Nova Scotia Historical Review

Top/ 1823 Nova Scotia half penny, obverse showing George IV.
Bottom Left/ 1823 Nova Scotia half penny, reverse showing thistle, badge of Scotland.
Bottom Right/ 1882 private token, Blakley and Co., Halifax.

Donald H. Flick Coin Collection

Nova Scotia Historical Review

Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly/Review

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Editorial Page

The first issue of the *Review* has been very well received. The mail strike did interfere with our distribution and promotion programme, but we have nevertheless gained two hundred new subscribers. Subscriptions for next year, 1982, have already started coming in. We would urge you to re-subscribe as soon as possible for the June and December 1982 issues. A Business Reply Card is enclosed with this issue.

We still have a number of back issues of the *Quarterly*. The price on these has been reduced to $2.00 each and $3.00 for two issues.

In the December 1981 issue, we have included interesting and varied articles which, we hope, will be a pleasure to read. Our policy of rigorous but sympathetic editing before publication has, we believe, meant good history and good reading. We welcome articles of Nova Scotian historical interest between 2500 and 5000 words. Manuscripts are to be sent to the literary editor, Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, c/o Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 6016 University Avenue, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 1W4.

If you have enjoyed the *Review*, please tell your friends and have them subscribe.

Brian Cuthbertson
Managing Editor

Contributors

Donald H. Flick

was born in Hamilton, New York, but was educated in Nova Scotia, where studies at the Technical University led to an early career in the telephone industry. He later progressed to newspaper publishing and is now retired in Port Joli, after operating his own printing firm in Toronto for twenty-five years.

Coin collecting has been a life-long hobby, and Mr. Flick is a life member and past president of the Ontario Numismatic Association, as well as a member of the Canadian Numismatic Association; his coin collection has won numerous awards. Mr. Flick is also the author of six books, including *Telephone Man* (1977) and *Bluenose Madness*, published this year by Lancelot Press, Hantsport. He is a council member of the Writers' Federation of Nova Scotia.

Ernest L. Eaton

was born at Upper Canard, Kings County, in 1896 and is now residing in Windsor. He is a graduate of the Nova Scotia Agricultural College, the Ontario Agricultural College, and holds a Master's degree from Macdonald College of McGill University, where he was awarded the 1924 Macdonald scholarship for Nova Scotia.

Mr. Eaton worked for several years in extension and teaching with the provincial Department of Agriculture, and at his retirement in 1961 was a senior research officer with the federal Department of Agriculture. He has been active in numerous community and professional organizations, has written many articles on agricultural subjects and local history, and has been previously published in the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*.

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Dr. MacLeod has previously been published in the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, as well as in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, *Dalhousie Review*, *Canadian Historical Review* and *Newfoundland Quarterly*.

Philip L. Hartling

is a native of Sheet Harbour, now residing in Dartmouth. He holds a B.A. from the University of King's College and a B.Ed. from Dalhousie University, and is currently employed as microfilm archivist at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. In 1979 his history of Halifax County's eastern shore, *Where Broad Atlantic Surges Roll* was published and well-received.

An avid local historian, Mr. Hartling is also publications chairman of the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, and collaborated in writing *Lakes, Salt Marshes and the Narrow Green Strip* (1979), the Trust's publication concerning historic homes along the eastern shore. He is also a member of various organizations such as the Dartmouth Museum Society, the Writers' Federation of Nova Scotia and the Association of Canadian Archivists.

Gordon M. Haliburton

was born in Greenwich, Kings County and graduated B.A. and B.Ed. from Acadia University, M.A. from Dalhousie University and Ph.D. from the University of London. His interests lie in local history, African history and religious studies. A freelance researcher, writer and teacher, Dr. Haliburton is now on extended assignment in Nigeria.

He is a member of the Kings Historical Society and the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, and was recently the editor of the latter organization's *Genealogical Newsletter*. A prolific author, his titles include *An Historical Dictionary of Lesotho*, *Clansmen of Nova Scotia* and *For Their God* (reviewed in the preceding issue of this magazine); he has also contributed previously to the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*.

Early Money in Nova Scotia: A Short History of Currency, Exchange and Finance

Don Flick

If it is thought by the financially enlightened among us that the hectic fluctuation of our currency exchange rate today is something new and sudden — it isn't. For many years we have been conducting our financial transactions with paper money — the Canadian dollar — or more recently by that plastic goldmine, the credit card. During this time we have witnessed, and felt where it hurts, the dollar deteriorating until in the first month of 1980, it had shrunken to such an extent that nearly a thousand were required to purchase one troy ounce of gold, a commodity that since 1932 has had a constant value of only $35 U.S. an ounce. For all our present perplexity over economic instability, our forefathers in Nova Scotia must certainly have been just as mystified at the curvilinear motion of their currency then as we are now, some three hundred years later.

Currency is the circulation medium of the money of the times and can take various forms according to locale. In Nova Scotia during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, money was generally tendered in "specie" or coin, also known as "hard" money, as opposed to paper money. Specie in the form of shillings, pence, sous, pieces of eight, pistareens, pistoles, halfpenny and penny tokens, and paper money in pounds sterling, Boston bills, bills of credit, bills of exchange and paymaster notes were common terms in the vernacular of the times.

In the beginning, the colonies had no banks and very little circulating money, the currency being of British and European origin and only available in a few localities, necessitating the use of the barter system for most transactions. Playing card money was circulated in French Canada, and in Acadia as well, for a period of approximately seventy-five years until later prohibited and withdrawn. Full-sized cards, half-cards and quarter-cards were used; sometimes even parts of clipped cards were in circulation. Retention of these cards after their redemption was punishable by death, explaining, no doubt, why there are few examples of actual playing card money in existence now. Comte Louis de Pontchartrain, in a letter to Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, Governor of Acadia, dated June 6, 1708, decreed the end of this practice in Nova Scotia:

> I have already informed you that His Majesty had disapproved of your having issued card money, because you have neither the power nor the authority to do so. He desires positively that you should

withdraw it, and forbids you on any pretext whatever to have any issued in the future, in whatever position you may find yourself.

De Goutin replied, December 29, 1708:

The card money is all withdrawn for the value of which I have given my notes to individuals. As there is no coined money in this country, these individuals are continually bringing these notes back to me, to be broken up into numerous sums, for the requirements of their business and that is no small employment.[1]

From the beginning, the American colonies suffered from both a scarcity of coins and a lack of banking facilities. Certain commodities, such as wheat, corn and tobacco, were accepted as legal tender and some paper currency was also issued. However, since more goods were imported than exported, there was a drain of British currency back to England; this, coupled with the prohibition against exporting English coins from Great Britain, led to the preponderance of foreign coins in colonial circulation, particularly those of Spain and Portugal. Indeed, the Spanish coin of eight reals, or the "piece of eight," became the metallic basis of the colonial monetary system. Other Spanish pieces were the half-dollar or four-real piece, the quarter-dollar or two-real piece (also referred to as the pistareen), the eighth or one-real piece, plus the sixteenth and thirty-second pieces. Portuguese gold coins were the "johannes" or "joe," equal to sixteen Spanish dollars, the half "joe" and the quarter "joe," as well as the "moidore," which was equal to six Spanish dollars. Spanish and French pistoles were also used, being equal to less than four Spanish dollars, while French écus, equalling 60 sous, 30 pence or 2s.6d., as well as Dutch guilders were in circulation. To add to the general confusion, however, the colonists retained the English nomenclature of pounds, shillings and pence in keeping their accounts and fixing prices, but that nomenclature represented different values in different colonies, while the foreign coins were also differently rated in each colony.

To that cumbersome financial system were later added the complications of paper currency circulated by the various colonies. Massachusetts was the first to issue paper money in 1690 to settle the soldiers' pay after the expedi-

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1 Adam Shortt, *Documents relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia 1675 — 1758* (Ottawa 1933), p. 15.

tion of that year against Canada. This example was soon followed by South Carolina, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. It must be noted that merchants' notes and bills of exchange were also used in a limited way. A "bill of exchange" is a written order by drawer to drawee to pay the sum shown on the given date to the drawer or to the named payee. If drawn not against value received, but to raise money on credit, the bill is known as an accommodation bill. In some colonies, public loan offices existed, which were in reality state banks issuing notes in exchange for mortgages. Business and government transactions, although on paper based on sterling, were in fact carried out by the use of a hodge podge of foreign coins and of circulating bills of credit issued by local colonial governments; the real value of these bills was determined in exchange by discounting in terms of sterling. From this disarray and financial mix-up, a demand arose for a common and uniform colonial currency. This was accomplished in 1704 when, by royal proclamation, the value of foreign coins circulating in the colonies was established in terms of sterling. This proclamation, however, could not legally be enforced and proved extremely difficult both to introduce and to adopt in internal trade.

Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. After 1710, the garrison at Annapolis Royal was occupied principally by New Englanders who, for a number of years, were the only assemblage of English in the colony. French money and French bases of value were used in dealing with the Acadians, but the garrison used Boston money for its own transactions and sterling as the basis of value in accounts with the British government. "Boston money" was paper money issued in the New England Colonies, becoming known as "Boston bills" and was the first paper currency in use in Nova Scotia. In the early years of its history as a British possession, Nova Scotia thus had three currency systems — sterling, Boston and French, the latter two being of local use and both eventually having their base value in sterling.

In the spring of 1711, the Acadians supplied the Annapolis garrison with fresh provisions and wood, in exchange for French money or salt while the soldiers were paid in Boston money or bills. In 1714, the Massachusetts governor gave instructions regarding the use of a sum of money in Boston bills which he had left with the Annapolis garrison. He further stated that since there was no circulating hard money in Nova Scotia (although soldiers were usually paid therein), more Boston bills would be sent to be used for

paying the troops; only bills or notes issued in Nova Scotia, he instructed, should be called in.

Until the founding of Halifax in 1749, Annapolis Royal and Canso constituted the only English settlements in the Nova Scotia peninsula. During the thirty-nine years between 1710 and 1749, Nova Scotia, captured by New Englanders and possessing valuable cod fisheries, came within the orbit of New England, particularly of Masssachusetts Bay and Boston, to such a degree that the peninsula became, in effect, merely an outpost of the latter. Its garrisons served as a safeguard against the French fort and trading centre at Louisbourg and, although maintained at the expense of the British government for the protection of New England, they were in fact paid for with money obtained in Boston and were supplied with necessaries and clothing purchased in New England. Pay and provisions for the garrisons were obtained through negotiations made in Boston by the commanding officer at Annapolis Royal, arranging for bills of exchange issued on the British Treasury.

In addition, New England fishermen actively operated in Nova Scotia waters and New England traders carried on business with Acadian settlements along the Bay of Fundy, as well as with the French at Louisbourg. Through these direct and indirect means, Boston money was introduced into Nova Scotia and became the sole circulating currency. The Acadians however, through a clandestine trade with Louisbourg also obtained some small supplies of French coins, which were hoarded, while in dealings with the English garrison and with Boston traders, they soon learned to use Boston money. Thus Nova Scotia, prior to 1749, accepted Boston money as its local currency and was consequently subject to the fluctuations of the New England economy.

In 1714, Boston obtained credits in purchasing food and general supplies for the garrison. At the cost of seven pence Boston money per man, the exchange rate amounted to sixty percent, being only four and a third pence sterling per man per day. This the governor considered to be a very satisfactory transaction, being very beneficial to Boston and a triple stroke of fortune — profit on sales to the garrison, benefits of exchange and freight on materials to Annapolis Royal. Now two hundred and sixty-seven years later, Nova Scotia (Canada) and Boston (U.S.A.) are still preoccupied with the rate of exchange. The rate at present favours the United States, wherein our dollar is currently worth only about 83¢ U.S.

The problem then, however, was the absolute scarcity of hard cash or coins, as witnessed by the following letter from Colonel Francis Nicholson, written in August 1715 to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Whitehall:

> I writ to ye 13th Instant since which I reced a Letter from Capt. Christopher Aldridge at Annapolis Royall dated ye 4th of May last in which he writes thus — viz[t]. . . 'And yesterday a Gentleman gave me a Letter from Joshua Henshaw in Boston Dated July y[e] 5th 1715 to John Henshaw in London wherein is written Thus viz[t] Mr. Goold is come home but y[e] Indians has Robb'd him, and he says they have taken away fifty pounds from him. (have reced none of yo[r] Debts as yett People is very Slow of paying by reason of y[e] Scarceness of money) The Indians are very cross and we are affraid they will make Warr. They say ye English cheats them. This I desire you will likewise communicate to their Lord[ps] which will oblige.'[2]

The Boston bills used in Annapolis Royal in 1715 were largely obtained on the officers' personal credit. This was in the form of a personal guarantee or bill of exchange mortgaging one's personal equity in money, goods or real estate.

Annapolis Royal had a real money problem in the 1720s, as did the city of New York in 1978; one couldn't pay its troops and the other its garbagemen. While New York remained solvent by acquiring pay concessions from its employees, plus union and government assistance, Annapolis Royal adopted a rather unique method to circumvent its problem. Boston money had to be imported to pay the troops employed in repairing the fort. Paying days were often behind pay days due to delays in the arrival of the "payroll," causing much dissension and threat of desertion. To gain time, the paymaster issued notes in payment, which circulated as currency. Having served their purpose, they were later collected and redeemed in Boston bills upon receipt of a shipment from Boston.

During 1726, Boston money continued to be the currency among the English in Nova Scotia, accounts being stated both in sterling and Boston money. Exchange between Boston money and sterling was 200% advance at Canso and 150% advance at Annapolis Royal. This meant that if a Boston

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2 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

bill was at par with an amount sterling in Boston, the sterling equivalent or exchange at Canso would be 200% greater and 150% greater at Annapolis Royal. When new communities were founded in Nova Scotia, each with a different 'advance' rate between sterling and Boston money, the situation became all the more cumbersome. The same practice is in effect today between the money of Canada and the United States; our rate of exchange however, fluctuating almost daily, is not as radical as in the earlier days. Furthermore, the rate of exchange is identical in both countries and simultaneous in all communities.

In 1727, an order of the Governor-in-Council was issued, forbidding any lowering of exchange on French coins, the only hard money in Nova Scotia, and decreeing that new French crowns stamped with four double Ls were to pass as 12s. 6d. sterling, while all other French coins were ordered to be received at the value given them during the preceding six months. However, Boston money continued to be the local basis of value. The Acadians continued to use French money when and if necessary, but if possible, hoarded it, as evidenced by the inventory of an Acadian estate at the time, which produced 600 francs in gold and silver.[3]

In 1748, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Louisbourg was returned to France, to the chagrin and resentment of Massachusetts. The New England colonies, however, were financially reimbursed for their war effort by Great Britain, enabling them to put their currencies on a specie basis, a step they had been unable to take, notwithstanding all their efforts, since the beginning of the century.

The British governments, as a counterpoise to Louisbourg, determined to settle Nova Scotia with British subjects. In the summer of 1749, some three thousand settlers were sent out at government expense to Chebucto, then renamed Halifax. By October 1749, supplies of coin brought from England were exhausted and in order to pay the local troops, small supplies were obtained from passing vessels. The Spanish silver dollar, freely circulating in the American colonies, soon found its way to Nova Scotia, but carried no fixed rating. Sometime after the founding of Halifax, however, its value was fixed, apparently by usage, at 5s. To convert Halifax currency into Boston currency, 1/5 was added, showing the Boston currency to be at the rate of 6

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3   *Ibid.*, p. xxvii. Introduction.

shillings to the dollar. Therefore Halifax currency was based on the Spanish dollar valued at 5s. and the Boston currency at 6s.

In June 1750, the Government contractors in Boston offered to supply Nova Scotia with cash in Spanish dollars if they were given a monopoly of supplying the colony with everything it needed; this was refused. Some cash was received from another contractor in New York, but due to slow payment, this source subsequently refused to send additional dollars to Nova Scotia. The governor was therefore forced to pick up money from passing ships in exchange for personal bills drawn on his agent, since no one outside the colony seemingly had any confidence in the governor's public bills.

The money affairs of Nova Scotia after 1749 continued in disarray, with shortages, deals, exchanges and the conversion of some money supplies, notably rum and molasses, to the personal use of certain public officials. In November 1750, a new problem appeared. In light of the horrible fate overtaking our Canadian silver coinage minted before 1967, whereby hundreds of thousands of coins have been melted down because their silver content became more valuable than their face value, this incident of 1750 assumes a new interest:

> Thomas Barnes, Mariner Master of the Sloop Huzza, now in this Harbour and lately arrived from New York has fraudulently or by Collusion with some evil minded persons passed away or put off, or exchanged a large parcel of coin'd pieces of Silver called pistareens for much more than the Value thereof to some persons within this Settlement, which is a manifest violation of Justice and prejudicial to the estates of His Majesty's subjects residing here, and a means of promoting the Vile & Wicked practice that already prevails in their place of cutting and passing parts of the said Pieces of Silver for much more than their value . . .[4]

Thomas Barnes admitted to the misuse of the pistareens and subsequently Governor Edward Cornwallis issued a proclamation forbidding their cutting.

In 1758, the first representative Legislative Assembly was called in Nova Scotia. The way was now opened for the institution of a paper currency at a time when business in the colony was transacted with a large variety of

4   *Ibid.,* p. 320.

foreign coins, together with British small change, bills of exchange, Boston bills and bounty certificates. In 1752, bounty certificates had first been issued, being financially based on liquor revenues. They were offered to incite land settlement and the development of agricultural products; for example, on land cleared and cultivated, a bounty of 20 shillings per acre was paid. These bounties were redeemable upon producing a signed certificate to the provincial treasurer, and were used as currency. After 1758, however, little was done to establish a paper currency and the province more or less drifted along with the existing accommodation until the period after 1814, when many merchants' and miscellaneous notes were issued, followed by Canadian bank notes. A large quantity of miscellaneous merchants' and private tokens were also struck. These tokens, originally conceived for use in private business between customers and the storekeeper, quickly assumed the role of currency becuase of the shortage of official coins. They were made of copper, were struck for the most part in Britain, and were very attractive and popular with the public.

From the absence of any indication of value, the Broke token might be looked upon as a medallet rather than a token, although doubtless it passed as currency, as did the Wellington war tokens. These tokens were issued by retail merchants of Nova Scotia to honour Captain Sir Philip Bowes Vere Broke, who was commander of the frigate *Shannon* that captured the United States war vessel, *Chesapeake*, off Boston Harbour on June 1, 1813; on June 6, Broke brought his prize into the port of Halifax. As this most important naval action of the War of 1812 followed a number of defeats, Broke was much feted during his stay in Halifax. From an historical point of view, this series of tokens, although small, should prove interesting to all Canadians and particularly to collectors. Other tokens issued were the two varieties of Hosterman & Etter, dated 1814 and 1815. While both dates have a different obverse (obverse is the side of a coin, medal or token bearing the main design), the Government House at Halifax is portrayed on the reverse of each token. Hosterman and Etter were hardware merchants and watchmakers in Halifax. Etter's father served in the militia, being an aide-de-camp to the Duke of Kent during his stay in the province. John Alexander Barry was a dry goods merchant in Halifax who issued a token which subsequently came to be known as the Barry token. Barry later entered politics and quickly became a thorn in the side of the Legislative Assembly. He was elected three times and on three other occasions went down to

defeat. He was once expelled from the Assembly and another time sent to jail, which furthered rather than hurt the career of this man who had a knack for turmoil and mischief. Joseph Howe, in his formative years, was a political disciple of the flamboyant Barry.

A Halifax wholesale and retail dry goods merchant, John Brown, had struck a rather attractive halfpenny token with an interesting motto, "Nemo Me Impune Locesset," meaning "Nobody may hurt me with impunity." The Halifax hardware merchants, Starr and Shannon, had popular halfpenny tokens struck by John Sheriff of Liverpool, England, while another local hardware merchant, Miles W. White, issued in 1815 halfpenny tokens of better weight than most others of the time. While most of these tokens were about the size of the Canadian large pennies struck between 1858 and 1920, the White token had a heavier copper content.

The counterfeiting of coins or paper money in early Bluenose land was a very serious offence, regarded in some instances as high treason, wherein the counterfeiter could very well forfeit his life. Counterfeiting, of course, is nothing new, but the early tradesmen in this illegal art had a simple note to duplicate — printed on ordinary non-safety paper, in one colour ink minus any vignettes, shading, half-tones and process colour work. Today, on the other hand, a counterfeiter has to have the knowledge, expertise and sophisticated printing equipment necessary to produce a counterfeit of a modern Bank of Canada banknote on safety paper, using in its manufacture the latest innovations in letterpress printing, process colour, lithography and ink. Canadian banknotes, because of their complex makeup, are much more difficult for a counterfeiter to produce than the American counterpart of much simpler design and printing.

During this period when private tokens were used to some extent as money, many forgeries were struck, thus threatening people's confidence in the copper currency. To circumvent the counterfeiters, a number of tokens were circulated with legends portraying their honest copper content. This issue of unknown origin in 1815 advocating "Genuine British Copper" was a good example of the concern felt among the colonials about the legality of their money. These noble sentiments, however, were lost on the counterfeiters, who proceeded unabashed to make forgeries of the "Genuine Copper" coins as well as all other tokens enjoying the confidence of the public. The problem became so acute that in 1817, the colonial government decreed all halfpenny tokens were to be removed from circulation within three years.

Permission was then sought to have the British government strike copper coins in the form of penny and halfpenny tokens. Some 400,000 halfpennies were issued in 1823 and more halfpennies and pennies released in 1824, followed in 1832 by an issue of 800,000 halfpennies and 200,000 pennies. These all bore the bust of George IV on the obverse, the reverse depicting a thistle, the badge of Scotland. More tokens with the reverse thistle, but with the head of Quen Victoria on the obverse, were issued in 1840 and 1843.

In the years 1823, 1824 and 1832, Nova Scotia pennies and halfpennies were counterfeited in a lighter weight copper and about 1835, large numbers of counterfeit tokens were struck in Montreal and shipped to Nova Scotia via Saint John, New Brunswick, from where they were taken across the Bay of Fundy and used to pay outport fishermen for their catch. In spite of their light weight and impure metal, these false coins were freely used, because Nova Scotia was short of specie at the time, due to the continuous outgoing of so many coins through the seaports.

In 1860, Nova Scotia adopted the decimal system for its coinage, whereby cents and half-cents were issued in 1861 and 1864. British silver was used as a money base, the pound being rated at $5.00. As there were 240 pence in a pound, 500 cents ($5.00) divided by 240 pence established one pence at a value of .208 cents. Therefore the British sixpence coin was equal to 12½¢, making it necessary for Nova Scotia to issue half cent coins.

The colony was still plagued by a shortage of banking facilities, since there were only a half-dozen or so banks operating intermittently in Nova Scotia during the nineteenth century. Instead of being able to operate against their currency reserves, they sprang up with insufficient financial backing and experience and in most cases stayed in operation for periods of only fifteen to thirty years. Some spurious banks were in operation solely for the purpose of bringing out completely worthless Canadian notes.

The first bank to get into the act, The Halifax Banking Company, started in 1825 and remained in business until 1903. This was much longer than most banks of that era, since many of them closed their doors a year or so after opening them. Other Nova Scotia banks of the 1800s were The Union Bank of Halifax, The Mercantile Banking Corporation, The Merchants Bank of Halifax, The Pictou Bank, The Bank of Yarmouth, The Exchange Bank of Yarmouth (absorbed by The Bank of Montreal), The Bank of Acadia at Liverpool and The Bank of Liverpool. The one outstanding exception to these semi-transient banks was The Bank of Nova Scotia,

founded in Halifax in 1832 and still going strong. The notes issued by most of these banks are not redeemable now, but not to worry if you have any; they, as well as all other notes issued by these early Nova Scotian banks, are worth many times their face value to the coin collectors of today.

Intermittently from 1848 to 1866, the Province of Nova Scotia issued treasury notes, a form of paper currency, for amounts of £1 or $5. In addition, many other forms of negotiable paper such as municipal notes, merchants' miscellaneous notes, script and sous were all different forms of a promise to pay at a future date or to pay bearer on demand, various amounts in various currencies. A sous note, for instance, would be payable in French sous, the sou being equal to tuppence. These notes are all non-redeemable today, but again the numismatic value is far in excess of their face value in the majority of cases.

The Bank Act of 1871 committed all Canada to the issue of notes by the banks and to the branch banking system which was well fortified with safeguards, the notes being limited to the paid up capital of the banks in question. In 1870, the Dominion Government, first through the Department of Finance, and since 1935 through the Bank of Canada, assumed the responsibility of issuing one and two dollar bills. These small denominational bills were, and to a considerable extent still are, those most generally used in day-to-day financial transactions. Previously, when the value of our money was considerably greater, these one and two dollar bills were most likely to be the only denominations ever in use by the poorer or less literate people of the era. Before 1870, one and two dollar bills were issued by a number of private banks, many of which failed, leaving the holders of their bills with worthless paper. Another pitfall for the unwary was the so-called "phantom" banks inaugurated by fly-by-night financial con men. Under these circumstances, it was decided that the smaller, greater volume, one and two dollar notes should be issued by the Dominion Government, since they could then be accepted with confidence by the citizens as being "good as gold" — which for the earlier part of their history, they were.[5]

In 1950, The Bank of Canada finished calling in from the ten charter banks the balances outstanding in their note circulation accounts. This action ended a program whereby the Bank of Canada took over the com-

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5   Information for preceding paragraph obtained from J. E. Charlton, *Standard Catalogue of Canadian Coins, Tokens and Paper Money* (Toronto, 1968), p. 98.

plete issuing function of the country, ending an exciting chapter in Canadian banking history. Strict supervisory powers are now exercised over the printing of bank notes and banks are required on demand, to redeem their notes at par anywhere in Canada. The policeman in this case is the Canadian Bankers Association.

Our Nova Scotia money had a short life, but nevertheless now provides valuable insight into the currency arrangement of the time which, after all, is a part of provincial history. The public in Nova Scotia has now the utmost confidence in the national currency and it is no longer necessary to worry whether or not it is redeemable, but only how much it is worth!

The Survey Plan of Cornwallis Township, Kings County

E. L. Eaton

The New England Planters who settled in Nova Scotia during the early 1760s brought with them their familiar pattern of land division, the town or township, which also became the unit of local government. In general, the surveys for each township were made with precision, and reliable maps were drawn. Unfortunately, the original map or plan for Cornwallis Township has disappeared. There is a tradition that it was lost in a house fire, from which the records of the Registry of Deeds were, happily, rescued. These books are kept today in the registry office at Kentville, along with subsequent deed volumes and later maps of the county.

Cornwallis Township, like Horton Township from which it is separated mainly by the Cornwallis River (Habitant River on early documents), was to contain one hundred thousand acres. Cornwallis was assigned one hundred and fifty settlers, Horton two hundred, reflecting the importance given to the very visible Grand Pré dyke. Only later did the Horton grantees realize that Cornwallis had practically as much dyke land, more widely distributed and thus more accessible. A feeling of deception is said to have remained in Horton for many years.

Beginning at the mouth of the Cornwallis River, following the river to Kentville, then south-westerly in a line parallel to the Horton-Falmouth line to the Aylesford Township border, thence northerly to the Bay of Fundy, then east and south by the Bay of Fundy and Minas Basin to the place of beginning, Cornwallis Township indeed possessed many advantages. Divided among one hundred and fifty individuals, each proprietor was thus given the theoretical allowance of six hundred and sixty-six and two-thirds acres. The general survey is said to have begun in 1759. Louisburg had been captured the year before; Quebec and Montreal were still in French hands; hostile Indians and French were a very real threat; and so, protection of the new settlers was essential. The typical township was composed of a compact town site that could be easily defended, with ten-acre lots nearby for food production, farm lots slightly removed, remote wood lots, a common field for pasture of milk cows, a parade ground, and land alloted for a church and school.

The earliest Cornwallis book in the Registry of Deeds is largely filled with transfers of property among the original grantees. The motive seems to have been a personal one, for the most part, as there is little evidence of land

speculation, and few, if any, new names appear. Such transfers were commonly expressed as "on the draught of," giving the grantee's name, and the land was usually further described by a numbered "lot" in a numbered "division," the latter terms not being defined in the document and therefore evidently being well understood at the time. It is naturally assumed that these numbers refer to a missing master plan or map, without which it is very difficult to be precise in individual locations. Many persons, in their search for family links, have interpreted the inclusion of the word "homestead" in subsequent documents in the same way it applies to the settlement of the prairies in the past century, only to discover that such loving descriptions go back only two or three generations, or in other words, less than half the period since the first allocations were made. Obviously the ancestors lived, but where? Here, then, was a problem to challenge the skills of even the most ardent crossword or jigsaw puzzle fan.

A more detailed study of the early deed records revealed that the divisions were numbered from one to fifteen, and the lots from one to ten. Thus when the owner of, say, lot four in the fifth division was shown as the immediate neighbor of the owner of lot five in the fifth division, it became evident that the division must be the larger unit and that it was made up of lots. With this little hint, the search moved to the Department of Lands and Forests and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, both in Halifax, and each eventually became something of a gold mine of information.

In the Department of Lands and Forests was found a neat, well-preserved book, entitled "Cornwallis Land Survey 1761,"[1] a rare item and treated as such. A visit to the carefully indexed files in the Archives turned up the original 1765 assessment roll for Cornwallis.[2] The former bounded each projected farm lot in detail and assigned a division and lot number. The latter listed, for the most part, the names of the original grantees as given by Eaton.[3] However, although Eaton had arranged the names alphabetically, there was no such attempt evident in the assessment roll. Surely they must

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1 Cornwallis Land Survey, 1761. Unpublished manuscript, Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests.

2 Assessment Roll for Cornwallis Township, 1765. MG1, Vol. 181, No. 183, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

3 A. W. H. Eaton, *History of Kings County* (Salem, 1910), pp. 74-76.

have been drawn up in some sort of order, but what? They proved to have followed division and lot. A comparison with a modern assessment roll showed one surprising difference which provided a useful clue. In the assessment roll for 1765 the acreage or value was not given and the amount of the taxes revealed marked uniformity. The great majority of grantees were billed for 4s.4d., a few for half this, several for 6s.6d., and one for a whopping 13s. A comparison with the land allocations as given by Eaton[4] showed that 2s.2d. was the tax on a half share, 4s.4d. was for one share, and 6s.6d. for a share and a half. Later it was discovered that the 13s. was a three-share lot, held jointly by two persons.

Curiosity now thoroughly whetted, a drafting board and tools came into play. Actual dimensions were taken from the land survey book mentioned earlier. Soon there emerged fifteen beautiful jigsaw pieces, but, unlike the usual jigsaw parts, each had three straight sides. It was the fourth, irregular side which finally led to their exact position. Each was known to face a tidal estuary and this irregular side was the shore line. Where on a present day map of the same scale could a corresponding shore line be found? As every puzzle fan knows, there is only one place for a moveable piece and patience is usually rewarded. There *was* a place for every one of the fifteen divisions. After this it became relatively simple to fill in the space alloted for each lot within the divisions and the Registry of Deeds provided the name of each owner. Thus was recovered the long lost plan of the Cornwallis Township farm lots. Attention could now be given to the master design for the township.

In Cornwallis the town plot, consisting of half-acre lots, was near the ferry to Horton, at the mouth of the Cornwallis River. There were three parade grounds, spaced within convenient walking distance from the farms, for quick assembly in case of attack. One was at the town site, the house presently (1981) occupied by Mr. Jack Marriot being the old officers' quarters; another was at Chipman Corner, across the road and to the south of the old cemetery; the third was at Upper Canard on the site of the present Baptist Church. The ten-acre garden plots were located from Starrs Point to the present village of Port Williams, while the 44-acre farm lots faced the tidal estuaries of the Little Habitant, Canard and Cornwallis Rivers. Dyke

4   *Ibid.*, p. 82.

lots in these tidal areas were divided in an attempt to give each settler a fair share of what was described as "dyke, bad dyke, broken dyke and salt marsh." The land classed as dyke was still protected from the sea and was immediately ready for crops. Bad dyke referred to poorly drained areas, covered by the sea at very high tides and supporting an unattractive cover of stunted trees, alders, viburnums, rushes, sedges and coarse grass. Broken dyke was land formerly reclaimed but no longer protected from the sea. Salt marsh had never been reclaimed. All were measured and laid out with great precision.

The actual allocations were made by drawing lots, with three men as supervisors: Captain Eliakim Tupper Jr., Captain Stephen West and Captain John Newcomb. Each of these three received a share and a half, perhaps because of the added responsibility. Naturally, a few of the farm lots which were found to have wet or poor land and were thus not attractive were rejected, so that additional lots were laid off beyond the boundaries of the original divisions, notably at the west ends of Belcher Street and Church Street, and between Kingsport and Pereau. Since the drawing of lots took place in 1761, when the Seven Years' War was coming to a close, there was no longer so great a need for elaborate protection for the settlements. As a result, the ten-acre plots and the half-acre town lots were rapidly consolidated into holdings of more appropriate size, while many settlers proceeded to establish themselves on their 44-acre farm lots. Land between Canning and Sheffield Mills, originally designated as woodland, was recognized as desirable for clearing, as was land west of Kentville, west of Centreville and between Kingsport and Pereau.

It will be seen from the attached list of grants that only 125 of the intended 150 farm lots in the fifteen divisions were taken up by the original grantees, while 140 names appear on the assessment roll for 1765. Of these 125 occupied lots, four were not taxable and were therefore omitted from the assessment roll: the glebe, the first minister's lot, the school and the common. The remaining 19 persons were assigned land in areas previously intended as woodlots.

A few other changes appear between the land survey of 1761 and the assessment roll of 1765. The name of John Bartlett, who received lot 5 in division 7, a single share, is gone from the 1765 list and "a part of Bartlett's" appears for each holding of Simon Porter, John Newcombe and Handley Chipman. There are two persons by the name of Hammond on the assess-

ment roll, John Arnold and Archalaus, although only the latter is listed by Eaton among the grantees, as receiving a share and a half. The tax of 4s.4d. for John Arnold and 2s.2d. for Archalaus would have covered that area and suggests a relationship between the two men. The allocations of a half share, division 6, lot 6, to Thomas Handley Chipman, the adjoining full share, division 6, lot 7, to Handley Chipman and the remaining half share, division 7, lot 1, to Handley Chipman, together with "the part of Bartlett's" earlier mentioned, are consolidated on the assessment roll as the property of Handley Chipman and taxed for two and a half shares. No ready explanation can be found for the Wickwire allotments. There is only one person of this name, Peter Wickwire Jr., on Eaton's list of grantees and only one is in his "Family Sketches"[5]. However, according to the survey plan, Peter Wickwire Sr. received a one share farm lot, division 4, lot 2, while Peter Wickwire Jr. received a one share farm lot, division 1, lot 2. On the assessment roll, only one Peter Wickwire appears and he is assessed on two shares.

The approximate location of the 19 names on the assessment roll for 1765 but not on survey plan for 1761 has been traced with difficulty. Although apparently recorded at the time, many of these additional lots lack boundaries that are easily recognized today. None of the settlers of that time were strangers to each other, and to be bounded by a neighbour on one or more sides would have been thoroughly clear. Originally intended in whole or in part as woodland, compared to the carefully surveyed farm lots, these additional allocations seem irregularly laid out and poorly described. A further variable was introduced when extra acres were added to make up for what was regarded as poorer land. The numbers assigned to these additional lots are of little help in locating the properties, since they were scattered around the perimeter of the previously surveyed area, and were often at a considerable distance from each other.

The assignment of wood lots was entirely different. Each man was free to search for a suitable block, and if no one else had claimed it, he could then engage a "lot layer"[6] to mark the boundaries. Any one "pitch," as the procedure was known, was limited to two hundred acres, but many were for

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5   Ibid.,, p. 868.

6   Cornwallis Township Land Survey, 1761-1873. The early lot layers were Amos Bill, Samuel Starr, David Bentley, etc. MG4, Vol. 19, PANS.

much less. Later, the grantee might select another lot and have it bounded in the same way. Such marks as "a popple tree," "a clump of birches," "a sloping willow," or a "spring at the head of a vault" became vague with the passing years and it is not surprising that some lots were lost in the next few generations. It is probable, too, that many people did not bother to acquire their entire allotments. After all, the timber had little value, and frequently the only available land was at least a day's journey from home. According to Eaton[7] the last "pitch" was made by the Hon. Samuel Chipman on Cape Blomidon in 1873.

A generation after the Planters, when the sudden influx of Loyalist settlers arrived, very little unoccupied good land remained and the grants the newcomers received, generous as they may have seemed on an ordnance map of the time, offered little advantage for permanent settlement. This was true not only in Cornwallis Township, but also in the other townships surrounding the Minas Basin, the Annapolis Basin, and down into the more arable parts of the south shore of the province. Those who succeeded in becoming established on farms did as others have done in our generation: they worked, saved, rented and finally purchased. Notable among the few who did so was Henry Gesner, father of Dr. Abraham Gesner, inventor of the distillation of petroleum, who assembled land near Chipman Corner, and Abraham, twin brother of Henry, who located in Granville Township, Annapolis County.

There have been both consolidations and sub-divisions of property in Cornwallis Township during the past two centuries. Nevertheless, many of the property lines laid out in the 1760s remain distinct, well-recognized boundaries. From these it is possible to locate, with some certainty, many of the sites chosen by the original Planters for their first dwellings.

The long tables which follow present in consolidated form information on the 121 grantees and 4 non-taxable properties, derived from the sources earlier mentioned, which were covered by the land survey of 1761. The shorter table refers to the 19 additional persons mentioned in the assessment roll of 1765, who did not receive land in the fifteen divisions. Following these tables is a series of five maps showing farm lot divisions in Cornwallis Township. These diagrams were prepared from the author's draft copies

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7   Eaton, *History of Kings County*, p. 82.

through the courtesy of Michael J. Power, research technician, and Frederick Gibson, cartographic draftsman, Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests.

Cornwallis Township Grants, 1761

Division No. 1

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	James Mather	66	58
2	Peter Wickwire Jr.	22	42
3	John Cocks	44	58
4	Elkanah Morton Sr.	44	47
5	Elisha Porter	44	63
6	Peter Pineo	44	54
7	John Best (Mason)	44	54
8	Stephen Rogers	44	70
9	John Dean	44	66
10	George Smith	22	46

Division No. 2

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	Ezekiel Calkin	44	25½
2	John Terry	44	25½
3	Lawrence Johnson	44	25½
4	Barnabas Lord &	22	
	Jonathan Wood	22	28
5	Robert Parker	44	28
6	Abagail English	44	24
7	Caleb Wheaton	44	24
8	Elkanah Morton	44	25
9	Amos Bill	44	25
10	Elkanah Morton Jr.	22	
	& Amos Bill	22	25

Division No. 3

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	John Burbidge &		
	Wm. Best	44	24
2	David Bentley	44	23
3	Elisha Freeman	66	34
4	James Fox	44	22½
5	Edde Newcomb	66	33
6	John Barden	44	21
7	John Stedman	66	33
8	Elias Tupper &	44	
9	(Son) Eliakim Tupper	22	31
10			

Division No. 4

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	Peter Wickwire Sr.	66	48+
2	Silas Woodworth	66	31
3	Hezekiah Morris	44	20½
4	Francis Morris	44	23
5	Gilbert Jonathan		
	Belcher	44	48
6	Glebe Land	44	49
7	Jeremiah Dier Rogers	44	22½
8			
9			
10			

Division No. 5

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	Stephen Strong	66	37½ to 22
2	William West	66	34
3	Benjamin Newcomb	44	22
4	Amassa Woodworth	44	21½
5	Jonathan Newcomb	44	21
6	Daniel Parker	44	21
7	John Bartlett	44	22
	Simeon Porter	44	23
9	Jahiel Rust	44	31
10			

Division No. 6

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	John Newcomb	66	51
2	Edward Bill	44	31
3	Jonathan Rockwell	44	29
4	Samuel Porter	66	43
5	Hannah Coats	22	19
6	Thos. Handly Chipman	22	19
7	Handly Chipman	44	38
8	James Congdon	44	26½
9	John Sweet	44	26½
10			

Division No. 7

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	Handley Chipman	22	14
2	Ezra Donner	22	14
3	Joseph Congdon	44	27½
4			
5	Samuel Starr &	66	
6	John Wood, undivided	22	
7	Samuel Willoughby	66	35½
	Samuel Beckwith		
	Half Share here	22	16
8	Nathan Stiles	44	23½
9	Samuel Beckwith	44	18½
10	Benjamin Woodworth	44	18½

Division No. 10

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1			
2	Samuel Borden	44	25
3	Daniel Huntley	44	27
4			
5	First Minister's Grant	44	44
6	John Archalaus		
	Hammond	44	
7			
8			
9			
10	Seth Burg	44	29

Division No. 8

1	Zaphaniah Stark	44	58
2	Joseph & Jethro Chase	44	54
3	Samuel Morris	44	54
4	Nathaniel Bliss	44	48
5	Isaac Bigelow Jr.	44	43
6	Thomas Ratchford	44	37
7	William Tupper	44	50
8	Jonathan Woodroffe	44	44
9	Asa Clark	44	37

Division No. 11

1	Ezekiel Huntington	44	42
2	Ephrian Loomis	44	44
3	William Best & John		
4	Burbidge, undivided	88	
5	Moses Gore	44	38
6	William Newcomb	44	30
7	Stephen Herrenton	44	34
8			
9			
10			

Division No. 9

1	Isaac Bigelow Sr.	66	43
2	Jabez West	22	14
3	John Lowden	44	28
4	Amos Sheffield	4	28
5	Joshua Ells	44	28
6			
7	Jacob Hurd	44	32
8	Jonathan Longfellow	66	44
9			
10			

Division No. 12

1	Reuben Cone	44	32
2	Peres Anderson	22	16½
3	Moses Gore	22	17
4	Moses Dewey	44	39
5	Capt. Stephen West	66	41
6	Capt. Eliakim Tupper	66	36
7	Benjamin LeComte	44	24
8	Joel Parish	44	24
9	Jabes Chapel & wife	44	24
10	Stephen Chase Jr.	44	24

Division No. 13

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	School Lands	66	36
			&
			31
2	Hezekiah Cogswell	66	30
3	Oliver Thorp	22	9¹/₃
4	Branch Blackmore	44	17
5	Thomas Woodworth	44	19
6	Ethan Pratt	44	19
7	John Beckwith Sr.	44	23
8	John Beckwith Jr.	22	10
9	Solomon Parish	22	21
10	Timothe Barnabe	22	21

Division No. 14

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	Benjamin Congdon	44	18
2	Lurania Ackerly	44	30
3			
4			
5	Caleb Huntington	44	19½
6	Timothy Hatch	44	18
7	David Eaton	44	18
8	Nathaniel Hatch	44	18
9			18
10	Stephen Barnabe	44	30

Division No. 15

Lot No.	Name	Acres	Width Rods
1	Ichabod Bordman	44	18
2	William Woodworth	44	16
3	Half share, common land	22	7
4	William Canady	44	14
5	Elisha Parker	22	
	James Johnstone	22	14
6	Ebenezer Bill	66	21
7	Samual Bruster	44	16
8	John Porter	44	18
9	Benjamin Kinsman	44	20
10	Jabez Chapel Sr.	44	16

Assessment Roll, Cornwallis, 1765

	£ s d
James Mather	6.6
Peter Wickwire	8.8
John Cocks	6.6
Elhanah Morton Sr.	4.4
Elisha Porter	4.4
Peter Pineo	4.4
John Best	6.6
Stephen Rogers	4.4
John Dean	4.4
George Smith	2.2
Ezikiel Calkin	4.4
John Terry	4.4
Heirs of Lawrence Johnson	4.4
Barnabe Lord	2.2
Jonathan Wood	2.2
Heirs of Robert Parker	4.4

Assessment Roll, Cornwallis, 1765 Continued

Abegail English	4.4
Caleb Wheaton	6.6
Elkanah Morton	6.6
Amos Bill	6.6
John Burbidge & Wm. Best	13.0
David Bentley	4.4
Elisha Freeman	6.6
James Fox	4.4
Edde Newcombe	6.6
John Barden	4.4
John Steadman	6.6
Elias Tupper	4.4
Eliakin Tupper	2.2
Silas Woodworth	6.6
Hesekiah Morris	4.4
Francis Morris	4.4
Gilbert Jonathan Belcher	4.4
Jeremiah Dyor Rogers	4.4
Stephen Strong	6.6
William West	6.6
Benjamin Newcombe	6.6
Amasa Woodworth	4.4
Jonathan Newcomb	4.4
Daniel Parker	4.4
Simeon Porter & part of Bartletts	6.6
Jahiel Rust	4.4
John Newcomb & part of Bartletts	7.10
Edward Bill	4.4
Jonathan Rockwell	4.4
Heir of Samuel Porter	6.6
Hannah Coats	2.2
Handley Chipman & part of Bartletts	10.0
James Congdon	4.4
John Sweet	4.4
Ezra Downer	2.2
Joseph Cogdon	4.4
Samuel Starr	6.6
John Wood	2.2
Samuel Willoughly	6.6
Nathan Stiles	4.4
Samuel Beckwith	6.6
Benjamin Woodworth	4.4
Zaphaniah Stark	2.2
Joseph & Jethro Chase	4.4
Samuel Morris	4.4
Nathaniel Bliss	4.4
Isaac Bigelow Jr.	4.4

Assessment Roll, Cornwallis, 1765 Continued

Thomas Ratchford	4.4	
William Tupper	4.4	
Jonathan Woodruffe	2.2	
Asa Clark	4.4	
Isaac Bigelow	6.6	
Jabez West	2.2	
John Lowden	6.6	
Amos Sheffield	4.4	
Joshua Ells	4.4	
Jacob Hurd	4.4	
Jonathan Longfellow	6.6	
Samuel Borden	4.4	
Daniel Huntley	4.4	
John Arnold Hammond	4.4	
Seth Burg	4.4	
Ezekiel Huntington	4.4	
Ephriam Loomis	4.4	
Moses Gore	6.6	
William Newcomb	4.4	
Stephen Harrington	4.4	
Reuben Cone	4.4	(scratched out)
Periz Anderson	2.2	
Moses Dewey	4.4	
Stephen West	6.6	
Heirs of Eliakim Tupper	6.6	
Benjamin Compt	4.4	
Joel Parish	4.4	
Jabes Chappel & Wife	4.4	
Stephen Chase Jr.	4.4	
Hesekiah Cogswell	6.6	
Oliver Thorp	2.2	
Branch Blackmore	4.4	
Thomas Woodworth	4.4	
Ethan Pratt	4.4	
John Beckwith	4.4	
John Beckwith Jr.	2.2	
Solomon Parish	2.2	
Timothy Barnabe	4.4	
Benjamin Congdon	4.4	
Lurania Ackley	4.4	
Caleb Huntington	4.4	
Timothy Hatch	4.4	
David Eaton	4.4	
Heirs of Nathaniel Hatch	4.4	
Stephen Barnebe	4.4	
Ichabod Bordman	4.4	
William Woodworth	4.4	

Assessment Roll, Cornwallis, 1765 Continued

William Canady	4.4
Elish Parker	2.2
James Johnson	2.2
Ebenezer Bill	6.6
Samuel Brewster	4.4
John Porter	4.4
Benjamin Kinsman	4.4
Jabish Chapel	4.4
Archalaus Hammond	2.2
Thomas Rand	4.4
Caleb Rand	4.4
Stephen Post	4.4
Simon Newcomb	6.6
Caleb Gillet	4.4
Judah Wells	4.4
Stephen Loomer	4.4
William Proctor	4.4
Brereton Poynton	4.4
Robert Dupont	4.4
John Duport	4.4
Maj. Joseph Goreham	4.4
Benjamin Kilborn	4.4
Robert Thompson	4.4
Abraham Webster	4.4
Nathaniel Curtice	2.2
Stephen Chase	4.4
John & Jonathan Rand	4.4
Jonathan Parker	4.4
William West)	
Isaac Bigelow) Assessors	
Handley Chipman)	

Farm Lots Additional to Survey of 1761

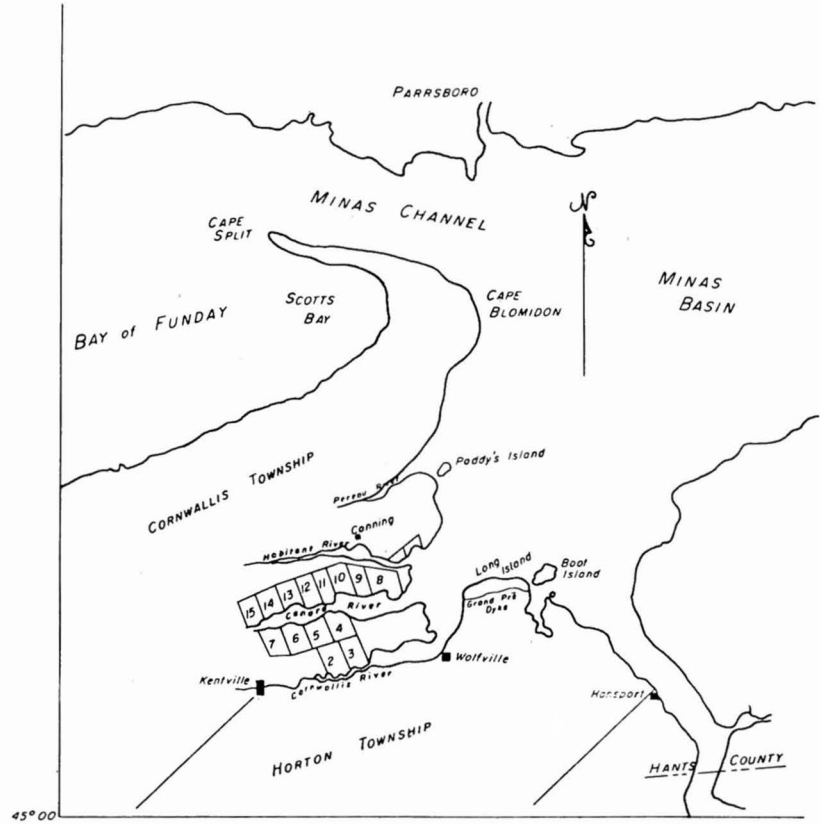| Lot No.	Name	Acres	Description
—	Archaelaus Hammond	22	West of Lot 10, Division 1
3	Thomas Rand	60 to equal 44	West of Division 7
—	Caleb Rand	58 to equal 44	North of Division 1 (Medford)
5	Stephen Post	—	North of Division 1 (Medford)
6	Simon Newcomb	70 to equal 66	East of Division 8
7	Caleb Gillet	—	East of Robert Parker
8	Judah Wells	—	East of Simon Newcombe
9	Stephen Loomer	—	North of Division 1 (Pereau?)
11	Wiliam Proctor	—	East of Caleb Gillet
12	Brereton Poynton	—	Next to William Proctor
13	Robert Duport	—	Next to Brereton Poynton
14	John Duport	—	Next to Robert Duport
15	Major Joseph Goreham	—	Next to John Duport
—	Benjamin Kilborn	130	Porter Point
—	Robert Thompson	—	East of Lot 1 Division 1
—	Abraham Webster	—	West of Division 7, probably West of Thomas Rand
—	Nathaniel Curtice	—	West of Stephen Loomer
—	Stephen Chase Sr.	44	West of Division 2
—	John and Jonathan Rand	55	West of Archalaus Hammond

FIG I - Division of Farm Lots in Cornwallis Township, Kings County
As laid out in 1759-1760

Fig. 2. Division and Farm Lots,
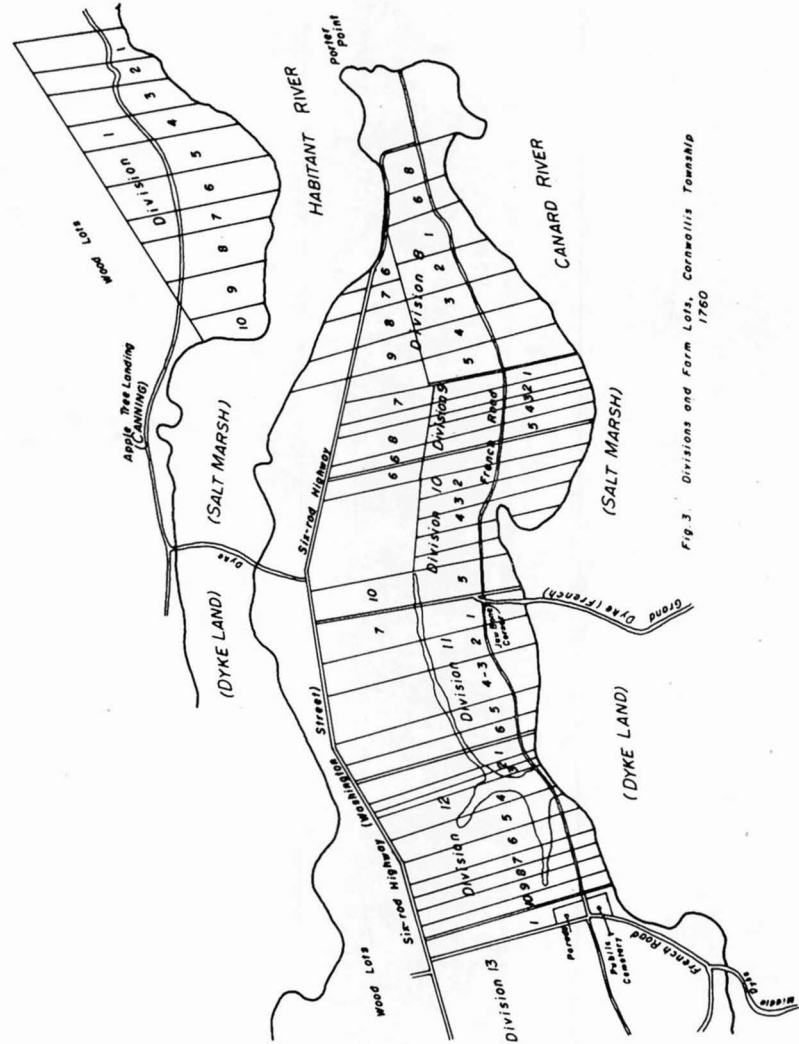Cornwallis Township
1760

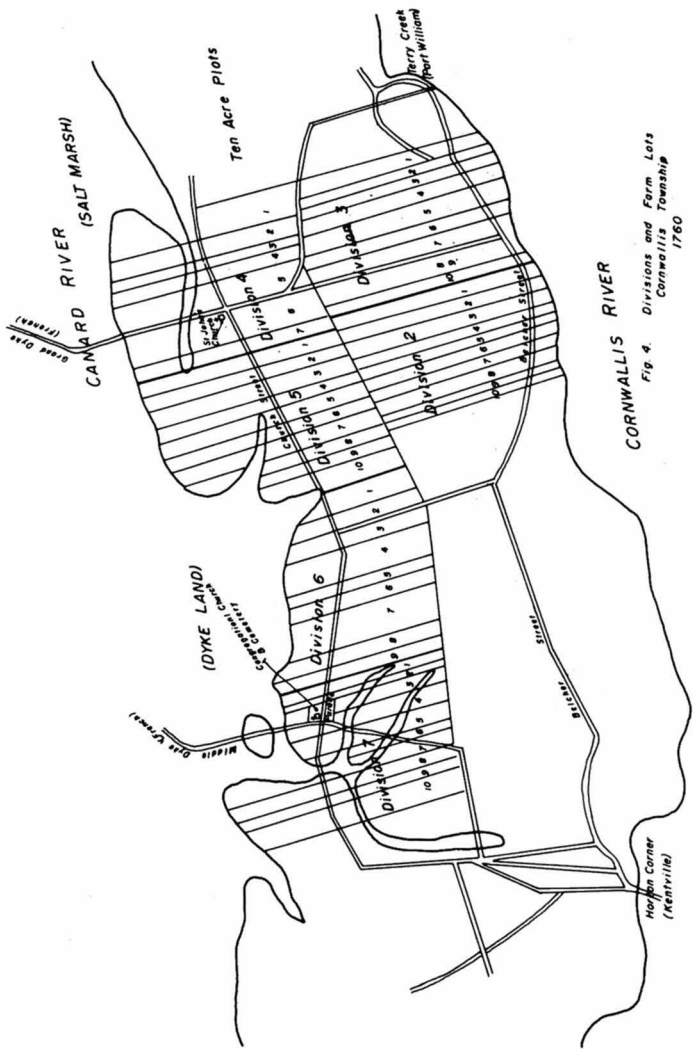Fig 3.   Divisions and Farm Lots, Cornwallis Township
1760

Fig. 4.   Divisions and Farm Lots
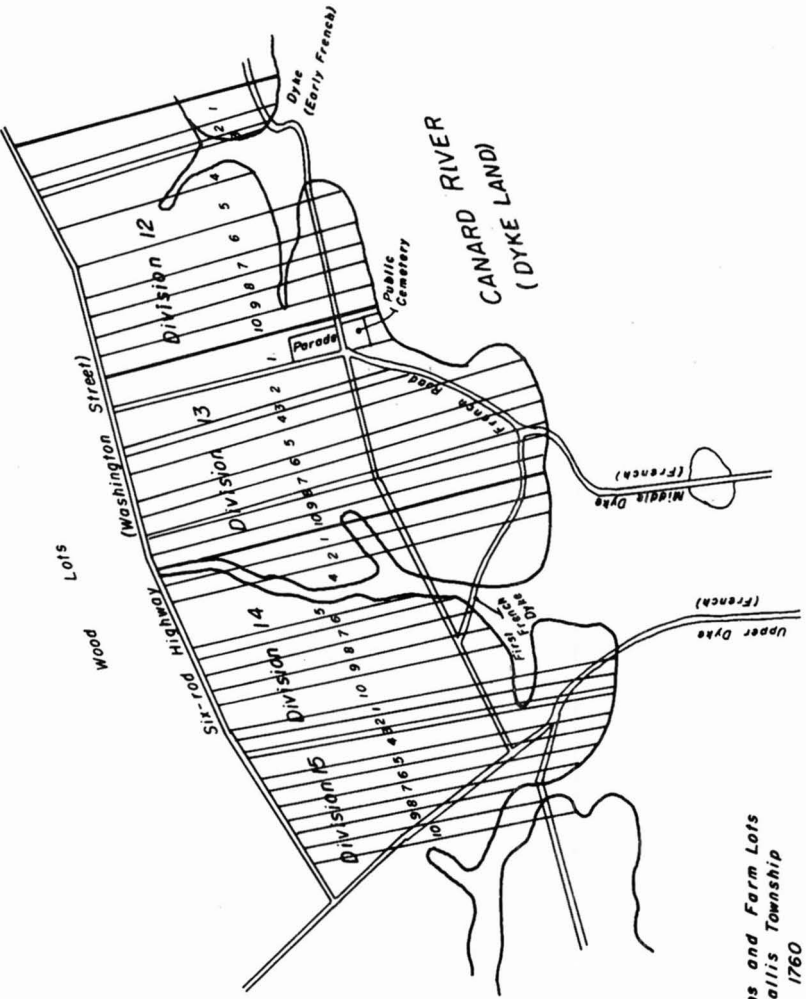Cornwallis Township
1760

Fig. 5. Divisions and Farm Lots
Cornwallis Township
1760

A Microcosm Within the Canadian Mosaic: Researching and Writing a Local History in Nova Scotia

Philip L. Hartling

In 1932, Dr. D. C. Harvey, the Provincial Archivist of Nova Scotia at that time, defined general and local history by stating that

> The term general history is usually restricted to such writings as deal with mankind as a whole or with men and women who have made an impression upon the whole world of thought and action; and this leaves to local history all men and movements that have been confined to one country, state, province, or smaller political sub-division.[1]

Based upon numerous community and county histories, provincial and national historians are able to write their books. As Harvey noted,

> It is characteristic of the local historian that no incident or phase of history is negligible. With commendable zeal he traces every settler from his origin to his destination. He notes the physical basis of his community, the beginnings of social, educational, and religious organizations, the first contact with larger groups, the impact of outside forces, and the final merging into national life. Because he can make such an intensive study of a small group, if he is capable of accurate observation and some degree of reasoning, he cannot fail to provide some of the elements out of which a national and then a world history may be compounded, by which some aspect of human effort may be illustrated.[2]

One of the most appealing aspects of local history is that it is usually the history of one's community, township, or county. Researching and writing such a story can be a fascinating and fulfilling experience, but it can also be very time consuming and frequently it can become extremely tedious. This article will attempt to outline some of the research possibilities — and pitfalls — inherent in Nova Scotian studies.

Before beginning any research, the geographical boundaries of the study must be established. Will it be the history of one small village, several communities, a town, township, or county? For the latter three, no problem

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1 D. C. Harvey, "The Importance of Local History in the Writing of General History," *Canadian Historical Review,* XIII (1932), p. 244.

2 *Ibid,* p 245.

will arise regarding the various post-1851 census districts. But should the researcher undertake to write the history of a community which in the last half of the nineteenth century contained less than approximately five hundred people, a problem will arise if the increase and decrease in population throughout its history is to be analyzed. The various censuses from 1851 onward were not organized by individual communities, but instead by census districts. These districts usually contained at least four or five villages in rural areas. Therefore, to give an accurate portrayal of population increase and decrease, all of the communities in one census district must be included, since it is usually impossible, in reading the census returns, to determine where one community ended and another began.

Often when a novice local historian decides to conduct a local study, he or she frequently does not know where pertinent information is stored. The four numerically largest religions in Nova Scotia, namely the Anglican, Baptist, Roman Catholic and United churches all have church archives. The Anglican Diocesan Centre on College Street in Halifax houses the books of registry, which give the consecration dates of the Anglican churches and the ordination dates for the clergy in the diocese of Nova Scotia from approximately 1851 to the present. Methodist, Presbyterian, and United church sources are kept at the Maritime Conference Archives at the Atlantic School of Theology in Halifax. In this institution there is a manuscript listing all references to Presbyterian churches found in the newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Presbyterian Witness*. There are three Roman Catholic dioceses in the province with chancery offices in Halifax, Antigonish, and Yarmouth. A Baptist Archives is housed in the Vaughan Memorial Library at Acadia University in Wolfville. Church archives often hold registers and other data pertinent to local history studies.

The Killam Library at Dalhousie University houses the published volumes of the *Sessional Papers for the Dominion of Canada* in which are to be found annual reports concerning fisheries, ships, shipwrecks, and lighthouses. The Special Collections section at the Killam Library holds shipping material and business records often pertinent to local history.

The new brick Public Archives of Nova Scotia is located in Halifax at 6016 University Avenue, at the corner of Robie Street. Considerable material of immense value to the local historian is housed within the five floors of this institution. Upon entering the Archives, it is advisable to go to the third floor, where the card catalogues are located. The cardex cabinets

labelled "Communities" will contain anywhere from several index entries to hundreds, pertaining to a particular community. It must be remembered, however, that this index contains only a partial listing of sources relating to any one particular community and that it is far from complete.

The Archives' 1976 publication, *Inventory of Manuscripts in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* should be consulted because it provides a detailed listing of all manuscript and record groups held by the institution. The local historian should also consult the Archives' 1967 publication, *Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia*, which gives a brief history of most communities in the province; unfortunately, because of the massive scale of this project, a few villages were omitted unintentionally. The book contains only a brief sketch on each community, but upon request, a researcher may gain access to the master copy of *Place-Names*, arranged by county, which will provide references for every fact given in the book. These references will frequently provide valuable leads to further sources. The book itself is located in the library on the second floor of the Archives, while the references for the book are found on the third floor. [This paper is followed by a bibliographical selection of local history sources available at the Public Archives, a list which hopefully will aid any researcher who wishes to write such a history.]

Many sources useful to the local historian are located in one's own community. In each county office are the Registry of Deeds and the Probate Court. From the deeds, it can be established when people purchased land in an area, as well as the property value at any one time. Wills are of value because they usually list sons and daughters and occasionally other relatives in a family. The estate papers, also found at the Probate Court, frequently provide an inventory of the contents of a person's house and the tools which an individual used to practice his trade; as such, these documents provide a valuable insight into the deceased's financial position and community role.

Unfortunately, most community newspapers did not commence operation until many years subsequent to the initial settlement of a town or county. The local news, however, carried in the daily or weekly issues of these newspapers, is of prime importance to anyone attempting to piece together a community's history. Numerous nineteenth century newspapers have been suceeded by the current local papers, so it is essential for the local historian to ascertain which papers were published in that county in the past. Many past issues of a community paper may still be in the local newspaper office or they may have been transferred to the Public Archives

of Nova Scotia. Researchers should consult Gertrude Tratt's *A Survey and Listing of Nova Scotia Newspapers 1752-1957* (Halifax, 1979) which lists the newspapers and their present location.

Many people often kept scrapbooks and some even kept diaries from which interesting information may be extracted. Some of these diaries and scrapbooks have been donated to the Public Archives, although many are held by local historical societies, museums, and individuals.

Local historians in the past have attempted to use oral history in researching a local study. Mary Lawson noted in her *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown*, which was first published in 1893, that

> It is regretted that there are but few private sources of information from which to gather the traditions and legends which belong to Dartmouth. The oldest inhabitants have all passed away, and the contemporary generation is more alive to the living interests of the present, than to the fading memories of the past.[3]

Subsequent to that date, approximately three to four generations have died; certainly if Mrs. Lawson found it difficult to obtain oral information about the early history of her community then, it is an impossible task for historians now. Few people have heard oral stories about the initial settlement of an area, but many can still recall tales heard from their parents or grandparents dating from the mid-nineteenth century. Although they may not be able to provide dates, they can recall many details, and the local historian may then be able to date the event through newspaper articles or other documents.

Once the researcher has started to collect data, a system must be devised for organizing this material. If not, a mass of information will be collected which cannot be readily retrieved. To throw all the notes into a box is unwise and definitely a poor system! Two alternate possibilities are the use of three-ringed binders or legal (or letter) size file folders. If one decides to use binders, information pertaining to each topic can be inserted into a separate binder, and any number of binders may be used, depending upon

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3 Mrs. William Lawson, *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrence-town; Halifax County, N.S.* (Halifax, 1893), p 125.

the extent of the notes. If the researcher decides to use file folders, one may be used for each topic; for example, there can be a separate folder for churches, mills, ships, shipwrecks, agriculture, fisheries, houses, and social clubs and organizations. The researcher may also want to keep a file on early births, marriages and deaths, as well as on general biographical information concerning residents of the community. Probably the best suggestion is to complete an index card for each birth, marriage and death, and then interfile the cards in alphabetical order by surname in a cardex drawer.

When the local historian finds pertinent information, it is imperative that the exact reference be copied, citing the author, title, and page if it is from a book; the day, month, year, page number, and name of the paper if it is from a newspaper; the manuscript or record group number, volume, and document number if it is from a document; and the name of the interviewee, address, and date if the information is obtained from an oral source. *The paramount importance of accurate documentation cannot be over emphasized.*

Potential questions which a researcher should explore when researching and writing a local history include:

Early Settlement. When did the first settlers arrive? Where did they reside before they immigrated here? Why did they come? Did they migrate to the area family by family, or did they come as an ethnic group? Were they relatives or friends of the other settlers before they arrived?

Livelihood. What was their livelihood? Were they prosperous or did they eke out a bare subsistence? Were they affected by the potato famine and fisheries failure in Nova Scotia during the 1840s? Were the settlers farmers, fishermen, or lumbermen, or did they combine all three occupations? Was there specialization in agriculture such as the apple industry in the Annapolis Valley? When were lumber or grist mills established? Was shipbuilding important in the nineteenth century? What size and types of vessels were constructed? How many vessels were built? Was shipbuilding more pronounced in certain decades than in others? When did it decline? Were coal, gold, salt, or gypsum mines in operation? How many men were employed?

Communication. When were the roads and bridges constructed? Was communication mainly by coastal vessels?

Religion and Education. When were churches built and schools established? Was the community homogenous in religion or was it pluralistic? Why was it so? Was there religious dissention within the community? What subjects

were taught in school? Were most of the residents of the area literate or did they have to sign an "X" on all legal documents? *Organizations*. What social organizations operated in the community — temperance societies, Orange Order, Masonic Lodge, Oddfellows, Foresters? *Economy*. When did the community reach its zenith of prosperity? What factors contributed to this prosperity? When did the community decline? Why? Was there a general decline in the country or province at that time? What is the state of the area in the twentieth century and particularly at the present time?

Collecting the oral and written data which will be the basis for a community's history will neccessitate at least several years of dedicated work to cover adequately all the available sources. When the researcher has reached a point of diminishing returns for locating new sources of information, it is time to organize the material and write the history. Do not worry that perhaps one has not located every possible piece of information. One probably never will! Once a book is published, someone will always step forward to contribute additional information.

Before writing a local history, it is advisable to read several published ones in order to ascertain how those writers approached their community's story. Suggested books include Phyllis R. Blakeley, *Glimpses of Halifax 1867-1900* (Halifax, 1949); Mary Kate Bull, *Sandy Cove: the History of a Nova Scotia Village* (Hantsport, 1978); J. Alphonse Deveau, *Along the Shores of St Mary's Bay* (Church Point, 1977); Elva E. Jackson, *Windows on the Past: North Sydney, Nova Scotia* (Windsor, 1974); Philip L. Hartling, *Where Broad Atlantic Surges Roll* (Antigonish, 1979); and James F. Smith, *The History of Pugwash* (Oxford, 1978).

After carefully perusing all the collected community material, a pattern should emerge. Certain factors lead to prosperity or decline in a village's history; perhaps the community was settled in the eighteenth century, reached a height of prosperity in the mid-nineteenth century, and then declined rapidly in the early twentieth century. A thematic approach is thus developed and should definitely be used to give the book a sense of continuity. The book would then be divided into chapters, with each chapter having a unifying theme either through its chronology or by the organization of topics. Furthermore, the work is then developed so that each chapter follows, and is not disjointed from the previous one.

A possible topic for the second last chapter of any such work is a contemporary description of the area as seen by the writer. At some future date, this chapter will become a primary source of information on the community for the time that the manuscript was written. As a final chapter, the writer should consider providing readers with genealogies, or at least with brief sketches of the families who resided in the area under study. These genealogies can provide local residents, or those who have an ancestral connection with the community, with a greater feeling of area identity. Also, from a monetary viewpoint, the inclusion of genealogies will definitely boost sales when the history is published — people are usually interested in their family name and, as the saying goes, "Names sell!" In conducting oral history interviews, one will frequently learn interesting anecdotes which will not contribute to the over-all story, but are interesting nevertheless. If the writer wants to include these stories in the book, it would be advisable to include them in appendices near the end of the manuscript.

Once the local history has been written, it should be documented. It is just as imporant for the historian to document accurately his or her manuscript as it is to record the sources when conducting the research. If a manuscript is annotated with footnotes or endnotes, plus a bibliography, the reader will know which sources were used to reinforce the writer's statements. The only difference between a footnote and an endnote is that the former appears at the bottom of the page which contains the reference while the latter appears in a list at the back of the book. Many publishers do not like to use footnotes because their positioning adds to printing costs; the writer can circumvent this obstacle by using endnotes. All footnote and endnote citations must be accurately and fully annotated, using the methods outlined in any standard writer's manual, such as Kate L. Turabian, *Student's Guide for Writing College Papers* (Chicago, 1963).

When citing a manuscript or record group held by the Public Archives, the M.G. (manuscript group) or R.G. (record group) number, series letter (if there is one), volume number, year, and name of the collection must be cited. If the document has a number, then it must be noted also. The people who provide oral information should also be acknowledged; this can be done by giving the name of the individual, the community in which he resides, and the date when the information was obtained. Information received by correspondence is cited similarly.

It would be preferable if every local history included a bibliography. The bibliography appears at the end of the book and lists the sources which were used in research. It should include references to all books, manuscripts, newspapers, church registers, maps, and other materials from which information was extracted. Do not list every item perused, but only those from which pertinent details were gleaned, since the local historian will undoubtedly search through massive quantities of material without finding a single reference to the area in question.

Once the manuscript has been written and edited, the writer will probably want to have it published as a book or pamphlet. Before the manuscript is mailed to a publishing company, it should be well organized and typed neatly on fairly good quality 8½" X 11" bond paper. It is a great asset to the publisher if he does not have to reorganize a manuscript which should have been done by the author. It is also advisable for the writer to make a photocopy, in case the manuscript is lost in the mail or mislaid by the publisher.

Once a publisher has accepted the manuscript, the writer may receive an edited manuscript requesting alterations, deletions, etc. Then "galley proofs" will be printed. The author should definitely read the galleys, since this is his only chance to search for errors — and they could be crucial ones! These galley proofs are photocopies of the pages as they will appear in the anticipated book. The writer must read the proofs indicating any misspelled words or omitted passages. They are then returned to the publisher, who usually will have the book printed within the next two or three months.

If an index is added, it is of immense value to any reader searching for specific individuals or topics. The final page numbers cannot be listed in the index until the writer sees the correct page numbers provided by the galley proofs. It is possible, however, to prepare partially an index before the writer sees the proofs. One can do this by purchasing packages of 3" X 5" index cards and then carefully perusing the manuscript, noting each name or topic on a separate card. Keep the cards in the order in which the item appears in the manuscript. When the proofs are received, the correct page number should be noted on each index card. Once the numbering has been completed, cards must be filed in alphabetical order and a copy of the cards must be typed and returned to the publisher, along with the proofs.

Researching and writing a local history is definitely a fascinating experience, and one which can give the writer a strong feeling of attachment to

the area under study — not to mention the valid need for such work in the context of current historical research. To write such a story, however, is both time-consuming and tedious, because first as researcher, and then as writer, the local historian must conduct oral and written studies, then organize the data, begin to write the history, and continue to rewrite it until the final version, including annotation and bibliography, has been reached. Typing, reading of galley proofs, and preparation of an index are further hurdles to cross on the road to publication. Hopefully, this paper has not frightened potential local historians from undertaking such projects, because although they involve considerable work, they are definitely worth doing!

APPENDIX

A Bibliographical Selection of Local History Sources at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia

Early Settlement

1. Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests, Crown Lands Office, Land Grants. Two reels of indexes, A-G and H-Z, filed by name of grantee. PANS Micro: Places: Nova Scotia: Land Grants: Index.
2. Nova Scotia Land Papers (originals). PANS RG 20, Series A. Petitions, warrants to survey and grants. Card index in PANS Manuscript Room. Most people submitted petitions in writing, but it appears that some also came in person to request grants of land. An approximate ratio of land grants to extant petitions would be 2:1.
3. Cape Breton Land Papers. PANS RG 20. Index in bound volume in PANS Manuscript Room.
4. Nova Scotia Escheats. These were land grants which were subsequently taken back by the Crown. PANS Micro: Places: Nova Scotia: Escheats.
5. Deeds. PANS RG 47. Organized by county: index to grantor (seller) and grantee (buyer) available for each county: on microfilm in the Newspaper Room, second floor.
6. Various censuses and poll tax lists. See Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Tracing Your Ancestors in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1976) for years and districts. CS83/P976.

7. Department of Lands and Forests, Crown Land Index Sheets. These maps show all initial land grants. Manuscript Room.

Description

1. Champlain Society. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain.* Toronto, 1922. F80/C35/C35.
2. Champlain Society. *Nicolas Denys: Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia).* Toronto, 1908. F80/C35/D43.
3. Frame, Elizabeth. *Descriptive Sketches of Nova Scotia.* Halifax, 1864. F92/F84/D45.
4. Haliburton, T. C. *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova-Scotia.* Halifax, 1829. 2 volumes. F100/H13.
5. Hollingsworth, S. *The Present State of Nova Scotia.* Edinburgh, 1787. F5208/H74.
6. Howe, Joseph. *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia.* Edited by M. G. Parks. Toronto, 1973. F5208/H85.
7. Lockwood, Anthony. *A Brief Description of Nova Scotia.* London, 1818. F100/L81.
8. Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. *Sailing Directions for the South-East Coast of Nova Scotia and Bay of Fundy.* London, 1875 and 1885. VK803/N93/1875 and VK803/N93/1885.
9. *McAlpine Gazetteer.* St. John and Halifax, 1898, 1904, 1911, 1914. These volumes note industries, churches, and miscellaneous information on a community. F129/M11/G25/ and the year.
10. M'Gregor, John. *British America.* Edinburgh, 1832. PANS Micro: M147/B86.
11. Munro, Rev. James. "History and description and state of the Southern and Western Townships of Nova Scotia in 1795," *Archives Report for 1946.* Halifax, 1947. F90/N85/AR2R/1946.
12. Murdoch, Beamish. *A History of Nova Scotia.* Halifax, 1865-1867. 3 vols. F100/M94.
13. Public Archives of Nova Scotia. *Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia.* Halifax, 1967. F90/N85/AR2N/#3.
14. Rand, T. S. *Micmac Place-Names.* Ottawa, 1919. F17/R15/M58.
15. Robinson, John and Thomas Rispin. "Journey through Nova-Scotia containing A particular Account of the Country and Its Inhabitants," 1774. *Archives Report for 1944.* Halifax, 1945. F90/N85/AR2R/1944.

Occupation and Livelihood: General

1. Various Censuses. See PANS, *Tracing Your Ancestors in Nova Scotia.* (Halifax, 1976) edition for years and districts. Returns list heads of households (up to and including 1861) and many give occupations, as well as agricultural, fisheries, and miscellaneous statistics. 1871 and 1881 censuses give names of every person in household.
2. Petitions to the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, RG 5, Series P. These include agriculture, communication, poor relief, roads and bridges, and trade and commerce petitions. See *Inventory of Manuscripts in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1976) for volume numbers.

Agriculture

1. PANS MG 6, Series A.

Fisheries

1. PANS MG 6, Series F.
2. PANS MG 6, Series F, volume 9, no. 6. Canadian Lobster Fishery. Information on lobster factories in Nova Scotia.
3. *Sessional Papers for the Dominion of Canada.* Ottawa, 1867-1925. Annual statistics. Originals are located at Killam Library, Dalhousie University. 2FG/YS. The years 1916 to 1939 are on microfilm at PANS. See: PANS Micro: Misc. S: Sessional Papers.
4. *Sessional Papers for the Dominion of Canada.* Ottawa, 1910, No. 13. 2FG/YS/1910. Investigation into the lobster fishery in the Maritime Provinces and Quebec; of immense value to anyone researching the history of fishing communities. Located in the Killam Library, Dalhousie University.

Mining

1. Heatherington, A. *Gold Fields of Nova Scotia.* Montreal, 1868. QE2/H35.

2. *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly.* Halifax. Appendices include annual reports for general mining, coal, gold, etc. J104/K3/ and year.
3. Malcolm, W. *Gold Fields of Nova Scotia.* Ottawa, 1912. QE185/A2/no. 20-E.
4. PANS RG 21, Series A. Coal, gold, salt, etc.

Shipping and Shipbuilding

1. DeWolf, Thomas R. *Nova Scotia Registry of Shipping.* Halifax, 1866. HE2/N85.
2. *Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory.* London, 1884 and 1888. HE2/M54/ and year
3. Shipping Registers. Organized by port of registry. Every vessel was given a registration number and the name of the vessel, its dimensions, place and date of construction, owner's name and builder's name were listed, plus details of subsequent ownership. These are on microfilm at the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa; at the Dalhousie University Archives, Killam Library; and some reels are located at PANS. See: PANS Micro: Misc. S: Shipping Registers — by name of port.
4. Wallace, Frederick William. *Record of Canadian Shipping.* Toronto, 1929. VM/W15.

Churches: General

1. Gibson, M. Allen. "Churches by the Sea." *The Chronicle-Herald.* Weekly — Saturday issue.
2. Scrapbooks. PANS MG 9, Vols. 46, 47, 185, 201.

Anglican

1. Books of consecration and ordination of clergy. Originals are located at the Anglican Diocesan Centre, 5732 College Street, Halifax and on microfilm at PANS. See: PANS Micro: Churches: Nova Scotia: Anglican: Registry Books.
2. *Church in the Colonies.* London, 1843-1851. 2 volumes. AK/B6/C47.

3. *Clerical Guide.* Ottawa, 1877. B6/C60.
4. *Colonial Churchman.* Lunenburg, 1835-1840; newspaper.
5. *Diocesan Times.* Truro, 1946-1972; newspaper at PANS.
6. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. PANS
   Micro: Misc. S: Society: S.P.G.F.P. See list of contents in
   B2/S01/T36/ oversize.
7. *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* London,
   1757-1879. annual reports. AK/B2/S01/ year.
8. Thomas, C. E. Description of the contents of journals, calendars, origi-
   nal letters, missionary reports of the S.P.G. contained in 73 reels of
   microfilm available at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
   B2/S01/T36/ oversize.
9. *Two Hundred and Fifty Years Young: Our Diocesan Story, 1710-1960.*
   Kentville, 1960. B6/N85/T93.

Baptist

1. *Baptist Year Book of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward
   Island.* Halifax, 1873-1912. B5/B22/YE3/ and year.
2. Bill, Rev. I. E. *Fifty Years with Baptist Ministers and Churches of the
   Maritime Provinces of Canada.* St. John, 1880. B5/B49.
3. *A Catalogue of the Maritime Baptist Historical Collection in the Lib-
   rary of Acadia University.* Kentville, 1955. ZB/AC1/B22.
4. *The Christian Messenger.* Halifax, 1837-1884; newspaper.
5. Gibson, M. Allen. *Along the King's Highway.* Lunenburg, 1964.
   BV2500/B22/G35.
6. Levy, George Edward. *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-
   1946.* St. John, 1946. B5/L57.
7. Saunders, Edward Manning. *History of the Baptists of the Maritime
   Provinces.* Halifax, 1902. B5/SA8.
8. Wallace, Rev. Isaiah. *Autobiographical sketch with reminiscences of
   revival work . . .* Halifax, 1903. B5/W15.

Lutheran

1. Roth, Rev. D. Luther. *Acadie and the Acadians.* Philadelphia, 1890.
   F95/R74.

2. Roth, Rev. D. L. *A History of the Lutheran Church in Nova Scotia from 1850 to 1903.* n.d. BX8063/N93/R84.

Methodist

1. Angwin, Jos. G. *Methodism in Cape Breton, 1789-1914.* n.d. B8/An4.
2. Johnson, D. W. *History of Methodism in Eastern British America.* Sackville, n.d. There are several paragraphs on every church in Nova Scotia. B8/J62.
3. Smith, T. W. *History of the Methodist Church in Eastern North America.* 2 vols. Halifax, 1890. B8/SM5.
4. *The Wesleyan.* Halifax and Sackville, 1838-1840, 1849-1925; newspaper.

Presbyterian

1. Campbell, Rev. Malcolm. *Cape Breton Worthies; life sketches of noble men in the early Presbyterian church eminent for piety and talent.* Sydney, 1913. V/F: Vol. 47, #6.
2. Gregg, William. *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada.* Toronto, 1885. B9/G81.
3. *Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.* Halifax, 1861-1944. B2/P92/R24.
4. MacKinnon, Rev. Archibald. *The History of the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton.* Antigonish, 1975. BX9002/M158.
5. McMillan, Donald. *History of Presbyterianism in Cape Breton.* Inverness, 1905. V/F: Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, #2.
6. *Memorials of the Rev. J. Sprott.* Edinburgh, 1906. Edited by his son Rev. George W. Sprott. B4/SP8/M51.
7. Murray, Rev. John. *The History of the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton.* Truro, 1921. B9/C17/M96.
8. *The Presbyterian Record.* Montreal, 1876-1944. B2/P92/R24.
9. *The Presbyterian Witness.* Halifax, 1848-1925; newspaper.

Roman Catholic

1. Index to material available at the Chancery Office, Halifax. PANS
   Micro: Churches: Halifax: Halifax Archdiocese.
2. Johnson, A. A. *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova
   Scotia.* Antigonish, 1960, 1971. 2 vols. B10/J64.

United

The United Church was formed in 1925 with the union of the Presby-
terian, Methodist and Congregational churches. Additional informa-
tion can be found in the Maritime Conference Archives, 640 Franklyn
Street, Halifax, N.S.

Schools and Education

1. *Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education.* Halifax, 1864-
   1963. LB/N85 and the year.
2. Education Petitions. PANS RG 5, Series P, volumes 69-79.
3. Education Papers. PANS RG 14. Organized by county.

Temperance

1. *Journal and Proceedings of the Grand Division, Sons of Temperance.*
   Halifax, 1848-1921. HV5303/N85/S06.
2. *Journals of the Worthy Grand Lodge British Templars.* Pictou, 1868,
   1874. AK/HS/B77.
3. Temperance Petitions. PANS RG 5, Series P, volumes 24-37.

Genealogy (Preliminary Reading)

1. Morris, Julie. *Tracing Your Ancestors in Nova Scotia.* Halifax, 1981.
2. Public Archives of Nova Scotia. *Tracing Your Ancestors in Nova Sco-
   tia.* Halifax, 1976. CS83/P976.
3. Punch, Terrence M. *Genealogical Research in Nova Scotia.* Halifax,
   1978. CS82/P984.

Genealogical Sources

1. *Report of the Ontario Archives, 1904.* Toronto, 1905. 2 vols. Every Loyalist who lost property during the American Revolution was entitled to submit a claim but not all did so; this *Report* contains those claims. F136/ON8r/1904.
2. Gilroy, M. *Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia.* Halifax, 1937. F90/N85/Ar2P/no. 4.
3. Marble, Allan E. *A Catalogue of Published Genealogies of Nova Scotia Families.* Halifax, 1979. CS88/N935/M312.
4. *Nova Scotia Vital Statistics from Newspapers, 1813-1822,* compiled by Terrence M. Punch. Halifax, 1978. CD3649/N935/P984.
5. *Nova Scotia Vital Statistics from Newspapers, 1823-1828,* compiled by Jean M. Holder. Halifax, 1980. CD3649/N935/H727.
6. Wright, Esther Clark. *Planters and Pioneers, Nova Scotia, 1749-1775.* Hantsport, 1978. A list of early settlers. F5205/W948.

Other sources include church registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials; government birth, marriage, and death certificates; marriage bonds; passenger lists (very few); probate records and township books. Many additional sources can be found by reading PANS, *Tracing Your Ancestors in Nova Scotia* and Terrence M. Punch, *Genealogical Research in Nova Scotia.*

Notes

1. D. C. Harvey, "The Importance of Local History in the Writing of General History," *Canadian Historical Review,* XIII (1932), p. 244.
2. *Ibid,* p. 245.
3. Mrs. William Lawson, *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown; Halifax County, N.S.* (Halifax, 1893), p. 125.

Sir Isaac Coffin and the Halifax Dockyard "Scandal"

James E. Candow

On 17 April 1799 the Admiralty Office drew up orders for Captain Isaac Coffin, commissioner of the Royal Navy dockyard at Minorca, to proceed to Halifax, where the commissioner's position had been vacant since 1797.[1] Coffin was to serve as acting commissioner until the return from England of the regular commissioner, Captain Henry Duncan, who was attending to private business. Coffin arrived at Halifax on 16 October 1799 and departed the following spring. His tenure was as memorable as it was short. During his stay, he uncovered practices at the dockyard that appeared to him to be of scandalous proportion. These discoveries prompted him to dismiss key dockyard personnel, most notably the master shipwright, yet shortly after Coffin's departure, all were back in the hire of the yard. Coffin's actions while at Halifax can perhaps best be explained by events which took place earlier in his naval career, events which understandably produced in him a rigidity of thinking that coloured much of his subsequent behaviour.

Isaac Coffin possessed the dubious honor of twice having successfully fought courts martial. Born at Boston in 1759, he joined the Royal Navy in 1773, rising to the rank of lieutenant in 1778, and captain in 1782.[2] It was while in command of his first ship that same year that he ran into difficulty with a superior officer. The incident was precipitated when Sir George Rodney, Commander-in-Chief of the North American and West Indian stations, appointed as lieutenants to Coffin's ship three seamen who had a combined experience of eleven years. Coffin at first refused to accept the men on the grounds that they were unqualified, despite the fact that he himself had attained the same rank after only five years in the service. However, upon learning that the appointments were the express wish of his commanding officer, Coffin quickly relented and took the three on board. In spite of this, he was subsequently charged with contempt and disobedience. The court martial acquitted him on both charges, deciding that "the appointment of these officers by commission was irregular and contrary to the established rules of the service."[3] Technically, both Coffin and the court

1   Admiralty Office to Coffin, 17 April 1799. Great Britain: Navy, H.M. Dockyard Letters. MG 13, Vol. 6, p. 331, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

2   J. K. Laughton, "Sir Isaac Coffin." *Dictionary of National Biography*, XI (1887), p. 216.

3   *Ibid.*

were correct: the Admiralty required six years' service before it could issue a lieutenant's commission.[4] But in practice this rule was regularly broken, for the simple reason that the earlier a young officer got his lieutenant's commission, the sooner he could become captain of his own ship.[5] The two favourite modes of achieving this were early entry and book entry. The former occurred when an applicant falsified his age in order to gain early admission into the service. As a result, while the official qualifying age was thirteen, entry at age nine was not uncommon. Book entry was the practice of writing a boy's name on the ship's books, even though the lad might be firmly ensconced on the family farm somewhere in England. At the end of six years, he could join the navy as a lieutenant, having had no sea experience. Such devices were not open to just anybody, and the way had to be cleared by a conveniently placed bribe. Hence Coffin's eagerness to take on the three greenhorns, once he understood that their appointments were the express wish of Sir George Rodney himself.

That Coffin was not above bending the rules was again illustrated by the circumstances surrounding his second appearance before a court martial. In 1788, while in command of the man-of-war H.M.S. *Thisbe*, then doing fisheries patrol duties on the Halifax station, he was court martialed for falsely reporting the muster of four crewmembers — in other words, book entry.[6] One of the four was Coffin's own nephew, and two of the others were sons of Guy Carleton, Governor of Quebec. The master of Coffin's own ship brought his captain's misconduct to the attention of the naval authorities, the usual manner by which such acts gained official notice.[7] The problem with book entry was that someone had to draw a salary for every man on the crew list, so that the practice actually constituted theft from the Treasury, although this was certainly not the main intention of its practitioners.[8] Coffin dutifully appeared before a board of naval officers,

4   Michael Lewis, *A Social History of the Navy, 1793-1815* (London, 1960), p. 161.

5   *Ibid.*, pp. 161-168.

6   R. A. Evans, "The Army and Navy at Halifax in Peace-time, 1783-1793," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1970), pp. 111-112.

7   Lewis, *A Social History of the Navy*, pp. 167-168.

8   *Ibid.*, p. 165.

who probably had all at one time or another been guilty of the same act. Accordingly, the court meted out the comparatively mild punishment of relieving Coffin from the command of his ship. But the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Howe, more parsimonious than his juniors, deemed the sentence insufficient, and struck Coffin's name from the Navy List. Coffin subsequently appealed to the Crown judges, who found the First Lord's action illegal. Nevertheless, Howe's intervention was a warning that book entry was no longer acceptable, and although it did not cease immediately, its incidence declined markedly thereafter.

Coffin meanwhile received a new command in 1790. That same year he suffered a serious rupture while rescuing a crewman who had fallen overboard. He re-injured himself in 1794 and was forced to retire from active service. In 1795, he entered the administrative branch of the Royal Navy, accepting the position of commissioner of the Corsica dockyard, and serving as commissioner at Lisbon and Minorca as well, before being posted to Halifax in 1799. The second court martial and subsequent legal wrangling of 1788 had produced a lasting effect on Coffin, who subsequently gained a reputation for the rigid enforcement of rules. One observer remarked that he ranked second only to Admiral Nelson in his lack of humour.[9] At Halifax, he showed why he so properly deserved this reputation.[10]

As the dockyard commissioner, Coffin was the chief administrative official in the community.[11] He was answerable only to the Navy Board, which oversaw the civil organization at the Royal Navy's dockyards. The commissioner and his civil support staff were responsible for such things as ship

9   George P. Naish, *Nelson's Letters to his Wife* (London, 1958), p. 386.

10   It should be noted that Coffin had good motives for accepting the Halifax position. In 1798, upon the recommendation of his old friend Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, the Treasury granted the Magdalen Islands to Coffin as a reward for his public service. Coffin planned to tax American fishermen who visited the islands to cure and dry fish, information he would have learned while on fisheries patrol in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the 1780s. His heirs held the islands as absentee landlords until 1903. One of the islands in the group is still called Coffin Island. See J. M. LeMoine, *The Chronicles of the St. Lawrence* (Montreal, 1878), p. 71; S. G. W. Benjamin, "A Cruise among the Magdalen Islands," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LIV (1877), pp. 197-206; Coffin to King, 16 September 1798, CO 194/40; Coffin to Portland, 1 August 1799, CO 194/42; Nepean to Sullivan, 4 May 1803, CO 194/43; Public Archives of Canada [hereafter PAC].

11   Evans, "The Army and Navy at Halifax," pp. 15-21.

repairs, provision of supplies, pay to ships' crews, and maintenance of naval property on shore, including the docks, storehouses and naval hospital. The commissioner himself performed the vital function of arranging victualling contracts with local suppliers, as well as contacts for hiring local vessels to transport navy goods. Small wonder, then, that Coffin's predecessor at Halifax, Henry Duncan, was actively courted and befriended by the local business community.[12]

Coffin had barely settled in at the Halifax dockyard when he made his first discovery of irregularities. In a fashion that would have endeared him to Lord Howe, he struck out at illegal pay practices. A number of clerks in the storekeeper's office were found to have been entering their name for "extra attendance" or overtime, and then not bothering to do the work.[13] On 28 December 1799, Coffin refused a request from Alexander Anderson, the deputy storekeeper, that some men in his department be allowed to put in extra attendance, because of "the gross abuses that have been committed not only in your office but in every other department." Early in the new year, Coffin bent his own rule to enable workmen to finish repairs to Commissioner Duncan's house, which was being used by the Duke of Kent as a winter residence.[14] However, he emphasized that "No persons are from this day to be employed on any Extra duty, without my orders signified in writing." The Duke of Kent, as it turned out, was the only man Coffin accommodated during his term in Halifax.

The pay irregularities were only the beginning. The new year brought with it indications that large-scale theft was being conducted at the dockyard. The tone of Coffin's investigation is demonstrated in the following notice which he posted throughout the yard:

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12 Duncan had become something of a fixture at the Halifax yard, occupying the commissioner's position since 1783. In his fourteen years there he forged his way into the Nova Scotian governing elite. He was a member of the legislative council, member and onetime president of the Halifax North British Society, and had been involved in a number of profitable business ventures with important Haligonians. See *Annals of the North British Society* (Halifax, 1905), pp. 53-81.

13 Coffin to Respective Officers, Halifax Yard, 21 October 1799. MG 13, Vol. 6, pp. 340-341, PANS.

14 Coffin to Marshall, 6 January 1800, *Ibid.*, p. 428.

Great frauds having been heretofore practiced in His Majesty's Ca-
reening Yard, and large quantities of Naval Stores at different times
embezzled and carried out of it . . . . Any person giving information to
me, and who are (sic) willing to make affidavit to the fact before a
Magistrate, So that the King's Stores can be discovered, or the Of-
fender prosecuted to conviction, shall be rewarded with one third of
the value of the Articles found.[15]

On 9 January this warning was superceded by one offering a reward of £40
to the person who exposed the thieves.[16] Furthermore, anybody caught
stealing in the yard at night was to be fired upon. This proved sufficient
bait, and the suspects were quickly ascertained. On 11 January Coffin
directed the deputy storekeeper to dismiss the following from the employ of
the yard: William Hughes, foreman of the yard; Peter Smith, Hughes's
servant, or apprentice; Elias Marshall, master shipwright; Samuel and Ben-
jamin Marshall, shipwrights, and sons of Elias; and George Polgreen, Ben-
jamin's servant.[17]

Included among the accused were two of the most important officials of
the dockyard. Indeed, the only official higher than the master shipwright
was the commissioner. The master shipwright oversaw not only all ship-
wrights, but also the caulkers, mastmakers, boatbuilders, shipjoiners, and
the master house carpenter.[18] One authority has estimated that the master
shipwrights were responsible for "at least" nine-tenths of the industrial
business of the Royal dockyards.[19] In addition to the above duties, the
master shipwright oversaw contract work and purchased all timber used in
construction and repairs. Along with the master attendant and the store-
keeper, Elias Marshall had run the Halifax yard in the two years between

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15   Advertisement, 7 January 1800. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

16   Printed Hand Bill, His Majesty's Careening Yard, 9 January 1800. *Ibid.*, p. 434.

17   Coffin to Anderson, 11 January 1800. *Ibid.*, pp. 436-437.

18   N. Macleod, "The Shipwright Officers of the Royal Dockyards," *Mariner's Mirror*, XI
(1925), pp. 276-279, 356-358.

19   *Ibid.*, p. 357.

Henry Duncan's departure and Coffin's arrival.[20] The foreman of the yard was actually the foreman of the shipwrights, and answered directly to the master shipwright. The dismissal of such men as Marshall and Hughes therefore constituted a major scandal.

Evidence for the dismissals came from a variety of dockyard sources. Stephen Cullin, the gate porter, declared that on numerous occasions since Commissioner Duncan's departure, Hughes and Benjamin Marshall had carried an assortment of material out of the yard.[21] Often, this material consisted of junks of wood which were left over from shipwrights' work. Such wood, called chips, was generally used as fuel for the dockyard pitch furnace. Hughes had also sent shipwrights and labourers out of the yard during regular working hours to work on his house. Finally, Cullin testified that he had "for many years past signed receipts for the hire of Horses in the Careening Yard without ever receiving a Shilling for same."[22] Money raised in this manner was, he contended, divided among Hughes and the Marshalls. Watchman John Earle likewise confessed that Hughes had made off with cart loads of chips.[23] John King, a mason, swore that he and other masons had built the chimney of Elias Marshall's house and had kept the house in repair since 1784, all on dockyard time.[24] William McKie, a labourer, indicated that he and others had painted all or parts of the houses of Hughes, Elias and Benjamin Marshall, and a Mr. Wood, Elias Marshall's

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20   Duncan to Respective Officers, Halifax Yard, 30 May 1797. MG 13, Vol. 6, p. 246, PANS. Elias Marshall joined the naval service as a carpenter's apprentice in 1752, making carpenter's mate in 1759. He was appointed carpenter for H.M.S. *Enterprize* in 1761, a position he held until June 1763 when he was named foreman of the Halifax yard. He became master shipwright in 1793. See Marshall to Principal Officers and Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, 22 March 1805 in MG 12, Admiralty 106, Vol. 2028, North America, Navy Board, In Letters, From Yards: Halifax, 1794-1812, PAC.

21   "The Examination and declaration of the gate Porter respecting the illicit practice of carrying out Kings [sic] Stores without regular passes for same," 6 January 1800. MG 13, Vol. 6, p. 462, PANS.

22   "Oath of Stephen Cullin," 30 December 1799. *Ibid.*, p. 471.

23   "The Examination of John Earle Watchman," 6 January 1800. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

24   "The Examination of John King Mason," 25 January 1800. *Ibid.*, p.488.

son-in-law.[25] Again, this was on dockyard time. Another labourer, Peter Artz, attested that several times at night he and a co-worker had loaded their boats with boards and delivered them to Benjamin Marshall at the north end of the yard.[26] Marshall then picked out which ones he wanted, whereupon they were brought to the wharf of a Mr. Lee for final pick-up. Artz added that on the night of 12 January Marshall visited him at his home and pleaded with him "not to confess to any body." Marshall supposedly left with tears in his eyes. Coffin must have been a terrifying opponent, for poor Marshall fled from Halifax, only to be captured at Annapolis while waiting to escape across the Bay of Fundy to New Brunswick.[27]

Coffin soon determined to return to England in order to lay all the evidence before the Navy Board. Before he left, he received an anonymous letter which contained further revelations about Elias Marshall and company.[28] Apparently, in his capacity of timber purchaser for the yard, Marshall would buy the wood in Bedford Basin for fourteen shillings a ton and then charge the dockyard twenty-eight shillings upon delivery. The author also claimed that on one occasion in the 1770s, while Marshall was foreman of the yard, the master painter refused to paint Marshall's house. Shortly after, someone broke into the shop and stole all his paint. The paint was later found in Marshall's barn. As a result, in 1779 Marshall had been dismissed from his position. Marshall appealed, contending that he had been acting under orders from the storekeeper, Joseph Gerrish, who was in no position to defend himself, having died since the incident. Marshall's appeal was successful and he was rehired.[29] In 1793, when Marshall became the master shipwright, William Hughes replaced him as yard foreman, with Benjamin Marshall coming on as Hughes's assistant. This, proclaimed the

25   "The Examination of William McKie," 25 January 1800. *Ibid.*, pp. 489-491.

26   "The Examination of Peter Artz Labourer," 14 January 1800. *Ibid.*, pp. 469-470.

27   Gordon to Coffin, 22 January 1800, *ibid.*, p. 492. Coffin to Anderson, 13 May 1800, *ibid.*, p. 536.

28   "A Copy of an Anonymous Letter Sent to Commissioner Coffin," 21 March 1800. *Ibid.*, pp. 544-554.

29   This story is corroborated in an earlier letter, Coffin to Navy Office, 11 January 1800. *Ibid.*, pp. 440-441.

author, was the beginning of "the family compact, they view the yard as their own property."[30] Coffin was slightly suspicious of this letter and advised the Navy Board "to give such credit to the contents as they may think fit."[31]

Coffin left for England 8 April, planning to return in July unless Duncan chose to resume his position.[32] Elias Marshall followed Coffin, bent on clearing his name.[33] Marshall's arrival was delayed when his ship was captured and brought to France; the vessel was later released, and Marshall landed in England sometime in early May.

In a written submission to the Navy Board dated 10 May 1800, Coffin enclosed the various affidavits pertaining to the unusual events at the Halifax yard.[34] There were a couple of new items among them. One, submitted by Asa Scott, related to Marshall's acquisition of timber for the yard.. Scott's evidence lent credibility to the charges made in the anonymous letter received prior to Coffin's departure from Halifax. Scott had at one time supplied spars to the Halifax yard. He was allegedly approached by Marshall, who demanded a share of the monies he received; if Scott did not comply, Marshall threatened to condemn half his spars which, in addition to immediate loss, would jeopardize any future sales. Scott at first gave in, but eventually he stopped his payments to Marshall, who in turn "refused my supplying any more and from that time till this I have not supplied anything." Coffin submitted as well a number of passes given by Marshall to a labourer named Roome, instructing the gate attendant to let him out of

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30   The use of the term "family compact" is noteworthy here. According to Graeme Patterson, it was "virtually unknown" as late as the 1820s, and remained so until entering the political jargon of William Lyon MacKenzie in the 1830s. The fact that someone was using it in Halifax in 1800 suggests that its usage may have been more common than Patterson would have us believe. See Graeme Patterson, "An enduring Canadian Myth: Responsible Government and the Family Compact," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, XII (1977), pp. 3-16.

31   Coffin to Nepean, 21 March 1800. MG 13, Vol. 6, p. 554, PANS.

32   Coffin to Parker, 12 March 1800, *ibid.*, p. 535; Anderson to Nelson, 27 May 1800, MG 12, Admiralty 106, Vol. 2027, PAC.

33   *Royal Gazette and Nova-Scotia Advertiser* (Halifax), 24 June 1800.

34   Coffin to Nelson, 10 May 1800, with enclosures, MG 12, Admiralty 106, Vol. 2027, PAC.

the yard; Roome spent a total of seven weeks outside the yard, working on the house of Marshall's clerk.

In his appearance before the Navy Board, Marshall had a lot of explaining to do, yet he was convinced of his innocence. He argued that, with regard to chips passed out of the yard for William Hughes, "It has always been usual to send out such Pieces of Wood which were unserviceable."[35] As for his use of the yard's horses and carts, Marshall claimed that this had been an "indulgence" for twenty-one years, and that every yard official before him had been allowed to do the same thing. To the charge of sending men to work on his house during working hours, he answered that this was necessary because he often gave up his house to accommodate naval admirals while they were in port. The repairs, he said, were for their benefit. Work performed by Mr. Roome on his clerk's house, Marshall contended, was approved by Commissioner Duncan himself, Duncan having informed Roome that "as long as he did my [Marshall's] duty it was all that was required." Finally, in response to Asa Scott's accusations, Marshall would only offer vaguely that "I went into the Woods to look for Sticks when cut I agreed what to give for them which were put into the Yard at the usual price."

Having considered the evidence from both sides, the Navy Board submitted their report to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. The commissioners, unable to make a decision, turned the matter over to Henry Duncan and the senior naval officer on the Halifax station, Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker. This was possible because Duncan was finally returning to Halifax to resume his duties at the dockyard.

Whether because of the memory of Isaac Coffin's reign, or a genuine fondness of Henry Duncan, the dockyard community was glad to get him back, as the following newspaper item attests:

> With pleasure we announce to the public the arrival of the Hon.
> HENRY DUNCAN, Commissioner of his Majesty's Navy-Yard at this
> place, and as his long absence has been severely felt, and much regretted, particularly by the department over which he formerly presided;

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35   Admiralty 106, Vol. 2027, PAC, contains several pages of untitled and undated questions and answers, but it is obvious from their content that they comprise the examination of Marshall.

so his return to them again (like a Father to his Family,) was marked with the strongest demonstrations of a heart felt satisfaction . . . ; He was received by the YARD with loud acclamations, and every Honest, Loyal and Grateful Heart overflowed with generous effusions of Joy and gladness.[36]

Auspiciously, Elias Marshall arrived at Halifax on the same day as Duncan.[37]

Duncan wasted little time in getting to the business at hand. On 26 August he wrote the Navy Board informing them of the decision reached by Vice-Admiral Parker and himself: "We are of opinion that a degree of blame attaches to Mr. Marshall the Master Shipwright, whereon we have expressed to him our disapprobation. But as the Public have suffered very little from his irregularity we have directed him, and the other Officers to be reinstated."[38] Coffin's efforts to break up the Marshall "family compact" had come to naught and the Halifax yard returned to the *status quo*.

What can be made of this brief episode in the history of the Halifax dockyard? Certainly theft from yards, both naval and private, was nothing new at the time. Indeed, the eighteenth century was the high point for such activity.[39] Rising wartime prices were as much incentive to pilferage and theft in Halifax as they were in other British naval dockyards — wartime prices were high in Halifax, two to three times more than in peacetime.[40] In most naval dockyards, however, it was usually the unskilled and lower paid

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36   *Royal Gazette and Nova-Scotia Advertiser*, 19 August 1800. Duncan arrived 13 August.

37   *Ibid.*

38   Duncan to Principal Officers and Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, 26 August 1800. MG 12, Admiralty 106, Vol. 2027, PAC.

39   John Lovell, *Stevedores and Dockers: A Study of Trade Unionism in the Port of London* (London, 1969), p. 11; R. J. B. Knight, "Pilfering and Theft from the Dockyards at the time of the American War of Independence," *Mariner's Mirror*, LXI (1975), p. 215. For an example of a typical theft, see Coffin to Anderson, 13 January 1800, MG 13, Vol. 6, p. 445, PANS, ordering him to discharge a shipwright found embezzling nails and copper sheets belonging to the yard.

40   For the effects on individual workers, see, as examples, Petition of Alexander Anderson and Benjamin James, 25 August 1796, MG 12, Admiralty 106, Vol. 2027, PAC; Ross and Bennett to Coffin, 5 April 1800, *ibid.*

labourers who resorted to theft; although shipwrights and senior yard offi-
cials were not immune to such behaviour, they had higher salaries and more
secure positions, and were thus less inclined to steal.[41] But in Halifax, Elias
Marshall and William Hughes were in the top echelon of the dockyard
hierarchy. Moreover, that so many people were willing to testify against
Marshall and Hughes was in itself a deviation from standard conduct, for
generally dockyard members did not give evidence against other members
of their community.[42] Informers were almost certain to be ostracized, with
the result that they could not continue to work in the same yard. Perhaps
Marshall had been at his game too long and had made too many enemies. It
is noteworthy, though, that almost all of the men who informed on Mar-
shall occupied positions at the bottom of the dockyard hierarchy.

It appears that there were two sets of rules at the Halifax dockyard: one
for top officials and another for labourers and other personnel. Marshall
had always been certain of his innocence, and his answers to the Navy
Board are revealing. His remark in defence of Hughes's transportation of
chips out of the yard, that it was "usual to send out cut Pieces of Wood
which were unserviceable," indicates that the practice was officially con-
doned. This is supported by the fact that in other British naval dockyards,
senior officials and shipwrights were indeed allowed to carry out chips for
their own use.[43] Likewise, Marshall's explanation for the use of dockyard
horses and carts outside the yard: "Every officer who was before me had it."
Henry Duncan's countenance of William Roome's absence from the yard to
work on a clerk's house, on the grounds that it was acceptable as long as he
was doing Marshall's duty, lends further credence to the theory that the
senior officers followed different rules. It is unlikely that Duncan would
have consented to his truancy for seven weeks with pay, had Roome wished
to work on his own house. The final proof may be found in Duncan's
reappointment of the very men that Coffin dismissed. What Coffin consid-
ered illegal, Duncan understood to be, by and large, accepted practice.

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41   Knight, "Pilfering and Theft from the Dockyards," p. 218.

42   *Ibid.*, p. 220.

43   *Ibid.*, p. 216. There was an unsuccessful attempt to do away with the practice in 1801 when
shipwrights were given a raise of 6d. a day in lieu of chips. See H.E. Richardson, "Wages of
Shipwrights in H.M. Dockyards, 1496-1788," *Mariner's Mirror*, XXXIII (1947), p. 268.

Coffin's relationship with the Halifax business community tends to confirm that he misunderstood, or simply would not tolerate, the subtleties of dockyard behaviour. Ties between local merchants and the yard were close, based as they were on mutual dependence. Although originally most of the yard's stores had had to be brought over from England in naval transports, by 1800 local merchants provided most of the yard's needs.[44] Small wonder that they had accommodated Henry Duncan, and he them. But instead of accommodating the Halifax merchants, Isaac Coffin snubbed them. He curtailed several long standing arrangements. For example, the dockyard often lent or sold the merchants certain supplies from naval stores if these were currently unavailable in Halifax, so that the merchants could repair their own vessels.[45] Coffin felt that this practice distracted the storekeeper from ordinary business;[46] part of the problem, as he saw it, was that the storekeeper sometimes gave away supplies that could only be acquired in England and in an effort to cut down on the practice, he ordered that in future the storekeeper should receive such orders only through Coffin himself or the Commander-in-Chief. If both were absent from the station, the merchants were to produce sworn affidavits stating that the supplies could not be obtained elsewhere, and that their vessels could not put to sea without them. Practices which have acquired the force of habit are not easily stopped, however, and in spite of Coffin's directive, the storekeeper continued to supply the merchants. To his disgust, the commissioner learned that in some cases yard supplies were being sold at prices lower than those prevailing in Halifax.[47] In response to this news, he ordered that henceforth the storekeeper was to charge prices 50% higher than those obtaining in Halifax. In effect, he was denying the merchants the enjoyment of their long-held privilege.

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44 The Halifax dockyard dates from 1759. See P. H. Watson, "The Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Halifax Dockyard," *Occasional Papers of the Maritime Museum of Canada,* No. 5 (Halifax, 1959).

45 *Ibid.,* p.15.

46 Coffin to Respective Officers, 3 January 1800. MG 13, Vol. 6, p. 424, PANS.

47 Coffin to Respective Officers, 15 January 1800. *Ibid.,* p. 455.

Coffin also discovered irregularities in the system of lending dockyard equipment to the merchants. He found, for example, that careening gear was sometimes returned in imperfect condition, yet no charges were ever laid.[48] Thus there followed a directive stipulating that no gear was to be lent "but by my order in writing, which when obtained, and the articles returned, a survey is to be held on them, and their damage estimated and paid for."[49] This, combined with his earlier findings, prompted Coffin to new heights of zeal, and on 17 January 1800 he issued a new edict, instructing the storekeeper that no further stores were to be loaned out of the yard.[50] This must have been the all-time low in relations between the dockyard and the Halifax mercantile community.

Here again, Coffin demonstrated the same penchant for rigid enforcement of the rules that had characterized his behaviour during the Elias Marshall affair. In both cases, time-worn practices had acquired a legality that was well recognized by members of dockyard society. Earlier in his career, Coffin might have acted otherwise. He had on two known occasions countenanced book entry, a technically illegal practice that was accepted by most of his peers. However, his court martial in 1788 appears, in retrospect, to have left an indelible mark on his thought. His resultant behaviour and reputation, as exemplified during his brief tenure at Halifax from October 1799 to April 1800, amply bear this out.

A quick look at a few subsequent events in his career will suffice to disprove that his experience at Halifax daunted Coffin. In fact, it actually helped him. After his return to England, he was appointed commissioner of the naval dockyard at Sheerness, although he badly wanted to go back to Halifax, probably so that he could better oversee his property, the Magdalen Islands.[51] His appointment coincided with the creation in February 1801 of a Board of Revision, headed by Earl St. Vincent, First Lord of the

48   Coffin to Respective Officers, 13 January 1800. *Ibid.*, p.448.

49   *Ibid.*

50   Coffin to Respective Officers, 17 January 1800. *Ibid.*, p. 459.

51   St. Vincent to Coffin, 27 April 1801, in David Bonner Smith, ed., *Letters of the Admiral of the Fleet the Earl of St. Vincent whilst First Lord of the Admiralty, 1801-1804* (London, 1927), Vol. II, p. 170.

Admiralty, whose purpose it was to inquire into the conduct of the British naval dockyards and to seek out waste and corruption.[52] This entailed a close scrutiny of the affairs of the Navy Board. At Sheerness, Coffin brought many irregularities to the attention of St. Vincent's investigators, irregularities that he had previously "represented in vain to the Navy Board."[53] There can be little doubt that his stay at Halifax had alerted Coffin to questionable activities in all naval dockyards, and this knowledge would have been of use to him at Sheerness. Halifax also soured him on the Navy Board, for his protests to that body had produced no change in the colonial yard. When he came up against the same indifference at Sheerness, his exasperation led him into St. Vincent's welcoming arms. The main result of St. Vincent's investigation was a breakdown in relations between the Navy and Admiralty Boards, which in turn weakened the navy itself. Thus it came as no surprise in 1804 when St. Vincent's successor, Viscount Melville, abandoned the course of reform St. Vincent had been pursuing,[54] and the old *status quo* crept back throughout the naval empire.

Although Coffin's work at Sheerness, and to a lesser extent at Halifax, had made him *persona non grata* with the Navy Board, he had endeared himself to St. Vincent who, before he left office, saw that Coffin was rewarded. Coffin was brought back onto active service and on 23 April 1804 was promoted to rear admiral, and sent as admiral superintendent to Portsmouth. He was created baronet on 19 May that same year. Four years later he made vice-admiral. From 1811 to 1813 he served as a member of Parliament under his wife's name, Greenly. In 1814 he was promoted to the rank of admiral. He again sat in Parliament, from 1818 to 1826, this time under his own name. He died 23 July 1839.[55]

52   *Ibid.*, "Introduction," p.7. The investigation did not extend to the colonial yards.

53   *Ibid.*, p. 13. Whereas the Navy Board was responsible for civil administration of the dockyards, the Admiralty Board oversaw the naval, or operational functions. It was also the senior of the two boards. It is interesting that, at this time, Henry Duncan was deputy-comptroller of the Navy Board. See *The Naval Miscellany* (London, 1902), Vol. I, p. 110.

54   G. T. Marcus, *Heart of Oak: A survey of British sea power in the Georgian Era* (London, 1975), p. 163.

55   On Coffin's parliamentary career and last years, see Robert P. Tristram Coffin, *Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart. (1759-1839): Admiral and Prophet* (New York, 1951).

The First American Conquest: Acadia, 1710-1760

Malcolm MacLeod

Labels can sometimes be misleading. One good example is the way "French" and "English" are used in Canada to designate major parts of the population. The terms are probably verbal shorthand, replacing longer expressions like "French-speakers," but when the abbreviated labels are in everyday use, subtle qualifications are easily forgotten. Many Anglophones have thought of themselves as the real Canadians, relegating the Francophones to some kind of Europeans or outsiders. Similarly, in labelling the majority *les anglais*, French Canadians have put forth the view that the English did not really belong here. Such imprecise labels misrepresent and illegitimize both groups, thus helping to cause political fragmentation.

This article is concerned with one particular use of a misleading label, namely, the employment of the word "British" to characterize the motive power behind, and the end result of, profound changes that occurred in old Nova Scotia during the years 1710 to 1760. Standard terminology proclaims this to be the time of the last great North American showdown between the French and the British, leading ultimately to the expulsion of the Acadians and the subsequent "British" conquest. This is misleading. Granted, all the key actors in the drama were adherents of one or the other of those European empires, but this fact is not very important. It has reference merely to the political surface of things. Below the governmental superstructure lie socio-economic foundations that sustain and define human communities. When we look closely at the full range of conditions that shaped and prodded those who took over control of Nova Scotia, foreign empires fade in significance. Instead, we see the jostling and jockeying for position of communities whose social roots and economic ambitions belonged chiefly to this continent, not to Europe. The most correct interpretation of the contest for Acadia may well present it as a power struggle between North American communities (drawing upon outside assistance), rather than between European super-powers (manipulating colonial lackeys).

On the English-speaking side, at any rate, there is a good deal of evidence which indicates this proposition may be correct. The "English" marauders who destroyed French establishments in Acadia in 1613 sailed from Jamestown and were led by Sir Samuel Argall, the "admiral of Virginia."[1] Some

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1 *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, I (Toronto, 1966), 67-68.

of the businessmen of Boston became intimately involved in the power struggle between D'Aulnay and La Tour.[2] At the close of the 1600s, the Benjamin Church who burned churches in repeated raids upon *acadien* communities around the Bay of Fundy was a native of Massachusetts and acted under the auspices of that colony's government.[3] In 1690 an expedition of 700 Bostonians succeeded in forcing the surrender of Port Royal, and the constitutional aftermath of their campaign is instructive. A new colonial charter was drawn up the following year, in which the territory of Nova Scotia was "united to and incorporated in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."[4]

For Nova Scotia, the half-century between 1710 and 1760 was a time when this kind of neighbourly nosiness was irresistibly strong. New England's ambition to rule Nova Scotia — an ambition which was already traditional by that time — progressed from hope through struggle to fulfillment. The events by which English-speakers gained control of the land from its earlier Micmac and French-speaking inhabitants add up quite precisely to an American conquest of the province. The word *American* must be stressed, because the history of the time is frequently so badly understood that this most significant fact is hidden out of sight behind the phrase *British* conquest. The confusion arises because the communities that meddled most in Nova Scotian matters — Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and the others — were at that time still quietly contained as colonies within the British empire, subject to London's overall supervision. If one rode a time machine back and asked some of these people if they were British or American, they would probably answer, "Both, of course" — and not see any difference. With the advantage of hindsight, however, we know that it is extremely important to distinguish between American and British, since in the long run, the two things are not the same at all.

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2 *Ibid.*, 503-505, 593-597.

3 *Ibid.*, II (Toronto, 1969), 145-146.

4 Duncan Campbell, *Nova Scotia in its historical, mercantile and industrial relations* (Montreal, 1873), 61-62. C. B. Fergusson, "The establishment of the consulate of the United States of America in Halifax," *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, III (1973), 58. J. B. Brebner, *New England's Outpost* (New York, 1927), 51.

There are three reasons why the English-speaking takeover in Nova Scotia should be thought of chiefly as an American conquest. First, a great majority of the British subjects who were actively engaged in bringing it about during the years 1710 to 1760, whether as merchants, soldiers or settlers, were persons who were born and bred in the American colonies. These second, third and fourth generation Americans had never seen any other country and had no known relatives in Europe. Newly established communities gradually take root, while social links with the old country dissipate; they drift, unless stopped, towards political autonomy, slowly becoming themselves. New Englanders of the eighteenth century were well on the way.

Secondly, decision-making power with respect to expansion into Nova Scotia essentially rested in New England, particularly Boston. The governing apparatus there was a British governor, surrounded by and largely dependent upon the advice of a group of leading colonials. They had very definite ideas concerning what they wanted in foreign policy matters affecting their own bailiwick. Either they went ahead and did something, seeking London's approval later on, or if the job were beyond their resources, they bent all their efforts of recommendation and persuasion to have London see things the same way they did.

Thirdly, and this is the key point, the interests which it was sought to protect and aggrandize by bringing Nova Scotia ever more firmly within the British sphere were, for the most part, American interests. New Englanders wanted Nova Scotia's fish, furs and timber. New England wanted protection against French privateers using Nova Scotian ports, and from pro-French Indian raiding parties. Puritan Protestantism — virulent, paranoid and expansive — sought to cleanse its environs of papist strongholds. It was even possible, in the fullness of time, that New England might want to settle new generations of its farm folk on what good agricultural land there was in the granite peninsula. These desires were British interests only secondarily and accidentally. The various pressures which brought British Americans to Acadia arose because the people involved were American, not because they were British. They exercised ambitions that naturally belonged, and belong, to any people inhabiting territory so close by.

The initiation of the first American conquest came in 1710, when Port Royal was captured for the umpteenth time, but permanently, by a combined British and American force. Great Britain provided munitions, six

naval vessels, a regiment of marines and most of the money involved in the campaign. New England put up the majority of 3400 troops who were deployed, a weight of provisions and two dozen transport vessels.[5]

The next thirty years were a time when humans were happy and history was dull. Nothing happened. British rule in Nova Scotia, legitimized by the Treaty of Utrecht, was more or less ignored: by the Micmacs, who carried on a food-gathering way of life with occasional harangues from French Catholic priests; by the Acadians, who refused the oath of allegiance and got away with it; by the government in London with its policy of salutary neglect; indeed, by everyone except Boston merchants, who used it as an umbrella under which they extended their operations and fattened their profit margin. There was no new influx of settlement except at Canso, which in a typical summer during the 1730s was the base used by 2000 men from New England coastal ports as they withdrew their annual fund of fish from the offshore banks.[6]

After three decades of peace came twenty years of intermittent, escalating warfare, heralded in 1744 by an expedition from French Louisbourg to root the Americans out of Canso. A New York newspaper carried the story:

> As soon as the French King had begun the present unjust War against the English, the People of Louisbourg attack'd the New-England Town of Canso, consisting of about 150 Houses and a Fort, took it, burnt it to the Ground, and carried away the People, Men, Women and Children, Prisoners. They then laid Siege to Annapolis Royal, and would have taken it [as well], if seasonable Assistance had not been sent from Boston.[7]

The Massachusetts legislative assembly decided to send this "seasonable Assistance" after hearing Governor William Shirley explain that "the Ac-

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5 Brebner, *Outpost*, 54-55. The first Anglophone garrison established at Port Royal (renamed Annapolis Royal) reflected two communities' shared credit for the victory — there were 200 European British troops, and 250 Americans. *Ibid.*, 56. "Journal of Colonel Nicholson at the capture of Annapolis, 1710," Nova Scotia Historical Society *Collections*, [hereafter NSHS *Collections*], 1 (1878), 86.

6 Brebner, *Outpost*, 85, 93.

7 New York *Weekly Post-Box*, 10 June 1745, quoted in Louis Effingham de Forest, ed., *Louisbourg journals 1745* (New York, 1932), 201.

quisition of the Country of Nova-Scotia . . . has been always thought by this Government, ever since its first settlement by the French, to be a Point of the greatest Importance to the Welfare and Safety of this Province . . ."[8] The representatives who held the taxing power for Massachusetts colony concurred that defense of Nova Scotia was an "Affair of great Importance to the Crown, and in particular to the respective Governments of New England."[9]

During the next three years New England governments, led by Massachusetts, recruited 4500 of their citizens to become soldiers and then sent them to Nova Scotia to bolster the slender regular garrison of about 300.[10] They counted upon the British government to reimburse most of their expenses for enlistment bounties, equipment and transport, which eventually was done.[11] Symbolic of the new world's leading role was Shirley's account to London of how, during one of the times when Annapolis was besieged, a reinforcement he sent there "put a stop to the great Desertions of the Regular Troops from the Garrison over to the Enemy, by the New England Men's being posted in the outworks to prevent their passing out of the Fort."[12] Had it not been for the intervention by the American colonies

8   Shirley to Massachusetts General Court, 11 June 1744, quoted in G.A. Rawlyk, *Yankees at Louisbourg* (Orono, Maine, 1967), 17-18.

9   Massachusetts House of Representatives, 23 June 1744, quoted in Rawlyk, *Yankees*, 23.

10   The peacetime garrison was nine companies of 40 men: five companies at Annapolis and four at Canso, all underpaid, understrength and decrepit. J. S. McLennan, *Louisbourg from its foundation to its fall* (London, 1918), 82. The reinforcements sent from New England were as follows. In 1744: 72 men in early July (Brebner, *Outpost*, 112); another 50 or so the same month (Rawlyk, *Yankees*, 24-25); and 50 Indians in September (Shirley to Pelham, 15 November 1744, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, HM 9700). In 1745 there were 4017 New England men on the Louisbourg expedition (de Forest, *Louisbourg*, 174,-181-184; Society of Colonial Wars, *Report of the committee on Louisbourg memorial* (New York, 1896), p.ii). In 1746: 260 men during the summer — these may have been regulars (Brebner, *Outpost*, 117); and 300 colonials in the autumn, plus a plan to raise another 1000 (Shirley to Pelham, 4 December 1746, Huntington Library, HM 9710). New York's contribution to the Louisbourg expeditions was £5000 and ten 18-pounder guns, the heaviest which the attackers had. *Report of the committee on Louisbourg memorial*, p. xii.

11   In 1748. The colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island received a total of one-quarter million pounds. Rawlyk, *Yankees*, 158.

12   Shirley to Pelham, 4 December 1746, Huntington Library, HM 9710.

on their own responsibility, control of Nova Scotia would probably have passed to forces from France and French Canada that were also dispatched to the Maritimes in those years.

Although military operations in 1744 resulted in the French seizure and sacking of Canso, their attacks upon Annapolis Royal were beaten off. In 1745, the great event was the New England expedition against Louisbourg which, backed up by battle units of the Royal Navy, forced that citadel to surrender. Reputed to be the strongest fortress in the whole French empire, Louisbourg fell to a rag-tail land force of amateur colonials. The news startled London, centre of the empire, into astonished salutes to Boston, toasts to America, and doggerel congratulatory verse such as:

Hail, heroes born for action, not for show!
Who leave toupees and powder to the beau
To war's dull pedants tedious rules of art,
And know to conquer by a dauntless heart,
Rough *English* virtue gives your deeds to fame
And o'er the *Old* exalts *New England's* name.[13]

France attempted to re-establish the theatre in 1746 with a two-part effort. A mighty armament sent from Europe finally limped into Chebucto harbour (Halifax) too battered by storms and sickness to attempt the recapture of Louisbourg or anything else. More potent, an army of several hundred Canadians was sent down from Quebec to make the isthmus of Chignecto its base and to do everything possible to unsettle Anglo-American sway over the province. Meanwhile, Boston kept pumping in reinforcements. With Annapolis apparently well secure, the command there decided to extend its grasp by stationing 500 troops at Grand Pré. In the autumn, these Yankees billeted themselves in the homes of the Acadian villagers, putting into storage enough lumber for two blockhouses, planned for springtime construction to make their hold permanent. In bitter mid-winter this careless force, although superior, succumbed to a surprise attack by 300 Canadians and Indians. The New Englanders saw their blockhouse

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13   *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, quoted in Rawlyk, *Yankees*, 153.

materials go up in flames and were forced to retreat down to the other end of the Annapolis valley after burying fifteen per cent of their number.[14]

After peace was officially declared in 1748, a cold war continued. The Americans sent back to Boston for another blockhouse and erected it at Piziquid (Windsor) in 1750, scooping out earthworks around it. The French Canadians built a fortified post at the isthmus of Chignecto (Beauséjour); the English countered with one of their own just two miles across the marsh (Fort Lawrence). Halifax, a new British fortress to oppose and rival Louisbourg, which had been restored to France, was begun in 1749. Again, this British imperial move was not so British as it may appear. The ideas and projects voluminously sent to London by the governor of Massachusetts almost completely dominated the shaping of the new, forward policy, and the Board of Trade's instructions for Governor Edward Cornwallis were supplemented by copies of Shirley's dispatches.[15] Pre-cut lumber for St. Paul's Church — which appears today as a vestige of the oh so English impulses behind the founding of Halifax — was shipped in from Boston. So were most of the things for sale in the stores.[16] An early observer in Halifax easily distinguished between European Britishers and Americans, despairing of both. The proper British were unreligious and immoral, he said, while Americans were hypocrites: "Their notorious prevarication . . . which appears in all their commercial dealings is an evident proof of this melancholy truth . . . tho' they seek the Lord often (to use an expression very common and familiar with them) yet they seek him in such a manner as makes it very difficult to find him."[17]

The shooting war started up once more in 1755. New England came through militarily yet again, providing 2000 men to co-operate with 250 British regulars in the reduction of Fort Beauséjour. When this move was

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14   Malcolm MacLeod, "Daniel-Marie Liénard de Beaujeu, 1711-1755: empire-builder at work and war," *Dalhousie Review*, 53 (1973), 296-309.

15   Brebner, *Outpost*, 175.

16   Rev. William Tutty to the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 17 March [1750], NSHS *Collections*, (VII), 1891, 114.

17   Same to same, 29 September 1749, NSHS *Collections*, (VII), 99.

successful early in the summer, the plentiful manpower on hand was utilized to carry out the next great step in the Americanization of Nova Scotia —namely, the displacement of its Francophone population. This idea had been mooted in British and American circles for several years, a variety of reasons being advanced in its support. Official New England was very much in favour of expelling the Acadians; should they be removed, Governor Shirley had written to London the previous year, that "would indeed be a day of Jubile for His Majesty's northern Colonies; the Ora [era] from whence their deliverance from the danger of French Incroachments might be dated."[18] The Council in Halifax which adopted the ruthless resolution that so favoured the spread of American settlement was composed of six men: three British and three American.[19]

Then came the second conquest of Louisbourg in 1758, its destruction, and the round-up, continuing over the next several years, of Acadian refugees who had fled to Prince Edward Island, the Saint John River and the Bay of Chaleur. With the coming of peace the long-delayed, large-scale settlement of the country by English-speakers finally got underway. The families who came and took over the lands from which the Acadians had been evicted were straight off the farms of New England. The settled population of Nova Scotia in 1767 was about 14,000, of whom 8000 were Americans.[20] As Brebner insists, not Canada, not France, not Britain, but

New England was the dominant influence on Nova Scotia up to the eve of the American Revolution. She repeatedly fought for the region

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18   Shirley to Lord Halifax, 20 August 1754. Manuscript Group 18, N15, 107, Public Archives of Canada.

19   The British members were Governor Charles Lawrence; John Collier, retired army officer and 1749 settler; and William Cotterell, Provincial Secretary. The Americans were Benjamin Green, son of the rector of Salem, Massachusetts, who was a merchant at Boston, then at Louisbourg, then moved to Halifax; John Rous, a privateer working out of Boston in 1744, who later became captain, Royal Navy, and Chief Naval Officer for Nova Scotia; and Jonathan Belcher, graduate of Harvard, who studied and practised law in London, England and who became Nova Scotia's first Chief Justice. Of the Acadians' banishment, Brebner wrote, "The fatal fruition of New England's interests and policy thus emerged from the hands of men who were either New Englanders or who, without exception, had been fairly saturated with that policy for years."*Outpost*, 221-222.

20   D. Allison, "Notes of [the Nova Scotia] census of 1767," NSHS *Collections*, (VII), 45-72. C. B. Fergusson, "Establishment of the U.S. consulate," 58.

in the seventeenth century, gradually drew it into her marine and mercantile domain, finally conquered it in 1710, supplanted the immigrants from England after the founding of Halifax in 1749, stimulated and carried out the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, and planted twice as many settlers in the Province in their place.[21]

A major purpose in paying attention to Nova Scotian history of the eighteenth century is to see what it reveals about conditions in the present. A focus upon the past is for the sake of today, to help people understand the world in which they live. For example, the onrush of events during the period 1710 to 1760 left behind in the Maritimes some interesting physical structures that command considerable attention when those times are recalled. Most of this surviving evidence is military: Fort Anne at Annapolis; the blockhouse at Windsor; Fort Beauséjour; Fort Amherst near Charlottetown; gloried Louisbourg; and buried ruins on Grassy Island (Canso) which first came to public notice when a man from Maine bought the real estate in 1971. When visitors to such sites ask what caused these military stations to be built, what is the answer? It is a mark of how badly we understand our history, and how little we care about its relevance, that nine out of ten will respond that these forts represent the old quarrel between the French and the British, of course.

Objectively viewing Nova Scotia's politico-military history during the years 1710 to 1760, there seems about as much justification to call that series of events a British conquest as to call it an American conquest. One of those labels is much more revealing and relevant to people today, however, than is the other. British influence has become quite slight. If we speak of 1710 to 1760 as a *British* takeover, we relegate that period to the realm of ephemeral and unique events, a passing phase in the New World's development, now fully completed and behind us. The label marks the history as unimportant by current standards. On the other hand, American influence in the Maritimes has always been strong. There were first of all the repeated incursions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which this paper has rehearsed — from the admiral of Virginia to Boston's capture of Fort Beauséjour —which culminated in the Acadian expulsion and Anglophone domination of the region. Then the American Revolution which again triggered con-

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21   J. B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937), p. vii.

troversy and war in Nova Scotia, and which finally produced extensive restructuring of the social fabric. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the nearby American presence remained one of the potent forces that shaped events. Confederation was an attempt to resist the north-south pull of the United States and to swing the trade of British North America into an east-west axis instead. For several generations the surplus population of the Maritimes gravitated towards New England, until the belated discovery of Toronto. In the Maritimes at the present time, American example and control — widely expressed through the media, and reflected in public awareness and values, which govern key sectors of the economy — often predominate. To interpret the Anglophone triumph of 1710 to 1760 as an *American* conquest stresses the relevance of the past to important present considerations, and brings into sight a profound and permanent pattern in human affairs in this part of the world.

New England's conquest of Nova Scotia was completed by the 1760s, then soon undone as a result of the American Revolution. For a century and a half thereafter, a strong European mother-country helped protect the colony from Yankee expansionism. Now it is marching again. Museums in the future, when they seek to make presentations concerning the second American conquest, will mouse about in current paraphernalia and come up with items to display: Canadian kids' war-toys with stars, stripes and eagles often prominent; our television schedules; United States-controlled oil refineries at the Strait of Canso; Hants County gypsum exported to the United States, made into wallboard and sold in Halifax at double the sensible price; an "Anglo-Saxon" line to streak Labrador power south so that Broadway's lights can keep shining. These items of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries will be companion pieces — part of the same story — to the grass-covered earthworks that are Nova Scotia's monuments of the first American conquest.

George Tattrie: A Nova Scotian Pioneer from Montbéliard

Gordon Haliburton

Although, as every school boy knows, Nova Scotia became British in 1713, the population remained French and potentially hostile to the new order of things. In order to better protect New England from French incursions based on the great fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, it was decided in London to establish a British fortress on the peninsula and to establish an English-speaking and Protestant population to outweigh the Acadians.

The first step was taken in 1749 when the Honourable Edward Cornwallis arrived with a fleet of settlers and founded Halifax. However, he almost immediately saw that his civilian settlers, plucked from overcrowded English cities, lacked the stamina and resolution needed to succeed on the frontier, as Nova Scotia then was. Indeed, a large proportion of the new settlers soon found their way south to the towns of the older colonies, where they felt more at home.

Governor Cornwallis knew that valuable settlers had been arriving in the middle colonies, most particularly in Pennsylvania, from the German states and adjacent territories for some decades, and he at once wrote home requesting that settlers of this type be sent to him as soon as possible. The Board of Trade, which had already set a precedent by assembling and sending the initial settlers to Halifax, put the requisite wheels in motion and assured the governor that it would be done. Normally the British colonies were peopled purely by private initiative, but in its anxiety for a loyal presence in Nova Scotia, the Board of Trade broke new ground twice —firstly by sponsoring the original settlers, and secondly by authorizing an agent in Rotterdam to recruit and arrange passages for the type of settler demanded by Cornwallis.

Thus it was that Jean-George Tattrie, a farmer living on the eastern borders of France, close to Switzerland, had his fate ultimately decided by an unknown British official far across the ocean. From Montbéliard Tattrie made the long journey to Nova Scotia and spent the rest of his life clearing the forest and wresting a living from the land. His descendants helped to people the empty lands of the new continent and today his blood flows in many hundreds of North Americans, most of whom, it is safe to say, know nothing at all about him. This article is, in the first instance, written with them in mind, though the tracing of the vicissitudes of his life reflect for all of us today the struggles of all our pioneer ancestors in the days when Nova Scotia was being settled.

The British government, as noted above, assigned an agent to fulfill Cornwallis' demand. John Dick, a young man but already experienced in the business, was the agent designated for this undertaking. Early in 1750 he began to advertise the prospects available in Nova Scotia, a land of promise, by means of handbills and, where possible, newspaper advertisements. His handbills reached a network of rural clergymen in the impoverished regions of western Europe, who were already accustomed to publicizing opportunities in the New World to their congregations. In some areas, of course, the authorities took umbrage at the luring away of their people, and recruiting was forbidden. Nevertheless, thousands of those who heard of lands offered in the British colonies, with extra help from the British government in getting settled, let Dick or his sub-agents know of their interest. Often this was done through their pastors, who sent Dick details of the men prepared to go. Most of them, unfortunately, did not have the money to pay for their passages, but this was not necessarily an obstacle. Many emigrants without money were being taken on ships bound for Pennsylvania and the Carolinas as indentured labourers; their indentures, sold when they landed, would include the price of their passages. However, Dick and the British authorities knew that there were very few people in Nova Scotia in 1750 who could buy indentured labour. It was agreed, therefore, that the government itself would take up the indentures, and Cornwallis was instructed to employ the immigrants in building fortifications and other public works at Halifax, work already being done by New Englanders at exorbitant wages. This policy was implemented upon the arrival of the first of the new settlers, who were told they would receive their promised land when they had paid back, by their labour, the money paid by the British government to bring them over the Atlantic.

During 1750, 1751 and 1752, John Dick proved quite successful in signing up settlers, while battling with agents for Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, who were unscrupulous in the tactics they used to attract emigrants. A complication was that intending settlers had to be signed up on their way down the Rhine, for the Netherlands government would not allow emigrants to enter its territory until satisfied that they would be carried away on reaching the coast.[1] John Dick despatched his first ship load of settlers from

1 See Winthrop Bell, *The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (University of Toronto, 1961) for a full and clear account of the events summarized here.

Rotterdam on the *Ann* in June, 1750. Two other ships, the *Alderney* and the *Nancy*, brought some of the "Foreign Protestants" directly from England; in some unexplained manner, and despite Dutch regulations, they had found their own way across the Channel. During 1751, John Dick despatched 1,004 settlers from Rotterdam on the *Speedwall, Gale, Murdoch* and *Pearl.* More than 90 per cent, a high proportion for the period, were landed alive at Halifax. In 1752 he sent off the *Speedwell, Betty, Sally, Gale* and *Pearl*, with 1,135 passengers in all, 1,007 of whom arrived safely on the other side. These five ships which came to Nova Scotia were a small fraction of those carrying settlers to the British colonies; from Rotterdam alone, 21 other emigrant vessels set out in that year. The British government called a halt to this experiment in subsidized immigration at the end of 1752 on the grounds of expense even though there were many more prospective settlers anxious to come. Already, however, they had done enough to make a contribution to the ethnic diversity of Nova Scotia — a contribution which was to have significant developments in the years to come.

George Tattrie was one of a sizable group of men who came from the area around Montbéliard. A few of the names generally identified as pertaining to this group include those of Bezanson, Bissett, Bigney, Boutilier, Sarty, Dorey, Dauphinee, Gratto, Joudry, Jollimore, Langille, Lowe, Millard, Mingo, Matatall, Patriquin, Robar and, of course, Tattrie. They spoke a dialect of French, and their homeland was, in fact, controlled by the French. During the Middle Ages, Montbéliard was a possession of the House of Württemberg, and at the time of the Reformation had generally accepted Lutheranism. Louis XIV, during his expansionist period, took a *de facto* possession of the area, and although the town and county of Montbéliard were definitely identified as belonging to Württemberg by the Treaty of Ryswijk in 1697, there were many of the surrounding areas which Louis refused to give up. These seigneuries were only recovered by the rulers of Montbéliard (a junior branch of the throne of Württemberg) on their agreeing to hold them as fiefs of the French Crown.

More than a decade previous to the treaty, King Louis had revoked the Edict of Nantes and had begun persecuting his Protestant, or Huguenot, subjects. He had to allow a "toleration" of Lutheranism in the Montbéliard region, but applied what pressures he could to make the Protestants uncomfortable. Material inducements were offered to those who turned Roman Catholic, while steps were taken to make the Lutheran Church appear

inferior. Churches were divided, for instance, by a wall, the choirs being taken for Roman Catholic services and the naves, at most, left for the Protestants, no matter in how great a majority the latter might be. This was supposed to take place whenever seven Roman Catholic families could be counted in a parish, but was sometimes done in completely Protestant communities.[2] Specific incidents have been recalled in histories of the area, such as the one in 1740 when a party of Roman Catholics marching from points outside the principality to celebrate a church festival at Hericourt pillaged and sacked the Protestant church in the village of Brevilliers which was on their route.[3] It was this kind of annoyance, as well as normal economic pressures, that made many young Lutherans who worked as farmers, woodworkers, stonecutters, weavers, thatchers and so forth glad to hear from their clergymen that there was a chance of a better life for them beyond the sea. These men authorized their pastors to send word to John Dick at Rotterdam that they and their families would come as soon as they had settled their affairs and had obtained (in some cases anyway) the necessary documents.[4]

One of these men was George Tattrie, who was born in 1722 in one of the villages near Montbéliard. It seems likely, on the basis of several bits of evidence noted below, that the village was Chagey, in the seigneury of Hericourt. Although the records of vital statistics housed in the old chateau in Montbéliard have not been exhaustively combed, the family name has been found in entries such as the following birth: "de la village de Chagey, Jean-Jacques et Elizabeth Teterey, une fille, 25 Jan. 1739."[5]

Nothing is known about the early life of George Tattrie save for the account subsequently collected by Reverend George Patterson, D. D., describing Tattrie's share in a struggle to preserve his local church:

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2   This information is taken from a section of Dr. Bell's pre-publication manuscript in my possession. It does not appear to be in the published version and must have been sacrificed when the publishers demanded that he compress his material further.

3   Quoted by Dr. Bell in the above draft from Louis Renard, *Nouvelle Histoire du pays de Montbéliard* (Montbéliard, 1950).

4   For example, the Langille men brought letters of reference or passports from their village elders, and copies of them are preserved among their descendants.

5   Discovered by the author during a visit to Montbéliard at Easter, 1950.

Orders had been given that one of their chapels should be taken away from them and handed over to the Romanists. Fifty young men, among whom were George Tattrie and Peter Millard, assembled at it, armed with stones, prepared to resist. A detachment of troops was sent against them, with a priest at their head. He warned the party gathered of the uselessness of resistance. They, however, refused to yield, when a section of the troops were ordered to fire, which they did, killing two and wounding others, among whom was George Tattrie who received a ball in the fleshy part of the leg. The order to fire was answered by a volley of stones, by which some of the soldiers were badly injured and, it is said, one killed. The Protestants were again summoned to surrender but refused, until the priest called on the whole detachment to fire, when they submitted, and saw the house where their fathers had worshipped given to their enemies.[6]

While it is impossible to verify the details of this account, which was the version remembered by George Tattrie's children, there were certainly very similar things happening in the seigneuries in 1740, when George Tattrie was about 18 years old. A modern historian of the area describes the arbitrary replacement of a deceased Lutheran pastor by a Roman Catholic priest at the village of Chagey, already noted as the probable home of the Tattrie family.[7] On 27 August, 1740, the priest came, accompanied by soldiers from the fortress-town of Belfort; twenty-one of the villagers who assembled to resist were shot in front of their church. The *ancient culte* was re-established by force at Chagey, and in the same way at the villages of Selencourt, Bondeval, Lougres, Blamont and Villars-les-Blamont. Certainly if it was not the incident at Chagey that George Tattrie described to his children, then it must have been that at one of the other villages. There is a further tradition associated with George Tattrie, placing him at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745. This is possible, but there is no hint as to whether he fought with the French forces or against them, and no mention of it appears in the records at Halifax.

6   George Patterson, D. D., *History of Pictou County* (Montreal, 1877), p. 127. This story is said to have been told to Patterson at two separate times by George Tattrie, Jr.

7   Renard, *Nouvelle Histoire*, pp. 94, 149, as well as in his earlier *Histoire Illustrée du Pays de Montbéliard* (1941).

We have no way of tracing the movements of George Tattrie prior to his arrival at Rotterdam in the spring of 1752, but presumably he was farming in his home village, bearing patiently the religious discrimination now so evident, until his pastor told him and his friends of the offer the British government was making to set them up with equipment on land of their own in far-off North America. He may have had a wife, or a sister and another relative travelling with him, for the official lists show that he was indebted for three "freights" or passages, and one of these was for Jeanne Tattrie, who was on the first victualling list with him at Halifax, while the other adult female may have been a sister or mother-in-law.

According to Dr. Patterson's account of the departure, George Tattrie and his friend, Peter Millard, fled secretly down the Rhine on a raft, with their families and meagre baggage. This seems most unlikely. They were, instead, part of a sizable migration from Montbéliard and as we have seen, they had to have clear travel arrangements and guarantees before they were allowed to enter the Netherlands, and at Rotterdam they were processed by John Dick and his staff. In 1750 there had been two families from Montbéliard — the Mailliards and Duvoisins on the *Ann*. The majority came in 1752, when they made up seven-eighths of the immigrants on board the *Speedwell* and the *Betty*.

George Tattrie arrived in Halifax on the *Sally* in September, 1752. In order to understand the state of affairs he found there, we should know a little about the general historical background. Governor Cornwallis, as noted, having founded Halifax in 1749 with English settlers, wanted and was soon told to expect thousands of "Foreign Protestants" who would be placed on 100,000 acre townships, at the heart of each of which would be a town properly laid out with streets, public buildings and defences. It was originally hoped to place the first townships, with British regiments to protect them, on the Isthmus of Chignecto, where they would block the Abbé LeLoutre from sending in expeditions of hostile Indians to ravage the English settlements around the peninsula. Unfortunately, the necessary military force did not show up, and for two years all the arriving immigrants were kept close to the shelter of the fort at Halifax.

George Tattrie and most of the Montbéliard immigrants had missed the first winter, during which there were many deaths from a serious epidemic, as well as the year 1751-52, when many of the Foreign Protestants cleared the forest and made two little villages on the isthmus which joined the

peninsula of Halifax to the mainland. There were already three blockhouses there to keep back the Indians; they evidently built a palisade which strengthened the defences considerably. Several of the 1751 ship loads were placed at Dartmouth, where many of the original settlers had been massacred by Indians in May of the same year.

The settlers who had been at Halifax for a year or two were, by the summer of 1752, becoming very anxious to be permanently settled and to have the equipment and materials they had been promised. A new governor, Colonel Peregrine Hopson, had taken over, and it was clear to him that they could not remain on the rocky soil of Halifax, that they could not feed themselves until they had been on their own soil for a year or more, and that the British Parliament was going to have to spend much more money than it had ever planned. He risked his own career by demanding large supplies of food and equipment from England, and sent the first settlers off to the nearest suitable area, Merliguish, re-named Lunenburg in honor of the King, whose major and most ancient title was "Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg." This was in the spring of 1753, when Hopson still had no indication of what he might expect in the way of support from England.

Preparations were speedily made. Fresh seed for planting was ordered from New England and transport vessels were hired in Boston. Food supplies and building materials were assembled. On 21 May all the adult men assembled at the Grand Parade and drew their lots of land in St. Paul's Church. The governor addressed the settlers, apologized for the long delay in getting them settled, and told them that they would form a militia in their new home, to which he had already appointed some of their number as officers. There were about 500 men and boys capable of bearing arms, and for regular military protection the governor sent 92 regular troops and 66 rangers. There was some alarm when spies reported that 300 Indians were assembled and ready to be on the spot at Merliguish to oppose the landing, but in actuality, it was several years before there was any Indian attack.

The first flotilla embarked on 29 May 1753, but the wind died away and then turned against them, and for a solid week the vessels anchored in the outer harbour; it was not until 7 June that they could proceed. It was really only one day's sail, and as a matter of fact it was not until evening that the fleet got away from Halifax, arriving at the site of the new Lunenburg at daybreak on 8 June. The regulars and armed militia landed and inspected the site for danger. Despite a heavy rain all day on 9 June, the great block-

house timbers were landed, dragged by hand to the hilltops, and the fortifications were set up by carpenters; on the next day the settlers, all in high spirits, were themselves landed. The first days were not all happy, however, and Colonel Charles Lawrence, who was in charge, found it very hard to make the settlers obey orders and follow plans. He especially feared that an Indian attack would find them very vulnerable. As the new town was on a peninsula, a first necessity was to build a picket line across the neck, and this was done with some pressure on the settlers. Not until Sunday, 17 June, were the immigrants allowed to stop working; on that day, the Reverend Jean-Baptiste Moreau held the first church service at Lunenburg. On that day also, the remainder of the settlers arrived in harbour, and on Tuesday, 19 June 1753, all the settlers were put in possession of their lots. Now they could begin to put up houses and form a town.

At this point, it might be well to take a look at what was happening to George Tattrie. As we have seen, he arrived in the *Sally* in 1752, at which time he gave his age as 30. He had two dependents, but the only one identified is Jeanne, relationship uncertain, but probably his wife. He was in debt to the government for his passage fares and for a cash advance. Jeanne disappears from the lists after October 1752, and in the victualling list of February-April 1753, George is listed alone. On 2 May 1753 the Anglican priest, the Reverend Moreau, married "Jean Geo. Tettray" to Catherine "Menago"[8] and thereafter, the lists link George and Maria Catherine "Tettray." There is no indication on which of the two dates — 8 or 17 June — they arrived at Lunenburg.

We might note that the Montbéliard community, who could speak neither English nor German, was fortunate in having the Reverend Jean-Baptiste Moreau as their pastor. He had formerly been a Roman Catholic clergyman and the prior of an abbey near Brest in France. His studies dissatisfied him with the doctrines and practice of his church, so he emigrated to England and came out to Nova Scotia with Cornwallis' expedition. The Church of England accepted his ordination as valid and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel accepted him as a missionary and

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8 Catherine was probably the daughter of Jean George "Menegau" or "Mangeau" or "Minigo," etc., and his wife Françoise, who came out on the *Speedwell* in July 1752. This is the supposition. The name is generally thought to be the original form of "Mingo," commonly found in Nova Scotia today.

supported him financially. He held regular services for the Montbéliard community at St. Paul's in Halifax, got French language prayer books for them, and accompanied them to Lunenburg. They became, as it were, Anglicans without even noticing it. Moreau remained the minister of the French-speaking community until his death in 1770, shortly before their dispersion began.

Lunenburg, under the leadership of Colonel Lawrence, developed as planned, with the exception of a minor rebellion in December 1753, prompted by an unfounded belief that the government was holding back on its promises of household and farming equipment. The land was easily cleared; most of it was probably young second growth, for a settlement of Acadians had formerly lived on the site, raising cattle and sheep. The general type of house built was one with large posts at the corners and exterior openings, the walls between being of solid planks set into grooves in the posts. A variation on this style was a house built with small trees set up vertically (stripped of branches, of course) and fastened together with strips of board nailed to them; a man could erect one of this latter type with the help of only his wife and children. For the first years, until after the end of the Seven Years' War, the settlers naturally lived in the town, and when they worked at clearing and breaking up their farms, they did so only when it seemed safe. Under the unsettled conditions of the time, it was wiser to go fishing than it was to farm, and many settlers did this.

Along with the other immigrants, George Tattrie received a town lot and a farm lot. The town lots were grouped into divisions, separated by the streets. George Tattrie received Lot F.5 in Zouberbuhler's Division, with one house on it.[9] In the first drawing for farms in 1753 he received Rose Bay No. 4, a 30-acre holding. Presumably more land became available as time went on, and there was no objection to settlers trading farms amongst themselves. Ultimately, George Tattrie owned a 300-acre lot in the North West Range near Lunenburg town, plus two 30-acre lots in the same vicinity. Probably he traded his Rose Bay lot in order to get into the same area as the other Montbéliard settlers, who tended to cluster together; this is not

9 Captain Sebastian Zouberbuhler had been born in Switzerland, had taken part in a land-settling scheme in Maine, had served with Massachusetts troops at the taking of Louisbourg in 1744-45 and had then come to Halifax, where his services were welcomed by the government. He served under Lawrence at Lunenburg.

surprising when we reflect that their language was French, not German, a factor which naturally drew them into forming their own separate community.[10] It is interesting to note that Colonel Lawrence reported, on 16 June 1753, that "the Montbailliard people are very tractable, and tho' not half so strong as ye others perform double ye labour.[11]

Domestic animals were given to the settlers at intervals, but the paucity of the supply is clearly seen in the records. In the drawing of livestock in 1754, George Tattrie teamed up with Marx Bourgogne to receive one cow and one sheep; in December, a chosen few got an extra distribution of livestock and this time George Tattrie received two sheep. Because of the great shortage of livestock, the settlers welcomed the chance to pick up more animals in the summer of 1755 when the projected expulsion of the Acadians made a large quantity of cattle available to those who could get possession of them. The governor acceded to pleas from Lunenburg and authorized the settlers to cross the province, so that during September and October, men from Lunenburg were combing the woods and marshes of the Minas Basin area for stray animals, though they had to give way for a time to a party from Halifax collecting beef for the navy. The Acadians were still in their villages, the men in confinement (for example, in the church at Grand Pré) and the women and children in their own homes. The latter probably drove the cattle into the woods to keep them from being captured. By November, the Acadians were all gone from the villages and most of their houses were burned to show them they could never come back. By this time it appears that the Lunenburgers had driven over 1,000 head of cattle to Halifax, where the governor claimed some for various purposes, allowing the residue to be shipped to Lunenburg by water.[12]

We have no evidence that George Tattrie took part in this round-up of stock, but he does appear in the list of those on a gathering expedition in 1756. Apparently more Acadian animals survived a winter in the woods and surfaced in the spring. A party of men from Lunenburg rounded up about 120 head, which they tried to bring back by the overland route to Lunen-

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10   Bell, *op cit.*, pp. 473-4.

11   Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, No. 10: *Journal and Letters of Colonel Charles Lawrence* (Halifax, 1953), p. 20.

12   See Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 488-89; pp. 499-500.

burg but perhaps the cattle were still weak from their winter hardships, and certainly the overland journey was difficult. It took the party five weeks to make the trip and in that time half the animals died. As Dr. Bell rightly points out, this indicates how fanciful are the stories in which heroines from Lunenburg are able to cross alone through the rough forest in search of a cow.[13]

The men on these expeditions were perhaps lucky not to have been attacked. There were still some Acadians not uprooted, as well as fugitives in the woods, and these, together with the Indians, raided the new settlements once war had broken out between France and Britain in 1756. The best known attack, of course, was by Indians sent from the Saint John River (or even farther away) who killed Louis Payzant and pillaged his trading post on an island in Mahone Bay. Precautions were taken at Lunenburg, where attacks occurred at intervals, particularly at the end of March 1758. By the middle of 1759 the raids gradually ended and with the fall of Quebec, the Micmacs began to officially submit to the government of Nova Scotia.

It appears that once peace was secure, George and Catherine Tattrie left Lunenburg Town Plot (they sold their town lot in April 1765) and lived on one of their farm lots. However, at about the same time, on 25 August 1765, an event occurred which was to alter the course of Tattrie's life and that of many of his fellow countrymen. On that date, J. F. W. DesBarres was awarded for his services to the British Crown a handsome estate of 20,000 acres at Tatamagouche on the north shore of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. He was to hold it only if he could populate it with Protestant settlers "in the proportion of one person for every two hundred acres" within ten years; otherwise, it would revert to the Crown. Normally, a grantee of this dimension would look to Europe for prospective settlers, but DesBarres had the happy thought that there was a community of people already in the province — men, women and many children all counted as persons — who would be better prospects than any far away.

DesBarres himself was the member of an ancient and noble family of Montbéliard, though born in Switzerland. Supposedly his childhood nurse,

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13   For example, the story "The Cowbells of Grand Pré" in Grace Dean McLeod (Rogers), *Stories of the Land of Evangeline* (1891).

a Mrs. Matatall, was now with the other Montbéliard settlers at Lunenburg. Presumably DesBarres was in touch with her, and through her with the local Montbéliard community. Accordingly, DesBarres soon invited these settlers to move across the province to take up the rich lands of his estate, formerly worked by Acadians. We do not know whether he came in person to Lunenburg and painted a picture of future prosperity which they could not resist, but it seems likely that he did. He had plenty of opportunity to visit Lunenburg many times after the end of the war while carrying out his important hydrographic surveys eventually published at great costs as the *Atlantic Neptune*, and as an important personage must have powerfully attracted some of the settlers. One wonders how honest he was in his invitation. The Montbéliard men enjoyed a freehold right of ownership at Lunenburg, while he would only give them leasehold at Tatamagouche, for he imagined he could develop there a great estate on the European model, with humble tenants paying regular rents and dues to the noble landlord. One wonders whether the tenants realized that they would never own their own property if they accepted his offer.

There are several questions as to the time and method of the migration from Lunenburg. On 25 August 1771, George Tattrie appeared as a sponsor with David and Catherine Langille at the baptism of David, son of David and Maria Langille. This child, George Tattrie's future brother-in-law, had been born on 17 August, and so obviously the Montbéliard group was still in Lunenburg at that time. The settlers probably moved to the Tatamagouche area in the spring or summer of 1772, although the men may have visited in advance to choose their farms and build shelters. At any rate, it was on 1 May 1772 that George Tattrie conveyed his farms in the North West Range to purchasers, and from that time on his name no longer appears in the records of Lunenburg County.[14]

After nearly 20 years at Lunenburg, George Tattire was pulling up stakes to start life anew in another spot. He was about 50 years old and must either have been very strong to think of starting all over, or very dependent on his friends, the chief of whom was David Langille, a veritable patriarch with his large family. Tattrie, in contrast, had no children at all, and perhaps he and

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14   R. B. Logan, Registrar of Deeds for Lunenburg, to George Louis Tattrie of New Glasgow, 8 February 1935. Now in possession of Gilbert Tattrie of Truro.

his wife developed a special relationship with the large Langille family as a result.

At any rate, the Montbéliard contingent must have found their way, possibly by water, and if so, perhaps up across the Minas Basin to Tatamagouche where they took up rich lands along the Frederick or French River. Their exodus greatly weakened the French-speaking contingent left at Lunenburg, accounting for the fact that their share in establishing the community has been forgotten and that it is thought of as almost entirely German. Of course they had kept to themselves to a large extent, and ultimately nearly all of them scattered to other communities. Another factor in the prevailing ignorance of the share these people took in building up the province as a whole has been the transformation of their surnames so that they give no obvious evidence of their origins.

The settlers who arrived with their families at Tatamagouche in 1772 are said to have been George Tattrie, George Gratto, David Langille, James Langille, George Matatall, Matthew Langille, James Bigney, Peter Millard, John Millard, — Ledurney, John Lowe, and John Buckler. Later came John Frederick, John George Patriquin, and George Joudrey.[15] At Tatamagouche they found some land cleared by the Acadians, especially along the rivers, as well as their graveyards and signs of copper mining and smelting. The first year was particularly hard. The only vegetable food they had for many months consisted of boiled marsh greens, and they were forced to bring in other provisions on their backs from Truro, 30 miles over hills and through woods. However, it seems clear that they still kept up contact with Lunenburg, and some of the women may have been taken back there to have their babies.

As already noted, the Montbéliard settlers were tenants at Tatamagouche. It is not clear exactly what terms they had agreed to. One source notes that each settler was to have 80 acres rent free for the first six years, then to pay five shillings during the seventh year, ten shillings for the eighth, and from that time on, a pound a year.[16] However, another authoritative

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15   Dr. George Patterson, *History of Pictou County*, p. 129, and Frank H. Patterson, *History of Tatamagouche* (Halifax, 1917), p. 25.

16   John Clarence Webster, *The Life of Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres* (Shediac, New Brunswick, 1933).

account says that each family was to receive 60 acres free of rent for six years, then on the seventh to pay five shillings, on the eighth ten shillings, on the ninth one pound and from the tenth year into perpetuity it was to be three pounds.[17] In regard to livestock, it was agreed that in return for free livestock from DesBarres, one-half of the increase was to revert to him.

The settlement flourished in a slow way. Perhaps DesBarres was not able to do as much for them as he had originally hoped, especially because he was in England trying to get payment from the government for his services in surveying the coast and for the publication of his surveys in the *Atlantic Neptune*.[18] After ten years he was appointed governor of Cape Breton in partial recognition of his accomplishments, but even then he was chronically short of money to spend on his tenants. Indeed, in 1787 their properties were attached and ravaged by the sheriff on behalf of merchants at Halifax who went before the courts to collect debts he had run up on his personal credit to alleviate the conditions of the Loyalist pioneers at Sydney.

By 1784, evidence indicates that the original 18 families at Tatamagouche had become 28, but at that point a dispersal began as some of the men looked for freehold lands of their own. They had tried to get possession of the farms at Tatamagouche, it is said, but if so, DesBarres refused to give them up. They could see that settlers were pouring into all the best parts of the province. In fact, even before they came to Tatamagouche, they knew that most of the best Acadian lands had been occupied in 1760 to 1762 by settlers from New England, and that the first settlement on the north shore was made at Pictou by immigrants from Pennsylvania in 1765. No sooner had they taken up their lands at Tatamagouche than the *Hector* appeared at Pictou, bringing the first of the Highland Scots who were to flow into the eastern part of Nova Scotia in such a tide in future years. At the same time, the country to the north of them filled up with Yorkshiremen; and from 1778, Loyalists were coming in from the rebelling colonies to the south, though their recognition by the authorities and grants of land came only

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17 "Conditions of Settlement at Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia, 1795," in *Report of the Department of Public Archives* (Ottawa, 1945).

18 Frank H. Patterson, *The Days of the Ships: Tatamagouche, N.S.* (Truro, Nova Scotia, 1970), p. 8.

after 1783. In the light of this influx, many of the Tatamagouche settlers, joined by relatives and friends directly from Lunenburg, uprooted themselves and moved in the direction of Deception River or River John.

George Tattrie was content to remain at Tatamagouche. He had by this time taken a new lease on life. His wife Catherine had died — the date is uncertain — and he had married a young woman whom h∍ had known from birth, Marie Elizabeth Langille, the daughter of his old comrade, David Langille. Elizabeth was born in 1760, and her baptisr. is noted on 22 May of that year at St. John's Church, Lunenburg. She gave George Tattrie the children he had never had by his two former wives. George, their eldest son, was baptized at St. John's Church in Lunenburg on 16 October 1784. He had been born at Tatamagouche on 18 February 1784, according to the rector's note in the baptismal register. He was the only child of George and Elizabeth to be baptized at Lunenburg, and one would assume that he was their eldest offspring. Family tradition speaks of Elizabeth as being only 16 at the time of her marriage, which would have made it during 1776. However, if that were the case, there would have been children older than George and they would certainly have been baptized somewhere, probably at St. John's Church. This, then, presents us with a mystery which only some future evidence can clarify. Another move by George Tattrie in June 1784 was to divest himself of part of his property, sold to David Archibald of Truro for the nine pounds he owed DesBarres for two years' rent on it. The deed, as registered at the courthouse, simply describes the land as that held in partnership with David Langille and others.

As previously noted, it was in 1787 that DesBarres' tenants were robbed by the landlord's creditors, despite the efforts of his local sub-agent, Wellwood Waugh, a Scottish immigrant; following that, more of the tenants threw up their leases and left. It is obvious that men of other nationalities were by now living on the estate — Waugh himself had come in 1781 after making himself unpopular in Pictou, while the tenants who left in 1787 included James Martin, John Langille, John Shea, Patrick Manning and William Murdock.[19] They were young men; most of those who remained were too old to relocate themselves.

After 1787, according to some accounts, DesBarres' agent in Nova Scotia, Mary Cannon, began to grant long term leases to tenants who might

19   *Ibid.*, p. 19.

otherwise move away. These did not hold more than a few settlers. At this time, DesBarres was still in England, fighting for compensation for the money he had expended at Sydney. In December 1789, he was finally awarded 10,000 pounds. This saved his estates in Nova Scotia, but he hoped for more and stayed on in England until 1804, when he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island.

In 1795, Tatamagouche was investigated by Captain John Macdonald, a friend of DesBarres, appointed to examine the latter's colonial holdings. He sent a full report of what he had found, noting that of the original 18 settlers some seven remained: David Langille and George Tattrie, living on a rich intervale up the Frederick or French River still flourished, with their neighbours being (apparently) David Langille Jr., (son of John James) and Matthew Langille (although in another place the latter is spoken of as among those dead or gone away), along with James Bigueny, George Patterkin, James Langille and John James Langille. Captain Macdonald knew and cared nothing about the details of the family affairs of the tenants; his only interest was in the rent they could pay. His comment on our subject was, "George Tatteray — being an old man, and having only young children, there is no doubt but the farm will become vacant on his death. It will however find a tenant, particularly if the Rent shall be lowered, as it is one of the sound shares of the Intervale."[20]

Macdonald's account is worth following further. He noted that the farms in the intervale had originally been scheduled for nine families at an annual rent of 27 pounds, but that only four families, had taken up residence. The rent was therefore reduced to 20 pounds, but that was still too high for them. The share of David Langille Jr. had been badly damaged by ice, and he "is, as we say, between hawke and buzzard, willing to continue, but entirely uncertain whether he shall be able so to do." Macdonald suggested that his rent be lowered. He complained that the farms depended too much on their intervales and marshes, and not enough on clearing the uplands: "The uplands are difficult, I think; but what degree of exertion are such poor old men fit for? How, but from the want of exertion have the lands returned to wood, where they had been formerly cleared?"[21]

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20   *Report, op. cit.*

21   *Ibid.*

George Tattrie, at this time perhaps 73 years of age, must indeed have seemed to have one foot in the grave, although we understand that he lived another 30 years! Still, this description suggests that his farm was really not being well looked after. Since his eldest son, George, was only 11, Lewis about nine and David only five, with sisters ranged in between, some being babies, we can understand Macdonald's concern. Family tradition has it that there were three brothers and seven sisters in the family. The brothers were George (1784-1878), Lewis or Louis (1786-1855) and David (1790-1840). They all left descendants who have carried the name on to the present day. The sisters, however, are not remembered by name and their lives are unknown.

The Colchester Deed Book gives us one more clue to George Tattrie's affairs. In 1800 he sold one-half his farm (leasehold) to David Langille Jr. Presumably, he and his wife remained on the other half, along with their younger children. Probably the daughters married as soon as they were old enough, while the two older sons left home and found homes for themselves. The youngest son, David, apparently was left with the parents and eventually took over the farm. His father, George Tattrie the pioneer, is reputed in family tradition to have lived to the great age of 102. Obviously Nova Scotia suited him.

A Tattrie Line of Descent

Gordon Haliburton

Jean-George Tattrie (1722-1824), the pioneer from Montbéliard who came first to Lunenburg, then went on to Tatamagouche, had three sons and perhaps seven daughters. The three sons married into neighbouring immigrant families from Montbéliard and had many descendants. George Jr. (1784-1878) married Margaret **Matatall**, daughter of George and Margaret (Langille) Matatall, and is said to have had sons David, George, Levi and James, as well as daughters Ann, Margaret and Susan. David (1790-1840) married Catherine **Langille**, daughter of Jean George and Mary (Hayman) Langille, and had eleven children, including Edward, George, John, Ephraim and Ann. Some of David's descendants are now working on his line, but nothing appears to have been done on that of George Tattrie Jr. What follows is a concise study of the second son, Louis Tattrie, and of his descendants.

Louis (or Lewis) Tattrie (1785-1855) was born at Tatamagouche, but on reaching manhood moved to River John, where a group of the Montbéliard settlers had taken up land in the 1780s. He received his first grant of land in 1809,[1] and on it he built at first a rather primitive dwelling, then later a substantial frame building which still stands. This homestead was inherited by his youngest son and is today owned in the latter's family. Because the area was inhabited also by Louis Langille, it was referred to by the local minister, Rev. James Waddell, as Louisville, a designation which became and remains its official label.[2] Louis Tattrie shared in a second grant of land to the Montbéliard settlers in 1815, and may have received more, for he is believed to have furnished farms to his sons as they grew up.

His career, summed up by the local minister, Rev. Hector B. MacKay, for Dr. George Patterson when the latter was writing his *History of Pictou County*[3] (published 1877) makes a striking obituary:

> This Louis Tattrie was rather a remarkable man in his day. He pos-

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1 The original grant is in the possession of Gilbert Tattrie of Truro.

2 The origin of the name is noted by Mr. Waddell's son in G. Lawson Gordon, *River John: Its Pastors and People* (New Glasgow, 1911), p. 60.

3 This exists as a note found by Judge Frank Patterson among Dr. Patterson's papers, and shown the author by the judge in 1954.

sessed a strong intellect, a clear judgment, and a great energy of character. He had those qualities which made him a leading man among his own people and indeed he would be a leading man among any people. When he grew up to manhood he felt the want of an education and he set himself to remedy this defect during his spare moments by the light of the winter fire, and in this way he acquired the elements of an English education. He by contract got the frame of the first vessel that was built in River John. In those days this was deemed a great undertaking, but Louis Tattrie was equal to the task. He was for many years an elder in the Presbyterian Church during the ministry of Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Waddell.

Louis Tattrie married Eleanor ("Ellen") **Patriquin**, the daughter of John Patriquin and his wife Catherine ("Kate") Bigney of River John. Their eldest child, Abram, was born in 1809, and during the next twenty years they completed their family of four sons and nine daughters. Louis Tattrie died on 3 January 1855, aged 69. His wife died nearly eight years earlier, on Christmas Day 1862. Her tombstone gives her age as 65, but this is surely an error. Their issue:

1.   Abram, b. 1809, d. 1893. Born at Louisville, he made his home, when he married, on the border between Brule and Marshville, between the counties of Pictou and Colchester, on the shores of the Northumberland Strait. The original farm may have come from his father, but he acquired more land by grant or purchase, for a map of 1879 shows that his farm consisted of 230 acres. Several streams which came together on the property were dammed up, and here Abram and his sons were able to operate a sawmill. Abram Tattrie married, ca. 1834, Susannah **Langille,** a daughter of John David Langille (son of the pioneer John David Langille) and his wife Catherine Louisa Perrin. Susannah died 23 Jan. 1891, aged 81; Abram died 9 Jan. 1893, aged 84 (although the *Presbyterian Witness* gave his age as 96). It may be that the old couple, like so many of their children, died of tuberculosis. It appears that after their deaths, the original homestead was razed and the present homestead was erected to make a fresh start. Their issue:
      (1)   Elizabeth Tattrie, b. 1835, d. April 1836, aged 10 months.
      (2)   James Tattrie, b. 1836, d. 10 April 1839, aged 3 years.
      (3)   Ann Tattrie, b. 1836, d. Sept. 1927; never married, she lived all her days on her father's farm, which was inherited by her nephew,

W. A. Tattrie, by agreement with his uncles when he took posses-
sion of the place.

(4) Benjamin Tattrie, b. 1838, d. 1878. Benjamin was given part of his
father's farm when he married, ca. 1860, or at least his own house
on the farm. His first wife was Louise **Langille**, daughter of Chris-
topher Langille of the Mountain Road. They may have had two
daughters before Mrs. Tattrie died of tuberculosis. It appears that
one daughter, Lillias or Lillian, survived. At any rate, Benjamin
married again, ca. 1868, to Jane **Douglas** (1843-   ), the daugh-
ter of Donald Douglas and Jessie MacLean. They had a daughter
and three sons, but just a month before the birth of the third boy,
Benjamin died of the dread scourge. His widow was married
again two years later to Samuel Langille (*Presbyterian Witness*,
16 Dec. 1880), by whom she had another family. Issue of
Benjamin:

(1a) Lillian Tattrie, b. 1864, d. 20 March 1888, unm.

(2a) Marjorie Elizabeth Tattrie, b. 4 May 1870, d. 27 Oct. 1939.
Married, 28 Dec. 1892, John A. **MacDonald**, and lived on
the "Back Shore." Issue.

(3a) William Abram Tattrie, b. 15 July 1872, d. 1 Sept. 1928. He
inherited the home place and its responsibilities on the death
of his grandfather. He married, 4 Sept. 1894, Lillian Hall
Archibald, daughter of Isaac Adams Archibald of Truro.
Their issue:

(1b) Isaac Archibald Tattrie, b. 1895, d. aged 9 months dur-
ing fierce winter weather.

(2b) George Melville Tattrie, b. 25 Dec. 1897, married, 1922,
Helen Mary **MacKay** of Marshville. After some years of
farming in the area, they moved to Toronto. Their issue:

(1c) Jean Lillian Tattrie, married Clarence Cameron
MacKenzie of Westville, now of Vancouver. Issue.

(2c) Kathleen Alice Tattrie, married Robert **MacLen-
nan**. Issue.

(3c) Irene Tattrie, married Earl **Stone**. Issue.

(3b) Annie Jean Tattrie, b. 29 Oct. 1899; married, 1917,
Harry Chester **Patriquin**. They live in Malden, Mass.
Issue.

(4b) Pearl Ella Tattrie, b. 3 Nov. 1905; married, 1928, George Robert **MacLean** of Marshville. Issue.

(5b) Harry Lawson Cameron Tattrie, b. 17 June 1907; married, 1939, Louise Frances **Mingo**, daughter of Allison Mingo of Tatamagouche. They occupy the Abram Tattrie farm. Their issue:

(1c) Audrey Alice Tattrie, b. 10 Sept. 1940.

(2c) Mervyn Allison Tattrie, b. 5 May 1942, d. 26 Feb. 1961.

(3c) David George Tattrie, b. 17 June 1954.

(6b) Alice Marjorie Tattrie, b. 6 Sept. 1909; married, 1930, George William **MacKay** of Marshville. They live in Alberta. Issue.

(4a) Daniel Archibald Tattrie, b. 1875, d. 1949. He spent most of his life in Truro, where he worked as a C.N.R. constable. He married: 1) Nettie **Archibald**, who died without issue; 2) Harriet **Smith**; and 3) Clara **Leban**. Issue by Harriet Smith:

(1b) Ina Tattrie, b. 13 March 1904; married: 1) Amos **Johnston** of Truro, by whom issue; 2) George **Grey** of Vancouver.

(2b) Muriel Tattrie, b. 29 Aug. 1905; married Angus A. **Hicks**. They live in Vancouver. Issue.

(3b) Harriet Ethel Tattrie, b. 21 May 1906, d. 20 April 1952. Married, 1934, Allister **Murdock** of Glenmont, N.S. Issue.

Issue by Clara Leban:

(4b) Dorothy Tattrie, b. 1911; married Fred **Wynn** of Truro. No issue.

(5b) Freda Tattrie, b. 1914; married Alfred J. **Lebrie**; they live in Vancouver. No issue.

(6b) Leo Tattrie, b. 1915; married Opal **Griffiths**. They live in Truro. Issue:

(1c) Jane Tattrie, b. 1953; married Donald **Uhren**. Issue.

(2c) June Tattrie, b. 1954; married Keith **Roode**. Issue.

(7b) Percy Archibald Tattrie, b. 1916; married Bernice **Clark**. They live in Truro. Issue:

(1c) Douglas Tattrie, b. 1940, d. 1968. Married Carole **Welch**. No issue.

(2c) Randall Tattrie, b. 1944; married Louise **Hill**. Issue:
(1d) Colin Tattrie, b. 1966.
(2d) Tracey Tattrie, b. 1970.
(8b) Marjorie Tattrie, b. 1918.
(9b) John William ("Jack") Tattrie, b. 1922; married: 1) Evelyn Watson of Truro; 2) Muriel Hoskins, 1974. He is a well-known personality in Truro, where he has served as fire chief. He is director of assessments for Colchester County. Issue:
(1c) Robert Tattrie, b. 1942; married: 1) Ann **Clark** of Truro; 2) ———. He lives in Calgary. Issue:
(1d) Stephen Tattrie, b. 1961.
(2d) Lynn Tattrie, b. 1962.
By second marriage:
(3d) Robin Tattrie, b. 1972.
(2c) John Tattrie, b. 1943; married Briggette **Rippen**, whom he met in Germany. They live in Drumheller, Alberta. Issue:
(1d) John Richard Tattrie, b. 1965.
(2d) Jacqueline Tattrie, b. 1967.
(3c) Bruce Tattrie, b. 1949; married Sandra **Whidden** and lives in Truro. Issue:
(1d) Bruce Tattrie, b. 13 May 1978.
(4c) Candace Tattrie, b. 1952; married Michael **Frizzell** of Truro.
(5a) Benjamin Alexander David Tattrie, b. 17 Dec. 1878, d. 28 July 1937. He went to western Canada as a young man and did well at Traill, British Columbia. However, he returned home and took up a farm at Brule. He married at Loganville, 6 March 1911, Janie ("Jenny") Elizabeth **Gunn**, daughter of Angus and Mary Ann Gunn. Their issue:
(1b) Angus Benjamin Tattrie, b. 25 Sept. 1913; a farmer at Brule.
(2b) Anna Jean Tattrie, b. 2 July 1915, d. 28 Aug. 1941, of tuberculosis. She had married, 1935, John Woodrow **MacDonald**, who predeceased her. Issue.
(3b) Donald Douglas Tattrie, b. 19 April 1918; married Anna Isobel **Sutherland** of Waugh's River. Their issue:

        (1c) Angus Harold Tattrie, b. 21 July 1942; married
            Kathryn Madelyn **Sellars** of Tatamagouche. Their
            issue:
        (1d) Warren Douglas Tattrie, b. 5 Feb. 1967.
        (2d) Vernon Edward Tattrie, b. 23 July 1969.
        (3d) Eldon Lloyd Tattrie, b. 25 Dec. 1970.
        (4d) Kenneth Angus Tattrie, b. 11 May 1973.
      (4b) Mary Kathleen Tattrie, b. and d. 1919.
      (5b) Ruth Gunn Tattrie, b. 28 June 1922; married, 3 June
           1944, Kenneth **Langille** of Tatamagouche. Issue.
  (5) David Tattrie, b. 1841, d. 15 Oct. 1886. Known as "Long David"
      because of his height, he appears to have worked with his father,
      never left home, and never married.
  (6) Abram Tattrie, b. ca. 1843, d. 19   . Married Margaret **Patri-**
      quin and emigrated to Massachusetts. Their issue:
      (1a) Sidney Tattrie, d. unm.
      (2a) Agnes Tattrie, d. unm.
      (3a) Grace Tattrie, d. unm.
      (4a) Frank Tattrie, d. unm.
  (7) Nathan Tattrie, b. 1845, d. 19   . Little is known, except that he
      was a trade instructor in leather working at the Dorchester Peni-
      tentiary. Issue:
      (1a) Harry Archibald Tattrie, lived in British Columbia; killed in
          World War I.
      (2a) David Tattrie, d. unm.
      (3a) Ann Tattrie, d. unm.
      (4a) Elizabeth Tattrie, d. unm.
      (5a) William Tattrie, d. unm.
  (8) Infant son, b. and d. Jan. 1848.
  (9) Infant son, d. 1849, aged 4 months.
  (10) Archibald Tattrie, b. 1850, d. 23 Aug. 1892; presumably lived and
      worked at home; unmarried; buried at Louisville.
2.   Mary, b. 1812 (?), d. 9 April 1849; married Robert **Langille,** son of **J.**
      Louis Langille. Issue.
3.   George, b. 1814, d. 1904; married Margaret **Forbes.** On becoming a
      man, he was given a farm of his own next to his father's. Here at
      Louisville he lived his life close to the homestead in which he had been

born. He married, 3 Feb. 1848, at Cape John, Margaret Forbes, whose family had arrived from Scotland in 1818. Alexander Forbes had taken up a farm on the "Back Shore" (River John), where Margaret was born in 1822 (*Eastern Chronicle*, 17 Feb. 1848).

This couple lived a quiet and hard life on the farm, lightened mainly by their interest in religion. George, a short, stocky man, normally deferred to his strong-minded and high-principled wife. Following in his father's footsteps, he was also an elder at Salem Church. In answer to a question about the social life of that place and time, his son George Louis wrote, "The life as we lived it would be counted rather tame now, but we took great pleasure in it. There were dances, parties, Singing School and of course, Church-going. And skating . . . I can remember crowds of 20 or 30 on ice all from one section . . . you see, large families and all farms farmed." Now, of course, many of the farms of Louisville have gone back to bush, and the countryside seems nearly depopulated.

George Tattrie died aged 91, according to the *Presbyterian Witness.* His issue:

(1) Alexander Tattrie, b. 1849, d. 1900. He took up farming, for a time at North Wallace and later on the Brook Road behind River John. He marrried, 20 May 1880, Jessie **Malcolm**, daughter of Thomas Malcolm of Brule. After her death from tuberculosis in 1890, he married Mary Ermina **Langille**, 4 Jan. 1894, but six years later died himself from tuberculosis, as did some of his children. Issue:

(1a) Andrew Malcolm Tattrie, b. 1882, d. 1904.

(2a) George Melbourne Tattrie, b. 1884, d. 1901.

(3a) Lily Edith Tattrie, b. 1886, d. 1939; married Owen **Mingo**. Issue.

(4a) Clayton Leigh Tattrie, b. 1888, d. 1890.

(2) Susan Tattrie, b. 1851, d. 9 Jan. 1877, unm.

(3) Edna Tattrie, b. 1855, d. 1859.[4]

(4) Elizabeth Tattrie, b. 16 March 1856, d. 28 April 1950; married W. Frank **Owens** in Mass. Issue.

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4 Sole source, G. Byers.

(5) Daniel Tattrie, b. 1858, d. 1933. A short, stocky man, he was a travelling supervisor for a large construction firm in the U.S.A. for many years and lived in various parts of the U.S. and Canada, as the job dictated. He eventually settled at Orlando, Florida, where he formed his own construction company. Married, but no children. Buried at Natick, Mass.

(6) Alma Margaret Tattrie, b. 1861, d. 1943. She went to the U.S.A. when young and worked as a seamstress in wealthy homes. She enjoyed the life, especially the travel in Europe which was part of it. Slim and beautiful, she became engaged. Her fiancé died, and she fell into a severe state of shock, returning home subsequently to look after her aged parents. She never returned to the U.S., but stayed on the homestead until her death.

(7) George Louis Tattrie, b. Feb. 1863, d. July 1955. He taught school for a time, then worked at New Glasgow as the C.N.R. agent. He married, 28 Dec. 1904, Sabina S. **Langille**, daughter of Ephraim Langille of Marshville. Like his father, he was an elder in the church. Their issue:

(1a) Margaret Jean Tattrie, b. 1905; married J. R. **Chambers** of Trenton. Issue.

(2a) Arthur Daniel Tattrie, b. 1908; married Daisy **Holmes** of New Glasgow. He is an accountant and businessman in Halifax. Their issue:

(1b) George Arthur Tattrie, b. 1937. Attended Dalhousie University (B.A. 1960, B.Ed. 1961) and later, Presbyterian College at Montreal. He was ordained into the ministry and serves as chaplain at Carleton University. Married, 1961, Brenda Louise **Tanner** of Lunenburg.

(3a) Gilbert Louis Tattrie, b. 1910; married Dora **Mason** of New Glasgow. He worked up through the post office there, retiring as supervisor. Elder in the Presbyterian Church. Their issue:

(1b) Lloyd Gilbert Tattrie, b. 1943; married, 1976, Mary **Chisholm**, R.N., of New Glasgow. He manages his own bookshop there.

(2b) Carolyn Jane Tattrie, b. 1945; married James **Croft**. Issue.

(4a) George Owen Tattrie, b. 1913. Married: 1) K. **Mitchell** of New Glasgow; 2) Mae **Penny** of Sydney. Lives in Kitchener, Ontario. No issue.

(8) Calvin Forbes Tattrie, b. 1867, d. March 1949; spent his whole working life on the homestead.

4. Elizabeth, b. 1815 (?); married George **Langille**, son of J. Louis Langille. Issue.

5. Catherine, b. 1816 (?), d. 10 Oct. 1864; married George **Langille**, son of J. Frederick Langille.

6. Hannah, d. 1871; married Benjamin **Langille**, son of John David Langille (b. 1769). Issue.

7. Eleanor ("Nellie"); married Jacob **Joudry**. They evidently moved to the United States. Issue.

8. John, b. 1821, d. 1907; married Catherine **Fairweather**. Born at Louisville, he died at his home in Marshville, just outside River John village, 14 Oct. 1907. On that farm fronting on the Northumberland Strait, given him by his father, he lived and worked all his adult life. On 11 July 1851, he married Catherine Fairweather, daughter of David Fairweather, a Scottish-born miller and wheelwright, and his wife Janet Ross.[5] Catherine ("Kitty") was delicate, and her parents and sisters usually formed part of the household, taking most of the domestic cares from her. Her husband was protective and insistent that she spare herself from household drudgery.

The Tattrie family was not numerous, as some infants were dead at birth or lived briefly. Tradition says that several sons were named for their grandfather Louis Tattrie, but lived so briefly that when after a decade a son was born again, the local minister, Rev. Hector Bruce MacKay, was honoured by having his revered name applied to the infant, who flourished and survived. Rev. MacKay served the Antiburger (Presbyterian) congregation at River John from 1861 to 1885, and was thus the spiritual mentor of his young namesake through childhood and early adulthood.

5 For more on the Fairweathers, see Gordon Haliburton, "The Descendants of David Fairweather of West River and River John, Pictou County," *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (1979). This present study overlaps the earlier one to some extent.

John Tattrie died 14 Oct. 1907, aged 88; his wife predeceased him, 8 June 1905, aged 76. According to her obituary notice in the Pictou *Advocate*, "Hers was a life of sunshine, created by a simple trust in the arm that could carry her through every trial." On the Sabbath before her death, she attended church, took communion and heard her younger son, Rev. G. P. Tattrie, preach. Her funeral was conducted by her pastor, Rev. G. Lawson Gordon. Their issue:

(1) Mary Tattrie, b. 23 Aug. 1852, d. April 1946. She went to New England to find her fortune when she was about 17. There she met and married Sereno Austin **Clossen** from Maine, and lived in Marlboro, Mass. Issue.

(2) Elizabeth Tattrie, b. 7 March 1856, d. Jan. 1943; married Alonzo B. **Creelman**, son of Samuel Creelman of Seafoam near River John. They lived their lives there on the farm. Issue.

(3) Lewis Tattrie, b. 1858, d. 8 Feb. 1859.

(4) Hector MacKay Tattrie, b. 9 Aug. 1862, d. 6 March 1939. He farmed with his father and later managed it himself. He was an elder in Salem Church and a Pictou County councillor. He married Henrietta Frances **Langille**, daughter of Amos W. Langille of East Earltown. Their issue:

(1a) Amos Clifford Tattrie, b. 13 Sept. 1893. Studied at the N.S. Agricultural College and worked with his father. Developed a fine herd of Jersey cattle and was a staunch supporter of the co-operative movement in various segments of agriculture. He was also an elder in Salem Church. He married Annie F. **MacLeod** of Brule. Their issue:

(1b) Harold Lorne Tattrie, b. 1 March 1924. Served in the Dieppe Raid, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. Due to insufficient care in prison camp, his leg deteriorated and was amputated on his return home. However, his health was shattered and he died on 6 June 1948. He married, Dec. 1946, Edith Essie **Forbes**. Their issue:

(1c) Anna Lena Tattrie, b. 1947; married Wallace **Sutherland** of the Canadian Armed Forces. Issue.

(2c) Harold Ian Tattrie, b. 17 Sept. 1948.

(2b) Helen Mary Tattrie, b. 1 Jan. 1926; married, 21 June

1946, John Rae **MacConnell** of Meadowville, near River John. Issue.

(3b) Annie Frances Tattrie, b. 26 Jan. 1929; married 6 Oct. 1962, Henry Lloyd **Eadie** of Clydesdale, Antigonish. Issue.

(4b) Lloyd George Tattrie, b. 19 Dec. 1936. Worked with his father on the farm and eventually assumed control. In the 1970s, it ceased to be viable and in 1975 he sold the homestead. He married, 18 Feb. 1956, Margaret Eileen **Falconer** of Caribou. Their issue:

(1c) Robert Lloyd Tattrie, b. 4 Oct. 1956.

(2c) Beverley Eileen Tattrie, b. 14 April 1958.

(3c) Charles Clifford Tattrie, b. 15 Dec. 1959.

(4c) Allan Mark Tattrie, b. March 1971.

(5b) Clifford Hector Tattrie, b. 10 May 1938; married, 1960, Sonja **Fink**.

(2a) Annie Katherine Tattrie, b. 20 April 1895. Attended Normal College and Dalhousie University (B.A. 1918). While teaching at Sunny Brae, developed symptoms of tuberculosis, and d. 7 April 1923.

(3a) Louella Jean Tattrie, b. 13 April 1897. Graduated Dalhousie University (B.Sc. 1921); taught school in N.S. and Sask.; worked in the Boston Public Library. Married, 1927, Edward Douglas **Haliburton**; d. 20 Jan. 1977. Issue.

(5) George Philip Tattrie, b. 23 June 1869, d. 9 March 1927. He graduated from Dalhousie University, 1894, then studied for the Presbyterian ministry and was ordained in Manitoba in 1896. After 8 years of pastoral work in Sask., he enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary and received his B.D. He held several pastoral charges in the east, and was at O'Leary, P.E.I. when he unexpectedly died. He married: 1) Mabel **Sutherland**; 2) Helen **Simpson**. Issue by the latter:

(1a) George Lawson Gordon Tattrie, b. 8 Sept. 1923. He was brought up at Wyandotte, Michigan, attended Michigan State University, served in the U.S. Army during World War II, and received his B.Sc. in civil engineering in 1950. He is now city engineer for Wyandotte. Married, 14 Feb. 1948, Janice **McCauley**, of Wyandotte. Their issue:

(1b) Cynthia Margaret Tattrie, b. April 1951; married Byron
        Hebert.
(2b) Sharon Louise Tattrie, b. March 1953; married Robert
        Jaigello.
(3b) Nancy Lynn Tattrie, b. 1955.
(4b) Patricia Ann Tattrie, b. 1956.
(5b) Amy Beth Tattrie, b. 1966.
(6) Laura Ellen Tattrie, b. 16 March 1872, d. 7 June 1959. Married,
     25 Aug. 1892, Alexander Baxter **Langille**, son of Isaac Langille of
     Marshville. Issue.
9. David, b. 1824, d. 1906. Married Catherine **Grant**. He was born at
    Louisville, 4 June 1824. He lived on the home place, which he inher-
    ited on his father's death. He was then 31, but not yet married, and
    with the farm he inherited responsibility for his mother and unmar-
    ried sisters. He and his bride had the use of only half the house as long
    as his mother lived, and since it was not a very large home, this must
    have been somewhat inconvenient. More inconvenient, according to
    the family tradition, was the fact that by his father's will, he was to
    provide each of his unmarried sisters with $250. It is said also that his
    brothers asked for more land from the paternal acres.

    The bride who moved into this charged family situation was Cath-
    erine Grant of East River, daughter of John and Christine Grant, who
    had come from Scotland, John being a cousin of the eminent "Princi-
    pal Grant" of Queen's University. Ten years younger than her hus-
    band, Catherine had been born 28 Jan. 1834, and died 9 Dec. 1918,
    after giving birth to 11 children, all but one of whom lived to
    maturity.

    David Tattrie was musical and for nearly 40 years led the singing at
    Salem Church, setting the note with his wooden pitch-pipe. His near-
    est neighbour was his brother George, and since both were keenly
    interested in religion (or theology) and fond of debate, they spent
    many evenings at one house or the other, arguing strenuously but
    good-naturedly on predestination or other choice Presbyterian topics.
    He died 15 July 1906, aged 82. Their issue:
    (1) James Henry Waddell Tattrie, b. 5 Jan. 1859, d. 1938. He went to
         the West and took up land in the Assiniboine Territory, where he
         grew wheat. He returned to Louisville in August 1913, to farm

with his brother "Ren." He died unmarried in the family home, 1938, and is buried at Louisville.

(2) Louis Archibald ("Archibald") Tattrie, b. 10 Nov. 1860. When he grew up, he went to Philadelphia. He is not known to have married.

(3) Emeline Mary Ann Tattrie, b. 15 Nov. 1862, d. 30 July 1928. Married Richmond Hersey **Cushing** of Saint John, N.B., and lived there. At the time of their marriage, he was an engineer on the building of the "Short Line" railway along the north shore of Nova Scotia. Issue.

(4) David Charles ("Charles") Tattrie, b. 24 Dec. 1864, d. 1930, Taos, New Mexico, where he had been employed with the U.S. Forestry Service. He had just retired and was planning on coming home. Unmarried.

(5) Martha Alice ("Alice") Tattrie, b. 17 Nov. 1866, d. 21 March 1955. She went to New England as a young woman and there married William Sumner **Nickles** of Lowell, Mass. Issue.

(6) Clara Bertha Tattrie, b. 10 Oct. 1867. Followed or accompanied her sister to New England and there married Edward **Hill,** originally from Weymouth, N.S. They lived in Lowell, Mass. Issue.

(7) Florence Jane Tattrie, b. 20 Jan. 1870, d. 22 July 1954. Married Robert **McNabb** of Trenton, N.S., as his second wife. No issue.

(8) Alfred Edward Tattrie, b. 20 Oct. 1872, d. 1 April 1940. Born at Louisville, he went as a young man to Lowell, Mass., presumably to join his older sisters. He lived and worked there for many years, and married Edith **Hill,** a sister of his brother-in-law and a daughter of Brum Hill, who was in the lumbering business at Weymouth, N.S. He was persuaded by his relatives at Louisville to return to the healthy life of rural Nova Scotia, so in 1924 he bought a farm at Denmark, near River John, and here brought up his five young children. He later felt that the return home had been a mistake. His issue:

(1a) Gladys Eileen Tattrie, b. 27 May 1913 at Lowell; married Andrew Vernon **Dunbar,** a farmer at Lorne, Pictou County. Issue.

(2a) Earl Grant Tattrie, b. 17 April 1915 at Lowell; d. 8 Jan. 1976, Panama City, Florida. He studied at the N.S. Normal Col-

lege, served in the R.C.A.F. during World War II and made
a post-war career in what was later Canada Manpower and
Immigration. He married: 1) Ruby **Currie** of Fairview,
P.E.I., and after her death in 1958, 2) Marilyn Jean **King** of
Aurora, Ontario. Issue, by first wife:

(1b) Sandra Irene Tattrie, b. 20 March 1944; married: 1)
James **Kilbride**; 2) Ernest V. **Jones**. Issue.

(2b) James Grant Tattrie, b. 12 March 1947; married, 1 Dec.
1973, Linda Diane **Laird** of North Winsloe, P.E.I. An
agricultural technologist at the Federal Department of
Agriculture Research Station in Charlottetown. Their
issue:

(1c) Amy Dawne Tattrie, b. 25 Aug. 1975, Char-
lottetown.

(2c) Andrew James Tattrie, b. 28 Feb. 1977.

(3b) David Edward Tattrie, b. 5 March 1949, Brampton,
Ontario.

(3a) Bernice Vivian Tattrie, b. 17 April 1915 at Lowell (a twin);
married Dudley Lorne **Mingo**, son of Allison Mingo of Ta-
tamagouche. Issue.

(4a) Corinne Julia Catherine Tattrie, b. 7 April 1921 at Lowell;
married Donald Arthur **MacLanders** of Brule. Issue.

(5a) Edward Alfred Tattrie, b. 20 Aug. 1923 at Lowell; married
Emily **Daglan**. Served in the R.C.A.F during World War II;
living in Toronto. Their issue:

(1b) Joseph Tattrie.

(2b) Roy Tattrie. Issue:

(1c) Jason Tattrie.

(3b) Boyd Tattrie.

(9)   John Alexander Tattrie, b. 1874, d. 16 May 1875.

(10) Alexander Renwick ("Ren") Tattrie, b. 10 March 1876, d. 24
Sept. 1954. Unmarried, he went to western Canada in early man-
hood and farmed there; he probably came home at the time of his
father's death and remained to look after the homestead. Buried
at Louisville.

(11) Sarah Mabel Tattrie, b. 23 June 1880, d. 9 Jan. 1966. Married
George **Murray**, a merchant at Meadowville, near River John,

where they lived. She was very musical and invited friends in for musical evenings, a feature of which was learning to sing songs of her own composition — none of which was ever published. Following the death of her husband, she returned to the Tattrie homestead to keep house for her mother and brother "Ren." After his death, she lived alone with a large number of cats. Buried at Louisville. No issue.

10. Susan, b. 1827; married, 1852, David ("the Butcher") **Langille**, son of Frederick Langille.[6]

11. Amelia ("Millie"), b. 1829, d. 27 Feb. 1896, unm.

12. Esther, b. 1831, d. 21 March 1837.

13. Sarah, d. 1916. Married John **Cameron** of Truro. No issue known. She became blind and died after falling down the stairs in the John Tattrie home at River John.

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6   Family sources give Susan's husband, "David the Butcher," as the son of J. David Langille, son of David Langille the pioneer, and thus a brother of Benjamin and of Abram Tattrie's wife. However, G. Byers clearly identifies him as above in his "The North Shore Langilles of Nova Scotia," *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII. No. 3 (1977), p. 286.

Poll Book for the County of Annapolis, 1786

In 1785, elections for the return of members to the Legislative Assembly were held throughout Nova Scotia. This poll was historically significant, since it provided the first direct political confrontation between the old and new settlers of the colony. The ensuing dispute over the results of one particular poll in Annapolis County well illustrates the intense rivalry existing between the two groups.

The "old comers," as the pre-Loyalists were called, were those original pioneers who had voluntarily chosen Nova Scotia as the place for their new beginnings. The Loyalists, or "new comers," on the other hand, would have preferred to have remained in their own familiar surroundings, had circumstances been different. They saw Nova Scotia as a "land of exile," offering them "the less of two evils."[1] The old inhabitants did not value loyalty as did the new arrivals, since none of them had been driven from their homes, beaten, imprisoned, and in the end forced to flee their native land. It is not surprising that the old inhabitants felt threatened by the sudden invasion of nearly thirty thousand people, particularly since many of the new arrivals were well-educated, mannerly, — and eager to assume prominent positions in the colony's political life. The pre-Loyalists were jealous, contemptuous and generally unsympathetic to the new arrivals, fearing the "purportedly British pampered parasites" who were compensated for their suffering by the government through grants and financial assistance.[2] Their unsympathetic attitude is well summed up by one old comer who wrote:

Instead of our being stripped of our Rights to make amends for losses of the Loyalists who were plundered in New York and elsewhere, we have at least as weighty reasons as they possibly can offer to claim restitution from the Gov't for the value of all the property taken from us, our distresses from imprisonment etc. They had numerous British army to protect them. We had to combat the sons of darkness alone; in a word we had much less than they to hope for by unshaken loyalty and uncomparably more to fear.[3]

1 Margaret Ells, "Loyalist Attitudes," *Dalhousie Review*, XV (1935), p. 330.

2 Julie Ross, "Jacob Bailey: Portrait of an Anglican Clergyman," unpublished Honours B.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1972, p. 49.

3 Ells, "Loyalist Attitudes," pp. 333-334, cited by Ross, "Jacob Bailey," p. 49.

This gentleman was, of course, referring to the hazards of Nova Scotia's neutral position during the American Revolution, which was a further reason for hostility between the two groups. The pre-Loyalists had considered themselves to be New Englanders first and Nova Scotians second; their sympathies were therefore with the rebels, and not with the influx of "traitors."[4] Those in the colony who had displayed allegiance to Great Britain were well aware of the, at best, neutral course adopted by Nova Scotia during the War of Independence.

Such antipathy was not, however, one sided. The Loyalists had similar complaints about the old inhabitants, displaying attitudes which have been described as contemptuous, sometimes patronizing and always self-righteous.[5] The old comers were variously described as "lazy Nova Scotians," "languored wretches," "shrewd to the point of greediness," and "willing to turn the refugees' tragedy to their own advantage."[6] Neil MacKinnon, in his article, "Nova Scotian Loyalists," theorizes that the Loyalist view of the old comers was prejudiced. They had not expected, or wanted, to descend upon a colony that could barely afford to support itself, let alone some thirty thousand new people. They had come to a place that they knew very little about, but they had nevertheless expected a modicum of sympathy. Their attitudes were not based on material losses alone, but on the concepts of loyalty, freedom and political traditions. When they encountered harsh treatment and indifference on the part of the pre-Loyalists, they were understandably upset.

Such basic hostilities were fueled by the economic conditions in Nova Scotia immediately after the arrival of the Loyalists. The influx of so many new settlers strained accomodations to the limit, and the problem was accentuated when some old inhabitants began to charge exorbitant prices for food and other staples.[7] Another bone of contention concerned proposed land distribution; the pre-Loyalists viewed with fear and hostility the

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4   Ross, "Jacob Bailey," p. 49.

5   Neil MacKinnon, "Nova Scotia Loyalists, 1783-1785," *Social History*, (IV) 1969, p. 20, cited by Ross, "Jacob Bailey," p. 48.

6   *Ibid.*

7   Ross, "Jacob Bailey," p. 54.

government's plan to provide free land for all the dispossessed refugees, and there was some concerted effort to defeat this scheme. It was inevitable that these continuing rivalries would soon spill over into the political arena, as each faction jockeyed for a dominant position.

In Annapolis County, all these factors were at work. This part of Nova Scotia was the oldest settled area of the colony; Acadian families there could trace their residency back to the 1630s, and many of the English went back to the early 1700s. Their settled patterns of harmonious co-existence were shattered by an influx of new arrivals who upset the power balance, sought after precious land, and created shortages of everything. The situation peaked in the 1785 elections, in which four representatives for the town and county of Annapolis were to be chosen for the Legislative Assembly in Halifax. Loyalist candidates took the seats for Annapolis Royal, Granville, and one of the county seats. The fourth seat was a contest between Captain Alexander Howe, the only pre-Loyalist in the election, and David Seabury, the Loyalist colleague of Thomas Barclay.

Alexander Howe was born at Annapolis Royal in 1749, the youngest son of Edward How. After a varied military career, chiefly in the 36th. regiment and as captain of his own independent company, ill health and limited funds forced him to retire. He returned to Granville in 1784 with his wife and children, began to clear farm land, and almost immediately became involved in the social and administrative problems created by the local Loyalist influx.

David Seabury was a native of Hampstead, Connecticut. He took an active role in the Revolution as a first lieutenant in the Connecticut Regiment, and later as captain of the 4th. company. In 1783, with his wife, he settled as a Loyalist at Granville. Seabury quickly became active in the affairs of the local government and was supported by many county Loyalists.

The third role in the list of characters was filled by Dr. Robert Tucker, sheriff of Annapolis County. Tucker was from Wilmington, North Carolina, and had arrived in Annapolis Royal in 1783. He was appointed sheriff in 1784, and was returned again the following year. The office was a one-year appointment which did not include a regular salary, but which did offer an annual honourarium of £30.

The election in question was held at Annapolis Royal on 15 and 16 November, 1785, and at Digby on 21 and 22 November. All freeholders of

the county (defined as those holding property worth 40 shillings) were eligible to vote, although Roman Catholics were excluded from this privilege.[8] On 25 November, David Seabury was declared the winner, with a majority of 165 votes. Howe immediately questioned the return, claimed the seat and, not one to give up easily, took his case to the Legislative Assembly in Halifax. Supported by seven depositions, he claimed that Sheriff Tucker had solicited votes for Seabury, and that he had been high-handed in his position, using the office to practice polling irregularities. The Assembly declared the seat vacant and ordered a new election. The battle lines were now grimly drawn, with Thomas Barclay issuing a letter to all his friends and Seabury supporters, exhorting them to rally to the Loyalist cause. The letter, dated 8 December 1785, received wide newspaper coverage:

I conceive it my duty to give you every information in my power and am sorry it is at present on so disagreeable a subject. A committee of the House this day set aside the Election held at Annapolis . . . and a new Writ . . . will be issued immediately. It is unnecessary for me to observe the proceeding was irregular and unprecedented, everything that could be said in our favour was urged by the Attorney General Mr. Blowers [a prominent Loyalist], but really the Majority of Members appeared to have come determined right or wrong to vacate the Election and . . . the measure was carried against us. Matters being thus circumstanced it calls forth all your exertions to support our interest and we shall deserve our fate if we permit Capt. Howe to carry his Election . . . let us not brood on the past but push forward to the future. Col. Delancey must again revisit Digby and every man that has interest there. Mr. St. Croix and Mr. Ruggles must attend Wilmot and send word to Col. and Lieut. Robinson to have the mountain people down . . . What as [sic] shame it will be to lose our Election and how great a right will the Province at large have to ground their opinion on, if Capt. Howe should be returned . . .[9]

8 Minutes of council, 22 August 1759. RG1, Vol. 188, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

9 M. Gene Morison, "The Evolution of Political Parties in Nova Scotia, 1758-1848," unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1949, pp. 20-21.

The second election took place in Annapolis Royal from 2 to 4 January 1786, and in Digby on 6 January. The victory again went to Seabury. Howe once more petitioned against the outcome, citing voting irregularities, and in June 1789 an Assembly resolution was passed by a majority of two to one, removing Seabury from his seat and filling it instead with Howe.[10]

A comparison between the regulations governing elections, as laid down in the council minutes of 22 August 1759,[11] and the complaints raised by Howe,[12] particularly with respect to the second poll, indicates that the returns were disallowed by the Legislature primarily because they contravened the legal electoral regulations. Howe never argued that Seabury had, indeed, garnered more votes, but he did complain, quite correctly, that the Loyalist sheriff had been more than willing to bend the voting rules in favour of the Loyalist candidate. Sheriff Tucker's poll book has not survived, nor has any contemporary document pertaining to Seabury's defence, so that all conclusions must necessarily be based on Howe's submitted arguments, — which are indeed damning.

Electoral regulations required an election to be held between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. of the same day; in other words, to carry the vote over into another day was illegal unless all candidates agreed. In addition, regulations demanded that if a poll was moved from one community to another, adequate notice had to be posted. Sheriff Tucker failed to follow either stipulation, according to Howe. The November poll was held for two days in both Annapolis Royal and Digby, while the January election ran for three days in Annapolis Royal and one day in Digby. Moreover, in January, Tucker gave no notice of moving the poll from Annapolis to Digby. The latter was a Loyalist community, and the sheriff was thus showing partiality to the Seabury vote, since virtually all of Digby could be thus counted on to vote for the Loyalist candidate. In each election, Howe argued that he himself had been ahead in the voting at the end of the first day's poll in Annapolis, which was when the election should legally have been ended.

Howe argued that Tucker showed additional favouritism in accepting all property and residency qualifications tendered by the pro-Seabury voters,

10   W. A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897), p. 357.

11   RG1, Vol. 188, PANS.

12   Controverted elections. RG5, Series E, Vol. 1, PANS.

while questioning the credentials of those supporting Howe. The sheriff's partiality spilled over into religious territory as well. A few Acadian French had come to vote for Howe and, according to him, had willingly taken the oath of allegiance and the declaration against transubstantiation, although they had refused to abjure their faith. Such willingness on their part was extraordinary, and although it was a fine legal point, Howe argued that they should be permitted to vote. Tucker refused, but was nevertheless willing to "look the other way" when pro-Seabury Roman Catholics came forward to vote.

Howe's final argument was that Tucker had kept an incorrect poll book, by refusing to note each voter's location of freehold and place of residence. This information was necessary to prevent illegal duplicate voting, as well as to avoid temporarily giving land to bribe an otherwise unqualified voter. The sheriff's repeated refusal to comply with regulations showed only too clearly that his sympathies were with his fellow Loyalist, and against Howe.[13] His evident disregard for the legalities served to condemn him in the eyes of the Legislature, and to undo that which he had fought so hard to accomplish — the local ascendancy of the Loyalist cause.

The following poll list is a record kept by Howe of the voters at Annapolis Royal from 2 January to 4 January 1786, inclusive. At the end of each day, Howe protested that the poll should be closed, as per the regulations. Sheriff Tucker repeatedly refused, although Howe was ahead by 60 votes on 4 January. The poll was then moved to Digby, and Howe subsequently lost the election. He did not dispute the vote against him in Digby, but rather the illegality of moving the poll there without notice — and in this he was quite correct.

The poll list transcribed below is *verbatim*, with all original spelling retained. It stands as a valuable record of freehold individuals in Annapolis County in 1785 and as a remarkable indication of divided loyalties. Some Acadian names appear, as do those whose right to vote was questioned by Tucker. The only addition to the list has been the last column, denoting whether the specific individual was Loyalist (L) or non-Loyalist (NL). The curious reader will be interested to note that, almost to a man, all those listed as "L" voted for Seabury, while those given as "NL" cast their lot with Howe.

13 Calnek, *County of Annapolis*, p. 356.

The above introduction and following transcriptions were prepared for the *Review* by Karen Forsyth, a member of the summer staff at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1981.

| | Candidates | | | Remarks | | |
| | | | | Place of | | |
Election Names	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Residence	L	NL
Anthony Specht	I		Digby	Digby		NL
Andrew Bearman	I		Digby	Annapolis	L	
Gottop Shultz	I		Bear River	—	L	
Israel Potter	I		Granville	Clements	L	
Henry Herrick	I		Bear River	Annapolis		NL
Francis Stachborne	I		Bear River	Annapolis		NL
Richard Waggoner	I		Bear River	Digby	L	
Jame Hall	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Henry Hathern	I		Clements	Granville	L	
Christopher Balser	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Micheal Wont	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Edward Thorne		I	Granville	Granville	L	
George Cornwall		I	Granville	Granville	L	
Jonathan Covert Sr.		I	Granville	Granville		NL
John Meritt	I		Clements	Clements		NL [?]
Joseph Potter	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Walter Willett		I	Granville	Granville	L	
Samuel Rider		I	Sissiboo	Granville		NL
Tunis Bogart		I	Granville	Granville	L	
William Mussel		I	Digby	Granville	L	
Frederick Sinclair	I		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
James Carty		I	Wilmott	Annapolis	L	
Hope Mills Jr.		I	Sissiboo	Granville	L	
John Lamberson Jr.		I	Sissiboo	Granville	L	
Christopher Benson	I		Granville	Granville	L	
	14	10				
Richard Thorne		I	Granville	Granville		NL
Andrew Henderson		I	Clements	Annapolis	L	
William Bothwick	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
William Gray	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
Thomas Hanning	I		Granville	Granville	L	
Tunis Samberion [?]		I	Sissiboo	Granville		NL
John Savage	I		Clements	Granville	L	
George Hamilton	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
William Henry	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
Henry Hall	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Nicholas Shultz	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
Edward Dunn	I		Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
Henry Fowler		I	Granville	Granville	L	
Joseph Higgins	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
James Coleman	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Benjamin Dodge	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Sylvanus Snow	I		Granville	Granville		NL

	Candidates		Remarks			
Election Names	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Place of Residence	L	NL
Joseph Fellows	1		Granville	Granville		NL
George Dukshear	1		Bear River	Granville	L	
Cornelius Helmer		1	Granville	Granville	L	
Anthony Marshall	1		Paradise	Annapolis		NL
Samuel Dudney	1		Granville	Granville		NL
	31	15				
George Worster	1		Granville	Granville		NL
William Middleton	1		Clements	Clements	L	
Jacob Worster	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Peter Baltzer	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Thomas Roblee		1	Clements	Granville	L	
Albert Zeigler	1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
James Delap	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Jacob Troop	1		Granville	Granville		NL
James Lisle	1		Clements	Annapolis		NL
William Bertaux	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Elisha Whitney	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Ebenezer Rice Jr.	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
John Calvert	1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
John Hubby	1		Clements	Annapolis		NL
	44	16				
Christopher Harrow	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Phillip Casper Shaver	1		Bear River	Granville	L	
Micheal Melville	1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
John Langley Jr.	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Samuel Bent	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Abraham Spurr	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
John Robinson	1		Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
	51	16				
John Wade	1		Granville	Granville		NL
John Wright	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Jonathan Robinson	1		Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Job Young	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Benjamin Phiney	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Joseph Daniels	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Ezekiel Welton	1		Digby	Wilmott	L	
John Foster	1		Granville	Granville		NL
George Troop	1		Granville	Granville		NL
John Troop	1		Granville	Granville		NL
George Harratt	1		Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
John Manning	1		Clements	Clements		NL
Henry Hardwick		1	Clements	Clements		NL
John Princer		1	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
William Carle	1		Digby	Granville		NL
Benjamin Fern	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
John Harris	1		Granville	Granville		NL

| Election Names | Candidates | | Remarks | | | |
	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Place of Residence	L	NL
Andrew Walker	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Jeremiah Smith	1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
John Ravel	1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
Abraham Rhodes	1		Clements	Granville	L	
Israel Fellows	1		Granville	Granville		NL
	71	18				
Sylvanus Wade	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Gidney Witt	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Israel Longley	1		Granville	Granville		NL
	74	18				
Spencer Barnes	1		Granville	Granville		NL
John Starratt	1		Wilmott	Granville		NL
Benjamin Chute	1		Granville	Granville		NL
James Agar	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
John Langley	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
James McGregor	1		Granville	Granville		NL
James Sproul	1		Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
John Bath	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Isaiah Shaw	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Jacob Sproul	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Spencer Winchester	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
John White	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Ezekiel Foster	1		Granville	Granville		NL
John Shelton	1		Granville	Granville		NL
John Chute	1		Granville	Granville		NL
James Morrison	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Moses Ray [Roy?]	1		Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
Alexander McKenzey	1		Granville	Granville	L	
	92	18				
Ebenizer Melsinger	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Martha Roach	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Abner Morse Jr.	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Alexander Robinson	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Henry Rickerson	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Samuel Balcom	1		Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
Francis Rierson		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Daniel Edwards	1		Clements	Clements		NL
Anthony Purdy		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Isaiah Corbett	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Henry Harris	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Daniel Durborne	1		Wilmott	Granville		NL
Samuel McCormick	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Richard Armstrong	1		Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
	104	20				
John Agar	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Alvin Corbett	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
George Rierson		1	Clements	Clements	L	

Election Names	Candidates		Remarks			
	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Place of Residence	L	NL
Samuel Purdy		1	Digby	Clements		NL
Thomas Hicks	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Obadiah Moss	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
David Clarke	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
	109	22				
Samuel Willett		1	Wilmott	Granville	L	
Derrick Heidenburg	1		Digby	Granville	L	
George Sniffen		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Samuel Chessley Jr.	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Gideon Clarke	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Roger Sniffen		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Thomas Williams Esq.	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Daniel Pole Jr.		1	Digby	Clements		NL [?]
Patrick Grimes	1		Digby	Granville		NL
John Hatch	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Samuel Baker		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Paul Amberman		1	Granville	Granville	L	
Mathew Winniett	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		Nl.
John Williams		1	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Frederick Frazier		1	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Frederick Devour		1	Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
John Lawrence	1		Granville	Granville	L	
John Payson Jr.	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Samuel Moore		1	Wilmott	Annapolis	L	
Francis Miller	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Joseph Thomas	1		Granville	Granville	L	
Zachias Phiney	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
	121	32				
Donald Frasier	—	—	Annapolis	Clements	L	
Thomas St. Croixe		1	Wilmott	Granville	L	
	121	33				
John Rice	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Daniel Saunders	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Silas Rice	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Andrew Sproul	1		Granville	Granville		NL
John Morrison	1		Granville	Granville	L	
Western Hicks	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Robert Clarke	1		Granville	Granville	L	
Obadiah Wheelock		1	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Samuel Moss	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
John Dunford	—	—	—	---	L	
John Hicks Jr.	1		Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Richard Raddon	1		Granville	Granville		NL
William Clarke	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Owen Lamb		1	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Uriah Clarke	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL

| Election Names | Candidates | | Remarks | | | |
	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Place of Residence	L	NL
Ebenezer Witherby	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
James Whetherspoon	1		Granville	Annapolis		NL
John Lecoin	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
	136	35				
Pardon Saunders	1		Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
John Ritchie	1		Digby	Annapolis	L	
John Robertson	1		Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Jonathan Hall Jr.	1		Granville	Granville	L	
Thomas Cornwall	1		Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Joshua Quereau		1	Granville	Granville	L	
[L]odwick Croscript		1	Granville	Granville	L	
O'Sullivan Sutherland	1		Digby	Annapolis	L	
Andrew Boekar		1	Granville	Granville	L	
Joseph Bass		1	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Jolly Longshore		1	Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Phillip Berteaux	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
John Poole	—	—	—	—		NL
	143	40				
Rev. James Frasier	1		Digby	Granville	L	
Archibald Morrison	1		Digby	Annapolis		NL
John Hood	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
James Nunn	1		Granville	Granville		NL
William Prime			(Would have voted for Capt. Howe but not allowed for not taking the oath and not having owned his house.)			
William Young	—	—	Granville	Granville	L	
Samuel Tarball	1		Sissiboo	Sissiboo	L	
	148	40				
George Burn	1		Sissiboo	Sissiboo		NL [?]
Joseph Young	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Samuel Chessley Esq.	1		Granville	Granville		NL
Scot L. Clarke		1	Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Joseph Winniett Jr.	1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Terence Kerrin	1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
Thomas Chandler	1		Digby	Annapolis	L	
Ambrose Haight		1	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Jonathan Anderson		1	Granville	Granville	L	
	154	42				
	42					

112 Votes. A majority in favor of Capt. Howe.

Annapolis 2nd of January 1786. The Sherriff opened the poll at 11 o'clock and closed at 6 o'clock in the evening of the same day and adjourned to tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, Although requested by Alexander Howe Esquire to close the same which the Sherriff positively refused and say'd he would adjourn the same, and that to Digby, and should take it upon himself, when Mr. Howe protested against his further proceedings in continuing the poll by adjournment, it being contrary to his the said Sherriffs instructions.

Tuesday 3rd of January 1786, poll opened at 10 o'clock in the morning and Alexander Howe Esquire immediately protested against the Sherriff still proceeding in carrying on the election and demanded the Sherriff to enter it on the face of his poll book which the said Sherriff refused.

| | Candidates | | | Remarks | | |
| | | | | | Place of | | |
Election Names	Howe	Seabury		Freeholders	Residence	L	NL
Francis Lecoin	1			Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Thomas Milledge Esq.		1		Digby	Digby	L	
Moses Shaw	1			Granville	Granville	L	
Edward Talbott	1			Granville	Granville		NL
James McFarland				Clements	Clements	L	
Elias Wiere	1			Granville	Granville		NL
Stephen Gouger				Digby	Granville	L	
James Austin		1		Digby	Granville	L	
Francis Bazely		1		Digby	Annapolis	L	
Edward Gouger		1		Digby	Granville	L	
Edward Obryan		1		Digby	Granville		NL
Jacob Veal (Sworn)		1		Digby	Annapolis		NL
	4	6					
Brought forward	154	42					
	158	48					
John Merritt	—	—		Clements	Annapolis		NL
Edward Greenfield (Sworn)	1			Clements	Annapolis		NL
John Covert Jr.	—	—		Digby	Annapolis	L	
William Armstrong (Sworn)	1			Digby	Annapolis	L	
Jacob Whitman		1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Jonathan Hooper	1			Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
John Park		1		Digby	Granville		NL
John Commo	—	—		(A Frenchman)			NL
John Winchester	1			Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Benjamin Hunt		1		Clements	Clements		NL
Benjamin Ramsey	1			Clements	Granville		NL [?]
Richard Cayford		1		Granville	Granville	L	
Neil McMullin	—	—		Digby	Annapolis	L	
John Holiday	1			Granville	Annapolis		NL
Abraham Bazely		1		Bear River	Annapolis	L	
John Harris	1			Clements	Clements	L	[?]
Benedict Balmer		1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
Mident Harris		1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
Tunis LeFurgery	—	—		Digby	Annapolis		NL [?]
Thomas Hutchinson		1		Digby	Annapolis	L	
Stephen Sneeden		1		Clements	Clements	L	
Frederick Williams		1		Clements	Annapolis	L	
David Bennett		1		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
George Rope		1		Clements	Annapolis	L	

| Election Names | Candidates | | Remarks | | | |
	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Place of Residence	L	NL
John Ritchie Esq.	I		Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
John Hicks		I	Granville	Granville	L	
Jonathan Fowler	—	—	Clements	Annapolis	L	
	166	61				
Andrew Keisenkeorks						
[Hisenbrook]		I	Clements	Digby	L	
Col. James Delancey		I	Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Robert Dickson		I	Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
	166	64				
John Polhalmus		I	Clements	Clements	L	
Peter Pineo		I	Granville	Granville		NL
Hugh Morrison	I		Granville	Granville		NL
George Morrison	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Assa Tupper		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Able Beal		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Thomas Clarke		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Adam Hawksworth	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Elisha Tupper		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
William Gilead	I		Granville	Granville		NL
John Whetherspoon	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Leonard Wilson	I		Wilmott	Granville		NL
Timothy Rice		I	Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Abraham Tice		I	Digy	Annapolis		NL
Samuel Hill	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Joseph Budd		I	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Samuel Harris	I		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Samuel Chute	I		Granville	Granville		NL
John Hagerman	I		Granville	Granville	L	
Isaiah Doxy	I		Granville	Granville		NL
	177	73				
Alexander Graham						
(Sworn)	I		Digby	Granville	L	
Daniel Wade	I		Granville	Granville		NL
William Clarke Jr.	I		Granville	Granville	L	
George Shaffner	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Patrick McGuire	I		Digby	Granville	L	
John Lee	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Robert Fitzrandolph		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Isaac Marshall		I	Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
Simon Delong		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Daniel Haines	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Joshua St. Croixe						
(Sworn)		I	Wilmott	Granville	L	
	184	77				
James Truesdale		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Isaac Foster	I		Granville	Granville		NL
James Ramsey		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Abraham Ackerman		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Solomon Farnsworth	I		Granville	Granville		NL

| Election Names | Candidates | | Remarks | | | |
	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Place of Residence	L	NL
Jacob Winnow		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
George Hughson		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
William Covert		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Nathaniel Barns Jr.	I		Granville	Granville		NL
James Smith		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
	187	84				
Garratt Keighton		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	[?]
Abraham Covert		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Frederick Hasenburgh		I	Clements	Clements	L	
John Dunn Jr.		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Dowe Ditmarr		I	Clements	Clements	L	
John Smith	I		Sissiboo	Granville	L	
Gerad Dunn		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
John Vroom		I	Clements	Clements	L	
Joseph Millberry	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Mathia [Matthias] Swim		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
John Buckler		I	Clements	Clements	L	
Ferdinand Shaffner	I		Granville	Granville		NL
John Ramsen		I	Sissiboo	Clements	L	
John Ramsen Jr.		I	Digby	Clements	L	
William Jones		I	Clements	Clements	L	
Samuel Pickupp	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
John Rosekrance		I	Clements	Clements	L	
Joseph Hayes	I		Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
John McMasters		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Daniel Cole		I	Clements	Clements		NL [?]
Peter Vroom		I	Clements	Clements	L	
	192	100				
Robinson Basley		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	[?]
Gideon Margison		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Jonathan Hocomb		I	Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
James Taylor		I	Digby	Granville	L	
Ethan Davis	I		Sissiboo	Sissiboo		NL [?]
Peter Bateman	I		Digby	Granville	L	
Frederick Carter		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Edward Whitman		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Jacob Hoffman		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Samuel Perk		I	Clements	Granville		NL
Willougby Sabins	I		Sissiboo	Sissiboo		NL [?]
Moses Banks		I	Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
Patrick Mulligan		I	Clements	Annapolis		NL [?]
Joel Webber (Sworn)	I		Digby	Digby		NL
Edward Jones		I	Clements	Clements	L	
Hendrick Weriland		I	Clements	Clements	L	
John Sturke	I		Sissiboo	Granville		NL
John Hares	—	—	—			
Jeremiah Pemberton		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	

Election Names	Candidates Howe	Seabury	Remarks Freeholders	Place of Residence	L	NL
Benjamin Cornwell	1		Sissiboo	Sissiboo	L	
Andrew Beeler		1	Clements	Clements	L	
John Hocomb		1	Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
Markus Brundige		1	Clements	Clements	L	
	198	116				
Isaac Baxter		1	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Henry Heaton		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Andrew Hanover		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Charles Gossart		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Christopher Haverood		1	Clements	Clements	L	[?]
James Webber		1	Granville	Granville		NL
Jasper Fickle		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Adam Belcher		1	Digby	Granville	L	
	198	124				
Abraham Shultz		1	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	[?]
David Jackson		1	Clements	Clements	L	[?]
Adam Bard		1	Clements	Clements	L	[?]
Peter Ham		1	Clements	Clements	L	
William Bass		1	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Johannes Cadre		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Eben Richardson	1		Sissiboo	Sissiboo	L	[?]
Charles Kane	1		Sissiboo	Sissiboo	L	[?]
John Vitcher		1	Clements	Clements	L	[?]
Aaron Hardy Jr.		1	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Frederick Bearman		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Antony Hartman		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Jacob Kellar		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Casper Clowhoad		1	Clements	Clements	L	
	200	136				
James Peck Jr.		1	Clements	Clements	L	
Nichoals Jones		1	Sissiboo	Clements	L	
William Livesay		1	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Abraham Bolsbury [Bowlsby]		1	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Richard Boldsburny		1	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Robert Robertson		1	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Henry Taylor		1	Clements	Granville		NL [?]
Isaac Bonnett		1	Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Robert Ray	1		Digby	Digby	L	
Reuben Tucker	1		Digby	Digby	L	
Samuel Doty	1		Digby	Digby	L	
John Brown	1		Digby	Digby	L	
Mathew Morgan	1		Digby	Digby	L	
John Veach	1		Digby	Digby	L	
William Smith	1		Digby	Digby	L	
Thomas Weare	1		Digby	Digby	L	
Nathaniel Bates	1		Digby	Digby	L	
William Veach	—		Digby	Digby	L	
	209	144				

Election Names	Candidates		Freeholders	Remarks Place of Residence	L	NL
	Howe	Seabury				
William White	I		Digby	Digby		NL
Andrew Veach	I		Digby	Digby	L	
Jacob Everitt		I	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Thomas Hare	I		Digby	Digby	L	
John Peter Miller		I	Clements	Clements	L	
	212	146				
John Whitman (sworn)		I	Clements	Clements		NL
Philip Reily		I	Clements	Clements		NL
William Creighton	—	—	Granville	Granville		NL
Jobe Woodrooff		I	Sissiboo	Annapolis	L	
John Rapalie		I	Clements	Clements	L	
James Smith		I	Digby	Digby	L	
David Bennett		I	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Maj. D. J. Brown (Sworn)		I	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Josiah David (Sworn)		I	Digby	Annapolis		NL
Neil McMullen		I	Sissiboo	Annapolis	L	
Henry Trimper	—	—	Clements	Annapolis	L	
George Morgan	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
John Williams (Sworn)		I	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Elias Wheelock		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Benjamin Simpson		I	Digby	Annapolis		NL
William Cummins		I	Digby	Digby		NL
James Creighton		I	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Dennis Driskel	I		Digby	Granville	L	
Robert Jefferson	I		Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
Andrew Ritchie	I		Digby	Annapolis	L	
George King	—	—	Wilmott	Annapolis	L	
Thomas Ritchie	I		Digby	Annapolis	L	
Jonathan Roach	I		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Ebenezer Cutler	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
	210	160				
Jonathan Shevery	—	—	Digby	Annapolis		NL
Gilbert Fowler		I	Digby	Annapolis	L	
	219	161				
Thomas Cunningham	—	—	Annapolis	Granville	L	
William Cudmore	I		Digby	Digby	L	
Peter Alexander Allaire		I	Annapolis	Granville	L	
Francis Lecoin (Sworn)	I		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Gilbert Totten		I	Annapolis	Annapolis	L	
	221	163				
	163					
	58	Votes.				

A majority for Capt. Alexander and a continuation of Capt. Howe's request to close the poll and his protesting still against the Sherriff continuing the poll contrary to his the said Sherriff's instructions. The poll was this day opened at 10 o'clock and adjourned at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 3rd of January 1786 and the Sherriff adjourned the poll to tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Wednesday 4th January, 1786. Poll opened at 10 o'clock in the morning and Alexander Howe Esquire Immediately protested against the Sherriff still proceeding in carrying on the election and demanded the Sherriff to enter it on the face of the poll book which the said Sherriff refused.

	Candidates		Remarks			
Election Names	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Place of Residence	L	NL
Elijah Weeks (Sworn)		I	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Samuel Katherens Esq.	I		Granville	Granville	L	
Joseph Patten Esq.		I	Granville	Granville		NL
Christian Rope		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Caleb Fowler		I	Digby	Granville	L	
Robert Young	I		Granville	Granville		NL
John Adams		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Zebuland Deviland [Durland?] (Sworn)	I		Sissiboo	Granville	L	
Austin Smith		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Joshua D. St. Croixe		I	Granville	Granville	L	
Josiah Dodge	I		Granville	Granville		NL
Jacob Dikeman (Sworn)		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	[?]
Jacob Beeler		I	Clements	Clements	L	
Jeremiah Smith		I	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Barney Fink		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
George Lore		I	Clements	Annapolis	L	[?]
	225	175				
Jacob Forth	I		Digby	Granville		NL
Thomas W. W. Beavans	—	—	Digby	Annapolis		NL
Daniel Frasier	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
Issac Brower	—	—	Digby	Granville	L	
Elias Batner		I	Digby	Annapolis	L	
George King (Sworn)		I	Wilmott	Annapolis	L	
Jonathan Millner	I		Clements	Clements		NL [?]
	228	177				
William Hanshaw	I		Clements	Clements		NL
John Mullin	—	—	Clements	Clements		NL [?]
Christian De Moliter	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Sebastian De Moliter	I		Clements	Clements	L	
John Shriven	I		Clements	Clements		NL [?]
Andrew Siden	I		Clements	Clements		NL [?]
Samuel Ewings	I		Clements	Clements		NL
John Conrod Hardtree	I		Clements	Clements		NL [?]
John Yeager	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Hartman Sanger	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Frederick Vandervan	I		Digby	Clements	L	
Minor Tupper		I	Clements	Clements		NL
Jonas Klinshaw	I		Clements	Clements	L	

Election Names	Candidates		Remarks	Place of		
	Howe	Seabury	Freeholders	Residence	L	NL
Richard Boldsby Esq.		I	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Frederick Sim		I	Clements	Clements	L	
John Hales	—	—	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Jabez Snow	I		Granville	Granville		NL
George Crouse	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Alexander McKenzie	I		Granville	Granville	L	NL
Thomas Taylor	I		Clements	Clements		NL [?]
Christopher Benson Jr. (Sworn)	I		Clements	Granville	L	
Josiah Winchester		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
	244	181				
John Williams deducted		I	having giving his vote twice. Vote of 3rd instantly deducted.			
	244	180				
William Cagney	I		Clements	Annapolis	L	
John Mullin Jr. (Sworn)		I	Clements	Clements	L	
John Covert Jr.		I	Sissiboo	Annapolis	L	
Thomas Fowler	—	—	Digby	Granville	L	
	245	182				
Frederick Fillsink		I	Clements	Clements	L	
Col. Benjamin Robinson		I	Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
Thomas Fowler (Sworn)		I	Digby	Granville	L	
Jacob Calneck	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Amos Randall (Sworn)	I		Wilmott	Wilmott		NL
Ebenezer Felch		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Niel McClaran (Sworn)	I		Clements	Granville	L	
John Mitchel (Sworn)	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Andrew Ritchie	—	—	Digby	Annapolis	L	
Jonathan Fowler (Sworn)		I	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Robert Mills		I	Granville	Granville		NL
Conrad Bloss	I		Clements	Clements	L	
Michal Spurr	I		Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Abraham Lent		I	Wilmott	Wilmott	L	
Thomas Cunningham (Sworn)	I		Clements	Granvile	L	
John Watts	—	—	Clements	Annapolis	L	
Ebenezer Rice		I	Annapolis	Annapolis		NL
Joseph Totten		I	Annapolis	Annapolis	L ·	
William Butter [Butler?] (Sworn)		I	Clements	Annapolis	L	
	252	192				
	192					
	60	Majority in favor of A. Howe Esquire.				

The poll was opened this 6th January at 10 o'clock in the forenoon and adjourned at 6 o'clock in the evening from hence to the Township of Digby and to be held there on the 6th instant at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, and a continuation of Capt. Howes request to close the poll and his protesting still against the Sherriff continuing the poll, being contrary to his the said Sherriffs instructions, and a particular objection of Capt. Howe against the Sherriff continuing the poll and carrying it out of the county town.

A true state of the poll and the several remarks there in made by

Edward Talbott
Clerk of the Poll to the Candidate Alexander Howe Esquire.

Sworn to before me this 6th of January 1786, at 6 o'clock in the evening at the adjournment of the poll to Digby.

John Ritchie J. P.

Book Reviews

The Maritimes 1982: A Calendar of Historical Events. Xanadu Press, Fredericton, N.B., $5.95. The graphic presentation of history has become almost an industry in Europe and particularly in Britain. *The Maritimes 1982* is the first attempt to exploit this neglected field in the Maritimes and to do so in a highly original manner. *The Maritimes 1982* is a calendar for the year, in which the space for each date contains entries of Maritime historical interest. For example, some of the entries for 1 January include: "1823: First Provincial Coins issued by Nova Scotia; 1856: Prohibition closes 200 taverns in Saint John;" and "1860: Decimal Currency first used in the Maritimes." There are some 2500 such entries for the year. The calendar measures 25 by 35 cm. and folds over for each month; on each page is a photograph of historical interest, reproduced in a bluish tinge.

Already *The Maritimes 1982* has sold over 4000 copies and a second printing is underway to meet the continuing demand. The creation of Lawrence Creaghan and Glen Murray, the calendar is an idea that has clearly found a market for the presentation of history in a graphic form. My copy is already hanging in our kitchen.   BCC

Irish Halifax: The Immigrant Generation, 1815-1859, by Terrence M. Punch. International Education Centre, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, 1981. 86 pages, softcover, $5.50. *The Irish in Cape Breton,* by A. A. MacKenzie. ISBN 0-77870-042-2. Formac Publishing Co. Ltd., Antigonish, Nova Scotia, 1979. 129 pages, softcover, $5.95.

Irish Halifax and *The Irish in Cape Breton* are examples (and there are not many) of the successful integration of historical and genealogical research into readable and historically sound accounts of the Irish in Nova Scotia. The Irish who came to Nova Scotia did so from different parts of Ireland, in different periods and by varied ways (via Newfoundland was the favourite). When they arrived they found that they had to live in a pluralistic society and adapt to a physical environment, whether rural or urban, for which they were ill-prepared. Punch's introductory chapter on the background of Irish immigration is more satisfactory than MacKenzie's, because the former is able to relate it more directly to the Halifax Irish Catholic community. Punch has had the use of a wealth of statistical and newspaper sources that simply were not available to MacKenzie. Paradoxically MacK-

enzie, the professional historian, has had to engage in painstaking searches among family records to tell the story of the Cape Breton Irish. Punch, the professional genealogist, has used his knowledge to write what to date is the best example of Nova Scotian urban history.

In tracking down the Irish of Cape Breton, MacKenzie has successfully undertaken a formidable task. He seems to have located every Irish family who settled on that island in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. However, his story is not confined to rural Cape Breton, but encompasses the role and lives of the Irish in industrial Cape Breton. For the genealogist, the first chapters have much to offer. It is, however, in the chapters on social patterns and life styles that the book really comes to life and makes a significant contribution to Cape Breton history. It goes some way in correcting the Scottish imbalance in the writing of the island's history.

Irish Halifax is a detailed study of the successful adaptation to, and rapid integration into the Halifax community by Irish Catholic immigrants between 1815 and 1859. This process was, as Punch notes, "untypical" of urban Irish settlement abroad; there was an Irish community in Halifax, but never an Irish ghetto. The story of the transformation of the Irish Catholic community from a "straggling collection of immigrants to an integral component of Halifax's general population" is well written and based upon a detailed analysis of census, legal and church records, being the result of two decades of genealogical experience with Irish families in Halifax.

There is, in these books, no glossing over or romantizing the bigotry and feuding that existed, not only between Protestants and Catholics, but also between Irish and Scottish Catholics. However, both Punch and MacKenzie reach the same conclusion: religious and ethnic feuding, while very much present in Nova Scotia, never became so obsessive that it deterred integration   if anything, it hastened it.

The Irish played a significant role in the winning of responsible government; this gave them a political importance which they were determined to use to gain increased respectability and security. This political power was used to bring down the liberal government in 1857 during the height of the imbroglio between the Irish Catholics and Joseph Howe. Punch's discussion of this is fair, although he accusses Howe, incorrectly, of arraigning all Catholics, not just the Irish Catholics, during his speech at the Crampton meeting. In fact, the Scottish and Acadian Catholics supported Howe's

attacks on the Irish Catholics until after the "hung juries" of the Gourlay Riot trials.

Irish Halifax and *The Irish in Cape Breton* are important contributions, not just to ethnic history, but to Nova Scotian history. The research employed by both authors is extensive and well organized. Both books have indexes with references given at the end. Regretably, *Irish Halifax* is not available in most bookstores, but can be ordered from The International Centre, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 3C3.   BBC

Bishop Black and his Preachers, 2nd. ed., Sackville, 1976. 166 pages, paperback. *Congregational Churches on the Atlantic coast of North America, 1620-1800*, Oxford Street Press, Halifax, 1980. 40 pages, paperback. *Maritime Presbyterian Ministers*, Oxford Street Press, Halifax, December, 1981. 75 pages approximately, paperback. *Pine Hill Divinity Hall, 1820-1970*, Truro, 1970. 62 pages, illustrated, paperback. All books written by Rev. Arthur E. Betts and available through the Maritime Conference Archives, Pine Hill Divinity Hall, 640 Francklyn Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 3B5.

These four volumes, written by the former Archivist of the Maritime Conference Archives of the United Church of Canada, take the reader on an odyssey commencing with the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock and concluding with the transformation of Pine Hill Divinity Hall to the ecumenical Atlantic School of Theology. Along the way Dr. Betts immerses the reader in the theology and practices of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian religions and succinctly and coherently defines the subtle differences among these Protestant sects. This is no small achievement when one realizes that by 1855 there were seven separate branches of the Presbyterian Church in the Maritimes.

In *Congregational Churches* we see the evolution of the church in the United States, reaching its zenith in 1740 with Rev. George Whitefield's revival in Boston. This period sets the stage for the growth of the New Light ministry, a ministry led by Henry Alline and John Payzant which found fertile ground in Nova Scotia. The Nova Scotia portion of this work outlines the effect of the New Light ministry on the Congregationalists and also contains a significant account of the strength of the Congregationalists in various communities throughout the province.

Bishop Black and His Preachers is the most ambitious of the four works. Besides eighteen chapters on the life and work of Black there are ten additional chapters detailing the growth of the Methodist Church up to 1874. Finally there is also a bibliographical compilation of data on nearly 300 Methodist ministers, an indispensable reference tool for students of the history of the Methodist Church in the Maritimes.

In *Pine Hill Divinity Hall* we are given the historical raison d'etre for the multiplicity of post-secondary institutions which abound in Nova Scotia. Within that complex framework, the steady growth of Pine Hill from one room over the Temperance Hall in West River (Durham) to its present day status is carefully chronicled. Here too one is introduced to the Presbyterian determination to have a home grown ministry rather than the initial Methodist inclination to obtain their ministers from the Old Country. The debate over which approach produced a better ministry may never be resolved.

In his latest work, *Maritime Presbyterian Ministers*, scholars will once again be indebted to the patience and perserverance so characteristic of all Betts' works. A brief outline of the history and growth of the Presbyterian Church in the Maritimes leads into a biographical cornucopia summarizing the careers of more than 400 Presbyterian ministers. These summaries will become the starting point for the study of any of the individuals listed in the work.

Betts seldom imposes upon the reader his thoughts or feelings on many of the more controversial points raised. That's a pity, for when he does state a position, such as in Chapters 18-20 of the Bishop Black work, we receive a succinct summary and thoughtful analysis of the accomplishments and development of the Methodist Church in the Maritimes. All four works illuminate an area of our local history often overlooked. The rise and demise of various religious movements; the choice of a local or imported ministry; the attendant desire for schools to train a local ministry; the very structure of the various religious groups and their interaction within the community are themes ably handled by the author. Readers would do well not to pass over these informative works which chronicle in some detail the religious history and development of the Maritimes.   Allan Dunlop

Alex Colville: Diary of a War Artist, compiled by Graham Metson and Cheryl Lean. ISBN 0-920852-11-4. Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, 1981. 160 pages, illustrated, hardbound, $29.95.

Nimbus Publishing has done it again. Although new to the book trade, this local firm has quickly acquired a reputation for quality and integrity. Their previous offerings have emphasized Atlantic Canadian material, presented in an imaginative and highly professional format. With *Alex Colville: Diary of a War Artist,* they have truly arrived on the national scene, with a product that is second to none.

Diary of a War Artist chronicles the period from June 1944 to June 1945, a year in which Alex Colville was suddenly catapulted from an infantry second lieutenant stationed near Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, to the role of an official Canadian war artist in Europe. His tour of duty took him to military camps in Yorkshire, on a naval exercise in the Mediterranean, on assignment with the divisional headquarters, third Canadian Infantry Division in Belgium, Holland and Germany, and ultimately, in April 1945, to the Belsen concentration camp. The book presents a superb collection of Colville's work during this period, including 38 pages of colour reproductions. The visual impact is balanced by an excellent introduction, by the use of Colville's diary and his contemporary personal papers, and by subsequent interviews with the artist.

Such a compilation presents a very different approach to, and evocation of, war and its realities. Most of us have been conditioned by photographic impressions of the period, but as Colville notes, "The difference . . . is a conceptual one. The camera can record, can make extraordinarily good, affecting records, but a painter is more likely to select and reject, to edit, to interpret . . . There is a certain subjectivity, an interpretive function." Thus, page after page of this sensitive volume displays the stark immediacy of war — destruction, boredom, bleakness and malaise — pared down and refocussed through the introspective vision of a youthful observer. Colville feared that his work would be subsequently criticized for its general lack of action, but since war is essentially tedium intersected by death, his fine renderings only emphasize this grim reality. These themes are particularly notable in the clean lines and stark restraint of Colville's views of the bridge at Nijmegen, and in his haunting impressions of the horror at Belsen.

Diary of a War Artist is a book for everyone — for those who were there, for those who observed from the homefront, and for those who have exper-

ienced World War II only through the eyes of Hollywood. A superlative presentation of a seminal period in the development of one of Canada's best-known artists, this volume is a landmark in local publishing. It may well be the "coffee table book" of the year, although its subject material clearly transcends the usual definition of that genre. If you are going to buy one "picture book" for 1981, however, make it this one.   LKK