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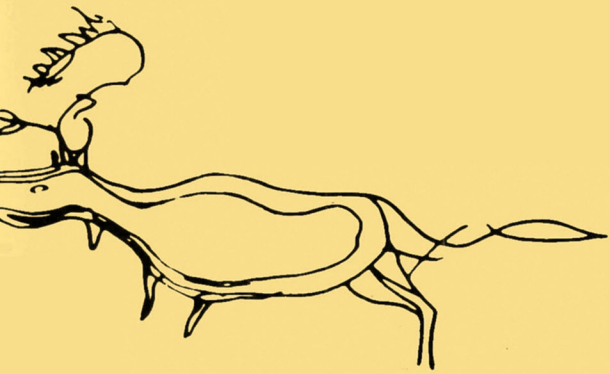

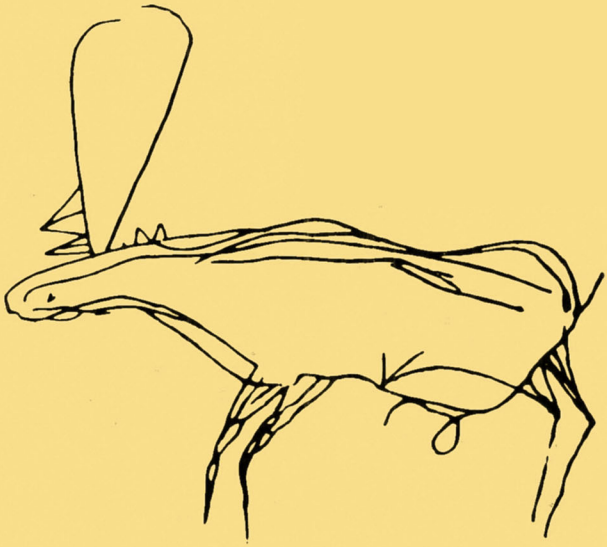

Moose in Pursuit:
Alice Taylor Cheska Petroglyph Collection.

Nova Scotia Historical Review

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Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

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EDITORIAL PAGE

This page of the redesigned *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, now the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, is for your editorial staff to keep you informed about the progress and content of your magazine.

The design of the *Review* was selected from among over a dozen mock-ups created by a class of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design. We chose the one submitted by Francesca Mastrangelo, who then with Frank Fox and Bill Hedges of the College, and Doug McCallum, our printer, finalized the new format. It is intended to feature a different cover picture with each issue. Comments on this new design are warmly welcomed.

In the choice of articles, we are not following any strict criteria other than that they must be of Nova Scotian historical interest and should be between 2500 and 5000 words. Manuscripts are to be sent to Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, c/o Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 6016 University Avenue, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 1W4. Authors must expect rigorous, but sympathetic, editing before publication. We will pay a cent a word for all articles published.

The new management team of the *Review* consists of:

Managing Editor	— Brian Cuthbertson
Literary Editor	— Lois Kernaghan
Accounts	— Steven Crowell

If you have enjoyed this first issue, please tell your friends and have them subscribe.

Brian Cuthbertson
Managing Editor

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Contributors

STEVEN G. GREIERT
is a native of Minnesota, where he graduated B.A., Phi Betta Kappa, from St. Olaf College. He subsequently studied at Duke University, North Carolina, from where he graduated M.A. and Ph.D. In 1976 he was chosen one of the Outstanding Young Men of America by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce. He is a member of the Organization of American Historians, the American Historical Association and the Pennsylvania Historical Association. Dr. Greiert is presently an assistant professor of history, specializing in colonial studies, at Behrend College of the Pennsylvania State University at Erie.

JOHN G. LEEFE
is a native of Saint John, New Brunswick. He holds a B.A. from the University of King's College, a B.Ed. from the University of New Brunswick and an M.A. from Dalhousie University. Currently residing in Liverpool, Mr. Leefe is a teacher and a member of the Queens County Historical Society. He is also the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Queens, and the deputy speaker of the House.

Mr. Leefe has had articles published in the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, *Acadiensis* and *The Atlantic Advocate*. His Book, *The Atlantic Privateers, 1749-1815*, appeared in 1978. His article carried in this issue of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* received third prize for an historical item in the 1976 annual competition of the Writers' Federation of Nova Scotia.

E. M. STEVENSON
is a native of Londonderry, Nova Scotia, and a granddaughter of Robert Murray. She holds a B.A. from Queens University. This article is a continuation of a series which appeared in the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, concerning Murray's editorship of the *Presbyterian Witness*.

KENNETH WINTER
is a native of Yarmouth and a graduate of Acadia University with B.A. and B.Ed. degrees. He is presently a substitute teacher in Yarmouth County, as well as an employee of C.N. Marine.

M. NOREEN E. GRAY
was born in Halifax and is presently a part-time student in the B.A. programme at Mount St. Vincent University. She has previously had articles published in *The Atlantic Advocate* and by the Halifax Herald Ltd. Her short story, "Parsnips in the Stew," won an honourable mention for adult fiction in the 1978 Writers' Federation annual competition. Mrs. Gray is a provincial civil servant and currently lives in Enfield, Halifax County.

ALYCE TAYLOR CHESKA
was born in Duluth, Minnesota. She holds B.S. and M.A. degrees from the University of Minnesota, and an Ed.D. degree from the University of California at Berkeley. Her specializations are physical education, anthropology and higher education administration. At present, she is a professor of physical education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; her summers are spent at Sebim Beach, Yarmouth County.

Dr. Taylor Cheska is the author of three books, two monographs and numerous articles, all dealing with physical education or the anthropological study of games. She is an editor, has prepared various radio and television presentations, and is a member of several associations concerned with sport and anthropology. In May 1981, she presented a paper on the ethnic background of the Antigonish Highland Games at the annual conference of the North American Society for Sport History, in Hamilton, Ontario.

The Earl of Halifax and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, 1749-1753

Steven G. Greiert

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought King George's War to an indecisive close in 1748 and portended future friction between England and France over the control of North America. Shortly thereafter, a major alteration occurred in British colonial policy with the appointment of the imperialistic-minded George Montagu-Dunk, Earl of Halifax, as President of the Board of Trade in the autumn of 1748. He entered office at a critical point in the struggle for colonial supremacy. With the Anglo-French rivalry in North America threatening to disrupt colonial trade and administration at any moment, and with the morale and prestige of the Board of Trade having suffered severely during the Walpole-Newcastle period of "salutary neglect," the home government desperately needed to restore power to that agency in order to reinforce British authority in the colonies.

Immersing himself in the colonial reports, Halifax acquired an increased awareness of the expansion of wealth, size, and population of British North America. With that information he both enhanced his own reputation as an important figure in British politics and profoundly influenced British policy in America for almost twenty years. Under his guidance from 1748 to 1761, the Board of Trade systematically sought to restore imperial authority in all colonial matters. His efforts represented a substantial reversal in British behavior toward the colonies. His insistence on a strict observance of royal instructions was a distinct shift from the casual, essentially permissive, policy of "salutary neglect" to a more restrictive policy of imperial regulation which Britain maintained throughout the subsequent three decades.[1]

Many people in England, as well as in New England, thought that the capture in 1745 of the Louisbourg fortress, guarding the entrance to the St. Lawrence River, had been the objective of the war with France during that decade. Thus, these Englishmen became disenchanted with the agreement at Aix-la-Chapelle, which returned the strategic fortress to the French. In order to offset the French possession of that important stronghold and to minimize the constant danger of a revolt by the French inhabitants of Acadia, Halifax sought to strengthen the defenses of the British colonies by

1 Jack P. Greene, "An Uneasy Connection: An Analysis of the Preconditions of the American Revolution," in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1973), 32-80.

transforming Nova Scotia from a military outpost into a fully settled colony. This alteration marked his first success in bolstering British imperial authority in North America. Furthermore, he succeeded where others had failed.

From the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when the French ceded Acadia to the British, to 1749, no progress had been made in colonizing that region. As far back as 1729, Martin Bladen, an influential member of the Board of Trade, had proposed a colonization effort in order to attract settlers from the New England colonies. By the mid-1740s, however, the inhabitants of Nova Scotia still consisted of only a few thousand Acadian peasants scattered around the shores of Minas Basin, Chignecto, and the Annapolis Valley, itinerant New England fishermen along the southern coastline, and Micmac Indians. Governor Richard Philipps, almost ninety years old, had held his position since 1719. In 1731, however, he had left Nova Scotia for good and had returned to England. Thereafter, he had remained nominally governor but had neglected his duties. Meanwhile, Annapolis Royal, a small fortified post with a garrison of two to three hundred regular troops, depended upon New England for necessary supplies. The French population, although professing neutrality, refused to take an oath of allegiance to the British crown and ignored British authority. Their simplicity placed them completely under the control of emissaries from the French governor at Quebec, who encouraged the people to defy British laws by assuming for themselves the management of local affairs in the settlements most remote from the seat of British government in Nova Scotia. Abbé Le Loutre, the most notable French agent, carried on an active program of propaganda among the Acadians in order to maintain their French allegiance. The government in New France encouraged this behavior, established Fort Beauséjour on the isthmus of Chignecto, and continued to claim all the country from the St. Lawrence River to the Bay of Fundy as territory within its jurisdiction. Thus the French confined the territory of Acadia, as ceded under the Treaty of Utrecht, to the peninsula.[2]

According to Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, as long as the command of the colony remained in the hands of Philipps, the strategically

2 Thomas Beamish Akins, "History of Halifax City," Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, VIII (Halifax, 1895), 3-4; James Henretta, *"Salutary Neglect": Colonial Administration under the Duke of Newcastle* (Princeton, N.J., 1972), 287-288; Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, XV (London, 1917), 1067.

important northern province could not defend itself or act as a buffer colony for New England. In a letter to the private secretary of Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Northern Department, Shirley argued that the defense of the region was a responsibility "which Mr. Philipps on account of his great Age cannot be suppos'd capable of undertaking."[3] Shirley sought to populate Nova Scotia with settlers from New England, who could make it a British colony in fact as well as in name. Familiar with the cultivation of new lands, staunchly Protestant, unwavering in their allegiance to the British crown, these New Englanders together with colonial troops from New England, Shirley suggested, could produce within ten years an English-speaking population strong enough to merit self-government.[4] But George II would not consent to the removal of the old governor because of service rendered by Philipps in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Since the king refused to relinquish control of military appointments, he also rejected an offer by Shirley to pay Philipps' salary while himself assuming command of Nova Scotia.[5]

But the breaches of neutrality by the French, together with the British loss of Louisbourg under the treaty in October 1748, rendered the establishment of a strong British colony in Nova Scotia indispensable to the preservation of British authority in that part of North America. England also found herself in considerable turmoil in 1748. The continuous wars of the preceding ten years had left a heavy debt pressing on the kingdom, as well as an enormous number of soldiers and seamen discharged from service, living in wretched poverty, and resorting to crime as a means of livelihood. London and other centers of population swarmed with beggars who had served their country and who now received little consideration from their fellow Englishmen. British leaders searched for a solution to alleviate the terrible squalor.

Halifax recognized that the establishment of a colony at Chebucto, on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, would combat the French menace at

3 Governor William Shirley to Andrew Stone, 9 March 1745, C.O. 5/900, fol. 165, Public Record Office, hereafter cited as P.R.O.; Shirley to Newcastle, 27 September 1754, C.O. 5/900, fols. 236-239, P.R.O.

4 Joseph Lister Rutledge, *Century of Conflict: The Struggle between the French and the British in Colonial America* (Garden City, N.Y., 1956), 350-351.

5 Shirley to Duke of Newcastle, August (?), 1747, C.O. 5/901, fols. 145-147, P.R.O.; Henretta, *Salutary Neglect*, 289.

Louisbourg, which threatened the safety of British fishing commerce. Moreover, the colony could provide an outlet for reducing the number of unemployed in England. After having carefully examined the abundant information available in old provincial reports, schemes of settlement, data provided by naval and military officers, and the prolific correspondence of Shirley, Halifax revealed to the Board on March 4, 1749, a proposal for which he had obtained the approval of the king. It concerned the establishment of a civil government in the province of Nova Scotia and the colonization there of nearly three thousand Protestant subjects.[6] A few days later, alluring advertisements dated from Whitehall appeared simultaneously in London, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, inviting recently discharged soldiers and sailors as well as artisans and farmers to volunteer for settlement under the new civil government of Nova Scotia. Halifax and William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland,[7] had arranged the scheme, which guaranteed free transportation, arms, tools, and food supplies for twelve months after arrival. Land grants would be allotted to all, according to rank. The amount of land distributed to each man varied from fifty acres for the private soldier or seaman, plus a grant of ten acres for each member of his family, to six hundred acres for an officer above the rank of captain. Higher-ranking officers would also receive an additional thirty acres for their wives and children. The land grants were almost free gifts, since the British government promised immunity from property taxation for another ten years. Thereafter, for another decade, the colonists would have to pay only a modest tax of one shilling a year. Thus, by volunteering to settle in Nova Scotia, a military or naval officer could attain the status of a landowner. As soon as possible after the colonists reached the region, an apportionment of lands would take place and a civil government would be erected "whereby they will enjoy all the liberties, privileges and immunities enjoyed by His Majesty's subjects in any other of the Colonies and Plantations in America,

6 *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, from January, 1741/2 to December, 1749,* VIII, 390, hereafter cited as *Journal of B.T., 1741/2-1749*; Earl of Halifax to Robert, Earl Nugent, (n.d., but probably written about 12 March 1749), Claud Nugent, ed., *Memoir of Robert Earl of Nugent* (n.p., 1898), 229-230.

7 William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765), was the second son of George II. As Captain-General of the British army from 1745 to 1757, he was the highest ranking officer in the military hierarchy.

under His Majesty's Government, and proper measures will also be taken for their security and protection."[8]

Halifax received strong backing for his project from John Russell, Duke of Bedford, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, who had taken keen interest in the affairs of Nova Scotia ever since his direct involvement within the administration of the Louisbourg expedition of 1745. Bedford's earlier position as First Lord of the Admiralty had enabled him to share in the credit for the capture of Cape Breton Island, and, in the aftermath, he had secured a firm grasp on the Nova Scotia patronage. The vital support of Cumberland and Bedford for the plan of the Board of Trade induced the reluctant First Lord of the Treasury, Henry Pelham, to provide Treasury backing for the new colony.[9] Halifax devoted most of his attention and that of the Board to colonization details, leading Horace Walpole to claim that "half our thoughts are taken up — that is, my Lord Halifax's are — with the colonising of Nova Scotia."[10] Within a matter of weeks the Board received applications from over three thousand prospective settlers. On March 22 Chauncey Townshend, a London merchant, signed an agreement to provide this large number with subsistence. The contractor promised to furnish each settler, for the passage and the first year in America, with a daily allotment of bread or flour, beef, butter, peas, vinegar, oatmeal, rum, and molasses.[11] Soon thereafter, Halifax provided bedding for the settlers and had twelve transports prepared for the voyage.[12]

8 A copy of the advertisement which appeared in the *London Gazette* in March 1749 is dated 7 March 1749, and printed in Akins, "History of Halifax," N.S.H.S. *Colls.*, VIII, 239-240. Also see James S. MacDonald, "Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Founder of Halifax," Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, XII (Halifax, 1905), 6-7; Lord John Russell, ed., *Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford*, I (London, 1842), 563, 572, hereafter cited as Russell, ed., *Bedford Correspondence*.

9 Russell, ed., *Bedford Correspondence*, I, xlviii, 563, 572; Bedford to Board of Trade, 26 December 1749, *Board of Trade Papers: Plantations General, 1689-1780*, XIV (London, 1903), Bundle 0, Number 18 (transcribed from the Original Manuscript Volumes in the Public Record Office of England for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

10 Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 23 March 1749, Peter Cunningham, ed., *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*, II (London, 1891), 149.

11 Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, V (New York, 1942), 181-182.

12 Board of Trade to Duke of Bedford, 24 March 1749, *Journal of B.T., 1741/2-1749*, 393; Board of Trade to Bedford, *ibid.*, 402-403; Leo Francis Stock, ed., *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, 1739-1754*, V (Washington, D.C., 1941), 546-547.

In order to attend to the health of the colonists during the journey, the Board decided to furnish each ship with "Sutton's Air Pipes." On April 5, however, the Board learned that pipes needed to be installed in only eight of the ships because the others required ventilators. After a conference with the surgeon-general to determine the best means of keeping the people in good physical condition, the Board chose to send medicine with them. Nor did Halifax lose sight of the spiritual wants of the settlers, for he recommended to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that it appoint ministers and schoolmasters for the new settlement. The Society resolved immediately to pay six missionary clergymen £70 a year and six schoolmasters £15 a year to accompany the settlers and attend to their spiritual welfare.[13]

In April 1749 Colonel Edward Cornwallis accepted a royal appointment as the first civilian governor of Nova Scotia. Under pressure from Halifax and Bedford, Governor Philipps had agreed to relinquish his position.[14] Bedford thus insured the presence of a chief executive with a military background, who was also an old political ally. Cornwallis, with his general knowledge of routine work, was well-suited to handle the difficult task assigned him. In addition, he had the foresight to bring along experienced secretaries from the War Office and aides-de-camp, who rendered splendid service in the innumerable unexpected occurrences which accompanied the founding of the colony.[15] Halifax and Bedford had confidence that these men could bolster the defenses of the region as well as establish a civilian government.

Finally, in the middle of May 1749, Cornwallis, commissioned Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia, sailed with fourteen hundred settlers under naval convoy for America. After a favorable passage across the Atlantic, Cornwallis surveyed the southern coast of Nova Scotia

13 Akins, "History of Halifax," N.S.H.S. *Colls.*, VIII, 21; Gipson, *British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 182. The S.P.G. declared the income of those Nova Scotian missionaries the highest salaries allowed to any missionaries employed by that organization.

14 Governor Richard Philipps to Newcastle, 19 April 1749, British Museum *Additional Manuscripts* 32718, fols. 179-180, hereafter cited as Br. Mus. *Add MSS*; Bedford to Board of Trade, 28 April 1749, 44/129, p. 518, State Papers.

15 Cornwallis brought Captain Thomas Gray and Captain Archibald Hinchelwood, secretaries from the War Office. His two aides-de-camp, Captain Richard Bulkeley and Captain Horatio Gates (later an American general), also performed capably throughout his administration. Akins, "History of Halifax," N.S.H.S., *Colls.*, VIII, 1, 16.

for a suitable place to build a permanent settlement. On June 21, 1749, he and his aides arrived at the harbor of Chebucto, a secure and commodious port. Since it was accessible by land, river, or sea from most parts of the province and well-situated for fishing boats, Cornwallis decided to build his settlement at that place. By October, the emigrants had constructed a basic town fortified with a palisade. From this foundation at Chebucto arose the thriving town of Halifax, renamed by Cornwallis in honor of its noble patron, who had taken such a special interest in its establishment.[16]

Primarily an English colony, the new town included a few Swiss, Irish, German, and Jewish colonists, as well as the dispossessed garrison and English settlers from Louisbourg, who soon joined the recent arrivals, as did many New Englanders. In the settlement of the emigrants Cornwallis displayed great tact and energy, even though confronted with many obstacles from the outset. The colonists included soldiers, who had fought all over Europe and grown accustomed to rough camp and barracks life, as well as sailors eager for sea duty but unsuited for any other way of living. Most were disappointed men of all grades of society forced by their circumstances to face the privation and hardships of a new life. Cornwallis reported to the Board that his party of settlers included some good men, especially the few Swiss colonists "who are regular, honest, and industrious men," and those "of the better sort, who though they do not work themselves, are very useful in managing the rest."[17] But most of the colonists were lazy and worthless people who had jumped at the opportunity to receive a year's provisions without labor, sailors who simply wanted a free passage to New England, or sick, ragged folk, generally unfit for colonization. Altogether they comprised as motley a lot as the Board could have collected and sent away from the mother country to drink, starve, and freeze in the cold, inhospitable climate of Nova Scotia. The New England people soon formed the basis of the resident population, because they were better settlers than the discharged soldiers and sailors who came on the fleet.

16 This figure included about 100 soldiers and 200 sailors or tradesmen. Only one death, that of a child, occurred during the voyage, thanks to the ventilators and air pipes supplied by the Board. Governor Edward Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 24 July 1749, *ibid.*, 5-6; John Bartlet Brebner, *New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (New York, 1927), 168-169; MacDonald, "Edward Cornwallis," N.S.H.S., *Coll.*, XII, 7-8.

17 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 24 July 1749, Thomas Beamish Akins, ed., *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1714-1768* (Halifax, 1869), I, 565, hereafter cited as Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*.

Most of the latter died or left the country during the first three or four years after their arrival.[18]

Cornwallis had much at stake personally in this great venture. Depending upon his success or failure, he could expect to receive as his reward either a peerage or political obscurity. The Board had granted him unlimited powers in order that he might construct a model royal colony and avoid a repetition of past troubles in other American colonies. Halifax had written into the governor's instructions provisions designed to insure the continued supremacy of the executive and to prevent any future Nova Scotia assembly from claiming local sovereignty. As late as June 14, 1750, the Board urged Cornwallis to proceed with completion of the civil constitution. On March 22, 1751, the Board approved the royal government established, but mildly reminded Cornwallis that, when the population expanded, he should not forget his instructions. One year later, when the Board drafted the commission and instructions of the new governor, Peregrine Thomas Hopson, the home authorities allowed him to postpone summoning an assembly until one of the townships other than Halifax should have fifty or more families in it. By the time Charles Lawrence assumed the governorship in 1754, the Board saw no urgent need to create an assembly and merely recognized the possibility of establishing a lower house. Indeed, the first such assembly in Nova Scotia did not convene until October 1758, an omission which, according to its proponents, led settlers to leave in discontent periodically throughout the 1750s. Although most of its early governors were army or naval officers, giving the new colony a distinctly military flavor, Nova Scotia was not under martial law, since the council did not consider circumstances urgent enough to necessitate such a policy.[19]

Cornwallis attempted to follow his instructions in a wise and firm manner, and his executive ability, patience, and kindness to all under him deserved commendation and recognition. During the first few months the Board expressed great pleasure with the progress shown by the new colony,

18 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 16 October 1749, *ibid.*, 588; Akins, "History of Halifax," N.S.H.S., *Colls.*, VIII, 6, 16.

19 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 14 June 1750, Board of Trade Papers: Nova Scotia, A. 37, 159; Board of Trade Instructions for Governor Hopson, *ibid.*, E. 7, No. 12; E. 2, Nos. 2-3; Board of Trade Instructions for Governor Lawrence, *ibid.*, E. 2, No. 4, article 11; Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 237-238; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 22 March 1751, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 637-638; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 19 March 1749/50, *ibid.*, 605.

but the governor soon began to hear a chorus of discontent from the home authorities. Parliament had willingly contributed the substantial sum of £40,000 in 1749, but had made no allowance for unforeseen expenses of the new settlement. Cornwallis quickly found himself spending money freely to solidify the welfare of the colony and was forced to ask the Board to demand another parliamentary appropriation of £36,000 to cover expenditures in excess of the original allotment. Within a year the Board had become involved in so costly an enterprise that Halifax sent a series of commands to Cornwallis to exercise the utmost economy. Parliament continued to appropriate considerable sums for the annual maintenance of the colony and for the payment of official salaries there, in order to keep them strictly accountable to the home government. Halifax, however, warned Cornwallis that, by exceeding his budget, he ran the risk of losing financial support from Parliament for the whole project. Public works and the welfare of colonists, according to Halifax, ranked second in importance to an appreciation of Parliament's supreme authority in colonial administration.[20]

Embarrassed by the deprecating letters from the Board, Cornwallis repeatedly defended his expenditures as indicative of anything but malpractice on his part. Expressing regret that the home government had misgivings over his financial administration, he replied:

> You may be assured that I shall be as frugal as possible; not a pound shall be expended by me unnecessarily, but without money you could have no town, no settlement, and indeed no settlers. Tis very certain that the public money cleared the ground, built the Town, secured it, kept both Soldiers and Settlers from starving with Cold or deserting, and has brought down almost one thousand Settlers from the Colonies. Lots in Halifax are now worth 50 Guineas; if there was no public money circulating, Lots would be given for a Gallon of Rum. The money is laid out in building Forts, Barracks, Storehouses, Hospitals, Church, Wharf, Public Works, all that seem absolutely necessary.[21]

20 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 16 October 1749, *ibid.*, 587-590; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 10 July 1750, *ibid.*, 616-617; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 14 June 1750, *ibid.*, 612-613; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 22 March 1750/51, *ibid.*, 633-638. The appropriations ranged from £47,000 to £57,500 through the first five years of the colony. Memoranda from the Board of Trade connected with the Expenses of the Colony of Nova Scotia between 1751 and 1753, *ibid.*, 687-690.

21 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 30 April 1750, *ibid.*, 608.

The Board, hesitant to face Parliament with an ever increasing deficit, nevertheless curtailed Cornwallis' powers at several critical times, and his bills of exchange were discredited in the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts and New York. Although discouraged, he remained at his post for three years until he had accomplished the introductory work of establishing the colony. Summing up the sometimes painful treatment the Board had given him, Cornwallis wrote in one of his last letters to British authorities: "Did your lordships consider the distress and disappointment I have met with and struggled thro[ugh], I should flatter myself you would rather pity and cherish than censure and discomfort [me]; . . . and that you will intercede with His Majesty . . . to allow of my resignation of the Government and grant me liberty of returning home, and some respite, after ten years constant service, and my health of late but indifferent and must by my constant employ grow worse." Since arriving in Halifax, Cornwallis had suffered many attacks of rheumatism and had spent half the time confined to bed, while his secretaries and aides capably performed most of his daily duties. Indeed, had not the energy of his associates buoyed his spirits, he would have resigned in 1751, after a particularly severe bout of illness.[22]

When the original expedition arrived at Chebucto, Cornwallis carried with him specific instructions concerning vice-admiralty jurisdiction. The Board clearly expected him to enforce the navigation acts to the utmost, as Halifax spelled out in specific terms the responsibilities of the new governor regarding trade regulations. The instructions included a directive to erect a Court of Vice-Admiralty, but, despite the apparent urgency, Cornwallis placed at the top of his agenda the more pressing business of organizing the new colony. The council and provincial administrators lacked the power to deal effectively with illegal trade in the region until October 1749, when the Court of Vice-Admiralty began to function, providing a visible expression of a new Board of Trade policy which would fully incorporate Nova Scotia into the commercial empire of Britain. The Court rapidly began to exercise the traditional imperial authority, developing its jurisdiction to include breaches of maritime contracts, wages of seamen, salvage cases, and other maritime litigation.[23]

22 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 16 September 1750, *ibid.*, 625-629; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 27 November 1750, *ibid.*, 630-631; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 4 September 1751, *ibid.*, 644-645; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 24 June 1751, *ibid.*, 641.

23 D. G. L. Fraser, "The Origin and Function of the Court of Vice-Admiralty in Halifax 1749-1759," Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, XXXIII (Halifax, 1961), 69-78.

In common with future vice-admiralty courts in North America, the one in Halifax had its adamant opponents. Some local merchants resented it because it enforced provisions of contracts they might otherwise have chosen to evade. Others disliked the Court because of the effective manner in which it assisted in the enforcement of the navigation acts. For many years prior to the founding of Halifax, large mercantile firms in New York, Louisbourg, and especially Boston had directed a great contraband trade with the French West Indies. Reaping large profits while ignoring payment of most duties legally owed the Crown, some of these traders, the most notorious being Joshua Mauger, attempted to transfer their headquarters to Halifax after 1749. Mauger established himself as an influential man in commercial and social circles in the town and formed a partnership with a Boston trading company. He obtained a government contract to provide the Nova Scotia government with almost all the supplies it needed to support the new settlement. An experienced contrabandist, Mauger easily deceived the new and ignorant customs officials at Halifax, charging whatever prices he pleased and carrying in rum and molasses from Louisbourg to the British troops and fleet at Halifax. His unscrupulous traders victimized Cornwallis at all points.[24]

For years Mauger maintained an infamous reputation as king of the smugglers in North America. In 1749 he opened trading houses at Pisaquid, Minas, Grand Pré, Annapolis Royal, and the St. John River for the sale of goods and liquor to the French and Indians. Smuggling from France to Louisbourg, he then transported the goods in his trading vessels to Halifax. From there he sent relays of Indians and Acadians to convey the merchandise to various points of distribution. Only Le Loutre, the Jesuit priest, wielded more power than Mauger or performed a greater role as intermediary between France and the Acadians and Indians in Nova Scotia. In a letter to the Board, Cornwallis wrote of his suspicions concerning Mauger's relationship with the French: "I have great reason to think that two of the Vessels seized at Louisbourg by way of reprisal he was concerned in, and one certain proof of his correspondence and good harmony with those at Louisbourg, his getting his kinsman sent home who was taken Prisoner by the Indians when it was not in my Power to get one of the others."Imploring the Board to end Mauger's employment as Agent Victualler for the Navy at

24 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 27 November 1750, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 630-631; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, (n.d., but the original in the State Paper Office is endorsed, "Recd. Jan. 6, 1752"), *ibid.*, 646-648.

Halifax or in any other government position, Cornwallis warned that the settlement would otherwise become a haven for smugglers and that the colonial enterprise of the Board would completely fail in its purpose. But Mauger craftily used his wealth and influence and persuaded certain London merchants to misrepresent to the authorities Cornwallis' administration as an impediment to the commercial growth of Nova Scotia within the empire. Despite the effort of the Earl of Halifax to gain parliamentary legislation cracking down on smugglers, Mauger continued in office. At every opportunity he complained of the arbitrary rule of Cornwallis and his successors, until he sold his lucrative business and returned to England in 1761, where he lived in a princely manner and even sat in Parliament.[25] The success he enjoyed provided an example for other merchants and consequently accounted for part of the great difficulty encountered by the Earl of Halifax in trying to eliminate contraband trade throughout the region during the French and Indian War.

From the beginning of the enterprise in 1749, the Board had known that the greatest threat to the success of the project lay with the religious and political agents dispatched by the rulers of New France to spread discontent among the Acadians. Since the French government at Quebec feared that the stronghold at Halifax would diminish the strategic value of Louisbourg, Le Loutre and others did all they could to foment hostility among the neighboring Indians toward the newcomers. Cornwallis complained that the Micmacs constantly prowled about the settlement, attacking everyone who ventured outside the stockade in search of food or water and threatening the welfare of the young colony. Seeing no need to provoke an immediate quarrel, Cornwallis nevertheless suggested to the Board that if Le Loutre succeeded in goading the Micmacs onto the warpath, an additional force of infantry with naval support would enable the British to eliminate permanently the Indians in Nova Scotia. Such a victory would convince the Acadian "neutrals" to abandon their loyalty to France and take an oath of allegiance to the British crown. As useful citizens they could help develop Nova Scotia into the strongest royal colony England possessed. Praising Cornwallis' initial efforts to maintain peaceful relations, the Board cau-

25 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, (n.d., but the original in the State Paper Office is endorsed, "Recd. Jan. 6, 1752"), *ibid.*, 646-648; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 22 March 1750/51, *ibid.*, 638; *ibid.*, 646n; "Life and Administration of Governor Lawrence," Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, XII (Halifax, 1905), 25-27.

tioned him against taking aggressive action unless the Indians struck the first blow. The Earl of Halifax rejected the program of Indian extermination on the grounds that it would instigate a "dangerous spirit of resentment" among the neighboring tribes, which in turn would have serious consequences for all future British colonists. Despite frequent alarms of invasion by the Indians and French through the first winter, the settlement at Halifax did not incur any attacks.[26]

Many of the French inhabitants, encouraged by their priests, continued to refuse to swear fidelity to George II. United by irrepressible religious and patriotic sympathies with their countrymen in other parts of Canada, the Acadians appealed to Louis XV, asking him to intercede and deliver them from their predicament, and then to grant them concessions of lands along the borders of Acadia.[27] Aware of the Acadians' attitude, Cornwallis warned the Board that "you have a secret, I fear, an inveterate enemy preying upon your Bowels masked, but rotten at bottom, whom no lenity can please, nor anything but severity or greater power [or] awe bring them to their duty and allegiance."[28] In February 1750 the Board advised that, since the French had initiated the formation of new settlements near the Acadian border with the obvious purpose of attracting the Acadians, any forcible measures of ejecting them from the colony should be waived for the moment. Cornwallis promised to suspend temporarily any action on his part until he ascertained whether Chignecto could be fortified. "If a fort is once built there," he explained, "they [the Indians] will be driven out of the peninsula or submit." Wanting to know what reinforcements he could expect in the spring, Cornwallis said he would "defer making the inhabitants take the oath of allegiance" until then.[29]

The spring of 1750 brought with it the increasing threat of a general massacre. The Earl of Halifax, recognizing the critical nature of the French advance into Nova Scotia, convinced the British cabinet to strengthen the

26 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 11 September 1749, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 583-584; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 16 October 1749, *ibid.*, 587-590; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 19 March 1749/50, *ibid.*, 695-696.

27 Gipson, *British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 190.

28 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 17 October 1749, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 591-593.

29 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 16 February 1749/50, *ibid.*, 601-602; the Cornwallis letter is quoted in Arthur G. Doughty, *The Acadian Exiles: A Chronicle of the Land of Evangeline* (Toronto, 1935), 67.

English position. Eventually, he sent an Irish regiment to assist Cornwallis in making a defense possible. The expansionistic Halifax instructed the governor to settle colonists on the St. John River (in that part of Acadia now known as New Brunswick), and soon sporadic armed conflict took place between British and French troops along the Chignecto isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with the rest of Acadia. Meanwhile, the French converted Fort Beauséjour on the isthmus into a formidable fortress and greatly strengthened the already imposing Louisbourg.[30] Neither Newcastle nor Pelham delighted in the idea of another American war, but the presence of Halifax and Bedford in key administrative positions gave the expansionists a definite advantage. By June 1750 Newcastle was convinced that the maintenance of the colonial boundaries was an affair of the highest importance, "on which may depend, (as Governor Cornwallis very rightly observes) not only the Fate of Nova Scotia, but of all the Northern Colonies; which are of so infinite Importance to Great Britain."[31]

By the end of 1750 relations between Cornwallis and the Acadians had worn deeper into the same rut. Having agreed with the Board that he would make a serious mistake if he drove them into the arms of the French, Cornwallis instead adopted a conciliatory policy. He appealed to their close regional ties and refused to give them passports, the only means by which they could legally leave the colony. Gradually, he and the Board resumed the expedient policy of retaining the Acadians by any means until they could be barricaded behind strong defenses or assimilated among an English or Protestant settlement at the isthmus of Chignecto. To let the Acadians go seemed improper to both Cornwallis and Halifax because it played directly into the hands of the sinister Le Loutre. Instead, Cornwallis directed Major Charles Lawrence to build a fort at Beaubassin, which he established as Fort Lawrence in October 1750. Although the fort could neither maintain a barrier across the isthmus nor prevent all Indian raids, it could at least serve as concrete evidence of British intentions and claims.[32]

30 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 8 June 1750, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 611; John W. Wilkes, *A Whig in Power: the Political Career of Henry Pelham* (Evanston, Ill., 1964),201.

31 Newcastle to Bedford, 9 June 1750, Br. Mus. *Add MSS* 32721, fols. 87-88.

32 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 16 February 1740/50, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 602; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 8 June 1750, *ibid.*, 611; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 10 July 1750, *ibid.*, 616-617; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 22 March 1750/51, *ibid.*, 638; Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 183.

Because the Swiss had conducted themselves in a most exemplary manner as colonists, the Board had already commissioned John Dick of Rotterdam to recruit more foreign Protestants for colonization. The Board suspected the most effective means to absorb the Acadians rested in the introduction of a large French Protestant element into Nova Scotia. The Earl of Halifax, therefore, instructed Cornwallis to survey land and prepare plans dividing the territory into alternate Protestant and Roman Catholic sections. Through intermarriage with neighbors speaking the same language, the Acadians would hopefully become, in time, loyal British subjects. In December 1749 the Board had paid the Dutch merchant to transport "a number of Foreign Protestants . . . not exceeding 1500" to Nova Scotia. Dick was a man of considerable energy and resource. Aware of the benefits of advertising, he circulated handbills throughout France and published notices in newspapers. Because the French government had spread negative rumors concerning Nova Scotia, he recruited few French Protestants. Therefore, the Dutch merchant turned to the German communities of the Rhine Valley and Switzerland for prospective settlers, promising free food and free land. In spite of strong competition from agents for other colonies, which took the form of unprincipled seduction and kidnapping of his enlisted emigrants as they neared the port of embarkation, Dick provided Cornwallis with 312 Swiss, German, and French Protestants, as well as over 300 Englishmen "of the better sort" by the late summer of 1750. Thanking the Board for its assistance, Cornwallis again praised the Swiss as "good industrious people . . . the more of them we have the better."[33] Although the Board had intended him to send the foreign Protestants into the interior of the colony, they arrived late in the year and without sufficient provisions, so that Cornwallis retained them at Halifax. Many also arrived in poor health, while others were too old and unfit to be useful settlers. Upon learning of these complaints from Cornwallis, the Board cautioned Dick to exercise greater selectivity in fulfilling his contract for the next year.[34]

33 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 16 October 1749, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 588-589; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 16 February 1749/50, *ibid.*, 606-607; Thomas Hill to Cornwallis, 29 May 1750, *ibid.*, 610; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 8 June 1750, *ibid.*, 612; Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 26 June 1750, *ibid.*, 615; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 10 July 1750, *ibid.*, 618; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 27 November 1750, *ibid.*, 632; Doughty, *The Acadian Exiles*, 60-62.

34 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, 22 March 1750/51, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 635; Akins, "History of Halifax" N.S.H.S., *Colls.*, VIII, 29.

Having received assurances from the Earl of Halifax to expect in 1751 approximately 1300 more foreign Protestants, including 300 Swiss, Cornwallis urgently implored the Board to transport them as early as possible because French agents had increased their aggressive behavior among the Indians and Acadians. However, when the convoy finally landed early in September with only 20 Swiss among the 1000 foreign Protestants aboard, the threat had temporarily subsided, and the British colonists had attained a truce with the Micmacs. Furthermore, some French "neutrals" at Minas and Pisaquid had altered their behavior enough for Cornwallis to believe peaceful coexistence was within reach. With that segment of the Acadian population indicating a willingness to provide the British colony with extra agricultural products, Cornwallis thought it improper to send Germans among them, an action which could possibly disrupt what harmonious relations existed. Unable to pursue his original project of assimilation, he once again faced the distressing situation of having to accommodate the new German and French colonists within the palisades of Halifax with an insufficient amount of provisions.[35]

Dick had succeeded so well in providing a large number of foreign settlers that the Board in the winter of 1751-52 had to limit his future activities as a contractor. The Earl of Halifax grudgingly allowed him to send over only 1000 more colonists, on the basis that an influx of laborers would lower wages from one and sixpence to one shilling per day. In addition, Dick received a severe reprimand for unscrupulously disregarding Board of Trade regulations for space and ventilation on his ships. By deliberately overcrowding his vessels, he was responsible for the high rate of sickness and death experienced by his human cargo. The Board also directed the Dutch merchant to keep the recruiting of women and children to a minimum. Including the 300 foreign settlers and 800 Englishmen he managed to send over in 1752, Dick had provided 1612 foreign Protestants and about 1100 British subjects as colonists in Nova Scotia over a three-year period. Together with the original group of settlers, the British colony could claim a total population of over 4000 by the end of 1752. The entire enterprise had not only cost the British government £336,700, but it had failed to neutralize and assimilate the Acadian Roman Catholic population. The renewal of

35 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 24 June 1751, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 641-642; Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 4 September 1751, *ibid.*, 643-644; Governor Peregrine Thomas Hopson to Board of Trade, 16 October 1752, *ibid.*, 674-675.

Indian hostilities prevented Cornwallis from making progress in planting outlying settlements. Repeated complaints from the Board over the expense of feeding the Germans in Halifax finally brought about an attempt in 1753 to settle 1500 of them at an old fishing post renamed Lunenburg, sixty-five miles south of Halifax. Years passed before the Germans could support themselves, although a detachment of regular troops accompanied them to give adequate protection. The foreign Protestants became loyal British citizens, although several Germans, who had registered as Protestant emigrants, were actually Roman Catholic. Far from aiding the British in neutralizing the French influence on the Acadians, most of these German Catholics grew discontented and deserted to the French Isle Royal. The Protestant elements, quiet and hardworking, remained and devoted themselves to the improvement of their individual land grants. By the beginning of 1754, however, only Halifax, Dartmouth across Chebucto Bay, and Lunenburg stood as permanent English settlements along the southern coast of Nova Scotia.[36] Cornwallis, who had ended his tenure two years earlier, had been hard pressed to discover any real strength in his colony beyond the military and naval support provided by the efforts of the Earl of Halifax.

Usually, the Board of Admiralty and the Board of Trade enjoyed close relations, and, since both had a vital interest in colonial naval defense, the Earl of Halifax had expected to receive naval cooperation in military operations in Nova Scotia. John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, however, had adopted an unnecessarily officious manner while outfitting the original fleet of transports in 1749, going to great lengths to emphasize the Board of Trade's inferior administrative position. Sandwich not only insisted that the Board of Trade show respect for his authority, but he seemed bent on embarrassing his cousin, the Earl of Halifax. Internal rivalry had arisen among the expansionists in the administration, and Bedford and Sandwich quarreled with Halifax over increases in authority which he sought for himself as President of the Board of Trade. The situation reached a crisis when, in March 1751, the Board of Trade, responding to an earnest appeal from Cornwallis, asked that war vessels be sent to Nova Scotia to protect colonial interests. After Sandwich expressed reluctance to fulfill the request,

36 Hopson to Board of Trade, 16 October 1752, *ibid.*, 675-678; Arthur H. Basye, *The Board of Trade, 1748-1782* (New Haven, Conn., 1925), 35-36; Gipson, *British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 182; Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 184.

Halifax pressed Newcastle and the rest of the cabinet to overrule the Admiralty and provide Nova Scotia with the naval protection which it needed:

> The Board of Admiralty being of the opinion that it will not be necessary to send any ships of force to Nova Scotia, I take it for granted Lord Sandwich will not think himself obliged to lay the affair before the Cabinet Council.
>
> As I conceive it to be a measure absolutely necessary and one, which if neglected, is likely to be attended with the worst consequences, I have in the inclosed paper thrown together my reasons in support of it in as short and clear manner as I have been able to do and beg your leave to submit them to your Grace's consideration. If they have weight with you, My Lord, I hope you will support the measure proposed and recommend it to such other ministers as compose his Majesty's Cabinet Council. The pursuance of it, My Lord, will be attended by neither hazard nor expense; the neglect of it will probably be attended by both.

The insistent Halifax eventually secured what he considered sufficient naval support of Nova Scotia.[37]

The collision of interests between Halifax and his former friends, Bedford and Sandwich, led to several unpleasant interchanges within the House of Lords. There the two opponents of Halifax complained of mismanagement and exorbitant expenditures by the Board of Trade in the administration of the new colony. Dismayed and surprised at the accusations by his ministerial colleagues, Halifax nevertheless answered all charges in a manner which satisfied his economically-minded cousin, Newcastle. The Board's colonial enterprise did not lose the support of the Pelhams, and Bedford did not deflect Halifax from his campaign to protect Nova Scotia and to produce a model royal colony in America.[38]

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37 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, 27 November 1750, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 632; Halifax to Newcastle, 6 March 1751, Br. Mus. *Add MSS* 32724, fol. 165; Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, *Memoires of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second*, I (London, n.d.), 53-54, hereafter cited as Walpole, *Memoirs of Reign of George II;* Basye, *Board of Trade*, 64-65.

38 Bishop Thomas to Edward Weston, 30 January 1752, *The Manuscripts of Charles Fleetwood Weston Underwood, Esq., of Somerby Hall, Lincolnshire* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Tenth Report*, [Darlington, Eng., 1885]), I, 307; Walpole, *Memoirs of Reign of George II*, I, 215-216.

Cornwallis retired from office in August 1752, leaving a creditable record. Hopson, the former English commander at Louisbourg and originally a Newcastle appointee, succeeded him as governor. In his short term in office from August 1752 to October 1753 Hopson produced an interlude of tranquillity which endeared him to most of the settlers in the English colony and to the Acadians as well. The French neutrals had impressed Hopson with the argument that they had been granted by Philipps a special privilege of exemption from bearing arms. From past experience he also knew their aversion to the oath of allegiance. Therefore, he induced the Earl of Halifax to let the matter drop, at least temporarily. Hopson pointed out the obstinacy of the Acadians but made it clear how necessary their presence was to the welfare of the colony. Arguing that the French neutrals "appear to be much better disposed than they have been," he also emphasized treating them as British subjects, dealing fairly with them in money matters, and redressing their grievances. Doing his best to appease them, he abandoned Cornwallis' demand that priests take the oath of allegiance. The Board of Trade approved his policy of conciliation because it appeared to be achieving favorable results. Had he remained in office and continued his imaginative policy, Hopson might have avoided the expulsion of the Acadians, a step which his successor, Lawrence, eventually took in 1755. Serious eye trouble, however, dictated his return to England in October 1753.[39]

Despite his early optimistic pronouncements to the Board of Trade that many Indians had promised to make peace, Hopson never achieved a lasting agreement with them. In one of his last letters to the Board, he referred to the disturbed state of the countryside:

> Your Lordships may imagine how disagreeable it is to me to see His Majesty's rights encroached upon, and those encroachments openly avowed and supported by the Governors of Canada and Louisbourg, when it is not in my power to prevent it. I have barely a sufficient force to protect the settlers from the insults of an Indian war, under pretence of which the French take an opportunity to commit hostilities upon His Majesty's subjects. I am informed that the French have often been mixed among them in the expeditions, and am convinced

39 MacDonald, "Edward Cornwallis," N.S.H.S., *Colls.*, XII, 10; "Governor Lawrence," N.S.H.S., *Colls.*, XII, 29. See also Hopson to Board of Trade, 16 October 1752, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents*, I, 674-679; Hopson to Board of Trade, 10 December 1752, *ibid.*, 697; Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, 189-190; Doughty, *The Acadian Exiles*, 84-86; Gipson, *British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 197.

> past doubt that they are fed and protected from our pursuit and encouraged to distress us as openly and in as great a degree as in time of war.[40]

The harassment of the Halifax colonists and those Frenchmen who refused to resist British authority continued until 1755, increasing in intensity until the British officials took drastic steps against both Indians and Acadians by exterminating many of the former and expelling most of the latter.

The Earl of Halifax had confronted several obstacles in directing the settlement project in Nova Scotia. Acting by special arrangement and outside his regular authority as President of the Board of Trade, he had pursued an aggressive yet responsible policy. Although by 1753 he had not yet solved the tense border problems that existed in the region, he had displayed a high degree of interest and ability concerning the establishment of the new colony. Had Halifax possessed the administrative authority in other colonial affairs that he had acquired for this enterprise, he might have succeeded in reforming the pattern of colonial government elsewhere in British North America so that it conformed to the model of royal executive rule developed in Nova Scotia. Nevertheless, he had obtained the confidence and support of the chief British ministers for his expansionist program in that region, despite unexpected resistance from his former allies. The policy which he pursued in the land of the Acadians gave Halifax a solid basis for arguing that the ministry should extend his administrative power in all colonial matters to the level of a third Secretary of State, who would govern the colonies and exercise a vote in the British cabinet. Although he was denied that promotion, his 1748 appearance in a key position of colonial administration at the Board of Trade brought to an abrupt end the informal system of imperial control which had prevailed during the Newcastle era. Officials in America who had previously served as buffers between the colonists and the home authorities suddenly found their performances in office judged by stringent standards. Within a very few years, there was an almost complete alteration in the perspective from which the British viewed colonial problems. Everyone active in colonial public life became aware of the scrutiny of Halifax, who had committed himself to the maintenance of stability in colonial administration in North America and the establishment of a permanent civil government in Nova Scotia.

40 Hopson to Board of Trade, 16 October 1752, Akins, ed., *Selected Documents* I, 681-682; Hopson to Board of Trade, [n.d.], quoted in Akins "History of Halifax," N.S.H.S., *Colls.*, VIII, 40-41.

"And They Shall Devour Israel"

John G. Leefe

Simeon Perkins sat wearily before the mahogany desk, his diary opened before him, the quill of a Port Joli goose in his fingers. Even the usually comfortable seat of the Windsor chair afforded him little ease. Only the regularity of the grandfather clock ticking out the hours broke the silence of the night as the hands slowly converged on twelve o'clock. The spermacetti candle burned silently, emitting a bright radiance which paled as it cast itself outwards, distorting the shadows shimmering irregularly on the walls. The date — for that was all he had thus far recorded — showed May 3, 1779. It was Sunday, the Lord's Day, a day of rest; or so the scriptures recorded. It had, however, proven another difficult day in what appeared to Simeon to be an increasingly difficult life.

The solitude of the moment and his spent condition heralded one of those moods of reflection for which recent events had allowed so little time. His eyes scanned the entries penned above and came to rest briefly on that of the previous Thursday. It read in part: "Mr. Cheever gives us a Good Sermon, in the forenoon from Isaiah, 9th. Chap., 12 and 13 verses."[1] Ah, now there was nourishment for the battered soul and how appropriate it was for these trying times: "The Syrians before, and the Philistines behind; and they shall devour Israel with open mouth . . . For the people turneth not unto him that smiteth them . . ." It mirrored not only his own condition, but also that of every other inhabitant of this New England outpost on the south shore of Nova Scotia.

Liverpool had been founded in 1759-1760 by some hundred and forty proprietors who had come from New England, and predominantly from Cape Cod. Simeon himself arrived a little after the fact — May 4, 1762, to be precise — he being a native of Norwich, Connecticut. The delay was perhaps occasioned by the need for a consuming population to be reasonably well established prior to the founding of a mercantile operation. After some fifteen years of eking out a living, and oft times a very precarious one at that, the settlement had begun to establish its roots firmly in the rocky Bluenose soil, its back to the lofty pine forests of the interior, its face to the swell of the broad Atlantic which washed the finger of Fish Point where the waters of the Mersey River mingled with those of Liverpool Bay.

1 Harold A. Innis, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1776-1780* (Toronto, 1948), p. 237.

It had been the presence of the sheltered harbour, the low beach suited to the erection of fish flakes, and the proximity to the fishing banks which had drawn them there. The provision of an elected assembly for Nova Scotia in 1758, with the promise of township government and freedom of worship (for Protestants only, of course) had provided a social climate conducive to immigration. In addition, the pressures of a rapidly expanding population at home and the elimination of the French threat following the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755 and the fall of Quebec in 1759, had further combined to make the migration both possible and desirable.

Bong . . . Bong . . . Bong . . . The clock's chime reverberated through the counting room, reaching beyond to the darkened corners of the house. A sort of catalyst, it melded Simeon's thoughts of what had been a peaceful, if somewhat precarious past, to his grim recognition of a bellicose and even. more precarious present. The war, ever present, had made one of its unwelcome and more immediate intrusions into the town's life just this morning. Simeon had returned from a regular inspection of his sawmill at The Falls and was considering the proposition of a share in a vessel to be built at Port Medway when Tom Pierce arrived at his door. The man's agitated condition was at once obvious to Simeon who, always priding himself on his record as a genial host, had insisted on bolstering his guest's spirits with the usual West Indian fare.

The tale Pierce related had indeed been an unwelcome one, yet one which had become all too familiar since '75. A few days before, he had shipped out of Liverpool on Jesse Atwood's schooner *Polly*, bound for Halifax. In company were Captain Sam Andrews, Will Torrey and young Prince Snow. A few leagues to the eastward of Chester they had been overhauled by a privateer sporting a letter-of-marque issued by the Continental Congress. The master of this privateer, for thus he had termed his vessel, had proven a harsh man both in tongue and action, and indeed had demonstrated that he was well qualified to lead the crude assortment of villains whom he heralded as his crew of patriots.

The Liverpool men were castigated as blasted Tories and roundly condemned due to the presence in their town of a detachment of the King's Orange Rangers. As if this degradation had not been enough to suffer, they were stripped of their clothes, leaving them much exposed to the raw spring wind. Worst of all, young Prince Snow was singled out for special attention and accused of being a Continental Army deserter. Several of the privateer's crew had placed a length of rope about his neck and convincingly threat-

ened to hang him for his treason, but fortunately, the threat proved to be only that and nothing more. The prisoners were kept on board the *Polly* for some time, constantly in fear of their welfare and without access to any provisions. Cold, hungry and harassed, they were finally set ashore near Chester and left to fend for themselves as best they could, while Captain Atwood and the captured schooner were taken as prize to New England. The story was personally woeful to Simeon for part of the cargo had been his — 45 oars, valued at £7.1s.6 ¾d.[2]

The clock struck the quarter with an abbreviated, almost muzzled bong, like an involuntary yet quickly smothered yawn at Sunday meeting. A flash of flame from the shortening spermacetti reminded Simeon of a happier and more innocent time. His thoughts turned back a full thirteen years to when Liverpool, as a Yankee town, had joined the general celebration over the repeal of that odious statute of Parliament, the Stamp Act. Captain Carew of his native Norwich had brought the joyous news to port and the following day, June 3, 1766, had been given over to universal rejoicing. The militia — as unsoldierly a body of men as ever existed — accompanied by virtually every living soul in town, had converged upon the little battery at Fish Point (often called Point Lawrence, in honour of the late governor). The cannons had been loaded, primed and fired in a symbolic cacophony as if to blast from memory Parliament's abortive attempt to unjustly tax America's Englishmen who had no representation in that body. The shipping in the harbour, including Simeon's own *Polly*, a schooner hailing from Philadelphia, and a New London vessel, had flown their colours throughout the day and night. In the evening, the militia company were entertained at the home of Major John Doggett who, with Sylvanus Cobb, had fathered the little settlement in 1759. The townsmen, meanwhile, promenaded to Captain Mayhew's old house, which was put to the torch, the flames piercing the clear summer sky and a shower of crackling pine sparks snapping high in the air, only to plummet to hissing obscurity in the harbour. The children and gentlefolk abed, the men had caroused throughout the night and part of the next.[3] Ah yes, it had been a grand time and it made Simeon entertain a sense of remorse at the wedge which had been driven between the people of his town and their blood relations across the Gulf of Maine.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

A dog barked somewhere in the vicinity of the fort, perhaps a signal of strangers. Simeon rose stiffly, walking through the drawing room and into the entrance hall. He paused at the foot of the narrow, winding staircase, cocking an ear in the direction of the sleeping children who occupied the upper half storey. He envied their undisturbed peace in a world gone mad. Opening the front door, he breathed in the fresh night air as a sort of tonic to strengthen the soul. The Indian Pear had begun to push its first blossoms out of their buds, so that the smell of spring, however faint, was a welcome relief to the stuffiness of the house. Standing on the front step, Simeon looked across his lawn in the direction of his wharf and store. Between the tall pines he could clearly see the naked masts of the schooner which lay at his dock. The barking dog had reminded him of the vigilance necessary in these times, even on a night as clearly illuminated by the moon as this one proved to be. The schooner's outline conjured in his memory a vessel of similar size and rig, his own *Betsey*, which had been taken prize on a night such as this.

It was October 15, 1776, a date he would not soon forget. The *Betsey* lay at anchor near his wharf, loading for Halifax. The cargo consisted of boards and staves sawn at The Falls and fish, the result of a summer voyage to Labrador; in all, a value of some £110. Nat Stewart, who was a one-third owner of the vessel, had gone on board at eight o'clock that evening to spend the night, expecting an early departure with the morning tide.

Sometime during the night, the Marblehead schooner *Necessity* sailed up Liverpool Bay, heaving to a safe distance off Fish Point. A whaleboat was ordered launched by Captain William LeCraw; it stealthily proceeded past the point, into the river mouth and upstream, hugging the eastern shore until it was abaft the *Betsey*. Perceiving no sign of life, the whaleboat turned hard to port and quickly crossed the remaining fifty yards of water, coming alongside a raft of boards made fast to the schooner's side. This proved a useful staging for the boat's crew to launch themselves onto the vessel's deck, from whence they quickly commandeered her, slipped her cable and let her silently ghost downstream with the turning tide. The raft was cut loose and floated shoreward, coming to rest near Dexter's shop. Once below the point, the new masters made sail and, in company with the *Necessity*, ran down to Port Mouton, already a popular rendezvous for New England privateers.

Her loss went unnoticed until morning. In a somewhat futile gesture, Simeon had agreed with a Mr. Potts and eight others that if they pursued

the *Betsey* and recaptured her, they would receive one-third of the value of vessel and cargo, but as Simeon had expected, the little expedition was to no avail. It marked, as he had carefully recorded in his diary, "the fourth loss I have met with my countrymen, and are altogether so heavy on me I do not know how to go on with much more business, especially as every kind of property is so uncertain, and no protection afforded as yet, from Government."[4]

At the thought of those last few words, Simeon could not help but smile wryly. Protection from government, indeed! Many had been the times when the Liverpool people had been caught betwixt king and kin, like a pomegranate seed squeezed between forefinger and thumb, with every expectation of being shot helter-skelter in heaven knew what direction. Returning to the counting room, Simeon resumed his place in the Windsor chair. Drawing open a small drawer, he removed a gold piece, turning it slowly, the candlelight glinting on the precious metal, highlighting the features of the regal countenance which graced the obverse. Aye, this was indeed a royal fly in the ointment, the none-too-bright Louis XVI, and therein lay another tale of the trials and tribulations of the hardpressed Yankees of Liverpool township.

It had been but a year ago Saturday past that H.M.S. *Blonde*, while cruising five leagues off Western Head, had sighted a suspicious sail and had made chase. The fugitive ran straight for Liverpool Bay and fetched up on Neil's Ledge, just below Thomas Harrington's on the eastern side of the bay. It had appeared strange to the townsmen that the vessel had seemingly driven herself aground and then carried on a two-hour gun battle with the *Blonde*; strange, indeed, until at the last minute she had run up her ensign to demonstrate to all and sundry that she was the property of the King of France. She had proven to be the French frigate *Duc de Choiseul*, laden with a cargo of arms, ammunition, field pieces, uniforms and pewter, sufficient, it was claimed, to outfit upwards of 5,000 men. Despite the protestations of her captain, Le Chévalier de Saucy, the *Blonde*'s Captain Milligan saw her as a supply ship bound for America's Continental Army. Certainly the Frenchman's arguments had taken on a half-hearted tone upon the discovery in the *Choiseul's* great cabin of a letter commending a passenger, Monsieur Baudier, to Robert Morris; it had been penned by none other than Silas Deane, Congress's plenipotentiary in Paris.[5]

4 *Ibid.*, p.134.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

After a fortnight of salvage operations, the frigate rolled off the ledge to seaward, necessitating the cutting of a hole in her side through which the seamen dived into the black abyss for her cargo. On May 13, Milligan consigned the remainder of the task to Simeon, Tom Harrington and Joe and Will Freeman. The *Blonde*'s captain had determined it prudent that he return to his station, as word had been relayed from Halifax the preceding day that the French Court had recognized the independence of the Thirteen Colonies. This had been considered tantamount to a declaration of war with Britain.

Simeon recalled vividly a dinner conversation with Milligan that evening, aboard the *Blonde*. The whole affair had been a strange one indeed and nothing had seemed more peculiar, or more welcome for that matter, than the captain's attitude toward these Liverpool Yankees. He had treated Simeon and the other gentlemen present with great politeness: not the usual cold civility of a Royal Navy officer toward suspect American colonials, but rather the warm cordiality of one ally to another. It was a pleasant contrast to the 1776 visit of the high-handed Captain William Duddington of H.M.S. *Senegal*; his congeniality had been measured by a virtual reign of terror in the town. Stores were entered without due process, goods were illicitly seized, vessels were commandeered to carry booty to Halifax, and smallpox victims from the *Senegal* were sent ashore to be administered to by a frightened populace.[6]

The dinner over and port glasses charged with Oporto's best ruby red, the conversation had turned from the business of salvage to a query concerning the *Choiseul's* running into Liverpool Bay. Someone, possibly Will Freeman, had put forward the most plausible explanation. Saucy had been making not for Liverpool, but rather for Port Mouton Bay, some two leagues to the westward, a known rendezvous for American privateers. The bay could readily serve as a temporary base for the reloading of the *Choiseul's* cargo onto smaller Yankee craft, which would then run the supplies through the British blockade to the Continental Army. The well-laid plan had been foiled by the untimely arrival of the *Blonde*. Seeking immediate refuge and probably help from waiting privateersmen, the French had run for what they thought was Port Mouton Bay; the mistake could have been easily made by a captain whose knowledge of the coast was likely limited to a chart. Both bays are in the same latitude, only a few miles apart, and both

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 107-121, *passim.*

have large islands covering their entrances. It must have been a shock to the Chevalier when his glass set upon the town of Liverpool rising beyond Fish Point. Thus the talk progressed far into the evening until the captain sent his weary but well-feted guests ashore in his gig.[7]

The rumour of privateers at Port Mouton had unfortunately proven timely. Not six days had passed when two of them hove in sight off Western Head and made boldly for the town. They proved to be the schooners *Washington* and *Lizard*, under the commands of William Preston and John Blackler. Simeon met with Preston who, although treating the merchant handsomely, demanded the surrender of the French goods. In return, the captain promised that no damage would be done to the community, nor anything taken except the *Choiseul's* cargo. Simeon, having little other recourse, agreed and several of the *Washington*'s men then went ashore to load boats and gondolas to carry away the salvaged goods. The entire business went well until Simeon came ashore from the *Washington* after dark, to be confronted with an unruly mob of rough seamen who were busily engaged in breaking open and pillaging a number of houses and stores. His own warehouse, a scant few yards from his home, had been the first to be robbed. Incensed by this breach of faith, he immediately rowed back to the *Washington* and demanded redress, only to be met with an unconcerned shrug from Preston. Fearing for his safety, Simeon returned to shore, where he and his fellow townsmen silently and helplessly watched the privateers set sail down the bay.

The townsmen were roused as they had not been before. Their pride had been stung, they felt cheated and they were bitterly angry. There was no argument when Simeon mustered the militia to arms; indeed, they had proceeded with purpose when ordered to take up a position on the point — a new sensation to men who had become resigned to harassment from Crown and Congress. In the meantime, the privateersmen had sent their long boat to seize a Bermuda sloop which had entered the harbour only that morning. Scrambling aboard, they immediately loosened and hoisted her sails and got a boat ahead to tow her out into the bay. Passing the wharves, flakes and a few houses hugging the road to the point, they were met by a most unexpected sight.

Joe Freeman stood to the north of Widow Dexter's tavern, on a low point which was nothing more than the landward end of Dolphin Bar, a

7 *Ibid.*, p. 197.

hindrance to the passage of vessels in and out of the harbour. Scattered about him in varying postures, and in a pattern of organized disarray, were some ten militiamen. His musket — one of the firearms salvaged from the *Choiseul* — lay couched in the crook of his left arm. Raising his voice in the manner of one used to competing against a North Atlantic gale, he commanded the privateers to cease pulling and drop their tow. This was followed by a pregnant pause, not of confusion, but rather of determination by both groups of men. The silence was shattered by the eruption of one of the swivel guns which had been erected as a sort of pitiful defence on the end of Snow's wharf. Almost instantaneously the two privateers exploded in a deafening cacophony of cannon, swivels and small arms. The breeze which had freshened somewhat carried the resultant smoke over the tip of Fish Point rather like a December vapour rising out of the river.

Instinctively, the townsmen flung themselves amongst the granite-strewn ruin of the point. The heavy smell of cordite, stinging though it was, acted as a stimulant; they fired, reloaded and fired, again and again, oblivious to the fact that their inadequate weapons could do no damage to the American marauders. The privateers for their part, early recognized the futility of doing battle with the point, elevated their guns for a new trajectory and proceeded to fire upon the town. After three-quarters of an hour of what might have been in less serious circumstances termed "opera bouffe," the two privateers escaped down the harbour, with the unfortunate Bermuda sloop trailing behind. In a petulant parting gesture, they made one short run into Herring Cove, where they employed their guns in a brief chastisement of the little community. Fortunately, the entire engagement did little harm to the combattants, although it was later learned that one of the privateersmen had been wounded in the head. Save for the peppering of a few buildings with musket balls and the unwelcome entrance of a swivel shot into Mr. Tinkham's house, no irreparable property damage had been done.[8]

It was, however, a turning point of sorts; if not the beginning of the end, at least the end of the beginning. The skirmish forced the townsmen to regard their unwelcome position in a clearer manner than they had ever done before. The question was whether they should subject themselves to the tyranny of Congress's privateer captains or that of King George and, with characteristic Yankee shrewdness, they began to move toward the more remote of the two. The King's law, bad as it often was, was law

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

nonetheless, and was deemed preferable to the rapine of the New England marauders. And so it was that, during the following months, the Yankees of Liverpool were eventually won over to King George, not because they loved him more, but rather because they had come to love Congress less. Thus, Liverpool had at last begun to extricate itself from the position of Parson Cheever's Israel of old, which had stood to be devoured between the Syrians before and the Philistines behind. As Isaiah's prophecy read, "the people turneth not unto him that smiteth them."

A spitting flicker caused Simeon to lean forward and snuff a spent candle. Dipping his quill in the inkwell, he completed his daily entry, blew it dry and closed the diary. Glancing at the big clock standing sentry-like in the corner, he saw that the hands would momentarily note the end of the new day's first hour. Rising, he fetched a small brass candlestick and lit it from the flame of a sconce on the counting room wall. Leaving the room in darkness, he made his way through the drawing room to the foot of the hall stairs. Ascending the spiral staircase, he gently eased open the doors of the children's rooms. Their innocence in sleep caused him again to pray that the world they were to inherit would somehow be more sensible than his own. Returning to the downstairs hall, he passed through the keeping room to the chamber he shared with his darling Elizabeth, whose steadfastness and faith he so admired in these trying times. The calm of her sleep, undisturbed by his presence, gave him the sense of peace needed to relieve his troubled spirit. The great clock struck the hour and Simeon snuffed the pale candlelight, giving himself over to the tranquility of the night.

Robert Murray Tackles Confederation

E.M. Stevenson

In 1855, when Robert Murray, at the ripe age of 23, took office as editor of the *Presbyterian Witness and Evangelical Advocate*, he announced some changes in the paper's format. Henceforth it would be divided in two separate parts, the Religious Department and the Secular Department. He then appropriated the Secular Department as his own preserve and declared his editorial policy. He was for True Religion, Free Schools and Total Abstinence; against Popery,[1] Puseyism,[2] Sabbath desecration and Vice of all kinds.

Announcing also that he would be subject to no political party or leader, he immediately threw the *Witness* headlong into the railway scandal, defending Joseph Howe and virulently attacking everyone else. He emerged from that foray with some loss of subscriptions, but no loss of fervor. From that time until the turn of the century, the voice of the *Witness* was heard across Nova Scotia. It could neither be silenced nor ignored. While undoubtedly there were many who considered its material as inflammatory as its editor's ultimate destination, Presbyterians were said to have held it in such esteem that they were loath to light their fires with it. On the Sabbath days, its Religious Department shared the place of honour with the Bible on the parlour table.

Although from this distance Robert Murray looks remarkably like a "true blue" Tory, the *Witness* seems to have been regarded as a Liberal paper. But, as he wrote from Prince Edward Island,

> It is a curious fact that the newspapers which are supposed to make people "Liberals" here, in Nova Scotia have the effect of making people "Conservative." The *Witness* is regarded as "Conservative" in P.E.I. and appears to be in rather bad odour with the Liberals, just as in Nova Scotia it is sometimes in very bad odour with people who are called Conservative . . .[3]

Robert Murray never had any hesitation in expressing his opinion of politicians. He was a great admirer of Joseph Howe, loathed Sir John A.

1 Roman Catholicism.

2 The Oxford Movement, or Anglo-Catholicism, from its exponent, Dr. Pusey.

3 *Presbyterian Witness* (Halifax), 4 July 1863.

MacDonald, respected Dr. Charles Tupper. Like most Nova Scotians, he was suspicious and jealous of Canada West (Ontario) and considered a possible influx of the "dread Canadian" as something to be feared. Nevertheless, he wrote:

> George Brown is, we think, of all men in Canada the most deserving of full confidence. His career has been that of a true patriot. His ability as a writer and a speaker are of a high order. His character, as well private as public, is blameless . . . We refer to him in this manner because he has been held up as a sort of enemy of the Eastern Provinces and a man who is to be dreaded. In our opinion he has not his equal in British America.[4]

From the beginning, when it was an extremely unpopular issue in Nova Scotia, the *Witness* supported the idea of Confederation, and took on all comers with gusto. Under the heading of "Our Correspondence," Robert Murray wrote:

> We have orders from several quarters to "stop my paper if you advocate Confederation." Sometimes the threat takes the gentle form of "If you do not oppose Dr. Tupper you may take my name off your list." — "If you wish me to continue a subscriber you must not defend Confederation." — "You would have many more new subscribers in this region if you would pitch into Dr. Tupper." — Then we have lectures, threats and promises about the School Bill which in some quarters is quite as obnoxious as Confederation.[5]

The extracts from editorials written for the *Witness* over a century ago, and printed below, make sad reading today. Robert Murray's most romantic dreams of expansion "under the broad bright shield of the British Empire" have been surpassed, but the political scene has changed only in degree — quantity, not quality. The seeds of prejudice planted by the Fathers of Confederation are now sturdy plants and likely to be with us "unto the third and fourth generation." The shrill voices of regional politicians are now heard "From Ocean unto Ocean,"[6] rather than from New Glasgow, Bad-

4 *Ibid.*, 2 January 1865. Brown was the editor of the Toronto *Globe*.

5 *Presbyterian Witness*, 13 January 1866.

6 The title of a popular hymn written by Robert Murray, the name deriving from the title of a book written by his friend Dr. George Grant, principal of Queens University.

deck and Barney's River, their clamour drowning the dying strains of "Rule Britannia!" Even the fisheries problem of the Maritime provinces has not changed, nor has it gone away. The fact is, the average Canadian in 1981 is as fearful of change and loss of identity as his predecessors were in 1867. If he dreams dreams of a glorious future 100 years from now, he forgets those dreams upon awakening.

11 March 1865:

. . . the truth is that few countries are more favourably situated than this British America of ours. We have magnificent harbours on the Atlantic and the Pacific. We are in the highway between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. Whenever our territory is traversed by a railroad Englishmen going to or returning from China will choose this as their route. Our finest ports are never sealed by frost, — we can have access to all the world every day in the year. British America is far more favourably situated than the Russian Empire, whose tremendous overshadowing power is felt by Europe and Asia. Russia has not one harbour to equal Halifax. St. Petersburg is fully as cold and not half so healthful and picturesque as Quebec. The climate of Russia as a whole is quite as wintry as that of British America. British America is already a power in the world, and we are advancing at a rate that promises greatness at no distant day. As the forests are cleared the climate will moderate. A hardy, noble, high spirited race will spread from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island. We shall be British Anglo-Saxons, with a slight tincture of vivacious Celtic blood. No country in the world will surpass us in enterprize and industry and all the virtues that become a free and Christian people. Our frontier will be extensive; but the races on each side will be the same, they will intermarry and live in amity. Or, if hostile, we, the hardy northern race, will press with resistless force upon the enervated Southerners.

Have we not more than enough wheat for ourselves even if we were fifty millions? Have we not enough coal and iron? Have we not ports, rivers, boundless forests? Have we not the best fishing ground in the world? How then is it even plausible to speak of the geographical Impossibility of Confederation? British America is ours and we shall stand condemned before all the world and at the bar of History if we fail to enter in and to possess the land. It were a boundless disgrace to dream of losing this Empire which is to be.

When united by properly constructed railways Halifax will be within 20 hours' travel of Ottawa. The political capital of British America will be within 24 hours of an open port even in the depth of winter.

Look at a map. — Vast tracts are dreary as Siberia, bound in the fetters of everlasting winter, trodden only by the hardy hunter of adventurous explorer; but further South are found breadths of magnificent forests occupying a soil of matchless fertility, well-watered, sunny, healthful, inviting the hardy pioneers, and sure to furnish in due time happy and wealthy homes of millions of men. Then look at our lakes, our glorious rivers, our fertile fields that already yield millions of bushels of the finest wheat: — Look at our St. Lawrence and St. John, our Ottawa and Niagara and St. Mary's. Look at our bays and harbours and inland seas — look at our matchless coal beds and mineral treasure. Look at these and tell us if Confederation is a Geographical Impossibility.

In our opinion the country could scarcely be more favourably situated for mutual helpfulness. Canada can send us flour; we can send her coal, iron and fish, and by and by our manufactured goods. When our lumber is exhausted she can build ships and our men can guide them over the trackless deep. Thus, and in many other ways we are destined to become mutually helpful. Sagacious men should see the "manifest destiny" of these provinces and remove obstacles out of the way.

It may be that Union at present is a "Political Impossibility," but certainly the geographical argument has no weight and is all the other way.

It has always been found a most difficult task to overcome local feelings and prejudices and to grasp large questions so as to judge of them fairly on their own merits. All history proves this to be the case. Centuries of bloodshed were required to wield the British Isles into a "United Kingdom." How long was Italy trodden under the foot of the alien because of its petty divisions and jealousies? The Swiss have been compelled into union by the pressure of powerful neighbours. The old Thirteen Colonies were extremely reluctant to become the United States. There are manifest obstacles in the way of so gigantic a movement as that ventured upon at Quebec. Its very completeness, its fair regard to existing interests, its rational provision for future contingencies have all been called to witness against it. — Not a few of the shrewdest business men in all the Provinces, and some the ablest politicians, have spoken against the scheme. Information is still lacking to the great mass of people. The proposal was too much hurried to be well relished by folk averse to change. And some who used to be very eloquent

on Union, Nationality, Expansion, Progress, and all these fine things, have changed their tune to suit the times.

The "Geographical Impossibility" will, we are certain, disappear whenever men are calm enough to study it. But it is a curious symptom that this unfounded "Geographical" idea, this idle and unpatriotic sentiment, should be so largely grasped and welcomed in this country.

13 April 1867:

At this moment Nova Scotia is in a state of transition. She, in common with her Sister Provinces, is entering upon a new phase of political existence. She has turned over a new leaf in the great volume of history . . . .

We are now not a Colony of Three Hundred and Seventy Thousand, but a Dominion of Three Millions. Our votes will have reference not to the Councils of Nova Scotia merely, but also to those of New Brunswick and Upper and Lower Canada. We have control of a Revenue ten times larger than ever before. Our territory is more extensive and our resources more magnificent than those of many a European Monarchy. Thus, we must learn to care not merely for our own "roads and bridges," ferries and snags, wharves and piers, we must extend our care to the interests of a community whose homes are scattered all the way from Cape North to Thunder Bay —a Dominion which includes the vast wheat fields of the "Ontario" — the forests of the Ottawa — the fisheries of the Gulf — the Mines of Nova Scotia; — a Dominion within whose bounds lie the Great Lakes, the Falls of Niagara, and the matchless St. Lawrence. We must rise to the dignity of the great occasion, and show ourselves worthy of our birthright and of the trust reposed in us by the Queen and Parliament of Great Britain . . . .

Now that the change, so much dreaded by some, has actually come, what of it? We believe that it will to a considerable extent disappoint the hopes and the fears of all parties . . . . Twelve years ago it was not thought worth while to consult us before giving up our Fishing grounds to the Fishermen of the United States. Last year our Government struggled vainly to resist the policy of the 50 cents per ton tax on American fishermen. Henceforth however our influence will be felt, and our rights acknowledged. This is the sunny side of the picture.

On the other hand our burdens may be somewhat heavier. Our commercial policy will in some points be revised if not changed . . . . The dreams of sudden prosperity to follow Confederation may not be realized. We have no doubt however that the present change will be on the whole greatly to the advantage of Nova Scotia as well as of the Confederacy generally . . . .

The best policy for Nova Scotia to pursue is to accept gracefully the "Logic of Events," and forgetting personal and party quarrels, to send to the House of Commons our very best and ablest men. It will be suicidal folly to send to Ottawa men without talent and without parliamentary experience. We have not so many men of mark that we can afford to make light of them. The NINETEEN should be the foremost, the most sagacious and experienced Liberals and Conservatives in the Province.

6 July 1867:

This day [1 July] passed off very agreeably in the city, and throughout the Province generally, so far as we have heard. The demonstration in the city was a "grand success." There was the usual ringing of joy bells and more than the usual amount of firing of guns. Many of the churches were open for public worship; but the Presbyterian ministers without exception were out of the city at their Synods, and hence there was no service in their churches. There was the greatest display of flags ever seen here except during the visit of the Prince of Wales, and the decorations were numerous and tasteful.

At 9 o'clock a most interesting ceremonial took place on the Grand Parade. The Provincial and City authorities assembled with a great multitude of citizens. The Sheriff read the Proclamation, and an Oration was delivered by the Rev. Mathew Richey, D.D., President of the Wesleyan Conference. A Procession was then formed which marched through the leading streets and was received with the usual enthusiasm. At a subsequent hour Dr. Tupper addressed a large gathering on the Parade, announced the formation of the Dominion Cabinet with Hon. A.G. Archibald, and Hon. E. Kenny as members, and stated also that the Intercolonial Railway was to be proceeded with immediately. — There was a grand review on the common, and an illumination and torch-light procession in the evening.

In Truro the bells of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches and the Normal School rung out a merry peal, and a Prayer meeting was held in the Presbyterian Church. In Lunenburg there was a lively demonstration. In New Glasgow the people took the matter very quietly. Some flags floated half-staff, and some, as usual, from the top of the pole. In Pictou town there were a few half-staff flags but the great majority were "all right."

The day was very beautiful. We hope that on the next "First of July" all our people will gladly join in celebrating an event which at present is much disliked by many.

The Town of Yarmouth: 1867 and 1923.

Kenneth Winter

The year of Confederation marked a turning point in the history of British North America: for many individuals it was either a marvelous or a miserable time. In the Maritimes, the years immediately preceding Confederation had been prosperous for communities like Yarmouth, and some people were fearful of upsetting the balance. Half a century later there was still divided opinion about the worth of Confederation and a few people took examples from the town to give substance to their complaints. It is the purpose of this article to discuss the change in economic conditions and political attitudes among the people of Yarmouth, with a brief discussion of the social atmosphere, as shown in the pages of the local weekly newspaper, *The Yarmouth Herald*, for the years 1867 and 1923.

On the occasion of its ninetieth anniversary in 1923, the editor had this comment about the past, present and future policy of his publication:

> . . . the impulse of *The Herald* is still as fresh as ever. It pursues the purpose of the founder; to serve not any faction, any party, any private interest, political or social or financial, but the abiding and permanent welfare of all our countrymen and women. *Independence* has been our watchword. *Independence* is, and will be in the future, the touchstone of our claim upon the confidence of our people.[1]

If the claims made above were true, then *The Herald* would indeed be a good source for study. But, since practically no letters to the editor were published, and because the earlier issues of *The Herald* were mainly reprints from American journals, it can hardly be stated that the newspaper effectively represented its community. However, the mere fact that it was able to survive for so long shows that it must have been a popular journal. A few other local publications were started, but did not have much success.

The late 1860s were among the economic heydays of Yarmouth. During this time local citizens owned some two hundred ships of different types, reputably more vessels per capita than any community of comparable size in the world. Periodic references appeared in *The Herald* to a number of wharves along Yarmouth harbour, most named after prominent members of the community: Ryerson's, Durkee's, Stoneman's, Clement's, and Kil-

1 *Yarmouth Herald*, 7 August 1923.

lam's, to name a few. Yarmouth's shipping interests could also be noted by numerous advertisements in the "Business Cards" section of the journal, where there were many brokers, insurers, and shipping outfitters mentioned from the British Isles and the West Indies. References were often made to the "Yarmouth Marine Insurance Association," evidence that sufficient capital, as well as interest, was available in the community.

The newspapers of 1867 also showed numerous other local companies, indicating a prosperous community. Along with the Yarmouth Gas Company, there was the Burrell, Johnson & Company iron foundry and machine works. The Bank of Yarmouth had been in operation since 1865, and in March 1867, one of the local members of the Legislature, William H. Townsend, rose in the House and "asked leave to introduce a bill to incorporate the Exchange Bank of Yarmouth," which was subsequently granted.[2] There were also a sizeable number of shops in the town. Store owners travelled to Saint John and New England in search of goods, and a typical advertisement ran: "Miss Ballard, having just returned from St. John, N.B., with all the newest Mantle Patterns, and received the newest styles from England, New York and Boston, will be happy to attend to her customers and the Ladies generally."[3]

It is interesting to note that almost no one was ever mentioned as going to Halifax, the news from there being almost exclusively a report from the Provincial Legislature. The regular ferry services commuted only to Saint John and Boston, and at this time, travel by sea certainly was much easier than by land throughout most of the year. This closer tie to communities outside the colony was a reflection not necessarily of ill-feeling toward Halifax, but rather of the closer proximity of both Saint John and Boston to such a sea-oriented community. A nice picture was drawn of the town in 1867 by a visitor from Saint John on a pleasure trip via the steamship *Linda*. His account was given in a letter sent to *The Herald*:

> . . . After breakfast, a stroll around the town, and am well pleased with first impressions of the seeming thrift . . . there are quite a number of houses and stores with fine fronts on the Main Street or business part . . . that would do credit to a much larger town. The warehouses on the wharves are large buildings, fitted up on purpose

2 *Ibid.*, 4 April 1867.

3 *Ibid.*, 13 June 1867.

> for the trade that the Yarmouth merchants are largely engaged in, that is — fitting out for the deep sea fisheries and the West India trade.
>
> On visiting Yarmouth the stranger will be surprised at the neatness and elegance of the private residences, that show at once it must contain a large amount of wealth for its population, most of which they owe to the enterprise they have shown in building and sailing ships and vessels of all sizes. Many of the private residences equal some of the finest to be seen in places of ten times its population . . .[4]

For a look at education in Yarmouth we turn again to the visitor from Saint John: "They have three splendid buildings — a Seminary and two High Schools — all of which are free to all learning a business education, and supported by taxation somewhat similar to the system adopted in the United States."[5] It was perhaps a reflection of the prosperous times that emphasis was placed on a business education. The Seminary, for example, offered courses in the classics, math, modern languages, and the natural sciences; it also sponsored a museum with a good-sized collection. The presence of the Seminary Literary Society exemplified not only an interest in issues and ideas, but also a community which could support and foster such luxuries.[6]

In the field of politics there was much concern shown by some people in 1867. The editor of *The Herald* saw the Queen's sanction of Confederation as "mortifying and humiliating," but in spite of the feelings of Nova Scotians opposed to Confederation, he advised that "there remains, at present, but one course to pursue, that is, to make the best of circumstances, and submit patiently to the yoke which our patriotic 'Prime Minister' and coadjutors have succeeded in fastening on us."[7]

That many people in Nova Scotia were opposed to political union was emphasized by a news item of April 18:

> The London *Telegraph* of the 22nd March says, from the report of the select committee on public petitions, it appears that the greatest number of signatures appended to any one petition, stand beneath

4 *Ibid.*, 8 August 1867.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, 4 April 1867.

7 *Ibid.*, 11 April 1867.

> that against the British North American Confederation Act. This petition has been signed by over 31,000 inhabitants of Nova Scotia (originally nearly 40,000, but reduced to 31,000 by the withdrawal of a number of sheets which contain more or less signatures in the same handwriting.)[8]

Many people in Yarmouth, like Nova Scotians generally, felt they had some very real grievances concerning Confederation. As the result of "forced union," it was felt that the burden of expenditures, especially military, would be placed on them at an inordinate rate. The sea-going traders in Yarmouth had joined in a triangle of commerce which linked the Maritimes and New England to the Caribbean and to England, and it was feared the tariffs imposed after Confederation would aid only the inland Canadas, while impeding the growth and wealth of further trade and of Yarmouth. The intercolonial railway, which proposed to link the inland areas of Upper and Lower Canada with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, was a big issue, not only as an expensive undertaking, but also as an object which in the view of the local people would be more useful to the Canadas.

There was a general dislike of becoming involved with Upper and Lower Canada anyway, and a fear that as Canadians they would be "as a people who have been driven from a loved rule to a hated — as a people taxed without representation — and to be governed without being consulted — . . . waiting for the opening of some path to deliverance."[9] *The Herald* furthermore stated that the ministers of government who had advocated Confederation had misrepresented Nova Scotia and that they had "disregarded the rights and wishes of the Electors, turned a deaf ear to their remonstrances, treated them with scorn, and stigmatized them as too ignorant to judge for themselves."[10] The frustration and anger over the "burden" it was felt Confederation would place upon future prosperity was underscored by those in favour of annexation to the United States. Annexation was perhaps viewed as the lesser of two evils, since through it Yarmouth could maintain a profitable trade with New England, while Confederation meant a loss of trade along with a weakening of the ties to Great Britain. Most people, however, would have preferred maintaining the *status quo*, as advocated by J.K. Hatfield in *The Herald* on June 20, 1867.

8 *Ibid.*, 18 April 1867.

9 *Ibid.*, 11 April, 25 April and 20 June 1867.

10 *Ibid.*, 30 May and 20 June 1867.

In the last issue of the paper published before July 1, 1867, there was an article called "A Day of Humiliation," in which there was a strong feeling of defeat. Like any conquered people, it said, Nova Scotians could no longer "make their own laws, or control their own tariff or revenues." Nobody had asked for a change, but "in spite of all, revolution has been forced upon them. Is this liberty? Are they free people?"[11] After July 1, two differing reports were given concerning the events of the day. One was a statement from the editor, describing it as a day of general mourning.[12] The other was a reprint of a letter to the editor of the Halifax *Reporter*, which gave a rather different view of Yarmouth on July 1:

> Sir, — at an early hour on Monday morning it became very apparent that the people of Yarmouth meant to observe the Public Holiday, to some extent at least, though in different ways. A large number of loyal folk displayed the British flag at the top of the staff, while others, including the members of the annexation party, the "Yarmouth-all-alone-by-itself" party, and the anti party generally, had their flags upside down at half staff. Among these, Thomas Killam, Esq., M.P.P., and A. Lawson of the *Herald*, were quite conspicuous . . . The "grief" arrangement, however would not work. Everybody looked smiling and cheerfully. The weather was propitious. Picnics were held, and the poor "slaves" (to borrow a Hatfieldian idea) were bound to enjoy themselves . . . At two o'clock, there was a public meeting at the Court House for the nomination of members for the Dominion Parliament and local legislature . . . Mr. Killam made such a speech in his usual painful style as has not been heard from him for a long time. Men looked in amazement. To see a bear suddenly transformed into a suckling dove would scarce have surprised them more. He told how consistent, how watchful of our interests he had been for twenty years; that for four years past he had been sighing to be free, that at first he had concluded that he did not want to go to Ottawa at all; that he had then concluded that if he could be sent without opposition he would not mind, but that now he would be very much obliged to the electors of Yarmouth if they would remember what a good friend he had been to them and send him, well, just this once. He

11 *Ibid.*, 27 June 1867.

12 *Ibid.*, 4 July 1867.

> told us that Confederation might not turn out such a bad thing after all, provided the people would send men of the right stamp to manage it, and in fact he talked as if the Unionist party of his audience were worthy looking after, even if according to some former writers in the Yarmouth papers, there were only three of them.[13]

The picture thus was neither one distinct colour nor another. The anti-Confederation opinion, though strong, was not supreme and this was shown rather well by Thomas Killam, an astute politician who was successful in riding the storms of political life, and who was evidently trying to follow a spirit of compromise. Although he had been vehemently anti-Confederate, he came forward as someone at least willing to make the best of a difficult situation. In the federal election in September, Yarmouth elected all anti-Confederate ticket holders, including Killam, and the editor of *The Herald* triumphantly hailed it as a definite sign of predominant opinion.[14] Looking at the election returns certainly gives the impression that Confederation was questioned in Yarmouth and that although people were willing to test its validity, they were more in favour of ending the union.

In 1867 there was, as noted, a feeling of closer economic affinity to the New England area, rather than to the Canadas.[15] By 1923 there were still traces of this kind of thought. In April of that year, *The Herald* stated that "so far as Nova Scotia was concerned in finding an Upper Canadian market for its produce it might just as well be one of the South Sea Islands."[16] Two weeks previously, there was an editorial which advocated closer economic ties with the United States, and in September it was stated that the Americans were also in favour of such ties, claiming that "at least Nova Scotia is our natural market. That fact can hardly be doubted, and it should be no surprise as to the efforts for reciprocity."[17] It was thought in Nova Scotia, and more so in Yarmouth, that the province had been dealt an economic

13 *Ibid.*, 18 July 1867. J.K. Hatfield was strongly opposed to Confederation because of the additional expenses he saw arising from union with Upper and Lower Canada, especially the tariffs and military expenditures. See *ibid.*, 20 June, 1867.

14 *Ibid.*, 19 September 1867.

15 *Ibid.*, 30 May 1867.

16 *Ibid.*, 24 April 1923.

17 *Ibid.*, 10 April and 4 September 1923. A reciprocity agreement, or lower tariff rates between Canada and the United States, had been most recently defeated in the 1911 federal elections, with the Prairies and the Maritimes in favour and Ontario and Quebec against the idea.

blow by uniting with the rest of British North America. A statement by H.W. Corning in the Provincial Legislature, and reported in *The Herald*, had brought to the forefront the utility of Confederation to the Maritimes:

> H.W. Corning . . . strongly advocated seccession from Confederation. . . . His action is most puzzling to many of his supporters, while others feel he may have caught a glimpse of the real vision and has realized what an utter failure Confederation, particularly to the Maritime Provinces, is now proving to be.
>
> Two weeks ago *The Herald* advocated the idea that some effort be made whereby Nova Scotia could be released from the Dominion so far as the tariffs interfered with this Province dealing with the United States, but at that time we hardly dared to come out as boldly as Mr. Corning has done and make a demand that Nova Scotia break entirely from the Dominion, notwithstanding the fact that practically all promises made the Maritime Provinces at the time of Confederation have been broken or entirely lost sight of.[18]

It was easy for Yarmouthians to see something like reciprocity as an idea which would be much to their benefit. As it was, Yarmouth was still dependent on sea trade, yet had to compete in a commercial world which seemed to be working against it from both sides. With a conflict of interest between the natural sea-lanes of communication and the expensive task of dealing with the inland provinces, it is not difficult to understand why, in September 1923, the Nova Scotia Sea Fisheries Association pressed for lower express rates.[19]

By 1923, the general wealth of the community seems to have declined, for no longer was there a sizeable trade with the West Indies, and by comparing the reports of "Shipping Intelligence" for the years 1867 and 1923, it is also evident that the amount of shipping had declined for all types of cargo. There were strong suggestions in *The Herald* that the vibrance had also slipped from the society of Yarmouth. The editorial of May 22, 1923, discussed the issue of a new cold storage facility planned for Yarmouth, and the fact that there were some people who were against its introduction. The article amounted to a lamentation, regretting the loss of past glory and wealth:

18 *Ibid.*, 24 April 1923.

19 *Ibid.*, 11 September 1923.

> It is those little things that are keeping our town back, . . . We have heard of other towns being busy and industries [thriving]. We have also heard of the united spirit of those places when men, as one great body, go after improvements and get them. That is the spirit we have got to engender . . . in Yarmouth.[20]

The journal went on to say that "We must forget the principle that if we cannot immediately be at the head of an institution we will quit it absolutely."[21] Evidently, the drive which leads a community to progress was on the wane in Yarmouth and, according to *The Herald*, it was these "little things" which were responsible.

It was in this year, however, that notable features like the cenotaph and the beautiful mortuary chapel in the town cemetery were erected, and these certainly were not suggestive of a lack of community spirit, or of money. It may be said that although *The Herald* was astute enough to recognize the danger of the economic decline of Yarmouth, the publication was overanxious, and too quickly translated decline into community fatigue. The spirit of Yarmouth had not died, but had merely changed emphasis; Yarmouthians were still proud of their rich past and still showed no lack of interest, but they expressed their concern in different ways.

By 1923, *The Herald* did voice the new political outlook of most people. In support of Canada, *The Herald* stated: "Step by step we have mounted up, until today the world acknowledges our foremost position as the leading Dominion in the great British Empire . . . who that is fair and just can doubt the excellency of our position?"[22] Concerning Canada generally, a feeling of regard had become established:

> One thing is very clear as to the Imperial Conference — that Canada's position today will demand the autonomy so long sought and now so greatly and deeply appreciated. Desiring to afford our Motherland the utmost regard in all relations, yet upholding and maintaining an autonomy — our glory and our pride . . .[23]

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20 *Ibid.*, 22 May 1923.

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*, 15 May 1923.

23 *Ibid.*, 4 September 1923. At the Imperial Conference of 1923 the Canadian proposition was agreed upon that in future the Dominions could negotiate their own treaties and pursue their own foreign policies.

Times had changed, the country had proven itself in the Great War and Yarmouth had sacrificed her full share of young men for the sake of their country and Empire. Unlike the dire predictions of a previous decade, there was now a spark of confidence in the future of the country.[24]

Although proud of Canada's position in the world and the British Empire, there was a strong feeling that the connection had been the ruination of the Maritimes and, to no less an extent, of Yarmouth. The benefits of Yarmouth's geographical position in relation to New England were reduced after Confederation, but there were still memories of previous economic importance remaining to haunt conscientious community members. However, the problem was now seen as being one of economics and it was thought that "a system of Reciprocal and Preferential agreements" was an ideal solution to the situation.[25]

There was a bright spot seen in the future though. By this time, *The Herald* was strongly advocating Yarmouth's strategic importance as a terminal for trade and travel into and out of the Maritimes. By 1923, the railways had undercut this once lucrative position and the journal was eager to remind its readers that Yarmouth once had been — and still could be —one of the most convenient routes to follow between the Maritimes and New England. The editorial of May 22, 1923, was typical:

> On various occasions in times gone by *The Herald* has in many ways endeavored to show to its readers and the public generally the great importance of the Port of Yarmouth as a transportation centre and what, as a shipping point, it means to the whole of the Maritime Provinces. At no time, however, we never [*sic*] had such a circumstance to exploit as occured with the travelling public a week or so ago, when the railway services of New Brunswick and also throughout the State of Maine, were so badly disrupted by the terrific floods and freshets, which so engulfed certain sections of that Province and state. . . . For several days Yarmouth was the *only* point in the lower provinces by which the public could travel to or from Boston or other points in the New England states.[26]

24 *Ibid.*, 24 July 1923.

25 *Ibid.*, 4 September 1923.

26 *Ibid.*, 22 May 1923.

In emphasizing its role as a Maritime terminus, the area was beginning to seriously consider the tourist trade as an important source of income. Establishments like the Grand Hotel and the recently renovated Yarmouth Inn were catering more and more to the summer tourist, and vied with hotels in other communities for patronage. August 1923 was a record month in passenger numbers for the Boston and Yarmouth steamers, and it was recorded as an excellent tourist season, with the hotels generally packed.[27] The fishing industry was also still important as a source of revenue for the area, and it was reported that 20% of the lobster industry in Canada at that time was done in the Yarmouth region.[28]

There were some significant changes in Yarmouth between the years 1867 and 1923. The community was perhaps at its apex in 1867, relatively rich and prosperous, with its wealth dependent upon two factors: a dynamic and enterprising community which was able to take advantage of its important position on the sea-lanes of the North Atlantic. At that time there was a close feeling toward New England and Saint John, fostered by trade and family connections with these regions. Trading was an important income for the community, more so than fishing, and ships from Yarmouth sailed the seas of the world. There was probably a fair amount of social mobility in the community. Sometimes a quick fortune could be made by an opportune stroke of luck. Also, qualities which could produce a person capable of "bettering" himself in society were likely to be quite similar to those qualities necessary for success at sea: strength, ability, and resourcefulness.

It was perhaps natural for the people of Yarmouth to develop feelings of pride and independence when events were in their favour. Confederation was seen by many as a serious challenge to this way of life. The strongly disliked areas of Upper and Lower Canada were seen as drains to the wealthier eastern communities, and many people wanted nothing to do with them.

Fifty-five years later, there were still complaints concerning Confederation, although by this time the problem was regarded as being solely economic. The artificial boundaries imposed on trade were seen as the main deterrent to Yarmouth's economy. Ignored was the fact that the basis of the community's past wealth, trade in the North Atlantic, was no longer possible. As a result, Yarmouth had failed to keep up its standard of economy,

27 *Ibid.*, 4 September 1923.

28 *Ibid.*, 3 April 1923.

and some people feared that it was a reflection of decadence in the general community. This had been a false alarm. The community was still strong; not only was the fishing industry a valuable source of income, but also the rising tourist industry was becoming an important economic staple for the area. There was a general feeling of pride for the community, especially due to its performance in the recent war. The citizens of Yarmouth had endured and survived the great changes wrought by Confederation and the end of the age of sail; they had emerged confident in themselves and in their country, and looked forward with optimism toward the future.

Where Did They Come From and Where Did They Go?

M. Noreen E. Gray

Where did they come from and where did they go? Tramps and hobos were familiar sights on the highways and railroads of the 1930s, and although tramping had been part of the Canadian way of life long before this period, the Depression years appear to have been the heyday of these travellers. Such colourful vagabonds seem to have become an extinct species in today's more affluent society, although perhaps the hitchhikers who moved *en masse* across the country in the early 1970s could be considered their updated descendants. Yet these youthful "knights of the road" are as pale as their washed-out jeans in comparison. The modern hitchhiker, like almost everything else in this computerized age, comes as a complete packaged product. Included in the kit is a "his or her" travelling costume of faded blue denim, bright orange backpack, and at least one year of university education. What with wide, paved super highways offering "Government Approved Camp Sites" at almost every turn-off and hikers' handbooks listing youth hostels complete with showers, laundromats and television sets in all the larger cities, the challenge of living by one's wits has, to say the least, been greatly diminished. There is no excuse for today's tramp to ask, "Can I sleep in your barn tonight, Mister?"

To the tramps of the Depression years, sleeping in barns and under hedges was an accepted way of life. Survival was difficult for most Canadians in the "hungry Thirties," a time of national and un-subsidized unemployment, bread lines and soup kitchens. For the tramp, add to these hardships the silent loneliness of a solitary traveller, for most such wanderers were rather pathetic outcasts of society who spent their lives shuffling about in search of who knows what. Certainly they bore little resemblance to the carefree romantic image subsequently bestowed on them by the television late shows.

How or why did one become a tramp? The answers to these questions have disappeared with the foot-sore travellers, but many senior citizens living in rural parts of Nova Scotia can remember from their youth, having seen and talked with some of the "regulars"; although tramps may not have staked out territorial claims, they did tend to follow the same routes year after year. Tramping, in Nova Scotia at least, was a seasonal occupation. Most informants remember noticing the first of the year about apple blossom time, and vagabonds were not seen after Halloween.

Much folklore seems to have surrounded them at the time. Children believed that tramps possessed supernatural powers much like ghosts and witches, and farmers made sure that their chicken houses were locked on nights they knew a tramp was in the vicinity. Another popular belief of the day was that tramps left signs to aid other vagabonds in finding homes where generous handouts were available — an early hospitality system.

These solitary wanderers appear to have been rather secretive souls who gave little information about their past — so little, in fact, that in many cases their true identities were never known. Instead they were remembered by nicknames bestowed on them by the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed, and they were sometimes known by different pseudonyms in different areas. One colourful tramp, a tall, rawboned man with reddish hair and beard, whose yearly pilgrimage across the province took him through Hants County, was known there as "Rat Trap Johnson," while in Lunenburg County this same gentleman was called "Old Flannel Foot," for his habit of keeping one ankle wrapped in pieces of old flannel blankets. Story had it that "Rat Trap" or "Old Flannel Foot" was a member of a wealthy Halifax family, and it was said that he took up tramping after killing his brother in a bitter quarrel over a lady. Whatever the reason, "Rat Trap" remained a tramp to the end of his life, spending at least some of his winters in the Hants County jail.

Although women today feel they are just beginning to achieve freedom, at least one lady put it all together away back in the 1930s and took to the road. In Halifax County she was known as "Rainy Gale," the nickname supposedly originating from the fact that she passed through the county each fall in late September and her appearance seemed to herald the arrival of the equinoctial gales which sweep across the province at that time of year. From a lady who remembers seeing this tramp comes the following description:

> We children always called her "Rainy Gale," I guess it was because everytime she passed through our village it would be during a storm. She was tall, wore a long black coat, no hat, her hair was long and black with a bit of grey in it. She carried a sort of carpet bag and wore men's rubber boots. She always hurried along the side of the road, talking to herself. I don't think she ever asked for handouts at houses like most of the tramps did.[1]

1 Interview with Marjorie (Colwell) Stidolph, formerly of Enfield, Halifax County, Nova Scotia.

This same lady's wanderings can be followed to Yarmouth, where she was locally known as "Boston Belle," because her appearance each spring coincided with the first run of the Boston to Yarmouth ferry and it was said that she returned to Yarmouth each fall in time for the last crossing to Boston for the winter.

Local legend in Yarmouth had it that "Rainy Gale," alias "Boston Belle," was an American girl, the daughter of a rich Boston family who had illegal connections with the Nova Scotia rum runners of that period. The story goes that she fell in love with a young captain on one of these vessels; much against her family's wishes a courtship followed and plans were made by the two to elope on his next voyage to Boston. However, "Rainy" waited in vain for her lover's return; some say his ship was apprehended off the Lunenburg coast and he was shot by the R.C.M.P., while others claim his vessel ran into a severe storm off the Boston coast and was never heard from again. Whatever the reason for his disappearance, he did not return. Poor "Rainy" became deranged by the loss of her lover and every year set out to find him, making her lonely pilgrimage between Boston and Halifax until death claimed her.

Although we tend to group tramps and hobos together, in reality they were two very separate types of "occupation." No self-respecting hobo would be caught walking, but instead was a patron of the railroads, which is no doubt why he was more of a distance traveller. During the "dirty Thirties," hoboing became a national pastime. Young men — and some women — who could not find employment looked upon hoboing as a way of life. With the country locked in the grip of the Depression, these young people found themselves in a unique position. Due to lack of employment they were unable to become self-supporting, yet they could not remain dependent upon their families, who were already hard pressed to maintain food and shelter for younger brothers and sisters. Most started their hobo careers in search of work, following seasonal employment across the country: harvesting on the Prairies, fruit picking in Ontario and British Columbia, and once started, they just kept moving on.

There is a definite knack to catching a train hobo style. The following account comes from one of the last survivors of those adventurous days:

> It's not like when you have a ticket and stand in the station waiting for the train to stop and pick you up. A hobo's got to go down the track a bit from the station ahead of the train. You pick a good spot so you can land it. Your best bet is on the outside of a bend because the

> engine would be gone on by you and the back of the train would be quite away back behind you. This way the couplings would be at their widest — wide on the outside where you are, and give you more room to land when you jump, where on the inside bend, the couplings are at their narrowest and the engineer could be looking back and see you, or the fellow on the caboose could be looking forward and see you. You make a jump or leap for the rungs, either on a box car or baggage. I never rode the rods. I've seen fellows do it, but I couldn't do it. Never picked up the courage, I guess.[2]

Hoboing wasn't a bad life if one managed to avoid the "bulls," as the railway police were called. Food was always scarce, but all the larger cities had soup kitchens and "Sally Anns" to supply clothes. The hobos even had their own social life, in gathering places known as "jungles," such as one located under the Georgia Viaduct in Vancouver. These were mainly meeting places where hobos relaxed around a campfire, exchanging news on jobs and other hobos.

One wonders how long this life style would have survived if the war had not come along and changed everything. With the arrival of World War II, most of the able-bodied hobos enlisted. For many of these young men, the army was the first real full-time job they had ever known. Ironic as it seems, the country which could not give them employment in peace time found that it could not do without their services in time of war. By the time the war had ended, swift diesels were replacing the old steam engines and super highways began to criss-cross the country, by-passing rural villages and winding country roads. The era of the tramp and hobo had come to an end, but the memories linger on.

2 Interview with the late Josph Russell, Burnaby, British Columbia.

The Micmac Indian Petroglyphs:
Evidence of Self/Nature Concept Changes

Alyce Taylor Cheska

For at least three centuries the Micmac Indians, an eastern North American Algonquian tribe, have scratched pecked pictures on the slate rock shores of Kejimkujik Lake in Queen's County, Nova Scotia. These petroglyph sites border a trans-provincial canoe route and are in proximity to known Micmac campsites.

When one examines these rock drawings, ranging from realistic animal and human figures to aimless "doodling," questions come to mind such as: What information do these rock carvings reveal about their originators? Why were these petroglyphs created? How have the themes expressed in the etched surface changed over time? What historical interpretations can be gleaned from the rock carvings? In this paper these questions will be addressed, showing that changes in the Micmacs' concept of self in relation to nature can be interpreted from the Kejimkujik petroglyphs. Before pursuing this quest, some information is needed about Indian rock art in general, petroglyphs in specific, and the Micmac people who created these Kejimkujik carvings.

Indian rock art, common throughout North America, is generally separated into three types: 1) pictograph (a picture painted on a rock); 2) petroform (an immense figure formed by placement of stones on the open ground); and 3) petroglyph (a picture engraved on a rock). This paper is concerned only with petroglyphs. In creating petroglyphs two slightly differing processes are used in engraving soft stone, such as basalt, sandstone, or slate. Pecking, a common technique, is executed by the percussive striking of a harder stone or other tool against the softer stone, thus leaving a design formed by a series of pecks and dots. Incising is etching on a softer stone by pressing a harder stone flake or chip, knife-tip, awl, or nail along the surface, thus creating an inscribed line design. Stone engraving designs include animals, birds, human figures, mythical figures, emblems, maps, dates, writing, and doodling. Both pecking and incising techniques are used at Kejimkujik sites, although incising predominates. Petroglyphs are not unique to Nova Scotia, for they are found throughout North America as well as in many other parts of the world.[1] Some identified and recorded Eastern Woodland Indian sites include Machiasport and Kennebec in

1 Garrick Mallery, *Picture Writing of the American Indians* (Washington, 1893).

Maine, Millsboro and Safe Harbor in Pennsylvania, and Peterborough, Ontario.[2]

Creating petroglyphs, or any form of rock art, can be attributed to several possible reasons. The specific purpose of the Kejimkujik rock carvings is not immediately obvious, but may be inferred from other Indian rock art interpretations. One use is in ceremony. In the past, the American Indian's daily life dealt closely with nature; man's personal indentification with nature was expressed in respect for and worship of powerful "spirits" or "beings." Rock pictures were ceremonially made to aid man in getting good things from nature, such as health, fertility, rain, prosperity in the hunt, or to express the concept of reciprocity manifest in mutual respect between the hunter and game animals.[3] Some petroglyphs suggest animal fertility. Snow contended that in the Algonquian-speaking tribes of Maine the shaman (or "supernatural man") made many of the petroglyphs.[4] This inference is based on the sexual content of rock carvings, expressing the shaman's power and paralleling his known sexual prowess. The Kejimkujik petroglyphs may have been created in part by shamans, but there is overwhelming evidence to support other types of interpretation.[5] [6] A second use of rock carvings is mnenomic, as a memory aid to objects, concepts, legends, tallies and general records of time. Petroglyph content at Kejimkujik includes personifications of mythical figures of "culloo," the Micmac supernatural bird, mythical characters of the crane and the weasel girls' story, and transformation of the Micmac culture-hero, Glooscap.[7] A closely related third use of rock pictures is as a record of an important event. Initials, names, dates, and script messages of Micmacs and other ethnic groups who visited the Kejimkujik area are myriad. Etchings include game animals with accompanying dates, initials, and/or names of the supposed hunters. Sketches of figures, men and women in ceremonial dress for special occasions, display status

2 Campbell Grant, *Rock Art of the American Indians* (New York, 1967), pp. 136-144. Grant provides a general reference on geographical distribution of rock art throughout North America.

3 Grant, *Rock Art*, p. 29.

4 Dean R. Snow, "Rock Art and the Power of Shamans," *Natural History*, 86 (1977), 44, 46.

5 Marion Robertson, *Rock Drawings of the Micmac Indians* (Halifax, 1973).

6 Brad H. Myers, *The Petroglyphs of Kejimkujik National Park, Nova Scotia: A Comprehensive Report* (Halifax, 1976).

7 Robertson, *Rock Drawings*, figures 3, 4, 5 and 6.

symbols originally embroidered on women's peaked caps. Another type of record is marking the spot of a pleasant event, such as the picnic of August 31, 1895, with the names of fifteen local settlers attending still legible. As Anglos settled in Queen's County, however, the likelihood of their visits and markings on the stone of Kejimkujik increased.

A fourth use of petroglyphs is as a clan or individual symbol. Designs such as a totem animal or object, considered to be the clan's guardian spirit, can be found incised in the rocks. At Kejimkujik a Micmac canoe, a caribou, and the ceremonial peaked cap are all to be found; however, whether these were totems would only be known to their originators. A fifth use of the rock etchings is seen in their superb examples of native art. Kejimkujik sites contain magnificently detailed carved ships, caribou (moose), and ornate curved designs. The "artist" appears to have created those for the joy of expression. This does not preclude creative enjoyment of "artists" who found the abstract form satisfying. In fact, the earliest Micmac human petroglyphs were symbolized by stick figure and hour-glass designs, tracing the outer outline mostly in double lines with the interior filled by cross-hatch zigzag designs. The double line and curled line carried historical significance; the curled form in the past was a symbol of good fortune or luck. This art style later gave way to the use of more rounded lines. The sixth use, doodling, can be observed at Kejimkujik sites as a form of amusement. The gently sloping slate surface leading into the lake waters provides easy access by foot, excellent canoe docking accommodations, and appealing unobstructed areas upon which to sit or lie in comfort. Seemingly "aimless" rock pictures, pecked or incised, would be easy to make because the implements, hard stones and soft surface, border the shore line.

To understand the message of the petroglyphs, the relationships of the Micmacs to nature must be historically related. In addition, the impact that the Europeans in Nova Scotia had on the ways of the Micmac should be analyzed. The earliest evidence of man (Paleo-Indian) in Nova Scotia, about 9000 B.C., is based on excavations made at the Debert site in Colchester County. Stone tools and charcoal remains indicate a nomadic people, following the movements of their food resources. This people hunted in bands, gathering together to intercept the caribou during migrations.[8] Shell heaps provide evidence of man in Nova Scotia some 5000 years ago; this

8 Patricia Hayward, *Early Man in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1973).

people (Archaic) had adapted to the warmer forest environment. Sharp lithic tools, good for working wood, predominated the sites' artifacts.[9] A semi-nomadic existence continued. Game hunted included caribou, moose, beaver, porcupine, rabbit and squirrel. Fishing was important, and stations were established along river systems for catching salmon and gaspereaux (ale-wife, a member of the herring family). Gathering of roots (ground nut or Indian potato), wild fruit and berries rounded out the diet. The group's settlement patterns and material culture such as tools, food acquisition, shelter, and transportation appear similar to that of the Micmac Indians at the time of the first French contacts, indicating early native occupation of this region.[10]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the inhabitants of the Maine-Gaspé-Maritime peninsula of northeastern North America had some variety in language or dialect and in non-material culture, but their economy and material cultures were remarkably uniform. As representatives of the Eastern Woodland culture only one language group, the Elnu, meaning "the people" and now known as Micmac,[11] occupied the Gaspé peninsula drainage basin of the St. John River east in present New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Bordering, and in close contact with the Micmacs, were other Algonquian-speaking Wabanaki tribes, the Malecite of the St. John River valley and the Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Abenaki, and Womenack Indians of Maine. [12] [13] Iroquois, especially the Mohawk, were west of the Micmacs, and the Montagnais were to the north, but both peripheral ethnic Indian groups made contributions to the Micmacs through trade, confederacy, and welfare. However, the far-reaching changes were wrought through contact with the Europeans.

Early records refer to the eastern Canadian Indians being decimated by devastating Old World diseases, such as smallpox, influenza, and plague. Martin felt that coastal Indians probably were exposed to deadly bacteria

9 Harlan I. Smith and W.J. Wintemberg, *Some Shell Heaps in Nova Scotia* (Ottawa, 1929).

10 Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, 1968), p. 14.

11 The Micmacs referred to themselves as the "Elnu"; the French of the seventeenth century called them the "Souriquois."

12 Wilson Wallis and Ruth O. Sawtell Wallis, *Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (Minneapolis, 1955), p. 14.

13 William W. Newcombe, *North American Indians: An Anthropological Perspective* (Pacific Palisades, 1974), pp. 55-77.

and viruses carried by the Bristol, Norman, Basque, and other European fishermen who worked the banks off the Maritimes many years before 1497, the first recorded European contact by John Cabot.[14] Transmitted by infected natives, the diseases rolled inland, decimating the Indian peoples in their wake. Jesuit Pierre Biard recorded in the early 17th century that the Micmacs "are astonished and often complain that . . . they are dying fast, and the population is thinning out."[15] Evidence of Viking fish processing sites dated 1000 A.D. along the shores of Newfoundland may add additional credence to Martin's argument.[16] [17] A minor, but additional piece of evidence indicates that the Maritime Indians of the Baie de Chaleur, when contacted by Cabot, were already quite familiar with "comujesjokntc" or "jackstraws"; since this game is credited as being of European origin, it is possible that some earlier fishing party had landed and taught the Micmac how to play.[18]

From first-hand accounts of Europeans who were in Nova Scotia in the seventeenth century, a composite description of the Micmacs is fairly clear. Contact with settlers began as early as 1605 with the founding of the short-lived French agricultural colony of Port Royal.[19] Membertou, a Micmac chief and medicine man, and the most important Indian in the region at that time, became the first "Christian" Micmac. His baptism, which included his whole family, took place at Port Royal in 1610. This settlement was just across from the flat tidal lands of the Annapolis River, northern terminus of the trans-provincial Micmac canoe route, and therefore considerable contact between Indian and white man must be assumed. The establishment of a permanent French community at Port Royal during the 1630s insured continued contact and also gained the lasting allegiance of the Micmacs to the French cause, which would not die until the final military collapse of France in North America during the 1750s. In the 1671 census, some 375 French settlers were in the territory that is now Nova Scotia. The Micmac

14 Calvin Martin, "The War Between Indians and Animals," *Natural History*, 87 (1978), 92-96.

15 Pierre Biard, "Biard's Relations, 1616," *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, III (Cleveland, 1897).

16 Gwyn Jones, *The Norse Atlantic Saga* (Toronto, 1964).

17 Howard LaFay, "The Vikings," *National Geographic*, 137 (1970), 429-541.

18 Materials for the game are in the Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax. The incident is noted in Wallis and Wallis, *Micmac Indians*, p. 201.

19 Marc Lescarbot, *A History of New France*, III (Toronto, 1914).

Indians were estimated at 3000.[20] The scarcity of immigrant women early in that century caused the French to turn to Micmac women, diluting the "generic purity" of both French Acadians and Indian groups.[21] Since the European occupation of the Maritime territory was peripheral along the coast line and was concentrated mainly in the tidally flooded lands that could be dyked for agriculture, the interior of present-day Nova Scotia and eastern New Brunswick remained largely undisturbed for the Micmacs to practice their traditional hunting and fishing. Contact with the French in the seventeenth century was primarily through fur-trading; the Micmacs gained an appreciation for European goods such as metal knives, pans, guns, cloth, beads, ribbons, etc., which they requested in payment for furs. As early as 1686, a small warehouse belonging to some New Englanders was reported in Port Rossignol (present Liverpool), the southern terminus of the trans-provincial canoe route which was used by the French Acadians as early as 1710. It was only a matter of time before lumbermen, Loyalists from the American colonies, and immigrant Protestants from Great Britain and Europe moved into the south shore area. Small farms and settlements gradually appeared in the harsh interior, but the slate-derived glaciated hills of Lunenburg and Queens counties were most unrewarding, and despite repeated efforts, they have never afforded a reasonable return for a concentration of plant or animal husbandry. Exploitation of the land in an agricultural sense was doomed to be limited to patchy fields of wild or tame hay, oats, potatoes, or vegetables. Fishing or lumbering provided a more secure living for settlers.

Actually, the history of the Micmacs and of the Acadians from the 1600s to the 1800s was one of separation. The Acadians did not live in or destroy the forest, but tended their crops and herds. The Micmac had little use for the tidally flooded lands, but fished and hunted. Neither settlers nor Micmacs coveted the other's territory. They were able to carry on their separate modes of life without economic conflict and, indeed, to assist each other a good deal by barter.[22] The Micmac adjusted to the French, modifying Catholicism to their own belief system, but they only tolerated the English administrative mind, while rejecting the value system behind it. The confinement to reserves did not succeed. Upton related the incompatibility of

20 Wallis and Wallis, *Micmac Indians*, p. 121.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

22 Clark, *Acadia*, p. 377.

the Indian world with the British attempts to draw them from their hunting and gathering economy to farming.[23] The Micmacs refused to give up their old life and beliefs. Unfortunately, this conviction placed them in an untenable position in the Anglo-dominated era. A mediation of life style was necessary for survival. Today, the Micmac Indians, like their white counterparts, have sought work in urban areas of the northeastern United States and eastern Canada, returning to Nova Scotia to retire or to regroup for another forage.

Not until 1873 was the Kejimkujik petroglyph area officially recorded. James F. More, in his book, *The History of Queen's County, Nova Scotia*, called the area "Cegemacaga Lake," Micmac for Fairy Lake, meaning "full of excellence and beauty."[24] George Creed, postmaster of South Rawdon village, took note of More's description and in 1881 first visited the Fairy Bay petroglyphs. He subsequently recorded and traced over two hundred of the rock etchings during the 1880s, classifying them into twenty-nine groupings.[25] Garrick Mallery, ethnologist of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C., accompanied Creed to the Kejimkujik petroglyphs during the summers of 1887 and 1888, making over three hundred drawings. Mallery used much of the information in his book, *Picture Writing of the American Indians*.[26] Scholarly interest in the Kejimkujik petroglyphs subsequently diminished. Five decades later Arthur Kelsall, a dentist from Annapolis County, became interested; he took extensive photographs and even made plaster-of-paris impressions of selected designs.[27] Recognizing the area's tourist potential, Kelsall laid out a well-marked "walking trail" for Fairy Bay visitors. Even today, Kelsall's blue painted numerals are still

23 Leslie F. S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Vancouver, 1979).

24 James F. More, *The History of Queens County* (Halifax, 1873), p. 213.

25 George Creed's classification of the Kejimkujik petroglyphs includes the following categories: animals, arrows, birds, canoes, crosses, curvilinear designs, feathers, feet, firearms, fishing scenes, hands, head gear, hearts, historic artifacts, historic names, dates and initials, house structures, human figures, hunting scenes, marine figures, Micmac scripts, miscellaneous pipes, pottery, sailing vessels, sexual symbols, stars, sun figures, trees and vegetation. George Creed, "The Fairy Rocks," *Dominion Illustrated*, 13 October 1888.

26 Mallery, *Picture Writing*, pp. 40-42.

27 Unfortunately, Kelsall's plaster-of-paris casts have disintegrated over time, and his photographs, which are housed in the Nova Scotia Museum, are in such poor condition that they are not usable.

legible beside certain petroglyphs.[28] Marion Robertson published her book, *Rock Drawing of the Micmac Indians*, in 1973, in which George Creed's 1880s petroglyph tracings were reproduced, identified by category and some described briefly by content.[29] [30] [31] During the 1970s Brad Myers, a doctoral student at Trent University, Ontario, with the permission and help of the Kejimkujik National Park personnel, identified, photographed, and catalogued over 1000 petroglyph markings at three sites, Fairy Bay, Peter Point, and Mill Point. [32] [33] This paper's author studied and photographed petroglyphs at the above sites during the summers of 1976 and 1978, with the kind assistance of Peter Hope, Chief Interpreter, Kejimkujik National Park.[34] The petroglyphs studied then form the basis for this interpretation of changes in the Micmac self/nature concept. It must be noted that the early etchings at Kejimkujik have eroded over time and have been defaced by later visitors. How many significant rock carvings have succumbed to the ravages of time and people will never be known. For how many centuries the Micmacs have used this slate art gallery also is unknown, and how fast the designs fade is a matter of speculation. Deterioration is based on many factors, such as how deep the etched lines were originally, plus the severity of weather, ice, and water flow over the site. Even the scratches, gouges and cracks rent on the slabs by the ebb and flow of stones carried in the winter ice pack significantly alter the area. Later visitors' urge to leave their marks often defaced or completely destroyed earlier drawings. Chalk application and intricate repainting of the lines, deemed to be the best current retrieval processes have, however, made visible some almost vanished designs.

The rock etchings in Kejimkujik National Park seem to substantiate the notion that the changing Micmac self/nature concept is symbolically reflected in content, style, and periodicity of the petroglyphs. The three con-

28 Arthur Kelsall, *List of numbered petroglyphs on rocks near Merrymakedgie on Lake Kedgemakoogie, Queens County, Nova Scotia* (Ottawa, 1950).

29 Robertson, *Rock Drawings*.

30 Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (Bloomington, 1955-58).

31 Stith Thompson, *Tales of the North American Indians* (Bloomington, 1966).

32 Myers, *The Petroglyphs*, 1976.

33 James White, *The Kejimkujik Petroglyphs* (Ottawa, 1971).

34 The author wishes to express her appreciation to the Kejimkujik National Park personnel, and especially to Peter Hope, who accompanied her to the petroglyph sites, provided space and materials at the Park's field station, and made available the Park's collection of petroglyph slides.

cept phases are: 1) identification of self with nature (respect); 2) identification of self over nature (control); and 3) identification of self on nature (abuse). These eras roughly correspond with the 1700s, 1800s, and 1900s, respectively. One underlying assumption of the rock etchings is that the creators had time to plan and execute the petroglyphs. The mental awareness, technical ability, and emotional desire to develop the creation must be inferred. The creators most likely perceived the making of the petroglyphs as pleasurable expressions of self. In a way, the etchings provide a record of ego, the leaving of something of one's self "for eternity": where better than etched in stone can one's presence be assured? The themes of these images show subtle changes in the creators' attitudes toward nature over a period of time.

The earliest phase, during the 1700s, indicates the Micmacs' identification of self with nature through respect.[35] Man and animal had a relationship of mutual courtesy. Native hunters felt a spiritual kinship with, and responsibility to, major game animals. Animals voluntarily surrendered themselves to a needy hunter. The hunter restricted his killing to a reasonable quota agreed upon between his spirit being and that of the animal. Animals were considered to be persons with whom humans could talk and enjoy other forms of social exchange, including the right to harvest these "animal persons" on a limited basis. Animals took offense when humans failed to address them with proper titles of endearment or when their remains were defiled by being thrown to the dogs or when their flesh was consumed by menstruating women. Humans were offended when animals refused to be taken in their traps or otherwise eluded the famished hunter and his family. Whenever one side transgressed the bounds of propriety, the other side unleashed its arsenal of weapons. Animals could punish humans by fleeing their hunting areas, rendering the hunters' weapons impotent, or afflicting them with disease.[36] The old belief of the Micmacs was that animals who were treated appropriately in their killing, according to Indian/animal agreement, would regenerate, thus providing a never-ending supply of food for the considerate hunter. The process of regeneration of humans and animals alike is indicated by several petroglyphs of impregnation. The hun-

35 Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game* (Berkeley, 1978), p. 35.

36 Martin, "The War Between Indians and Animals," 92-93. With the advent of the white man, as Micmacs suffered direly from disease, and as game animals diminished, the Micmacs must have felt sorely punished by these animals.

ter/animal agreement is tentatively portrayed in a petroglyph showing two Micmac men fishing from a typical humpbacked Micmac canoe; one fish is shown leaping away from the front man, while another fish is shown lying in the bottom of the boat. Another intriguing petroglyph shows two roughly delineated fishermen figures in a canoe apparently lancing a fish, which is extended vertically as if leaping into the air. It was not uncommon for Micmac fishermen in the late 1800s to spear dolphin, but what is of special interest are the two horizontal lines from the front figure toward the fish. While these may simply be the path of the thrown lance with rope thong attached for easy retrieval, they could possibly express thought lines between the hunter and fish, showing communication. In the 1700s this would be consistent with the prevailing philosophy of the Micmacs. The hunters' heads are marked only by one or two vertical lines, indicative of an early drawing style. One must conclude that there is evidence of petroglyphs dating from the 1700s, but these are extremely difficult, if not impossible, to verify with today's instruments. Historical records, reports of natives, and customs dealing with hunting, killing and disposal of game animals all support the concept of mutual respect.[37]

The second phase of the self/nature concept is identification of self over nature through control. Several petroglyphs of the 1800s provide solid evidence of this premise. Man's desire to leave his mark on nature is borne out by the number of tracings of hands and feet which appear on the rocks. Often detailed features included are outlines of finger nails, joints, and lines of the palm, with special symbols of good fortune such as a star within the palm and a fiddlehead fern scroll on the thumb. Sometimes the absence of one joint is realistically outlined. As sacrificial evidence of an oath with or dedication to a totem animal or force in nature, an Indian would cut his index finger off at the first joint. Other identifications are dates, initials, and names. The earliest date found is "1711," and it may have been recorded by a person from any one of several Micmac groups who had learned numbers. It could also have been an early trapper or traveler. One communication route of the Acadians between 1710-1748 was the Indian canoe route from Annapolis Royal southeastward following rivers and lakes, including Kejimkujik Lake (then called Lake Rossignol) to the southeast shore of the Atlantic at Port Rossignol (later Liverpool).[38] Identification of self over

37 Martin, *Keepers of the Game.*

38 Clark, *Acadia*, p. 251.

nature is also inferred by etched images of game animals, especially deer, caribou and moose, with script names and dates of Micmac hunters. One such reference is the figure of a moose with accompanying statement, "Jim Charles his moose Sept 19, 1867." Another shows a hunter shooting a caribou.

The third phase, during the 1900s, that of identification of self on nature by abuse is implied by idle doodling, graffiti, and defacement of earlier etchings. Records of picnics, parties, and rendezvous tell of the pleasurable human use of natural surroundings. The area of slate rocks at Kejimkujik was and still is used for pleasant repast, for leisurely canoeing, swimming, and picnicking. The use of Kejimkujik in the late 1800s and early 1900s broadened to include excursions of local residents, farmers, lumbermen, villagers, and campers. The slate rock surface today is literally covered with initials, names, and dates. In the earlier 1800s single names and dates are primarily carved in the rock, such as "Abraham Dukeshar, 1817," "J Kempton September 1, 1841," "Francis Kempton Ns 1845," or "Peter Mouise 1816 August 21 July 26." The last name probably belonged to a Micmac rather than to a French Acadian, since it is worked in the traditional Micmac zigzag cross-hatch design. Among other surnames which appear on the rocks are common Micmac last names, such as Charles, Gload (Gloode), Luxie, Paul, and Pictou; their descendants still live in the area. A rather heart-rending petroglyph reads, "In 1891 we came to . . . [illegible] and picnic and the day will never be forgotten there is only a few of the party left now in G R F 1896." GRF may be an abbreviation for Grafton, a near-by settlement. A name which literally leaps out from the rock at Fairy Bay is that of "Frank Creed 1888" and again, "Frank S Creed July 2nd 88." These correspond to Creed's Kejimkujik petroglyph work with Garrick Mallery during 1888 and 1889. The recording of dates, initials and names has taken on a second and third generation continuity. An example is the name of Freeman at Fairy Bay: "Daniel Freeman, July 9, 1875 age 20 years Daniel," "Arch A Freeman July 1883," "A picnic today August 31, 1895 Mrs. H. J. Freeman, J. J. Freeman, Harvie Freeman, Maude N. Freeman, Rita Freeman," "M. U. Freeman August 29, 1897," "Gerti Freeman August 6, 1906," "Hardy J. Freeman Mana C. Freeman Kempt Queen's Cty NS September 10 1934." Kejimkujik Lake provided — and still does — an appealing site for friendly gatherings. In the late 1800s and the 1900s is a noted increase of non-Micmac names, such as Freeman, Kempton, Minard, Merry, Cushing, Dukeshire, Canning, and Hunt; all evidence of local residents' increasing visits to Kejimkujik.

The graffiti, de-facing, and palimpsests (drawing upon drawings) have increased greatly during this third phase. The rock areas of earlier petroglyphs magnetically attract visitors, who in turn feel the impulse to leave their mark on the slate. Since the relatively small areas are already well covered, late-comers have difficulty missing earlier markings, even if such is their desire. Some petroglyphs have faded over time, and, if covered by defacings, are hard to distinguish with the naked eye. Kelsall's 1940s and 1950s conducted tours, the cabins for rent along the shoreline, the construction of a camping area, and the well-marked trail to the petroglyphs increased visitors and thus defacements. The cabins and park camp have been removed, thus decreasing visitors, but not eliminating them. A late date etched in the stone was "July 25, 1978," just one day previous to this investigator's last visit. With the increase of population and tourism in Queen's County, the popularity of Kejimkujik National Park attracts canoeists, campers, and daily visitors; it is inevitable that some will find their way to the petroglyph area. Local residents who are well acquainted with the lake shore provide a continuous summer and winter clientele, sometimes to the distress of Park authorities.

The word abuse sums up these later scratchings on the Kejimkujik rocks, although another interpretation might view them as historical records. However, destruction of the petroglyphs is imminent. Graffiti and deliberate destruction occurred over one-fourth of the site's carvings from summer 1978 to March 1979, and continues at an alarming rate. In a conversation with Kejimkujik Park authorities, it was noted that if increased diligence is not practiced, the projected life span for the original rock etchings is estimated at only four more years!

The Kejimkujik petroglyphs are unique monuments to the pastime pursuits of the Micmac Indians, providing three centuries of cultural record. These pictorial stone etchings have recorded in a very personal way the values of a people. Collectively over time, important historical changes can be identified not only in relationship of self to nature, but in life styles as reflected by content selection, art styles, script and numerical writing, genealogies, cosmology, folk heroes, sacred beliefs, and many other ethnic statements. This natural art gallery holds interpretive historical treasures for the scholar; its potential is just being recognized. Unfortunately, unless preservative action is implemented now the petroglyphs will certainly be destroyed — by nature and by humans.

What can be done to protect the petroglyphs? "De-identifying" the petroglyph area has helped decrease traffic; however, increased park visitation

counters these efforts. Public appeal and education helps. Isolation by barring access, whether by barricades, enclosures, and/or extensive patrolling, seems an unlikely course, because unintentional or deliberate destruction is wrought only by a few who slip by and this damage is irretrievable. A thorough preservation project would be extremely costly and technically demanding, yet vital. Limited geological and photographic surveys have been undertaken by the Park authorities. The complete process of petroglyph identification, analysis, area grid, symbol preparation, tracings, photographing, cataloguing, storage and retrieval is extremely meticulous, time-consuming, and expensive. The magnitude of data collection is beyond the current financial means of the park administration. In addition, saving this site must be weighed against other public priorities, such as the multiple use of the park. Preservation assistance by the federal agencies would call for extensive policy and financial commitments, neither of which occurs rapidly. One fact is obvious: unless immediate action is taken to preserve the petroglyphs and the precious cultural heritage they contain, they will be lost forever!

The Blackadar Family of Halifax

Charles St. Clair Stayner

When Charles St. Clair Stayner died in Truro on 27 September 1979, at the age of 82, he left behind a rich heritage of genealogical research material. Family history had been his life-long hobby and second career. The son of Charles and Helen (Jones) Stayner, his family connections linked him to many old and solid Halifax surnames, and he grew up with an avid interest in the inter-relationships of these early groups, who have, in great measure, laid the foundations for the economic, cultural and religious life of the city today. His curiosity sustained him for a lifetime and resulted in a wealth of compiled genealogies, random notes and manuscript transcripts. The fact that he indexed everything says much for Mr. Stayner's meticulous attention to detail.

Genealogists of his calibre are usually unsung heroes, and although he was a dedicated member of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society and a member of its first genealogical committee, Mr. Stayner was never one to call attention to his accomplishments. Upon his death, his large collection of research material was donated to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. His estate has kindly permitted the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* to publish selected documents from his files, at the editors' discretion. The following genealogy is from the Archives' manuscript holdings, MG100, Volume 111, No. 36C.

CHRISTOPHER[1] BLACKADAR:

On May 21, 1738 Christopher, son of Christopher Blackadon [*sic*] was baptized at Christ Church, Boston (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 99, p. 205) and this is the earliest mention found of the family. Nothing more is known of Christopher[1], but it seems probable the family settled at Halifax, where St. Paul's Anglican records show that Mrs. Blackaden [*sic*], aged 70, was buried on September 24, 1788. It is presumed that she was the mother of the Christopher whose baptism we have already noted.

CHRISTOPHER[2] BLACKADAR:

The first mention of the family in Halifax is the baptism at St. Paul's on September 1, 1765, of Mary, daughter of Christopher and Catherine. The father was undoubtedly the Christopher baptized in Boston in 1738. Chris-

topher[2] died May 23, 1791, aged 53, and Catherine his wife died January 16, 1794, aged 53 (from gravestones in the Old Dutch Cemetery, Brunswick Street). Of their children, nine baptisms have been found, four at St. Paul's, one at St. Matthew's Presbyterian, and then four more at St. Paul's. The usual spelling of the name at this time seems to have been "Blackadore." Christopher[3], the eldest son of Christopher[2], had a large family and was the ancestor of the Yarmouth Blackadars. Charles, another son, had seven children baptized at St. Paul's, one of whom was Henry Nichol Blackadar, barrister and M.L.A. for Pictou. But we are now concerned only with the sixth child of Christopher[2]. He was the third son, and was recorded at St. Paul's, September 19, 1773, as "Hugh Onick, son of Christopher and Catherine."

HUGH[3] BLACKADAR:

Son of Christopher[2], he was born at Halifax in 1773, and was a shipwright at the Halifax Dockyard, as were at least two of his brothers and several of their sons. Mary Blackadar, eldest daughter of Christopher[2], married, December 4, 1787, John Dugwell, who seems to have been a senior artificer at the Dockyard, and who probably introduced the Blackadars into their employment there. Hugh Blackadar died at Halifax, March 9, 1818, aged 45, and the *Acadian Recorder* of March 14 called him "an industrious and worthy man." His wife, Amy, whose maiden name is unknown, died October 10, 1823. Their burials are recorded in St. George's Anglican Church, but their marriage record and the baptisms of their children have not been found. They were survived by four children, but there may have been others, for Amy's obituary in the *Halifax Journal*, October 13, 1823, said that "she left a large family."

I Mary[4] Blackadar, b. 1800. The only mention found of her is in the *Sun* of October 28, 1852, which noted that Mrs. Mary Bears, daughter of the late Hugh Blackadar of Halifax, had died in Cincinnati, October

II Eliza James[4] Blackadar, b. 1804. She is called the third daughter in the notice of her marriage, February 23, 1826, to William Fielden Stayner. He was born at Halifax, July 27, 1803, and died there October 27, 1837, the son of Richard Stayner Sr., of Halifax, by his second wife, Esther Fielden. W.F. Stayner was a tinsmith who carried on business at 9 Granville Street, Halifax. After his death, his widow continued the business in her own name for several years. His burial is recorded at St. Paul's, although it is noted that the service was conducted by Mr.

Crawley. As Crawley was a noted Baptist minister, this would suggest that the Blackadars were Baptists, for this family attended St. Paul's. Eliza and her family moved to Boston ca.1859, where she died on October 31, 1884, aged 80. She had five children:

1. Amy Elizabeth Stayner, b. 1828, d. September 26, 1841.
2. John D. Stayner, b. ca.1830. He evidently learned the printing trade with his uncle, H.W. Blackadar, and for many years was mechanical superintendent of the Boston *Saturday Evening Gazette*. He had a son who died in childhood, and two daughters. The younger, Jennie, married Peter Caproni, a sculptor of some note, and had two sons and a daughter.
3. Edwin Stayner, d. September 19, 1834, aged 3 months.
4. and 5. Two children whose names are unknown.

III Hugh William[4] Blackadar, b. January 13, 1808 (see below).

IV Isabella Ann[4] Blackadar, b. 1812. The *Times* of September 29, 1835, noted that she was the youngest daughter, and was married in Philadelphia, September 7, 1835, to William Ryall, formerly of St. John's, Newfoundland. She died at Cincinnati in 1866, aged 54 (*Acadian Recorder*, October 1, 1866). Her daughter, Isabel Ryall, died at Cincinnati, September 8, 1867.

HUGH WILLIAM[4] BLACKADAR:

Son of Hugh[3] Blackadar, he was born at Halifax, January 13, 1808, and died June 13, 1863 (gravestone, Camp Hill Cemetery). The cemetery records show he was a Baptist and that he died of apoplexy of the lungs. He learned the printing trade and in January 1837, in partnership with John English, took over the management of the *Acadian Recorder* from Philip Holland. The firm of English and Blackadar continued until Mr. English died, July 3, 1857, when Blackadar became sole proprietor, remaining so until his death at his residence on Grafton Street, June 13, 1863. He married firstly, February 19, 1835, Mary Sharpless (*Novascotian*, February 26, 1835). She died, August 22, 1839, aged 29, at their residence on Grafton Street (*Acadian Recorder*, August 24, 1839), the burial being entered in the registers of Brunswick Street Methodist Church. She was buried, however, in St. Paul's cemetery, where a stone records the death of her mother, Lydia Sharpless, May 19, 1834, aged 54. Hugh Blackadar married secondly, October 4, 1840, Sophia Coleman (*Morning Herald*, October 7, 1840). She was born June 2, 1819, but the name of her father is unknown, although he must have been

one of the large family of Seth Coleman, who came to Dartmouth with the Nantucket whalers in 1785. She died at her residence, 353 Brunswick Street, June 22, 1880 (*Acadian Recorder*, June 22, 1880). There was a large family, of which eleven children have been found, although their order is uncertain.

I John English[5] Blackadar, eldest son, b. 1842, d. January 16, 1850, aged 8 years (*Church Times*, January 18, 1850, and gravestone in Camp Hill Cemetery).

II Hugh W.[5] Blackadar, b.1843. He was associated with his father in the *Acadian Recorder*, and although only 20 years of age, took control of the paper on his father's death in 1863. He expanded the *Recorder* from a weekly to a tri-weekly, and later to a daily. He supported the anti-Confederates and as a reward was made King's Printer for Nova Scotia in 1869. In 1874, the Mackenzie government appointed him postmaster for Halifax. After successfully publishing the *Acadian Recorder* for eleven years, he now resigned it to his brother Henry. He retained the postmastership for over forty years, until his superannuation ca.1914. He died at Denver, Colorado, April 8, 1919, where he had resided for two years. In 1866, he married Rachel Saxton of Halifax, who survived him. They had seven children, their order uncertain:

1. Hugh Saxton[6] Blackadar, b.1867, d. October 10, 1903, a barrister of Halifax. He left a widow and two children.
2. Frank[6] Blackadar, b.1869, of Boston.
3. Gertrude[6] Blackadar, b.1870, of Denver, married a Mr. Butler.
4. H.H.[6] Blackadar, of New Glasgow.
5. Clarence[6] Blackadar, of Denver.
6. Sophia[6] Blackadar, of Denver, married a Mr. Rankine.
7. Amy[6] Blackadar, unmarried, d. December 1952, Denver (*Halifax Mail*, December 20, 1952).

III Henry Dugwell[5] Blackadar, born February 6, 1845. He took over the management of the *Acadian Recorder* from his brother Hugh in 1874, remaining in control until his death from Bright's Disease, July 21, 1901. He was probably the ablest editor of the family. On September 16, 1875, at Brunswick Street Methodist Church, he married Jessie McKevers, daughter of Daniel L. Smith of Windsor and Halifax. Her father was the eldest brother of the well-known centenarian, Mrs. Fanny LeNoir, and of the famous Amor de Cosmos, M.P. and premier of British Columbia. There were two sons:

1. Henry Douglas[6] Blackadar, b. May 5, 1877, married at St. Paul's, June 5, 1912, Beatrice Maud Lugar, daughter of Captain W.R. Lugar and Emily Bauld. He started as a reporter on the *Acadian Recorder* and later joined the Immigration Service at Halifax. He died November 27, 1960, aged 83. There were two sons:
   1. Douglas L.[7] Blackadar, with the Bank of Nova Scotia in Montreal.
   2. George R.[7] Blackadar, with the Royal Bank of Canada at Sackville, New Brunswick.
2. Charles F.[6] Blackadar, b. 1880; married, June 29, 1910, Susan Dares of Meagher's Grant. He died May 9, 1950, aged 70, and his wife died in July 1948. There were two sons:
   1. William[7] Blackadar, of Halifax.
   2. Murray[7] Blackadar, of Edmonton, Alberta.

IV Charles Coleman[5] Blackadar, b. 1847. He was baptized at St. Paul's as an adult on April 6, 1879, but had already become prominent as a member of that church. He was a vestryman from 1874 until his death, and was churchwarden in 1894, 1895 and 1920. He married, at St. Paul's, July 13, 1869, Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of Captain William Lithgow and his wife, Caroline M. Wright. Mr. Blackadar was associated with the *Acadian Recorder* for 61 years, and became its publisher on the death of his brother Henry in 1901. The newspaper, however, did not move with the times, retaining many characteristics of the past. Its printing was hand-set until the end, and it was said to have been the last daily thus produced. C.C. Blackadar was one of the best-known men of Halifax, with many interests outside his newspaper. President of the Acadia Fire Insurance Company, a director of the Royal Bank of Canada, prominently identified with numerous charitable and philanthropic institutions, he was the very model of the dignified and well-to-do businessman. On his death, the public was surprised to learn that his estate was of little value. It was said that the *Recorder* was operating at a loss and had been continued only to provide employment for its old-time printers. His executors lost no time in closing out the newspaper. He died on April 6, 1930, at the age of 83, and on May 10 of that year, the *Acadian Recorder* ceased publication. His wife had died August 7, 1916, aged 64. There were no children.

V William[5] Blackadar, b. 1849; d. March 21, 1849, aged 7 weeks (Camp Hill Cemetery and *Church Times*, March 30, 1849).

VI Fred[5] Blackadar, d. ca.1894 in Saint John, New Brunswick, where he was an alderman. His son, Carl H.[6] Blackadar was living in England in 1926, a widower with a three-year-old son (*Acadian Recorder*, March 31, 1926).

VII John[5] Blackadar, b. 1858, died at 353 Brunswick Street, August 14, 1874, in his sixteenth year (*Acadian Recorder*, August 14, 1874).

VIII William[5] Blackadar, b. 1859. He went to Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1882, where he was in the flour business. He died unmarried at Dauphin, Manitoba, April 11, 1924, aged 65 (Camp Hill Cemetery gravestone and *Acadian Recorder*, April 12, 1924).

IX Sophia Coleman[5] Blackadar, eldest daughter. She married, at Grafton Street Methodist Church, December 9, 1880, James Noble Crane of Halifax. She died at Halifax, a widow, July 30, 1922, leaving two sons: Harold, of Montreal, and Noble in Chicago; a daughter, Gladys Moore of Edmonton, died December 1921, in Victoria, British Columbia (*Acadian Recorder*, July 31, 1922).

X Mary[5] Blackadar, second daughter; married at Saint John, New Brunswick, October 1, 1888, James Crossley, of Lancashire, England (*Acadian Recorder*, October 3, 1888). She was living at Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1930.

XI Isabel[5] Blackadar, wife of C.W. Ackhurst of Halifax.

A Census of Yarmouth and Barrington Townships, 1762

This return was filed among the Colonial Office papers, C.O. 217, Volume 19, pp. 134-140; the originals are held by the Public Record Office, London, England. Although the Barrington enumeration was published by Edwin Crowell, *History of Barrington Township* (Yarmouth, 1923), the source was not cited and the census remains generally unknown to researchers. It is published below, in its entirety, for those interested in the earliest days of New England settlement along Nova Scotia's south coast.

A Return of the Inhabitants and Stock in the Township of Yarmouth, June 21st., 1762.

At Cape Forchu:

Men's Names	No. in family	Horses and Neat Cattle	Sheep and Hogs
Elder Molton	2	2	
Doctor Samuel Oats	7	2	
Judah Agard	5	2	
Elisha Eldridge	7	2	
Joshua Stewart	4	1	
John Oats	5	2	
Prince Stores	8	4	
Sealed Landres	7	6	
Ebenezer Hinkly	2	1	
William Bassitt	3		
Joshua White	1		
John Hubbard	1		
James Moore	1		
William Moore	1		
James McCrinal	1		
John Churchill	1		
James McNatt	1		
Robins	1		
Robins	1		
Samuel Shorton	1		
	60	22	
	Cattle brought down . . .	28	
	Died last Winter . . .	6	
	Cattle Remaining . . .	22	

At Jobogue:

Men's Names	No. in family	Horses and Neat Cattle	Sheep and Hogs
William King [?] and Servt.	19	2	
Joshua Burges	10	2	
Moses Perry	11	2	
Jona. Crosby Sr.	8	4	
Jona. Crosby Jr.	2		
Benjamin Crosby	6	1	
Gideon Abbey	9	5	
Ebenezer Ellis	4	4	
Nathaniel Howard	9	3	
Job Pease	7	4	
Benjamin Nichols	7	2	
Capt. Cook and Servt.	11	2	
Capt. Cook and Servt.	9		
Capt. Nickson	7		
Captain Tinkham	8	4	
Captain Crane	3	4	
Captain Bains [?]	6	4	
Captain Robins	6	5	
Samuel Atherton	6		
Samuel Robin	6	4	
Captain Ring	5	3	
Single Men	34		
	193	52	
At Cape Forchu	60	22	
Total Inhabitants and Stock in the Township of Yarmouth . . .	253	74	

A Return of the Inhabitants and Stock in the Township of Barrington, July 1st., 1762.

Plymouth People:

Men's Names	No. in Family	Horses and Neat Cattle	Sheep and Hogs
Nathaniel Smith	1	5	
Joshua Atwood	4	4	
Samuel Crosby	5	2	
Elisha Hopkins	3	2	
Thomas Cromwell	3		
Thomas Cromwell Jr.	1	2	
Solomon Smith	5	4	
Jonathan Smith	3	1	
Archelaus Smith	4	3	
Edward Doane	9	3	
John Clemons	5		
William Sharrow	5	1	
Theodore Harding	3	3	
Nathaniel Snow	3	1	
Jonathan Cromwell	3	2	
Elkanah Smith	3	1	
Judah Cromwell	4		
Joshua Nickerson	1	3	
Simon Bearce	1		
Solomon Kenwick	5	4	
Jonathan Sparrow	1	2	
Reuben Myrick	1	1	
Prince Freeman	1	1	
Seth Paine	1		
George Webb	1		
Stephen Nickerson	1		
Sparrow Nickerson	1	1	
John Porter	1		
Enos Snow	1		
Archelaus Harding	1		
Solomon Sparrow	1		
John Sparrow	1		
Isaac King	1		
Josiah Hadges			
Ruben Hopkins	1		
Henry Wilson	1		
William Hage	1		
Hemon Keny	1		
Eldad Nickerson	1	2	
Ephraim Dean	1		
David Hopkins	1		
Seth Knowles	1		
Amos Knowles	1	4	
	94	52	73

Nantucket People:

Men's Names	No. in Family	Horses and Neat Cattle	Sheep and Hogs
Shubael Folger	1	1	
Joseph Worth	1		
Ruben Worth	1		
Joseph Worth Jr.	1		
Thomas Worth	1		
Francis Worth	1		
Charles Swain	1		
James Williams	1	1	
Stephen Barnard	1		
Simeon Coffin	1		
John Coleman	1		
Simeon Gardner	1		
Andrew Gardner	1		
Solomon Gardner	1		
James Gardner	1	1	
Eliphalet Gardner	1		
Benjamin Gardener	1		
Solomon Coleman	1		
Peleg Bunker	1	3	
Zacheus Gardner	4	4	
Elisha Coffin	5	4	
Jonathan Coffin	3	2	
Jonathan Pinkham	1	1	
John Coffin	1	1	
Elijah Swain	1		
Seth Paddock	1		
Benjamin Folger	1		
Shubael Folger Jr.	1	1	
Samuel Russel	1		
Chapman Swain	1	2	
Benjamin Barney	1		
Ruben Folger	3	8	
James Bunker	3	5	
Timothy Baker	1	6	
Jonah Worth	1	1	
Nantucket People and Stock . . .	48	41	
Plymouth Do . . .	93	52	73
Total Inhabitants and Stock in the Township of Barrington . . .	141	93	73

A Return of the Inhabitants and Stock Settled Between the Townships of Yarmouth and Barrington, June 1762.

At Abuptic:

Men's Names	No. in Family	Horses and Neat Cattle	Sheep and Hogs
Captain Philpot	6	2	
Jeremiah Frost	9	5	
Moses Abbot	1	1	
Benjamin Abbot	5	1	
John Allen	7	4	
Moses Abbot	1	1	
John Frost	7	3	
Moses Frost	5	3	
James Fost	1	4	
Benjamin Roberts	9	1	
Morris Hobbs	9	2	
William Ricker	3		
John Spinney	3		
Nickolas Weymouth	6	2	
Goodin	6	1	
Robert Frost	1		
	83	31	
Total Stock brought down . . .		78	111
Lost . . .		47	49
Remaining . . .		31	62

At Pugnico:

Men's Names	No. in Family	Horses and Neat Cattle	Sheep and Hogs
William Ingolls	5	7	
Benjamin Sealy	5	4	
Thomas Moon	4	3	
Walter Larkin	4	5	
Bonell Menfield [?]	2		
Phillip Brown	4		
Jonathan Ingolls	1		
	25	19	14
at Jobogue . . .	83	31	62
Total Inhabitants and Stock between Yarmouth and Barrington . . .	108	50	76

General Return of the Inhabitants in the Several Townships Settled at Cape Sable.

Townships	No. of Inhabitants	Horses and Neat Cattle	Sheep and Hogs
Yarmouth . . .	253	74	52
Between Yarmouth and Barrington . . .	108	50	76
Barrington . . .	141	93	73
	502	227	201

Book Reviews

The Old Attorney General: A Biography of Richard John Uniacke, by Brian Cuthbertson. ISBN 0-920852-07-6. Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, 1980. 150 pages, illustrated, hardbound, $11.95.

Book-length biographies of early Nova Scotians are somewhat of a rarity in the modern publishing market, which makes the appearance of this volume an event indeed. Nimbus has produced a book attractive in design and illustration, as well as in its academic presentation. No detail has been spared in creating a total package. The illustrations are excellent and footnote addicts will be delighted to find all references placed at the bottom of each respective page.

The initial appeal of the volume is reinforced by the solid treatment of the subject material. As public records archivist at the Nova Scotia Archives, and a direct descendant of the old attorney general, Brian Cuthbertson is thoroughly acquainted both with the man and the time in which he lived. Uniacke's career is skillfully depicted against the backdrop of Nova Scotia during the turbulent sixty years between his arrival in 1774 and his death in 1830.

The reader will be constantly amazed at the range of Uniacke's involvement in the colony. Law, politics, education, immigration, trade and commerce, agriculture — all bear the stamp of his interest and active participation, during a seminal period in Nova Scotian history. The reader is also presented with the less attractive aspects of Uniacke's career — his irascibility, his pugnaciousness, his strong grasp after provincial patronage, and his reactionary philosophy linking church and state. Moreover, it is clearly shown that Uniacke's *status quo* theories regarding education and religion were, in fact, detrimental to the progress and prosperity which he believed to be Nova Scotia's destiny.

Uniacke was, of course, a man of his time. Much as we may be annoyed over his currying of favour, or bemused by his conversion from youthful romanticism to settled political expediency, these were accepted moralities in a society governed by patronage and threatened by revolutionary ideals. Oddly enough, it was Uniacke's reactionary stance which led to his most prescient political theory — that of unifying the North American colonies under one government, in an imperial partnership with Great Britain, which would benefit all against the twin threats of political instability and American trade dominance.

This is not to say, however, that *The Old Attorney General* deals entirely with stale politics and musty economics. Dr. Cuthbertson has apoligized for the loss of Uniacke's personal papers during some spring cleaning 150 years ago, but he has succeeded admirably in recreating the spirit of the man and the age from secondary sources. Here are the all-night banquets, duels fought at dawn, child brides and social pecking order which bring Loyalist Nova Scotia vividly to life. Uniacke knew everyone worth knowing, and many, many more who weren't, and they are all discussed in this book. Ultimately, it is the success with which a panoply of characters, events and rivalries have been re-created, which makes *The Old Attorney General* the strong and encompassing biography that it is. LKK

"For Their God" — Education, Religion and the Scots in Nova Scotia, by Gordon Haliburton. International Education Centre, St. Mary's University, Halifax, 1981. 39 pages, softcover, $4.25.

This booklet is the first in an ambitious Ethnic Heritage Series launched recently by the International Education Centre at St. Mary's University. Five volumes have appeared so far, each portraying an aspect of a different ethnic group within the provincial cultural mosaic. This series will fill a void in our former understanding of local history, since what we are now, we owe in a large measure to the blended inheritance of our mixed ethnic and racial backgrounds.

This continuing cultural debt is strongly emphasized in Gordon Haliburton's examination of the contribution made by Scottish immigrants to religion and education in Nova Scotia. The first Scottish settlers arrived at Pictou on the *Hector* in 1773; other contingents came among disbanded military groups at the end of the American Revolution, but the real flood of Scottish immigration did not begin until the early 1800s. The author has provided an excellent overview of the period from about 1770 to 1870, calling to our attention the diverse factors determining settlement patterns, religious tensions and educational progress.

The earliest arrivals, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, brought with them the remants of ignorance and prejudice fostered by centuries of religious discord in the homeland — Protestant versus Catholic, Protestant versus Protestant. A myriad of complex religious manoeuvres, both in Scotland and in Nova Scotia, are somehow unravelled and satisfactorily explained, so that the reader may gain an insight into the richness of our Scottish religious inheritance.

Dr. Haliburton deftly points out that the early ministers arriving here soon realized that the divisions of the homeland were better off discarded in the hinterland. Religious life was a free-for-all in the early Scottish communities cut off from resident clergymen, and one's adherence was usually determined by who lived closer — the minister or the priest. Congregations were noisy, emotional and, for both Protestants and Catholics, intellectually unenlightened.

By the early 1800s, an influx of clergymen, both imported and native, had brought spiritual stability to the Scottish settlers, but at the price of increased factional infighting. The battle then became one of solidarity, in order to gain intellectual independence and recognition from the Establishment, and this was not won until the latter nineteenth century. Dr. Haliburton again provides an excellent survey, concise yet comprehensive, outlining the foundation of Scottish educational facilities — schools which survive today as Dalhousie University, St. Francis Xavier University, St. Mary's University and the Atlantic School of Theology.

One may initially question why the Scottish tradition should occupy such a prominent position in Nova Scotia's cultural heritage. The answer is provided most resoundingly in this booklet: we owe to our Scottish background not merely a strong religious conviction, be it Protestant or Roman Catholic, but also the touchstone of our present educational system in the province. LKK

The Second Generation: Culture and the East Indian Community in Nova Scotia, by Sukdev Singh Sandhu. International Education Centre, St. Mary's University, Halifax, 1981. 39 pages, softcover, $4.25.

This second volume of the Ethnic Heritage Series provides an interesting look at the cultural identity of an ethnic group in transition. Although the East Indian population of Nova Scotia has only been here since the late 1960s, its members still cannot be strictly classed as "new" immigrants, since they are now into their second generation, and in many cases have arrived here via Ontario, the United States, the West Indies or Great Britain. For many of them, India is far in their past.

The author has provided an excellent introductory section dealing with the moral values and social structure of East Indian society, clearly delineating how it differs from cosmopolitan North American values. The booklet is focussed, however, on the assessment of a questionnaire sent to 105 East Indian households in the Halifax-Dartmouth area in May 1980. The par-

ents of each household were carefully examined concerning their own perceptions of their children's adjustment to Canadian society. The areas of marriage, family relationships and economic conditions were chosen as the basic indicators of adjustment.

The results of this sociological survey lead the author to conclude that in various and subtle ways, East Indians are abandoning the rigidity of their cultural inheritance — albeit reluctantly, for the most part — in favour of the flexibility of Canadian standards. Parents no longer believe that they must control their children's friendships or choice of marriage partner, nor do they now favour the dowry system — although they do fear some peer disapproval if they abandon the practice. They also anticipate that the growing independence of their offspring will lead to increased rebelliousness, a decline in the strength of the family unit, and little personal security or respect in their own old age.

The East Indians are in a Janus-like position, caught between "new" and "old" systems of morality. They must also resolve their cultural identity against the backdrop of an India also reforming its social and moral foundations. Sandhu makes the point that this feeling of upheaval often results in their clustering together in social groups removed from Canadians. This is, in turn, accentuated by the fact that they are a visible minority and are unfortunately subject to subtle discrimination. However, as the author also notes, this very isolation and sense of conflict has, in many cases, fostered self-examination and the emergence of new strengths and satisfactions.

From an historical point of view, this booklet has great value in two respects. Firstly, it is the picture of an emergent culture — one more vivid stripe in the Canadian mosaic. Secondly, although time, geography and social structure are great variants, it is also a reflection of what it was like to be an immigrant two centuries ago. No one contemplated then the sociological surveys of today, but surely in this booklet we can hear a faint echo of what it was like to be a Foreign Protestant among the cosmopolitan riff raff of early Halifax, or a famine Irishman in Scottish Cape Breton. In many ways, "The more things change, the more they remain the same." LKK

The Horses of Sable Island, by Barbara J. Christie. ISBN 0-919380-36-0. Petheric Press Ltd., Halifax, 1980. 93 pages, illustrated, softcover, $7.95.

This book has come along at an excellent point in Sable Island's on-going history. With all eyes now focussed on its economic potential, Mrs. Christie has taken the opportunity to remind us that oil is not the only non-

renewable resource to be found there. Existing in a tenuous landscape of wind and sand are those mysterious horses, known to all but seen by few and, until now, understood by none in their historic context.

The diligence and depth of Mrs. Christie's research has paid off, in a book that is interesting, informative and easy reading. For those of us who always thought that Sable Island ponies were unknown castaways, comes the surprise that they were purposely brought to the island between 1738 and 1760, that many confiscated Acadian horses were among the shipments, and that after 1800, some selective breeding was done with pedigreed imports. Wild they may be today, but they nevertheless have strains of some magnificent European mounts running through their shaggy bodies.

A bonus of this book is the detailed insight provided into life on the island, going back to the 1500s. Of particular interest are the accounts concerning James Morris and Edward Hodgson, the earliest appointed superintendents. Their years on Sable were ones of hard work, splendid isolation and continuous warfare against nature. Sent out specifically for rescue work, the determination and endurance of these leaders, their crewmen and their horses are the more remarkable as we view them from our geographic and chronological distance.

For those of us who are unfamiliar with equine terminology, Mrs. Christie has included an informative glossary, plus a labelled diagram outlining the physiognomy of a horse. The choice of early illustrations and photographs is delightful and greatly enhances the volume; the cover picture is reason enough to purchase the book. *The Horses of Sable Island* has evolved from a much larger survey into the equine history of the Atlantic Provinces, which Mrs. Christie is presently compiling. Since this digression has proven so entertaining, we look forward to the eventual appearance of her definitive history. LKK

Some Sons of Erin in Nova Scotia, by Terrence M. Punch. ISBN 0-919380-35-2. Petheric Press Ltd., Halifax, 1980. 127 pages, illustrated, softcover, $6.95.

This is the second in the People of Nova Scotia Series to be published. The author gives the reader short, pithy sketches of seventeen Irishmen who made a significant contribution to Nova Scotia or who were born in the province and made their mark elsewhere in the land which was to become Canada. The Doyle, Power, Walsh and Thompson stories will be familiar to most who have sipped at local Irish history. However, only the most

sophisticated research would lead one to the stories of Grace, Condon, Punch and Fitzgerald.

Halifax, due to the high concentration of Irish residing there, dominates this work. However, such communities as Annapolis, St. Mary's Bay, St. Peter's, Arichat and Upper Sackville also have sons and citizens represented. Not surprisingly, when one writes of the Irish, priests and politicians abound. Nevertheless, a ferry operator, a financier, a Mountie and a rod and fly maker add an entertaining diversity to the tapestry of Irish contributions detailed in this work.

The book should be purchased just for the enjoyment of reading about Patrick Connors, "Who made the Rods and Flies." This item in itself captures the warmth and humour so associated with the Irish. His tombstone inscription tells the whole story: "When I am dead and in my grave,/ Please mark the spot with a marble stave,/ So folks will say, there he lies,/ Poor Pat, who made the rods and flies." Allan Dunlop