, 1978-1981 of the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia and a member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Archival Association of Atlantic Canada and the Federation of Museums, Heritage and Historical Societies. Before her marriage Mrs. Raymond taught school.

# *Book Reviews*

LORNA INNESS

**Sandy Cove, Mary Kate Bull**  
188 pages, paperback, illustrated, published 1978  
Privately printed by Mary Kate Bull, Sandy Cove,  
Digby Co., N. S. B0V 1E0

This "history of a Nova Scotia village" covers an area not written about as extensively as some other parts of the province. In her preface, Mrs. Bull comments that "Nova Scotians have gone from such places as Sandy Cove into all parts of the country taking their 'distinctive character' with them.

Mrs. Bull outlines the Loyalist background of the small community, noting that some of the earliest of the settlers were among passengers on vessels which arrived at Digby in June, 1783, escorted by one of Admiral Digby's ships.

The names of settlers receiving grants of land during the 1780s at Sandy Cove included: Saunders, Harris, Stanton, Blackford, Fountain, Brewer, Burrell, Stewart, Raymond, Jones, Morehouse, Peters, Soulis, James, Dixon and Kerr.

Under the terms of the grants there was a period of 10 years before the government started to collect an annual rent of two shillings for every hundred acres. Settlers had the right to hunt and fish, cut trees excepting white pine, and "the right to any minerals except gold, silver, copper, lead and coal." Before the final grant was issued, a settler had to clear land, develop it and build a house.

Mrs. Bull gives interesting accounts of the family backgrounds of several of the settlers, and further insight into the times is given by reproducing entries from diaries and account books showing not only amounts paid for specific items but the type of work done.

A chapter devoted to church history reveals that the first settlers called the community Prince William Henry Cove after the Prince Regent's younger brother who visited Halifax several times as an officer in the Royal Navy and who later became William IV. "In common parlance," notes Mrs. Bull, "it was probably always Sandy Cove and it became so officially in 1864 when the Compulsory Education Act named each school section." Yet another triumph for bureaucracy!



Mrs. Bull also refers to the 19th century practice of holding a yearly auction at which the "destitute of the county were given into the care of the lowest bidder." The practice was later replaced by the opening of a Poor Farm at Marshalltown in 1890.

The author shows the development of roads and services in the area, schools, the building of ships for local coastal trading and to link the community with the world beyond North America.

Noting the importance the sea has played in the history of the community, Mrs. Bull writes: "Two hundred years of life in Sandy Cove could be described in terms of economic development, or growth in communications or as a collection of genealogies. These are each part of the picture but this history is, above all, a story of a village and the sea . . . the sea is life for Sandy Cove."

The book also contains lists of names and dates found on gravestones in local cemeteries, and a partial list of sailing vessels owned or built at Sandy Cove from 1808 to 1890. There is a note that Sandy Cove vessels were registered at Halifax, Yarmouth or Saint John until 1849 when Digby became a port of registry and that registers have not been searched.

There is a detailed list of sources and a bibliography.

Although Mrs. Bull was born in Ottawa, her mother was a Nova Scotian and Mrs. Bull has been a summer resident of Sandy Cove since 1933. The black and white sketch illustrations in the book are the work of her eldest son, Henry Osler Bull.

Sandy Cove is available in some bookstores throughout the province and also directly from the author at her Sandy Cove address (see above), at \$6 per copy plus sufficient money for postage and handling.

**The Halifax Explosion, By Graham Metson  
173 pages, paperback, illustrated, published October 1978  
McGraw-Hill Ryerson, \$8.95**

What Metson has assembled in this flashback to the cataclysm of December 6, 1917, is "a quilt of impressions. Some are close to the moment, others have a relationship to the event tempered by the years."

The first part of the book is a reproduction of the report, the Halifax Disaster, compiled by Archibald MacMechan of Dalhousie University who was put in charge of the Halifax Disaster Record Office.

This reproduction of his report, a finely detailed description compiled from many sources at the time, is illustrated with old photographs.

Two of particular interest show staff at work in the Halifax Relief Offices. The pictures, ironically, came not from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia or some other source in this province, but from the James Collection at the City of Toronto Archives.

The balance of Metson's book consists of a section entitled The Documents which contains reproductions of various items. There's a copy of a telegram sent to the provincial premiers. Who sent the telegram is not clear. There are copies of other telegrams and messages, both sent and received, concerning the disaster and subsequent aid.

Also included are reports, lists of patients, the text of a brief account written by Dr. Ralph P. Bell, chairman of the relief committee, for the Yale News, personal narratives by Dr. W. B. Moore of Kentville, Fred Longland and Helen Clarke Gucker; a paper on scientific aspects of the explosion read in 1918 by Dr. Howard L. Bronson, and the Interim Report of the Mortuary Committee, Halifax Relief, along with statistics concerning known dead and missing.

Reproduced here as well (and the book is worthwhile for students of this particular phase of Nova Scotia history for this inclusion alone) is the text of the Report of the Halifax Relief Expedition, December 6-15, 1917, submitted by Hon. A. C. Ratschesky to Governor McCall of Massachusetts. This story of the massive relief train and expedition of medical and other trained people, supplies and equipment sent from Boston on behalf of the whole state of Massachusetts to the people of Halifax is one of the great heroic epics of North American history.

There is a brief section dealing with "repercussion" with the note that the "account relies heavily on Michael Bird's *The Town That Died*," and an article on the Hydrostone Neighborhood by Ernest Clarke.

What Metson has produced is a series of "interwoven impressions" from which readers are to draw their "own personal meaning."

**The Beauty of Canada, By Lorne Edmond Green**  
**95 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published September 1978**  
**Doubleday Canada Ltd.—\$9.95**

This is the latest addition to the growing number of color photograph albums of Canada, coast to coast, north to south, with each region represented by a handful of pictures, usually showing the most familiar landmarks or qualities of each area.

As Barry Broadfoot, who has written the foreword for the book, observes: "Surely no other country on earth has so much variety." There are some 3,560,238 square miles in this country and any book can only hope to present a well-rounded sampling of what the land is all about.

The book deals with the provinces and territories in separate sections, four to 10 pages for each.

Nova Scotia is represented by misty, mirror-image pictures of reflections on water at Peggy's Cove, Hall's Harbour, and the famous waterfront at Lunenburg.

New Brunswick is represented by a scene showing potato harvesting, and the Hopewell Rocks, which next to Gaspe, must be among the most photographed in Canada; the covered bridge at Hartland, the waterfront at St. Andrew's by the Sea, and reminders of the province's Loyalist heritage.

Prince Edward Island has a farm scene in misty green, the famous council room associated with the Fathers of Confederation, the Lucy Maud Montgomery house—more or less what you might expect.

The other areas receive similar treatment. There's little that's new, but the quality of most of the pictures is good and the book with its outline text (a quick rundown of the prominent features of each area), provides a brief overall impression of the country which would make the book a good all-purpose one to send to someone outside Canada.

The photographs represent the work of several dozen photographers, among them some of Canada's best known such as John de Visser, John Foster, Bill Brooks.

**Cape Breton, By Owen Fitzgerald**  
**96 pages, 88 color plates, hardcover, published October 1978**  
**Oxford University Press, \$9.95**

This collection of color photographs of Cape Breton by Owen Fitzgerald of Sydney is the latest in a series of books about various regions of Canada to be published by the Oxford University Press. The format is similar to the book about Prince Edward Island published last year and another on the Okanagan Valley which will also appear this fall.

As with other books in this series there is a brief introduction by way of text, the pictures being identified only by brief captions.

Fitzgerald's purpose in choosing this assortment of pictures was "to show little more about the life in Cape Breton and the people, especially the people, than one usually sees in such collections."

People are as much a source of fascination for Fitzgerald as the hills and streams of his native Cape Breton Island. Many of the photographs are charming candid shots and some of the pictures which show people at Fortress Louisbourg, dressed in the costumes of a bygone age, like a step back in time. What dreams, for example, are in the mind of the young man dressed as a soldier who looks out from a window at Louisbourg as young soldiers before him did in the long winters and when invasion forces gathered off-shore?

Fitzgerald has photographed Louisbourg in all seasons, all times of day, and the fortress will be the subject of his next book, which will be published by Oxford next year.

But history alone does not dominate this pictorial study of Cape Breton. Industry hums as the fires of Sydney Steel flash high into the sky, men, grimy and tired, come to the surface at the end of a mine shift, fishermen gather traps and buoys in their quest for lobsters.

The scenery of Cape Breton is well represented and one of Fitzgerald's aims was to include pictures of some of the equally picturesque but less well-known parts of the island.

There is a gaiety about the book as pictures of youngsters on a beach or at a carnival, of fiddlers and dancers testify. It is not to hide the many problems which face Cape Breton's people and the serious economic conditions. Rather, as Fitzgerald says, "it is to show the other side of Cape Breton, a more positive side, to show that even when the economic climate is uncertain, the spirit of the people is healthy."

As this Quarterly goes to press another photo album of a distinct Nova Scotia region is being prepared for publication by McClelland & Stewart Ltd.

**Images of Lunenburg County** is a collection of 48 pages of black and white photographs, portraits of people and art studies, by Peter Barss who makes his home at West Dublin.

The book which will retail at \$12.95, is intended to portray "the spirit of a vanished tradition—schooner fishing days on the Nova Scotia coast."

**Images of Lunenburg County** will be reviewed in a subsequent edition of the Quarterly.

**United Empire Loyalists, Series Editor, Mary Archibald,  
Monographs, illustrated, published 1978  
Dundurn Press Ltd., P. O. Box 245, Station F, Toronto M4Y 2L5**

This is a series of four-page monographs concerning individual Loyalist families and it is not surprising that the concept should have originated in Shelburne, the town with such a strong Loyalist heritage.

The monographs resulted from a unit of study on the United Empire Loyalists "as a study in regionalism and cultural diversity", which was conducted by students and staff of the Shelburne Regional High School working with Project Atlantic Canada of the Canada Studies Foundation.

The monographs include what is known of the basic history of the Loyalist concerned and family, along with comments by the Loyalist taken from letters, diaries, etc., and comments about the Loyalist, taken from newspaper accounts, other correspondence, other texts. There are illustrations, as well.



The Loyalists in this first group in the series include Jonathan Odell, William Schurman, Boston King, Joseph Durfee, Peter Sherk, John Johnson, Hannah Ingraham, John Howe (father of Joseph), and Molly Brant.

The monographs are the work of several writers. Mary Archibald of Shelburne, the series editor, has produced the ones on Molly Brant (1736-1796), a Mohawk Indian, and Joseph Durfee (?-1801), a Rhode Island merchant who settled in Port Roseway, as Shelburne was known in those years.

Associate Archivist Dr. Phyllis Blakeley is the author of the monograph on Boston King, (1760-1802), a Black Loyalist who escaped from slavery to Port Roseway, left to settle in Preston and later in Sierra Leone.

The monographs provide basic information about individuals, grouping several references into one format. They are an excellent beginning and it is to be hoped that more will follow in due course.

**In Search of Your Roots, By Angus Baxter**  
**293 pages, hardcover, published March 1978**  
**Macmillan of Canada \$14.95**

Angus Baxter is a noted genealogist who was born in Britain but for whom Canada has become home.

Now a retired Ontario business executive, Baxter continues to pursue with even greater enthusiasm a hobby which he began about 30 years ago when he started looking for records concerning his own family. That search widened to include other families and soon Baxter was writing regular articles on genealogy for British papers and journals.

When Baxter came to Canada he kept alive his interest in genealogy. Attempts to trace his daughter's husband's family ("They came from Scotland to Nova Scotia but nobody knew much more than that.") pointed up the difficulties to be encountered by someone not familiar with the research necessary to the tracing of family names.

Baxter, concerned that there was no ready reference work which provided a guide to all the sources in Canada which might be explored by the amateur—or even professional—ancestor hunter, decided to produce a book, a directory, of such material.

Baxter's book is not limited to Canadian sources, however. "Canada is still a new country and most of us have been too busy making a living to bother about what is often regarded as a frill. But now our children are looking for roots. It is not enough for us to say 'Your grandfather came from Scotland . . .' We need to know from exactly where in these countries . . .", he writes.

To that end, Baxter has included lists of sources for records and useful addresses in a number of European countries as well as in the United States, Australia, Barbados, India, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, New Zealand, Pakistan and South Africa.

Baxter explains the process of beginning a family tree in enough detail that any amateur would be able to make a good start. But the book is not intended for the beginner alone: there is much in the line of detailed source information which will assist the more accomplished genealogist, especially one who may have completed an extensive family tree but run up against a stone wall with some of the branches. As Baxter points out in accounts of his own adventures, often an unexpected happening points the way to a new source when one felt the old ways had been explored to no avail.

The particularly valuable part of Baxter's work is the grouping together, in four distinct regions, of the keys to the mass of Canadian records of all kinds;

census records, church and school records, wills, land grants, passenger lists, library and archival sources, and many more.

In *Search of Your Roots* is the indispensable ready-reference handbook for the genealogist.

**Faces from History, By George Woodcock**  
254 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published October 1978  
Hurtig Publishers, \$29.95

George Woodcock, one of Canada's best-known and most prolific writers of non-fiction has assembled a photograph album of famous Canadians which he calls "Canadian profiles and portraits."

But what an album it is! The scope of it is breathtaking. Moreover, the unique feature of Woodcock's gallery of Canadians who have helped shape this land is that he has chosen only those who might be represented by photographs.

"Photography is in its essence democratic . . .," observes Woodcock. "the camera justifies its reputation for candour by showing—no matter how deceptively the lighting may control the mood—only what is actually there . . ."

Therefore, Woodcock's chosen Canadians are found in the group of those who were well-known, at least in their own localities, by the mid-1800s and after.

The subjects are grouped together under various headings and one can speculate why some who would qualify for inclusion in several of those groups were put in one rather than another.

Woodcock lists his Canadians under such headings as the Colonial period, the Men of Confederation From Ocean unto Ocean, the Fact of Quebec, the Opening of the West, Land beyond the Mountains, the True North, Provinces of the Mind—for such as Susanna Moodie, Archibald Lampman, Charles G. D. Roberts, Nellie McClung, and George Munro Grant—and Days of trial for such as Robert Laird Borden, Arthur Meighen, William Lyon Mackenzie King and Agnes Macphail, among others.

The right-hand pages of the book contain the black and white photographs while the biographical notes appear on the left-hand pages. It is the comparison of the text with the photographs which gives the book its special quality. William Lyon Mackenzie, the first of the subjects, appears every inch the "leader of the only armed rebellion among English-speaking Canadians . . . the man of fiery temper . . ."

Joseph Howe, of course, is in this gallery as one of Nova Scotia's most distinguished sons. Writes Woodcock: "No figure more dramatically represents the local vigour of Nova Scotia in its classic age than Joseph Howe, as writer and as politician, and no man's career better shows the difficulty with which Nova Scotians accepted the limitations on autonomy that Confederation demanded." Adds Woodcock: "He was too closely tuned to Nova Scotian life to be happy elsewhere . . ." When Howe died in 1873, adds Woodcock, "His one great political triumph, the winning of responsible government, lay far in the past, and the vagaries of his later career obscured his other achievement—as one of Canada's finest writers of discursive prose."

The book is an absorbing one, one which will enable Canadians to know and understand better the qualities which made these people stand out in their own times and the ways in which they left their own individual marks on our culture.

**Narrow Gauge Railways of Canada, By Omer Lavallee**

**112 pages, hardcover, illustrated, published 1974**

**Fitzhenry & Whiteside, Toronto — Distributors \$14.95 approx.**

This survey of Canada's narrow gauge railways was first published in 1972 but is still available and probably still the most detailed work on the subject.

Lavallee's fascination with narrow gauge railroads began in his youth and has developed into a lifetime hobby.

Lavallee notes that while some railroads in the United States are better known, Canada, in three common carrier systems — the Canadian National Railways Newfoundland lines, the White Pass & Yukon Route and the Grand Falls Central—attained the largest network of gauge lines in North America.

Canada, notes Lavallee, has departed from the Standard gauge at various times in the country's railroad history by using both broad gauge and narrow gauge. He notes that the first public railway in Canada was opened in July 1836, on track using the Stephenson gauge. "But in 1866, a one-mile-long Cape Breton colliery railway (at Lingan) became the first narrow-gauge steam locomotive operated railway in Canada, ushering in the illputian railway era certainly in this country, and quite possibly in all of the Western Hemisphere."

The author describes his account of these railroads as a "survey course, adding that it does not claim to be complete in every particular. Those systems are included whose operations were reported annually in statistical summaries published by the federal government."

The book, he adds, "is a descriptive physical history and makes no pretense at economic or financial analysis" and does not include private industrial railways.

The book is of special interest for its collection of old photos, sketches and maps, some from private sources and not reproduced in print before.

Of the Lingan Colliery Tramway, Lavallee observes: "The first five years of operation saw horses provide the motive power, but in 1866, the British firm of Black, Hawthorn built a tiny 0-4-0 saddle tank locomotive for the colliery, upon which the good Gaels of Cape Breton bestowed the name 'Fairy'. This little locomotive pulled cars of coal from the mine to the ships until 1866 when mine and railway were abandoned. 'Fairy' was then transformed to the Sydney Mines Railway, where it was standard-gauged and worked for many years more . . ."

Another line of Maritime interest is the Glasgow & Cape Breton Coal & Railway Company, running from Sydney to Schooner Pond with an off-shoot near Reserve Mines leading to Louisbourg. The Gowrie Colliery Tramway, 1.5 miles long and of 42 inch gauge, ran from the Balmoral mine to Cow Bay from 1877 to 1894.

Included in the book, along with maps and some excellent photographs, are the New Brunswick Railway, the Prince Edward Island Railway, and various Newfoundland railways. The St. John's Street Railway Company operated by the Newfoundland Light & Power Company from 1900, is included along with various municipal public transit lines such as the Lake Louise Tramway, the Windsor Electric Street Railway Company and horse-drawn municipal railways in various Ontario towns.

Halifax, which had horse-drawn transit and whose Birney trams did yeoman duty, especially during the war years when the colored identification lights on the fronts of the trams were welcome sights for servicemen returning to the harbor from sea, is not included here, although Lavallee does note in his foreword that his 'survey course' does not "claim to be complete in every particular."

Appendix I contains chronologies, mileage and rosters, with superb photos as well as diagrams of many engines.

Appendix II contains time mileage charts of added interest to the train history buff.



**Early Canadian Life, Editor: Joyce Beaton**  
**Monthly periodical, approx. 32 pages, illustrated,**  
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In the latest edition of this tabloid style periodical, publisher Janice Johnston states in an editorial:

"The message of E. C. L. is very simple. We believe in Canada. The growth of Early Canadian Life has been consistent . . .

"The time has arrived where we are reorganizing our full potential and are shouting it from the rooftops . . ."

The editorial contains a strong pitch for advertising, not to be overlooked for its revenue, but, as publisher Johnston points out, also because it is helping to make Canadians more aware of their own products geared to the tastes of the Canadian consumer. "We are finally beginning to cope with the insidious psychological interference that has been bombarding our country from all directions over the past few decades," comments Janice Johnston.

The magazine endeavors to combine its commercial content with material of general interest with the accent on history.

Articles in this particular edition include "old wood-fire witchery", German prisoners in an internment camp in Kapuskasing during 1918, Log building steps into today, an old house restored, Heritage Canada, a flaming ghost ship in the Bay of Chaleur, and a children's page with an article on how pioneers made light and soap.

The magazine contains a section entitled *Canadiana Free Press*, with a classified section, news about current items of historical interest, book reviews, and a section on genealogy.

The ads in this periodical are of considerable interest as well. Many of them feature restaurants, and shops in Ontario, but there are ads for craft shops, galleries, and a variety of businesses doing mail order.

The periodical reflects imaginative make-up, in the newspaper style and is thoroughly entertaining.

