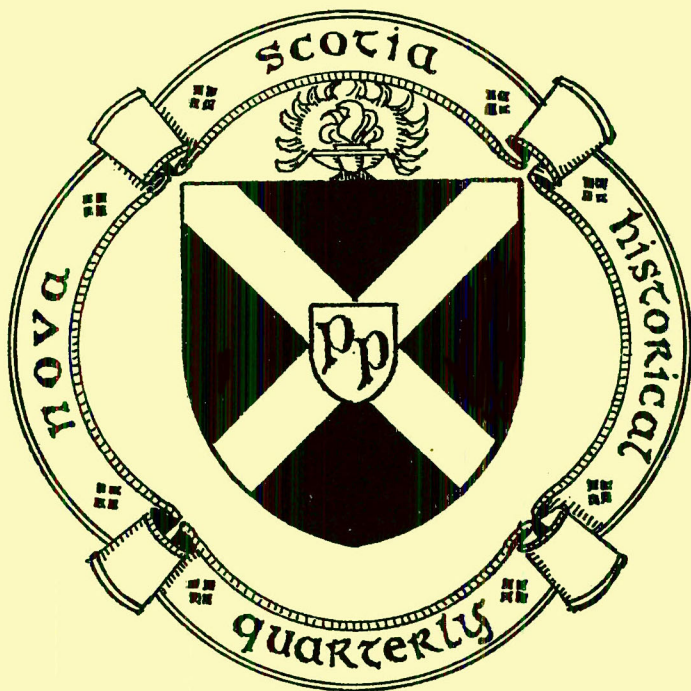


# The Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

Volume 9 Number 2, June 1979



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## *Some Came to Nova Scotia*

ROY M. KENNEDY

He was a knight of the garter, a privy Councillor, Recorder of Stafford, a Trustee of the British Museum, a Vice-President of the Society of Arts, and an Hereditary Governor of the British Institution. He was the most noble George Granville Levenson-Gower, second Marquess of Stafford, third Earl Gower and Viscount Trentham, fourth Lord Gower of Stittem in Yorkshire, eighth baronet of the same place, and for the last six months of his life he was the first Duke of Sutherland.

He was Ambassador in Paris during the revolution, returning to England in 1793.

Born in 1758, his great wealth and estate was obtained through marriage, in 1785, to Lady Stafford. Since the age of six, she had been a countess, the great Lady of Sutherland. She, like her husband, spoke no Gaelic, and had nothing but contempt for the tongue, manners and traditions of the highland people. Almost the whole northern part of Scotland, from Cape Wrath to the Dorncoch Firth

became her husband's when they married. It consisted of two-thirds of the Shire of Scotland, a land mass of some 1735 square miles, and with an annual rental of slightly more than £15,000. In 1803 he inherited his father's Marquessate and estates in Stafford and Shropshire, and also the vast fortune of his bachelor uncle, the canal builder the Duke of Bridgewater. With more than a million acres of land and tens of thousands of tenants, he was the richest and greatest landowner in Britain, yielding an annual income of £300,000. Bridgewater also left him the finest art collection then known and throughout his lifetime the Duke used a great portion of his income to add to it. He would spend as much on one painting alone as he would give to all his tenants in relief for a two year period.

They had great houses in many places: Lilleshall in Shropshire, Trentham in Staffordshire, Stafford House in London and Dunrobin (castle) in Sutherland. Stafford House in particular, saw many brilliant gatherings at which the Royalty and other great persons of the time were in attendance.

At that time, 1801, the population of their estates was about 25,000, of which perhaps 2,000 could be classed as fighting men.

No roads or bridges of any consequence existed.

The principal tenant was the middleman or "tackman" as he was called. He was a supporter and often a distant relative of the laird and he controlled all those below him, collecting the rents of the tenants and sub-tenants or "cotters" as the latter were called. He generally contrived it, in such a way, that he received his own land holding rent free. Then, too, all the labour on his farm, planting and

harvesting of crops, securing fuel, etc, was carried out by those under him.

The tenants occupied about 20 acres of land per family on which they grew a small crop of grain, turnips and potatoes. They raised a few black cattle, goats, sheep and hens. Their homes were mere hovels, earth floors, sod and stone walls and thatched roofs. People and livestock lived under the same roof. The cotters lived under the same conditions except their land holdings were often much smaller. All were content to live as their ancestors had lived for generations, brewing a small amount of illicit whiskey, pasturing their cattle in common on the highlands, singing the psalms in Gaelic and having nothing to do with the Laird's religion.

The Tackman was responsible for raising fighting men from among the tenants and he often accomplished this by threats of eviction if the tenant did not wish to hand over one or more of his sons for military service. The valient and proud fighting spirit of the Highlander was practically destroyed on Culloden Moor in 1746, but still many famous highland regiments have been raised since that time.

One noteable regiment, the Sutherland Fencibles of 1793, was mustered by the Countess of Sutherland. It consisted of 1084 men, Colonel Wemyss in charge, and also contained a company from Ross-Shire. It was stationed in Ireland in 1797 but was disbanded shortly after that and the 93rd regiment formed from its ranks. The 93rd was to see distinguished service in South Africa, and in the United States at New Orleans in 1814-15, returning

to Ireland in 1815. The quality of its soldiers was such that in 19 years not one had been punished for misconduct.

The Duke of Sutherland and three other great landowners, owned almost the entire Northern Highlands of Scotland. They realized that they could make more money by renting out their lands to Lowlanders and Englishmen for raising sheep than by the rental system then in existence. In order to do this they first had to get rid of their present tenants. This was done by evicting them, and in some parts began in 1807, in Sutherlandshire in 1809, and was to continue for many years until the great estates were swept clean of their former tenants. Soldiers in the Highland regiments that served abroad on their return home and being disbanded, found their kinfolk gone, their former homeland occupied by strangers, with their old homesteads and the graves of their forefathers turned into pasturage for the cheviot sheep.

The eviction was carried out by so called "writs of eviction" served on the tenants by the sheriff or his deputies, usually giving them from only a few hours to a few days to depart with their possessions. In some cases very poor land was leased to them on the seashore, many miles distant, where they were expected to farm or become fishermen, to which of course they were completely unaccustomed.

This strip of land on the shore was narrow and often very steep and there is mention of the women carrying good soil from the beach in their aprons to their holdings on the cliff sides in order to get enough ground in which to plant a garden. Most were forced to exist on what few shell fish they were able to find



along the shore. This shore, however, was exposed to the full fury of the sea, and four people<sup>1</sup>, at different times, while inspecting their lots or fishing from it had been swept away never to be seen again, while a man named Robert MacKay fell from the cliffs and was killed while collecting birds eggs to feed his starving family.

Timber was almost non-existent in many places in the highlands and if the sheriff's deputies would give them enough time they would carry the roof beams of their former homes many miles, the average about twenty, to their new place of abode. If they would not give them time and usually did not, they were forced to live in sod huts with a blanket for a roof, or in caves, in the sides of the cliffs. Of course they were still expected to pay rent to the Duke for these miserable plots of land, which amounted to an allotment of about two acres per family.

Most of those evicted chose to emigrate overseas, many going to Australia and New Zealand and others to Canada. In 1813, 96 people sailed on the ship "Prince of Wales" from Stromness, in early June. Their destination was a settlement then being formed in the Red River Valley by Lord Selkirk. Their sea voyage alone was to last nearly eight weeks. These people were from the Clans, Matheson, Gunn, Sutherland, and Bannerman. They called their new settlement Kildonan after their old home in Scotland. Some went to Upper Canada, others to Prince Edward Island and many settled the Cobequid range of mountains in Northern Nova Scotia from Colchester County eastward to Antigonish where the Scottish name Chisholm is still common today. Some Highlanders settled on the

North Shore, which they named the "Gulf Shore", opposite Wallace, and as far along the coast as the outskirts of Pugwash, about 1811, probably their most westerly settlement in Nova Scotia.

The first emigrant ship from Scotland, the most famous to arrive in this area, was the "*Hector*" under the command of Captain John Spears. She set sail from Greenock with three families and five young men. At Loch Broom, in Rossshire, she received the rest of her passengers, counting in all 33 families and 25 single men as well as the land agent of the Philadelphia Co. by whom the ship had been chartered to carry immigrants to Pictou, Nova Scotia. As they were leaving a piper came on board but the captain ordered him ashore as he had not been booked for the passage. The passengers intervened on his behalf offering to share their provisions with him and he was allowed to stay. They finally got underway in the early part of July 1773. Some controversy exists as to the exact number of passengers carried, some say 179 or 189 while others give a round figure of 200.

She was a poor sailing vessel, and was so old and rotten that the passengers said they could pick the wood out of her sides with their fingers. Incidentally, on her return to Scotland she was condemned, never to sail again. They ran into a great storm off Newfoundland which blew them so far back towards Europe that they were two weeks in making up the lost leeway. During the voyage smallpox and dysentery broke out among the passengers and 18 died and their bodies committed to the deep. It also appears that one child was born during the voyage. Towards the last, food and water became very scarce

so that they were on short rations. Finally on September 15 they arrived and dropped anchor in Pictou Harbour, opposite the present town, after a voyage lasting eleven weeks.

Following their arrival, and while still anchored in the harbour, a woman, Mrs. Hugh McLeod, died and her body was taken ashore for burial. There may have been other deaths but their names and numbers are now unknown.

A small settlement existed in Pictou at that time, the only one along the North Shore. They had come for the most part from the United States as settlers for the Philadelphia Co. Already mentioned. The township had been surveyed into long narrow lots, one mile in depth and fronting on the harbour. As all the good harbour lots had been taken up the newcomers were forced to go several miles inland into the great forests to settle. When shown the lots allotted them, many refused to accept them and consequently a controversy arose between the land agent and the Company.

As a result the agent resigned and the Company refused to give the settlers the provisions and tools they had been promised on their arrival.

Arriving, as they did in September, it was too late to plant any kind of crop and it must have taken all their time and effort between then and freeze-up to erect some kind of crude dwelling as shelter against the winter weather. Most of them, too, were not accustomed to cutting and handling trees of such size as then grew in our forests. Those with some money were able to purchase provisions and tools but those without were forced to indenture themselves or family members to families living in



Truro or Halifax in order that the rest might survive. Finally the food situation became so desperate that the men of the Hector went to the store of Squire Patterson and Dr. Harris, who were agents for the company who refused to issue them any supplies. The men then seized Patterson and Harris and carefully weighed out and checked what each family needed leaving notes promising to pay in full for what they had taken as soon as they were able.

This act was reported to the authorities at Halifax and it alarmed them so much that they ordered the militia at Truro to proceed at once to Pictou. This their commander refused to do, saying that he knew the Highlanders and if they were fairly treated there would be no trouble.

Some families moved away entirely, several to Highland Village, Londonderry, a few to Windsor and others to Truro and Halifax so that finally only about 70 of the original group were left at Pictou. The first winter was the hardest and in several cases food had to be carried on the men's back from Truro, a three days journey, there being nothing but a path through the unbroken forest. In a few years, however, most of the people returned and took up land beyond the Philadelphia Co. grant, first along the rivers and gradually spreading out over the surrounding countryside where many of their descendants still live today.

In the first three years of the 1800's, some 10,000 persons left various parts of Scotland for Nova Scotia and Upper Canada.

Scottish emigration to Cape Breton began after the arrival of the Hector in Pictou in 1773. These people came from the islands of North Uist and Skye

as well as Sutherlandshire and Ross-shire and all were of the Presbyterian faith. In 1791 two boatloads of emigrants, almost all Roman Catholics, came from the Western Islands of Scotland to Pictou. It was too late in the season to erect houses for shelter and so they were taken into the homes of the Presbyterians of Pictou and were treated very kindly by them, many even attending their church services. The priest in P.E.I., a Father MacEacheran advised them to leave at once and to go to Cape Breton Island. This the majority of them did, settling in and around Judique, on the western shore and also around the Bras D'or Lakes. Their first church in Cape Breton was at River Denys Mountain, where it still stands today.

From this time on the flow of immigration became a flood so that by 1820, approximately 25,000 Scots had come to Cape Breton from the aforementioned places. Today, their descendants number 65,000 or more, many of whom understand or speak their mother tongue, Gaelic. It is now taught at the Gaelic College at St. Annes, where once each year a clan gathering called the Gaelic Mod is held.

For those who emigrated, life aboard ship was very hard indeed, the voyage often lasting ten or eleven weeks. Living conditions below deck were deplorable. There was no privacy and space was very limited. Bunks which were three feet wide and six feet long, and with a height of only 25 inches, were shared by two people. Food and water were often scarce before the voyage came to an end. Sickness and plague were no strangers either and often many died enroute and were buried at sea.<sup>2</sup>

It has been said that life on the slave ships was better than that on board an immigrant ship. On the slave ship, the slave had to reach his destination alive and well or the shipmaster made no profit. In contrast, on the immigrant ships a passenger had to pay before he boarded and whether he reached his destination alive and healthy, was of no great concern to many of the ship captains.

The deeds committed were many and cruel in the land clearances in Scotland. Houses were set on fire, often with the tenants and their possessions still in them. In one case, William Chisholm's mother-in-law, Margaret MacKay, of Badinloskin, Strathnaver, who was an old woman, nearly 100 years old, and sick in bed. The women and children who were the only people in the village, as all the men were in the hills rounding up the cattle, begged the sheriff and his deputies to spare the old lady's house. His only answer was "let the old witch burn!" and his men immediately set fire to the building. She was rescued with danger and difficulty by some of her friends, but by this time her bed clothes were on fire. She was placed in a small shed which they had great difficulty in keeping the sheriff's men from burning down as well. She died five days later. In another case, at the village of Rhimsdale, the sheriff's deputies dragged an old sick man, Donald MacBeth, out of his house into the rain and laid him, covered only with a blanket, against a clay wall. His house, like the others, was burned to the ground and he too died four days later.

These two deaths, attributed to the burnings, are on record, but there were undoubtedly many more; old men, young children and women too, some

escaped to the woods or mountains only to die of cold or exposure.

This all happened in early June 1814. Altogether about a dozen hamlets together with their outbuildings, mills, etc., were destroyed. Only one barn was left standing.

Five years later the scene was repeated in the remainder of Strathnaver with the burning of about 300 buildings on one or two hours notice. Slightly less than 15,000 people had by these means been evicted from lands which they had held for generations and were replaced by 29 families of sheep herders.

Another incident of brutality, known as the "Ross Massacre" took place on March 31, 1854. Thirty-five constables under the command of two officers, the sheriff substitute and two other officials, making a total of 40 lawmen, armed with heavy ash truncheons, went to Strathcarron to serve summons of eviction on the people there. They were stopped near Greenyard by about 60 or 70 women and a few men and boys. When they would not clear the way on the officers orders the command was given to clear it by force. The constables advanced swinging their truncheons with such accuracy and severity that many were critically injured. One woman, Margaret Macgregor Ross, 47 and mother of seven children had her skull fractured and died a short time later. Many were beaten into unconsciousness and others after being knocked down were kicked about the head and breasts by the heavy boots of the law officers. Between 20 and 30 had to be carried away on stretchers. Two doctors were called in to treat the



injured. This was in a supposedly just and enlightened society!

During the 1830's and while clearances were still taking place, the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, perhaps to ease their conscience for what they had done and were still doing, sent a shipment of bibles to the families of their former tenants in America. One is in the possession of J. W. Sutherland of East New Annan, whose great grandfather William Baillie was one of the first settlers there arriving in the year 1821 from the parish of Clyne, Sutherlandshire. The presentation plate reads: Presented by the Marchoness of Stafford and Countess of Sutherland to her Clansmen in Nova Scotia, 1831.

Another in the possession of the author was given to John McInnis of Scots Hill, Pictou County, apparently on June 24th, 1840, at least that is the date on which the recipient signed it. This bible was printed at Edinburgh by Duncan Stevenson, printer to the university, in the year 1833. The presentation plate reads: From George Granville Sutherland Levenson Gower, Duke & Earl of Sutherland to his friends and clansmen in America.

The Duke of Sutherland appointed ministers of the Church of Scotland, to preach to his tenants in Scotland, although this contravened the Treaty of Union. These ministers were also on the side of the great landowners and even threatened dire retribution of the church on those who would not quit their lands quietly and quickly.

The "Lubec" Sutherlands who were tenants of the Duke refused outright to accept the ministers he was sending them, and had some of their own clan go out in a boat in the water and preach to those

assembled on shore. Apparently this was to circumvent some charge that might be brought against them for their act of defiance. Finally they could endure it no longer, and emigrated to Nova Scotia, settling in and around Earltown.

Bibles were very scarce in the new colony, and so when the Duke sent out a shipment of them they were eagerly accepted by many but the "Lubec" Sutherlands would not allow one of them in their homes, as his signature or name was in all of them.

As well as the bibles they also donated a headstone in memory of one of their former tenants. It is in the Earltown Cemetery and the inscription in both Latin and English reads: "John MacKay, Miller. Born at Rossal, Scotland Dec. 17, 1793. Died at Earltown March 20, 1869. Few men were so beloved and fewer still deserved to be. This stone from his native hills was presented to the family by his Grace the Duke of Sutherland." His wife Dolina MacKay 1803-1890.

These evictions, terrible as they seem to us today, had, and still have a lasting effect on all the places in which the displaced settled, be it Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, or elsewhere. Being hard working, God fearing, honest and loyal people, most of them made good citizens and many of their customs and some of their language has been passed down to us today.

Many of us in this area are proud to trace our ancestry back to these same displaced Highlanders.

- (1) William MacKay, John Campbell, Bell MacKay, and John MacDonald.
- (2) For those who wish to know more about life on the immigrant ships read: "**The Foreign Protestants**" by W. Bell. Pages 229-234 and p. 241.

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Earltown Cemetery — Gravestone inscriptions.

"Murray" Cemetery, The Falls — Gravestone inscriptions.

# General John Reid

THELMA REID LOWER

*"Music . . . an art and science in which the Scots stand unrivalled by all the neighbouring nations in pastoral melody, and sweet combination of sounds."*

— The Will of General John Reid.

*"The Scots are all musicians. Every man you meet plays on the flute, the violin or the violoncello, and there is one nobleman whose compositions are universally admired."*

—Tobias Smollett: *Letter*, 8/8/1756.

Few people are aware that a real estate sale of about 6,000 acres in Nova Scotia, Canada, two estates namely—"Selmah" on the Shubenacadie River and "Amhertsford" on the Kennetcook River—constituted part of a large fortune bequeathed to the University of Edinburgh to establish a "Chair of Music". It was not to be a stingy stool of a "chair" but a generous gift of 70,000 pounds to finance the purchase of a property site near the university campus; the building of a concert hall like an



Athenian Temple of Apollo; a music building housing a music library; the supply of an organ and other musical instruments; and the salaries for a music professor and his clerical assistants. The generous donor was General John Reid, a Scottish musician-soldier who spent twenty years of his life in North America serving with the famous 42nd Regiment known as the Black Watch or the Royal Highlanders. These distant events of Canada and Scotland separated by the expanse of the Atlantic Ocean and evolving over almost a century of time became connected through a succession of adventures shaping the life and various careers of General John Reid.

During his lifetime John Reid (1721-1807) demonstrated three continuing and interlinking ambitions—first to achieve recognition as a military man of stature within the framework of loyalist British expansion during the eighteenth century; second to establish a settlement of Scottish immigrants on a “Reid” manorial barony somewhere in the British colonies of North America; and third to demonstrate the elegant style of eighteenth century music by his own playing and compositions for German flute, an instrument which became the rage in Scotland after it was introduced in 1725 by Sir Gilbert Elliot, after Lord Justice Clerk. Rarely was a sheet of music issued without an arrangement for the flute. Advertisements listed “German flutes mounted with ivory and silver keys and plain Regimental flutes and fifes.” The fife was in general use in the drum and fife bands of Scottish

regiments and their marches would have been heard throughout the colonies in North America.

Through his music John Reid, a flautist, attained lasting recognition. "Reid Memorial Concerts" are held each spring in the Reid Concert Hall at the University of Edinburgh. Traditionally, the concert opens or closes with an orchestral suite composed by Reid in which the finale is the *Regimental March of the Black Watch*. For many years the audience would rise to its feet when the martial strains of the music began. A royal occasion was the Reid Memorial Concert on 16 February 1978 which was a celebration of the twenty-fifth year of the crowning of Queen Elizabeth II. Conducted by Sir Michael Tilmouth it presented "Music by Kings, Princes and Gentlemen including works by Henry VIII, The Prince of Venosa, the Earl of Kelly, Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, the Archduke Rudolph and General Reid."

From a large gilt-framed portrait high on the back wall of the Reid Concert Hall, General Reid surveys these vigorous musical activities of students and faculty of the University of Edinburgh. He smiles in a quiet, pleased way, full-face, from under his smoothly brushed, white wig. Holding his flute with a lace-cuffed right hand he seems almost ready to play from the open music on a table beside him. On his scarlet regimental coat with its yellow facings and fringed epaulets and the hilt of his sword visible in his left hand are reminders of his military adventures in North America over two centuries ago.

General John Reid was born in Inverchroskie, now known as Balvarran, in Strathhardle, Perth-

shire, Scotland on 13 February 1721. He was really a member of Clan Donnachaidh, for he was the eldest son of Alexander Robertson of Straloch but the head of his family had always been known as "Baron Reid". John and his younger brother, Alexander, adopted the distinctive surname early in life.

The designation "Reid" meaning "Red" or in Gaelic "Ruadh" owed its origin to the red hair of the founder of the family, Alexander, younger son of Patrick, first Robertson of Lude. Alexander's wife Matilda, daughter of Thomas Duncanson of Struan, in 1451 received a Crown charter for some of the lands afterwards held by her descendants. As Straloch in later days was held off the Earls of Atholl the title "Baron" was latterly at least, only complementary. The family history of the Reid-Robertsons of Straloch shaped the ambitions of young John Reid whose dream it was to establish a "Reid Barony" in North America.

John Reid's early education was at Perth. Being destined for the law, his family sent him to the University of Edinburgh where he is entered in the Matriculation album under the name "John Reid" 1743-1744. According to his father "he was a good student". Later in General Reid's will, we read that at the University of Edinburgh he spent "the happiest days of my life."

Destiny and his own future had not intended John Reid for the quiet secure life of a lawyer at home in Scotland. The exciting uncertainties of the times tempted him into adventures as a soldier abroad. In June, 1745, having recruited the necessary quota of men, Reid obtained a commission as a lieutenant in Loudon's Highlanders. He was taken prisoner at

Prestopans in the following September. The Jacobites, however, were unable to hold their prisoner long for by spring he had rejoined his regiment.

In Reid's memorial presented long afterwards (23 July 1794) to Lord Jeffrey Amherst, it appears that it was mainly owing to Reid's youthful daring that the treasure landed from the Prince Charles sloop was captured at Tonque Bay on the 25 March 1746. Reid states that the officer commanding the party of Loudon's Highlanders "despairing of success against the enemy who were superior in number, had retired before the action commenced" and that he ordered Reid to follow him under penalty of court martial. Reid, however, evidently seeing a chance for success, remained behind though at the risk of losing his commission, and prevailed on an ensign and some fifty men to stay with him.

The Jacobites had already commenced their march from the coast but Reid, followed attacking them in "front, flanks and rear according as the ground favoured ... ." The treasure captured was 12,000 pounds Sterling and the loss was severely felt by the Jacobite army which was then short of money. Reid further tells that his senior officers claimed all credit for the success and "openly threatened the lives of himself and his party if they did not agree to such distribution of the prize money as they thought proper to make." Dispositions of two of his men who had remained behind with him confirmed Reid's statements in detail.

In 1747-1748 Reid served in Flanders with Loudon's Highlanders but on the reduction of this



regiment after the Peace of Aix-la-Chappelle he was placed on half-pay.

In 1751 Reid bought a captain-lieutenant's commission in the 42nd Regiment, the Black Watch. Like three other distinguished soldiers from Perthshire, John Reid served with this regiment in the war which resulted in British sovereignty in Canada—General James Murray, General Sir Thomas Sterling and General John Small who was Reid's cousin.

In 1755 on the outbreak of war with France, Reid sailed with his Regiment, the Black Watch, to North America, where he was to see much fighting, serving under General James Wolfe and General Jeffrey Amherst. He was not present, however, at the first attack on Ticonderoga as he had been left sick at Albany and his company was commanded in that desperate engagement by Captain James Murray. In 1759, however, Reid, by that time a major, took part in the second advance to Lake Champlain which resulted in the surrender of the French forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The next year the command of the 42nd Regiment, now honoured by the name "The Royal Highlanders" devolved on Reid during the greater part of the campaign in which the British forces from Lake Champlain integrated with General Murray's forces from Quebec to converge on Montreal, which resulted in that city's capture in September 1760.

When the campaigns for the conquest of Canada were over the Royal Highlanders were ordered to the West Indies where they served in the capture of Martinique. At the storming of Morne Torenson, 24 January 1762, Reid was in command of the 1st

Battalion of his regiment. On that occasion he led his men to the assistance of some detached companies of grenadiers "who were hard pressed by the enemy." His battalion suffered heavy losses and Reid himself was wounded in two places. In his memorial to Lord Amherst, Reid relates that one of his wounds was a "violent contusion on one thigh which for several days threatened mortification", and that he believes he was saved from perhaps a mortal wound by a bunch of keys and some Spanish dollars "which he happened to have in his pocket". Reid was rewarded with a brevet of lieutenant-colonel and recovered from his wounds in time to take part in the expedition against Havana in June and July of the same year. It was a personal disaster for Reid, as his younger brother, Alexander, was killed during the siege. The death of his only brother who had taken the surname "Reid" was later to alter the succession line of heirs to Reid's estate. Had both brothers died it would have been the end of the "Baron Reid" line.

After the surrender of Cuba the Royal Highlanders returned to the mainland. Although peace with France and Spain had been concluded in 1763, Britain was still faced by the Indian uprising known as Pontiac's War. Reid and the Royal Highlanders were sent to the relief of Fort Pitt and defeated its Indian besiegers in the hard fought battle of Bushy Run. In the summer of 1764 the Royal Highlanders again participated in the Indian war, Reid acting as second-in-command of General Henry Bouquet's arduous expeditions against the Indians on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers. By 1765 Reid, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, commanded all the British

forces in the district of Fort Pitt. In August 1766 Reid fitted out a company which was sent in command of Captain Thomas Sterling to gain possession of Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi—an expedition which was attended with many difficulties involving as it did a long journey through Indian territory. Sterling reached the fort in October and after holding it through the following winter and spring was able to rejoin his regiment at Philadelphia in 1776, bringing back every man of his detachment without loss or injury.

The next year the Royal Highlanders left America. They landed in Cork, Ireland, in October 1767 after an absence of eleven years. The arrival was announced: "General Lord John Murray who has been here for some weeks waiting the arrival of his regiment marched in this morning at their head, himself and his officers dressed in the Highland garb with broad sword, pistols and dirk." The occasion is said to mark the first time Reid's *Regimental March for the Black Watch*, or *In the garb of Old Gaul*, was heard outside of America. David Stewart of Garth in his history of the 42nd Regiment tells us that "the words of the song *In the Garb of Old Gaul* were originally composed in Gaelic by a soldier of the regiment and afterwards translated by one or more of the officers . . . and Major Reid set them to music of his own composition which has ever since been the regimental march." Presumably Reid accompanied the 42nd Regiment to Ireland where it was quartered for upwards of eight years after which it was for a short time in Scotland.

That Reid stayed with his regiment throughout its eight-year stay in Ireland is unlikely for records show that Reid was retired on half-pay in 1770. In a letter dated 25 December 1775 Reid's father speaks of his son as then residing in America and says that he had been there since 1755.

No doubt Reid, after twenty-five years of active military service, and now in his fiftieth year, hoped to settle down to the improvement of his vast American property holdings. His father states that "he has been informed by a gentleman who knows it that his son's estate is larger than all Perthshire." And indeed it may well have been for in 1760, after his return from the capture of Montreal, Reid courted and married Susannah Alexander, daughter of James Alexander, surveyor-general of New York and New Jersey, and sister of William Alexander, known as the "Lord Sterling" of American revolutionary fame.

Susannah's father, James Alexander, was a descendant of the famous Sir William Alexander, Earl of Sterling (1580-1640), a poet and writer of rhymed tragedies who assisted King James in preparing the metrical version known as "The Psalms of King David", translated by King James. Sir William held a copyright of this version but it was never remunerative. Instead Sir William proposed to the king that in view of the successful result in Ireland of the establishment of baronets of Ulster, a similar system should be extended to North America. On 21 September 1621 a charter was issued granting to Sir William Alexander "his heirs and assigns whomsoever . . . the continent, lands and



islands situated and lying in America within the cape commonly called Cape de Sable . . . to the river called Santa Cruz . . . and thence northward to the great river of Canada [the St. Lawrence] . . . to the aforesaid Cape Sable where the circuit began". In other words the king made a present to the ambitious Sir William Alexander of what are now the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The magnificent grant was subsequently extended to include a large section of the present northern United States and southern Canada. Charles, on his accession to the throne in 1625, not only confirmed his father's charter but in July of that year gave full power to use the "mines and forests, erect cities, appoint fairs, hold courts, grant lands and coin money." Sir William speedily became involved in troublesome disputes with his envious contemporaries; but he and his descendants persevered in their efforts to establish Scottish settlements on their prodigious possessions.

As portions of the same domain had already been granted by Henry IV of France and occupied by his subjects, wars among the rival claimants followed in due time as a matter of course. Although the Alexanders failed in these first attempts at British colonization they added to the nomenclature of North America by designing an area to be called Nova Scotia—New Scotland.

In view of Reid's own ambition to set up a Reid Barony in North America, Susannah Alexander must have appeared as a very desirable mate over and above her natural Scottish-American charms. Her father James Alexander (c. 1690-1756) began his American career in 1715 when he was obliged to

leave England because of his active partisanship with the old Pretender in his vain attempt to seize the English crown. Having served as an officer of the engineers in Scotland, James Alexander was appointed surveyor-general of New York and New Jersey. His many other public offices included attorney-general and colonial secretary of the province of New York. Susannah's father acquired large wealth and vast property holdings. He was among the staunchest of American pre-revolutionary supporters of civil liberty as opposed to military jurisdiction, a political philosophy which was to work to the disadvantage of his son-in-law, Reid, in his dispute against the supporters of the New Hampshire Land Grants.

James Alexander's death 2 April 1756 resulted from fatigue and exposure from a trip from New York to Albany, in the cause of civil liberty.

His large fortune was inherited by his daughter Susannah and his son William. William promptly travelled to England to prosecute his claim to the earldom of Sterling only to have it rejected by the House of Lords, purportedly on technical grounds and not political. On his return to New York in 1761 William took over the office of surveyor-general which had formerly belonged to his father.

That Reid by his marital connections was in a favorable position to acquire land cannot be denied. At the peak of their ownership Reid and his wife are reported to have owned "about thirty-five thousand acres of very valuable land near Crown Point on Lake Champlain and had obtained from the Governor and Council of New York a warrant to

survey for fifteen thousand more" on which he intended to erect a manor. Precisely documented are Reid's attempts to establish a Scottish baronial settlement on Otter Creek (Vermont). This location became the centre of the boundary dispute between the provinces of New York and New Hampshire, culminating in the New Hampshire Grants Revolt led by Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys.

In 1761 the township of Panton on Otter Creek had been granted by Benning Wentworth to a group of fifteen men, many of whom lived in Salisbury, Connecticut, the home of Ethan Allen and his brothers. "Fifteen young men from Salisbury and adjoining towns started for a home in this region, with some tools and effects drawn by oxen." The charter required that five acres should be cleared and a house built on each of the fifteen rights within five years, but this was not accomplished. In the fall of 1764, in accordance with a contract made with the proprietors of Panton, Isaac Peck, Jeremiah Griswold and Daniel Barnes began to build a sawmill but did not complete it in that year. In the year 1765 are two significant dates. On 29 October 1765, Reid petitioned for a grant of seven thousand acres at the falls on Otter Creek and a committee of the New York Council reported favorably upon the petition in the following June. In December 1765, the proprietors of Panton made a bargain with Joseph Pangborn to build a grist-mill at the falls to do good service by May 1767, for which he was to have the water power and fifty acres of land adjoining the mill when it was built. It is uncertain whether the mill was built by Panghorn.



When in the summer of 1766 Governor Sir Henry Moore went north on a mission to determine the New York-Canada boundary, Reid accompanied him to Crown Point. On his arrival there he learned about the sawmill that had been built on the Otter Creek tract of land, which he regarded as already his own under the New York grant. With Lieutenant Adolphua Benzel, Donald Macintosh, Archibald Clark and one other man to assist with rowing their boat, Reid set out at once for the falls on Otter Creek. The next morning Lieutenant Benzel, who was a New York justice of the peace, made a formal delivery of the property to Macintosh who was to remain upon the ground as Reid's agent. Later in the day a lone man who appeared with a yoke of oxen dragging logs from the forest to the mill, said that *he* claimed the land under a New Hampshire grant. Reid, however, took possession of the mill. He had the saw removed to prevent its use for further devastation of his timber, some of which was suitable for masts and could not be lawfully cut by settlers under the terms of either the New Hampshire or New York grants. Reid subsequently claimed that no settlers were found on his land and the only indication of cultivation was half an acre of pumpkins and a small field of Indian corn.

In 1769 the proprietors of Panton revoked the grant of a mill lot and water power to the men who had built the saw-mill because they had not completed it in time. In the same year Reid commenced settlement, a three-year requirement of his original petition. Captain James Gray of Colonel Reid's 42nd Regiment and several families from

New Jersey settled as tenants and as a sawmill was needed Reid had the existing mill appraised and offered to purchase it from the New Hampshire claimants—a proposal which they rejected.

By 7 June 1771 Reid's original land grant of 1765 was finally made patent. The settling of Reid's tenants upon land which Ethan Allen himself held a New Hampshire title brought a direct confrontation between the two men. In the summer of 1772 Ethan Allen and a party of Addison and Panton settlers visited the falls and routed Reid's people. Reid, appears to have been made of sterner stuff than many of the New York claimants, for he took measures to recapture his lands and mills. In June 1773 he engaged a second group of Scottish immigrants, who had just landed in New York, to become tenants. The day after the Scottish families reached Otter Creek, they came upon two men who were living in houses built by Reid. To placate them Reid purchased their crops and hay which he turned over to his new tenants.

The Scottish families were not long left undisturbed. The news soon reached Ethan Allen, and the Green Mountain Boys bestirred themselves. About noon on 11 August 1773 Allen appeared with a force of over a hundred men. They could not understand the dialect of the Scottish women whom they found in the loghouses and sent a small force to bring in the men who were cutting hay in the meadows. Orders were promptly given that the tenants remove their families and household effects from the houses which were then burned. The mill was torn down and the millstones were broken and thrown into the river. The horses which had brought

the Green Mountain Boys on their long journey from Bennington were turned loose on the growing crops. For two days Ethan Allen's forces remained upon the ground.

News of the affair reached New York and Reid filed a protest with Governor Tryon supplementing it with dispositions from his evicted tenants. The Council acted promptly, advising the Governor to call upon General Haldimand who, in the absence of General Gage in Boston, commanded New York, to occupy Ticonderoga and Crown Point with regular troops and to aid the civil authorities in restoring tranquility. General Halidmand was not sympathetic and replied that if the idea should prevail that soldiers were necessary to control "a few lawless vagabonds it would make civil authority contemptible." A letter arrived stating that the King also was definitely opposed to calling in Military aid except in cases of unavoidable necessity. Clearly revolutionary forces were in the ascendancy, and military strength was soon to be required elsewhere.

Apparently Reid never visited Otter Creek again. Although his case finally came before the Commissioners for American claims the only compensation awarded to him was a trifling allowance for the mills he had erected and for the fees which he had paid for surveys. Some of his Scottish tenants returned to New York, some trekked northwards to Canada and others threw in their lot with the revolutionists. It is difficult to see how Reid could have avoided family conflict at this time as his wife's brother "Lord Sterling" had become an avid revolutionary patriot. With all hopes abandoned of establishing a Scottish settlement on a Reid Barony in



North America, Reid returned to Scotland in 1775 with his wife Susannah and his daughter Susanna, described by her grandfather as "then going on fourteen years."

In an effort to recoup his fortunes Reid devoted himself to the publication of his music. As a musician Reid was often described by his contemporaries as "one of the finest flautists of his age." Among his music preserved in the Reid Music Library at the University of Edinburgh are the original scores of regimental marches composed while he served for twenty years in North America. The following survey of their titles indicates loyalty and devotion felt by Reid to his fellow military associates as they were buffeted about by the decisive events of the North American Colonial wars:

*March for the 76th Regiment (Lord MacDonald's Highlanders).*

*March for the 70th Regiment (Lord Tryon's)*

*March for the 3rd Regiment of Guards (Lieutenant-General James Murray of Strowan).*

*March for the 42nd or Old Highland Regiment The Garb of Old Gaul).*

*March for the 95th Regiment (General John Reid's own Regiment).*

*March for the 3rd Regiment of Foot (Lord Amherst's).*

*March for the 17th Regiment of Foot (General Monckton's).*

*March for the 22nd Regiment (General Thomas Gage's).*

*March for the 51st Regiment (Earl of Eglintoun's).*

*March for the 35th Regiment (General Campbell's).*

*March for the 32nd Regiment (General Amherst's).*

*March for the 44th Regiment (General Abercrombie's).*

*March for the 63rd Regiment (General F. Grant's).*

*March for the 16th Regiment (General Robertson's).*

*March for the 1st Battalion 60th Regiment (General Haldimand's).*

*March for the 2nd Battalion 60th Regiment (Colonel Christie's).*

*March for the 77th Regiment or Atholl Highlanders (Colonel Murray's).*

*March for the Chatham Division of Marines.*

*March for the 12th Regiment of Dragoons.*

Stewart of Garth, when recollecting the history of the 42nd Regiment relates: "that there were many poets and bards among the soldiers and that they were much attached to Major Reid not only for his bravery as a soldier but for his poetry and music. The original compositions of the soldiers were usually in praise of their officers who had fallen in battle or who had performed some gallant achievement but they had great stores of ancient poetry. Their love songs and laments for their fallen brave and recollections of their distant glens and rocks have often filled my eyes with tears." It seems fitting to quote some of the ancient poetry which the soldiers would have heard for there is an uncanny mysticism about the lines strangely apt to the war-torn times of colonial America:

*I stand in the cloud of years. Few are its openings towards the past; and when the vision comes it is but dim and dark. I hear thee, harp of Selma! my soul returns, like a breeze, which the sun brings back to the vale, where dwelt the lazy mist.*

*from: Poems of Ossian "Temora"*



*Where is the son of Selma, he who led in war? I  
behold not his steps among my people returning  
from the field.*

*from: Poems of Ossian "Temora."*

*Roll on, ye dark brown years . . . the sons of the  
songs of Selma are gone to rest: my voice  
remains like a blast, that roars, lonely, on a sea-  
surrounded rock, after the winds are laid. The  
dark moss whistles there, and the distant marin-  
er sees the waving trees.*

*from: Poems of Ossian "The Songs of Selma."*

*How are ye changed my friends, since the days  
of Selma's feast! when we contended, like the  
gales of the spring, that, flying over the hill, by  
turns, bend the feebly-whistling grass . . . Such  
were the words of the bards in the days of the  
Song.*

*from: Poems of Ossian "The Songs of Selma."*

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**LAND GRANTS IN NOVA SCOTIA TO  
COLONEL JOHN SMALL—SOME OF WHICH WERE  
BEQUEATHED TO HIS COUSIN GENERAL JOHN REID  
NAMELY—SELMAH AND AMHERSTFORD**

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**Lieutenant John Reid, Loudon's Highlanders**, c. 1745. University of Edinburgh, Scotland. (Full-Face.)

**Major-General John Reid, 95th Regiment of Foot**, c. 1782. University of Edinburgh, Scotland, 30" x 25", Half side-face, half length.

**General John Reid, Colonel of 88th or Connaught Rangers**. On the back wall of Reid Concert Hall, University of Edinburgh, Scotland. 40" x 34". Three-quarter length. The General is standing full-face. He wears the red coat with yellow facings and white waistcoat of the 88th regiment. His left hand grasps the hilt of a sword. His right hand holds a flute. On a table before him lies an open score of music as though ready for playing. Probably painted by George Watson.

**The Death of Major Peirson** by John Singleton Copley, National Gallery, Scotland. Francis Peirson was a field officer in the 95th Regiment raised and outfitted by Colonel Reid in April 1780, disbanded May 1783. Copley shows the uniform of the 95th as a scarlet jacket with white facings and silver lace, white breeches and long black boots. Major Peirson and two officers are depicted with black three-cornered hats edged with silver braid; rank and file have grenadiers' caps with red hackles.

**Monument to Major Francis Peirson** of the 95th Regiment. Parish Church, St. Helier, Island of Jersey, England.

**The Battle of Bunker's Hill, 17 June 1775** by John Trumbull. Yale University Art Gallery, with key to figures including Major John Small, 84th Regiment of Foot.

**Col. John Small** by John Singleton Copley, given to the White family in Shelburne, sold in Boston, now at Dalhousie University, N.S. See William Inglis Morse **The Land of New Adventure**, pp. 50-52. MG 9, No. 311, P.A.N.S.

# *We Owe The Scots*

LEONE COUSINS

With the gathering of the Clans projected for the summer of 1979, it behooves Nova Scotians to review the circumstances of their debt to the Scots. Many people think of the Scottish ancestry of Nova Scotians as dating from the arrival of the *Hector* at what is now Pictou in 1773, with the very first Scottish Piper. This may be true, but the first contact of the Scots with what was to become Nova Scotia (New Scotland) was in 1622, one hundred and fifty years before the *Hector*.

At this period in History several of the European Powers were ambitious to establish a foothold in the New World. By 1605 the French were firmly established at Port Royal, and at Quebec in 1608. The English had a permanent settlement in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The Spaniards were already in Florida. The Dutch established New Netherlands (New York) and the English were firmly planted in New England by 1622. So with New England, New Spain, New France, and New Netherlands already



there, it occurred to Sir William Alexander, a braw Scot, that this was a propitious time to found a New Scotland in the New World. King James agreed. He privately thought that the mainland of North America should belong to England, anyway. Had not John Cabot and his son Sebastian taken possession of the land in the name of Henry VII, in 1497? Sir William was in a favored situation as tutor to the eldest son of James I. So, in 1621, James granted a Royal Charter giving *New Scotland* to Sir William Alexander. The Charter was in Latin as was the custom, and thus we got our name, *Nova Scotia* (which, being Latin, needs no translation in French or English). The Charter claimed the same territory which France had first claimed, and named *Acadie*. This included today's Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Gaspé. Newfoundland had previously been claimed for Queen Elizabeth by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583.

In June, 1622 Sir William sent his first expedition, which never reached its destination. The little vessel ran into a fierce storm off Cape Breton, in late September, and was driven back towards Newfoundland. So, the little band of farm labourers, a minister, and a blacksmith decided to winter near today's St. John's and to send the vessel back to London for supplies for the next spring.

That winter was full of hardships for those who remained. When the little ship returned the next June, with more settlers and supplies, they found only 10 men remaining of the original group. Some, including the minister and the blacksmith, had died during the winter. Others had joined the crew of fishing vessels and returned home to England. The

ten boarded the vessel and set out to look for a suitable place for a settlement. Finally, after exploring the coastline of Nova Scotia, and with a cargo of fish from the Newfoundland waters, they returned to England with enthusiastic tales for Sir William of fertile meadows, the forests, of game, and the abundance of fish for the colonists to be.

By this time Sir William was short of funds. He decided to sell titles and use the money to finance his dream of establishing a *New Scotland*, in the new World. The King agreed to make any Scot a "Knight Baronet of Nova Scotia", for a consideration.

At this point King James died, but his son, Charles I, created the Baronets of Nova Scotia in 1625. Acceptance of the title at a price, was in reality a Royal command. When enough money had been received, ships were outfitted and in 1628, the expedition set forth. There were two groups of settlers, one led by William Alexander, son of Sir William and the other by Sir James Stuart, Lord Ochiltree which landed at *Baleine*,<sup>1</sup> near today's Louisbourg. They at once set to work to build a fort and to clear the land. By this time France and England were again at War, and they needed a fort for protection. Lord Ochiltree's charter gave him the right to 1/10 of the fish caught off his shore-line by foreign ships. But France also claimed this territory and saw no reason why they should pay a tax to a Scottish Lord. So Captain Charles Daniel attacked the fort at Baleine, destroyed it, and took all the Scots prisoner.

The settlers were set to work building a French Fort. On bread and water, with very little shelter, as houses were very scarce, they suffered extreme

hardship. The Scots were finally packed into the hold of a small vessel and taken to England. Fed on bread and water many died during the voyage. Some of those who survived were landed on the English coast, but Lord Ochiltree and a few were kept in prison in France for two years. Thus ended the first Scottish settlement on Cape Breton (under Sir William Alexander). In more recent years, a bell buoy in red 'with "Baleine" in white on deck', in 15½ fathoms of water marks the entrance to Baleine Cove.

Meanwhile, William Alexander, the Younger, landed with his settlers at Port Royal. This place had been deserted since 1613, when the fort had been destroyed by a force from Jamestown, under Captain Samuel Argall. He had loaded all he could carry on his vessels and burned what he couldn't carry. The French had fled to live with the Indians, or to the trading post at Cape Sable. So, in 1628, William Alexander landed his Scots unopposed, just opposite to Goat Island, on the Granville side of the Annapolis River. There were 70 settlers, but only 40 survived the first winter. During the summer following the Treaty between the French and English, signed April 24, 1629, at Suze, the settlers built a fort on the ruins of the French fort, destroyed 16 years before. They named it *Charles Fort*, but for more than 300 years it has been referred to as the *Scotch Fort*.

The settlement prospered for a few years when hostilities broke out again between France and England, only to be terminated by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, on March 29, 1632. Under the terms of the Treaty, Acadie was restored to France.

Alas for the dream and aspirations of Sir William and his Knight Baronets of Nova Scotia! By the restitution of Acadie to the French, the settlers were forced to abandon their *New Scotland*.

In view of the restitution, King Charles of England had by an order to Sir William Alexander, dated at Greenwich, July 4, 1631, commanded him 'to give Georg Hume or other command to demolish fort built by your son and remove thence, people, goods, cannon, ammunition, and cattle thence and other things belonging to the plantation and leave altogether and depeopled as they were when your son arrived there to settle . . .' Later that summer, Isaac de Razilly conveyed the message to William and his settlers in Nova Scotia.

Thus ended Sir William Alexander's attempt to found a New Scotland. It is thought that the Kirk brothers remained as settlers, marrying French wives.

In 1710, one hundred and five years after its founding by the French, Port Royal passed into English hands for the sixth and last time.

And what of our debt to the Scots? We inherit from them our name, our own Provincial flag, and the Coat of Arms. The flag and arms were granted by King Charles I in 1626 and the name NOVA SCOTIA was written on the Royal Charter to Sir William Alexander in 1621. So we may look upon the Gathering of the Clans, come summer, as a friendly visit from our own kith and kin.

1Baleine, a small fishing cove on the south-east coast of Cape Breton Island, just east of Louisburg was named *Port aux Baleines* by Captain Charles Daniel, from a whale-shaped rock just off-shore.



It was here that the treasure of the *Chateau*, a fortune in French gold and silver coins, was found and salvaged by Alex Storm and two companions in 1965.

*Le Chameau*, bound for Quebec, carrying the pay roll for the troops, and 216 passengers was wrecked in a terrific storm, August 26, 1725. She sank to the bottom with the gold, passengers, and 100 French officers and men, just 50 feet from the rock of Baleine, now known as *Chameaux Reef*. Today the 82,000 livres in gold and silver coins would be worth about 2 million dollars.

#### REFERENCES

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**Fortifications of Port Royal during the French Regime** by Placide Gaudet, M.A. Dept. of Public Archives, Ottawa.  
(Read July 1, 1918 at Annapolis Royal (PANS))

**Canada's Treasure Hunt** by Alex Storm as told to Brian Shaw  
1967.

# Queens County Klondike

JAMES H. MORRISON

L. M. B. FRIEND

## Abstract

*The last two decades of the 19th century were an active and prosperous period in the Northern district of Queens County, Nova Scotia. Gold was discovered in this area in 1884 and for twenty years the gold mining industry exerted an enormous impact on the economic life of the communities around it. The sudden influx of labour and capital also affected the social and political fabric of these small agrarian communities. By 1906, the boom was over, the companies had folded and the labour and capital had drifted away to more promising enterprises. But the memories of the mining days lingered in the minds of those who stayed behind. They had lived there when the boom began and remained there when the gold ran out. With the absence of mining company records as primary sources and the paucity of secondary material on that part of the province, these memories, when related to the oral historian, present an exciting account of a Queens County "Klondike" as remembered by the oral informants. This paper then is based to a large extent on oral history which would otherwise have been lost to future historians.*

—L. M. B. Friend

—J. H. Morrison

## Introduction

There has been no attempt in the following paper to assess gold production in Nova Scotia and its standing in Canadian or world production for gold output was obviously miniscule. Nor have we attempted to compare the value of Nova Scotian production with that of other mineral resources in the Province, the most obvious being coal. Neither a qualitative nor a quantitative analysis has been attempted in regard to prices, output, cost, labour, capital, et. al. This would have been a valid and useful exercise but would have detracted from the purpose of this paper. Our primary aim was to show how information from all sources and especially oral sources could be integrated into a coherent historical account of a specific gold mine in Nova Scotia. Therefore the stress has been placed on the sources consulted rather than an analysis of the Brookfield Gold Mine and its place in Nova Scotian gold production.

It should be obvious from a reading of the paper that without the oral sources, our account of this mine would be lacking, both in quantity and of greater significant quality. Before looking at some possible methods for oral historians, it should be reiterated that this paper is not the end product of a specific piece of research done on W. L. Libbey, the Brookfield Gold Mines Company Limited or even gold mining in Queens County. It is a small part of our study of Northern Queens county from 1800-1940, a project which has been going on since January, 1977. If we had specifically concentrated on a mine or a personality in our interviews, we feel sure the resulting information would have been more abundant.

With particular reference to this paper, the oral informants proved to be of great value. Firstly, they were able to locate for us photographs, mining documents, and personal correspondence that aided our research. Not being from the area we could not have located this

documentary evidence without their help. However, it should be pointed out that the lack of business papers was a disappointment although not unexpected. Businesses in 1900 rarely kept documents for the sole purpose of enlightening a curious historian three-quarters of a century later.

Informants were also able to advise us of other sources of information. They introduced us to these new informants which made the socialization process that an oral historian must go through before each new interview, much easier.

Thirdly, the oral interviews provided us with the information, the issues and the opinions utilized in the following paper. The information given was varied and useful. A description of the Brookfield mines site, the roads, the houses, and the other buildings was elicited from the informants. One sharp-minded gentleman included a map. We found that taking the informant to the deserted villages was of great value. It renewed memories for him and garnered for us information that would have died with him. Knowledge about the technical aspects of gold mining in this area was an added bonus. The process used in what was then the largest chlorination plant in Canada, the techniques of underhand, breast and overhead stoping, as well as the various occupations of the labourers who worked in the mine were preserved. Again, a visit with the informant to the particular site being discussed served the same purpose as mentioned above. Neither of the last two topics had documentary backing, therefore, the cross checking necessary meant using more than one informant as well as a careful consideration of the background and experience of each individual before finally assessing his or her evidence.

Our aim in this paper was not to show the value or validity of oral history. That we feel, has been proven. We have simply taken all the sources available to an histor-



ian and, using the proper methodology that each of these sources demand, written a paper on a designated place and how it changed through a particular period of time. If we have succeeded in this, we are not "oral historians" but simply—historians.

### "QUEENS COUNTY KLONDIKE"

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the infectious "gold fever" was world wide. Gold had been found in three continents, Australia, Africa and North America. Canada still largely unsettled, was a prime area for mineral speculation during this period. Not surprisingly, Nova Scotia, with its long history of established settlement was among the first to experience the economic and social impact that the gold rush brought. In September of 1858, gold was first discovered at Mooseland on the Tangier River in the North Eastern part of the province by Lieutenant C. L'Estrange and Joe Paul, his Indian guide. In 1862 the first official gold returns were recorded and provincial production reached 6641 ounces.<sup>1</sup> By 1867 the industry had entered a period of decline which was to grip it for 15 years. This decline was largely due to the fact that the initial confidence the English and American capitalists had in the Nova Scotia gold mines, was not justified. It was not until the early 1880's when a number of new finds were made, that new life was instilled into the gold mining industry. In 1891 Nova Scotia was in the forefront of the gold producing provinces with a return of over 20,000 fine ounces.

During the early years of the industry in Nova Scotia, gold mining was pursued almost exclusively in the Eastern part of the province. With the renewed optimism of the 1880's, prospecting was carried on actively throughout the province, and the first discovery of gold in Queens County in the southwestern part of Nova Scotia (See Figure 1) took place in 1884. Two brothers stumbled across a gold find in the barrens surrounding the small settlement of Whiteburn in the northern district of the county while hiding from the law.<sup>2</sup> This led to the immediate establishment of the gold mining industry, and the "Queens County Klondike" was on.

In 1886, additional major finds had been made at Molega and Brookfield also in the Northern district. A period of economic expansion followed, and within a few years, Molega had grown from a population of a dozen to over 1000 people. That year the three major gold districts<sup>3</sup> in the county returned over 5700 ounces of gold. 1893 saw a recession in the industry throughout the province, resulting from the uncertain economic climate in the United States, which had provided a large portion of the investment capital. Neither Molega nor Whiteburn were ever to fully recover from this depression and although operations were pushed sporadically in both districts over the next 50 years, returns were never to approach those of the late 1880's and early 1890's.

It is the Brookfield district and the fissure vein exploited by Wilber L. Libbey of Boston and his associates which was to henceforth attain a pre-eminent position among the gold properties of Northern Queens County. Following its reopening in 1894 after a number of idle years, it was to occupy a prominent position among gold mines in Nova Scotia.

Early in 1886, gold was discovered in the Brookfield district by George Parker of North Brookfield and Allen McLaren, in Parker's pasture. George Colp, a farmer from

neighbouring Pleasant River, learned of the find and together with Simeon Ernst, a jeweller from Bridgewater in Lunenburg County, took up the areas.<sup>4</sup> In July underground operations were commenced on the property by John McGuire a Maine native, who had bought the mineral rights from Colp and Ernst and also had interests in a number of gold mines in Queens and Lunenburg Counties. Soon teams were busy hauling ore from the new workings to the McGuire mill at Pleasant River, Lunenburg County, for crushing.

On January 1st, 1887 a newly erected 10 stamp mill<sup>5</sup> was put into operation on the property and that year the mine returned over 1400 ounces of gold.<sup>6</sup> The following year we may assume that little work was carried on, as the Nova Scotia Department of Mines in its annual Report notes that the mill has been leased to the neighbouring Philadelphia Mining Company.<sup>7</sup> By 1889 the mine was idle as a break in the formation had been encountered. Idle it was to remain until the arrival of Mr. Wilber L. Libbey and his associates some 5 years later.

In 1893 the Department of Mines reported a Mr. Harding making improvements and ready to begin operations in the abandoned mine.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Libbey's arrival on the scene was presumably about this time as a Captain Elijah H. Harding was one of the principals in the Brookfield Mining Company Limited which was incorporated in 1897 with Libbey as President.<sup>9</sup> By April of 1894, Mr. Libbey was reported to be "working up the tailings with success".<sup>10</sup> In September of the same year the old workings were unwatered and a survey undertaken by Libbey together with his underground foreman Noble Crowe a miner with considerable experience outside the province. This survey revealed the existence of a well defined paychute some distance from the break which had stopped McGuire. Immediately an incline shaft was driven some 600 feet in length to



undercut it and operations were well underway<sup>11</sup> on a mine which was eventually to become the deepest in the province with a vertical depth of 1062 feet.

In his approach Libbey who had previously worked in the American west and Mexico was the opposite to McGuire's rather haphazard techniques. He systematically built up reserves and drove levels across the ore body at intervals, cleaning of "stoping" out between them. By the end of 1895, Mr. Libbey and his associate had returned a respectable 2000 ounces of gold from a crushing of 3400 tons of quartz. The following year was one of expansion at Brookfield with the construction of a new 20 stamp mill. A number of dwellings were erected and an electric lighting plant installed capable of illuminating the works and boarding houses. The same year saw the establishment of a chlorination plant at Brookfield with a capacity of 16 tons daily, making it the largest plant of its kind in Canada. The chlorination process was designed to treat that portion of the gold not free milling, but rather bound up with sulphides.<sup>12</sup> This process had been invented by Adolf Thies of the Haile Gold Mine, Lancaster County, South Carolina and the erection of the plant in Brookfield was supervised by his son. Such an enormous capital investment was completed almost wholly with the profits from the Brookfield Mine.

Expansion certainly seemed warranted, for in that year, 1896, there was a return from the mine of over 4500 ounces, placing it second among the gold properties of the province. This production would help to pay the wages of the 115 workers recorded on the payroll list for August, 1896. By 1898 power drills had been installed, and the introduction of overhand stoping<sup>13</sup> allowed for the removal of far greater tonnages of ore than previously. This meant that the Libbey mine at Brookfield was to continue to occupy a prominent position among the gold districts of Nova Scotia well into the first decade of the twentieth century.



Such an influx of capital and labour could not help but have an impact on the area. Brookfield was a marginally prosperous community with the farmers engaged in cutting timber in their spare time either independently or for the large lumber companies. They sold their foodstuffs and timber to the coastal town of Liverpool some thirty miles away. A trip over this rough road by ox cart usually took thirty hours. Inevitably Libbey's works in such close proximity became their primary market for food, timber and labour.

The farmers and merchants in the area all benefitted economically from the new enterprise. Maurice Harlow who ran a general store in Brookfield for over forty years commented in 1896 that he turned over more goods during one week in July than in any "one week before in my history".<sup>14</sup> He ran a farm and sold fresh farm produce extensively to individuals or company dining halls in the mining area. George Parker sold produce to the Brookfield mine and put up mine workers at his home.<sup>15</sup> The apple industry which had just begun in North Queens benefitted from Libbey's capital distributions for he bought barrels of them for his workers.<sup>16</sup>

A further source of income for all in the area who could heft an ax and drive an ox was the lumber woods. In the early part of the 19th century North Queens had been a prime woodlot for "His Majesty's" pine which was utilized as masts for the Royal Navy. For a century before Libbey's arrival, millions of boardfeet of lumber, hardwood and softwood, had been driven down the Mersey River to Liverpool. Libbey's mine quickly attracted the experienced woodmen of the area. Cordwood was hauled to the mines in the winter for pit props or fuel creating, at times, wood piles half a mile long.<sup>17</sup> One prominent farmer, William Veinot, kept his man in the woods all year round to cut wood for Libbey, receiving \$1.50 a cord for softwood and \$2.00 for hardwood.<sup>18</sup> Six

miles away in New Elm men were contracted to provide firewood for the boilers and haul it to the mine by ox team. Libbey's capital was obviously widely distributed in the area.

It is difficult to measure precisely how many men from the area worked in the Brookfield mines. Certainly specialized craftsmen were employed—carpenters and blacksmiths.<sup>19</sup> Many of the young men from large families who had become superfluous on the farm with the advent of mechanized farm machinery were eager for the excitement the mining camps would provide. When the mine eventually closed down, many of these men would make use of their new found mining skills and migrate to other areas. Others joined the unemployed migrant flow to New England and the Canadian West while the rest resumed their agricultural heritage and stayed in Northern Queens.<sup>20</sup>

The brightly lit mining "town" was immediately obvious in an area in which virtually all the homes were illuminated by candle or kerosene lamps. In the town itself, there were two streets, one ran directly past the mill and Libbey's home and the other angled over a hill where the labourers lived.<sup>21</sup> Besides the hotels, rum joints, and homes, Libbey had converted the old McGuire mill into a stable for the work horses while the upstairs part was a gymnasium for the use of the mine workers.<sup>22</sup> By the turn of the century, some of the miners must have had families for Libbey had a school built at the Brookfield Mines.<sup>23</sup>

Libbey, himself, is rather an enigmatic figure.<sup>24</sup> As has been shown, he was very knowledgeable in mining matters and his knowledge gained him sufficient attention to be elected President of the Mining Society of Nova Scotia for two terms—1900 and 1901. Although he was said to have been a poor man when he arrived, he soon began to reflect his new status as a man of wealth. He drove about the town in a handsome barouche, drawn by silver bridled horses with his black coachman, George

Harris on the box. Libbey himself was outfitted in elegant kid gloves and the latest style suit.<sup>25</sup> His ostentatious wealth did not seem to breed arrogance however, for Maurice Harlow describes him at a big basket social at the Brookfield mines as "Cock of the roost". In the provincial election of 1901, Libbey put his popularity to the test and ran as a Conservative candidate for Queens County. Although he came fourth in the county he swept the three wards of the North District—a measure of his popularity—or his power.

However, his power was not complete. A few years after he had first arrived he had been faced with an ultimatum from the North Brookfield Baptist Church. This was that he should stop his water pumps on Sunday.<sup>26</sup> Apparently Libbey challenged their ultimatum for the weekly sacrilege by his mines crew continued. There was no legal way they could be stopped. However, the Sunday labour coupled with the immorality of the hard drinking miners was noted and remembered by the Baptist community in Brookfield. In 1903, when a prominent representative of the Lords Day National campaign, Rev. J. G. Shearer, came to Liverpool, he was asked also to visit North Brookfield. An evangelical revival was held which aimed at getting Libbey to shut down his pumps on the Sabbath.<sup>27</sup>

Libbey had excellent practical reasons for not closing down the pumps even for one day. Due to the depth of his mine, water seepage was a problem. To close the pumps down on Sunday meant the water was given a full day to collect at the bottom of the shaft and it would not be until Tuesday or possibly Wednesday before actual mining could be resumed. Closure due to the Lords Day Alliance did not make sense to Libbey and more importantly, closure cut income.

The Brookfield Mines Company Limited, under Libbey's systematic and experienced management, had finally exploited its holdings and had maintained its



position as the foremost gold mine in Queens's County for a number of years. By January of 1904, 78109 tons of ore had been extracted with a value of \$595,798.55.<sup>28</sup> It would take more than just the Brookfield Baptists to close down this operation.

Nevertheless, within two years of the revival meeting Libbey had shut down his mine. On the 25th of September, 1905, he announced that the mine was closed after running night and day for 12 years.<sup>29</sup> It is not clear from the oral or documentary evidence exactly why the mine did close. Rev. J. G. Shearer held yet another revivalist meeting in the Orangeman's Hall at the mine site in June, 1905. Perhaps this overt pressure discouraged investors from sinking capital into a venture so publically damned by the church.<sup>30</sup> At the same time Libbey was experiencing technical difficulties with his mine. His steam pumps had run into condensation problems. Due to the great depth of the mine the steam in the long supply pipes had a tendency to condense between the boiler at the minehead and the pumps at the bottom of the mine. Compressed air was not available. Electric power could have been utilized but this would have meant an investment of capital which Libbey was unwilling or unable (due to Shearer's campaign) to make. Thus, the Brookfield Mine was forced to shut down its operations in the autumn of 1905.<sup>32</sup>

W. L. Libbey moved his capital to Mexico to pursue new ventures in the silver mines there. The gold mine of the Brookfield Mining Company Limited never reopened. Very few of the miners stayed in Northern Queens County. Many went to Ontario—to the gold mines of the Rainy River District and the silver mines of Cobalt and Gowgander. A few had built up strong friendships in Brookfield but now there was nothing to keep them there. Some of them simply went home and perhaps Maurice Harlow best expresses what this meant.



"Bid goodbye to Reed Williams tonight. He and family are going down to his home in South Carolina. I am afraid we will not see them again very soon".<sup>33</sup>

The mine was closed, and the buildings boarded up. What was moveable and of utilitarian value was removed, the machinery sold or taken and the buildings bought by local citizens for homes or scrap lumber. The Orangeman's Hall was moved intact to North Brookfield, five miles away, and still serves as a community hall.<sup>34</sup> Libbey's home was bought by Larry Gates and moved to Silver Lake some five miles away where it still stands.<sup>35</sup> The yawning holes in the ground, the shaft that had brought the wealth could not be moved. They were left to slowly fill with water and be smothered by the alders.

The hope for gold riches in Queens County did not end in 1905. the dramatic rise in the price of gold in the 1930's brought further speculation and some digging was done in the gold fields of the northern district. As recent as 1975 there was some attempt to revitalize the industry.

Some old timers state, there is gold there for the taking. They may be right but one thing is assured. Gold, the **immutable**, will still exist long after memories of the wealth and excitement of Libbey's mine have disappeared.

"Much of the research for this article was done under the aegis of Parks Canada while the authors were undertaking a research project on Kejimikujik National Park. The assistance of Parks Canada and especially the Historical Research Section is gratefully acknowledged."

## FOOTNOTES

- 1 Malcolm, W. **Gold Fields of Nova Scotia**, Geological Survey Memoir 385, Ottawa, 1976, Appendix I, p. 238. Originally published as Memoir 156, a compilation based on the work of E. R. Faribault of the Geological Survey of Canada. Unless otherwise noted all statistics used in this paper are taken from Malcolm's study.
- 2 Business Archives, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N. S., Thomas H. Raddall papers, H114, B. This was a common account of the first discovery of gold in Northern Queens County. Unfortunately we were unable to identify or obtain further information on the brothers.
- 3 Lands containing gold were surveyed and proclaimed gold districts by the Nova Scotia Department of Mines. The districts were laid off in areas 150' x 250' for licensing and administrative convenience.
- 4 **Kejimbukjick Oral History** (hereafter K.O.H.), **Ralph Waterman**, age 93, Pleasant River, Queens County, N. S. Interview June 6, 1977.—**The Critic**, a Halifax Trade Journal notes in its edition of May 21, 1886 (p. 8) that Messrs. Ernst and Colp held property mentioned.
- 5 Stamp mills were common in the gold fields of North America during late 19th and early 20th centuries and were used for crushing gold bearing ore. The stamp is composed of a crushing member which is dropped on a die, the ore being crushed in water between head and die. A stamp battery generally contained 5 stamps and the mills often had numerous batteries. Power was commonly steam or water.
- 6 Given the price of gold on the World Market at the time, this would amount to approximately \$27,000.
- 7 **Report of the Department of Mines, Nova Scotia**, 1888, p. 28.
- 8 *Ibid*, 1893, p. 35.
- 9 **Op. Cit.** (K.O.H.) **Ralph Waterman**. The informant stated Libbey took over the mill from Mr. Harding. In the **Canadian Mining Review**, (Vol. 10, 1900, p. 55) the Directors for the Brookfield Mining Company Limited incorporated Jan. 18, 1897 are listed as Wilber L. Libbey, President H. Harding and G. A. Spink. Thus, it appears that Harding preceded Libbey to Brookfield, and at some point a partnership was formed between the two of them.
- 10 **Op. Cit** **The Critic**, April 20, 1894, p. 8.
- 11 Brown, E. Percy, **Development of an Ore Shoot in Nova Scotia**, unpublished manuscript, file No. F-01-4, Department of Mines, Nova Scotia, Halifax.
- 12 The Chlorination Process was a chemical process designed to remove that portion of the gold not free and visible but bound up with sulphides. At Brookfield the process was not a great success and by early 1905 Libbey had installed a Cyanide Plant, also a chemical process utilizing potassium cyanide. Informant **Ralph Waterman** supplied a detailed description of the operation of these plants.
- 13 Stopping is the subterranean extraction of ore. Overhead stopping consists of cutting into the ceiling of the mine to remove the ore while underhand stopping requires cutting into the floor. Overhead stopping saves considerable labour as timber stagings can be erected with loading chutes through which the ore can be shovelled for removal to the surface.

- 14 Public Archives of Nova Scotia. (P.A.N.S.) MGI No. 1301, Diaries of Maurice Harlow. Dec. 31. 1894.
- 15 K.O.H. **Edna Sutherland**, age 79, Caledonia, Queens County, N. S. interview May 19. 1977.
- 16 K.O.H. **Eleanor Parker**, age 90, Bridgewater, Lunenburg County, N. S., interview May 11, 1977.
- 17 **Op. Cit. Ralph Waterman**
- 18 **Ibid.** This was a considerable income in an area where men working in the woods for the lumbermen of Liverpool were getting less than one dollar a day and this was often given as a credit rather than cash.
- 19 **Ibid.**
- 20 K.O.H.. **Russel McBride**, age 72, North Brookfield, Queens County, N. S. Interview May 5, 1977. Virtually all informants spoke of the wide spread emigration from the brookfield area specifically and Northern Queens County generally.
- 21 K.O.H., **Walter Wile**, age 65, Broad Cove, Lunenburg County, N. S. Interview March 16, 1977. Mr. Wile, from memory provided us with a sketch of the town. This enlarged upon what we already knew of the area from a map by E. R. Faribault, of the Geological Survey of Canada, titled **Brookfield Gold District Queens County, Nova Scotia, 1908**. See. Fig. 2.
- 22 **Op. Cit. Ralph Waterman.**
- 23 **Industrial Advocate**, May 1906, p. 11. The school is included in the property being sold by the Brookfield Mining Company Limited in 1906.
- 24 Various newspapers were contacted in the hope of eliciting information on Mr. Libbey or failing that on gold mining in Nova Scotia generally. Among the newspapers written to were; **The Boston Globe, The Herald American and The Christian Science Monitor**. Thus far no responses have been received.
- 25 **Op. Cit. Eleanor Parker.**  
**Op. Cit. Edna Sutherland.**  
K.O.H. **Oliver Smith**, age 78, South Brookfield, Queens County, N. S. Interview May 25, 1977.
- 26 Acadia University Baptist Archives, Wolfville, N. S. North Brookfield Baptist Church Record Book, July 2, 1898.
- 27 **Ibid** June 7, 1903.  
**Op. Cit Eleanor Parker.**
- 28 **Op. Cit. Canadian Mining Manual**, Vol. 14, 1904, p. 41.
- 29 **Op. Cit. P.A.N.S. MGI No. 1301**, Sept. 25, 1905.
- 30 **Ibid.** June 11, 1906.
- 31 **Op. Cit. Industrial Advocate**, Jan. 1906, p. 11.
- 32 Holbrooke, G. L. Report on Libbey Property Brookfield District, Queens County, N. S., Oct. 31, 1963, Department of Mines, N. S. **Op. Cit. Eleanor Parker.**
- 33 **Op. Cit. MGI, No. 1301**, Dec. 8, 1905.
- 34 **Op. Cit. Russel McBride.**
- 35 **Ibid.**

# *Discovery of Kerosene*

ROLAND H. SHERWOOD

Nova Scotia born Abraham Gesner, the man who discovered the process for refining kerosene, was a strange, but industrious person, who in his lifetime became a country doctor, geologist, sailor, ship-owner, trader, author, lecturer, chemist, museum owner, failure, poor man, inventor, rich man, a famous and then a forgotten man for nearly seventy years after his death.

As he lay in his unmarked grave in Camp Hill Cemetery in Halifax, the world benefitted from the better light kerosene oil gave, until that world went on to gas and electric light with a brilliancy never dreamed of by Abraham Gesner.

Abraham Gesner was born in the little village of Cornwallis, Kings County in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia, on May 2nd, 1797, the sixth child in a family of twelve. His father, Colonel Henry Gesner, a United Empire Loyalist, had been deprived of his property and refused citizenship in the new Republic of the United States of America at the close of the Revolutionary War. With many other Loyalists Henry Gesner emigrated to



Canada, and received a government grant of 400 acres of land in the fertile Annapolis Valley.

Son Abraham grew up in the rural community of Cornwallis, and in later life married Henrietta, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Isaac Webster of Kentville. Abraham Gesner carried on the tradition of large families by fathering 11 children.

In his youth, Abraham Gesner was an adventurer. He became part owner in vessels carrying horses for sale in the West Indies. In this venture he almost lost his life when two of his vessels were wrecked. Young Gesner shipped before the masts of many vessels out of Nova Scotia ports in the heyday of sail and wooden ships, when those provincially-built trading ships were carrying salt cod to the West Indies and South American ports, to return with cargoes of sugar, coffee, coconuts, molasses and rum.

In his youth Abraham Gesner wanted to be a sailor; to seek adventures around the world of ships and far ports. But his father wanted his son to become a doctor.

Henry Gesner had prospered on his 400 acres and could afford the expense of sending Abraham to a medical school in England. Young Gesner took up his father's offer, and at the age of 28 began to study medicine and surgery at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and Guy's Hospital, under distinguished teachers. Abraham proved to be an excellent student, and while studying medicine and surgery, developed an interest in geology. To the delight of his family, Abraham graduated, an M.D., in 1827, returned to Nova Scotia and began the practice of a country doctor at Parrsboro, Cumberland County.

As a country doctor, Abraham Gesner rode through the Cumberland coal fields on his errands of mercy. Mostly by horseback, and sometimes by canoe as there were no carriages in use on the so-called roads, which were little more than footpaths between tree stumps.

Gesner, as an amateur geologist, was to learn by experience that the district through which he passed was to become one of the greatest natural fossil sources of the world. On these trips, young Gesner, more of a geologist than a doctor, filled his saddle bags with rock samples of all kinds, which were mixed in with the medical supplies he always carried. So thoroughly did Gesner study his rock-gathering hobby that he became an authority on geology, and he had many specimens at his hand, for along the Parrsboro shores he could pick up amythest, opal, agate, jasper and many other materials. All of these he catalogued and stored.

In those early days his hobby brought him no money. His only source of income was from his medical practice. But his knowledge of geology brought him to the attention of the Nova Scotia government. He was engaged to conduct a survey and make a report on the minerals of the province. While he searched and found minerals, he was wise enough to make careful notes of his findings. These notes appeared in his first book, published in 1836 by the Halifax firm of Gossip and Coade, under the title of "Remarks On The Geology And Mineralogy of Nova Scotia." Geology was in its infancy, but his book brought him a certain amount of fame as a geologist. Apparently he was no longer practicing as a country doctor, for in 1837, he was exploring the Grand Lake, Salmon River and Richibucto areas of New Brunswick.

On the strength of his findings and reports, Gesner was appointed provincial geologist by the New Brunswick Government. This appointment lasted only three years. He was let out by the government, and found himself with 4,000 rock samples, and no money. He suggested that the New Brunswick Government create a geology museum with his rock specimens, but the offer was turned down. Somehow, without funds, and with a cumbersome collection, Gesner managed to return to

Halifax in 1841, where he opened an exhibition of his huge collection. This was not financially successful.

One year later, in 1842, Gesner returned to Saint John where he opened a private museum in a building owned by the Mechanics Institute. The admission fees did not cover his expenses, and Dr. Abraham Gesner was deeper in debt than before. He managed to borrow money from Chief Justice Ward Chipman and Mr. Justice Robert Parker, two very prominent citizens of the port city of New Brunswick. When he was unable to repay the loans, Gesner gave his prized collection in settlement. With no interest in geology, the two learned judges, with over a ton of fossils, rocks and ores in their possession, donated the whole collection to the Mechanics Institute Museum. That Gesner collection became the first Natural History Museum in Canada. The year was 1842. That small beginning was the nucleus of the present famous New Brunswick Museum.

Abraham Gesner, without funds, returned to his medical practice in 1843. As a doctor he was concerned about the many, young and old, who were suffering from strained eyesight due to the poor lighting conditions in the homes. This was the time when the common illumination was by the tallow candles and "dips", most of which were home-made from the available seal, whale and vegetable oils.

While taking up his practice in his birthplace of Cornwallis, Gesner continued to experiment with coal gas and coal oil. These experiments eventually led to his fame, but there were to be many difficult years in between. By necessity he became an inventor, developing a retort which enabled him to distill oil from coal. Not the Nova Scotia soft coal, but a substance known as Albertite, found in Albert County of New Brunswick. These deposits, discovered in 1820, were not coal. They seemed to have no commercial value and were neglected. Gesner's experiments with Albertite were carried out about 1846.



Apparently more interested in experimenting than doctoring, Gesner removed to Halifax. This was a very fortunate time for him. The year was 1850. In Halifax he met the Commander-in-Chief of the British North American Station, Lord Dundonald, who was reported to be the original discoverer of illuminating gas.

The British Government had commissioned Dundonald to investigate the asphalt deposits of Trinidad with the possibility of producing fertilizer for the use of the sugar and coffee plantations of the West Indies. Abraham Gesner was engaged to assist. This gave him the money and opportunity to continue his research. While Dundonald continued to experiment with asphaltum from the Trinidad pitch lakes, Dr. Gesner turned his attention to local sources. Up to this time a number of liquid mixtures, mostly containing whale oil, were being used as illuminating fluids. None were too satisfactory.

While in Halifax, Dr. Gesner wrote two more books concerning his experiments, and Lord Dundonald influenced Gesner to continue his experiments. This he did and succeeded in distilling his oil from Nova Scotia coal. Gesner demonstrated his oil before a group in Charlottetown, lighting a darkened room with a great glow, and received strong encouragement to continue. His great test came at a demonstration in Halifax. It was a tense ordeal for Gesner as he was surrounded in a hall by a skeptical group. Yet the doctor-scientist was confident as he set a bowl of his distilled oil on a table. When he applied the flame to the oil, it spluttered and went out, and a low murmur ran around the room. He applied the flame again. There was a moment of breathless silence as the oil caught fire and began to burn with a clear radiant light. Congratulations were poured upon Gesner as the oil continued to burn steadily to the last drop.

Lord Dundonald took no credit in the Gesner discovery, but before he and the others left the room they



assisted in naming the new oil. At first they coined the name from two Greek words, meaning "wax" and "oil", and called it "Keroselain", which was later contracted to the name the world has come to know as "Kerosene."

The Nova Scotia Government, at the instance of Joseph Howe, placed the lighthouse at Meagher's Beach, Halifax County, under Dr. Gesner's exclusive control for one month in order that he might keep accurate data on his experiments with the new oil. These experiments made in December of 1852 were exciting successes. The kerosene placed in the lamp bowls in the lighthouse gave a stronger, steadier light than any oils previously used, and the light could be maintained in all weathers.

Two years after this success, Dr. Gesner took out patents for manufacturing in the United States, where kerosene production began on a large scale.

In the meantime, sensing the possibilities of the new oil, Dr. Gesner spent six years improving the methods of processing, to finally realize that coal was not the best material to secure the better quality he desired. He returned to experimenting with the pitch-like deposits of Albertite. He had experimented with this material in 1839, so in 1852 he claimed it by right of discovery. But there was a prior claim. In 1820, a number of New Brunswick men had made the discovery, believing it to be coal. When it was realized that Albertite was not coal, the deposits were abandoned. These New Brunswick man had been granted all the coal deposits in Alberta County by the provincial legislature. In 1852, when Gesner was claiming the deposits they had considered worthless, these New Brunswick interests took the matter to court in an effort to have the substance called Albertite officially to be declared coal. The court ruled otherwise, handing down a decision that Albertite was not coal, but Asphaltum. That decision was appealed, and another jury declared that Albertite was coal. Gesner went broke while those who

controlled Albertite realized millions. Gesner then turned to other sources. He moved to the United States where he found petroleum was being taken from so-called "gum beds." In the United States Gesner was granted a patent on his Kerosene process. Backed at last by wealthy investors, Gesner, in 1854, founded the North American Kerosene and Gas Light Company. A refinery was constructed at Newton Creek, Long Island, and prospered.

In 1861, Dr. Gesner again became an author. He wrote another book entitled, "Coal, Petroleum and Other Distilled Oils," and took to the lecture platform to talk about the new oil. There was good reason for Gesner to speak to the people on the use of the new oil. Many had found that the new product did give a more brilliant light, but the odor from the burning oil proved to be rather offensive. Gesner explained that the better light offset the odor, and that as the experiments continued the odor would be eliminated. The public accepted the explanation, and Gesner's promise was fulfilled in the years ahead.

Dr. Abraham Gesner saw the sales of kerosene increase, and he became a rich man. In 1863 he returned to Halifax as the rich and famous son who had given a better light to a dim-lit world.

Dr. Gesner died in Halifax at the age of 67, on April 29, 1864. With his death the fame that had been his during the time of his achievement was forgotten as the world went on from kerosene to gas and electric light. For sixty-nine years he was the forgotten benefactor of mankind as it struggled out of the dark. Even his grave in Camp Hill Cemetery was forgotten.

Finally, though, the remembrance of the pioneering spirit of Abraham Gesner came alive, and in 1933, Imperial Oil Limited erected a monument to the memory of Dr. Abraham Gesner, M.D., F.C.S., geologist. And it stands today over the grave of the one-time country doctor; a tall granite shaft that recalls, on a metal plaque, the remembrance of the early struggles, the success of his

efforts, his contribution to the oil industry, and the benefit of a better light to the world.

# *The History of the Nova Scotia Apple Industry*

KEITH A. HATCHARD

## SLAVES AND THE APPLE INDUSTRY

Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton in his admirable HISTORY OF KING'S COUNTY, gives Colonel John Burbidge the credit for having introduced the Nonpareil and English Golden Russet varieties of apples to the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel John Burbidge was the most prominent of a small group of Englishmen that took up grants of land along with the New England Loyalists after the expulsion of the Acadians from their Valley farmlands. He was a native of the Isle of Wight, having been born in Cowes in either 1716 or 1717. This distinguished gentleman was married twice during an exceptionally long life, for those times, of ninety-five years, but he left no direct off-spring. He brought with him from England a whole family of nephews and neices and it is from these that the many holders of the name today both in Nova Scotia and many other parts of Nova America are descended. He was, however, the owner of numerous slaves.



Elizabeth Burbidge, Colonel John's wife from England, died shortly after the family moved to Cornwallis in 1761 or thereabouts. The Colonel then married, in 1775, Mrs. Rebecca (Dudley) Gerrish, daughter of Hon. William Dudley and descendents of a line of Boston politicians and Massachusetts colony Governors and widow of Hon. Benjamin Gerrish of the Nova Scotia Council. The four nephews, sons of Abel and Jean Burbidge that the Colonel brought over to the Valley from the Isle of Wight shortly after he moved there were Henry, Elias, James and John. They all married North American wives and raised families in the Cornwallis area of Nova Scotia.

The Cornwallis Township book records the baptisms of the numerous offspring of these Burbidge nephews and their respective wives. It also records the baptisms of a number of children registered as 'property of Burbidge'. The Burbidge in question being either Colonel John or one of the nephews. Thus described are:- Hannah, 30 July 1783, Peter, 26 September 1786, Flora, 3 August 1788, Elias, 20 July 1790, Samuel, 5 February 1794, Roxenna, 3 July 1796.<sup>2</sup>

The history of slavery in Nova Scotia is an interesting adjunct to the whole history of slavery in the Western World. It could be said to have started with the negro La Liberte, recorded as being as Cape Sable in 1686 and suspected of being an escaped slave from the South.<sup>3</sup> But, it is also recorded that the French brought negro slaves with them to help clear fields of New France long before this date. By the mid-eighteenth century when there were reported to be at least fifteen negroes amongst the pioneer

settlers being virtualled in Halifax, and the Loyalists had started to arrive from New England with their negro possessions, the number of slaves in the Province must have run into many hundreds.

The attitude of the Loyalists towards slavery was an ambivalent one. From some of the comments passed by Loyalists when contemplating the arrival of a fresh shipload of slaves in the mid-eighteenth century it is apparent that they regarded with pride the fact that they had been instrumental in giving these people the opportunity to join the ranks of enlightened, civilised people. However, by the end of the century many of these slave-owners were making voluntary acts of manumission by which they agreed to give their slaves freedom, usually under a specific set of terms and conditions. These conditions were not exactly easy, and often involved the completion of a long period of slavery before freedom would be granted. Colonel John Burbridge made out a deed of manumission on his slaves on Christmas Day in 1790. This stipulated that the adult members of his slave 'family' should serve another seven years and that the children should attain freedom at the age of thirty. One of Colonel John's English nephews, Henry Burbridge is recorded as making a deed of manumission with almost identical terms at the same time.

A further easement on the number of slaves in the Province was effected in 1792 when 1200 negroes were shipped out of Halifax for Sierra Leone. This was the result of actions taken by the Sierra Leone Company, a company of anti-slavery abolitionists, in England which resulted in the shipment of many freed slaves, from many parts of Britain and its

colonies, to the West coast of Africa. Many of the Maroons from Jamaica which formed the next sizeable influx of negroes to Nova Scotia followed their brethren to Sierra Leone in another shipment which left Halifax eight years later in 1800.<sup>5</sup> The slaves of the Burbidge families would not have found it necessary to serve out the terms of their deeds of manumission because by 1800 very few slaves were reported to remain in the Province. Judge Haliburton wrote in 1829 that "a small portion of the labouring population of the county is composed of free blacks, who are chiefly employed as agricultural and domestic servants, BUT THERE WERE NO SLAVES".<sup>6</sup> All slaves throughout British North America were freed by the legislation of 1833.

Although Colonel Burbidge's association with slavery was, therefore accompanied by probings of conscience and eventual rejection of the practise, he was, nevertheless, a slaveowner and must have employed a number of these unfortunate people in the orchards of Annapolis where he became one of the pioneers of the Nova Scotia apple industry.

Colonel John Burbidge was first resident in Halifax where he was a member of the First, Second and Third Assemblies that met there. He moved to Cornwallis in the early 1760s and it was as a representative of that district that he sat in the fourth Assembly in 1765. There had been some lots, in the 100,000 acres originally portioned out to Cornwallis settlers, that were held back to attract a few of the more adaptive of the early Halifax settlers. Colonel John Burbidge and William Best, were soon picked out as two English emigrants that the people of Cornwallis would like to have join their



community. These two worthies, in 1770, built, at their own expense, the first Anglican church in the County, St. John's at Fox Hill, in Cornwallis. These two gentlemen also featured in an incident that reflects the magnanimity of Colonel John and sheds light on the disturbing effect that the slave issue must have had on his conscience. In 1763, an Indian named Bartholomew Nocout was experiencing some difficulty in the townships of Horton and Cornwallis and was at one point set upon and stoned by some of the new settlers. Messrs Burbidge and Best rescued the Indian from his tormentors and took him to their homes for care and treatment. They later restored him to the Indian community at Cape Porcupine.<sup>7</sup> This consideration for the downtrodden characterized John Burbidge throughout his long life and he was a much admired and respected member of the community.

Colonel Burbidge farmed the plot which had been given to him which was about halfway between Town Plot and the present Port Williams. The first St. John's church and the Fox Hill cemetery (where he lies) were on his land, and it was here that he experimented with and successfully grafted the Nonpareil and English Golden Russet varieties of apples. It was to this house that Prince William Henry, later King William IV, came to stay in 1788 while making a trip to Annapolis from his frigate the PEGASUS which was anchored in the harbour at Halifax. He spent the night with Sherrieff John Thomas Hill at Horton and lunched the next day with Colonel Burbidge at Cornwallis.<sup>8</sup>

The rank of Colonel was attained by John Burbidge in the Militia although he and his family



never regarded this as comparable to full military rank and in fact, when he died, his family would not permit the Colonel to be buried with full military honours although many militia officers attended the funeral. John Burbidge had been breveted as a Major in the Horse Militia on 28 August 1764 and then, after transferring to the Light infantry was promoted Colonel on 6 September 1781.

Although Colonel John Burbidge, as we have seen, was no arch-progenitor of slavery, it is because of his long and distinguished life of service to the valley community, that it is convenient to use his life as the framework for consideration of the subject.

Until the Revolution, the New England states were practising slavery on a fairly wide scale. In 1784, Connecticut passed manumission legislation similar to the terms that Colonel Burbidge offered his slaves in 1790, and shortly after 1800 the Connecticut Legislature abolished slavery altogether. However, when the majority of the Loyalists came to Nova Scotia they were coming from a society that still condoned slavery. It is not surprising that the dubious Joshua Mauger was one of the first Nova Scotia names to be associated with the slavery trade. In 1752 he is recorded in the Halifax Gazette as having for sale a group of freshly imported negroes of mixed sexes and ages.<sup>9</sup> A bit later in 1769 the Gazette recorded the sale at Public Auction, on the Beach in Halifax, of two negro girls, aged fourteen and twelve.

The slave-owners in the Annapolis Valley, along with Colonel Burbridge generally seem to have been much more considerate of their charges. Jonathan Shearman of Cornwallis in his will dated

1809 stipulated that comfortable provisions should be made for his negro slave, Chloe. Benjamin Belcher of Cornwallis in his will dated 1800 stipulated that: "I give and bequeath my negro woman to my beloved wife during her lifetime and after her death at her disposal: I give and bequeath my negro boy called Prince by my son, Stephen Belcher, during his life, after that to his eldest surviving son; I give my negro girl called Diana to my daughter, Elizabeth Belcher Sheffield, and after her death to her eldest male heir of her body; I give my negro man named Jack and my negro boy Samuel and negro boy James and negro girl called Chloe to my son Benjamin and his heirs forever; charging these my children unto whom I have entrusted these negro people with never to sell, barter or exchange them or any of them under any pretension except for those bad and heinous offences as will not render them safe to be kept in the family, and that to be adjudged of by three Justices of the Peace in said Township, and in such case on their order they may be sold and disposed of. And I further request that as soon as these young Negroes shall become capable to be taught to read, they shall be learnt the Word of God."<sup>10</sup>

Regardless of how easily the yoke of slavery might have been applied most people found great difficulty in reconciling the role of slave-owner with that of vicar of the Christian Church in the same person. The Reverend Daniel Cock, Presbyterian minister of Truro, was presented with a female slave by one of the worthies of Cornwallis during a visit that the Rev. Cock made there in 1777. Messrs Cock and Smith, both Colchester County Presbyterian

Ministers had been called to Cornwallis Congregational Church to stabilise the upheaval being created by the evangelistic preaching of the spell-binding Henry Alline. They took the young Alline on one side and tried to persuade him to undergo a formal course of training for the ministry but this did not accord with the nature of his preaching mission, which was a nomadic one, and so he declined. He did, however, go through a form of ordination in 1779. Cornwallis Congregational Church became the first New Light Church under Alline's evangelistic influence<sup>11</sup> and it was not until the Reverend Hugh Graham in 1785 that the Church was restored to a sound Presbyterian footing. However, in the course of these events, the Reverend Daniel Cock accepted the gift of a slave, and a little later, in what was probably an attempt to improve matters he purchased the daughter of the slave that had been given him. Never did two wrongs fail so completely to make a right.

Shortly after this, in 1788, the Reverend Daniel Cock of Truro received a lengthy epistle from the idealistic young Reverend James McGregor, minister at Pictou. It was followed by the appearance in print of "A Letter to a Clergyman, urging him to set free a Black Girl held in Slavery."<sup>12</sup> This was followed by a series of letters being printed, some, like that of Rev. David Smith of Londonderry, taking Rev. Cock's side in the argument, but there were many more people around the Province who could not approve of a member of the presbytery holding another person in bondage at all.

The Reverend James McGregor was only too ready to prove the sincerity of his convictions in the

matter and he committed the biggest part of his first annual stipend towards purchasing the freedom of a boy and a girl owned by Matthew Harris of Pictou. The girl, Dinah Rhyno and her husband, George Mingo became the patriarchs of one of the most respected coloured families in the province.<sup>13</sup>

The morality of a Presbyterian Minister owning slaves was called into question as early as 1764 when the Reverend James Lyon, the first Presbyterian Minister in the Province arrived at Onslow township with his negro boy slave.<sup>14</sup>

Another notable Cornwallis Congregationalist who is recorded as practising slavery was Captain John Huston who had been Captain of the Eighth Company of Colonel Samuel Willard's Eighth Massachusetts Regiment in the expedition against Louisburg in 1758. This was one of the last campaigns in which American Colonial troops fought on the side of the Crown. Captain Huston was a benevolent man and he had also taken under his wing a one-legged, orphan, white boy, before leaving Boston in 1763. This orphan boy, Brook Watson, later became Sir Brook Watson, Nova Scotia's agent in London. He eventually became Lord Mayor of London and was created a Baronet. In Captain Huston's will published in 1787 he "gave and bequeathed to his dear and well-beloved wife" His "negro man Pomp, and all the live-stock, utensils, and implements, etc.," of which at the time of his decease he should be the owner.<sup>15</sup>

The member of another of our families prominent in the development of the Nova Scotia apple industry, Jeremiah Calkin, Junior, was witness to a conveyance transferring ownership



from Alice, William and John Allison to Simon Fitch of Horton, a negro woman named Nelly, until recently, the property of Alice's deceased husband, Joseph Allison. This document is remarkable for a number of reasons including, the lateness of its date (1807), and the fact that it includes a phrase that obviously indicates its authors doubts as to its legality, namely "if a person can be considered personal property in Nova Scotia."<sup>16</sup>

Despite his dalliance with slavery, Colonel John Burbidge's contribution to the life of the growing Province was an immense one. In 1764, he was made the first Registrar of Deeds for Cornwallis. In addition to donating the land for the first Anglican church at Cornwallis, John Burbidge continued to support the church throughout his extremely long life. As Senior Warden, he contributed fifty pounds to the parsonage fund in 1784 and, a little later, the first vicar, the Reverend William Twining having arrived, Burbidge took it upon himself to complete the construction of the parsonage at his own expense. In the Parish Register of St. John's church at Cornwallis there is a lengthy entry dated 11th of March, 1812, "John Burbidge, Esquire, the great patron of the Church in King's County for upwards of fifty years, departed this life, and on the 14th his remains were interred at the old church, attended by all the magistrates, the militia officers in their uniforms, and the principal inhabitants of the county."<sup>17</sup>

When he died (in his 96th year) John Burbidge was the oldest militia officer, the oldest Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and the oldest magistrate in the Province. He had used his position in the

Assembly to further the development of the agricultural and horticultural industries in King's County, and "he was revered and loved by all who knew him, for his piety, integrity, and benevolence."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. History of King's County, by A. W. H. Eaton, Salem, 1910, page 204.
2. Ibid., page 234.
3. The Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia, C. B. Fergusson, page 1.
4. History of King's County, A. W. H. Eaton, page 234.
5. The Establishment of the Blacks in Nova Scotia, C. B. Fergusson, page 3.
6. The History of King's County, A. W. H. Eaton, page 237.
7. The History of King's County, A. W. H. Eaton, page 442.
8. Ibid, page 448.
9. The Slave in Canada, NSHS Collections, Vol. X, T. Watson Smith, page 10.
10. The Slave in Canada, NSHS Collections Vol. X Watson Smith, page 17.
11. The History of King's County, A. W. H. Eaton, page 285.
12. The Slave in Canada, NSHS Collections Vol. X, T. Watson Smith, page 56.
13. Ibid. page 57.
14. Ibid, page 16.
15. The Slave in Canada, NSHS Collections Vol. X, T. Watson Smith, page 16.
16. Ibid page 66.
17. The History of King's County, A. W. H. Eaton, page 250.

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# *The Family of Rolan Rogers, A New England Planter in King's County*

ALLEN B. ROBERTSON

**Rolan Rogers Sr.**, a native of Connecticut (perhaps of New London town), emigrated in 1760 with the first wave of New England Planters to Horton Township, Nova Scotia. He was a farmer (and possibly mason) by occupation. He was listed in the first effective Horton land grant of 29 May 1761, received one full share<sup>1</sup> (500 acres), and purchased in the same year (for £100) the right of Samuel Clark, thus acquiring a total of one thousand acres. During the following forty years Rolan Rogers was involved in numerous land deals in the township. In the 1760's and 1770's he acquired several lots of salt marsh and dyke land; three such purchases, of 6½, 6 and 2 acres, each adjoined his second division farm lot of 120 acres (Letter A, #3) whereon his dwelling and farm were located. The home-site lay to the east of Mud Creek, near the present-day Wolfville Museum. In 1770 Rolan sold for £70 to William Dickson two half-acre town lots in what was to have been the centre of Horton Township, (now known as Hortonville.<sup>2</sup>) Thus he concentrated his holdings in the area where the town of Wolfville would rise. During April 1770, the Horton grantees drew for their third division farm lots which lay mainly to the south of Salmon/Gaspereaux River. Rolan drew in his own right, and that of Samuel Clark, lots 241 - 244; nine years later, "... for and in Consideration of the Love, goodwill and affection which I have and do bear towards my loving Children to wit Moses Rogers and John Rogers of Horton ... Labourers," he gave away lots 241 and 242 (500 acres total.) He eventually sold most of the other two farm lots (also located, as were 241, 242, on present-day Gaspereaux Mtn.) to Elisha DeWolf, Esq. (1798). The year 1802 witness his sale, for £600 to Daniel DeWolf, of the eastern half of his second division farm lot (the other half being then the property of his son Joseph Rogers.)



By this date Rolen seems to have been residing on Rogers (Gaspereaux) Mtn., to which his sons Moses and Rolen Jr. and other family members had removed. It was probably there that he died c. 1805.

Rolen had been active in community affairs; he served on the Petit Jury in 1766, 1770, 1774; in 1775 was appointed as one of eight surveyors of highways; and was a signatory to petitions for improved and new roads (mainly in the Gaspereaux Mtn. region.) Public duties ended after 1777, when he and Rolen Jr. were involved in a court case with Cyrus Martin of Horton.<sup>3</sup>; however, his land transactions with other Horton settlers suffered no impediments.

Rolen Rogers m. Lucretia —? (d. 26 Feb 1801, ae. 80 yr.<sup>4</sup>; headstone in the Old Wolfville Cemetery); they had eight children, of whom only three founded families in Horton. Their descendants today number over fifteen hundred in Kings Co., N.S. Intermarriage has been frequent enough to justify the application of 'the Clan' to this body of long established Nova Scotia progeny. The following is a record of Rolen Sr.'s descendants to the fifth generation.

1. John Rogers, d.c. 1791/92, Horton, N.S.; labourer; single man; able to write his own name. Listed in the 1791 Poll tax under the fifth class—"Labourers and persons owning less than Six head of Cattle." given 250 acres of land on Rogers Mtn. in 1779 by his father Rolen Sr. At his death, his siblings became heirs (in equal portions) to his land holdings on the Grand Pre marsh and Rogers Mtn.
2. Moses Rogers, viv. 1817, deceased by 1835; labourer; res. Rogers Mtn. name on documents alternately marked 'M' or written in full. Several Gaspereaux men petitioned the provincial government in 1811 for grants of land, Moses Rogers amongst them: "... all of whom reside in Horton and are Industrious men (excepting of Moses Rogers and Samuel Gore. who are not able to Labour much)"; record of the outcome has not survived. In Oct. 1813. "the Overseers of the Poor agreed with Miss Pyke to keep Moses Rogers for Eight Shillings per weak [sic]". Later, he and his brother Rolen Jr. reached an agreement for his support, and Moses sold off most of his land. Alice Pyke, spinster of Gaspereaux, sold on 25 June 1835 to Thomas A. S. DeWolf and Elisha DeWolf Sr., land on the Mountain, "... formerly owned by Moses Rogers of Horton deceased and which I hold by Will from the said Moses Rogers." (The Will has not survived.) Moses left no issue.
3. Lucretia, m. Elisha DODGE, were living in Colchester, New London Co., Conn. by Feb. 1802. (She was still single in Oct. 1801 when she and her brother Joseph sold their share of inherited dyke land.) Left no descendants in N.S.



4. Joseph Rogers (may have been the youngest son in the family); farmer; res. Horton til c. 1801. Father of a girl (b. Oct. 1798) by Sarah NORBREY (perhaps dau. of Thomas Norbrey); Sarah m. —? Crane (by June 1799.) Joseph moved to New London, Conn.; m. Catharine —?; no known descendants in N. S. He sold (1802) c. 50 acres (the western half of the second division farm lot bought of Rolen Rogers Jr., formerly owned by Rolen Sr.) to the Rev. Theodore Seth Harding, Baptist minister in Wolfville (res. there 1796-1855.)
5. Jonathan Rogers: blacksmith; left Horton c. 1792. In Dec. 1803, when he returned to Horton to sell his share of land inherited from his brother John, he referred to his place of residence as Sheffield, Berkshire Co., Mass.
6. Deborah, m. (1) 8 Sept. 1785, Thomas DAVISON (b. 1753, son of Andrew and Eunice (nee Kimbal) Davison, Horton, N.S.); "And the said Thomas Davison having left Horton and his family in June 1790. Died in the Island of Saint John as is reported about the beginning of March 1791." She m. (2) c. 1794, Andrew COPE (or COPP).<sup>5</sup>  
Deborah and Thomas Davison had issue:
  - (1) Sarah b. 5 June 1786
  - (2) James b. 7 Dec. 1788
  - (3) Charlotte b. 25 May 1790
7. Alice, youngest in the family (? b.c. 1770): m. 6 Aug. 1798 Robert LEMON, shoemaker/leatherworker; res. Horton. (In 1851 a Thomas Lemon and family res. Wolfville; possibly a grandson of Alice.)  
Children of Alice and Robert Lemon:
  - (1) James, b. 16 March 1800
  - (2) Lucetia Jane b. 7 Oct. 1801 (the year her grandmother Lucretia Rogers died.)
  - (3) Sarah Maria b. 6 Feb. 1804
8. Rolen Rogers Jr., viv. 1822, d. prior 1838, Gaspereaux Mtn.; oldest son in the family; a husbandman (farmer); literate. Was active in land transactions. In 1779, he purchased for £600 his father's second division farm lot, the eastern portion of which he re-sold to Rolen Sr. in 1785. Rolen sold (1794) the remaining half of the second division farm lot to his brother Joseph for £262, it probably being about this time that Rolen Jr. and his family moved to Rogers Mtn. where he procured land from Moses Rogers. Obtained a 500 acre grant on the eastern side of the Shubenacadie River, 1812, when land there had been escheated—no record of his having lived there or of fulfilment of grant conditions. He petitioned the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, 17 May 1814, to seek redress for a road laid out through his land (on the Mtn.)<sup>6</sup> Rolen Rogers m. 10 April 1783 at Horton, Hannah JEFFREYS (viv. 1838), and had issue. He conveyed (by deed

and will) six acre lots on the Mountain to his children Catharine, Jonathan and Joseph. These patrimonial lands have passed out of and back into family hands down to the present day.

Issue of Rolan and Hannah Rogers:

- (1) Catharine b. 6 April 1784; the family tradition was that she m. (1) —? Atwell, and had at least one son (who was supposed to have been founder of a major branch of the Atwell name in Horton); lack of records for this to be verified. Catharine m. (2) Samuel O'DONNELL; one son is known.<sup>7</sup> Catharine O'Donnell viv 1841, and referred to herself as a widow.
  - (1a) Edmund O'Donnell, labourer; listed in 1838 Census of Horton Twp. with the Rogers of Gaspereaux Mtn. — his household consisted of a girl under 6 yr., a male over 14 yr. and two females over 14; this probably represented Edmund, wife and dau., and his parents.
- (2) Jonathan Rogers b. 6 March 1786. Received 150 acre government grant in Cumb. Co., 1810; no record of improvement of the land. Jonathan m. Olive —?; they res. Gaspereaux Mtn. as late as 1837.<sup>8</sup> Had at least three dau.; only one name is known:
  - (1a) Louisa b.c. 1809, viv. 1876; Baptist; m. Dick (Richard) MORINE (d. prior 1868), farmer; had eleven children.
- (3) Joseph Rogers b. 25 Dec. 1788; d.c. 1838/41; a farmer and labourer; may have worked at the DeWolf wharves in Wolfville. Received a government grant of 150 acres (1810) in Cumb. Co.; no improvement of the land. Again, in 1814 he obtained a 150 acre grant near Black River, Cumb. Co., but sold it for a low sum the next year. (During these years, many men from Horton Twp. petitioned the Nova Scotia government for land in the isthmus area.) Res. Gaspereaux Mtn., on the six acre lot deeded to him by his father. Joseph m. Lucy DAVIS and had issue:
  - (1a) Elisha Rogers d. 1875; Baptist; farmer. He m. Deborah DIMOCK of Shubenacadie, dau. of Daniel and Lydia (nee Bradshaw) Dimock, and grand-dau. of Daniel Dimock Sr., Baptist minister in Newport Twp. Elisha and Deborah res. north side of Newtonville Road (near the Gaspereaux-Greenfields Road); had nine children. Removed c. 1869 to Windham Hill, Cumb. Co. Elisha was, "... rather retiring in disposition and was known as a good substantial citizen." Deborah was probably instrumental in seeing that her children received

at least a basic education. Both Elisha and Deborah were bur. Horton.

- (1b) Joseph Dennison Rogers b. Gaspereaux Mtn.; farmer at Windham Hill; m. 1866 by Rev. Wm. Darragh (Presbyterian) Janet TATE (or TAIT) of Mount Pleasant, Cumb. Co. Joseph lived next to his brother Daniel; (the latter started a family cemetery between their two houses.) Joseph and Janet had issue.
- (2b) William Freeman Rogers b.c. 1841 Shuben-acadie (according to marriage record); farmer at Windham hill; m. 20 July 1867 West Brook by Rev. D. McKeen (Baptist), Seraphine Matilda TAYLOR, 21 yr., of West Brook, dau. of Nathan and Lavinia Taylor.
- (3b) Daniel Dimock Rogers b. 31 Oct. 1843, d. 12 April 1933; farmer at Windham Hill; moved c. 1890 to Springhill, where he established himself as a successful merchant. Deacon of the Springhill United Baptist Church. Established a small bequest for 'needy and deserving students' at Acadia University (1928). He m. 18 Jan. 1871 at River Philip by Rev. William Tweedie (Wesleyan Methodist), Fanny (Frances) TAIT, ae. 23 yr., of Mount Pleasant (probably sister to wife of Joseph D. Rogers), dau. of John and Janet Tait; (Fanny b. 25 Dec. 1847; d. 13 April 1830 Daniel and Fanny had six dau., five sons (one dau., Agnes, attended Acadia.)
- (4b) James Valentine Rogers b.c. 1846; farmer at Windham Hill; m. 8 Feb. 1872 at Windham Hill by Rev. George Hamison (Wesleyan), Elizabeth JENKS, ae. 18 yr., dau. of Joseph and Martha Jenks of Parrsboro.
- (5b) Lydia Matilda b.c. 1848; m. 21 Dec. 1870 at Windham Hill by Rev. E. C. Corey (Baptist), George W. BESWANGER, ae. 28 yr., labourer of Windham Hill (b. Antigonish), son of Joseph and Jane Beswanger.
- (6b) Benjamin Dennison Rogers b. 5 Nov. 1852 Gaspereaux; Methodist; had a very successful wholesale and retail grocery business in Stellarton, Pictou Co. Mayor of Stellarton 1912-1913. Benjamin was a staunch supporter of the Temperance Movement and attended conferences around the



- world (including Boston, 1895; Zurich, Switzerland, 1897; and Edinburgh, Scotland.) In Nov. 1879, he m. (1) Mary Jane WATSON of Charlottetown, P.E.I.: four dau., three sons. Benjamin m. (2) 27 May 1907 at Gaspereaux by Rev. J. W. Brown (Baptist), Ella Jean COFFILL, ae. 35 yr., dau. of Charles and Armanella Coffill of Hortonville, Kings Co.
- (7b) Stephen Rogers d.c. 1946, unm.; a high school principal in Red Deer, Alberta.
  - (8b) Edward Rogers
  - (9b) Anne
  - (2a) Eliza, d. 24 Sept. 1868 Gaspereaux, ae. 63 (the recorded ae. seems to be exaggerated by 3 or 4 yr.); David POWER (or POOR), an Irish Catholic Immigrant. May have res. Halifax before returning to Gaspereaux c. 1849. David moved some time after his wife's death. They had five children.
  - (3a) Elijah Rogers d. 8 June 1876, ae. 64 yr. Gaspereaux mtn.; Baptist; farmer; res. upper end of Rogers Road (west of Tinker Brook.) He m. (early 1830's) Peggy (Margaret) ROSE (also called Polly) (d. 25 Feb. 1874, ae. 72 yr.)<sup>9</sup> According to tradition, "Peggy Rose was the doctor in these parts; whenever anyone was sick she'd come and take care of them in the old way (with herbs.)" She was also fond of smoking tobacco (a habit not uncommon among the women of the Mtn.) Elijah and Peggy had three children:
    - (1b) Andrew Rogers b.c. 1832; Baptist; farmer. He m. Caroline BARNETT (b.c. 1841) (Her father is said to have been b. England; fought at the Battle of Waterloo; came to Halifax with some troops, and eventually settled in Cumb. Co.) Andrew and Caroline res. first in Cumberland; later, lived on his father's Gaspereaux Mtn. property before moving to Wolfville. Twelve children: nine dau., three sons.
    - (2b) Margaret, m. Willie (William) WEATHERBY; four dau., two sons. Lived near where the Gaspereaux Mtn. Rd. and Rogers Rd. joined. Willie was known for the axe-handles he made.
    - (3b) Mary
  - (4a) Joseph Rogers Jr. b.c. 1814, d. prior 1904; Baptist; farmer and day labourer. He m. Jane (Eunice)



ROBINSON (or BENNET) (b.c. 1824), and had issue:

- (1b) John Rogers b. 1846; farm labourer; unm.
- (2b) Henry Valentine Rogers b. 14 Feb. c. 1847; farmer; m. 17 Feb. 1874 at Wolfville by Rev. John Chase (Baptist), Eliza McINNIS of Wolfville, ae 24, dau. of John and Jane McInnis; three sons, three dau. Res. various places before moving to Wolfville, including an acre of land on the Mtn. near Tinker Brook ("the Hen acre")
- (3b) Laliah Ann b.c. 1849; second wife of Lemuel MORINE (b.c. 1835, son of Louisa and Richard Morine, grandson of Jonathan and Olive Rogers); six sons, three dau.
- (4b) Lucy b.c. 1852; single woman; kept house for her bachelor brother 'Bub' Rogers.
- (5b) Sarah b.c. 1858; m. James JOHNSON; res. Lakeville, Kings Co.; six sons.
- (6b) Charles R. Rogers b.c. 1860; farmer; m. 23 Nov. 1887 at Kentville by Rev. S. Mc. Black (Baptist), Mary Jane WEATHERBY, ae. 24 of Wolfville (b. Gaspereaux, dau. of William Weatherby and Margaret Rogers.) They res. Coldbrook, later moved to Wolfville. Four sons, five dau.
- (7b) Rebecca b.c. 1863; m. 8 Nov. 1884 at Lakeville by Rev. W. B. Bradshaw (Baptist), Fred CHISHOLM, widower, farmer of Port Williams; (b.c. 1854, Cumb. Co., son of John and Sarah Chisholm.)
- (8b) Reuben Rogers b. 1864
- (9b) "Bub" (Joseph) Rogers b.c. 1866; bachelor; res. Gaspereaux Mtn. (the 'Bub acre') with his sister Lucy; moved later in life to Gaspereaux Ave., Wolfville.
- (5a) Rachel b.c. 1816, d. mid-1890's; Baptist; m. (c. 1837) Jonathan WELCH Sr. (b. 23 Nov. 1806; d. 17 Oct. 1875, Gaspereaux Mtn.), son of John and Rachel Welch (John, a farmer, b.c. 1778 Cornwallis Twp.; d. 18 May 1851.) Jonathan was a seaman and farmer; later in life worked as a day labourer. He built a log cabin on a half acre lot on Rogers (later Welch) Rd., where his family was born and raised. Rachel was said to have been a great step-dancer and very musical. She and Jonathan had nine children.

- (6a) Mary Ann, m. —? ELDERKIN, and had issue:  
 (1b) William  
 (2b) Charles  
 (3b) David  
 (4b) Rebecca
- (7a) William Rogers m. Rebekah DIMOCK (sister to Deborah, wife of Elisha Rogers), dau. of Daniel and Lydia (nee Bradshaw) Dimock. Res. Gaspereaux Mtn.; no issue.
- (8a) George M. Rogers b.c. 1823; Methodist; farmer; m. Sephrona ('Fronie') FULLER (b.c. 1821.) Res. Gaspereaux Mtn.; George was living in Wolfville by 1903. George and Sephrona had issue:  
 (1b) Albert (Allen) Rogers b.c. 1846; butcher, in the employ of John Gertridge of Gaspereaux. He m. 1 Nov. 1874 at Horton by Rev. James Stevens, Louisa SAWLER, ae. 19 yr., dau. of David and Barbara Sawler of Horton. res. in house of Willie Weatherby (son-in-law of Elijah Rogers), Gaspereaux Mtn. Nine dau., three sons.  
 (2b) Len (Leonard) Rogers b.c. 1849; farmer; m. 24 Sept. 1871 at Horton by Rev. J. Stevens (Baptist), Mary F. MAHAR, ae. 18 yr., dau. of Peter and Jane Mahar of River Philip, Cumb. Co. Res. Gaspereaux Mtn. (near site of home of Rolen Rogers Jr.)  
 (3b) William Henry Rogers b.c. 1851; farmer; m. 25 Feb. 1872 at Horton by Rev. J. Stevens, Elizabeth Jane LIGHTFOOT, ae. 16 yr., dau. of David and Elizabeth Lightfoot of Waterville. One son, one dau.
- (9a) James Rogers b.c. 1825, d. between 1875-1888; labourer. He m. (1) Jane — ? (d. 3 May 1864 ae. 37 yr., bur. Lower Cemetery, Gaspereaux), probably of Cumb. Co. Living by 1860's in Gaspereaux. James had a lumber mill on the Parrsboro shore (burnt down); probably returned to the Mtn. after his business was lost. He m. (2) Sarah —? (b.c. 1824.) Moved to Cornwallis, where res. 1875. James and Jane Rogers had issue:  
 (1b) James Rogers Jr.  
 (2b) Annie b.c. 1856 Little Forks, Cumb. Co.; res. Coldbrook when she m. 25 May 1882 at Kentville by Rev. George Armstrong (Baptist), Samuel DELOUGHREY, ae. 23 yr., farmer of Coldbrook (b. Halifax, a Catho-

- lic.) Two sons, three dau.  
 (3b) Lucy b.c. 1857  
 (10a) Olevia (Olive), d. 6 Sept. 1901 ae. 76 yr., Gaspereaux Mtn.; m. William MORINE (b. Windsor; d. 21 Sept. 1873, Gaspereaux, ae. 65 yr.) son of Richard and Elizabeth Morine. William was a shoemaker and cordwainer; he worked in Grand Pre (Lower Horton) when he met Olive; moved to Gaspereaux after the children had been born. Olive worked in Wolfville in the hotels, and the homes of Acadia professors; managed to support her family and acquire property when left widowed. The last five years of her life she spent in the home of her son-in-law Edgar Schofield. She was a strong supporter of the Baptist Church, and had her own pew in the Gaspereaux Church. William and Olive had seven children.  
 (4) Isaac Rogers b. 20 June 1791; unm.  
 (5) John Rogers b. 25 Dec. 1793; unm.  
 (6) Rolen Rogers b. 25 Dec. 1795; unm.  
 (7) 'Crecy' (Lucretia) b. —?; unm. She, John and Rolen viv. 1850's; resided with their mother (as indicated by 1838 Census, Horton Twp.)

## FOOTNOTES

1. For a more minute description, see "Schedule of the Several Lots of Land now in the possession and Improvements of the proprietors of the Tract of Land Known by the Township of Horton in Kings County, Nova Scotia . . ." Horton, Vert. MSS. File, P.A.N.S.
2. The following names refer to the same place: a.) Rogers (or Horton) Mtn.—Gaspereaux Mtn.—Forest Home; b.) Rogers Road—Welch Road; c.) Morine Mtn.—Melanson Mtn.; d.) Mud Creek (not to be confused with the actual creek from which it derived its name)—Upper Horton—Wolfville; e.) Horton Landing (Townplot)—Hortonville; f.) Lower Horton—Grand Pre and Horton Landing area.
3. Chipman Collection: Vol. 183, Folder 14 (1777), P.A.N.S.
4. Abbreviations used in this paper; ae.—"of age", aged; b.—born; bur.—buried; c. circa ('about'); d.—died; dau.—daughter; m.—married; m. (2)—married secondly; P.A.N.S.—Public Archives of Nova Scotia; res.—resided, residence; twp.—township; unm.—unmarried; viv.—vivens ('living')
5. Until 23 June 1794, Deborah remained widowed, according to entries in a merchant's daybook. On Sat. 26 July 1794, Andrew Copp's wife made a purchase; unless previously m.,



- this was Andrew's wife Deborah ("Daybook of an unknown merchant in Horton Landing District," P.A.N.A.)
6. Chipman Collection: Vol. 187, Folder 46 (1814), P.A.N.S.
  7. In the 1851 Census of Wolfville, two families shared a house—that of Thomas Lemon, and of James O'Donnell; Thomas may be a grandson of Alice Rogers, James a son of Edmund.
  8. 1838 Census: household of "Mrs. Rogers"—9 persons. This seems to be Hannah, wife of Rolen Jr.; Jonathan and family apparently included in the household.
  9. Died 5 March 1869 Gaspereaux, Mrs. Mary O'Rourke, widow, ae. 77 yr.; b. Cannan, Kings Co., dau. of John Rose (farmer) and his wife Isabel. (Death Records, P.A.N.S.) Mary may have been a sister to Peggy, as this is the only record of another Rose family in the area.

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- Silver, B. C. and Kirkconnell, Watson, **Wolfville's Historic Homes** (Wolfville, 1967)
- White, Edith M., **A Community Survey . . . of Wolfville, Nova Scotia** (thesis, Columbia University, 1923), genealogical charts (Acadia Library, Wolfville)
- Account/record book of David H. Welch (1825-1866), now in possession of his grandson, Morley Welch, Tremont, N. S.
- Day Book kept by Timothy Bishop 1775-1824 (P.A.N.S.)
- Day Book of a merchant in the Horton Landing District 1793-1794 (Business Papers, Horton Landing, Kings Co., P.A.N.S.)
- "Wolfville Acadian" (Acadia Library, Wolfville)
- Records of the Gaspereaux Baptist Church, Kings Co., N.S. (Maritime Baptist Collection, Acadia Library, Wolfville)
- Records of the Methodist Parish of Horton and Cornwallis . . . (P.A.N.S.)
- A Register of the Marriages, Births and deaths in the Township of Horton** (Acadia Library)
- Book of Marks and Records for the Township of Horton** (Acadia Library)
- Marriage Records, and Marriage Licenses (P.A.N.S.)
- Death Records (1864-1877), Kings Co. and Cumberland Co., N.S. (P.A.N.S.)
- Horton Land Grants (Vert. MSS, file, P.A.N.S.)
- Registry of Deeds, Windsor, Hants Co., N.S.



Kentville, Kings Co., N. S.  
Cemeteries: Old Wolfville Cemetery  
Grand Pre (Lower Horton) Cemetery  
Gaspereaux cemeteries (upper and lower burial grounds)  
Wards Brook Cemetery, Cumb. Co.  
Census: 1871 Canada (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa)  
1861 Nova Scotia (P.A.N.S.)  
1851 Kings Co., N. S. (P.A.N.S.)  
1838 Horton Twp., N.S. (P.A.N.S.)  
1770 Horton Twp. (P.A.N.S.)  
Poll tax: Horton Twp. 1791 & 1792 (P.A.N.S.)  
**Acknowledgements:** Grateful appreciation for valuable material and family traditions received from: Murrille E. Schofield, Forest Home; Danny Walsh, Gaspereaux; Mrs. Hazel Winchester, Hantsport; and the late Mr. Eldon G. Walsh, Wolfville, and Mrs. Mary L. Walsh, Hantsport.

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He is a member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and the Colchester County Historical Society.

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THELMA REID LOWER was born and educated in Victoria, British Columbia and was granted a Bachelor of Education from the University of British Columbia.

She is a prominent figure in both poetry and music circles, and has received honors in both fields. She has written articles which have appeared in *Canada Music Journal*, *Encyclopedia of Music and Playboard*. Many of her poems have appeared in *Fiddlehead Magazine* and a collection of her poems has appeared in book form.

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Mrs. Cousins has an avid interest in local histories and genealogies and has done much research in these fields, traveling extensively and residing in Europe for several years.

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**DR. ROLAND HAROLD SHERWOOD** was born and educated in Amherst, Nova Scotia. He later attended Nova Scotia Technical College.

He has enjoyed a long and varied career in both journalism and broadcasting. He was feature writer for the Halifax Chronicle-Herald for a number of years and author and narrator of radio stories of the Atlantic Provinces on Canadian and overseas networks. He has also had stories and articles published in major magazines and weeklies.

He has done much research into the history of Nova Scotia, resulting in seven books to his credit. "Pictou Parade", "Out of the Past" and "Maritime Story Parade" . . . these three now out of print and rated as collectors items. Currently on the newstands are "Pictou Pioneers", "Atlantic Harbors", "Tall Tales of The Maritimes" and "The Phantom Ship of Northumberland Strait."

He has been cited by the Red Cross for community youth work and elected to the Nova Scotia Sports Hall of Fame in recognition for his prowess in long distance running. He has recently been presented with the Amherst Chamber of Commerce Citizen of the Year Award.

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## *Book Reviews*

LORNA INNESS

**Wearing of the Tartan, By Mary Eliza Franklyn**  
Paperback, 56 pages, illustrated, published May 1979  
Petheric Press—\$2.95

A useful handbook for Nova Scotians, even without the added stimulus of this year's International Gathering of the Clans being held in the province, is *The Wearing of the Tartan* by Mary Eliza Franklyn with the assistance of noted authority on matters Scottish, Mrs. Isobel MacAulay.

The purpose of the book is to explain the etiquette of wearing Scottish dress, something on which even authorities have been known to differ.

Readers accustomed to seeing the dozen or so best-known and most widely used tartans—Royal Stuart, some of the MacDonald's, Camerons, the Black Watch, etc.—may be somewhat overwhelmed by the thought that there are today some 400 tartans "which are recognized as authentic by the Lord Lyon, as well as the Jacobite and Caledonian, which may be worn by anyone of Scottish descent." Tartans of Scottish regiments are also registered.

The author sets out clearly the difference between the terms tartan and plaid, a distinction which one hears confused every day. Moreover, she points out, "Each clan now has its own tartan and each clan has a different sett or pattern. Septs, districts and regiments also have their own tartans. After the tartan became a means of identification, only the members of the clan and septs or groups, and individuals under the clan's protection were entitled to wear it . . ."

The author cites the heavy penalties set by the British Parliament after the defeat at Culloden for the wearing of the tartan—"deportation for seven years for a second offence"—and for the 35 years in which the act was in force. It was during that period, adds the author, that "many Scots left Scotland to settle in Nova Scotia and brought their pipes and tartans with them to their new home."

The book details the forms of wearing apparel for men, women and children, with reference to dress for Scottish dancing.

Illustrations show the different styles of jackets and dresses, the remarkable variety of sporrans for dress and everyday, and the distinctive styles of jewelry.

The book also contains a glossary of terms, a bibliography and a list of dealers supplying various items of Scottish dress.

*The Wearing of the Tartan* will prove useful long after the pipes and drums have been stilled at the close of this year's Gathering of the Clans.

**Like a Weaver's Shuttle. By Joan and Lewis Payzant**  
**Hardcover, 214 pages, illustrated in black and white, published**  
**May 1979**  
**Nimbus Publishing Limited, (H. H. Marshall Ltd., P.O. Box 1590,**  
**3731 MacKintosh Street, Halifax, N. S.) \$19.95**

One of the colorful stories in Nova Scotia history which has long awaited the telling is the story of the various ferries which have criss-crossed Halifax Harbour, linking Halifax and Dartmouth as they have grown since their founding to the status of city and town and then two cities.

That story has now been told in exacting detail by two Dartmouth natives, Joan and Lewis Payzant, and published as the first offering of Nimbus Publishing Limited, a wholly-owned subsidiary of H. H. Marshall Limited.

One of the most famous of Nova Scotians, Joseph Howe, was a ferry user. In 1863, Howe bought an estate in the North End of Dartmouth and commuted to Halifax by ferry.

This story of a neglected aspect of this province's marine history goes back to the founding of Halifax in 1749 when a sawmill was built across the harbor and people and products conveyed across the water. Within a year the Alderney had arrived with a small band of settlers and the village of Dartmouth was laid out.

The reasons for existence of the two settlements were different: one a strategic military fortress and naval base and eventually the seat of government, and the other a centre for manufacturing, and business, the farms beyond its limits a source of food and the neighbouring forests a source of lumber for the mills.

The first regular ferry service was operated by John Connor in 1752 who ran the ferry from sunrise to sunset for a basic rate of threepence. In 1752, two local men, Henry Wynne and William Manthorne, began operation of the first service with a printed schedule—five trips daily during spring and summer and four during fall and winter, with “two trips only to accommodate persons attending divine service” on Sundays.

The Payzants went to great pains to accumulate sketches and photographs to illustrate their story and one of the charming features of this book is the variety and quality of these illustrations. In particular the early sketches and paintings of harbour scenes, from both the Halifax and Dartmouth sides, are of great interest and—a difficult task with such pictures—clearly reproduced.

In time, sail gave way to steam and the Payzants have researched extensively the development of the early ferry companies, the design and construction of the boats and the fascinating minutiae of daily running and operation.

In the process, the reader will gain unique glimpses of the social history of Halifax and Dartmouth.

The role of the ferry services during both world wars is discussed along with the changes brought about by the arrival of motor vehicles at the turn of the century and the building of the bridges in the 1950s and 1960s and the discontinuing of vehicular traffic on the ferries.

A separate chapter relates some of the history of the small craft which operated on the ferry route linking the North Ends of both Halifax and Dartmouth, another neglected history.

Like a Weaver's Shuttle grew out of research undertaken by the Payzants as part of their association with the Dartmouth Museum Society. The Payzants were looking for a publisher when Nimbus Publishing Limited came into being and the two joined forces. It is the intention of Nimbus Publishing to produce books, primarily on regional subjects, using talents and services available in Nova Scotia. This book has been designed, printed and bound by Nova Scotian firms.

The Payzants have rendered a distinct service in assembling this material and telling the story. That earlier commuter, Joseph Howe, with his penchant for gathering up muniments and records and preserving history, would approve.

**Cruising Nova Scotia, from Yarmouth to Canso, By Wayne Clarke, Judith Penner and George Rogers**  
Hardcover, 240 pages. illustrated in black and white, published May 1979  
Greedy de Pencier Books, 59 Front St. E., Toronto \$14.95

This is another book for which there has been a need for a long time, a coastal guide for pleasure sailors, giving up-to-date information about anchorages to supplement the coast pilot and charts, and other necessary information with something more than the technical aspects.

The book is written by three Nova Scotians (two native, one by choice), experienced in the ways of the coast and the seas, the winds and currents.

Assuming that the yachtsman who is going to use the book will be a stranger to Nova Scotia, the authors begin with a chapter outlining the province's history and another giving the background of Nova Scotia's shipbuilding heritage, with brief descriptions of the different types of merchant vessels and fishing schooners, their rigs and chronological development.

There are some examples of modern day pleasure craft, some based on the old designs, and a hymn in praise of the Tancook whaler by a Texan who built one from measurements taken from an old rotting hull by no less an authority than Howard I. Chapelle. The boat has proved "to be a splendid one". Reference is also made to the designs of David Stevens of Second Peninsula.

The section on weather takes into account the fact, as the authors state and anyone who has cruised off the coast or even lived on it, will know from experience, "conditions can change completely between morning and afternoon."

This chapter gives the phone numbers for taped weather forecasts, a list of the radio stations carrying marine forecasts and the approximate times, weather data sheets—May to October, and details of Coast Guard weather broadcasts.

"No matter where you anchor," state the authors, "you will be in an area rich in maritime history, and thoughts of ghost ships, rumrunners and the great schooners of the Bluenose era that preceded you in these waters will be with you." There follows a detailed look at various anchorages, listing the pertinent charts and giving something of the historical background and the services available at present.

There are maps and aerial photographs.



Subsequent chapters are devoted to the birds and mammals to be found along the coast, fish and fishing, gathering shellfish (with a list of district fishery offices and notes about where permits are required; and a section, with diagrams, on cleaning and cooking various kinds of fish.

Appendices cover the Canadian buoyage system, chart dealers, charts and publications, the Canadian customs regulations, search and rescue procedures, a list of manufacturers of marine fittings and equipment, boat builders, post offices, hospitals, liquor stores and public holidays.

"One of the pleasures of cruising this coast," note the authors, "is that anchorages (Yarmouth to Canso) are seldom crowded. There are many excellent large harbours as well as small coves and inlets that are particularly attractive to the cruising yachtsman. . . ."

With this book, in addition to the regular charts and navigational aids, the visitor to Nova Scotia's coasts need not feel like a stranger.

**The Little Boats, By Ray MacKean and Robert Percival**  
**Paperback, 111 pages, illustrated in color and black and white,**  
**published 1979**  
**Brunswick Press, Fredericton, New Brunswick \$12.95**

This enchanting book is sub-titled *Inshore Fishing Craft of Atlantic Canada* and it features the boat models of Ray MacKean and the paintings and sketches of Robert Percival. For the technically minded, the book was designed by Shelia Cotton, printed by Unipress, Fredericton and published by Brunswick Press, also of Fredericton. The blending of talents has produced one of the most attractive, imaginative books to come out of the Atlantic Provinces to date.

Much attention is given to the heritage of sail in the Atlantic provinces, from the days when small local yards turned out square-rigged vessels which engaged in commerce around the world to the exploits of the famous fishing schooners, notably the *Bluenose*, and the latter day popularity of her replica, *Bluenose II*. There is a tendency to overlook the little boats, the small craft used mainly by inshore fishermen and developed to suit particular needs, often with slight differences in design from builder to builder or village to village.

It is the story of some of these tiny boats which is told in this book in what has been described in the foreword by Jacques Dalibard, Executive Director of Heritage Canada, as "an excellent portrayal of the mainstay of maritime life."

Although, adds Dalibard, "they were not sophisticated machinery, the little boats of Atlantic Canada were well suited to their purpose and were indeed the workhorses of an era."

Calling these little boats an "endangered species" in the face of economic and technological change, MacKean and Percival write that their commitment "to research and document these fading boats" took on "a sense of urgency and "Again and again, we were frustrated and alarmed by the discovery that we were too late on the scene, too late even to obtain reliable recollections from the fishermen who once used these boats. It was as if the boats that were so common and plentiful had escaped all notice . . ."

Twenty-one of these little boats are catalogued in this book, a brief history is given where it is known, along with paintings and photographs of a model of each boat, lovingly made in the finest detail. MacKean's penchant for accuracy and fine detail is breathtaking. Miniature plank by miniature plank, each model was built as it would have been shaped by the builder working in a small yard or even in his own boatshed. MacKean even made his own miniature ropes to scale in his determination to construct accurate models.

In some cases, MacKean and Percival worked from old half-rotted hulks abandoned on the shore and many of Percival's paintings use this theme.

Some of the once familiar boats preserved in this book are the Shelburne dory, the Gaspé Pink, the Nova Scotia Pinky, the Grand Manan Scale Scow, the Deer Island Scale Boat, Cape Island Boat—a workhorse still very much in evidence along our shores; the Prince Edward Island Shore boat, St. Margaret's Bay Trap Skiff, three models of sardine carriers, Lunenburg Trap skiff, Bush Island boat, Tancook whaler, Newfoundland skiff and Saint John Harbor salmon skiff.

The making of small boat models and research into their history had been a post-retirement interest for MacKean, a native of Tatamagouche who now lives in New Brunswick. His one-of-a-kind models are museum pieces. Ray Percival, who emigrated to Canada from Britain in 1963, is curator of art at the New Brunswick Museum.

This small book would be a valuable addition to any bookshelf devoted to maritime subjects.

#### **Shifting Sands, By Jack Zinck**

**Paperback, 94 pages, illustrated, published May 1979**

**T & T Publishing Co., 341 Poplar Drive, Dartmouth \$4.50**

Haligonian Jack Zinck will be familiar to readers through his earlier books, *Shipwrecks of Nova Scotia*, Volumes one and two.

It is hardly surprising that the underwater enthusiast and seeker of wrecks should be fascinated by Sable Island and its history. The result is this book, *Shifting Sands*, in which Zinck chronicles the history, to the extent that it is known, of settlement and attempts at settlement on the island, through its role as a life-saving station, its lighthouses, its topography and environment, the creatures inhabiting it and its role in the current explorations for oil and gas.

Sable's early history is a dramatic one filled with stories of disaster, hardship, piracy and survival against almost unbelievable odds.

In 1801 the Nova Scotia government allotted £600 to provide for the establishment of three families on the island to man a life-saving station. They were to build a main house and shelter for the farm animals they took with them.

James Morris, the first superintendent, reported: "The task of erecting the buildings was a difficult one under the circumstances. In most cases the material did not match that of the plan and we had to improvise. After much difficulty we managed to get the job done and due to the loss of some of the provisions, we looked around the island for anything that might have drifted ashore, in the way of food, from wrecked vessels."

By the next year, a stable, forge, another house, a flagstaff and a building for fowl had been erected in the small settlement.

Zinck has included hair-raising stories of hardship and drama on the island during subsequent years. In 1867, with Confederation, the island was turned over to the federal government and in 1873, the government decided to build two lights on the island, one at each end, at a cost of \$80,000. The action of the sea upon the sandy island forced the subsequent relocation of the light at the western end. At one time there were 45-50 people stationed on the island and operating five stations.

Some of the photos in this book show old houses and buildings no longer used and half-buried in the sand.

Zinck discusses Sable's fragile quality, its role as a home for wild ponies and various birds, and speculates on the eventual fate. "... The sea, notes Zinck, "is slowly but surely, taking its toll. Defenceless against its might, the island has held together for thousands of years, but now she has dwindled to a moon-shaped crescent only twenty miles long and barely a mile wide in parts . . . Whatever method they (the federal government and the government of Nova Scotia) may use to try to save it, nature, in the end, will frustrate their efforts."

The final chapter deals with observations by local divers about the possibilities of wreck hunting and salvage in the waters off Sable Island.

**Discover Nova Scotia, J. Dunsworth, C. Ferguson, A. Rodger, with illustrations by Elizabeth Owen**  
**Paperback, picture coloring book, published May 1979**  
**Tall Ships Art Productions, 29 Fader Street, Dartmouth, B2X 1P4 \$3.50**

Normally, this wouldn't be the place to include a coloring book but this one is an exception. Discover Nova Scotia is a large format coloring book (with better than average quality paper), which is intended to provide children with a "personal portrait of a magical province."

The full-page illustrations by Elizabeth Owen include maps of each of the "tourism regions" within the province—including the appropriate highway signs—Cabot Trail, Marine Drive, Glooscap Trail, etc.—and pictures with local or historic interest. Each picture carries a brief text which provides background.

The book is designed to give children, especially those visiting the province, an opportunity to color their own story of discovery as they go along.

The book was printed and bound in Nova Scotia and retails at \$3.50 in most book stores and gift shops throughout the province.

**Wilderness Harvest, Alyson Hart Knap**  
**Paperback, 190 pages, illustrated, published 1979**  
**Pagurian Press Ltd., Suite 1106, 335 Bay Street, Toronto \$5.95**

Among the delights of spring are the edible wild plants—dandelion greens, rhubarb, fiddleheads—which can be gathered in the wild and served with pride on the dining table.



Increasingly, more people are sampling the rich variety of lesser known plants, some of which were regarded as staples by the early settlers of North America and the Indians before them.

The common cattails found in swampy stretches along the road can be used in several ways, to provide a kind of flour, as a vegetable, as a salad green, depending on the part of the plant and its stage of growth.

The milkweed is another highly adaptable plant, the young sprouts boiled serving as a kind of "asparagus" the flower buds as a potherb and in salads, the young seed pods stewed and served with butter or sour cream.

What the author has endeavored to do in this book is to produce a blend of the two main types of books about wild plants—the field guide and the recipe book. Each plant is given, along with how to recognize it, what to pick and how to prepare it.

The edible plants are grouped together under their general uses. Plants which may be used in "salads from Nature" include dandelion, lamb's quarters, various kinds of cress, bull thistle, Indian cucumber-root, miner's lettuce, scurvy grass, dock, sorrel, and wild lettuce.

Potherbs of the wilds include milkweed, burdock, marsh marigold, purslane, Scotch lovage, clover, chickweed, pasture brake (fiddlehead to Maritimers) and ostrich fern.

Nature's starches are supplied by cattails, wild rice, Jerusalem artichokes, arrowhead, groundnut and evening primrose.

The fruits of the wilds include not only the familiar and prized wild strawberries, (with their delicate flavor unsurpassed by the cultivated varieties), raspberries, blackberries and blueberries, but the service berry (welcomed by early settlers along the northeastern coast of North America because it was the first tree berry to ripen), wild rose, May apple, choke-cherry and many others.

A section deals with nuts such as acorns, hazlenuts, butternuts, hickory and beech nuts.

The first principle for any would-be gatherer of wild plants is to know what **not** to pick and this book contains a separate chapter devoted to poisonous plants along with sketches and details of how to recognize them.

The experienced plant gatherer will possibly find some new ways of plant preparation in this book but the beginner will find it of value in many ways. As the author notes, "... the only limits in readying the wild edibles for the table lie in the imagination and culinary talents of the chef in charge of their preparation. Most edible wild plants have amazing diversity and adaptability in the kitchen."

A book such as *Wilderness Harvest* can open the door to a whole new adventure in eating.

**The Herb Quarterly, Volume I, number one.**  
**Paperback, 48 pages, illustrated, published April 1979,**  
**The Herb Quarterly, Wilmington, Vermont, 05363 \$3 per**  
**single copy**

This is the first edition of a new quarterly edited and published by Sallie Ballantine in Wilmington, Vermont.



The attractively produced publication contains articles on various aspects of herb growing and usage, history and lore, along with black and white illustrations and ads related to herbs—growers, seeds, books etc.

The range of subjects covered in articles in this first issue includes Lester Rowntree, 100 years old and president-at-large of the Herb Society of America; native American herbs for the garden; an article about dandelion wine by Ray Bradbury; another article on digging dandelion greens and cooking them; an article on raising herbs from seeds along with a list; and another on the contents of the Whipple House herb garden in Ipswich, Massachusetts. There is also a list of some of the herb gardens open to the public throughout the United States.

This Quarterly is available on subscription from the address given above, at U.S. \$10 for one year, U.S. \$18 for two years and U.S. \$25 for three years, with Canadian subscribers paying an additional U.S. \$1 per year additional postage.

