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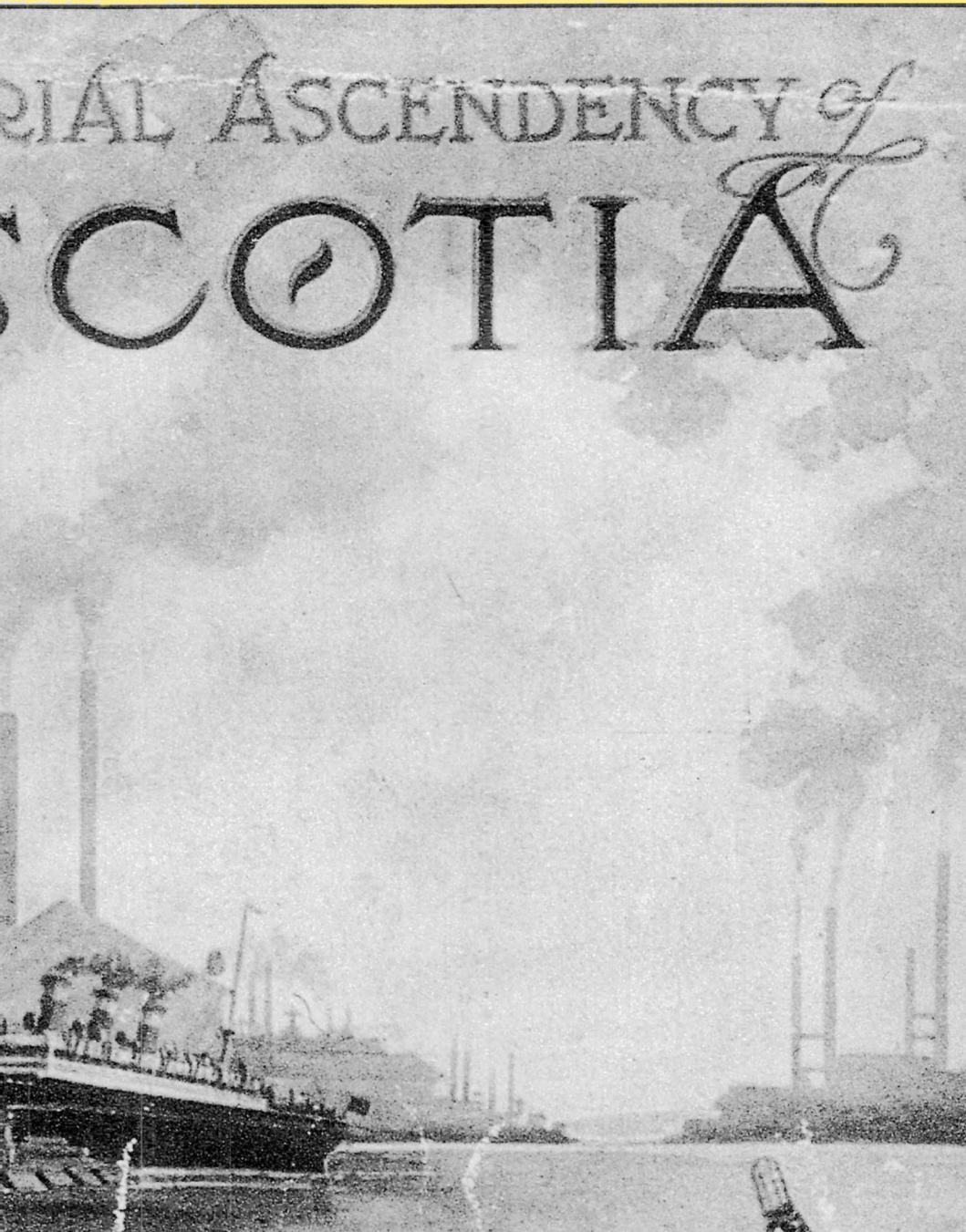

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"Evidences of the Industrial Ascendency [sic] *of Nova Scotia* [1913]." Slide courtesy of National Film Board of Canada/National Museums of Canada.

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"The Great Transformation": Changing the Urban Face of Nova Scotia, 1871-1921

Del Muise

> "There are 1480 manufacturing establishments, paying out $11,000,000 yearly to 28,000 employees in Nova Scotia [1914]."[1]

The "Great Transformation" that overtook many Nova Scotia towns after 1871 was part of a nation-wide metamorphosis which continues to reverberate through many aspects of our lives.[2] With the emphasis on manufacturing embodied in the "National Policy," which after 1878 promoted industrialization by protecting specific industries against foreign competition, capitalists from communities across Nova Scotia joined entrepreneurs from across the country in transforming the economic orientation of their towns. Nova Scotia's urban population more than tripled within a few decades. Generally, the more northern counties--Cumberland, Pictou and Cape Breton especially--where the heavier industries concentrated around coal mines, gained population; those without expanding urban centres declined.

At opposite corners of the province, Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines exhibit most of the variations within the "Great Transformation" that occurred across the province. Prior to the emergence of the steel and coal towns around Sydney in the early 1900s, and leaving aside the complex of towns surrounding the Pictou coal fields, they ranked as Nova Scotia's second, third and fourth towns in terms of population. Each had between 1500 and 2500 people in 1871, and grew to between 8,000 and 10,000 in 1921. A feature of the new populations that overwhelmed these towns was a

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Del Muise, a native of Cape Breton, teaches Atlantic Canada History at Carleton University in Ottawa.

"Industrialization and the Transformation of Community" is an ongoing research project analysing the industrialization of Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines between the 1870s and 1920. It has been supported by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. An earlier version of this article was presented to the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, 30 January 1991, as "The Changing Face of Urban/Industrial Nova Scotia: Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines, 1871-1921."

1 *Evidence of the Industrial Ascendency* [sic] *of Nova Scotia*, Nova Scotia Branch of the Canadian Manufacturer's Association (1913). Every town promoted itself during the period of transition and there is a wide selection of pamphlets with similar sentiments.

2 Entrepreneurial aspects of this transformation in the region are discussed in T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910," *Acadiensis*, I (Spring, 1972), 3-28. Subsequent literature is assessed in Eric Sager, "Dependency, Underdevelopment and the Economic History of the Atlantic Provinces," *Acadiensis*, XVIII (Autumn, 1987), 117-137. For a national perspective on the period, see R.C. Brown and G.R. Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974), Ch. 3.

high level of transiency, a commonplace everywhere that rapid urbanization and industrialization were occurring.[3] Another feature was a more complex social structure to encompass the various gradations of work and life within such towns. Though the people who came to fill the new workforces of all three towns came from quite diverse backgrounds, the surrounding rural areas provided the most ready supply of employees. In Yarmouth and Amherst this meant the arrival of thousands of Acadians, thrown off their land by the pressures of a limited rural economy. In Sydney Mines, it was Scots from the rural areas of Cape Breton, and Newfoundlanders, joined by a smaller number of Europeans, who broke down the earlier domination by British miners, though a trickle of the latter continued to arrive in the coalfields up to 1921. Obviously, these various migrations had dramatic effects on the social structure of each community.

In Yarmouth, the transfer of shipping investments to new industries built upon developments that had occurred there prior to the 1880s. In Amherst, a group of fast-growing industries emerged after the arrival of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876, and the evolution of a province-wide construction industry over the subsequent decades. When the General Mining Association (GMA) was acquired by the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company (Scotia) in 1900, construction of one of the two primary steel plants to be established in Cape Breton during the opening years of the twentieth century quickly followed. Dozens of small and large factories contributed to this industrial revolution, much of it a result of transference of technologies developed elsewhere. The physical structures characterizing these communities--huge new brick or stone factories and a host of new commercial, residential and institutional buildings--completely recast the towns' shape and form. The cotton mill set

3 L.D. McCann, "Staples and the New Industrialism in the Growth of Post-Confederation Halifax," *Acadiensis*, VIII (Spring, 1979), 47-69; *Census of Canada*, 1921 (Ottawa, 1925), IV, Table 19, 345-47. While the urban proportion of Nova Scotia's population was always smaller than that of either Quebec or Ontario, it rose faster in the thirty years between 1891 and 1921—from just 17% to 43.34%; Quebec and Ontario had increased from 33% and 38%, respectively, to 56% and 58% during the same period. Care must be taken with such estimates because of the shifting definitions of what was urban, and uncertainty about the exact boundaries of towns before their incorporation. For a summary of county populations see Graeme Wynn, "The Maritimes: The Geography of Fragmentation and Underdevelopment," in L.D. McCann, ed., *Heartland and Hinterland: A Geography of Canada* (Toronto, 1987), pp. 203-209; see also Patricia Thornton, "The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada: A New Look," *Acadiensis*, XV (Autumn, 1985), 3-30. On the role of towns in the Maritime experience, see L.D. McCann, ed., *People and Place: Studies of Small Town Life in the Maritimes* (Fredericton, 1987).

up in Yarmouth in 1883, and Scotia's coke ovens, blast furnace and open hearths in Sydney Mines were all designed, equipped and installed by Americans.

At the same time, adoption of a new, more homogeneous material culture and architectural style reflected integration of the regional urban community into developments in other parts of Canada or the United States. Everything was touched by this process--from house and furniture styles through to clothing, and even to the Kellogg's Corn Flakes that began appearing on Nova Scotian breakfast tables after 1900. Before surrendering to the dictates of a continental market, however, the Maritimes managed their own urban transformation, and even experienced a brief moment of self-sufficiency across a wide range of consumer goods. In the long term, however, there arose a set of material dependencies that would change forever the ways in which Nova Scotians would fulfil their everyday needs.[4]

This urban-industrial transformation was propelled along by the arrival of such technological innovations as steam-powered water and sewerage systems, electric street railways, and household and industrial electric service. Though the full delivery of these new systems would be uneven across the region, and even within towns themselves, many of the physical structures put in place between 1880 and 1920 remain as landmarks. While the industrial settings themselves were probably the largest structures to be built--and curiously enough the least likely to survive the economic boom--rapid urban growth also required many new churches, schools and hospitals, as well as a range of recreational facilities to keep pace with population growth. These aspects often became leading elements in each community's self-promotion; a pride expressed through their participation in a wide variety of inter-urban activities such as sports leagues and other entertainments, where there was considerable expansion of community consciousness.[5] The

4 A.B. McCulloch, "Technology and Textile Mill Architecture in Canada," *Material History Bulletin/Bulletin d'histoire matérielle*, 30 (Fall, 1989), 2-15. Most recent scholarship on material culture deals with the pre-industrial settings, though some departures are being made. See Richard MacKinnon, "Vernacular Architecture in the Codroy Valley: Local and External Influences on the Development of a Building Tradition," Ph.D. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1990; and Peter Latta, "Industrial Architecture in Nova Scotia," paper presented to the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada (Baddeck, June 1991).

5 Colin Howell, "Baseball, Class and Community in the Maritime Provinces, 1870-1910," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, XXII (November, 1989), 265-86.

new municipal governments which directed the towns' transformation reflected the interests of a broad middle class devoted to promoting growth and development at all levels.[6]

While the impact of industrial concentration and rapid growth changed irrevocably the relations of work and life within communities, the physical backdrop within which these changes occurred was enormously significant, and remains a crucial signifier of the broad experience of industrialization. This article limits itself to exploring the changing face of industrial establishments, the transformation of streetscapes and the institutional requirements of increased population.

Prior to Confederation, Nova Scotia's towns and villages were, generally speaking, unconnected with one another and only loosely tied to Halifax or Saint John, the region's two major metropolises. Towns had been positioned around the coast to take advantage of suitable harbours from which to prosecute the off-shore fishery, or at river mouths controlling access to a hinterland, or at places giving ready access to water power for lumber or grist mills. Success for such urban nodes depended on the capacity of their immediate hinterland to produce surpluses of farm, fish or forest products to exchange for manufactured goods or other staples such as flour and molasses, which were not produced locally.[7] While a complex clientage system bound local merchants to financial relations with Halifax, they also exercised considerable independence as they attempted to maximize the profits on both outgoing staples and incoming goods by "buying cheap and selling dear."[8]

6 Aspects of social and national transformations will be the subject of a forthcoming monograph comparing the experience of the three towns. See Del Muise, "The Industrial Context of Inequality: Female Participation in Nova Scotia's Paid Labour Force, 1871-1921," *Acadiensis*, XX (Spring, 1991); "Iron Men? Yarmouth's Seagoing Workforce in Transition, 1871-1921," in Colin Howell and Richard Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History: Seamen, Pirates and Workers of the North Atlantic World* (Fredericton, 1991), forthcoming; and "The making of Nova Scotia's Industrial Communities: Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines, 1871-1921," paper read to the Canadian Historical Society, Victoria, May 1990.

7 J.M.S. Careless, "Aspects of Metropolitanism in Atlantic Canada," in M. Wade, ed., *Regionalism in the Canadian Community, 1896-1967* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 22-45; and Wynn, "The Maritimes: The Geography of Fragmentation and Underdevelopment." A more recent overview of the limits of this early mercantilism is presented in J.M.S. Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities and Identities in Canada before 1914* (Toronto, 1989).

8 Rosemary E. Ommer, ed. *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective* (Fredericton, 1990); and E.W. Sager, "'Buying Cheap and Selling Dear': Merchant Shipowners and the Decline of the Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada," in Peter Baskerville, ed., *Canadian Papers in Business History* (Victoria, 1989), pp. 59-75.

Mercantile towns seldom required a large working class on an indefinite basis, so permanent populations remained quite small. Usually only a small group of tradesmen provided the goods and services needed at the local level.[9] Within the limits of this system of exchange, towns often had only the most basic material requirements. Apart from shipping, docking and warehousing facilities, little capital investment was required; merchants controlled local services to ensure that costs and taxes were never unnecessarily large. Some concentration of religious and administrative institutions occurred where population warranted, or at county seats where administration and court buildings had to be set up.

The political/economic climate prior to the achievement of responsible government at mid-century discouraged technological or institutional innovation, or much other economic development except the shipbuilding industry, which was the largest and most widely dispersed industry of the era.[10] The grant of limited self-government in 1848 was followed by the introduction of railways, which gradually supplanted older methods of linking towns. Major debates over their transforming potential and the sources of necessary funding convulsed Nova Scotian politics throughout the middle decades of the century and were central to disagreements over the merits of Confederation in the 1860s.[11] Whatever these disagreements, Nova Scotia was to be ringed and criss-crossed by a number of connected lines which, by 1900, permitted towns quite removed from one another to participate in an integrated regional and national economy.

Though some towns participated more fully than others in this process, a major restructuring of urban hierarchies emerged by the 1890s. Keys to their transformation were access to the critical triumvirate of labour, capital and

9 Sydney Mines was an exception to this trend; there large numbers of workers were required to mine coal in situations that demanded extensive capitalization as well.

10 On earlier transitions in merchants' attitudes towards development, see D.A. Sutherland, "Halifax Merchants and the Pursuit of Development, 1783-1850," *Canadian Historical Review*, LIX (1978), 1-19; T.W. Acheson, "The Great Merchant and Economic Development in Saint John," *Acadiensis*, VIII (Spring, 1979), 3-27; and his *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto, 1985), Ch. III.

11 Rosemarie Langhout, "Developing Nova Scotia: Railroads and Public Accounts, 1848-1867," *Acadiensis*, XIV (Fall, 1985), 3-25; and D.A. Muise, "The Federal Election of 1867 in Nova Scotia: An Economic Interpretation," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXXVI (1968), 227-51; and "Railroaded into Union: Nova Scotia Enters Confederation," *Horizon Canada*, 54 (January 1986), 1321-27.

raw materials, as well as the transportation facilities needed to move goods in and out. As local producers moved to capture an increasing share of regional markets, they effectively rechannelled available capital to both heavier industrial pursuits and supplying various consumer items to the large new urban populations, as well as supplying the resource-based industries of the region with a host of new steam-based technologies. Large numbers of workers were freed by the demographic crisis occurring on the province's many marginal farms during the closing decades of the century, their strength supplemented where necessary by the recruitment of smaller numbers of skilled workers from outside the province. Capital and entrepreneurship, resulting from a divestment of shipping interests by the urban élites were instead directed towards acquiring technologies needed to install manufacturing equipment. Raw materials for these industries were sometimes acquired locally, but could also be brought to towns from some distance, as occurred in sugar-refining, cotton-milling, and the early metals industries. Access to coal for powering new steam technologies was also critical. A 1,000 per cent increase in provincial output between 1871 and 1921 helped meet local as well as national demand.[12]

Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines industrialized sequentially rather than simultaneously. Yarmouth, proudly declaring itself to be Nova Scotia's most "American" town, had been formed initially by New England emigrants. Its close connection with Boston, sustained after the mid-nineteenth century by regular steamer service and the constant movement of its people back and forth to New England, kept the United States' experience in its consciousness, while its large international shipping trade gave it the wealthiest middle class of all provincial towns.[13] Amherst, commanding one of the most vital agricultural and timber-producing areas of the region, held a blend of American Loyalists and English planters, who had arrived in the later decades of the eighteenth century.[14] The town evolved slowly as a local

12 D.A. Muise, *Coal Mining in Nova Scotia to 1925* (Montreal, 1981).

13 Thornton, "The Problem of Out-migration," and Robert Aitken, "Loyalism and National Identity in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889," M.A. thesis, Trent University, 1975.

14 Nolan Reilly, "The Emergence of Class Consciousness in Industrial Nova Scotia: A Case Study of Amherst, 1891-1925," Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1982, Ch. I.

service node through the nineteenth century, held back to a large extent by its lack of ocean access. Sydney Mines, established by the British-based GMA during the 1820s, was permanently settled by a community of British coal-miners, who replaced a diverse group of Newfoundlanders and other itinerant labourers who had worked the primitive open-pit mines of the early period on a strictly seasonal basis. Coal towns everywhere were distinguished from other communities because of the cultural norms determined by the rhythms of underground work and the dependent relationship of miners with the coal company. The GMA and its miners were imbued with deeply rooted attitudes about their distinctiveness from nearby rural areas, as well as from the cross-harbour town of Sydney.[15]

Yarmouth was southwestern Nova Scotia's entrepôt; for a time it was said to have had the largest per capita concentration of registered shipping tonnage in the world.[16] Its merchants had accumulated remarkable concentrations of shipping, the earnings from which generated large capital surpluses which, before Confederation, had been used to acquire more vessels. They had cooperated to establish an iron foundry, a bank and two insurance companies in an effort to purchase some freedom from domination by either Halifax or Saint John financial and industrial interests. These activities helped to recirculate their sizable profits within the town's economy, leaving Yarmouth with a number of very wealthy individuals who, partly because they were so closely allied through intermarriage, formed a cohesive entrepreneurial class. Their involvement in the Western Counties Railway, completed in 1876, reflected their domination of the hinterland to the northwest, which supplied them with important timber resources. **[Illustration 1]**

By the mid-1880s a newly reorganized Burrell-Johnson Iron Foundry, which was already producing a line of stoves and steam engines for boats as well as pipe for water works, expanded to become one of the province's largest foundries. Over 150 workers would be employed in its complex of

15 D.A. Muise, "The General Mining Association and Nova Scotia's Coal, 1827-1858," *Bulletin of Canadian Studies*, VII, (1982) 30-50; Richard Brown, *The Coal Fields and Coal Trade of the Island of Cape Breton* (London, 1871).

16 Gerald Panting, "Cradle of Enterprise: Yarmouth, N.S., 1840-1889," in E.W. Sager and L.R. Fischer, eds., *The Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in Eastern Canada* (St. John's, 1979), pp. 253-73.

buildings by the turn of the century. **[Illustration 2]** In 1883 the Yarmouth Duck and Yarn cotton company was organized; the next year a mill was erected nearer the head of the harbour, not far from Burrell-Johnson's complex.[17] Like Burrell-Johnson, it imported raw material via ship and exported much of its output to regional and national markets. It specialized in heavier sail cloth and later would produce a range of industrial-weight cotton, much of it directed towards supplying the fast-emerging pulp and paper industry. A large boot and shoe factory, a woollen mill, and a diverse group of wood-working factories rounded out the town's industrial nucleus. Yarmouth Duck and Yarn's evolution into Cosmos Cotton occurred as it was integrated into the North American cotton industry after 1900. Expansion of its plant along Water Street, from a small wood building to a complex of brick structures, was typical of industrial expansion during this period. **[Illustration 3]**

By 1900, a burgeoning industrial town had supplanted the genteel seaport of the "Wood, Wind and Sail" era. Yarmouth entrepreneurs targeted the tourist industry to extend their community's self-advertised role as Nova Scotia's southwestern "Gateway." Tri-weekly sailings to Boston, offered by the Yarmouth Steamship Company, were connected via a through railway service to Halifax in 1893 on completion of the Digby-Annapolis link and formation of the Dominion Atlantic Railway. It was an expansive development for the town, but control over the railway effectively passed into outside hands on the demise of the Western Counties Railway. The decade of the 1890s was in many ways the high point of the "go-ahead" town. After the turn of the century it was troubled by the failure of the local bank and the temporary collapse of Burrell-Johnson.[18] Apart from the cotton mill, which also passed to outside control in 1901 and was restructured as "Cosmos Cotton," Yarmouth's industrial moment was largely in the past by 1900.

17 P.J. Wood, "Barriers to Capitalist Development in Maritime Canada, 1870-1930: A Comparative Perspective," in Baskerville, *Papers in Business History*, 33-58; and Peter DeLottinville, "Trouble in the Hives of Industry: The Cotton Industry Comes to Milltown, N.B., 1879-1892," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, 1980, pp. 100-16.

18 Susan Phinney, "'The Land of Evangeline': The Dominion Atlantic Railroad [*sic*] and the Tourist Promotion of Nova Scotia," M.A. research essay, Carleton University, 1991; and Michael Bemards, "Backing Industry and Breaking Backs: The Collapse of the Bank of Yarmouth, 1905," M.A. research essay, Carleton University, 1991.

Amherst's rise to self-proclaimed and widely acknowledged status as the Maritime's most heavily industrialized town began with arrival of the Intercolonial Railway and expansion of the nearby Springhill and Joggins coalfields. With its source of fuel assured by a convenient spur railway line to the mines, Amherst, the small service centre, was transformed into a major industrial town. Local entrepreneurs, who had vast holdings in nearby land and timber reserves, led the transition. In fact, a good part of the town's subsequent growth would be tied directly to exploitation of nearby forests and minerals. Profits from lucrative railway and other public works contracts were reinvested in local factories. Amherst builders were active across the region, as well as developing manufacturing interests of their own, such as a woollen mill, a boot-and-shoe factory, and several clothing and furniture factories.[19] Amherst's largest firm, Rhodes-Curry, would eventually open branches in Halifax and Sydney, supplying everything from house fixtures and complete housing developments to factories, hotels and other large buildings. In 1893 Rhodes-Curry acquired and modernized the Harris Car Works of Saint John. Subsequently, the car works branch amalgamated with a pair of Montreal firms to form the Canada Car Company, the largest manufacturer of railway and mine cars in the country. In 1906, another Amherst building firm, C. J. Silliker, after constructing large numbers of houses and factories in Amherst and Springhill, relocated to Halifax, following an extensive fire at their Amherst works.[20]

Robb Engineering, probably the second most important Amherst manufacturing concern, established a global reputation for its steam engines, boilers, water pumps and electric engines. Initially they supplied engines and boilers to the mining and forestry industries, which converted to electric and steam-powered systems during that period.[21] Their expertise and enterprise--based on access to American patents as well as a number of their own--won

19 Reilly, "The Emergence of Class Consciousness," Ch. I; *Facts About Busy Amherst* (Amherst, 1914); A. Robson Lamy, "The Development and Decline of Amherst as an Industrial Centre: A Study of Economic Conditions," B.A. Honours thesis, Mt. Allison Univ., 1930.

20 Peter Latta and Diane Tye, "Symbols of Change: The Legacy of Two Early Twentieth Century Nova Scotia Builders," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 9, 2 (1989), 3-20.

21 Barbara R. Robertson, *Sawpower: Making Lumber in the Sawmills of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1986), pp. 76-80, 191-196.

them both national and international markets, particularly within the expanded trade of the British Empire.[22] **[Illustration 4]** Together, Rhodes-Curry and Robb Engineering spawned a number of foundry and wood-working shops in Amherst to supply inputs to their factories. With so much happening within its borders, "Busy Amherst" came to embody the region's industrial success; unfortunately, it also epitomized its deindustrialization when most of its factories closed during the 1920s.[23]

Cape Breton's emergence as the most integrated heavy industrial centre east of Montreal attracted capital and entrepreneurs both from around the region and from other parts of the country. Sydney Mines, at the eastern extremity of this zone, had been exclusively a coal town up to 1901. The GMA had monopolized all of its mineral reserves, and virtually all of its real estate as well, from arrival in 1827 through to departure in 1901. As a result, Sydney Mines had remained the province's most closely controlled company town; every aspect of its industry and life came under the scrutiny and iron-fisted management of Richard H. Brown, who had succeeded his father as manager in the 1860s.[24] Shortly after the GMA was acquired by New Glasgow-based Scotia in 1901, a large coking plant and a major primary steel plant were erected towards the north end of town. **[Illustration 5]** The federal government's determination to coax a primary steel-making industry into existence through generous bonuses was matched by the local government's eagerness to attract investment, and the provincial government's

22 Robb pioneered the machine-tooled and interchangeable parts for many of their engines and boilers, thereby ensuring continued usage of its mill. The firm also introduced modern engineering practices, such as numbering each engine as it was produced and keeping track of its work and repair record (Dalhousie University Archives, Robb Engineering Co. Ltd. Papers, DA 1 MS4 14).

23 Reilly, "The Emergence of Class Consciousness," Ch. II; J. Norman Ritchie, *The Story of Robb's* (Amherst, n.d.); Norman Patterson, "A Canadian Engine Works [Robb's]: Indicating Canada's Rising Importance in the Industrial World," *Canadian Magazine*, XVI (Nov. 1899), 400-15. *The Maritime Advertiser and Busy East* (July and Sept., 1910).

24 Muise, "Nova Scotia's Coal"; and "The Making of an Industrial Community: Cape Breton's Coal Towns, 1867-1900," in Brian Tennyson and Don MacGillivray, eds., *Cape Breton Historical Essays* (Sydney, 1980), pp. 76-94; Ian McKay, "The Crisis of Dependent Development: Class Conflict in the Nova Scotia Coalfields, 1872-1876," in Greg Kealey, ed., *Class, Gender and Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology* (St. John's, 1988), pp. 9-49. Richard H. Brown Papers, MG 1, Vol. 158, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, deal with real estate purchases by the Association during the latter third of the century.

encouragement by way of its manipulation of the coal royalties.[25] A self-contained coal town was soon overwhelmed by a concentration of capital and labour that was overshadowed only by the even larger concentration across the harbour at the Dominion Coal Company's coke ovens and the Dominion Iron and Steel Company's plant and finishing mills erected in the Whitney Pier district.[26] Though fully integrated into the "Great Transformation" then sweeping the nation, the area remained completely directed for and by outside interests, a condition that would have an important bearing on its material culture.[27]

Except for the GMA and Scotia, the industrialization of Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines had been controlled locally during its initial phases; and even the GMA "regionalized" when it was acquired by Scotia. Locally based entrepreneurs did not, however, resist the trend towards outside involvement in their industries. In coal and steel, outside investment was sought from the beginning, as the capital and technological requirements had been beyond the capacity of local entrepreneurs. Capitalists and politicians--often one and the same people at the local level--collaborated with this process to promote the inflows of outside capital needed to expand or retool their factories. Whatever the sources, by 1900, control over many industrial establishments was being fully integrated into a broad consolidation of Canadian capitalism.[28] Nova Scotians played a key role in this process, which was increasingly centred in Montreal and Toronto financial institutions. As long as the national economy remained buoyant, and markets for local products strong, towns dependent on industries continued to

25 Craig Heron, *Working in Steel: The Early Years in Canada, 1883-1935* (Toronto, 1988), Ch. I.

26 Donald MacGillivray, "Henry Melville Whitney Comes to Cape Breton: The Saga of a Gilded Age Entrepreneur," *Acadiensis*, IX (Autumn 1979), 44-70; and R. Crawley, "Class Conflict and Establishment of the Sydney Steel Industry, 1899-1904," in Kenneth Donovan, ed., *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton History, 1713-1990* (Sydney, 1990), pp. 144-164.

27 L.D. McCann, "The Mercantile-Industrial Transition in the Metal Towns of Pictou County, 1857-1931," *Acadiensis*, X (Spring 1981), 29-64; Kris Inwood, "Local Control, Resources and the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company," CHA *Historical Papers* (1986), pp. 254-82; L. Anders Sandberg, "Dependent Development: Labour and the Trenton Steel Works, Nova Scotia, c. 1900-1943," *Labour/Le travail*, 27 (Spring 1991), 127-62.

28 Cook and Brown, *A Nation Transformed*, Ch. 3.

expand; when the national economy contracted, as it did just before World War I, their futures were threatened. War, with its rich supply contracts, brought some temporary relief, but integration of the region's industrial capacity into that of central Canada led directly and ultimately to deindustrialization, rather than continued expansion.[29]

As already noted, the massive new technologies put in place during the "Great Transformation" were imported mostly from the United States. Rhodes-Curry and Robb Engineering typified this process. Their principal owners and developers had worked in New England as young men prior to returning to Amherst, where they applied their new skills and knowledge to consolidating and expanding industries initially founded by their fathers.[30] Amherst Boot and Shoe, the largest factory of its kind in the region, was operated entirely with machinery imported from the United States via Montreal distributors.[31] Within a few weeks of their decision to proceed with a cotton mill, the merchants investing in Yarmouth Duck and Yarn dispatched Samuel Killam to Boston to inquire into the organization of such an industry. He would serve as the firm's managing director until the end of the century, but the installation and initial operation of the American-built machinery was managed by skilled American loom-fixers, who instructed local workers.[32] Similarly, Sydney Mines' huge new blast furnace and open hearths were designed and installed under the direction of Pennsylvania contractors.

Between 1880 and 1910 dozens of industrial structures were built, rebuilt and expanded more than once. By and large, these new industrial establishments were inserted into relatively under-developed urban

29 Sager, "Dependency, Underdevelopment," pp. 117-37.

30 The experience of Pictou iron-makers is discussed in McCann, "The Industrial Transition"; and in L.D. McCann and Jill Burnett, "Social Mobility and the Ironmasters of Late Nineteenth Century New Glasgow," in McCann, ed., *People and Place*, pp. 56-79.

31 Ritchie, *The Story of Robb's*; Reilly, "The Emergence of Class Consciousness," Ch. II; W.J.A. Donald, *The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry: A Study in the Economic History of a Protected Industry* (Boston, 1915); and Heron, *Working in Steel*, Ch. 2.

32 Yarmouth Duck and Yarn Cotton Company Papers: Minute-books, 1883-1900, MS 4-90, G1-3, Yarmouth County Historical Society.

landscapes, at least from the perspective of any community planning or services. In fact, a feature of the "Great Transformation" was the necessity constantly to refit factories as new technologies or expanded markets demanded changes in output. Many were multi-story brick buildings, the huge floor areas of which supported various technologically advanced industrial applications. Their size and distinctive styling, with whistles and clocks commanding the lives of hundreds of workers, came to dominate all aspects of community life. Since factories needed water and power in previously unheard-of quantities, their owners demanded that municipal governments supply it at the best prices and with great efficiency. In the case of Sydney Mines, Scotia arranged for the supply of its own water and electricity and sold its surplus back to the town for general use. In the other two towns, active civic groups demanded public involvement, a process aided by the fact that all three towns were incorporated in 1889-90 and were, for the most part, controlled by the industrialists themselves. They threatened the slow-down of expansion if any objections to their overall development strategy were not met. Central to each town's strategy was a deep faith in growth and development to absorb the high installation costs of new technologies and services; future taxpayers would shoulder the burden of their decisions. In their eagerness to promote industrial activity within their boundaries, towns extended services and various tax bonuses in ways similar to towns everywhere.[33] When Scotia took over the GMA's mines in 1901, considerable speculation ensued that their proposed steel works would be located in nearby North Sydney, whose town council offered significant bonuses. The decision to locate close to the mines was largely an economic one based on resource proximity, but the company's control over the local government and over the land available in the town was a consideration as well.

The "Great Transformation" brought significant changes to the physical appearance of newly vitalized towns. Their main streets, originally developed

33 The voluminous literature on "Boosterism" is summarized in A.F.J. Artibise, ed., *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina, 1981); among the few Maritime-based studies are Catharine A. Johnson, "The Search for Industry in Newcastle, New Brunswick, 1899-1914," *Acadiensis*, XIII (Autumn, 1983), 93-112; and David Sutherland, "The Personnel and Policies of the Halifax Board of Trade, 1890-1914," in Sager and Fischer, eds., *The Enterprising Canadians*, pp. 203-30. On Amherst's attempts to boost industrial development, see Leo Doyle, "Politics, Policy-Making and the Role of Local Elites: The Amherst Board of Trade and the Formation of Transportation Policy for the Maritimes, 1906-1918," M.A. research paper, Carleton University, 1991.

as service centres for commercial and professional exchange involving much smaller clienteles, now were adapted to serve the needs of the comparatively large new populations that swarmed into town. In the process, these streets absorbed powerful new technologies designed to assist merchants and tradesmen to meet the new demand for their services. Prime business locations, controlled, apart from Sydney Mines, by long established local bourgeois, became critical to downtown development. Commercial streets, where the internal business of the towns was conducted, saw brick replace wood as the principal medium of construction, partly at least in response to the threat of fire, which was a constant fear in the older wooden worlds of the pre-industrial era. The requirements of fire insurance companies made it imperative that businesses and factories adopt a more secure system of prevention, as well as adopting more fire-proof building materials. Such streets became arteries for electric street-lighting and tramways, as well as for the new water systems that protected buildings from fires and delivered water to businesses and residences, and eventually for taking away waste in underground sewerage systems.

Yarmouth's two principal thoroughfares, Water and Main streets paralleled its long waterfront. Along Main, a new uniformity on frontages replaced the mixture of business and residential sites featured in the pre-industrial era. The Western Counties Railway (the Dominion Atlantic after 1893) had entered town from the north end and proceeded down the centre of Water Street parallel to the docks, thereby simultaneously serving both merchants' wharves and providing a new focal point for industry. It effectively set the stage for industrialization by ensuring that all requirements for the new economy could be readily moved in and out, though a time-lag of significant proportions occurred because of failure to build the connecting link between Digby and Annapolis, that would join Yarmouth with Halifax via the Annapolis Valley. In 1892, by which time most of Yarmouth's major industries were well established, Nova Scotia's first electric street railway was run down the centre of Main Street, confirming that thoroughfare's commercial dominance over the growing local population. The street railway also elongated the town, allowing people to move along its three kilometre-length in comparative ease for a modest fee. With the industrial zone on Water separated from Main by only a short block, the electric tramway allowed both industrial and commercial functions to be served by a single line. Adopted with such optimism, it managed to survive the boom but

disappeared in the 1920s, victim of the arrival of the automobile and the collapse of the town's industrial core. **[Illustration 6]**

Residential streets north and east of Main had previously been divided into irregular lots, leaving considerable open space, a necessary feature before the effective delivery of water and systematic removal of household waste.[34] The more casual workforce of the pre-industrial era had jammed themselves into a complex of alleys in the narrow belt between Water and Main, close by the docks and convenient for the work that was focused there. Later, that area became a boarding-house district for the industrial workers required by the new mills, but a larger working-class subdivision emerged towards the south-east end of town. Many of the new residents there were Acadians, who had come to work in the factories, or in the construction industry that was so vigorous during this formative phase.

Victoria Street in Amherst paralleled the crest overlooking the Tantramar marsh, which checked Amherst's northward expansion and forced its growth along an east-west axis. Businesses had initially concentrated in the few blocks on either side of the intersection of Victoria and Laplanche.[35] The Intercolonial Railway crossed just to the south of the town centre, separating the commercial core from the emerging industrial districts, which spread along both sides of the railway track. Factories were served by sidings off the main line, allowing raw materials to be directly unloaded and finished products to be shipped to regional and national markets. By 1900, Victoria Street was being stretched westward to cross the railway, and eastward to permit development of new subdivisions for the wealthiest factory owners, along with the business and professional men attracted to the burgeoning town. The railway effectively separated those areas from the new working-class subdivisions located to the south and east of the industrial belt crossing the town centre. As in Yarmouth, Victoria Street was transformed into a

34 Sharron Reilly, *Selected Buildings in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*, Manuscript Report No. 262, Parks Canada, (Ottawa, 1977).

35 A.F. Church, *Topographical Township Map of Cumberland County* (1877). The Amherst insert shows Main Street dominated by a pair of hotels and a scattering of commercial and professional businesses. A contemporary engraving by A.J. Hill (reproduced in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, 29 Dec. 1876) shows the marsh in the background festooned with hay barns.

show-place of architectural and technical improvement, including electric lights and a street railway.[36] **[Illustration 7]**

Prior to 1900, Sydney Mines was a series of separate mine sites surrounded by company houses rather than a distinct town with a centrally focused set of commercial and business outlets. With so much control over land and industries, the GMA was able to position pit-heads, workers' homes and services at its own will. Though loosely connected with one another by roads and the GMA's internal railway network for moving coal and supplies among its various sites, large vacant spaces often separated the different mine sites.[37] **[Illustration 8]** The company-operated stores, along with several complexes of row-houses, had been a feature of the coal town's existence since its founding. Because Sydney Mines' commercial activities had been sewn up by this multi-faceted truck system, there were few inducements for the establishment of the sort of commercial core found in other towns of its size. Helping to restrain evolution of a local middle class was the town's proximity to North Sydney, which, though smaller than Sydney Mines, had a dynamic commercial and professional community centred on an active fishing and shipping industry.[38] In 1903, extension of the Cape Breton Electric Railway gave Sydney Mines' residents even more convenient access to North Sydney, with a trolley line that ran through the centre of town. The line's course through the town also connected the different neighbourhoods within the community for the first time.[39] When the population more than

36 Amherst's town council debated over the expenditures for improvement of services almost endlessly, in hopes of attracting and retaining more industry. Prominent in those debates was David Robb, head of Robb Engineering, who favoured a more active role for the municipal government. *Amherst Daily News*, May and June, 1901. See PANS, Amherst Town Council Minutes, 1900-1905.

37 A.F. Church, *Topographical Township Map of Cape Breton County* (1877). Inserts for Sydney Mines are in two parts; one for "Lazytown," where the original mine-site was located, and another for the rest of town, where a newer mine was developed.

38 North Sydney's prominence in shipping is discussed in Rosemarie Langhout, "Alternative Opportunities: The Development of Shipping at Sydney Harbour, 1842-1889," in Kenneth Donovan, ed. *Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial* [sic], *1785-1985* (Sydney, 1985), pp. 53-69.

39 Sydney Mines, Town Council Minute Books, Vol. I, 1889-1906, Beaton Institute, University College of Cape Breton. Minutes for 1903 contain extensive discussions on the implications of the arrival of Cape Breton Electric Tramway service to town. They also reveal the town's dependence on Scotia for both its water and electricity, which were installed during the expansion. As in most mining towns, water and energy were first needed for driving mine equipment; only later were they extended to residences as surpluses would permit.

doubled between 1900 and 1905, too much commercial opportunity emerged for Scotia to monopolize, even though they built an enormous new company store in order to try to do so. A few commercial enterprises took hold and a town centre emerged around the new post office and federal building, erected in 1904 at Main and Fraser Streets.[40]

Between 1871 and 1921, the number of households in Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines more than tripled--from approximately 1500 to just over 5000. Amherst and Sydney Mines experienced the more dramatic increases, in both cases concentrated during the post-1900 decade, when the population of each doubled within a few years. But the supply of housing needed to accommodate the expanding labour force was always uneven, and considerable variation occurred in the sorts of development which ensued. While census and directories help to estimate the number of houses in each town at ten-year intervals, the much higher levels of transiency in certain areas and the fluid state of household structures during periods of peak labour demand--when large numbers of workers were boarded in existing households--made housing an important factor in expansion. Apart from Sydney Mines, the trend towards single, unattached, owner-occupied dwellings continued to be the norm, and even in the coal town the trend would be towards unattached dwellings after 1900. A sizable expansion of the number of rental units occurred in Yarmouth and Amherst during periods of rapid growth. By 1921 the number of householders reporting rental situations was about fifty per cent, with sizable direct correlations between age and occupation. Generally speaking, the older the householder and the higher up the occupational ladder, the more likely he/she was to own the dwelling in which he/she lived.[41]

40 The *Sydney Record* is filled with news of the opening of new establishments in Sydney Mines, including a branch of the British firm of Vooght Brothers, which built elaborate department stores in both Sydney Mines and North Sydney. A number of other mainland-based businesses opened establishments in Sydney Mines and throughout industrial Cape Breton after 1900.

41 The circumstances in which families took in boarders varied somewhat over time and space, with miners' households containing the largest numbers of workers. During periods of rapid expansion, at least half of the workforce in all three towns were single people boarding either with kin or in larger boarding houses, which became commonplace over that period. Householders who rented averaged 39.9 years of age in Yarmouth in 1921; owners averaged 51 years. In Sydney Mines, the comparable figures were 39 and 45; in Amherst 41 and 47, respectively.

Developers in Yarmouth and Amherst designed neighbourhoods specifically intended to house incoming workers in relatively inexpensive housing. Amherst's West Highlands, one of the largest such subdivisions, featured pre-planned uniform lots and house designs, either owned by individuals or retained by the developers, who maintained large numbers of rental units.[42] In Yarmouth, where expansion occurred earlier and somewhat more gradually than in the other two towns, there were fewer distinct class-based neighbourhoods such as West Highlands. But a large working-class district emerged towards the south end of town, where closely spaced and similarly constructed houses were sold or rented to workers.

Amherst's upper Victoria Street and the area just northeast of the business core along Spring and Church streets became the neighbourhood of choice for the town's middle classes. This area was a product of the same sort of intervention used to create West Highlands; estate developers assembled land, arranged for the servicing of lots and built houses that were similar to, if somewhat grander than, those in the working-class areas of town. The town's industrial leaders, on the other hand, commissioned architects to set their elaborately designed mansions on multi-acre lots overlooking the marsh on the town's eastern outskirts. The houses of the Rhodes, Curry and Robb families were most prominent, though there were several others as well.[43] Yarmouth's élite positioned their elaborate, architecturally commissioned residences on the town's northern outskirts, where they commanded a view of the harbour but were far enough away to avoid any deleterious side-effects of the industrial strip along Water Street. As with Amherst, areas nearer the commercial core--close enough for convenience but buffered against rougher industrial and dock areas--were developed for members of the new commercial and professional middle classes, though several of the houses in those areas were owned by ship-captains and others connected to the town's older marine-centred development. **[Illustration 9]**

42 Diane Tye, "The Housing of a Work Force: Workers' Housing in Amherst, Nova Scotia, 1900-1914," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, XI (Sept. 1986), 14-16; and "The West Highlands, Amherst, N.S.: An Examination of a Worker's Neighourhood" (N.S. Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness, Halifax, 1985).

43 Mott, Myles and Chatwin Papers, MC 1641, docs. 356-357 [N.A. Rhodes house plans], Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. See also *Amherst, Nova Scotia: Manufacturing Centre of the Maritime Provinces* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1906).

Housing in Sydney Mines had always responded directly to the need to accommodate miners in close proximity to the collieries where they worked. Most worker housing in the early town-site--unusual in Nova Scotia for its low-slung, multiple-row layout--represented a transfer of British mine town architecture.[44] The GMA had employed its own carpenters and bricklayers, and even had its own brickyard at Pictou for supplying company projects. Though the house rents charged by the GMA were more modest on the whole than elsewhere, access was carefully measured out as a way of controlling miners' work practices.[45] On the other hand, Sydney Mines had very little need for the numbers of middle-class homes prevalent in the other towns. Management, including R.H. Brown, who was provided with the town's only stately mansion (Beech Hill), were also provided with company houses. The few people living outside company control established themselves on land not owned by the GMA, mostly on the periphery of town, until Scotia opened some of the company land for private development after 1903.

Scotia dramatically expanded the community's housing stock after the introduction of steel-making in 1901, when several hundred new houses were built. Most were single dwellings, which supplanted the multiple rows favoured by the GMA.[46] While such intense and closely planned developments were generally atypical of the province, they were commonplace in industrial Cape Breton early in the twentieth century, when most housing was controlled by large corporations. Much of the new housing stock was built by contractors such as Rhodes-Curry, whose new Sydney offices handled a booming business throughout industrial Cape Breton. These houses--either single dwellings, which were more customary in Sydney Mines, or the duplexes more commonplace in towns dominated by the Dominion Iron and Steel and the Dominion Coal companies--were deployed along newly laid-out and serviced streets. Company control over land surrounding their collieries allowed a degree of town planning that bypassed many of the mechanisms of the municipal government for controlling such

44 Richard Brown, *The Coal Fields*; and J. Latremouille, *Pride of Home: The Working Class Housing Tradition of Nova Scotia, 1749-1949* (Hantsport, 1986).

45 D.A. Muise, "Nova Scotia's Coal"; and Ian McKay, "The Crisis of Dependent Development."

46 Thomas Cantley Scrapbook, MG 1, Vol. 1309, PANS. Scotia owned 800 of the approximately 900 houses in Sydney Mines in 1908. See *The History of Sydney Mines* (Sydney Mines, 1990).

development.[47] While the rapidity with which these developments occurred sometimes gave a rather frontier-like quality to new housing projects, it also showed the consequences of corporate control of virtually the entire real-estate market within a community. **[Illustration 10]**

The demand for worker housing had been met by constricting the parameters of usable house-types to a number of basic models that were adaptable to the region's resources. By and large, the rectangular balloon-style wood-framed, gable-ended houses, almost all of which were wood-shingle sheathed, frequently with cement foundations and increasingly with basements as well, became the norm. Only industrial and commercial structures, and a few of the houses of the wealthy, were ever sheathed in stone or brick. The regular placement of doors and windows, which were pre-fabricated in large wood-working factories such as Rhodes-Curry became the norm, as did the manufacture of many interior features such as cabinets and kitchens. These 'vernacular' styles became slightly more embellished as one ascended the occupational or income ladder, but structures paralleled one another at various levels. A few basic forms, such as the so-called 'Amherst House', or the duplexes so common in the coal towns, were replicated throughout the region and can still be found in great numbers everywhere in the province. This homogenization of urban housing was sustained by the resident architects and draughtsmen employed by larger companies such as Rhodes-Curry, who marketed not only the materials for building such houses, but also the designs. In effect, a buyer could pick a house out of a pattern-book and have it delivered for assembly, either as a single dwelling or in long streets of virtually identical homes. The skills needed for rapid assembly were readily accessible to large numbers of people, so during periods of rapid expansion, probably as many labourers gained their employment in construction work as ever toiled in the factories.[48] Few of the mass of young industrial workers moving to the towns could construct or acquire houses very soon after arrival. They subsisted in various forms of rental accommodation,

47 Sydney Mines' Town Council was dominated by Richard Brown, who served as mayor until 1900. Council minutes reflect dependence on the coal company for even the most basic information regarding community development. Sydney Mines Town Council Minute Book, Vol. I, Beaton Institute, UCCB.

48 The region's architectural heritage is discussed in Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces--a Reconnaissance," *Acadiensis*, X (Spring, 1981), 86-106; Latremouille, *Pride of Home*.

in a housing situation increasingly dominated by large developers whose control over supply permitted them to maximize profits. Even the middle classes, who had previously been able to procure housing through the acquisition of lots, or by commissioning construction of houses, were increasingly brought into this commodity-type situation, which came to depend heavily on financing through some sort of mortgage arrangement.[49] At the same time, ghettoization based on class and ethnicity became a feature throughout the region. Movement of workers from one neighbourhood to another within a lifetime appears to have been quite rare, as did owning more than one home over a lifetime; though speculation in that regard is premature, until more research on the life experience of individual workers has been completed.

'Commodification' occurred in house furnishings as well, though the implications for the material condition of life may have been somewhat different. In the pre-industrial period, furniture had normally been crafted in artisan settings, usually in the towns where they were consumed, usually by cabinet or furniture-makers of one sort or another. Variations of style and access to better-quality furnishings had been very much a question of class. People who could afford to acquire pieces made by someone else, normally commissioned what they required, or purchased from artisans who pre-built only a few pieces. The less affluent made much of their own furniture, or occasionally acquired pieces they could not make through a bartering process. The wealthiest of all, following well-worn patterns within colonial settings everywhere, sent to the United States or Europe for their furniture.[50] Whatever the source, the material culture of the pre-industrial period was somewhat eclectic, depending a great deal on the access which individual towns had to markets, the disposable income of local middle classes, or the capacity to sustain the activities of a number of local artisans.

Following industrialization, factory-produced furniture featured a wide price range which reflected different levels of workmanship and materials. Though still made of wood and fabric, furniture was now designed, cut and assembled in factory settings with steam or electric-powered machines

49 John Weaver and Michael Doucet, *Housing the North American City* (Montreal, 1991), Ch. 3, 7 and 8. On the implications of this trend in construction for local building trades, see Ian McKay, *The Craft Transformed: An Essay on the Carpenters of Halifax* (Halifax, 1982).

50 Barbara Robertson, *Sawpower*, Ch. 8.

applied to cutting, turning and carving, as well as to fastening parts in order to make the completed item. Sturdy, dependable and often embellished with a variety of unique designs, such furniture probably represented a substantial improvement for most consumers. Interestingly enough, individual craftsmanship may have commanded higher prices, but was not necessarily of higher quality in terms of workmanship or materials. Similar transformations in material culture occurred over a range of houseware, from stoves and kitchen appliances to glassware, all of which were produced in Nova Scotian factories. On the whole, towns such as Amherst, Yarmouth and Sydney Mines, where industrialization had resulted in dramatic if uneven increases in disposable income, led the region's integration into the material culture of the rest of Canada--a process that created tensions still with us today.

As the shape of the new urban Nova Scotia began to emerge, each community experiencing industrial development measured its progress in terms of the accumulation of a full range of modern institutional structures. All towns joined in the nation-wide welter of self-promotion, particularly during the first years of the twentieth century, when pamphlets, special editions of newspapers, and a host of promotions highlighted their new churches, schools, hospitals, parks and exhibition grounds, sports fields and skating rinks, etc. Public buildings such as post offices and customs houses, or court and municipal buildings were important indicators of the full achievement of urban status. These institutional structures, built largely to serve waves of new urban dwellers, also heralded something of a "Golden Age" for regional architects. The neo-Gothic and variants on the château style, which predominated in most public buildings and churches, influenced the design of virtually every prominent building undertaken across the province during this era.

The fullest panoply of institutional structures was achieved first by Yarmouth (during the 1880s), by Amherst (in the 1890s), and by Sydney Mines (only after 1900). Some buildings in Yarmouth and Amherst reflected their status as county shire towns, which required court-houses and other services that Sydney Mines never commanded. In fact, Sydney Mines never became as complete as the other two in terms either of its commercial or institutional buildings, though there was considerable development of its churches following 1900. Part of the reason was the absence of a strong business and professional core around which services could be focused. For instance, the imposing new branches of national banks were a feature of that

homogenizing trend in small town architecture across the country. It was featured in the redesign of the main commercial sectors of both Amherst and Yarmouth, but hardly figured at all in Sydney Mines. On the other hand, movie-houses, performance theatres, schools, hospitals and exhibition grounds all indicated Yarmouth's and Amherst's maturation. These structures often reflected the most recent technological innovations in building efficiency, having as they did the first major installations of electricity, water and sewerage.

Indicative of the integration of regional trends in large structures was the design and construction of Yarmouth's Grand Hotel, completed in 1894. Commissioned by a group of Yarmouth entrepreneurs anxious to extend the tourist industry in the area, it was designed by the firm of Mott, Myles and Chatwin of Saint John and built by Rhodes-Curry. It was declared the most modern hotel in the region. Its elaborate verandas fronting Main Street overlooked a new public park built the same year it opened. The harbour was close by, and the Western Counties Railway terminal was just across the park.[51] It housed a technologically advanced interior, boasting all the newest features, including central heating, running water and electricity--though those features were only added to some of its rooms a decade later. Prominent placement on the north end of Main Street ensured it would be a focal point in all celebrations of the town's new status.[52] **[Illustration 11]**

Amherst's new federal building (1886-87) was one of several similar structures erected across Canada during Thomas Fuller's tenure as Chief Architect at Ottawa's Department of Public Works. Like so many of those structures in the Maritimes, it was built by Rhodes-Curry, in this case featuring distinctive red sandstone from the nearby Amherst quarry, which also figured in a number of other local buildings. Its soaring pinnacle and ornate clock tower formed an adaptation of the 'Gothic Revival' style prominent in public buildings throughout the country at the time. **[Illustration 12]** A similar building had been built in Yarmouth in 1882;

51 Susan Phinney, "The Land of Evangeline."

52 Mott, Myles and Chatwin Papers, MC 1641, doc. 567 [Grand Hotel] Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. Dalhousie University Archives, Grand Hotel Papers; and "The Grand Hotel," MS., Yarmouth County Historical Society, YMS 427 L1.

another would be erected in Sydney Mines in 1904, where again it signified recognition of that town's coming-of-age.[53]

In some ways, churches expressed even more directly the new maturity and institutional self-consciousness of each town. Between 1871 and 1910 upwards of twenty-five new churches were built in the three towns, more if one counts the extensive renovations to existing structures. Most were more ornate in design than their predecessors; all featured increased space to accommodate the new arrivals. The largest were the new Roman Catholic churches, which replaced small chapels that had served their relatively tiny congregations from an earlier era. The Church of England led the way in inserting the Gothic Revival style into the region's predominantly neo-classical architectural environment.[54] Its acceptance across a number of denominations during this period reflects the extent to which such social trends and cultural norms were universally accepted. Trinity Yarmouth (1873) and the new Trinity Anglican in Sydney Mines (1903) were among the clearest expressions of that trend, one coming at the beginning of the Great Transformation, and the other at its close. The Sydney Mines church was one of many in the region designed by Prince Edward Island native William Critchlow Harris, who was responsible for an endless variety of neo-Gothic Revival structures.[55] **[Illustration 13]**

Rapid population increases taxed the capacity of schools and hospitals as well. The enormous borrowings that were required to build schools and hospitals, as well as to install necessary public services such as sewer, water and electricity, were undertaken with great regularity. New schools reflected the renewed emphasis placed on education, in an era when a literate work-force was considered essential for future progress. Buildings that embodied such ideas were designed to inculcate in children the ideals of an orderly

53 The federal buildings in Amherst and Sydney Mines have survived; Yarmouth's was demolished several years ago. *Post Offices by Thomas Fuller, 1881-1896* (Ottawa, 1986).

54 On the origins and impact of the neo-Gothic revival in the Maritimes, see Gregg Finley, "New Brunswick's Gothic Revival; John Medley and the Aesthetics of Anglican Worship," Ph.D. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1989; and "Stained Glass and Stone Tracery: The Gothic Revival and the Shaping of Canadian Sensibilities," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, V, 1 (1990), pp. 78-98.

55 Robert C. Tuck, *Gothic Dreams: The Life and Times of Canadian Architect William Critchlow Harris, 1854-1913* (Toronto, 1978), p. 119. Trinity Anglican (Yarmouth) is analysed in Reilly, *Selected Buildings in Yarmouth*.

community, part of a cultural revolution where the practical arts of shop for boys and home economics for girls were viewed as a way of preparing working-class children for their future lives. The imposing Amherst Academy, designed by Mott, Myles and Chatwin and built by Rhodes-Curry, was among the province's most modern. **[Illustration 14]** Yarmouth, of course, had its institutions in place long before the other two had even begun to think of constructing new ones, and well before the collapse of its industrial boom after 1900. Even Sydney Mines succumbed to the demand for schools and a hospital; though the latter, predictably, was a gift in the form of the Scotia manager's former residence.

The maturing towns of the post-1900 period mark a distinct departure from an earlier, less affluent era. Over the period, the physical features encountered on a day-to-day basis in each became increasingly similar, particularly in the institutional face presented along main streets. Bank buildings and department store architecture were replicated everywhere, as were the ways people sought their recreation and moved from place to place within the towns. All signalled the triumph of a new consumer-directed society that accepted norms determined elsewhere, as evidenced by building styles and techniques that were part of an industrial, rather than a more culturally-based consciousness. The ideas underpinning these developments were part of the new ideology of growth sweeping North America during the period. Its evidences were as visible in these small communities as anywhere else that people had access to the newest ideas concerning the appropriate image for their communities.

As they were integrated into a regional economic system, Nova Scotia's towns also came to reflect a range of technology and styles associated with urban growth everywhere. During the widespread depression of the 1870s, the older, colonial system of trading staples for manufactured goods could no longer serve the interests of individual communities, or the ambition of the new nation to expand. Merchants and entrepreneurs, whose political representatives had changed the direction of the provincial and federal governments, now took hold of their towns' futures by controlling councils and directing municipal governments to deliver services needed to encourage industrialization. In the process, they acquired costly technology such as electricity, telephones and running water, that were needed to expand the capacity of their communities to host the new industries they wanted to establish. In this, they embraced a vision imbedded within the context of a

new nationalism. Essential to this ideology was the notion that technology could make their worlds prosperous, where previously there had been only frustration.[56]

In spite of their apparent remoteness from one another, Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines, as well as vitally interacting with each other throughout the period of transition, experienced these transformations in common. The process of homogenization within a broader North American material culture was part of this integration, which was also occurring across a wider spectrum of social and cultural activities. An important transportation and communications revolution, centred on expansion of the provincial rail network, allowed the new manufacturers and builders to serve markets throughout the region. Their ultimate transformation occurred in two stages, paralleling the development of the region's industries. The first stage, lasting roughly from 1880 to 1900, featured locally based entrepreneurs combining to accept the challenge to industrialize. Basically, they took the initiative to use surpluses generated by the older staples trade to acquire new technology that they introduced into previously underdeveloped towns. The second stage, somewhat less easy to define, was marked by integration into a broader national economic system. In the process, local entrepreneurship was absorbed into the Montreal or Toronto financial and institutional, as well as industrial, sectors. The result was similar in both instances; a loss of community-centred direction that crippled the region's capacity to remain independent of the larger national economy, on the expansion of which the earlier growth of Nova Scotian towns had so depended. The long-term result was de-industrialization and decline, indicators of which were apparent even before World War I, though the fullest implications would not be felt until the 1920s.

During the first stage of the transformation, roughly from 1880 through 1900, a Maritime-centred material culture flourished. All the requirements for social reproduction and household living were produced and marketed within the region. Ready availability of locally produced items reflected a new capacity to fabricate and circulate goods at a reasonable cost. While this

56 Paul A. Bogaard, ed., *Profiles of Science and Society in the Maritimes Prior to 1914* (Fredericton, 1990); Donald Macleod, "Practically Ascendant: The Origins and Establishment of Technical Education in Nova Scotia," *Acadiensis*, XV (Spring, 1986), 53-92; and Janet Guildford, "Coping with De-industrialization: The Nova Scotia Department of Technical Education, 1907-1930," *Acadiensis*, XVI (Spring, 1987), 69-84.

industrialization was experienced unevenly across time and space, it was not a passive process. It occurred through the agency of many individuals, operating at a variety of levels, but directed by a middle class anxious to extend its sway over the communities which it was trying so hard to meld to serve its own ends.

Industrial capitalism intensified technology's role in processing raw materials. While they tended to minimize the role of skilled labour, these new techniques also harmonized workers to their rhythms. Yet, even as they replaced much of the manual labour characteristic of cottage-type industries, the new machines demanded a dramatic increase in the number of workers, as well as for construction and related activities necessitated by larger population concentrations. The formulation of a new material environment designed both to exploit the working-class's labour power and to maximize profits from their integration into this process of industrialization was a consequence that was pregnant with class tension. These tensions reflected resistance by workers to attempts to meld them into compliant consumers in the new urban environments. By and large, organized labour resisted attempts to subject their labour power to 'commodification', rather than question the basis of the system being put in place.[57]

In some ways, transformation of the built environment was as important to urban growth as the industries themselves. Much of the public investment undertaken was not to benefit industry, but to introduce services and housing to facilitate industry's demands. Municipal incorporation allowed local business leaders to use the new level of government to finance the trappings of modernity so necessary to their profit-driven investments. To prepare for the new industrial world, town leaders invoked the corporate will of their communities to acquire the steam-driven technology necessary for moving water and waste. They also assisted in the installation of large new plants for the delivery of electricity to factories, homes and places of business. When the industrial core of these towns disappeared following the World War I boom, the effect was devastating. Saddled with the accoutrements of

57 Class formation and conflict is summarized in Ian McKay, "Strikes in the Maritimes, 1901-1914," *Acadiensis*, XIII (Autumn, 1983), 3-46; D.A. Muise, *The Transformation of Work in the Maritimes*; and David Frank and Nolan Reilly, "The Emergence of a Socialist Movement in the Maritimes, 1888-1916," in R. James Sacouman and Robert J. Brym, eds., *Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Atlantic Canada* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 81-106.

industrial towns, but stripped of their capacity to carry the debt loads they had incurred to acquire them, the local bourgeoisie initiated an outburst of regional protest the echoes of which are still heard today.[58]

The material culture surrounding these industrial towns had been transformed to meet the expectations of their new middle classes, who were in turn inspired by the preoccupation with growth during Canada's "Great Transformation." Tied to Canada's westward expansion, they became imbued with the notion of an ever-expanding frontier capable of absorbing all their industrial surpluses. As richer, more aggressive central Canadian capitalists began to consolidate their hold over the political, financial and economic levers of the nation, they squeezed out or simply absorbed regional competitors within the larger systems they were creating. Senior management, sometimes the financiers themselves, took the road to Montreal or Toronto, whence all the newly amalgamated firms operated.[59] In the end, these departing entrepreneurs left behind a 'petit bourgeoisie' to whom was allotted the task of managing the towns which the industries had reshaped, and dealing with the new working classes called into existence by the concentration of capital. These two groups had to deal with the consequences of the forced growth, and even more rapid collapse, that occurred on the withdrawal of capital from their towns. Communities created by this process acquired new identities that were shaped by their growth surge, but frozen by their sudden collapse. The material repercussions evident to this day remind us not only of the consequences of buying into the promise of modernity, but also of the grandeur that was theirs during the "Great Transformation."

58 The political outburst resulting from this dislocation is discussed in E.R. Forbes, *The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927: A Study in Canadian Regionalism* (Kingston, 1979).

59 The departure of the Bank of Nova Scotia was one of the most significant developments of this period. See James Frost, "The 'Nationalization' of the Bank of Nova Scotia, 1880-1910," *Acadiensis*, XXI (Autumn, 1982), 3-38. Both Nathaniel Rhodes and David Robb followed the amalgamation of their firms outside the province to take up positions of leadership in Montreal.

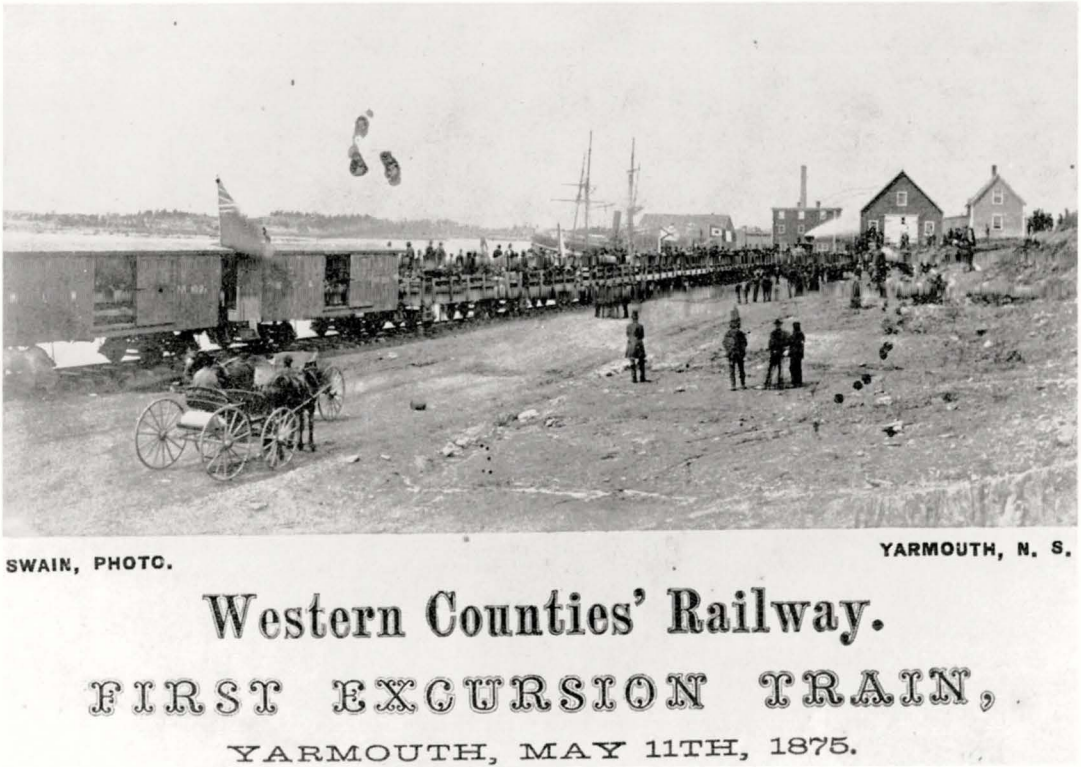

Illustration 1. "Western Counties' Railway. First Excursion Train, Yarmouth, May 11th, 1875" [Richard Swain Photo, Yarmouth County Historical Society and Archives, PH 56-25].

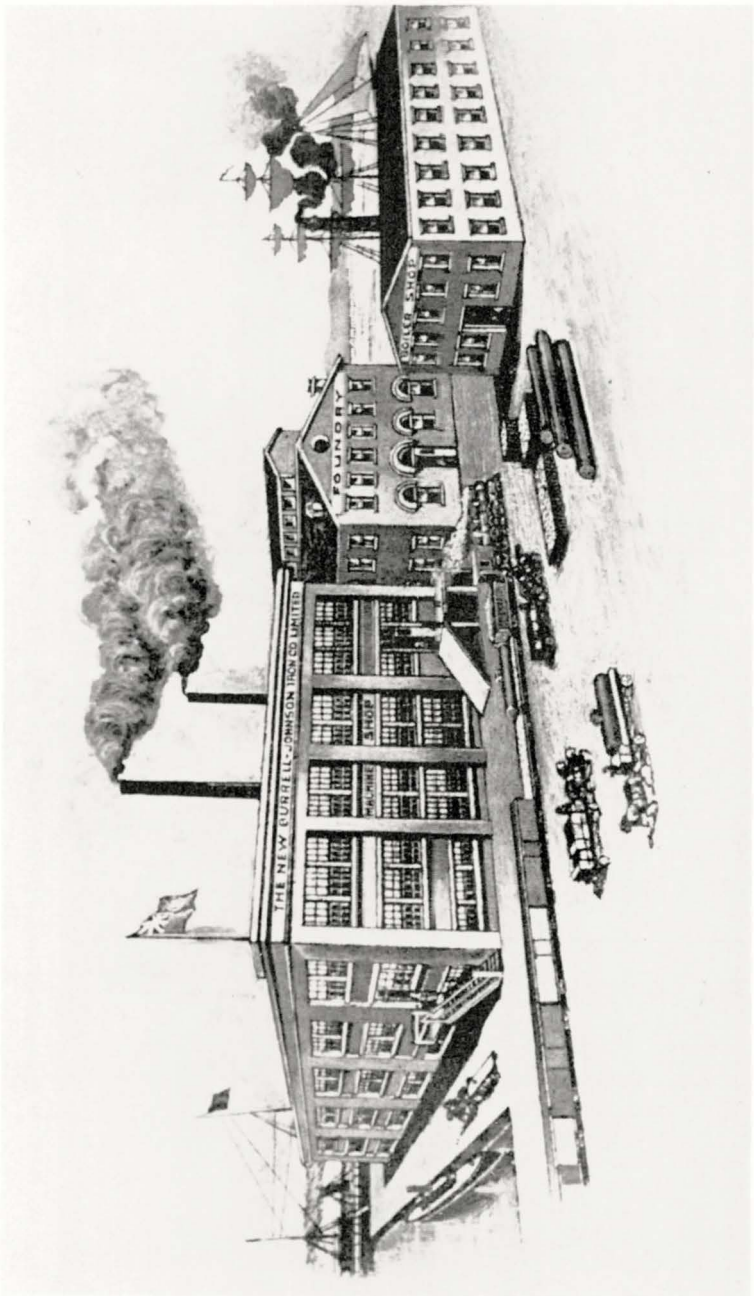

Illustration 2. "The New Burrill-Johnson Foundry and Shops, 1918" [PANS N–6254.] *Yarmouth Town and County: "Western Gateway" of N.S.*, (Yarmouth, 1918).

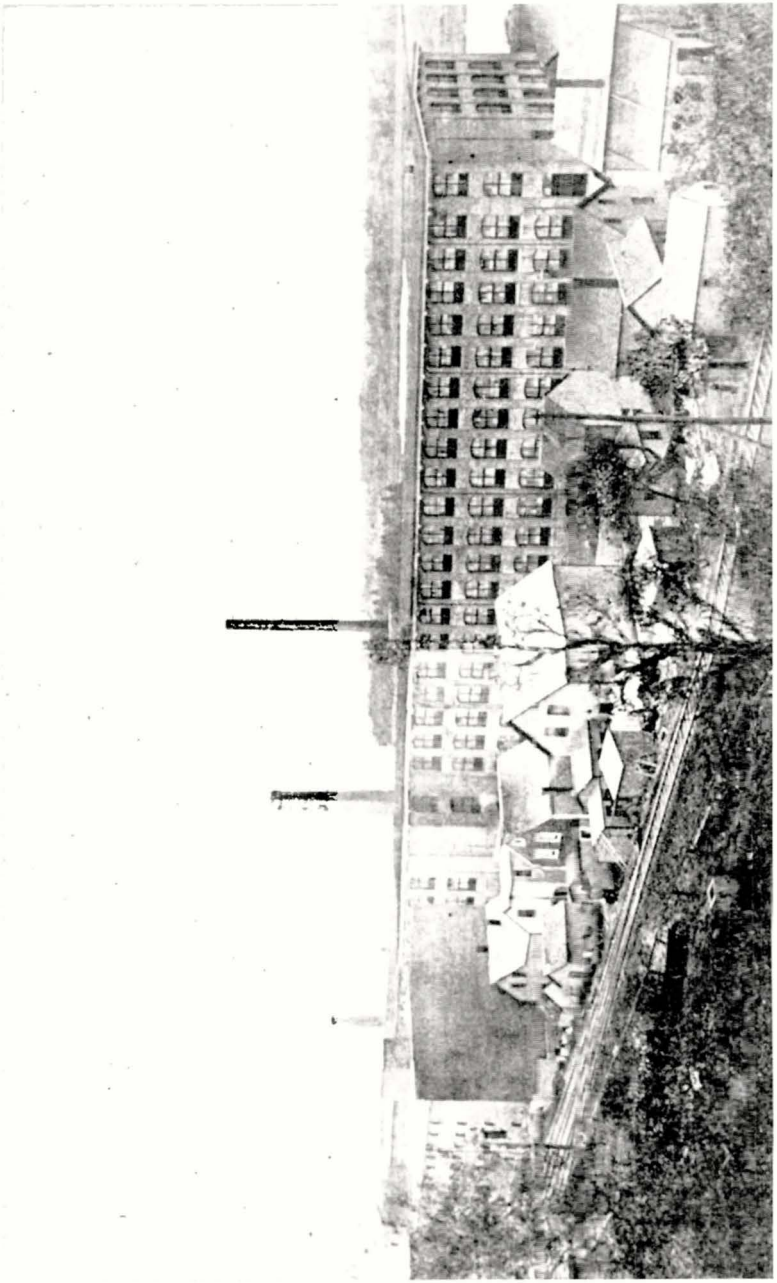

Illustration 3. "Cosmos Cotton Mill Complex," Yarmouth, 1913 [PANS N-6252]

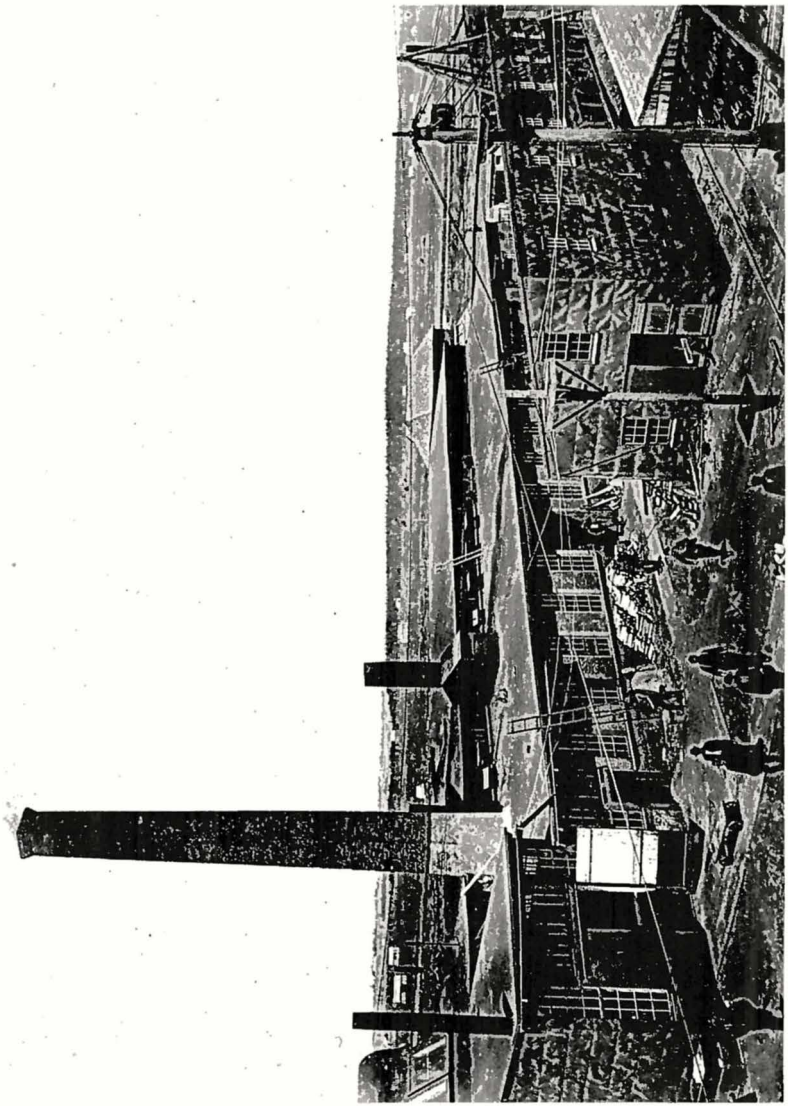

Illustration 4. "Robb Engineering," Amherst, *ca.* 1897. Nova Scotia Museum Collection [N–5143].

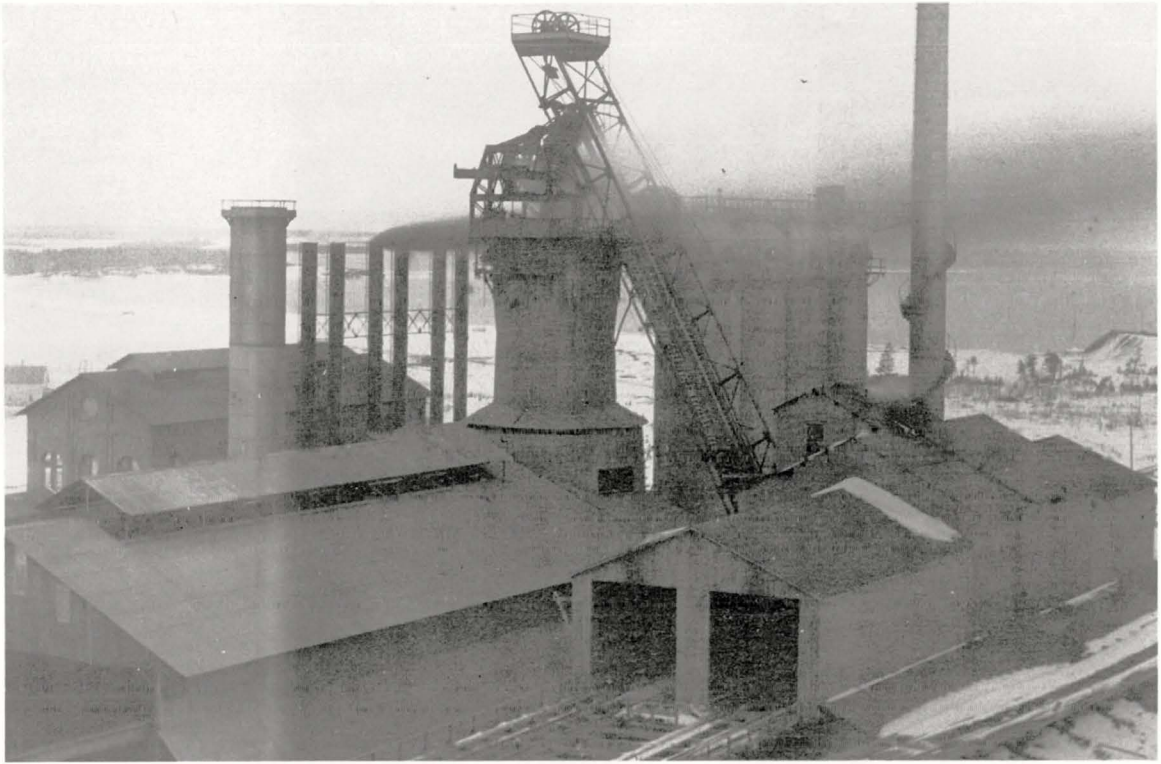

Illustration 5. "Blast Furnace: Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company, Sydney Mines, c. 1905" [Dodge Photo, Thomas Cantley Scrapbook, PANS MG 1, Vol. 1309].

Illustration 6. "Main Street Looking North, Yarmouth, 1870," [Yarmouth County Historical Society and Archives, Album 34, page 24].

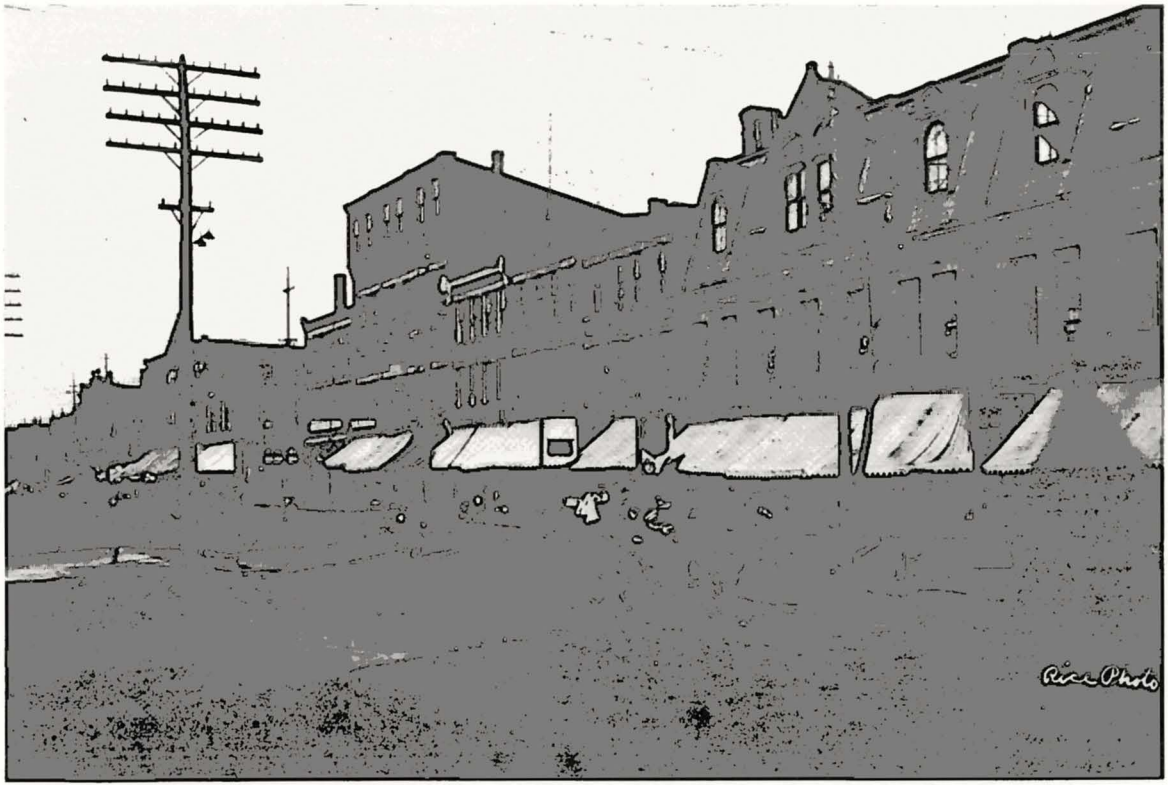

Illustration 7. "Victoria Street, Amherst, c. 1900" [Lewis Rice Photo, PANS N-6270].

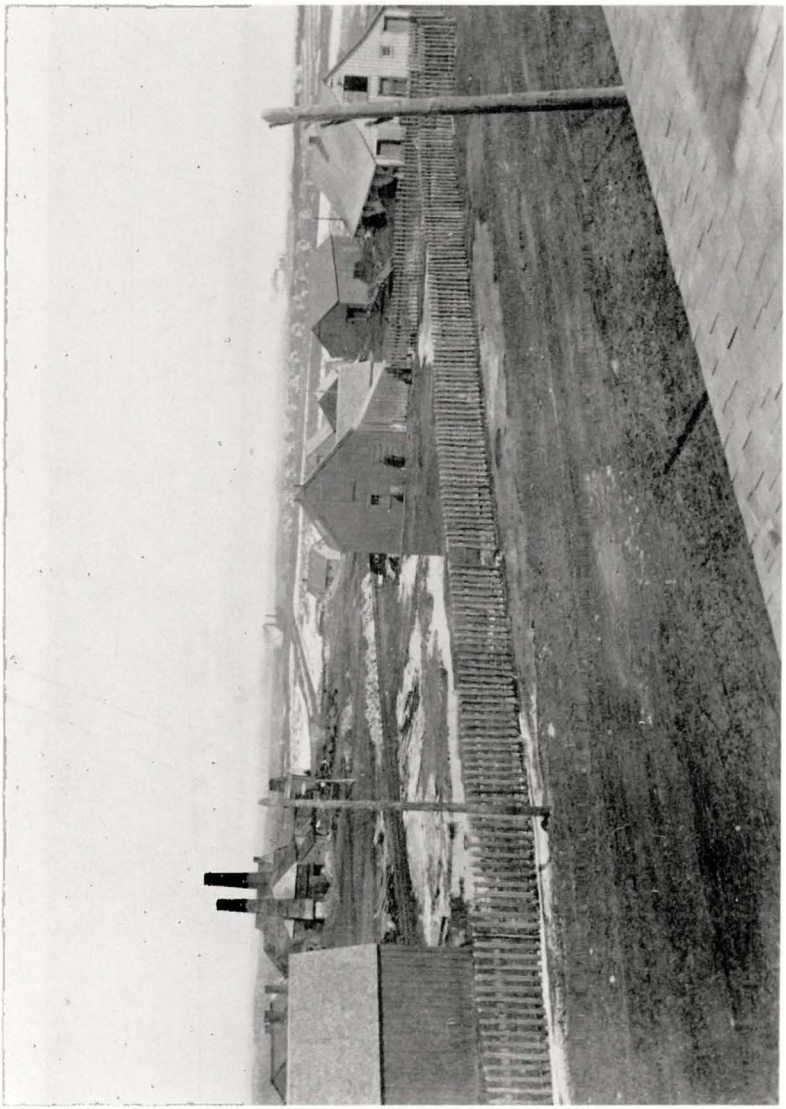

Illustration 8. "Sydney Mines from a Distance, 1900" [PANS N-112].

Illustration 9. "Spring Street, Amherst, c. 1905" [Lewis Rice Photo, PANS N-6277].

Illustration 10. "Company Housing: Fraser Avenue, Sydney Mines, c. 1905" [Dodge Photo, Cantley Scrapbook, PANS MG 1, Vol. 1309]

Illustration 11. "Grand Hotel, Yarmouth" (decorated for the visit of Governor General and Lady Aberdeen, 27 August 1894), [Yarmouth County Historical Society and Archives].

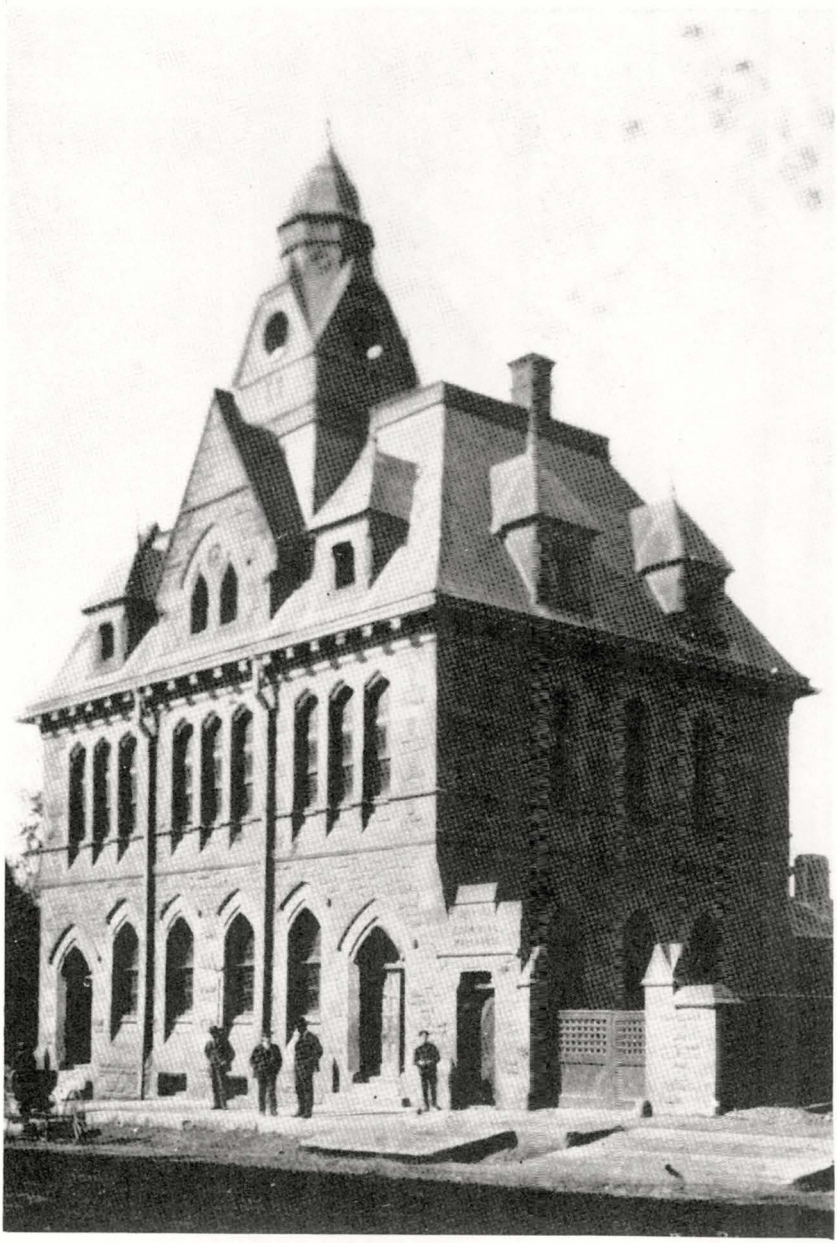

Illustration 12. "Post Office and Customs Building, Victoria Street, Amherst, c. 1905" [Lewis Rice Photo, PANS N-6272].

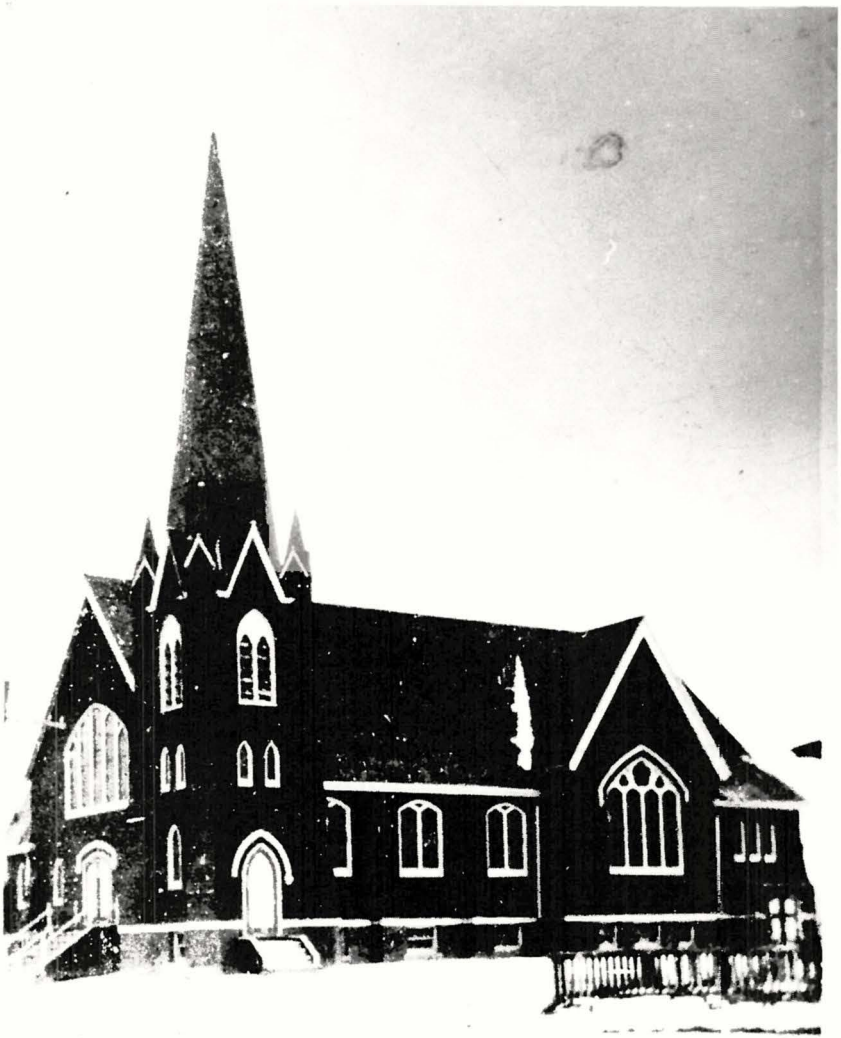

Illustration 13. "Trinity Anglican Church, Sydney Mines" [Beaton Institute, University College of Cape Breton].

Illustration 14. "Amherst Academy: Amherst, c. 1905" [Lewis Rice Photo, PANS N-6271].

Imports and the Changing Standard of Living in Nova Scotia, 1832-1872

Julian Gwyn

> Consumption...was governed by the determination of large numbers in the population to achieve a higher standard of living through their own efforts.[1]

Historians have devised all sorts of ways to study changes in the standard of living, a subject they consider of crucial importance.[2] Since governments in the past cared little for the subject, concerned as they were with other things, most methods used by historians involve teasing out of the surviving records evidence which the particular documents were never meant to provide. For some time, my research into the economic history of Nova Scotia from the 1740s through to the Confederation era has encouraged me increasingly to attempt to make some general statements about the relative wealth and poverty of its people. Dr. Fazley K. Siddiq and I have recently concluded a study of wealth distribution between 1851 and 1871 based on probate records, and now wish to investigate patterns of imports as a possible source for additional conclusions about the changing standard of living in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

First, let me define 'standard of living'. It is a measure of relative comfort and security, by taking account of the capacity to consume food and drink, housing, fuel and candle light, clothing, transportation and travel, literacy and leisure. Standard of living also includes life expectation, which in part depends on diet and environment. If "clean, green, safe and quiet" are the desired elements in urban Canada in the 1990s, those in mid-nineteenth-century Nova Scotia in general were "remunerative employment, adequate food, shelter and raiment, as well as the rudiments of education." When the poor form a numerous element in society, we should expect a general level of inferior food, poor housing, simple and perhaps drab clothing, rudimentary methods of transportation, and severely restricted life-cycle savings, together with relatively low levels of literacy: a stunted people with abbreviated life expectancy.

Julian Gwyn is Professor in the Department of History, University of Ottawa.

1 The reference was to the USA. See Lance E. Davis *et al., American Economic Growth. An Economist's History of the United States* (New York, 1972), p. 85.

2 One such modern attempt is found in John Burnett, *Plenty and Want. A Social History of the Diet of England from 1815 to the Present Day* (London, 1979).

Among British historians, the question of the changing aggregate standard of living has been a matter of lengthy and lively debate. It has especially focused on two periods: a more recent, wide-ranging argument considered the standard of living for the working class between 1770 and 1850,[3] while an earlier discussion used the late Victorian era as its principal focus. There were two main approaches: one measured changes in average per capita money wages, the other changes in per capita national income. Each series of index numbers generated were then compared with prices, to produce indices of real wages and real income. Altogether, the range of possible comparative data for Great Britain was impressive. Available to scholars were per capita annual output and income indices, which took into account both rents and wages. Pollard and Crossley[4] subsequently added to the discussion by reflecting on retained imports between 1814-16 and 1844-46. Arguing that there was little improvement before the mid-1840s, they provided the details in **Table 1**. They found about ten per cent of the English population to be "permanently pauperized,"[5] while any significant crisis saw perhaps one-third of the labouring classes rendered unemployed. Their conclusions for 1845-73 agreed with those drawn earlier by Cole and Postage in 1938, when studying what they called the "common people"[6] in England and Wales. These

3 For the latest contribution to the debate see Roderick Floud, "Standards of Living and Industrialisation," *New Directions in Economic and Social History*, ed. Anne Digby and Charles Feinstein (London, 1989), pp. 117-129. The first shot in the modern analysis was fired by Eric Hobsbawn, "The British Standard of Living, 1770-1850," *Economic History Review*, 3rd Series, X (1957), 46-61. There is a summary of the first fifteen years or so of the debate in *The Standard of Living in Britain in the Industrial Revolution*, ed. A.J. Taylor (London, 1975). Historians of pre-famine Ireland have also dealt with the subject. Data on sugar imports formed part of the discussion in Joel Mokyr and C. O'Grada, "Poor and Getting Poorer. Living Standards in Ireland Before the Famine," *Economic History Review*, 41 (1988), 209-35. They also adduce the height of Irish recruits into the British army and levels of literacy.

4 Sidney Pollard and David W. Crossley, *The Wealth of Britain, 1085-1966* (London, 1968).

5 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

6 *The Common People, 1746-1946* (London, 3rd ed., 1946) found that when examining the period 1850-1875, "consumption per head of cereals went up very little—by about 3 per cent. But meat consumption per head rose by over 10 per cent to about 110 lbs, and that of tea by over 60 per cent to 4.5 lbs, and that of sugar by 75 per cent to 60 lbs. Tobacco consumption also increased, by about 18 per cent per head of population. Nor should it be omitted that the consumption of spirits rose by over one-third per head, and that of wine by about two-thirds": p. 351. Real wages, calculated mainly from rates paid skilled workers, rose in England and Wales in those twenty years by 18 per cent. A contemporary estimated that in the mid-1860s the average

scholars noted a marked upswing in the standard of living of most working-class families between 1850 and 1875, and less so thereafter up to the eve of the Great War. They were echoing the work of nineteenth-century observers such as D.A. Wells, Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree, even as poverty remained the characteristic lot of perhaps one-third of most families in many towns and cities.[7] Wells originally had used imports retained in Great Britain for domestic consumption to produce the comparisons listed in **Table 2.**

The marked rise in per capita imports of all articles in his list--except for beer, coffee, malt, spirits and wine--was from a "humanitarian point of view...one of the most wonderful things in the history of the latter half of the nineteenth century."[8] More recently, Deane and Cole, with assistance from Supple, estimated that between 1860-64 and 1870-74, net national income per capita rose by 27 per cent, and by another 63 per cent by 1895-99, when they estimated a per capita real income rise of 2.1 per cent annually.[9] For the whole period 1860-1913, they estimated a per capita real income rise of 1.6 per cent annually, which Supple characterized as modest, but not insignificant by historical standards. In view of the general fall in the cost of food during this period, as reliance on cheaper imports tended to undermine the hitherto unassailable strength of British agriculture, the increased overall national income, even when it tended to be monopolized by the better-off elements in British society, meant that consumers generally were able to buy

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income of a working class family was about 31s., when the usual day's work was 10.5 hours, 28s in Scotland and 23.5s in Ireland: *ibid.*, p. 254. "Alcohol consumption rose until the 1870s, to a level of 270 pints of beer and 1.5 gallons of spirits per person per year; most was consumed by male adults"; Charles More, *The Industrial Age. Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1985* (London, 1989), p. 171.

7 Both Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London* (London, 1889-97) and B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London, 1899) note that a third of the urban population of London and York lived either in poverty or below subsistence. Rowntree distinguished between primary and secondary poverty, the former where family income was insufficient to obtain the minimum necessary for the maintenance of physical efficiency, and the latter applying to families whose income was diverted from physical necessities, and as a consequence were reduced to poverty.

8 D.A. Wells, *Recent Economic Change* (New York, 1898), p. 355.

9 B.E. Supple, "Income and Demand 1860-1914," in *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700*, Vol. 2: *1860 to the 1970s*, ed. Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 121-143; and Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688-1959* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 329-30.

more food "with a less than proportionate increase in expenditure."[10] Seventy years ago, MacKenzie was able to demonstrate changes for the better in per capita food consumption between 1860 and 1913. When wheat, cheese, potatoes, meat and bacon, milk, butter, tea and sugar were taken into account between 1860 and 1880, there was a marked upward thrust in per capita consumption of all items except potatoes, which fell, and meat and bacon, which stagnated.[11]

By contrast with these studies for Great Britain, the standard of living remains a rather muted aspect of Canadian historiography.[12] The relative neglect of these important topics in Canada ended only in the interwar era, when prices for consumers and producers first begin to receive massive scholarly attention, as part of an international orientation.[13] Historical price

10 Supple, "Income and Demand," p. 142. See as well, J.B. Jeffreys and D. Walters, "National Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom 1870-1952," in *Income and Wealth*, ed. Simon Kuznets, (London, 1955), pp. 1-40.

11 W.A. MacKenzie, "Changes in the standard of living in the United Kingdom, 1860-1914," *Economica*, 1 (1921), 224:

Per Capita Consumption

Item	1860	1880	% Changes
Butter (lb.)	0.17	0.25	47.1
Cheese (lb.)	0.12	0.16	33.3
Meat/bacon (lb.)	1.80	1.80	—
Milk (pints)	1.75	2.20	25.7
Potatoes (lb.)	6.80	5.70	(16.2)
Sugar (lb.)	0.66	1.21	83.3
Tea (lb.)	0.05	0.09	80.0
Wheat (lb.)	6.20	6.60	6.5

12 William L. Marr and Donald G. Paterson, *Canada: An Economic History* (Toronto, 1980), ignore the matter of the changing standard of living, and have almost nothing to say about the social cost of benefits of economic change.

13 How much of this important new work had been stimulated by the International Scientific Committee on Price History is uncertain. It was very important in generating historical prices for the USA, especially for the eastern states. See for instance, Walter Buckingham Smith and Arthur Harrison Cole, *Fluctuations in American Business 1790-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935). For a bibliography of published early wholesale prices for Canada, see A. Asimakopulos, "Price Indexes," in *Historical Statistics of Canada*, ed. M.C. Urquhart and F.H. Lacey, 2nd ed., (Ottawa, 1983). See as well, K.W. Taylor and H. Michell, *Statistical Contributions to Canadian Economic History*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1931), Vol. II: "Statistics of Prices," by

series still only very rarely predate the Confederation era, thereby needlessly foreshortening the statistical bases for a scholarly discussion. Equally absent --and here the problem continues--are pre-Confederation wage data; while changing prices of land, the principal form in which wealth was held during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, still remain almost a closed book. Since the appearance of Piva's 1979 study of the Toronto working class after 1900,[14] a few such studies have been published. Most recently, the Gagans[15] have turned their considerable talents to the general problem of the standard of living in Victorian Ontario, and included imports as one factor in delineating changing standards of living. From this consideration of the standard of living and its historiography, let us now look at how a study of imports contributes to this subject. I shall first make a few remarks about the use to which trade statistics have been put by scholars.

Economic growth and development remain among the most important of the problems studied by economic historians.[16] One of the major traditions has emphasized the role of commerce, in particular with an export-led model. Much of the economic history of British North America has been written, beginning with H. A. Innis, in terms of staple exports,[17] which especially reflect the relative prosperity of the export sector. This in turn influences

H. Michell, 47-93. Michell's earliest prices date from 1848 and are for fifteen foodstuffs, the information being taken from the Toronto *Weekly Globe*. The rest of his data start only in 1868.

14 *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921* (Ottawa, 1979). See as well E.J. Chambers, "New Evidence on the Living Standards of Toronto Blue Collar Workers in the Pre-1914 Era," *Histoire sociale-Social History*, XVII (1986), 285-314; and Gordon Bertram and Michael Percy, "Real Wage Trends in Canada, 1900-1920: Some Provisional Estimates," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, XII (1979), 299-312.

15 David Gagan and Rosemary Gagan, "Working-Class Standards of Living in Late-Victorian Urban Ontario: A Review of the Miscellaneous Evidence on the Quality of Material Life," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series, I (1990), 171-193.

16 The research for this paper was funded partially by grants in 1988 and 1989 from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

17 His most important work, at least focusing in part on Nova Scotia, was *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto, 1956). See as well Melvin Watkins, "A Staple Theory of Economic Growth," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XIX (1963), 141-158; and W.E. Vickery, "Exports and North American Growth: 'Structuralist' and 'Staple' Models in Economic Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 7 (1974), 32-58.

rates of immigration, patterns of settlement, distribution of wealth, the capacity to import, the development of manufacturing and ultimately the standard of living. One of the substantial criticisms of this approach is that large parts of the economy remained wholly unresponsive to the possibilities of exports. Farmers, for instance, who formed the bulk of the pre-industrial society and workforce of British North America in the nineteenth century, were concerned less with maximizing income by the production of some export staple, than with feeding their families and generating a small surplus for a market which was almost invariably local in its scope. Moreover, they consumed most of what they produced and produced much of what they consumed.

Another serious objection to this theory is that it virtually ignores imports, the study of which tends to be overlooked or given a minor role within any general discussion of economic growth and development. The domestic development of the import replacement industry, certainly an important subject but only one aspect of the impact of imports on an economy, is the usual focus. Adam Smith believed that the principal reason for exports was to purchase imports. The Keynesian model held a very different view of imports which, like savings and taxes, were seen as not leading to further income for the state, but as so-called 'linkages', acting as a brake on the economy.

Like economists, modern economic historians to a greater or less degree have neglected the subject. The index for Marr and Paterson's recent economic history of Canada has no entry for imports, while the authors cite import data only for 1850-1866.[18] A little more useful is an economic history of the United States written by economists, which in uncomplicated language states,

> A country pays for its imports by exporting its own products. The higher its revenues from exports, the more it can spend on imports. Export revenues depend on both the amount of a country's exports and the price it receives for each unit, while the amount of imports purchased with the export proceeds depends on the amount spent and the price of imports. Given the quantity of exports, the higher the export price, the greater the revenue. Given the amount spent on imports, the lower the import price, the greater the benefit from the expenditures.[19]

18 Marr and Paterson, *Canada: An Economic History*, p. 142: Table 5:1.

19 Davis *et al.*, *American Economic Growth*, p. 564.

Still more useful is the most recent survey of the economic history of British North America to 1789, by McCusker and Menard, who treated imports rather peripherally while giving a central role to exports. They found that in colonial North America it was cheaper to import such basic commodities as cloth, rather than attempt to manufacture and market it at home. By contrast, the distilling of rum from imported molasses before 1776 was a rare example of import replacement. Demand intensified as colonial income and wealth rose; and the evidence, based on colonial American imports from Great Britain, indicates a 30 per cent per capita rise between 1699-1704 and 1767-74.[20] McCusker and Menard's analysis linked the level of imports to the changing domestic standard of living:

> The rising colonial standard of living, by creating a demand for greater quantities of refined imports of all types, further stimulated such processing industries. One effect of the changes in colonial imports was the promotion of colonial processing and manufacturing industries.[21]

They call imports a useful, if "imperfect proxy for the rate of expansion of the entire economy,"[22] while others merely say that rising imports should be viewed as a "passive accompaniment to development, as a source of vital capital goods which could not have been produced domestically, or as a depressing influence on the growth of domestic industry."[23] From the perspective of the economic history of the United States in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, it is perhaps reasonable to neglect the study of imports. After all, it has been estimated that by the late 1860s only fourteen per cent of American manufactures were imported, less than six per

20 John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economic History of British North America 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill, 1985), p. 280: Table 13.1.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 277. See their Chapter 13: "Consumption, The Import Trade and the Domestic Economy," pp. 277-294, one of the two shortest chapters in the book, a certain indication of the generally under-researched nature of the subject. See as well, "Consumption and the Style of Life, Davis *et al.*, *American Economic Growth*, pp. 61-89.

22 McCusker and Menard studied in detail only 1770 imports from the U.K. See *Economy of British North America*, p. 281.

23 Davis *et al.*, *American Economic Growth*, p. 548.

cent of agricultural products, and only about one per cent of sea products--proportions which steadily fell over the next century.[24]

For Nova Scotia, which was so heavily dependent on imports, not only of manufactures but of all sorts of food products, such neglect is inexcusable. By studying the marginal propensity to import those types of consumer commodities which can tell us something about the aggregate changes in the standard of living, this article will return to an older question, which failed to be raised by earlier historians of Nova Scotia. It will focus on Nova Scotia at an important period of its development, as it struggled to survive in the era of free trade, while seeking economic opportunities in an Atlantic world dominated by the United Kingdom and the United States, with their increasing comparative advantages from economies of scale. Nova Scotia remained too sparsely populated to sustain the manufacture of the consumer and investment goods it wanted. Its agriculture was too limited to allow self-sufficiency in many basic food items. Its imports then ranged far beyond the sorts of commodities which were characteristic of many other North American polities. More specifically, the article will study imports in order to measure changes in the standard of living, with a view to contributing to a knowledge of the realtive wealth of its people.

I have already shown elsewhere that between 1851 and 1871 there was about a thirty-six per cent inflation in the cost of goods, matched only by about a seventeen per cent increase in average wages.[25] In the absence of estimates of Nova Scotia's consumption, production and income, I propose to develop evidence as to per capita consumption of a selection of retained imported commodities. I shall draw conclusions about the relative standard of living from evidence of the economy's capacity to absorb imports. As

24 *Ibid.*, p. 572: Table 14.5.

25 See my "Golden Age or Bronze Moment? Wealth and Poverty in Nova Scotia: the 1850s and 1860s," *Canadian Papers in Rural History* [forthcoming, VIII (1992)], and my "Wealth Distribution in Nova Scotia during the Confederation Era, 1851 and 1871," paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association annual conference, May 1990, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. A revised version, co-authored with Fazley Siddiq, is forthcoming in *Canadian Historical Review*.

aggregate production data are unavailable for food and drink, the basic items of consumption,[26] retained imports of such commodities will form the central consideration in this study. The commodities involved include beef and pork, bread, biscuits, flour, cornmeal, rice and tobacco, which largely came from the United States; spirits and wine from Europe; and tea, largely re-exported from Europe; as well as the Caribbean products of rum, sugar, molasses and coffee. Some articles include what can be termed luxuries and others as essential food items, some of which (e.g., rice and cornmeal) could not be produced in Nova Scotia, and others none of which were produced domestically in adequate quantities. In theory, outlays for food decline proportionately and outlays for other goods and services rise as the level of total expenditure increases. In other words, the more primitive and poorer the economy under study, the more income is directed to food and less to luxuries. The greater the per capita consumption of luxuries, the greater the relative wealth. The greater the income, the wider the range of diet, and hence possibly also the less nutritious. Simultaneously, changes in the distribution of income among groups within a society with varying propensities and abilities to consume, will have an immediate impact on the level and pattern of aggregate consumption.

26 Coal is one of the few commodities for which annual production figures are known. Annual per capita domestic consumption demonstrates a very modest increase between the 1830s and the 1850s, but a sharp rise by the 1870s, as illustrated:

Nova Scotia's Coal Production (Tons)

(Annual Average)

	Gross Sales		Net Exports*		Domestic Consumption**	
	#	p.c.	#	p.c.	#	p.c.
1832-34	55,317	0.32	41,638	0.15	13,679	0.08
1850-52	174,220	0.63	134,846	0.49	39,374	0.14
1870-72	650,203	1.68	244,253	0.63	485,090	1.25

* Gross exports less imports

** Includes coal supplied in Nova Scotian ports as bunker fuel to foreign steamers, as well as exports to other parts of the Dominion of Canada.

Source: George H. Dobson, *A Pamphlet Compiled and Issued Under the Auspices of the Boards of Trade of Pictou and Cape Breton on The Coal and Iron Industries and Their Relation to the Shipping and Carrying Trade of the Dominion* (Ottawa, 1879), p. 27; PRO, CUST 12/1-3, 19-21; CO 221/46-48, 63-65. Canada, *Sessional Papers.*

Nova Scotia's earliest trade statistics which provide full information on imports from every region of the world become available for 1768-72,[27] 1788-95[28] and from 1832 onwards. This study will focus on the period from 1832. In the earlier period the trade data relate only to the port of Halifax, and after 1784, to Sydney, Cape Breton. England and Scotland were the predominant source of imports, and a continuous record of this trade with Nova Scotia exists from 1749. Yet without the information about trade with the United States and the Caribbean, the other major places of origin of imports, only an imperfect picture of imports emerges. Another reason for beginning this study in the early 1830s relates to the earlier importance of smuggling. Illegal imports before 1830, especially from the United States, are thought by some authorities to have been significant, thereby making the official record less useful than it might otherwise be. Thereafter, owing to changes in the tariff levels, smuggling in products from the United States appears to have been negligible. Yet another reason for focusing on the period from the early 1830s is the problem with intercolonial trade. The Fundy ports of Nova Scotia conducted a brisk export trade, especially in agricultural products, with Saint John and St. Andrews in New Brunswick. Historians are divided about the extent to which this particular trade is accurately recorded in the import and export statistics, either for New Brunswick or for Nova Scotia before the 1830s. Thereafter, only lethargy would have prevented the customs officials from rendering an accurate account of the annual trade of the colony.

For Nova Scotia, which is devoid of aggregate income estimates for any period of the nineteenth century, the problem of estimating the pattern of consumer demand for food and drink, let alone manufactures and services, is almost insoluble. One way of approaching part of the problem is to look at imports intended for domestic consumption. This too is not without difficulties, as most of the imported commodities, by their manner of being recorded in the Customs House annual reports, cannot be studied usefully. Their value alone is recorded, expressed either in sterling or in dollars, but not the unit of measurement. Thus this study includes only those items which have a comparable unit of measurement--bushel, gallon, hundredweight,

27 PRO, CUST 16/1.

28 PRO, CUST 17/10-17.

pound or barrel of a known weight--both before Confederation, when trade was a provincial responsibility, and afterwards when it became a responsibility of the dominion government. A problem was created, for instance, by molasses, which was measured in gallons (volume) by the province up to 1867, and in pounds (weight) by the dominion thereafter. Only when it was established that a gallon of molasses weighs 13.54 lbs could the data be made comparable. Some problems were not capable of being overcome. Thus for most textile products, which before 1867 were measured either in yards or in pieces, the post-Confederation measurement in packages made comparisons quite useless. The great majority of imported manufactures which were of interest to this study have been excluded, as only their value was stated. Also excluded are commodities, the annual value of which was so small as to have made little impact on consumers in Nova Scotia.

Three main categories of imports are considered in this study, as follows: (a) crude or raw foods (coffee, grain, rice, tea); (b) processed or manufactured foods (wine, spirits, flour, cornmeal, sugar, molasses, meat, bread and biscuit); and (c) semi-manufactured goods (tobacco).

The changing nature of an economy can be described in part by examining the relative importance of each of these categories of imports. To what extent, for instance, was there a declining dependence on manufactured and semi-manufactured goods? For the United States the proportional value of manufactured and processed goods moved from more than ninety per cent in the 1770s to almost eighty per cent in the early 1820s to under fifty-seven per cent in the 1890s.

With these preliminary remarks, let us now turn to the trade data. Gross imports--that is, imports before the quantity of exports and re-exports are subtracted--for Nova Scotia were averaged for the three-year intervals of 1832-34, 1850-52 and 1870-72, when the population was estimated to have been 175,000, 277,000 and 388,000 at mid-point, respectively. We should first look at the general pattern of Nova Scotia's trade for the forty years covered by this study. **Table 3** provides the details in simplified form. A number of points can be made quickly. Per capita trade fell $13.36 (or by 1.6 per cent annually) between 1832-34 and 1850-52, with per capita exports falling annually by 2.0 per cent, and per capita imports by 1.2 per cent. In absolute terms import values actually rose by $1,139,400, while exports stagnated. Between 1850-52 and 1870-72 there was a marked recovery, with

a 4.2 per cent annual rise in the absolute value of trade (4.0 per cent for exports, and 4.3 per cent for imports). In per capita terms, imports now exceeded the figures for 1832-34, though the level of exports still had not reached the 1832-34 threshold. However impressive the recovery by the early 1870s, it was not an obvious case of dynamic growth.

Turning from values to volumes, we should next examine the actual commodities with which this study is concerned, in order to determine the extent to which they conformed with the general pattern of import trade. The data are found in **Table 4**. From it there is clear evidence of import substitution for domestic production of barrelled beef and pork, bread and biscuit throughout the forty years of this study, and perhaps of flour after 1850-52.

From this data must be subtracted the average annual quantities exported or re-exported. This creates a problem for the post-Confederation era, as re-exports and exports to other provinces of the Dominion were not noted, only re-exports to British North American colonies, outside the Dominion, as well as to foreign states. To estimate the post-Confederation exports and re-exports, the pre-Confederation proportions have been used as a guide. Thus the proportion of imported goods, such as rum, sugar, molasses and tea, which were re-exported to Quebec and New Brunswick on average in 1864-65 through 1866-67, has been used to calculate the proportion which would have been sent by Nova Scotia to the rest of the Dominion in 1869-70 through 1871-72. The information, suitably adjusted, is found in **Table 5**. This then makes the calculation of the retained colonial and provincial imports a straightforward matter of subtracting the exports and re-exports from the gross imports. The results are found in **Table 6**.

A number of specific conclusions emerge from the data. Between the 1830s and the early 1850s consumption of spirits, especially in the form of Caribbean rum, declined sharply.[29] This was the era of the Temperance Movement's greatest initial impact on the drinking habits of Nova Scotians. There was no development of an import-substituting distillery industry, which might have explained such a remarkable change in consumption. By contrast there was a marked rise in net tea imports, from less than two-and-a-

29 This point was made in my "Rum, Sugar and Molasses in the Economy of Nova Scotia, 1770-1854," in *Tempered by Rum. Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces*, ed. James H. Morrison and James Moreira (Halifax, 1988), p. 124.

half to almost four pounds per head. When William Scarfe Moorsom toured the colony in the late 1820s, he had remarked upon the importance of tea:

> The East India Company annually consigns one or two vessels directly from China, which arrive about June. The quantity of tea, of very inferior quality, that used formerly to be smuggled into the province from the States, has now been in great measure superseded by this consignment.... Tea is more extensively consumed throughout Nova Scotia than any other article of luxury except spirits. It is used in the poorer cottages at every meal, particularly among those settlers who originally came from New England.[30]

This expansion of tea-drinking followed the experience in Great Britain, as did the decline in coffee consumption. In addition, there was a rise of almost fifty per cent in per capita tobacco consumption. There was a decline in purchases of South Carolina rice, despite the crisis from the potato blight beginning in the mid-1840s. There was a steep rise in the per capita consumption of imported grain and flour, owing perhaps to two causes: the difficulties faced in Nova Scotia from the impact of the Hessian fly on wheat production, and the general failure of grain production in Nova Scotia to keep pace with the expanding population. As the vast bulk of the annual importation of molasses was used as a sweetener, its consumption should be added to that of sugar. In this way, by 1850-52 some 44.6 lbs per head were being imported, or a rise of 23.5 per cent when compared with the figure of 36.1 lbs per head in 1832-34. Such expansion of consumption was considered to be an indicator of a better living standard; only later was it realized that both molasses and sugar, which contain no nutritional value, were also likely to be hazardous to health.

When the early 1870s are compared with the early 1850s, a somewhat different picture emerges. As per capita consumption of coffee continued its decline, that of tea expanded only moderately. This was matched by a moderate rise in the consumption of spirits, in the form of rum, brandy, gin and whisky. Only rum was drunk in any quantity by all classes in society, while brandy, gin and whisky remained the preferred liquor of the middle-class urban dweller and of the élite generally. Per capita wine consumption, also largely confined to this privileged class, recovered to a point approximating

30 *Letters from Nova Scotia; Comprising Sketches of a Young Country* (London, 1830), pp. 56-57.

the level consumed in the 1830s, while tobacco consumption fell back to the level of the 1830s. Per capita consumption of molasses and sugar, taken together, rose by 42 per cent to 63.4 lbs per annum. The data indicate some improvement in per capita output from agriculture, if the declining per capita amounts of flour, cornmeal and grain are accurate indicators. When measured by weight, in 1850-52 the per capita import amounted to 214.1 lbs and in 1870-72 it had fallen to 120.4 lbs or almost 44 per cent, a more than 82 per cent increase per capita over the early 1830s. This was achieved without increasing per capita consumption of imported rice, which was of diminishing importance from the mid-1850s onwards, given the recovery of potatoes as a major crop, both for subsistence as well as for surplus farm earnings throughout the eighteen counties.

To what extent were imports influenced by commodity price changes, in what economists call the elasticity of demand? Evidence for 1850-52 and 1870-72, drawn from Halifax wholesale prices, will form the basis of the comments which follow. These twenty years saw an aggregate inflation of some 37.4 per cent for Halifax wholesale commodities. Only two commodities (sugar and tobacco) exceeded and a third (oats) approximated this level of commodity price inflation, while all other items fell significantly below that threshold. Details are found in **Table 7**. In the case of tobacco, there was probably some direct connection between the per capita fall in consumption during those two decades and the sharp price rise. Tobacco thus illustrates a case in which the quantity consumers demanded was very sensitive to price changes. By contrast, in the matter of sugar, the connection is not obvious, for despite an almost 44 per cent price rise, per capita consumption almost doubled. This seems to be a classic case of where the quantity demanded is quite unresponsive to price changes. Per capita consumption of oats remained constant. As retained imports of flour and grain, when measured on a per capita basis, fell in this interval, and both flour and grain prices were well below the aggregate wholesale price movement, it appears that the increase in domestic consumption which probably occurred was satisfied in larger proportion in 1870-72 from Nova Scotian agriculture than had been the case in 1850-52.

The unexpectedly low rise in rice consumption, despite the relatively modest price rise, again can be assumed to have arisen from import substitution of food products raised on provincial farms. The increase in molasses consumption can also be explained by a less steep rise in the price

of that commodity, in relation to the overall level of inflation during the period. The decline in consumption of coffee, despite the rather unexceptional rise in its price, which one would expect to have resulted in a recovery in per capita consumption more comparable with 1850-52 levels, perhaps can be explained only by a gradual change in the habits of the middle class, who alone could afford to drink it. The switch from coffee-drinking to tea-drinking occurred partly because the price rise in tea was more modest than for coffee, while a pound of dry coffee beans produced far less beverage than the equivalent weight of tea leaves. The collapse in the price of rum and the very modest rise in the price of sherry, the most popular wine consumed in the province, ought to have given rise to a sharper increase in per capita consumption by 1870-72. The explanation is found in the lasting success of the earlier Temperance Movement which, if it understandably failed to banish wine and spirits from the beverage consumption of Nova Scotians, nevertheless had the effect of encouraging them to consume far less than had been the case in the early 1830s.

What more general conclusions can be drawn, especially as to the impact of imports on the changing standard of living? Although evidence for living standards derived from a study of imports must be deployed with such other evidence as extant records will permit, there is no excuse for ignoring trade data altogether. This study of Nova Scotia's imports supports the view that a significant decline in the standard of living occurred as a result of the long depression of the 1840s. This left many Nova Scotians less able to consume certain imports by 1850-52 than they had been two decades earlier. This was a very serious matter, for in the early 1830s there were few indications of long-established wealth anywhere outside the small merchant élite of the colony. Contrasts with Nova Scotia's apparent backwardness were publicly made with what was perceived as the rapid economic growth of every state in the United States. There are many ways to support this claim, but instead of citing a vast new body of data, let it suffice to hear the words from one contemporary, and utterly representative pen. The words are those of Pictou's *Colonial Patriot* in May 1831:

> There is scarcely an individual who can discover in what our prosperity consists, or who has got hold of it. Almost every man, who compares notes with himself, finds that, while his life is wearing away in disappointments, he has not got even within sight of those comforts, which he anticipated, and

> which with moderate exertions, he ought to have acquired...; Does it [yet] contain a race of landholders, living in rural affluence, and unencumbered with debt?...are there [yet] to be found in it a single half dozen of merchants, who have been enabled to retire from business and to assume the character of country gentlemen? Is there a prospect that our farmers are likely to become as independent as the yeomanry of free countries usually are, or that our traders will retire in affluence from a life of toil?...not one of the questions can receive an affirmative answer.[31]

These are not isolated remarks, but are widely found both in public print and in private correspondence. Such evidence indicates that Nova Scotians continued, until the 1850s, to compare the wealth which wartime inflation had apparently generated, especially in 1812-14, with the decades which followed.

By contrast with the 1830s and 1840s, the next two decades were ones of general recovery to a position, in some instances, by 1870-72, better than it had been forty years earlier. The best evidence advanced here for continued and generally uninterrupted improvement is found in per capita imports of molasses and tea. Each, with differing amplitudes, demonstrates an expanding capacity as a consumable. A number of imports, after 1850-52, failed to grow and could not possibly have been replaced by local production. The most obvious were coffee, rice and tobacco, where in each case except rice, the absolute volume of imports actually declined.

Some attention should be directed, as an epilogue, to those imports which Nova Scotia had considerable capacity to produce, and the production of which its farmers seemed anxious to expand. These include beef and pork, bread and biscuit, flour and grain. In general, Nova Scotia's agriculture lagged far behind that of Ontario, Quebec, Prince Edward Island and even New Brunswick, when measured either by output per farm, per improved acre or per rural capita.[32] Historically, Nova Scotia had always depended on

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31 7 May 1831. See also elaborations of these sentiments in later issues of the same newspaper, on 28 May, 9 July and 22 Oct. 1831.

32 For comparisons with New Brunswick, Nova Scotia's closest rival in agricultural output, see Kris Inwood and Jim Irwin, "Preliminary Estimates of Regional Differences in Commodity Output, Canada 1870" (paper presented to the Workshop on Atlantic Canadian Economic History, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, September 1990).

significant food imports from other British North American colonies, and after 1783 from the United States. Comparative advantage appears to have dictated this sensible practice. Only with Newfoundland and New Brunswick did the province maintain a favourable balance of trade in agricultural produce, some of which were re-exports.

Let us consider a few details. Throughout the forty years covered by this study, Nova Scotia was generally self-sufficient in both beef and pork. It neither imported nor exported those items in significant quantities. In the 1830s and the 1870s, according to **Table 8**, Nova Scotia exported more than it imported, while in the 1850s, owing to severe difficulties in feeding livestock, the colony was a net importer. Furthermore, it had a small reputation as a net exporter of live cattle and swine, though the absolute numbers annually involved in this trade, however important to particular outports, were not significant and for this reason have not been included in this study. It is equally clear that by the early 1870s, the province stopped having to import annually thousands of barrels of bread and biscuit, by becoming self-sufficient in these commodities, though these items do not altogether vanish from the customs ledgers.

When we consider such commodities as flour or cornmeal and grains (especially oats, wheat and Indian corn), the picture is not so clear. They continued in the early 1870s to be among the most important imports, whether measured by volume or by value. By 1872 Nova Scotia appears far less self-sufficient in all these articles of trade, with the exception of oats, than it had been forty years earlier, despite an obvious expansion of arable land in the 1850s and 1860s. When 1850 and 1870, the years noted in the 1851 and 1871 census returns for agriculture, are compared, both acreage devoted to wheat and yield per acre had declined. Nevertheless, important increases in grain production were recorded. There was an overall rise from 2,169,000 to 3,025,000 bushels, for a net increase of 856,000 bushels. In per capita terms, this indicated a relative decline from 7.83 to 7.80 bushels, or less than one per cent. The absolute increase of 856,000 bushels, an almost 40 per cent expansion over 1850, is largely explained by an increase in the production of oats, principally to accommodate an expansion in the number of horses in the province. Whereas there had been about 28,800 horses in 1850, by 1870 some 49,600 were recorded. In 1850 some 48.1 bushels of oats per horse had been grown, while in 1871 this had declined to 44.2 bushels.

Such figures, if they cannot be given too much weight, at least suggest the relative stagnation of grain-growing in Nova Scotia. A further indication, which cannot be dismissed, of the relative stagnation in agriculture in the same interval, was the sharp decline from 398 to 301 in the number of flour and grist mills.[33] There is some evidence that by the early 1870s such mills were amalgamated into larger units of production, but they all still remained very small enterprises of very low average capital value. In 1870 there were on average 1.4 employees in each of the 301 flour and grist mills in Nova Scotia, as compared to 1.1 in 1850, when 398 had been counted.

Finally, it is not known how much domestically produced oatmeal was consumed in the Scottish-settled parts of Cape Breton, and the counties of Antigonish and Pictou. Nutritionally an excellent source of food, it was considered in Scotland[34] and in Nova Scotia as a staple for the poor. Thus any increase in its human per capita consumption would have been considered evidence of increasing poverty rather than expanding wealth. The evidence indicates instead an almost constant dependence on external supplies of both grain and flour, with no indication of a large per capita increase in the consumption either of bread or of flour. There was, for instance, nothing like the phenomenon recorded by Wells for England and Wales, given their more than 500 per cent increase in per capita consumption of wheat and wheat flour, and 1,000 per cent for rice, between 1840 and 1886-87,[35] evidence which has encouraged historians to see the third quarter of the nineteenth century as a period of markedly improved living standards for working-class families in Great Britain. During the era of Confederation, given the sort of evidence assembled in this study, such a view is simply not warranted for Nova Scotia.

33 Census of 1851 in PRO, CO 220/65 and printed in Nova Scotia, *Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly. Session 1852*, App. 94. Census of 1870-1871, III.

34 T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950* (London, 1986), pp. 16, 128.

35 Wells, *Recent Economic Change*, p. 355.

Table 1: British Isles Per Capita Consumption (in lbs.)

Year	Coffee (GB)	Tea (UK)	Sugar (UK)	Tobacco (UK)
1814-16	0.51	1.27	15.5	0.92
1844-46	1.22	1.59	19.1	0.93
1831-50		1.44	20.0	
1851-70		2.75	35.0	
1871-80		4.12	60.0	

Source: Pollard and Crossley, *The Wealth of Britain 1085-1966*, pp. 205, 218.

Table 2: Per Capita Consumption in Great Britain

Item	1840	1886-87
Bacon/ham (lbs.)	0.01	11.62
Beer (gals.)	27.78	26.76
Butter/cheese (lbs.)	1.97	12.93
Coffee (lbs.)	1.08	0.83
Currants/raisins lbs.)	1.45	4.18
Eggs (#)	3.63	28.75
Malt (bush.)	1.59	1.64
Rice (lbs.)	0.90	9.22
Spirits/wine (gals.)	1.22	1.33
Sugar (lbs.)	15.20	69.58
Tea (lbs.)	1.22	4.91
Tobacco (lbs.)	0.86	1.43
Wheat and flour (lbs.)	42.67	203.26

Table 3: Per Capita Value of Nova Scotia's Trade

(Annual Average)

	1832-34		1850-52		1870-72*	
	$	$p.c.	$	$p.c.	$	$p.c.
Imports	4,600,400	26.29	5,739,800	20.72	10,684,700	27.61
Exports	3,699,400	21.14	3,698,100	13.35	6,619,600	17.10
Total	8,299,800	47.43	9,437,900	34.07	17,304,300	44.71

* Excludes trade to the rest of the Dominion of Canada.

Source: PRO, CO 221/46-48, 64-66; CUST 34/1-3, 19-21; Canada, *Sessional Papers.*

Table 4: Nova Scotia's Gross Imports

(Annual Average)

	1832-34	1850-52	1870-72
Bread/biscuit (000 bbls.)	17	7	0
Coffee (000 lbs.)	188	227	156
Flour/cornmeal (000 lbs.)	72	241	236
Grain (000 bush.)	41	253	331
Molasses (000 gals.)	645	729	1,833
Rice (000 lbs.)	510	462	664
Spirits/wine (000 gals.)	978	126	474
Sugar (000 lbs.)	5,107	13,239	20,447
Tea (000 lbs.)	889	1,115	1,658
Tobacco (000 lbs.)	346	721	849

Sources: PRO, CUST 6/1-3, 19-21; CUST 12/1-3, 19-21; CUST 8.36, 38, 40, 72, 74, 76; CO 221/46-48, 65-66; Nova Scotia, *Journals and Proceedings*, for 1852-54; Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1871-74.

Table 5: Nova Scotia's Exports and Re-Exports
(Annual Average)

Item	1832-34	1850-52	1870-72
Bread/biscuit (000 bbls.)	1	1	----
Coffee (000 lbs.)	----	----	----
Flour.commeal (000 bbls.)	26	16	26
Grain (000 bush.)	5	21	31
Molasses (000 gals.)	416	178	971
Rice (000 lbs.)	90	----	----
Spirits/wine (000 gals.)	120	40	80
Sugar (000 lbs.)	2,100	8,350	7,425
Tea (000 lbs.)	488	33	----
Tobacco (000 lbs.)	61	29	207

Table 6: Nova Scotia's Per Capita Retained Imports
(Annual Average)

Item	1832-34		1850-52		1870-72	
	#	p.c.*	#	p.c.	#	p.c.
Food:						
Bread/biscuit (000 lbs.)	1,650	9.4	660	2.4	----	----
Flour.commeal (000 bbls.)	46	0.3	225	0.8	211	0.5
Grain (000 bush.)	36	0.2	232	0.8	300	0.8
Molasses (000 lbs.)	3,101	17.7	7,461	26.9	11,671	30.1
Rice (000 lbs.)	420	2.4	462	1.7	664	1.7
Sugar (000 lbs.)	3,007	17.6	4,889	17.7	12,923	33.3
Drink:						
Coffee (000 lbs.)	188	1.1	227	0.8	144	0.4
Spirits/wine (000 gals.)	838	4.8	72	0.3	364	0.9
Tea (000 lbs.)	401	2.3	1,082	3.9	1,658	4.3
Other:						
Tobacco (000 lbs.)	285	1.6	692	2.5	642	1.7

* Per capita, measured in single units (e.g., 0.2 bushels of grain were retained on average in 1832-34).

Table 7: Commodity Price Changes between 1850-52 and 1870-72
(Unweighted)

Item	% Change
flour, NYC, superfine	24.0
flour, Canada, fancy	34.7
flour, rye	30.3
cornmeal, Baltimore	4.0
oats, PEI	35.7
molasses, BWI	27.1
molasses, Cienfuegos	25.0
rice, Carolina	18.9
sugar, Cuba	43.6
sugar, Porto Rica	40.3
coffee, Jamaica	20.7
coffee, Santo Domingo	25.0
rum, Demerara	(15.5)*
rum, Jamaica	(26.2)*
wine, sherry	12.7
tea, Congou	13.5
tea, Souchong	27.6
tobacco, USA	90.0

* Brackets indicate a price decline.

Table 8: Beef and Pork (000 bbls.)
(Annual Average)

	1832-34	1850-52	1870-72
Imports	6	5	----
Exports/Re-exports	9	1	8
Retained Imports	----	4	----

Table 9: Bread and Biscuit (000 bbls.)
(Annual Average)

	1832-34	1850-52	1870-72
Imports	17	7	----
Exports/Re-exports	1	1	----
Retained Imports	16	6	----

The *Loyalist*: Genesis of a Ship

Susan Burgess Shenstone

> I have been on board The Ship *Loyalist* & feasted my eyes with the sight of The production of Nova Scotia which was worked up under the Superintendency of your dear better part. I did not think any of the produce of that country Half so Beautifull--I was not well the day we was on board but could not help dancing when we entered the Ship--....I kisst the peaces where I thought you or your better part had laid your hands--there we spent the Day with pleasure & Festivity--..... Capt. all complacency--you may Suppose the Conversation Turned chiefly on your dear selves & the country you Live in.[1]

So wrote a friend from London in 1789 to Jane Moody, wife of Lieutenant James Moody, Loyalist revolutionary hero, then settled in Nova Scotia. Most of the shipping records of the period have been lost, but we are fortunate with the *Loyalist*, for with her, thanks to family papers, petitions and other manuscripts, we are able to trace the beginnings of one of the earliest of these Maritime seagoing vessels.

The *Loyalist* was the second full-rigged ship to be built in Nova Scotia. She was launched at Sissiboo, now Weymouth, on St. Mary's Bay in 1788. She was a substantial ship--193 tons, a good average size for a merchant vessel of the day built for foreign trade--with a hull measuring 84 feet overall, 69 feet on the keel and 24 on the beam. She had two decks, a square stern and under her bowsprit a carved knee. Described by the surveyor as "staunch, well built and strong," she was made of Nova Scotian timber throughout, with black birch for keel and planking and, undoubtedly, white pine for her three masts and her "very beautiful" cabin so much admired by contemporaries.[2] Though she was launched in July 1788, it was not until September a year later that friends in London were able to go aboard her.

Building a large seagoing vessel in the eighteenth century was an enterprise of great accomplishment. It required special skills and knowledge,

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Susan Burgess Shenstone lives in Ottawa and is currently writing a biography of Colonel James Moody.

1 Rebecca Thompson to Mrs. Jane Moody, 11 Sept. 1789, Moody Family Papers [hereafter MFP], held by John Wentworth Moody, Ottawa.

2 Petition of Philip Marchinton, on behalf of Messrs. James Moody, Thomas Yorke, Charles Cooke and John Dick, Halifax, 4 March 1790, in RG 5, "A", Vol. 3, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS]; Public Record Office [hereafter PRO], Transcripts and Transactions: Series I, Board of Trade 107, London Registry, Annual Lists, courtesy of Dr. Charles Armour, University Archivist, Dalhousie University Library, Halifax, Nova Scotia; Inglis Journal, Wed. 27 Aug. 1788, Inglis Family Papers, MG 23, C6, Series 1, Vol. 5, p. 11, National Archives of Canada [hereafter NAC].

not only of boats but also of men. The builder must have 'connections' to raise the necessary capital. He must find a suitable construction site. Finally, he or one of his associates must have a sense of the business market and, of course, a knowledge of the sea. To achieve an ocean-going ship on a remote inlet on the edge of the English-speaking world, as did the Loyalist shipbuilders before they were hardly settled, was even more remarkable.

The *Loyalist*, like most larger craft of the period, was built by a consortium. Her listed owners were James Moody, Charles Cooke, Thomas Yorke and John Dick, and the captain was Jesse Hoyt.[3] They were men whom the War of the American Revolution, and their own losses--and perhaps their own common beliefs--had brought together.

James Moody was the man with the creative energy to organize the enterprise. In 1789 he was forty-four years old. As a junior officer in the Loyalist New Jersey Volunteers, he had spent most of the Revolutionary War leading special missions for the British high command.[4] He had earned the respect of both sides, being castigated by Washington as "that villain Moody,"[5] and praised by Loyalist Governor William Franklin as "a sober, steady brave Man" and "the most distinguished Partizan we then had."[6] He was generous and inventive and could command the respect of those who worked for him. Although at the outbreak of the Revolution he was a successful farmer in northern New Jersey, he had been born in Little Egg Harbor, on the south Jersey coast, and had grown up in a seafaring and shipbuilding community.[7]

Charles Cooke was an astute business man. It was natural that he should handle the cargo, the sale of which was essential to make the enterprise pay.

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3 Petition of Philip Marchinton.

4 See Lieut. James Moody's *Narrative of his Exertions and Sufferings in the Cause of Government since the Year 1776* (London, 1783; reprinted 1968).

5 Washington to Governor William Livingston, Philadelphia, 12 Jan. 1782, in *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, Vol. 23, p. 444.

6 PRO, Audit Office 12/13, p. 76 (NAC, microfilm B-1157).

7 Moody, *Narrative*, p. 2, and MFP. For more about James Moody's life in Nova Scotia, see Susan Burgess Shenstone, "Loyalist Squire, Loyalist Church," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, V, 2 (1983), 71-78.

He had come out from Ireland in 1766, and by the outbreak of the war he had a flourishing import-export business with his brother Robert, in Crosswicks, New Jersey, near the Delaware. He had collected provisions for the British army before being captured by Washington's forces just after the Battle of Trenton, and had then spent three years as a prisoner-of-war in Philadelphia and later in Lancaster. While on parole in Philadelphia, he had even bought up close to £2,000 worth of flour, "in hopes of reserving them for the use of the British Army, Who was then expected, Shortly, to take possession of this City."[8] In England he quickly set himself up as a banker and agent for Loyalists resettled in what was left of British North America. Handling their claims before the government, and later their half-pay as retired officers, gave him the use of large sums of money and contact with other moneyed people.

Thomas Yorke brought knowledge of shipping to the project. Like Moody, he was an American, born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. By 1775 he was partner in a sail loft and was becoming established as a shipbuilder in Philadelphia. By the time he was proscribed in 1779, and had fled to New York, he had an interest in at least five vessels. Admiral Digby testified for him in England in 1784,

> that during my Command at New York I was well acquainted with Mr. Thomas Yorke, that he was a Gentleman of Character and always manifested a great Attachment to his Majesty's Government and was very assiduous and active in suppressing the American Trade--[9]

When he settled his family in England in 1784 he still owned at least one ship, the *Fair American*, plying the Atlantic.[10] Like many other Loyalists, he had managed to maintain his American business connections. He would see to insurance, registration, and eventual sale.

John Dick was undoubtedly Sir John Dick. His contribution must have been in the form of capital and 'connections'. He was not an American and

8 "Petition of Robert Cooke on behalf of himself, and his Brother and Co partner, Charles Cooke, late of Crosswicks, in the Province of New Jersey in North America, Merchants, New York," 30 Oct. 1779, British Headquarters Papers, 9962 (16), enclosure 20 (NAC, microfilm M-367).

9 Accompanying claim submitted 29 Jan. 1785, PRO, AO 13/72 (NAC, microfilm B-2438).

10 Lloyd's Registry of Shipping, 1784.(London, 1784).

was a generation older than the first three. He came from a distinguished Scottish family, had served as British consul-general at Leghorn and was a good friend of James Boswell, who had succeeded in more or less legitimizing a baronetcy for him.[11] In 1781 he was appointed Head Auditor and Comptroller of the accounts in the War Office. He had considerable financial experience and at least a sentimental interest in Nova Scotia. As a young man in the 1740s he had started his career as a merchant in Rotterdam, and his firm Dick and Gavin had been chosen in 1749 as agent for the British government to transplant Protestant settlers from the Palatinate to Nova Scotia. He was a man who supported people who were willing to sacrifice themselves for their beliefs, and he was very rich.[12]

The seaman of the group was Jesse Hoyt, a Loyalist from Norwalk, Connecticut. He was "in the Merchants Service at the commencement of the troubles" and "came away with his vessels to New York in 1776."[13] Throughout the war he continued to distinguish himself, acting as chief pilot to the British fleet along the Connecticut coast, and commanding the armed brig *Sir Henry Clinton* under the jurisdiction of the Associated Loyalists. The Hoyt family had been evacuated to Nova Scotia after the war and had settled in "that Remote and Unfrequented place," Sissiboo.[14] Hoyt could advise on the Nova Scotian end. It was he who would captain the *Loyalist* on her maiden voyage.

When the idea of collaborating on the building of a vessel came to them is not known. Probably it was in the autumn of 1785 when they were all in London, hoping for compensation from the newly-formed "Commission for Enquiring into the Losses, Services and Claims of the American Loyalists at the close of the war between Great Britain and Her Colonies in 1783." Moody and Cooke had been there since 1782, Yorke since the evacuation of New York, and Hoyt had come in September to present his claim. The four

11 Frederick A. Pottle, *James Boswell: The Earlier Years, 1740-1769* (Toronto, 1966), pp. 370-1.

12 Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1960), pp. 127-8.

13 PRO, AO 12/101, p. 257 (NAC, microfilm B-1178).

14 PRO, AO 13/96, part II, p. 605 (NAC, microfilm B-2200).

Loyalists must have seen each other often in New York, meeting when they were not out on special missions at the Refugees' Club, a social club organized by William Franklin for provincial officers and other Loyalists, on King Street,[15] and on occasion they may have collaborated militarily. At the peace Moody had had his furniture shipped to Digby, near Sissiboo,[16] and in his claim mentioned wanting to settle in Nova Scotia among people he had known. Cooke and Yorke may well have met each other in Philadelphia before the British occupation. Cooke would have come into contact with Dick in London through his handling of military funds and pensions.

It was a good time to get into the shipbuilding business in Nova Scotia. There was a shortage of vessels after the war, on both sides of the Atlantic. The American shipbuilding industry had been all but destroyed. "Not one single ship on the stocks in the whole Town. Poor Devils! tho' they richly merit every evil they yet feel and will feel, for they have many more to come yet, I can't help commiserating with them a little," wrote Benjamin Marston to Edward Winslow from New York, 8 September 1787.[17]

Moreover, American ships were now excluded not only from the British West Indies and England, but also from France and Spain. Yet in England where timber was scarce and expensive, American vessels had developed a good reputation for craftsmanship and efficiency. Indeed, it has been asserted that about one third of all tonnage owned in England at the time of the Revolution had been built in the colonies.[18]

It was natural that the Loyalists in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should fill the gap. Many of them were the same skilled entrepreneurs who had operated in America before the Revolution, and certainly there was plenty of first-quality available timber in their new land. With the payment of Loyalist claims there was also, for the first time in some years, the prospect of private money to invest. Stephen Skinner, another New Jersey Loyalist and merchant, and business associate of Moody's, wrote from Shelburne, "If full

15 Willard Randall, *A Little Revenge: Benjamin Franklin and his Son* (Toronto, 1984), p. 465.

16 Thomas Millidge to James Moody, Digby, 8 Nov. 1783, MFP.

17 *The Winslow Papers*, 1776-1826, ed. W. O. Raymond (Saint John, N. B., 1906), p. 347.

18 Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia* (Madison, 1963), p. 96.

compensation is made the Loyalists in the Spring [Cooke] shall have in his hands £3,000 [and] would be well able to accept drafts for fairly large amounts."[19] For a final push, the Nova Scotian government in 1785 instituted a bounty of ten shillings per ton, later reduced,[20] for vessels over a certain minimum tonnage constructed in the province.

Moody sailed for Nova Scotia in April 1786, taking precipitous leave of his friends, but with money in his pocket. Hoyt may well have accompanied him, as Hoyt's last appearance before the Commissioners was barely ten days before Moody sailed. Moody's arrival was noted in the Halifax newspaper:

> Yesterday Afternoon arrived the Ship Lord Middleton in Forty one Days from London, in which came Passenger [among several others] Mr. Moody who several Times during the late War, at the Risk of his life intercepted the Mails from the Enemy's Head Quarters to Philadelphia etc.[21]

Moody, no doubt with help from Hoyt whose family was already settled in Sissiboo, must have spent much of the late summer lining up his timber and his workmen. Stephen Skinner described this process in a letter to Thomas Maddy some years later: "It is customary for persons inclined to build to contract for Timber & Plank about Nov.r," he noted, and he asked to be advised some time in advance,

> as I can then take the necessary Steps for collecting the Timber & plank which can be procured cheaper than now [May]--would be inconvenient to be in Advance in this Business & as the workmen would expect their Wages to be regularly paid every Saturday night....I have to request you will at the same time Ship Rum & Sugars at the Current Price sufficient for the building and compleating such vessel, and also to be particular in what manner you would have her cabin finished--& by what proportion of Fish & Lumber put on board--[22]

19 Stephen Skinner to Samuel Worthington, 23 Jan. 1789, Stephen Skinner Letterbook, New-York Historical Society.

20 Stanley T. Spicer, *Masters of Sail* (Toronto, 1968), p. 23. *The Loyalist* was paid 7s.6d. per ton, amounting in all to £72.7.6., Petition of Philip Marchinton.

21 *Nova-Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* (Halifax), 16 May 1786.

22 Stephen Skinner to Thomas Maddy, Stephen Skinner Letterbook, 22 May 1790.

True to form, we hear of Moody's enterprise in December. Shortly before Christmas 1786, a Loyalist member of a distinguished New England shipping firm wrote from Annapolis Royal to a colleague in New Haven:

> I hope to See you in the Spring a jaunt to this Country may I think be not prejudicial to you or your House, in your Commercial Matters I mean-- Many Excellent Vessels are already at Sea Built in different parts of this Province and Brunswick and esteem'd to Be as Good as any Built in the United States--and By those who are good judges too, I am convinced that when you come here you will be able Clearly to point out so many Great advantages to your Father, that will arise from Being concern'd in Navigation that he will See the efficacy of it and immediately Build a good Vessel. There is now Building in Sissiboo a Ship of about 300 Tons...and many of the Digbyites talk of Setting up Large vessels in the Spring So that you see we begin to flourish.[23]

The tonnage was somewhat exaggerated, but not the activity. The site for building the ship was chosen on the sheltered southern side of the mouth of a little creek, now known as the Mill Pond, a continuation of Cosman's Creek, just inside the mouth of the Sissiboo River, before it empties into St. Mary's Bay. The southern exposure was ideal for drying the timber over the winter, and the wide bank gave ample room for the vessel stocks and saw pits, and for the oxen dragging up the huge planks. The tide is at least fifteen feet, easily accommodating the ship's thirteen-foot draught. An access road that still exists ran around the pond, connecting to the road from Digby, but probably the timber was floated down the Sissiboo from a newly established sawmill further up the river. Moody bought the land from the widow of a pre-Loyalist settler from Connecticut. He named his shipyard after a friend in England, William Stevens, and soon heard that "Mr. Stevens goes about the country now, in his way, laughing and saying, 'He now has no occasion either to buy potatoes, or to marry and beget children: for that Capt. Moody has immortalized him by calling his ship-yard, Point Stevens.'"[24] Unfortunately, his hope for immortality was in vain; the name has been forgotten and the site is now buried under a new highway bridge.

23 Thomas Walker to Peter Totten, 21 Dec. 1786, in Jacob Bailey Papers, PANS MG 1, Vol. 93A.

24 Jonathan Boucher to James Moody, Epsom, 30 July 1788, MFP.

Although the deed was not registered until 30 January 1788, Moody must have acquired the site not long after his arrival in Nova Scotia for everything to be in readiness for work to commence in the spring. The master-builder was Griffith Jenkins, a Loyalist from Newark, where Jane Moody had lived before the Revolution. The keel was laid 30 May 1787.[25] On 29 June Captain Peter Doucet took on board his schooner *Betsie* at Annapolis Royal, one barrel of pork, nine bushels of potatoes and sundry articles for Captain Moody, which he delivered in Sissiboo four days later.[26] These were probably provisions for the workmen.

Excitement was mounting. In the Saint John newspaper appeared the following item, dated 20 September:

> The Ship, building at Sissibou, is almost finished and will be launched in about a month: she is said to be a very handsome vessel, and an exceedingly good one. This is the second ship built in this province, and both in the County of Shelburne. There are some other Vessels nearly finished on the western shore of this county, three of them of handsome burthen.[27]

In the end, the vessel was not launched until 5 July 1788, considerably later than the paper had predicted. The name *Loyalist* was particularly fitting. There had been another ship named the *Loyalist*, used by the Associated Loyalists to help the British in the siege of Charleston,[28] but this one was peacetime enterprise, a joint venture of veterans who had fought for what they believed in.

We have no record of the launching ceremony, but it was the custom for the owner on that day to give a large dinner to all the yard workers and friends from around the area. If the weather was fine--it was early July--tables would be set out under trees and spread with delicious things to eat and drink, roasts and pies and cakes, to be washed down with lashings of rum and

25 Petition of Philip Marchinton.

26 British Headquarters Papers, 2714 (NAC, microfilm M-350).

27 Capt. Peter Doucet, "Logg Book for schooner Betsie for 1784-87," Anselme Doucet Collection, Centre Acadien, Church Point, N. S.

28 Date-lined Shelburne, 20 Sept., in *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advocate*, 25 Oct. 1787.

madeira, and beer. Toasts would be drunk to the royal family, the governor and the people involved in the building. Perhaps Moody gave master-builder Griffith Jenkins a silver bowl, and received in return the building model of the vessel.[29] An air of festivity lingered on, for when Bishop Charles Inglis, an old friend of Moody's, visited Sissiboo at the end of August, he recorded in his diary, "Went on board the *Loyalist*, a ship of 250 tons, built by Cap't Moody, and newly launched--her cabin very beautiful."[30]

We know that the cabins of these Maritime square-riggers were famous for the beauty of their interiors. Completely panelled in wood, usually pine, they were embellished with gracefully carved designs, often beaded or with scrolls, even on the beams.[31] Perhaps it was this kind of decoration in the *Loyalist* that impressed the Bishop. In the general jubilation he also christened a new Hoyt baby, James Moody Hoyt.

Not until 18 November was the *Loyalist* completely rigged and sent to sea. Perhaps Yorke delayed in sending out the sails and ropes from England, as was necessary in Nova Scotia at that time. Hoyt sailed her, with Moody on board, around the South Shore to register her in Shelburne on 27 November.[32] Here they arranged for a cargo of fish and lumber which Hoyt must have taken to the West Indies, for it is not until the following September that she reached England, to be welcomed by old friends.[33] Among those present on that late summer day were the two Mr. Cookes, Yorke, Stevens and Captain Hoyt and his son.[34]

In London, the *Loyalist* was sheathed with copper; she had been registered with Lloyds in August as in optimum condition. She continued to trade in fish and lumber across the Atlantic under the same ownership for another

29 *Material Culture of the Wooden Age*, ed. Brooke Hindle (Tarrytown, 1981), p. 111.

30 Inglis Journal, 27 Aug. 1788. For more about the Bishop's visit, see Shenstone, "Loyalist Squire, Loyalist Church," pp. 76-77.

31 Spicer, *Masters of Sail*, p. 39.

32 PRO, BT 107.

33 Stephen Skinner to James Moody, Stephen Skinner Letterbook, 22 July 1789.

34 Rebecca Thompson to Mrs. Jane Moody, London, 11 Sept. 1789, MFP.

four years, until the onset of war with France. Then, on Christmas Eve 1793, she was sold to one Henry Nantes. Her final entry in the Board of Trade records, undated, reads "captured and lost."[35]

Moody went on to build three more ships, plus two brigs and a schooner, in Sissiboo: the brig *Three Friends*, 190 tons, in 1789; the ship *Yorke*, 310 tons, the brig *Jane*, 101 tons, and the schooner *Experiment*, 91 tons, all in 1790; the ship *Mary*, 210 tons, and the ship *Governor Wentworth*, 325 tons, both in 1792.[36] In addition to the *Loyalist*, we know that at least three of these--two ships and a brig--were in conjunction with Yorke and his associates.[37] But by 1793 the boom was off. France's declaration of war in February made the seas hazardous for British merchant vessels. The Americans, observing a strict neutrality, were able to trade safely, legally and profitably with both sides, and edged their way back into the British and West Indian market. After 1794 we no longer find Yorke in Lloyds Registry. The ships were sold to other owners and eventually lost at sea.

In Nova Scotia the old Loyalists mobilized one more time to defend the province against a feared invasion by France or America. But the tradition of building vessels had been planted and new generations in the nineteenth century would take it up with even greater success. Moody had begun a notable shipping family and his grandson, Elisha William Budd Moody, launched in Yarmouth, in 1838, the first Nova Scotian barquentine. He named her, fittingly, the *Loyalist*.[38]

35 PRO, BT, 107.

36 *Lloyd's Register*, 1789, 1790 and 1792.

37 *Ibid.*

38 Spicer, *Masters of Sail*, p. 68.

The People of Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg

A.J.B. Johnston

One of the truisms about history--that is, history as the study of the past--is that it always reflects the present. Whatever interests a given society at a fixed point in time--be it a constitutional, religious, social or political question--there are usually historians around who can find some precedent or background information to shed light on the particular question. Thus in recent decades, to cite just one example, we have witnessed the birth and growth of the field of women's history, as a direct response to the feminist movement.

Today, as we move into the 1990s, one of the questions facing Canadian society is the ethnic composition of the nation. With each passing year, the country moves farther and farther away from a vision of itself as simply an English-French duality. Accordingly, historians now find themselves going back to examine 200- and 300-year-old documents to determine just how diverse the country's population might have been in previous eras. Some of their findings will come as a surprise to more than a few readers.

For instance, how many Nova Scotians know that there was a Black man, possibly Mathieu da Costa, serving as a translator, travelling with the Sieur de Monts and Samuel de Champlain on their voyages along the Atlantic coast back in 1604-05? And how many ever learned that there were perhaps as many as 5,000 Blacks among the Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution? Or that in 1788 there were approximately 200 "robust able black men"--slaves from Bermuda--working as fishermen on the Grand Banks?[1] What other ethnic 'surprises' are there in our history from other parts of the region?

The time and place in Nova Scotian history that we focus on in this article is that of Louisbourg during the period 1713-58, when the fishing port and strategic stronghold was a major French colonial settlement in North America. The question we ask is simply the following: Who were the people of eighteenth-century Louisbourg?

The short answer--they were French, Roman Catholic, and worked in the fishery or trade, or served in the military or laboured in someone's kitchen--

A.J.B. Johnston is Researcher/Writer/Editor at Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park.

1 Hilary Russell, "Opportunities to Introduce the History of People of African Descent at Existing National Historic Sites," unpublished paper, National Historic Sites Directorate (Ottawa, 1990). For details, see Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (Montreal, 1971) and James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (New York, 1976).

has long been sufficient. In light of the detailed questions people are now asking about ethnic origin and related matters, however, it is time for a more in-depth response. The intention of this article is to provide information on the following: 1) Louisbourg's population and gender ratio; 2) the origins of its inhabitants; 3) the religions they professed; and 4) the languages they spoke.

Throughout Louisbourg's forty-five-year history, there was always an imbalance between the sexes, with males greatly outnumbering females. This is as one would expect, for Louisbourg began as a pioneer settlement--typically with few women--and then developed into a garrison town and busy seaport, both of which functions called for large numbers of unmarried men: "In the 1720s, adult males outnumbered adult females eight or ten to one. The gap decreased somewhat as the years went by, but even leaving out the military population, the ratio of adult males to females was never lower than three to one."[2] One of the effects of this imbalance in the sexes was that Louisbourg brides married younger (average age at time of first marriage was 19.9 years) and men older (average age was 29.2 years) than was the case elsewhere in New France. In Canada, the eighteenth-century name for the French settlements along the St. Lawrence River, the average ages for first-time brides and grooms were 22.0 and 27.7 respectively.[3]

As for actual population totals, the following table summarizes some of the available data:

2 A.J.B. Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758* (Kingston and Montreal, 1984), p. 5.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 122-44; for figures on other regions in New France, see Hubert Charbonneau, *Vie et mort de nos ancêtres: Etude démographique* (Montreal, 1975), pp. 158-64; Gisa Hynes, "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," *Acadiensis*, III, 1 (Autumn 1973), 3-17.

Table 1

Population of Louisbourg, Selected Years[4]

	1720	1724	1737	1752
Men (heads of household)	69	113	163	274
Fishermen	372	377	250	674
Servants (men & women)	---	---	229	---
domestiques (males)	---	---	---	366
servantes (females)	---	---	---	71
Women (heads/wives)	50	84	157	299
Children	142	239	664	776
Habitants newly arrived	---	---	---	200
Households of governor and commissaire-ordonnateur	---	---	---	30
Civilian Total	**633**	**813**	**1,463**	**2,690**
Soldiers	317	430	543	1,250
Total Population	**950**	**1,243**	**2,006**	**3,940**

There is no single document that describes where the people of Louisbourg came from. There are many census returns, but only three of them list places of origin, and even then the birthplace is given only for those individuals who are identified as *habitants*, or heads of household. No such information is provided on the origins of the vast majority of the population: the hundreds of servants, fishermen and soldiers. Nor does the census data tell us about the birthplace of wives. Widows and single women who were heads of household are identified, but not ordinary married women.

The first Louisbourg census to include a "Place of Birth" column was that of 1724.[5] In that year, the census-takers recorded that the town had a permanent civilian population of 813 persons. Of that total, 113 were identified by name and place of origin. On the census of 1726, Louisbourg's civilian population was given as 963, of which 153 were listed as *habitants* with an identifiable place of origin.[6] Eleven years later, in 1737, the town's

4 Archives Nationales (Paris), Outre Mer, G1, 467 (1720), part 3A; *ibid.*, 466, pièce 67 (1724); *ibid.*, no. 71 suite (1737); Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Poly 55-49 (1752). J.S. McLennan, *Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758* (London, 1918), p. 371, also provides population totals.

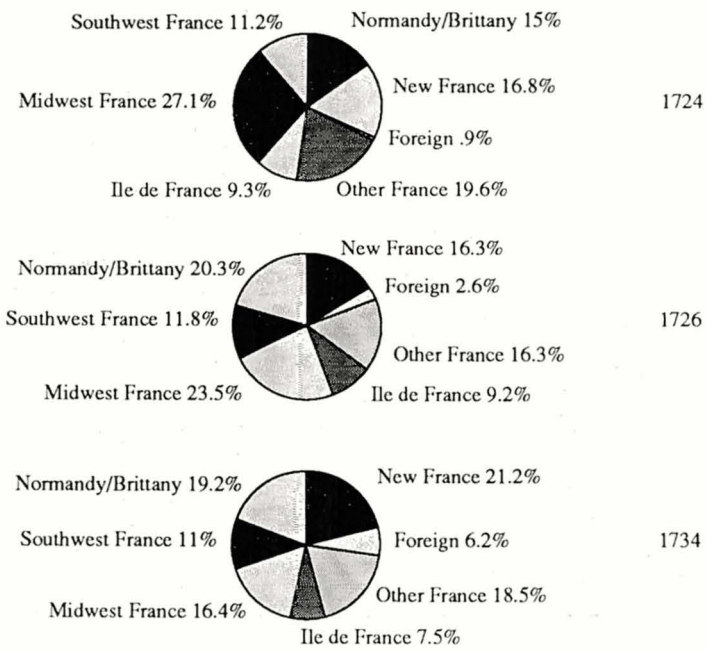
5 Archives Nationales (Paris), Outre Mer, G1, 466, pièce 67 Recensement...1724.

6 *Ibid.*, pièce 68, Recensement...1726.

population had grown to 1,463, of whom 163 were listed by name.[7] What the town's population was during the 1740s is not known, but it was probably around 2,000 civilian men, women and children. That estimate is roughly halfway between the recorded population of 1,463 for the year 1737 and the total of 2,690 for the year 1752.[8] Keep in mind, however, that none of these figures includes totals for the garrison, or for fishermen and others who might have been in town only on a seasonal basis.

Figure 1

Places of Origin of Louisbourg's *Habitants*, 1724, 1726 and 1734



7 *Ibid.*, pièce 71-suite, "Dénombrement de L'Isle Royalle," 1737.

8 Barbara Schmeisser, *The Population of Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, Manuscript Report No. 303 (Ottawa, 1976), p. 10.

In spite of their limitations, these three Louisbourg census returns--1724, 1726 and 1734--are of interest, in that they provide data on the origins of the town's principal inhabitants during one ten-year period. In particular, the data underlines that as Louisbourg grew steadily over that decade, it attracted fishing proprietors, merchants, artisans, cabaret owners and so on from a wide variety of regions in France, New France, and even foreign countries.

Though the graphs of Figure 1 are largely self-explanatory, there are a few points worth making about the data they summarize. First, nearly everyone within the 'Southwest France' category came from the largely Basque, coastal region near the Spanish border. These individuals tended to be from Saint-Jean-de-Luz, Hendaye, Bayonne and Bidart. Second, about half of the people from 'Midwest France' were from major urban centres such as Bordeaux, Nates, La Rochelle and Rochefort. The rest were from smaller towns and villages in Poitou and in the Saintonge, Armagnac and Perigord regions. Third--not surprisingly--nearly everyone in the 'Ile de France' category came from Paris. Fourth, almost everyone from 'Brittany/ Normandy' was from a coastal settlement; Saint-Malo was the predominant place of origin.

Fifth, within the 'New France' category, in 1734 there were ten heads of household in Louisbourg who had been born in Acadia: eight from Placentia, and two born on Ile Royale itself. Sixth, the 'Other France' category included individuals from all over the rest of France, from Picardy to Lyon and from Toulon to Champagne. One town that stood out, on each of the three census returns, was Limoges; there were never any fewer than six *habitants* in Louisbourg who hailed originally from that city. Last, the 'Foreign' category in 1734 included three people from Switzerland and two each from Belgium, Flanders and German states. It is important to remember, however, that this list of 'foreigners' was only for individuals who were heads of household; there were many other outsiders serving as soldiers, working as servants, or employed in some other capacity.

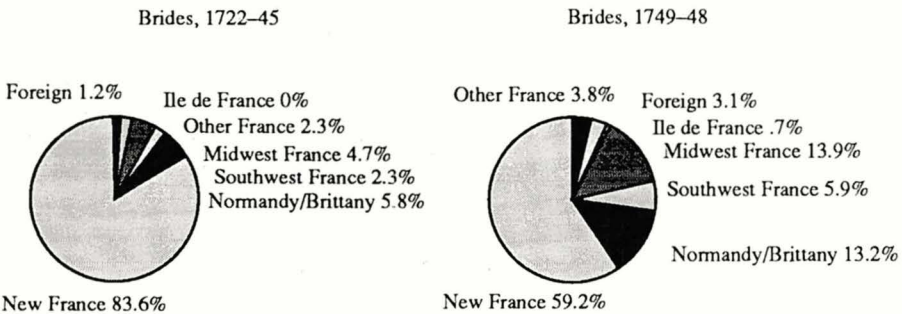
Keeping in mind that the three census documents analysed about reveal only the birthplace of the *habitants* category, it is important to use other sources to obtain an image of the rest of the Louisbourg population. On a 1752 listing of 199 ordinary fishermen in Ile Royale, 48.7 per cent of the *pêcheurs* came from the southwest (largely Basque) corner of France, while 37.6 per cent were from Norman and Breton ports along the Gulf of Saint-

Malo.[9] If one can assume that these two relatively small areas produced most of Ile Royale and Louisbourg's ordinary fishermen throughout the colony's history, then we get a quite different picture than that provided by the *habitants* on the census.

Marriage records are another source that must be considered. As part of the priest's notations accompanying each wedding entry, he was required to include the birthplace of the bride and groom. One virtue of such records is that a woman's place of origin is not subsumed under her husband's, as it usually the case in an eighteenth-century census. A weakness, on the other hand, is that wedding data reveals nothing about people who are unmarried, or already married when they came to live in Louisbourg. Another flaw is that a roll-up of marriage data over several decades does not offer a 'snapshot' of the town at any particular point in time. Nonetheless, it is useful to compare the origins of Louisbourg brides and grooms with the census data already presented. Using Barbara Schmeisser's tabulations,[10] the following graphs can be drawn up:

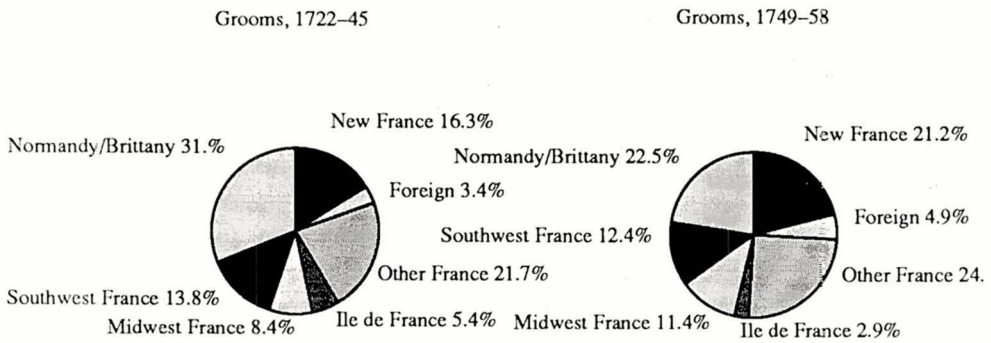
Figure 2

Places of Origin of Louisbourg's Brides and Grooms, 1722-45 and 1749-58



9 B.A. Balcom, *The Cod Fishery of Isle Royale, 1713-1758* (Ottawa, 1984), pp. 55-6; A.J.B. Johnston, "The Fishermen of Eighteenth-Century Cape Breton: Numbers and Origins," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 9, 1 (1989), 62-72.

10 Schmeisser, *The Population of Louisbourg*, passim.



The two brides graphs present a dramatically different picture from that obtained from the census data concerning Louisbourg's heads of households (compare with **Figure 1**). Unlike the men of the town, the women of Louisbourg were predominantly from the New World. Demographic pressures led most girls born in the colony to wed while still in their teens. By way of contrast, the grooms' graphs are similar to those for the *habitants* of the census returns, one exception being that there is a lower percentage of grooms from 'Midwest France' and a higher percentage from 'Other France.'

The evidence examined thus far gives us the following picture of eighteenth-century Louisbourg: the ordinary fishermen were overwhelmingly from the Norman/Breton coastline along the Gulf of Saint-Malo and the Basque region of southwest France; about eighty per cent of the household heads were from France (see graphs for details); and a clear majority of the brides were colonial-born (Placentia, Canada, Acadia, or Ile Royale).

A close look at all available parish records (marriages, baptisms and burials) for the periods 1722-45 and 1749-58 yields further insight into the origins and ethnic background of Louisbourg's civilian population. The limitation with parish records as a source is their 'hit-or-miss' quality. Practising Roman Catholics who married, had a child baptized, or died while at Louisbourg are mentioned in this source, but there is no way of knowing how many other inhabitants or transients went unrecorded. Nonetheless, the parish records do provide us with an indication of the minimum number of individuals in Louisbourg from non-French backgrounds.

There are, for instance, references to a handful of Protestants from English, Irish or Scottish backgrounds who converted to Catholicism while in the

capital of Ile Royale. Similarly, there is also mention, over a period of decades and usually in the form of an adolescent's baptism, of nearly two dozen Blacks. These were generally slaves sent to the colony from the Antilles. Adult Blacks who were already practising Catholics had less likelihood to turn up in the parish records, unless they gave birth or married. It is noteworthy, however, that there were a few free Blacks in Louisbourg, at least during the 1750s. In 1753, Jean-Baptiste Cupidon purchased his beloved's freedom in order to marry her.[11] The number of Blacks, freed or enslaved, who might have been in Louisbourg at any fixed point in time, however, is difficult to say.

While Blacks predominated, a few North American Indians also ended up in Louisbourg as slaves. Some of these may have actually been Pawnee Indians, for they are identified as 'Panis' in the documents, but then again that term came to be applied to most enslaved Indians, whether or not they were really Pawnees.[12] As for the native people of the Atlantic region, the Micmacs, they were rarely seen in town. They generally lived and hunted in the southern part of the island, in the vicinity of modern-day Chapel Island and St. Peters, as well as inland around the Bras d'Or Lakes. Nonetheless, "the occasional baptism of a native child, the entry into domestic service of a young Micmac girl, and the infrequent visits of their scouts or chiefs," testifies that Micmacs did sometimes come to Louisbourg.[13]

Of the various non-French minorities at Louisbourg, the group that may have proved the most compatible was probably the Irish Catholics. They had both religion and a distrust of the English in common. Some forty to fifty Irish surnames turn up in the Louisbourg parish records. Most were servants, but there were a few with craftsmen's skills. There was even an occasional Irish priest who came to serve on Ile Royale. In 1750, no fewer than eight Irish families sailing from Newfoundland to Halifax jumped ship and sought refuge in Louisbourg. The freedom to practice their faith, Roman Catholicism, seems to have been the attraction.[14]

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11 A.N., Outre Mer, G3, 2041-suite, pièce 78, 1 mars 1753.

12 Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe. Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1976), p. 139.

13 Johnston, *Religion in Life*, pp. 8-9.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 8; A.A. MacKenzie, *The Irish in Cape Breton* (Antigonish, 1979).

Louisbourg, of coarse, was not just a community of fishermen and merchants, tradespeople and servants. As a fortified stronghold and important garrison town, it also had a sizeable military population. Soldiers formed anywhere from one-quarter to one-half of the total population, depending on the time period examined. Unfortunately, when it comes to origins, it is usually difficult to ascertain where the ordinary enlisted men came from, other than that they were recruited in France. For the period 1720-45, years in which there may have been well over a thousand soldiers in Louisbourg, historian Allan Greer has been able to determine the birthplaces for only seventy-five.[15] Of those, only three were born outside France: one in Acadia, one in Switzerland and one in Ireland.

The presence of two 'foreigners'--the Irishman and the Swiss--fighting on the side of the French should come as no surprise. It was common in the eighteenth century for armies to recruit and accept troops from wherever they could get them, provided they met certain height and health standards. There were many Irishmen and Scots in French regiments, and even more Germans in British ones. The word 'mercenary' was then a descriptive term, not a pejorative.

One foreign mercenary regiment even found itself at Louisbourg. This was the Swiss-based Karrer Regiment, which served in the fortress between 1722 and 1745. With up to as many as 150 men, or about twenty per cent of the entire garrison at that time,[16] the Karrer troops were known collectively as *les Suisses*, though many, perhaps even a majority, were actually from German-speaking areas outside Switzerland. Many, if not most, were also Protestant. This made for an interesting irony: here was Louisbourg--a French Catholic stronghold--defended in part by a good many German and Swiss Protestants.[17]

The Karrer Regiment did not return to Louisbourg in 1749, when Ile Royale reverted to French jurisdiction according to the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). Yet that did not mean there were no more non-French soldiers in the town. According to a detailed troop roll drawn up in

15 Allan Greer, "The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-1745," *History and Archaeology*, No. 28 (Ottawa, 1979), 30-1.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-23; see also Margaret Fortier, "The Ile Royale Garrison, 1713-45," Microfiche Report (Ottawa, 1981).

17 Johnston, *Religion in Life*, pp. 7-8.

1752, that listed the approximately one thousand Compagnies Franches soldiers in the garrison at that time,[18] there were fifty-three foreigners serving in the garrison, or about five per cent of the total military population. The origin of those men was as follows:

Spanish	-	21	Savoyard	-	3
Catalan	-	1	Saxon	-	12
Portuguese	-	1	Italian	-	1
German	-	7	Piedmontese	-	2
Prussian	-	2	Neapolitan	-	1
Austrian	-	2	Genoese	-	1
Brabant	-	3	Hungarian	-	1
Flemish	-	1	Luxemburger	-	1
Dutch	-	1	Berber	-	1
Swiss	-	1	Irish	-	1

The Spaniards would seem to have been numerous enough to form something of a sub-culture within the garrison. Similarly, the different Germanic-speaking individuals may also have used their language among themselves and similarly kept alive other aspects of their original culture.

The impression of Louisbourg's military population would therefore be the following: it was always predominantly French-born, but in the period up to 1745 there was a large Swiss and German minority, as high as about twenty per cent. During the early 1750s, there was still a five-per-cent scattering of non-French soldiers.

There is no doubt that Louisbourg was officially and overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Overwhelmingly, because the vast majority of the town's inhabitants were of that persuasion. Officially, because the context of the time was one in which the French state lent its full support to its national church (known as the Gallican Church), just as the church gave the same support back to the monarchy. The king named all French bishops, including the one for New France, paid their salaries, and had them take an oath of

18 The troop roll in question is the "Signalement général des troupes...," drawn up by Michel Le Courtois de Surlaville: National Archives of Canada, MG 18, F30, Dossier 1.

loyalty. The only religious ceremonies and celebrations that were permitted to be held in public were those associated with Roman Catholicism. Furthermore, only practising Catholics could hold public posts. The partnership between church and state has been succinctly expressed by historian Guy Frégault: "The men of the State were Catholics, the men of the Church served the State."[19]

While most of Louisbourg was thus Roman Catholic--nominally if not devoutly--there were exceptions. Most noticeably, there were the German and Swiss soldiers of the Karrer Regiment. We have no way of knowing exactly how many of these were Protestants, but there were enough to cause occasional difficulties within a town that was supposed to be exclusively Catholic: "In 1724, Governor Saint-Ovide warned the minister of marine that France's Micmac allies regarded the Protestant troops 'as suspects.' Three years later, the governor complained that the Karrer officers refused to lead their soldiers in the Fête-Dieu (Corpus Christi) procession in the town."[20]

There were a few other Protestants in Louisbourg as well, beside the soldiers in the Karrer Regiment. The names of several individuals originally from England, Scotland or New England turn up in baptismal records when they converted to Catholicism. There is even a reference to a Jewish conversion.[21]

Aside from French, which was obviously the dominant language, Basque, Breton, German, Swiss German, Spanish, English, and perhaps Irish, Provençal and occasionally Micmac were sometimes spoken in Louisbourg.[22] There were also a few people, notably the foreign-born soldiers listed above, who on occasion might have spoken Dutch, Italian and Portuguese.

The largest single, non-French-language community consisted of the several hundred fishermen and few merchants who spoke Basque. The Récollet priests who served the parish were repeatedly asked to bring over a

19 Guy Frégault, *Le XVIIIe siècle canadien: Etudes* (Montreal, 1968), p. 148.

20 Johnston, *Religion in Life*, p. 8.

21 Gaston Du Boscq de Beaumont, ed., *Les derniers jours de l'Acadie (1748-1758). Correspondances et mémoires* (Geneva, 1975), p. 63.

22 Christopher Moore, "Harbour Life and Quay Activities," in *Street Life and Public Activities in Louisbourg: Four Studies for Animators*, Manuscript Report No. 317 (Ottawa, 1977).

Basque-speaking priest from southwest France, but this they never did.[23] When unilingual Basques had to give evidence in court cases, interpreters were used to translate their testimony.

How many of the people from Brittany spoke Breton, a Celtic language said to be more akin to Welsh than to any other, is unknown, because there is no record of Bretons demanding to have their language spoken. This is likely because most of them spoke French in addition to Breton, and also because the parish priests were all initially from Brittany, and some of them at least would have been able to speak their ancient Celtic tongue.

The German- and Swiss German-language communities were comprised of soldiers and, in some cases, their wives. German-speakers were most numerous during the 1740s when the Karrer Regiment was present. While much smaller, there continued to be a German presence on the island in the 1750s, even after the departure of the Karrer Regiment. This presence was localized in the Village des Allemands established on the Mira River in the 1750s. Its inhabitants were mostly German Catholics who had abandoned the new settlement at Lunenburg on mainland Nova Scotia.[24]

In conclusion, the people of Louisbourg, aside from being predominantly French and Roman Catholic, were a mix of men, women and children, with males largely outnumbering females. There were a few hundred Basques and Germans, a few dozen Blacks and Irish, and a scattering of Spanish, English and Scottish. There were more than a few Protestants, especially during the 1730s and 1740s, and perhaps even a few Jews. There were many in the fishery who spoke Basque--and perhaps others who used Breton--while in the military there were a lot of German- and Swiss German-speakers in the 1740s. Spanish was probably the most common 'second' language in the garrison during the 1750s.

All in all, French stronghold that Louisbourg was, the seaport community was also home to a wide range of minority populations. Some differed from the majority in terms of ethnicity, others in terms of religion, and still others in terms of the language they spoke.

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23 Johnston, *Religion in Life*, pp. 47-8.

24 W.P. Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia. The History of a Piece of Arrested British Colonial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto, 1961), pp. 375-77.

The Glass-Workers of Pictou County, Nova Scotia, 1881-1917

L. Anders Sandberg and Deborah Trask

The tables that follow list the names of the glass-workers at the three glass factories in Trenton, operating from 1881 to 1917, as compiled from secondary sources, city directories, local newspapers, the manuscript census of 1891, marriage records, union records and various other sources. These records are incomplete, but do nevertheless provide a beginning for researchers interested in the genealogy of individual glass-workers, as well as a record of the nature of, and historical change in the workforce at the individual glass plants.

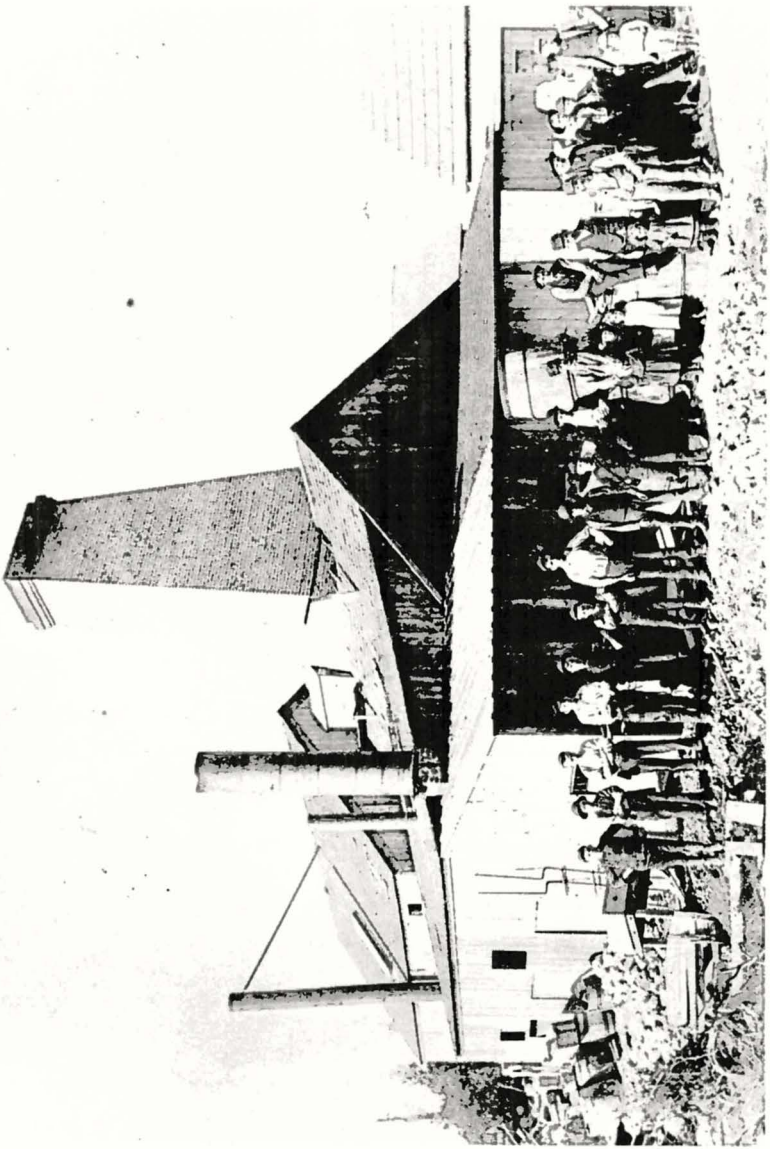
The Pictou County glass industry started in 1881, when W.G. Beach, a central Canadian industrial promoter, travelled the Maritimes in search of a location for a glass factory.[1] The presence of rail transportation, the proximity of extensive coalfields, and the financial backing of New Glasgow merchants and industrialists, made Trenton an ideal location. The Nova Scotia Glass Company (1881-1892) was organized, building material and machinery imported, American workers recruited, and in the month of August 1881 production commenced. The National Policy tariffs of 1879 provided the *raison d'être* for the plant, and its products were marketed across Canada, even in Hamilton, where Nova Scotia Glass could compete with local glass-works.

The products of Nova Scotia Glass included both blown and pressed glass, such as lamp chimneys, goblets, water pitchers, salt and pepper cruets and all forms of tableware. In glass-blowing, highly skilled glass-blowers, aided by semi-skilled assistants and boy helpers, used blowpipes, their breath and hands to shape the glass. In glass-pressing, a presser, assisted by young men and boys, poured molten glass into a mould and then pressed it into shape by the manual operation of a plunger. Approximately100 workers, ranging from young boys to skilled artisans, were employed at Nova Scotia Glass.

The second plant in the Trenton glass industry was the Lamonts Glass Company (1890-1899). It resembled the larger glass plant, although employment was lower and no pressed glass was produced. The Lamonts

L. Anders Sandberg is Canadian Research Fellow, Department of Geography, York University, Toronto. Deborah Trask is Assistant Curator, Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax.

1. General Information of the Maritime glass industry is contained in the following: James Cameron, *The Industrial History of the New Glasgow District* (New Glasgow, 1961; D. Trask, "The Nova Scotia Glass Company," *Material History Bulletin 6* (Fall 1978); L. Pierce, *Early Glass Houses of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1959); G. MacLaren, *Nova Scotia Glass* (Halifax, 1974); and D. Cosh, *Trenton* (Trenton, 1977).



Humphreys Glass Company, Trenton, N.S., ca. 1890. Photograph courtesy Nova Scotia Museum.

made coloured glass, lamp chimneys for railways and lighthouses, and bottles. Both Nova Scotia Glass and the Lamonts were taken over in 1892 and 1899, respectively, and closed within a couple of years by the Diamond (Later Dominion) Glass Company of Montreal.

The third plant, the Humphreys Glass Works (1890-1920), was different from Nova Scotia Glass and the Lamonts. The Humphreys plant focused on bottles, fruit jars, patent-medicine bottles and flasks, which were marketed to local soft-drink producers, druggists and manufacturers. By 1907-08, soda bottles were advertised as a specialty. It took less training and skill to blow such items, since the glass-worker blew the glass in a mould which was opened and closed by a boy helper. Lamp chimneys, blown by highly skilled workers using the off-hand method (i.e., no moulds), were not a dominant line initially, but were added as the plant expanded. By the early 1910s, the Humphreys operated six bottle shops and six lamp-chimney shops.[2] Undoubtedly, the Humphreys brothers themselves filled some of the skilled positions, but it was also perhaps easier to get temporary skilled help as trade skills and the strength of the union were weakened by mechanization and automation.

Table 1 shows the workers employed at Nova Scotia Glass and Lamonts.[3] These were the skilled labourers recruited mostly from abroad. The first came from Pittsburgh, worked in the plant for three years, but then left due to repeated conflicts with management. Many of these men were union men (Bamb, Brennan, Cochran, Connors, Conway, Fosley, Jeperd, McGovern and Smith), who first formed a local of the coalminers' union, the Provincial Workman's Association, and then a local of a continental union, the American Flint Glass Workers' Union [AFGWU]. Some of these men married local girls and settled in their new home (Kauffeld, Lippest, McDonald and Werline). By 1883 all had left, except Werline, who remained in Pictou working for $1 a day because he refused to 'scab' at the glass plant, while his former workmates were collecting money to bring him and his family back to Pittsburgh.

The second group of workers at the Nova Scotia Glass Company were recruited from Bohemia and England and arrived in 1883. These men were

2 J. MacGillivray, "Recollections of the Glass Works at Trenton, Nova Scotia," Pictou County Historical Bottle Club, *Newsletter* (1973).

3 A full explanation of the abbreviations in **Tables 1, 2** and **3** is given at the end.

also highly skilled tradesmen, the Bohemians (Besonica, Cobeen, Crisiene, Felucia, Grautify, Hosback, the Jeykals, Lustic, Norton, Peralto, Perockeka, Rowansky, Steblaw and Yeilke) being glass-blowers, and the Englishmen (the Bambraughs, Bon, Conley, Hall, the Lamonts, Mason, Richardson, Rowe, Wall, Wool, Wood and [from **Table 3**] Davidson and Little) being pressmen. The Bohemians, dissatisfied with working conditions (Rovensky) and breaches of contract (Jeykal), moved away altogether.[4] The Englishmen formed the bulk of the workforce. Contrary to management's wishes, these men organized a local of the AFGWU in 1884, adhered to at least some union rules, and eventually struck Nova Scotia Glass for union wages in 1890.

By 1890, the year of labour troubles at Nova Scotia Glass, the Lamonts and Humphreys Glass Companies were in production. The Humphreys and Lamont families were previously employed at Nova Scotia Glass. The new glass plants were fundamentally different, the Lamonts continuing to focus on the skilled lines of Nova Scotia Glass while the Humphreys focused more on bottle production, a less skilled line.

Lamonts recruited many workers from Nova Scotia Glass. These men were skilled, some foreign, but many were also local men now proficient in the glass trade. The struggle for union recognition and union rules continued at the Lamonts, but the brothers adamantly opposed such demands. Workers at the Lamonts (the Hampsons, Horner, Ross, the Rowes and [from **Table 3**] Little), protested the employment of a Lamont family member, and sought to organize a union in 1896 (Cantley, Chisholm, Hanrahan, McGillivray, McKay and [from **Table 3**] Lund and Ross). These initiatives were unsuccessful and probably led to many glass-workers seeking employment elsewhere on the continent (Bransfield, Bettis, Cavanagh, McGillivery, McKay, Middlemass). Geographical mobility was common among glass-workers and probably facilitated this movement (Frasers, Lamont, Mason, McKay). The Lamonts closed their doors in 1899.

The Humphreys were more successful in maintaining their bottle-blowing establishment, where the employees were invariably young boys who worked for brief periods at the plant. **Table 2** shows 119 workers employed at the Humphreys, having no previous affiliation with Nova Scotia Glass or

4 See Donald L. Kemmerer, *The Life of John E. Rovensky, Banker and Industrialist: From the Gilded Age to the Atomic Age* (Champaign, IL, 1977).

Lamonts. Only eight of these glass-workers (Cameron, Erickson, Humphreys, Langley, McArthur, McDonald McEachern, Pace) were, according to the Register of Marriages for Pictou County, married during this period. No evidence of a union, apart from a failed attempt in 1913, was apparent at the Humphreys establishment in Trenton. There is only evidence of one skilled glass-blower (Hampson), a chimney-maker, working at the Humphreys. Hampson, who had had previous work experience in Montreal, was a boarder on Maple Street in 1914, and still a resident of Trenton in 1961.

Table 3 lists the glass-workers who worked at Nova Scotia Glass and/or Lamonts, as well as the Humphreys. These workers numbered only seventeen, and four of them were Humphreys. Of the remaining men, two (Clish and Ross) were only working temporarily at the Humphreys, were penalized by the AFGWU as a consequence, and ended their careers outside Nova Scotia. Two (Davidson and Little) were older settled men, with homes and families at the time of Lamonts' closure, who may have found it convenient to end their careers with the Humphreys. One (McDougal) was a boy who worked sporadically at Nova Scotia Glass and the Humphreys.

In 1917 the Humphreys moved their plant to Moncton, New Brunswick. The alleged reason for the relocation was the high cost of fuel in Pictou County and the availability of cheap natural gas in Moncton. In 1920 the Humphreys closed for good, the stated reason being a massive increase in the rate for natural gas. These were indeed important factors, but the Humphreys confronted other problems. The plant remained hand-operated, relying on cheap fuel, manual labour and a local market. By 1919, competition from large mechanized and automated plants, plus inter-union rivalries, had seriously eroded the competitiveness of the hand-operated plants, as well as the strength of the AFGWU and the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association. Management and union were now more likely to cooperate in the hand-operated plants. Indeed, such plants in peripheral locations became a haven for union locals and unionization drives.[5] In 1919, locals of the AFGWU and the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association were formed at the Moncton plant.

5 Some of the documentation of these trends is contained in W.C. Scoville, *Revolution in Glassmaking: Entrepreneurship and Technological Change in the American Glass Industry* (Cambridge, 1948); S.H. Slichter, *Union Policies and Industrial Management* (Washington, D.C., 1941); and Thomas W. Rowe and Harry H. Cook, *History, 1878-1975: American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America* (Toledo, 1957).

The hand-operated plants and the glass-workers union could not, however, meet the competition resulting from rapid concentration of corporate ownership, spatial centralization of production and intensive technological change. In 1920 the Humphreys closed their operation for good.

Table 1
Glass Workers at the Nova Scotia Glass and Lamonts Glass Companies, 1881-1899

Surname	First name(s)	Date & Place of Birth	Source(s)	Comments
Alker	John	US Pittsb	Commoner and Glassworker, 17 Ja 91	Worked previously at Tiffin Glass Works, Pittsb
Andersen	GB	48 NS	MC 91	Lived next to the Lamonts
Bamb	James	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No 17, a local of the PWA
Bambraugh	Jonas	57 Eng	AFGWU Proc. 85 60-1; Hfx Pass Lists	26 yrs and s in 83
Bambraugh	William	58 Eng	PMR 84; AFGWU Proc 85 60-1; Hfx Pass Lists	Glass maker; 25 yrs and s in 83; m. Engl. girl in 84
Bellantyne	Wm		EC 2 Fe 88	Charged w assault but case dismissed
Besonica	Joseph	Boh	AFGWU Proc. 1885 60-1	
Bettis [Bettie]	George	68 NS	MC 91; EC 19 Mr 91	Started as boy of 14 in 81; s., lives with aunt in NG; left for Glass Works in Brooklyn NY, in 91
Bond	James	Eng	RCCL; McA 96	Presser; m., h on Little Hr Rd.
Bransfield	James		PA 21 Jan 98	Left for Pittsburgh in 98
Bransfield	John	NSL	MC 91	
Brennan	James	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No 17, a local of the PWA
Cantley	Walter C		AFGWU Circular 23 My 96	Chimney maker, signed petition to become member of AFGWU in 96
Cavanagh	John		EC 2 Ap 91	Left for Glass Works in Idaho 91
Chisholm	Rod		AFGWU Circular 23 My 96	Chimney maker, signed petition to become member of AFGWU in 96
Cobeen	Antoine	Boh	AFGWU Proc. 85 60-1; EC 31 Ja 84	Involved in "shooting affray under the influence of alcohol"
Cochran	Thos	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No 17, a local of the PWA
Conley	John	Eng	AFGWU Proc. 85 60-1; EC 18 Fe 88	Charged w assault but case dismissed
Connoly	James M	67 NS	PMR 88; McA 90	Glass worker, m. in 88, homeowner on Jury St.
Connors	Martin	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No 17, a local of the PWA
Conway	Thos	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No 17, a local of the PWA
Crisiene	Antoine	Boh	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1	
Crooks	Samuel	63 Ire	MC 91, Deeds 11-5	Transacted town lots from 11-15
Davison	John	74 Eng	MC 91	Son of James Davi(d)son in Table 3
Falconer	William		McA 96	Glass mixer, h on McLean St.
Felucia	Chas.	Boh	AFGWU Proc. 85, pp. 60-1	
Fosley	James	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No 17, a local of the PWA
Foster Colvin	Nathaniel	61 US	PMR 96	Glass blower
Fraser	Agnes	74 NS	MC 91	Sister of James H and George
Fraser	Alex	68 NS	MC 91; EC 19 Mr 91; McA 90, 96	Glass blower; left to seek work in Montréal in 91 but came back, s in 91, br on Little Hr Rd
Fraser	George	69 NS	MC 91	Brother of James H and Agnes
Fraser	JW	NS	EN 17 Mr 42	Carrying-in-boy in the early 90s
Fraser	James H	70 NS	MC 91	Brother of Agnes and George
Fraser	William	69 NS	MC 91; PMR 91; EC 19 Mr 91	Glass blower; m in 91; left to seek work in Montréal in 91 but came back
Fraser	James F	53 Sco	MC 91	
Fraser	D W		McA 90	
Germa[i]n	William	61 NS	RCCL 88; PMR 96	Chimney maker; glass blower in 96
Glendinning	Billy		EN 17 mr 42; Stevens1, 142	Assembly boss at NSG in the early 90s
Graham	John George	41 NS	Graham	Captain, brother of NSG sec'y Harvey Graham, night superint in 83, man in 90; followed career in steel ind after NSG closed
Graham	William Harvey	74 NS	Graham	Son of JG Graham, started at NSG at 10, followed career in steel ind when NSG closed
Grant	Angus		EN 17 Mr 42	In charge of the annealing furnace in the 90s
Grautify	Gustie	Boh	AFGWU Proc. 85, 60-1	
Gruntz	Harry	US Pittsb	Commoner and Glassworker Ja 17 91	Came from Tiffin Glass Works, Pittsb
Hall	Thomas W	67 Eng	PMR 88	Glass packer; m in 88
Hampson	Jno		AFGWU Circular 24 Oc 92	Protests the empl of a family member at the Lamonts
Hampson	William		AFGWU Circular 24 Oc 92	Protests the empl of a Lamont family member in 92

Surname	First name(s)	Date & Place of Birth	Source(s)	Comments
Hanr(a)han	Edwin		AFGWU Circular 23 My 96, 24 Oc 92?	Chimney gatherer, signed petition to become member of AFGWU in 96
Hartman	Peter	69 US	PMR 82	Glass blower; m in 88
Hill	Alex	68 NS	MC 91; McA 96; 12 Ja 89	Glass worker, "blower"; left f Pittsb in 89
Horne	John		EN 17 March 42	In charge of the annealing furnace in the 1890s; operated shoe repair shop after NSG closed
Horner	William		AFGWU Circular 24 Oct 92	Protests the empl of a Lamont family member in 92
Hosback	John	Boh	AFGWU Proc. 85, 60-1	
Jeperd	Adam	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No. 17, a local of the PWA
Jeykal	Anton	Boh		Glassblower foreman
Jeykal	Ferdinand	26 Boh	MC 91	Glassblower foreman; sought and won damages for wrongful dismissal, breach of contract and loss of income in 87
Kauffeld	William	58 US	PMR 81	Glassblower; m in 81
Kachan	Ronald	67 NS	MC 91	Living w his father John M in NG
Kennedy	J H		EC 16 Fe 88	Beaten up at the glass works
Lamont	David	54 Eng	AFGWU Proc. 1885 60-1; MC 91; Hfx Pass Lists	29 yrs and s in 83; in 91 m w 5 children
Lamont	Donald	57 Eng	AFGWU Proc. 85 60-1, MacAlp 02; Stevens; Ent 1 Dec 88	Started glass work as helper to father in 67; glass blower in 78; came to NSG w ten other glass workers in 83; went to glass works in Steubenville OH in 88; m w 2 children in 91; h on Trenton Rd in 02
Lamont	Henry	58 Eng	MC 91	Glass cutter; m in 91
Lamont	William Middlemas	75 Eng	PMR 97	Glass worker; m in 97
Laurie	Andrew		EN Mr 17 42	Expert workman in early 90s
Lawson	James	43 Eng	MC 91	
Lippest	Adam	55 US	PMR 81	Glassblower; m in 81
Longard	Hice		EN 17 Mr 42	Boss of sorting and testing
Lustic	Chas	Boh	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1	
MacDonald	HA		EC 2 Fe 88	Charged w assault but case dismissed
MacDonald	William Fraser	71	Stevens, 156, 158	Glass mixer; NG res in 1958
Marshal	Alex	51 Eng	AFGWU Proc. 85 60-1; Hfx Pass Lists	m
Mason	David	50 Eng	MC 91; EC 19 Mr 91	Left to seek work in Montreal in 91 but came back
McDonald	James [Big Jim]	49 NS	MC 91; EN 17 Mr 42	Expert workman
McDonald	Angus	65 NS	PMR 89; AFGWU Circular 20 Fe 95	Glass blower; m in 89
McDonald	Donald		McA 96	Glass potmaker; t in h on Archimedes St
McDonald	Ranald		HCT; FL 26 My 59	Belonged to Little Hr, pressed water pitchers
McDonald	William	54 US	PMR 82	Glass blower; m in 82
McGillivery	Angus		PA 21 Ja 98	Left for Pittsburgh
McGillivray	John D		AFGWU Circular 23 My 96	Chimney gatherer, signed petition to become member of AFGWU in 96
McGovern	Thos	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No 17, a local of the PWA
McGuiley	Dan	US Pittsb	Commoner and Glassworker 17 Ja 91	Worked previously at Tiffin Glass Works, Pittsb
McInnis	Alex		Ent 1 Se 88	Superint
McKay	Bert	78 NS	AFGWU Circular 23 M 96; Stevens, 92;	Started work at NSG in 81; learnt to gather chimneys at Lamonts; signed petition to become member of AFGWU in 96; left for Rochester PA in 96; worked at nine different glass works (two were in Montréal and Wallaceburg)
McKay	Danie		EC 11 De 91	Died in 91
McKay	James	24	MN 55; MC 91; EC 25 Fe 92 and 27 Ju 95	Carved molds at NSG; repaired bicycles in 95
McKay	Roderick	67 NS	MC 91	s; living at Fraser Mtn
McKenzie	William R	67 NS	PMR 88; MC 91; EC 16 Ma 92; Commoner and Glassworker 19 Mr 92	Glass blower; m in 88; had worked in Pittsb; sec'y of LU; Killed at factory in 92

Surname	First name(s)	Date & Place of Birth	Source(s)	Comments
McKenzie	William R	67 NS	PMR 88	Glass blower; m in 88
McNeil	Jim		EN 17 Ma 42	Expert workman in early 90s
Middlemass	Charles	77 Eng	PMR 99; Stevens	Glass blower; came to Lamonts from Newcastle-on-Thyne England in 95; m in 99; when Lamonts closed, he went to Freedom PA as a bottle blower, later to Dominion's Delorimier plant in Montréal and the Sydenham Glass Co in Wallaceburg.
Munroe	Alexander R		McA 90	Empl glass works; b on McLean
Murray	John	77 NS	MC 91	
Murray	Joseph	69 NS	Ent 1 De 88; MC 91; EN 17 Ma 42	Expert workman; s in 91; left f Steubenville OH in 88; lived in NG in 42
Norton	Otaga	Boh	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1	
O'Brien	John		McA 96	glassman; h on Fisher Grant Rd
Oliver	Howard		McA 90, 96; EN 17 Mr 42	Emp; expert workman; h on Marsh St
Peralto	Joseph	Boh	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1	
Perockeka	Joseph	62 Boh	MC 91	
Richardson	Wm	62 Eng	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1; Hfx Pass Lists	Came to NSG in 83; s
Roach	William		Ent 1 De 88	Left f Steubenville OH in 88
Ross	James	71 NS	MC 91	
Ross	Richard	74 NS	PMR 98	Glass maker; m in 98
Ross	William F		AFGWU Circular 24 Oct 1892, 13 May 1896	Chimney maker, protests the empl of a Lamont family member in 92 [Rod Ross was also part of the protest]; correspondent with AFGWU in 96, wants to become part of union, informs the leadership Lamonts have operated non-union for some time.
Rowansky	Joseph	Boh	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1	
Rowe	James		AFGWU Circular 24 Oc 92	Protests the empl of a Lamont family member in 92
Rowe	John	51 Eng	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1; MC 91; AFGWU Circular 24 Oc 92	Glass blower, m w 6 children, r of Fraser Mtn; protests the empl of a Lamont family member in 92
Rowe	Jas		AFGWU Circular 24 Oc 92	Protests the empl of a Lamont family member in 92
Rowe	Steve		AFGWU Circular 24 Oc 92	Protests the empl of a Lamont family member in 92
Smith	John	23 NS	MC 91	
Smith	Peter	US	TJ 26 Oc 81	Officer of Flint No. 17, a local of the PWA
Smith	Robert	50 Sco	PMR 84; MC 91	Glass maker; m in 84
Steblaw	Chas	Boh	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1	
Tomkinson	Samuel	70 US	PMR 92	Glass presser; m in 92
Wall	Thomas W	69 Eng	MC 91	Glass presser, r at Fraser Mtn
Watson	Ephraim	64 US	PMR 96	Glass blower; m in 96
Werline	Conrad	61 US	PMR 82	Glass blower
Wood	William	52 Eng	MC 91; AFGWU Proc 85 60-1; Hfx Pass Lists	Cmae to NSG in 83, m w 3 children
Yeilke	Chas	Boh	AFGWU Proc 85 60-1; EC 31 Ja 84	Involved in "shooting afray under the influence of alcohol"

Table 2
Glass Workers at the Humphreys Glass Works, c. 1890-1920

Surname	First name(s)	Date & Place of Birth	Source(s)	Comments
Adams	George		McA 14	Glass blower
Addie	George		FL 26 My 59	
Aikens	Arthur		McA 14	Emp
Aitken [Aikens]	[J] Warren		MT 26 Jl 18; McA 14	Employee at Trenton and Moncton
Battist	Harry [Henry]		Cosh 50	Box maker
Brooks	Henry		Cosh 51	
Butler	Ralph		HCT	
Cameron	Albert		HCT	
Cameron	Alexander		HCT?; McA 14	Emp
Cameron	Elmer		Cosh 50, 51; GJB	
Cameron	Fred		Cosh 51	
Cameron	Haliver	88 NS	PMR 11; Cosh 51	Glass work; m in 11
Cameron	Kenny		Cosh 51; GJB	
Carleton [Charleton]	Blackie		HCT; Cosh 50, 51	
Charleton	Jack		HCT	
Charlton	Ed		Cosh 51	
Charlton	Ralph		McA 14	Glass blower
Chisholm	William		McA 14	Glass maker
Crooks	R		Cosh 51	
Davidson	Donald		GJB	
Dee	Albie		HCT; McA 14 [also as Albert, D.]; Cosh 50, 51; FL 26 My 59	Glass blower
Dee	Sylvanus		Cosh 50	
Dickie	Howard		Cosh 50	
Dickson	Frank		HCT	
Donahue	Bill		Cosh 51	
Dorrington	Joe		Cosh 51	
Dunn	Allie		HCT; Cosh 51; GJB	Later steel worker
Eagan	Warren		AFGWU Circular 1 Oc 13	Recording Sec'y in LU 106, AFGWU, NG, in 13
Errickson	Harry Albert	94 US	PMR 16	Glass blower; m in 16
Falconer	John		McA 14	Employee
Fraser	Andy		Cosh 51	
Fraser	John S		Cosh 51, Stevens 148	
Fraser	John McL		McA 14	Packer
Fraser	Robert		GJB	
Gerrior	Jeff		Cosh 50	
Grant	Dommick		FL 26 my 59	
Gran	Donald		GJB	
Grant	Gillis		Cosh 51	
Grant	Gordon		Cosh 51	
Grant	Gussie		Stevens1, 148	Very young boy in 07, NG r in 58, father Angus in Table 1
Hampson [Hampston]	Michael		AFGWU Circular 5 Jl 06; McA 14; GJB	Chimney maker; b on Maple St in 14; as many union glass workers, Hampson worked in numerous places. In 1906, he was expelled from LU 30, AFGWU, Montréal, for working at Humphreys
Hawes	P		McA 14	Employee
Hodgkins	Edward	NS	MG 4, Vol. 2014, no 13, Clipping, PANS	Worked for five years as a young boy "carrying over", crimping and holding molds.
Humphreys	Benjamin Howard	89 NS	PMR 11; McA 14	Glass blower (son of Edgar)
Humphreys	Duncan	NS	McA 14	Emp
Humphreys	Ernest	NS	Photo in FL 26 My 1959	S of Benjamin Dickie, foreman at the local Scotia Steel Company

Surname	First name(s)	Date & Place of Birth	Source(s)	Comments
Humphreys	Forrest	NS	McA 14	Glass worker (son of Ben Dickie) named after Scotia Steel's founder Forrest McKay
Humphreys	George	NS	GJB	
Humphreys	Robert J	NS	McA 14	Stenographer
King	William H		MT 26 Jl 18	In charge of the gasoline engine in Moncton
Langley	S. [Arthur Seymour]	85 NS	PMR 13; McA 14	Glass worker; m in 13; sorter
Leadbeater	Tommy [Thomas]		HCT; McA 14; Cosh 51	Glass blower; b on Main St
Lellicheur	Bill		Cosh 51	
Lewis	Dick		Cosh 50, 51	
Livingstone	Ray		Stevens1, 148	Young boy in 07, NG r in 1958
MacArthur	D		Cosh 51	
MacArthur	Slick		Cosh 50	
M(a)cAskill	Jack		Cosh 51; GJB	
MacDonald	A		Cosh 51	
MacDonald	B		Cosh 51	
MacDonlad	Ron		Cosh 51	
MacDonald	Scotty Simon		Cosh 50	
MacKay	Henry		GJB	
MacKay	Bill		Cosh 51	
MacKinnon	W		Cosh 51	
MacNaughton	Peter		Photo in FL 26 My 59	
MacNeil	Doc		Cosh 50	
Matheson	Lena		Stevens1, 151	Stenographer
McArthur	Daniel [Dannie]		McA 14; Cosh 51	Glass blower
McArthur	Peter	90 NS	PMR 11; AFGWU Circular 23 Oc 19; HCT; GJB; McA 14; Cosh 51	Glass blower; m in 11; Pres of LU AFGWU, Moncton
McCoull	Thomas		McA 14; Cosh 50	Emp
McDonald	Archie [Archibald]		HCT; McA 14	Glass blower; b on Pleasant St
McDonald	Daniel J		McA 02; Cosh 51	Employee Glass Works; h on Archimedes St
McDonald	Randall		McA 14	Glass blower; b on Diamond St
McDonald	Thomas		McA 14	Glass maker
McDonald	William Fraser	72 NS	PMR 09	Glass blower; m in 09
McEachern	Daniel		McA 07-08; Stevens 151	Glass blower; b on N Provost
McEachern	Ranald	72 NS	PMR 11	Glass blower; m in 11
M[a]cGillivray	Joe		HCT; GJB; Cosh 50	Glass blower; lived in Antigonish in 1976
McIsaac	Eban		HCT; GJB; Cosh 50	
McKay	Angus		Pictou Co Supreme Court Records	Absent debtor to Humphreys ($24.60); land and property seized and valued at $300 in 08
McKay	Daniel		McA 02	Glass blower; h on Marsh St
McKay	James		AFGWU Circular 23 Oc 19	Fin. and Corr Sec'y, LU AFGWU, Moncton
McKay	William D		McA 14; Stevens 148	Cashier and accountant; book keeper; h on Nelson St
McKenzie	Kenneth		GJB	
McKenzie	Wilfred		GJB; Cosh 50	
McKenzie	Billy		HCT	Blew 4000 ink bottles in one shift with A Dunn
McKinnon	Billy		Photo in FL 26 My 59; Cosh 50	
McLean	Duncan		McA 14	Mixer
McNeill	Bernie		McA 14	Employee
McPherson	Alex		GJB	
Mead	George		HCT	Moldmaker

Surname	First name(s)	Date & Place of Birth	Source(s)	Comments
Miller	Charles		McA 07-08	Glass blower; b on Pleasant
Miller	Courtney		GJB	
Milligan	Bill		Cosh 51	
Moore	?		Cosh 50	
Moore	Dinty		Cosh 50	
Moore	Sy [Cy]		HCT; GJB	NG resident in 1976
Moore	Henry		GJB	
O'Brien	Walter		McA 14; GJB	Emp
Pace	Alfred Ernst	71 NS	PMR 09; McA 14	Glass work; m in 09; glass blower; later steel worker; h on Main St
Pye	James		McA 14	Glass maker
Reddick	Bertram		McA 14	Fireman; b on Main St
Reeves	Fraser		GJB; Cosh 51	
Rogers	James	97	GJB	Aged 18 in 1915?
Rose	Bill		GJB	
Rose	Clifford		GJB	
Rose	Fraser		McA 14; Photo in FL 26 My 56; Cosh 50	Finisher
Ryan	Paddy		GJB	
Ryan	Thomas		McA 14	Emp
Sampson	Edward		McA 14	Emp
Slocumb	Jim		Cosh 51	
Slocumb	Stanley		Cosh 51	
Squires	Jack		GJB; Cosh 51	
Strickland	Jack		Cosh 51	
Stroud	Jewell		GJB; photo in FL 26 My 59	
Stroud	Theodore		Cosh 51	
Webber	Percy		McA 14	Packer
Wheeler	?		Stevens1, 148	

Table 3
Glass Workers at the Nova Scotia Glass Company and/or The Lamonts Glass Works and the Humphreys Glass Works, 1881-1920

Surname	First name(s)	Date & Place of Birth	Source(s)	Comments
Anderson	Peter	79 NS	MC91; Cosh 51	Lived next to the Lamonts; s of GB in Table 1
Clish	George	68 NS	MC 91; McA 90, 96, 02, 07-08; EN 17 Mr 42	Glass blower, s in 91, b w comp., then on Provost St; expert workman
Clish	James [Joe]	67 NS	MC 91; McA 90, 96,02; AFGWU Circular 5 Jl 06	Started as crimping boy in 81; at 15 chimney gatherer apprentice; at 20 chimney maker; worked at NAG in Montreal in 92; then switched work between Dominion's plants in Wallaceburg and Montréal; in 06, he was expelled from Local Union 30, AFGWU, Montreal, for working at Humphreys; s in 91; b w NSG, then on Provost St.
Connors	James	68 NS	MC 91; GJB	Lived near the Lamonts in 91
Davidson	James [Jim]	43 Eng	AFGWU Proc 85, 60-1; RCCL 88; EC 19 Mr 91; McA 14; HCT; PMR 03, 04, 07	Press finisher; secretary in the Union of Pressmen in England before coming to NS; left to seek work in Montreal in 91 but came back; finished bottles when older; daughters m in 03, 04, 07.
Humphreys	John "Jock" Marshall	69 NS	Ent 1 De 88; MC 91; McA 14	Left f Steubenville OH in 1888; Pres 14
Humphreys	Edgar T.	63 NS	MC 91; McA 14	Director in 14; Coal merchant after glass workds closed
Humphreys	Efraim [Ephraim Howard]	72 NS	MC 91; McA 14	General Manager 14; General merchant after the glass works closed
Humphreys	Eddie [Edward C]	74 NS	MC 91	Director 14
Little [Liddell]	Walter [Walker]	45 Eng	MC 91 ,AFGWU Proc 85, 60-1; AFGWU Circular 24 Oct 92; McA 02, 07-08	Protests the empl. of a Lamont family member in 92; m w 4 children in 91; h on James St
Lund	Richard [Dick]		AFGWU Circular 23 My 96; HCT	Mould blower, signed petition to become member of AFGWU in 96; packed chimneys and slept in hay after drinking sprees
Lynch	Alfora [Alfred]	59 NS	MC 91, PMR	One of his daughters m a local boy in 07
McDougal	John Alexander		HCT	When 14, he worked one year at the NSG, then at Humphreys "on and off" for two years
McLellan	Simon	68	MC 91; McA 96, 07-08, 14; Stevens 151	Glass blower 96, Chimney maker 14; b and h on East River Rd
Power	James	71	MC 91; HCT; McA 14; photo in FL 26 May 59; MT 26 Jl 18	Glass blower; packed chimneys and slept in hay after drinking sprees; employed in Moncton; later steel worker
Reid	John [Jack]	60 NS	PMR 87; MC 91; EC 19 Mr 91; McA 90, 96, 02; EN 17 Mr 42	Glass presser; m in 87; left to seek work in Montréal in 1891 but came back; h on High St
Ross	Roderick	69 NS	PMR 91, 13; MC 91; AFGWU Circular 24 Oc 92, 23 My 96, 5 Jl 06, 1 Oc 13; McA 96, 14; GJB; Stevens, 92	Started as crimping boy at NSG in 81; chimney maker 96; m Pictou girl in 91; signed petition to become member of AFGWU in 96; in 1906, expelled from LU 30, AFGWU, Montréal, for working at Humphreys; daughter m in 13; Pres of AFGWU LU 106 in NG in 13; worked at various plants in the US and Canada; lived in Alvinston, Ont 1957.

List of Abbreviations in Tables 1, 2 and 3

89	1889 - only the last two digits are given for any years between 1826 and 1942
AFGWU	American Flint Glass Workers' Union
b	boarder
Boh	Bohemia
Cosh	D. Cosh, *Trenton* (Trenton, 1977)
Ec	*Eastern Chronicle* (New Glasgow)
EN	*Evening News* (New Glasgow)
Ent	*Enterprise* (New Glasgow)
Eng	England
FL	*Free Lance* (Westville)
GJB	*Golden Jubilee Book* (Trenton, 1961)
Graham	R.H. Graham, "The Story of the New Glasgow Grahams and Allied Families" (1938), PANS
h	home
Hfx Pass Lists	Halifax Passenger List for SS *Parisian* dep. Liverpool 19 April 1883, PANS, RG 18 (NAC, Reel C-4512)
HCT	Hector Centre Transcripts, Hector Centre, Pictou, Nova Scotia
Little Hr	Little Harbour
LU	Local Union
m	married
MC	Manuscript Census
McA	*McAlpine's Directories*, 1890, 1896, 1907-8, 1914
MN	G. MacLaren, "The Trenton Glass Works," *Nova Scotia Museum Newsletter* (April 1958)
MT	*Moncton Transcipt* (Moncton)
NS	Nova Scotia
NAG	North American Glass Company, Montreal
NG	New Glasgow
NSG	Nova Scotia Glass Company
PA	*Pictou Advocate* (Pictou)
PMR	Pictou County Marriage Register
PWA	Provincial Workman's Association

RCCL	Canada. *Royal Commission on Capital and Labour.* Evidence, Nova Scotia (Ottawa, 1889)
r	resident
s	single
Sco	Scotland
Stevens	G. Stevens, *Canadian Glass, c. 1825-1925* (Toronto, 1967)
t	tenant
TJ	*Trades Journal* (Stellarton)
US	United States
w	with

The Philadelphia Merchants and the Petitcodiac

Margaret Ells[1]

It is a long journey from the head of navigation on the Delaware to the Petitcodiac, the largest of the rivers flowing into the head of the Bay of Fundy; but it was not as long a journey, by comparison, in the eighteenth century as it is now. When practically all travelling was done by sailing ships, any estuary along the Atlantic coast was accessible, and the Petitcodiac offered in addition to the furs, fish and lumber that any of them might have furnished, the special attraction of marshes, a few of which could be put into cultivation with less labour than the wooded shores of other rivers required. The Petitcodiac is a tidal river, indeed if there can be a superlative degree in this connection, it is the most tidal of rivers. Twice a day its miles of mud flats are covered by an irresistible current of swirling waters, which pass visibly up the river, at the speed of a good driving horse, and near "the Bend," where the city of Moncton now stands, pile up into the famous bore, which sometimes assumes formidable proportions.

The Philadelphia merchants were not the first to attempt the settlement of the Petitcodiac. Pierre Thibaudeau, the miller of Pré-Ronde, near Port-Royal, in 1698, being then sixty-seven years of age, determined to establish his family in a seigneury before his death. Accordingly, he fitted out a vessel, sailed down the Annapolis Basin, through the Digby Gut, and up the Bay of Fundy. Twice there are choices: first between Minas Channel which leads into the Minas Basin, and Chignecto Bay, and then at the Head of Chignecto Bay, between Cumberland Basin and Shepody Bay. Previous explorers had taken the first opening to the right and gone into the Basin of Minas, or the second opening to the right and gone up Cumberland Basin to the Isthmus of Chignecto, which joins what are now the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Thibaudeau kept to the left and discovered the Shepody River, which pursues a crooked course through the marshes and joins Shepody Bay near the left as you enter the Bay, and the Petitcodiac River, into which Shepody Bay imperceptibly narrows.

The miller of Pré-Ronde established himself at Shepody River and brought along a friend, Blanchard, to start another seigneury on the Petitcodiac

1 Margaret Elizabeth Ells (1909–1986) was a "research scholar" at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS] from 1932 to 1945. This undated and apparently unfinished essay, which is among her papers (MG 1, Vol. 2676, file 24, PANS), is a pioneering contribution to the history of the New England Planter townships of southeastern New Brunswick. Annotation has been added or enhanced where necessary, but otherwise kept to a minimum.

proper. A third one was begun on the Memramcook, which joins the Petitcodiac and widens it into Shepody Bay. The story of the founding, particularly of "Chipody," the bringing of the stock, the building of the dykes, the purchase of mill-irons in Boston, the building of houses and a chapel, the marriages of the sons, the trouble with the Seigneur of Beaubassin--who was not content with claiming Cumberland Basin territory, but claimed Shepody Bay lands as well--all this has been preserved in much detail. From both French and English sources we learn that the descendants of the miller of Pré-Ronde and his friends gave a very good account of themselves when they were attacked by the New England soldiers who were charged with deporting the Acadians, and repulsed them. A decade later the settlers sent up by the Philadelphia merchants made the acquaintance of some of the French who had escaped deportation and had been hiding in the neighbourhood during the intervening years.

After the deportation of the Acadians, Governor Charles Lawrence issued his proclamation inviting settlers to come forward to take over the lands the Acadians had won from the forest and the sea. The Connecticut Planters came to the Basin of Minas; from Essex County, Massachusetts, came the Maugerville settlers on the St. John River; other New Englanders settled at the head of Cumberland Basin; and Alexander McNutt alarmed the Lords of Trade and Plantations by his success in inducing the inhabitants of Northern Ireland to try their fortune in Nova Scotia. When emigration from Ireland was stopped, McNutt turned his attention to the encouragement of Protestant settlers who were still in Europe or who were recently come to North America. He had agents in Europe and in the colonies; he was in Europe, in England harrying the Lords of Trade and Plantations, Massachusetts, in Pennsylvania, in the Carolinas, stirring up interest in his proposals, and in Nova Scotia endeavouring to get action from a lethargic governor and council. There was no limit to the amount of land he wanted granted: 100,000 acres at Miramichi, the same at Pictou, at St. Mary's River, at St. Mary's Bay, at Petitcodiac, and 1,100,000 acres on the St. John River. The minutes of the Nova Scotia Council for April 1765 show that there were fifteen applications before it for some 2,100,000 acres of land;[2] several agents were in Halifax that year to urge matters on, and finally grants were passed.

2 RG 1, Vol. 188, p. 531 (30 Apr. 1765), PANS.

The first grants for the Petitcodiac region had already been passed, a small one for six hundred acres, on the south side of the entrance of Shepody River, to William Best and John Burbidge, on 17 September 1763, and a larger one for fifteen hundred acres, adjoining the previous grant, between Shepody and HawHaw Rivers, to Elias Burbidge and James Hardy, on 15 March 1765. These grants, made in the best Nova Scotian tradition to friends of the administration, probably included most of the land improved by the Seigneur of Shepody. Before June of the same year, two townships had been reserved on the Petitcodiac, as we learn from the Council's answer to a petition from McNutt, John Leisher and associates:

> That the upper part of the River Pidcoudiack from the Townships already reserved on that River...be reserved.... On the following conditions Vizt. That fifty families be settled for each Township in One year from the date of the reservation, and the remainder at the proportion of fifty families every year until the complement of two hundred families be compleated in each 100,000 acres.
>
> And on failure of these conditions the Government shall be at liberty to Dispose of the lands unsettled to the first person applying.[3]

The two townships already reserved were Hopewell and Hillsborough, and Alexander McNutt was not included in either. Hopewell, the grant of which was dated 24 September 1765, was given to Major-General Henry Bouquet, Colonel Frederick Haldimand (who was also included in grants on the St. John River and in Canada), Hugh Wallis (or Wallace), Peter Hasenclever, and Adam Hoops and associates. Hopewell was to begin due west from the point of land lying between Memramcook and Petitcodiac Rivers, on the west side of the Petitcodiac, and to extend from thence "West Twenty Miles and from thence to extend South to the Sea Coasts on the Channel of Chignecto" and thence to be bounded by said Channel and by the River Petitcodiac, and to comprehend Shepody and all lands lying within the said limits, excluding 2100 acres granted to John Burbidge Esq. and others, containing in the whole by estimation 100,000 acres more or less. Hillsborough was to begin on the north boundary of Hopewell, to run west twelve miles on that boundary, "thence North twenty degrees West to the falls of the Petitcodiack now called Hillsborough River twelve miles and an half and from thence is bounded by

3 RG 1, Vol. 188, pp. 542-43 (3 June 1765), PANS.

said River till it comes to the first mentioned boundary." The grantees of Hillsborough were Robert Cummings and others, of whom John Collier, Joseph Gerrish, and Henry Newton of the Nova Scotia Council, and James Boutineau were mentioned.

These two townships, as thus laid out in the indefinite fashion of the Nova Scotia Council--which did not insist on a government survey of the land granted--included all the land to the west of Shepody Bay and the Petitcodiac River and the land south of the river after it makes the bend. The land on the east of the bay and the river had been disposed of to army officers and to members of the Nova Scotia government. There remained, on the accessible parts of the river, only the land north of the river, above the bend. This went to Alexander McNutt, and the Philadelphia groups whom he had apparently stirred into action, as the township of Moncton.[4]

Alexander McNutt and the same group of twenty-two associates received grants, on 31 October 1765, of two townships, one of 100,000 acres on the St. John River, and one of 100,000 acres, called Moncton, on the Petitcodiac River. The St. John River township (which may have been called Frankfort) was divided into four parts containing 22,916 2/3 acres each; and a fifth section of 833 1/3 acres, allotted to Alexander McNutt. The associates were divided into groups as follows:

1. Matthew Clarkson
   Gerardus Clarkson
   Edward Duffield
   John Naglee
2. John Cox, Jr.
   Benjamin Franklin
   John Hughes
   Anthony Wayne

4 There have been some curious errors about these townships. A letter from Governor Wilmot to the Lords of Trade, 24 Aug. 1766, lists the Hopewell grant as 100,000 acres between the Memramcook and Petitcodiac Rivers: "The State of the late Grants of Townships, with the Numbers propos'd to be settled in each Township, and the time of Settlement": CO 217/44/23, PRO (mfm. at PANS). J.B. Brebner's map in *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937) marks Hillsborough in that location. W.O. Raymond, "Colonel Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlements of Nova Scotia," in *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, 1911, Section 2, pp. 23-114, speaks of "one of these originally called Monckton, now known as Hillsborough," and states further that, "In the establishment of these townships Col. McNutt had no merit whatsoever."

3. Isaac Caton
   James Caton
   John Relse [?]
4. Thomas Barton
   John Bayley
   William Craig
   John Hall
   Joseph Jacobs
   Israel Jacobs
   Benjamin Jacobs
   William Moore
   Hugh Neil
   Joseph Richardson
   William Smith

That a similar arrangement may have been made regarding Moncton township is indicated by the fact that one person in each of groups 1, 2 and 4, was mentioned in the sheriff's deeds which were given when the lands were bid for at auction following suits brought against the proprietors: thus, John Copple, George Wortman, and Charles Baker brought suit against Matthew Clarkson and Co. of Philadelphia; Henry Stief, the heirs of Matthew Somers, the heirs of Charles Jones, Jacob Trites and Michael Lutz brought suit against John Hughes; and Jacob Ricker brought suit against William Smith.

There were certain conditions to be fulfilled in connection with these grants. The proprietors of Hopewell township were required to bring in settlers at the rate of one person for every fifty acres; to plant one rood of every one thousand acres with hemp; to plant, cultivate or improve half of the holding within ten years, the whole within twenty years; to settle one quarter of the township within one year after the first of May next with "one family of protestants to consist of at least four persons to every 1000 acres," another quarter within two years. The conditions of the Hillsborough grant differed slightly, for there was to be a quit rent of a farthing per acre, payable on half the area within five years, on the remaining half after ten years, "and so to continue payable yearly hereafter forever. But in case three years Quit rent shall be behind and no distress on the premises the grant is to be null and void"; a longer time was given for planting, cultivating, improving or enclosing the whole, namely, thirty years; hemp was to be planted as in

Hopewell, and one-fourth of the township was to be settled with one Protestant to every two hundred acres within one year.

It is not easy to trace the course of events in connection with the three townships in which Philadelphia citizens were interested. On 9 October 1765, Governor Montagu Wilmot of Nova Scotia wrote to the Lords of Trade:

> There has lately arrived here a Ship with Twenty German families from Philadelphia for settling a Township on the North side of the Bay of Fundy.
>
> The settlement of that Part of the Province with Industrious people who will defend and preserve their property, I look on to be a Step necessary for keeping the Indians in Awe and for the Tranquillity of the more internal parts of the Province....[5]

Ten months later it was reported that fifty new families had come that summer and the previous year. The 1767 return of population in the townships, probably made up in 1766, shows a population of 159 in Hopewell, comprising 2 English, 12 Irish, 62 Americans, 59 Germans, 24 Acadians; and a total in "Monckton" of 60, including 4 Irish, 7 Americans, 49 Germans.[6] Population, it will be noted, was not increasing at the rate required by the conditions of the grants, and there is no mention of Hillsborough at all.

The German families sent up to Hopewell township, supposedly by Peter Hasenclever and Adam Hoops, did not remain there. A portion of the marsh along the Shepody River, now dyked, still retains the name of Germantown Lake. George Wortman, who later moved up to Moncton, may have been the head of one of the families. An Estler family, later living in Hillsborough, may have been another. What became of the others, sometimes said to be five, sometimes said to be twenty-five in number remains a mystery. The writer's mother[7] remembers hearing her grandmother and a friend discussing the fate of the settlement and shaking their heads over it. There was some tragedy there, possibly only of incompetence, possibly of misfortune in not getting possession of the land.

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5 CO 217/21/179, PRO (mfm. at PANS).

6 RG 1, Vol. 443, Doc. 1, PANS.

7 Edith P. Hennigar (Mrs. Alfred W. Ells), b. 1871. The progenitor of the Hennigar family in Nova Scotia was Christian Hennigar, a soldier in the 84th Foot (Royal Highland Emigrants), who came to Philadelphia from Germany about 1775, aged fourteen.

One other person who is known to have been settled at Hopewell in the early days of the township is a certain Thomas Calhoun, said by local tradition to have come from Kentucky, most of the way on foot.[8] Calhoun died, and his heirs, "by virtue of an execution," obtained from Jonathan Eddy, Deputy Provost Marshal in and for the County of Cumberland--the same who in 1776 led the attack against Fort Cumberland--a deed for land "taken by execution from the late Adam Hoops and Company Proprietors" of the township of Hopewell. Calhoun's widow married again, a Robert Dickson, who later had a grant of part of the township. The Calhoun sons married and have many descendants in Hopewell and elsewhere.

When Robert Dickson, and others who claimed lands in the township and were given grants after the province of New Brunswick was set up, arrived in the Hopewell area is not known. John Wentworth, on behalf of Sir Frederick Haldimand and Hugh Wallace, "proprietors of the land called Shepody," protested against escheat, claiming that they had settled many families and expended about £7000 on the estate. The Philadelphia partners were not heard from at all.

The ship that brought the twenty families in the autumn of 1765 was perhaps in charge of Jacob or John Hall, the member of Franklin's Company who had lately returned from Nova Scotia, "bitter in complaints against Hughes and other members who refused to honor his expense account for conducting settlers thither and supporting them with the necessities of life."[9] Seven of the families were put in Moncton township, as we learn from a survey of the township made in 1788 by Stephen Millidge, Deputy Surveyor in the Province of New Brunswick. This agrees with the statistics in the return of 1767, which reported seven women in Moncton. The families were those of Heinrich Stief (Hendrick Steeves), Michael Lutz, Jacob Trites, Karl Johns (Charles Jones), Matthew Somers, Jacob Ricker, and John Copple. The creek at which they were disembarked, beside the present city of Moncton, was called by them Hall's Creek, according to tradition handed down, after the captain of the vessel which brought them. The Steeves family have also a

8 "Kentucky" seems to have been used anachronistically to designate any part of the colonial South; there is a story about a Yorkshireman who set out to walk from Cumberland to Kentucky, but fell in love with Sussex Vale and settled there.

9 William Otis Sawtelle, "Acadia: The Pre-Loyalist Migration and the Philadelphia Plantation," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 51, p. 244.

tradition of a failure in expected supplies, which forced them to save what grain they had and to live on turnip mush one winter. There is likewise a story of a vessel appearing and offering them so poor a price for their furs that Hendrik turned to his sons and said, "Well boys, we'd better go back to our turnip mush."

Hall's allegations and the Steeves tradition are supported by the Registry of Deeds for Cumberland County, which contains sheriff's deeds, of the year 1778, for nine tracts in Moncton township bid for by these seven families, George Wortman, who possibly moved up from Hopewell, and Charles Baker, as a result of suits against the proprietors. Charles Baker was recovering a debt, but the others, probably at Baker's suggestion and with his help, had brought suit for non-performance of contract.

The Philadelphia merchants may not have done very well for themselves financially out of their brief connection with the township of Moncton, but they did make a considerable contribution to the peopling of the Petitcodiac region. John Copple and his wife and daughter had died, as we learn from Stephen Millidge's report of 1788, but the other families were flourishing. Hendrik Steeves had also died, but his seven sons had married and were bringing up the large families whose thousands of descendants are now to be found all over the continent of North America. Hendrik had removed from Moncton after five years' residence there and settled at Hillsborough, but when he obtained title to the lands in Moncton, he apparently sent his third and fourth sons, Christian and Frederick, up the river to settle on that property. Matthew Somers had died, leaving a widow, one son and five daughters (Frederick Steeves married one of the daughters); the son was living on half the tract acquired on his father's behalf and had sold the other half. Charles Jones had also died, about six years after his arrival. His two sons, John and Henry, were living on their tract of more than two thousand acres, acquired in the suit against John Hughes, "beginning at Island Creek joyning to Mr. Steefs" and extending to a "pine tree marked No. 4 opposite the Village." John and Henry Jones had cleared fourteen acres, dyked six-and-a-half acres, built a house each, acquired thirteen cows, six oxen, twelve cattle, twenty-eight sheep, and had built a grist mill on Mill Creek.

Jacob Trites was still living, but had made over half his land to his son Christian in consideration of "one hundred-weight of meat, half beef, half pork, six bushels of wheat grinded into Meal, six Cord of firewood laid at the Door and one Cow kept summer and Winter to be paid yearly and every year

by the said Christian Trites during the Natural life of the said Jacob Trites [and] of his Wife;" the other half had been leased to two Loyalists. Abraham Trites had purchased Charles Baker's tract, and Jacob Trites Jr. had purchased Jacob Ricker's tract. Ricker, who had married Matthew Somers's widow, and Michael Lutz had moved down to Hillsborough, probably about 1770, when Hendrick Steeves went thither. Jacob Ricker and his sons stayed there, but Michael Lutz returned to Moncton, to his tract no. 6 after twelve years in Hillsborough. Like Hendrik Steeves, he seems to have had sons in both places.

It has been noted that there were no returns for Hillsborough township in 1767. What the Nova Scotia Council members and their friends did with regard to their share of the township was to seek [...?].[10] Joseph Gerrish's son-in-law, Joseph Gray, of Windsor, Nova Scotia, had sufficient influence in government circles to obtain grants in 1787 for two tracts containing 10,360 acres, one at the upper end of the township, containing lots 1 to 33, and one at Island Creek, containing five lots. The name of Gray has remained attached to an island (still called Gray's Island, although now it is entirely surrounded by land) on marsh in front of the present village of Hillsborough. Nobody in the village seems to know why the island was so called, and it is used now as a burying ground. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

The Philadelphia grantee, Robert Cummings, came up to the Petitcodiac, probably about 1770 or earlier, when the three Moncton families moved down because of the difficulty of getting title to their lands in Moncton. He returned to Philadelphia in the autumn of 1772, leaving Charles Baker in charge of his affairs. Whether Charles Baker was settled at Hillsborough for a time, or whether he managed affairs from Amherst in the Cumberland district where he later lived, does not appear. Baker was from Virginia, had attended Princeton in 1760/61 and had been at Quebec, where he had become a friend of Captain Edward Barron. When Barron received land in Cumberland, Baker followed him and married his daughter, Ann, at Fort Cumberland. Nothing would have been known of Cummings's visit to the Petitcodiac, if Baker had not tried some years later to get some of Cummings's land for the daughter, Elizabeth, whom Cummings had left on the Petitcodiac. Charles Baker petitioned the governor and council of New Brunswick, in 1785 on

10 The sentence is incomplete in manuscript.

behalf of Elizabeth Cummings, who was living with her mother in Moncton, and enclosed a copy of a letter Robert Cummings had written after his return to Philadelphia, plus a copy of a will drawn up in favour of a son, Benjamin Cummings, who is not heard of again, and a daughter, Elizabeth Cummings, leaving to each of them, after his mother's death, "one-quarter of the land belonging to me and others in Hillsborough." In the letter, Robert Cummings said that he intended to return next spring and give the deeds to the people settled on his lands. He had intended settling in Nova Scotia, for which he still had a liking, but his friends would not hear of it and had persuaded him to purchase an estate near Baltimore, which he named Monckton Mills. He wished to have news of the child, but written in a "mistical manner," lest it fall into the hands of "Madam whom I expect home in a few Months this is a Secret keep to yourself."

Charles Baker explained to the governor and council that in 1771 or 1772 Robert Cummings had settled Henry Steeves, Jacob Steeves, James Smith (a Yorkshire immigrant), and Jacob Ricker, and that "those Men having numerous familys by intermarrying soon added a number of familys more to his estate;" later he, as agent, had settled Nathan Stiles and son. A certain amount of the produce of the farms was to be paid yearly to Robert Cummings and then to Elizabeth, and Ricker was indebted to the estate. Charles Baker's efforts on behalf of his late client were of no avail, and the township was escheated. Elizabeth Cummings married one of her father's tenants, Reuben Stiles, and after his death, in 1798, married William Colpitts, one of a large family from Durham, England, who had settled on a branch of the Petitcodiac. William Colpitts exchanged his Pollett River land for his stepson's land on the Petitcodiac. There were eight children in Elizabeth Cummings's second family, so that Robert Cummings's direct contribution to populating the township was considerable.[11]

11 Baker's memorial is quoted *in extenso* in Esther Clark Wright, *The Petitcodiac: A Study of the New Brunswick River and of the people who settled along it* (Sackville, N.B., 1945), pp. 53-55, from an original then in the Crown Lands Office in Fredericton, but now at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick: RS 108 ("Land Petitions, Original Series").

The Nova Scotia Tartan -- An Update

Roger Nickerson

Marjorie Major ended her article on the history of the Nova Scotia Tartan, published in the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly* in June 1972,[1] by stating that the mural of which it was a part had been donated by the Handcrafts Instruction Branch, Department of Education, to the Cape Sable Historical Society for their Woollen Mill Museum in Barrington. In that statement a story is buried that is sufficiently fascinating and dramatic to be worthwhile preserving in the interests of Nova Scotia history and heraldry. The story was told to me by Elizabeth Daine, in Halifax, on 26 September 1989, and is preserved on audiotape.

Elizabeth Daine was one of the craftspeople who helped Bessie Murray and Mary Black create the Nova Scotia Sheep Breeder's Association mural, and she maintained a personal interest in it throughout its lengthy display career. As she watched its condition gradually deteriorate, and finally discovered it in a back room used for the storage of empty cartons and cast-off material in the Halifax Exhibition Building, her concern for its safety, based on her knowledge of how much effort had gone into its creation and how valuable it was, stirred her sense of responsibility. Late one night, she and a friend took advantage of the fact that the building was open and the room unlocked, to rescue the mural, and she took it home. With great care, she mended and washed it, hanging it out to dry on her clothes-line in the backyard. At the time, she lived in a house that had a large backyard which could accommodate the large mural.

Now that she had this artifact in her possession, what was she to do with it? She went to visit Mary Black, who by then was retired and had no further interest in something she considered had had its time. She told Elizabeth that if she could find a use for it, to go ahead. Elizabeth met with Mr. Ralston, Mary Black's successor, who informed her that the mural had been destroyed. At that point she suspected that it would be unwise to inform him of the truth. Satisfied that the Government had no further use for the mural, and with the full concurrence of the group who created it, Elizabeth kept the mural at her home for over a year.

Whether or not the Government of Nova Scotia ever actually owned the mural is still open to debate. The mural was created by private individuals,

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Roger Nickerson has been Manager of the Barrington Museum Complex since 1988.

1 "History of the Nova Scotia Tartan," in *NSHQ*, Vol. 2, Number 2 (June 1972), 191-214.

the Halifax Handweavers group, with the cooperation of a provincial civil servant, Mary Black, who was Director of the Handcrafts Division of what is now the Department of Trade and Industry. It was created for the Sheep Breeder's Association, who never paid anything for it. Whether Miss Black donated time to the mural as a volunteer or as a civil servant, or in what proportion, would be difficult to assess. Evidently, the province did not contribute funding to the project, and the material of which the mural was made came from weavers all around the province. In fact, provincial claim to ownership is more strongly supported by the fact that the mural has been preserved in a provincial Branch Museum for the past eighteen years, than by the circumstances surrounding its creation. Governments cannot give away or sell public property, except by special process. The Handcrafts Instruction Branch could not have donated or sold the mural to the Cape Sable Historical Society, which is a private organization. The mural had been abandoned and forgotten in poor storage conditions and lack of security at the Halifax Exhibition Building, and became subject to the long-established rights of salvage. By rescuing it, Elizabeth Daine became its owner.

Miss Daine was accustomed to vacationing in summer at the Sandhills Beach cottages, and of involving herself, while there, in the cultural activities of the Barrington area. She had come to know Evelyn Richardson, the noted Nova Scotia author, who was, in the late 1960s, the engine of the Cape Sable Historical Society. Mrs. Richardson, as president of the Society, plunged with typical enthusiasm into the project of turning Arthur Doane's old woollen mill into a branch of the Nova Scotia Museum, and it was opened as a museum on 6 July 1968. After Miss Daine had rescued the mural, she could think of no better place to store and display the woollen artifact than in the woollen mill museum. Mrs. Richardson concurred. In the early 1970s the role and influence of the Nova Scotia Museum was more subtle than it is today, its being little more than a source of regular funding. It was easier to lose sight of the distinction between the provincially owned building and the Historical Society that managed it. Consequently, no one saw anything out of the ordinary in the donation of the mural to the Historical Society for display in a provincial Branch Museum.

Mrs. Ruth Nickerson, Historical Society secretary at the time, states that the mural was at Evelyn Richardson's home for several months before it was presented to the Society on 5 July 1971. At the next regular meeting, on

7 August, the Society made Miss Daine an Honorary Member as a token of appreciation for her gift.

Under the direction of the Nova Scotia Museum, a plywood mount was made for the mural in a corner of the second floor of the Woollen Mill. Neither the Museum nor the Historical Society was familiar with current principles of the conservation of textiles. The mural was mounted with a view to its visibility rather than its long-term preservation. Fastened up with nails and pins, and partially draped around a corner, against its natural set, it was left in place year in and year out, protected from visitors by a railing, but not from the natural environment of the—far from airtight—old mill. In 1988, partly as a result of the appointment of a new Director of the Nova Scotia Museum, a Conservator was added to the staff, who visited the Mill in September. On her recommendation, the mural was removed from its mount, and will henceforth be rolled up in clean cotton over each winter. The Nova Scotia Museum is in the process of designing a new mount which more closely meets the conservation needs, as well as the display requirements, of this valuable piece of Nova Scotia's artifactual record.

The whole question of the ownership of the mural arose when visitors to the Woollen Mill asked whether there was a brochure available about the mural. There was not, and it became the task of the Barrington Museum Complex Manager to draft one. His research soon uncovered the problem. Partly because of the blurred distinctions between Museum and Historical Society at the time of donation, and because of the intervening passage of time, the Nova Scotia Museum, when asked by the Manager, who owned the mural, assumed that they did. With further research and the interview with Elizabeth Daine, the Museum agreed that the evidence seemed to support ownership by the Cape Sable Historical Society, but was quite prepared to continue the existing arrangement between the two organizations for the sake of its permanent preservation. That relationship, we hope, will be satisfactory to Elizabeth Daine, the Halifax Handweavers and the people of Nova Scotia.

The Umlachs and the McDaniels of the West Cape of St. Mary's River

Joyce Hemlow and Iris Shea

Among the earliest explorers of the West Cape of St. Mary's River, Guysborough County, were John Umlach *(ca.* 1758-1849), mariner, coaster, trader, his brother James *(ca.* 1759-1855) and, associated with the latter, James McDaniel *(ca.* 1752-1822) with members of his family, lately of Halifax.

Sailing eastward from the homestead that in the 1780s the Umlachs had helped their father build on St. Margaret's Bay, the two brothers concluded their explorations of the 1790s at St. Mary's River. John may have sailed in the *Industry,* a schooner of forty-three tons that he had built and for which he had received a bounty in 1786.[1]

In these early explorations eastward, James Umlach and James McDaniel had evidently entered Liscomb Harbour, shown on early maps as Franklin's Harbour. On the inner side of an island of three hundred acres, first called Amelia but later Hemlow's Island, James Umlach made some temporary settlement, for in a deed of 1801 he was identified as "James Hemloe of Liscom";[2] and in 1801 James McDaniel made an unsuccessful application for a land grant there.[3]

Beyond Redman's Head, the eastern boundary of Liscomb Harbour, and across Gegoggin Bay, looms the remote West Cape of St. Mary's. Extending from the head of Gegoggin Bay, some five miles into the ocean, it repels at its headland the full brunt of winds, tides and heavy seas. The grinding of the rocks there produces the materials for a beach of hard white sand, little known, along Gegoggin Bay.

Flowing in comparative peace along the inner or eastern shore of the Cape is St. Mary's River, one of the longest rivers in the province and well known to sportsmen for its salmon. Running with its East and West branches through Pictou, Antigonish and Guysborough Counties, this beautiful river had formed through its geological history lakes like Lochaber ("the forest's gentle

Joyce Hemlow, Greenshields Professor Emerita, McGill University, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S.C., has recently returned to her native Nova Scotia. Iris Shea (*née* Umlah) is a freelance genealogical researcher in Halifax.

1 Joyce Hemlow, "John Umlach (ca. 1726-1821), a 'Native of Scotland,' Soldier and Settler," Nova Scotia Historical Review, 10, 1 (June 1990), 44-47.

2 Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Book 34, p. 361.

3 Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], RG 20, Series C, Vol. 171a.

bride"[4]), marshes and fertile intervales waiting to be farmed. Inclines in its bed offered waterfalls and water power, and rising along its rocky banks were the primeval forests, tall stands of spruce, fir, pine and hemlock.[5] Navigable for large vessels to Sonora or to "the narrows" near Sherbrooke, ten miles from its mouth, it would float booms of logs to sawmills along its banks, fostering industries such as logging, lumbering and sawmilling, and the shipping or export of lumber and deal to England.[6] In the age of the tall ships, barques and brigantines were built along it and exported.[7] No wonder that the Umlachs, as far as we know, explored no further eastward. In the economic experience of the time this was Eldorado, and gold itself would be discovered not far from the North West Arm where John Umlach first acquired land. According to one story, it was his granddaughter Catherine Nickerson (*ca.* 1826-1872) who first came upon the glittering nuggets. when out hunting for her cows in the hills.[8]

4 Joseph Howe, "Acadia," *Poems and Essays*, ed. Malcolm G. Parks (Toronto, 1973), pp. 30-34.

5 The choices in lumber available in 1857 in Sherbrooke may be seen in the specifications approved in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, October term, PANS, RG 34-322, Series P, Vol. I, 151-52: "The sides to be of pine not less than 9 to 10 inches square--clear of Sap--the rest of the Frame to be either good sawed pine or good sawed spruce--the roof to be shingled with good pine shingles and the Walls or Sides and Ends...to be finished with good pine Clap boards...and the floor to be double--First floor to be good Hemlock--the second floor 1-1/4 inch good spruce."

6 For the production of lumber in 1861 (over 2,000,000 board feet), see Phyllis R. Blakeley, "The History and Development of Sherbrooke in Guysborough County, Nova Scotia," PANS, MG 1, Vol. 3092, File 9, p. 47. For the increase in production since 1824-25, cf. Thomas C. Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (2 vols., Bellevue, Ontario, 1970), II, 95-98.

7 See Charles A. Armour and Thomas Lackey, *The Sailing Ships of the Maritimes...* (Toronto, 1976), intro. and pp. 1-10, 216, and the illustrations throughout.

8 The family story is told by Edna Jordan (*née* Burns) in the typescript, "History of St. Mary's River and Sonora, 1765-1967," p. 3, PANS MG 4, Vol. 295, #63.

The official account of the discovery (in the words of the Chief Gold Commissioner for 1862) is included by Wyatt Malcolm in his authoritative work, *Gold Fields of Nova Scotia* (Ottawa, 1929), pp. 226-32. Here the credit is given not to Catherine, but to her husband Nelson Nickerson (*ca.* 1821-1896), and an entertaining account follows of his pounding out gold nuggets from quartz rocks found in his hayfield. The sound of his hammer alerted neighbours, and soon locals to the number of 200, some of whom had not left their doorsteps for years, went clambering over the hills in search of promising outcroppings. Raging forest fires of the previous twenty years had burned off the humus of the forest floor, exposing the leads.

This promising territory was by no means overlooked by early colonizers and speculators, among whom most spectacularly was the Ulsterman Alexander McNutt (1725-*ca.* 1811). In the years following Governor Lawrence's second Proclamation (11 June 1759), offering land on conditions including clearing, cultivation and settlement within a specified time, McNutt had persuaded the Governor-in-Council to grant him and sundry persons, his friends and associates, 1,500,000 acres in Nova Scotia alone, usually in units of 100,000 or 200,000.[9] Among these immense tracts was the West Cape of St. Mary's River. On 31 October 1765, along with two members of the Executive Council and five other persons, McNutt obtained the whole of the West Cape, bounded on the east by St. Mary's River and on the west by Gegoggin Bay, along with land apparently on the east side of the river, an area of 150,000 acres in all.[10] The members of the Council involved were Benjamin Green Sr. (1713-1772) and Jonathan Binney (1724-1807), Collector of Customs at Canso, who in the years 1760-84 acquired some 60,000 acres of land. Of the 150,000 acres on St. Mary's River, the Councillors were to have 20,000 acres each, the remaining 110,000 acres being divided equally among McNutt and five other persons in shares of 18,333 acres each.[11]

For almost two decades, the West Cape lay in its wild state without evidence of the cultivation and settlement required by the terms of the 1765 grant. In a series of escheats, therefore, dating from 24 March 1784 to 28 November 1811, the grantees (with one exception) were forced to relinquish their claims.[12] The exception was Jonathan Binney. Whatever the justification he was able to bring before the Court of Escheats and Forfeitures or the favours he was able to claim, he was allowed to keep on the river front at

9 See W. O. Raymond, "Colonel Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlements of Nova Scotia," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (Ottawa, 1912), Transactions, Section II (1911), 33-115. See also *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, III, 361-66, 663-65; and Minutes of the Council, PANS RG 1, Vol. 211, pp. 36-38.

10 The grant (PANS RG 20, Series A, Book 6, p. 482) may have included as well large tracts on the east side of St. Mary's River. Cf. Crown Grant Index Sheets, #101 and #102, Department of Lands and Forests, Nova Scotia.

11 The five other grantees were Thomas Brown, John Dennis, James Fulton, James Lyon and Arthur Vance (PANS RG 20, Series C, Vol. 37, doc. 227).

12 The escheats are recorded in PANS RG 1, Vols. 377-79, doc. 69D, 174, 179. See also Blakeley, "Sherbrooke," p. 6, note 4.

least 10,000 of his 20,000 acres, to be known thereafter in common parlance as Binneyland. This frontage he then had surveyed and divided into strips or lots of 1,000 acres, each running down to the river or to the North West Arm of the river, as may be seen in surveyor's maps of the time.[13] In deeds of the years following, by which Jonathan Binney and his sons Stephen Hall (1760-1871) and Hibbert Newton (1766-1842) proceeded to sell the lots, their claim to them is cited as a "writ of partition (with a plan annexed)" filed in the Supreme Court, Trinity Term, 1784.[14]

The first to buy lots in Binneyland was the enterprising John Umlach of St. Margaret's Bay, who on 6 November 1792 purchased from Binney the advantageous Lot No. 2 for £10.[15] Through the northwest part of this lot flowed the Arm Brook which, running down a precipitous slope to the North West Arm of the river, provided waterfalls and water power.[16] It was, in the language of the time, a "Mill Seat." Further, from its location "at the extremity of the Salt water Bay," logs could be floated to the mill site and lumber loaded directly on boats. On these desirable features Umlach was soon able to realize a profit. On 7 December 1802 he sold 100 acres of his 1,000-acre Lot No. 2 to one James Frame, cabinet-maker, for £20, thus gaining £10 on his initial investment.[17] Further, dealing directly on 24 October 1817 with a newcomer in the area, he sold to David Archibald (*ca.* 1759-1822), millwright, 202 acres of his Lot No. 2 for £30.[18] For the Archibalds, this was the beginning of a lumbering industry to be carried on by that family to the present time in Guysborough County.

13 PANS RG 20, Series C, Vol. 87, #227.

14 The authors were unable to find this writ.

15 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 34, p. 361.

16 Before the general distribution of electricity provided by the Nova Scotia Light and Power Company, a private citizen, Leonard Rhodenizer (1885-1968) of Liscomb, harnessed the Arm Brook, generating power enough to light Sherbrooke from 24 May 1931 to 24 May 1944. For this information the authors are indebted to Ruth Legge of Liscomb.

17 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 35, p. 706.

18 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Guysborough County, Book A, p. 151. For the construction of the early water-powered sawmills, see Robert W. Frame, *McDonald Brothers' Mill, Sherbrooke Village, Nova Scotia* (Nova Scotia Museum, 1974), p. 1.

Meanwhile, Umlach had continued to acquire river frontage: on 8 September 1801, Lots 3 and 10 from Stephen Hall Binney and Hibbert Newton Binney for £12.[19] In 1817 his holdings on the St. Mary's River would have measured 3,000 acres, less the 302 acres he had sold by that date. This acreage he set aside as dowries for five of his daughters, not without some reimbursement from his respective sons-in-law.

James Umlach always seemed less enterprising than his brother John, but on 2 July 1796 "James Hemlo and James McDaniel of Liscom Harbour Fishermen" purchased from Jonathan Binney the two Lots 5 and 6 (2,000 acres) on the West Cape for £10; and in 1810, James joined his brother-in-law Henry McDaniel (1787-1842) in acquiring Lot No. 4.[20]

Such collaboration between the Hemlows and the McDaniels, and at least three intermarriages, would seem to call for some history of the latter family, who on this continent had apparently settled first in Massachusetts Bay. A James McDaniel arrived as an immigrant in Boston on 15 March 1741 and families of McDaniels were later located in Barnstable.[21] The evidence points to mobile settlers of Irish descent loyal to the Crown through the American Revolution, as James (*ca.* 1752-1822) affirmed in his 1815 petition for land (see below). He also stated, in so many words, that he had settled in Nova Scotia in 1780. In documents of the 1780s relating to the settling of Loyalists in Chester on lands already allotted by the terms of the block grants of 1759 and 1763, James McDaniel, conjecturally the son of the sergeant James

19 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 34, p. 427.

20 *Ibid.*, Book 36, p. 363; Book 39, p. 198.

21 Edith Stanwood Bolton, *Emigrants to New England, 1700-1750* (Salem, Mass., 1931), lists a James McDaniel who arrived in Boston 15 Mar. 1741 and married an Elizabeth Fisher. The couple had a family of seven, including a James and a John.

The authors are grateful to Janet Johnson of Framingham, Massachusetts, for searching the Muster Rolls preserved in Military Records of the French and Indian Wars (Massachusetts State Archives, Vol. 97, #290 and 347; and Vol. 98, #407, 481). Listed in the Muster Rolls of Colonial Companies detailed to Nova Scotia in 1759-61 are a Henry McDaniel (serving in Halifax, 1760) and a James McDaniel (serving in Louisbourg, 1761), both of Barnstable, Mass. [A Henry McDaniel, widower, died in Halifax on 8 Aug. 1780 (St. Paul's).] Unfortunately the parish records of Barnstable were lost in a fire, but it seems possible that James McDaniel (*ca.* 1752-1822), a Loyalist who settled in mid-career in Nova Scotia, 1780, could have descended from the colonial soldiers above. The Christian names James and Henry occur repeatedly in the nineteenth-century McDaniel families in St. Mary's River and Sherbrooke. In later census reports these families gave their national origin as Irish.

McDaniel who fought at Louisbourg, shows as the owner of Lot 139 in Chester.[22] As a loyal British subject he would perhaps no longer have been welcome in the Boston area. In these loyalties he would have had much in common with the army man John Umlach Sr. (*ca.* 1726-1821), who in the years of the American Revolution had been enlisting men in the Chester area for Governor Legge's Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers and who, though in 1780 in the process of moving to St. Margaret's Bay, had lived with his family in East Chester since 1759, much at odds, it may be recollected, with American settlers there.[23] Chester is a possible point of contact, but McDaniel, employed like the young Umlachs (aged 22 and 21 at the time) in the "Coasting and Fishery business," could have encountered them on the fishing grounds or in the harbours or on the wharves along the coast.

Interested in trade, James McDaniel soon moved on to Halifax, where he became a successful coaster and trader with a residence on Bishop Street. An 1815 petition for land for his sons on the East side of St. Mary's River is an authoritative summary of his life:

> James McDaniel as Native Born British Subject has resided thirty five years in this Province has raised a family of Ten children Five of whom (three sons and two daughters) are resident in this Province.
>
> Your said petitioner has been almost exclusively employed in the Coasting and Fishery business. Petitioner never had any land from Government, is a dutiful and loyal subject and has uniformly endeavoured to be an industrious and useful member of Society and wishes to obtain a Grant of Land at St. Mary's River where his two eldest sons are settled that with his youngest son Thomas he may have a place of settlement in some convenient place of carrying on some seafaring concerns.[24]

The above statement was part of a joint petition in which, along with his son William, Joseph Ely and John Metcalfe, McDaniel applied successfully

22 For these Chester land grants, see PANS RG 20, Series C, Vol. 90, doc. 43; and Nova Scotia Land Grants, Old Book 6, p. 549 (mfm.). Typescripts of these block grants are appended to the Chester Township Book, PANS MG 4, Vol. 13; Lot 139 with its occupant or owner is listed in PANS RG 20, Series C, Vol. 90A, doc. 58.

23 Hemlow, "John Umlach," pp. 42-45.

24 PANS RG 20, Series A, Vol. 58.

for 1,000 acres of land on the east or Sherbrooke side of the river, the grantees receiving from 200 to 450 acres respectively.

William (1794-1859), aged 21, with plans for marriage (see genealogical table below) promised in his part of the Petition to "immediately settle and improve the land," adding that along with his brother [Henry or Thomas?] he was joint owner of "a considerable Vessel." Not wholly devoted to farming, as this early ownership betrays, he was probably, like his brothers, a trader, but later a considerable shipbuilder.[25]

On 23 October 1816, the elder McDaniel, at age 63, completed his chief purpose, perhaps, for his involvement in the above petition when he conveyed his share (250 acres) to his youngest son Thomas, which land running down to "the narrows" of the river (the head of navigation) had great commercial advantages.[26] A family man with no little business acumen, he apparently realized that trade and commerce would gravitate to the east side of the river--Sonora and Sherbrooke--and not to the West Cape, where he had acquired land in 1796.

McDaniel's earlier career cannot be documented, owing to the loss of records in the Court House of Barnstable, reportedly destroyed by fire. Born *ca.* 1752, he died 24 June 1822, aged 70, according to the records of St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax. His first wife, Elizabeth, possibly *née* Jarrett, died 14 September 1801, aged 42, also according to St. Paul's where McDaniel married secondly, 10 July 1802, Elizabeth Hooper, a widow. She died 2 September 1834, aged 83. McDaniel had ten children, all by his first wife; the first five were likely born in Massachusetts.

Issue of James and Elizabeth (Jarrett?) McDaniel:

1. Ann, b. *ca.* 1776; d. 23 Apr. 1856, aged 80, St. Mary's River; m. 15 July 1795, James **Hemloe** (*ca.* 1759-1855), of St. Mary's River.
2. Daug., m. and living in N. S., 1815 (see petition, above).
3. Unidentified.
4. Unidentified.
5. Unidentified.

25 William McDaniel built in 1841 the *Martha Ann*, a brigantine (191 tons), and in 1852 the *Telegraph* (67 tons); see Shipping Registers, Port of Halifax, Vols. 35 and 47, respectively (mfm. at PANS).

26 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., Book A. p. 83.

6. James, bapt. 22 Jan. 1785 (St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax); d. 25 Oct. 1790 (St. Paul's Ang.).
7. Henry, bapt. 5 May 1787 (St. Paul's Ang.); d. 24 Nov. 1842 (shipwrecked); m. 16 July 1811, Catherine **Umlach** (1785-1868). Gravestones in Riverside Cemetery, Sherbrooke. Eleven children.
8. Thomas, b. 27 Apr. 1792 (St. Paul's Ang.); d. pre-July 1797.
9. William, b. 28 Sept., bapt. 28 Oct. 1794 (St. Paul's Ang.); d. 1859, Sherbrooke, m. 30 Oct. 1816, Margaret **McDonald**, widow (St. Paul's Ang.). Six children.
10. Thomas, bapt. 11 July 1797 (St. Paul's Ang.); d. 25 or 26 May 1838, Halifax (murdered); m. 5 Dec. 1820, Rebecca **Umlach** (1808-1837). Seven children.

The motives of the Umlach brothers in acquiring land on the West Cape of St. Mary's were somewhat different. James (*ca.* 1759-1855), coaster and trader, was in his mid-thirties when on 15 July 1795 he married Ann McDaniel (*ca.* 1776-1856). He was ready to settle down with his young wife, establish a homestead as his father had done in East Chester and again on St. Margaret's Bay, farm, fish, trade and raise a family. James and Ann had eleven children, four daughters and seven sons. Of the latter, only two reached maturity. Of their grandsons, however, the names Squire Pride, heir to the Hemlow estate on the river, Squire "Jim" (James Hemlow of Liscomb) and James Henry McCutcheon, Esq., J.P., of Sonora, call up memories of their considerable achievements and influence in the region. Their stories, however, must await another chapter or instalment.

James's brother John (*ca.* 1758-1849), married on 6 December 1784 to Margaret Redman, already had a farm on St. Margaret's Bay and eventually a family of two sons and nine daughters. In his will, dated 7 June 1836 and probated on 16 November 1849, he states that his "daughters Elizabeth, Ann, Margaret, Rebecca, and Catherine, being five in number, have already received their full share of my Estate, real and personal, by certain lands and tenements, situate at St. Mary's River, which they already have received by deeds conveying the same to them."[27] These lands, with the active and progressive families to grow up on them, may be considered--though indirectly--as John Umlach's not inconsiderable contribution to the development of St. Mary's, Sherbrooke and Sonora.

27 Probate Court, Halifax County, Vol. 6, p. 80.

The five daughters, in order of birth, are as follows:

1. Elizabeth, bapt. 16 Oct. 1789 (St. Matthew's, Halifax); d. 2 Jan. 1867 (Lunenburg Co. deaths, PANS), bur. 4 Jan. (St. Luke's, Hubbards), a widow, aged 80; m. 10 Sept. 1807 (St. Paul's) George **Verge**, b. 4 Mar. 1783, Liverpool, cooper, d. *pre* 1867.
2. Margaret, bapt. 3 Dec. 1790 (St. Matthew's); d. 6 Mar. 1872, aged 85, widow (Halifax Co. deaths, PANS); m. (1) 15 July 1818 (St. Peter's R.C., Halifax) Francis **Saul** of Prospect, fisherman, d. *pre* Nov. 1846; m. (2) 18 Nov. 1846 (Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Prospect), Thomas **Simmonds**, widower, of Prospect; death date not found.
3. Ann, bapt. 9 Oct. 1793 (St. Matthew's); d. *pre* 28 Feb. 1878 (probate of will, Estate Papers, PANS); m. (1) 9 Dec. 1813 (St. Peter's, Halifax) Thomas **Mara**, formerly of Tipperary, Ireland, b. *ca.* 1786, d. 2 Aug. 1819 (accidentally drowned in St. Mary's River); m. (2) Thomas **Byrn** of Co. Waterford, Ireland, blacksmith, later shipbuilder, b. *ca.* 1795; d. 28 Aug. 1876, aged 81 (Guysborough Co. deaths, PANS).
4. Catherine, bapt. 1 Aug. 1795 (St. Matthew's, Halifax); d. 27 Aug. 1868 (gravestone, Riverside Cemetery, Sherbrooke); m. 16 July 1811 (St. Paul's) Henry **McDaniel**, sea captain, b. 5 May 1787 (St. Paul's), d. 24 Nov. 1842, shipwrecked, age 54 (gravestone, Riverside Cemetery).
5. Rebecca, b. 12 July 1801, bapt. 26 Sept. (St. George's); d. 5 Sept. 1837, age 39, at St. Mary's River (*Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*); m. 5 Dec. 1820 (St. Paul's) Thomas **McDaniel**, bapt. 11 July 1797 (St. Paul's), robbed and murdered 25 or 26 May 1838 in Halifax (Coroner's Inquest, 28 May 1838: RG 41, Vol. 14, 1838, #13, PANS; also *Acadian Recorder*, 3 June, p. 3, col. 2).

The dowries in lands on the St. Mary's River were by no means presented automatically on the wedding dates of the five daughters designated, but only, it would seem, if their marital plans included residence in St. Mary's and homesteading on what was then primeval forest. Exacted in addition was a considerable payment from the several husbands. In the event, only three of the daughters, Ann, Catherine and Rebecca, settled permanently on the West Cape.

The first to qualify with respect to a wedding date was the eldest daughter Elizabeth, who had married George Verge, a cooper, in 1807. He apparently

chose for the time to pursue his trade in populous centres like Halifax, where the demand for barrels was high. It was only later, perhaps in 1819, that the Verges took up residence temporarily in St. Mary's, where their sons Henry and Joseph were born, respectively, on 24 April 1819 and 8 May 1823.[28] John Umlach himself seems to have lived for a few years in the 1820 on his Lot No. 2 on the North West Arm of the river, appearing in the township records of 1825 as Harbour Master.[29] On 23 October 1822 he conveyed to his son-in-law Verge, on payment of £30, full title to 250 acres of his Lot No. 2.[30]

Verge had attempted to take some part in the township, acting in the years 1820-1825 as Overseer of the Poor, Inspector and Culler of Fish and Harbour Master. On 16 November 1825, however, he sold the land conveyed to him by his father-in-law to one James Hamilton for £40,[31] probably returning to Halifax soon after that date. On 8 June 1832, he was selling a lot near the dockyard in North Halifax for the healthy sum of £600 to no less a buyer than Samuel Cunard, merchant, of the Cunard Steam Ship Company.[32]

Conjecturally, Verge moved finally to Birchy Head, Lunenburg County where, with four of his sons (Charles, Henry, John and George) he had obtained on 10 December 1844 a land grant of 500 acres.[33] Elizabeth, a widow at her death on 2 January 1867, was buried two days later in Mill Cove, Lunenburg County.[34]

The second Umlach daughter to qualify for a dowry in lands on the West Cape was Catherine, who married Henry McDaniel in 1811. In the previous year, Henry had joined his brother-in-law "James Hemlock of Liscomb Harbor" in the purchase for £10 of Lot 4 (1,000 acres) on the West Cape,

28 The sons were baptized in St. Paul's, Halifax.

29 The township records of St. Mary's River, Guysborough County (1818-1841) are in PANS MG 4, Vol. 138.

30 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., Book A, p. 390.

31 *Ibid.*

32 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 55, pp. 202-03.

33 PANS Land Grants, Book X, p. 256.

34 PANS RG 32, Series "WB," Deaths; and registers of St. Luke's Anglican Church, Hubbards.

from Jonathan Binney's heirs.[35] The young couple would not have lacked land, for on 14 November 1812 John Umlach conveyed to them his Lot No. 3 (1,000 acres) on "the West side of St. Mary's river and all the improvements and all the shore and Islands" for £20.[36]

Living since 1796 on Lot 5 or 6 were Catherine's uncle James Umlach (or "Hemloe") and his young wife Ann *née* McDaniel, Henry's sister. On Lot 4 Henry and Catherine would thus have been within reach of relatives, though on blocks of 1,000 acres not easily. However, as one of the Surveyors of Highways (a responsibility he held in the township for the years 1823-32), Henry cut and kept open a road between his own place and Hemloe's. A young man, he also held in the township such offices as Constable (1822), Harbour Master (1823, 1825) and Overseer of the Fishery (1829).[37]

It was not to the land, however, but to the sea, ships and shipbuilding that Henry McDaniel looked for a living. With his brother Thomas he built in 1818 a two-masted vessel, the *Two Brothers* (84 tons), which they promptly sold to Fairbanks and McNab, merchants at Halifax; and in 1824 they built the *Margaret* (43 tons), Thomas transferring his share to Henry in 1830. In 1839 Henry, with his brother William, built the *Isabella* (89 tons), also sold to Fairbanks and McNab.[38]

A sea captain, he sailed as well as built ships, but there was peril at sea in such wooden vessels propelled only by the winds and at their mercy. McDaniel was sailing the *Edward and Samuel* along the Cape Breton coast on the fatal twenty-fourth of November 1842, when gales of hurricane velocity and tremendous seas dashed coastal vessels as if they were children's toys on the headlands, ledges and beaches all along the coastline. A Captain Townsend, sailing in the days following the storm from Charlottetown to Sydney *via* the Strait of Canso, described what he saw:

> Saw a schooner of about 60 or 70 tons, on shore near the Gut of Canso, totally stripped, with some hundreds of [barrels] lying beside her on the beach: A little

35 See No. 20.

36 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 40, p. 230.

37 Township records, PANS MG 4, Vol. 138.

38 Shipping Registers, Port of Halifax, Vols. 1-15 (mfm. at PANS).

> to windward of her on the south side...a shallop (name unknown) laden with produce--a total wreck. Another vessel, the Drake, of St. John's, N.F., was lying in the Gut of Canso, having lost her fore-topmast and jib boom, and sustained other damage. A new schooner of 80 or 90 tons, was blown from her anchorage at Crappo Bay, above the Gut of Canso--no person on board.[39]

The scene suggests what may have happened to the *Edward and Samuel*, "totally lost," as reported in the *Acadian Recorder* of 17 December, "at Ingonish near Sydney...all hands drowned, 7, including some passengers." On Henry McDaniel's gravestone in the Riverside Cemetery, Sherbrooke, is the engraving, "drowned at Ingonish, C.B., 24 Nov. 1842, age 54." Who can argue with the ocean? a hurricane? the forces of nature? To meet such shattering disasters were patience and uncomplaining endurance, two of the chief characteristics of the women of the Eastern Shore.

Of Henry McDaniel's twelve children (eight daughters and four sons born in the years 1812-1833), the eldest son James (1814-1892), master mariner and trader, left St. Mary's River early and set up on the Halifax waterfront as a dealer in coal and wood. By 1857 he had a dwelling on Bedford Row. He had two wharves, one extending five hundred feet, the other four hundred feet into the harbour. Needed in his carrying trade were coastal vessels or cargo ships which at times he procured from his brothers or cousins on St. Mary's River, thus giving encouragement and impetus to shipbuilding there. Apart from this input, the story of his mercantile adventures, disastrous in the end, belongs not to St. Mary's but to Halifax.[40]

Closely associated, on the other hand, with the development of Sherbrooke was the second son of Henry and Catherine, Captain John McDaniel (1816-1882). Along with his brother James, he ran a regular packet--and later, two schooners--between Halifax and Sherbrooke, but soon finding sufficiently diverse opportunities in the rapidly-growing village, he spent, as he testified in 1865, forty years of his life there.[41]

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39 *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 26 Nov. 1842, p. 3, col. 5, as reprinted from the Cape Breton *Spirit of the Times*.

40 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 150, p. 218; Book 156, p. 646; Book 172, p. 157; Book 174, p. 367, and Book 211, p. 526.

McDaniel also owned the *Trial* (40 tons), the *Experiment* (46 tons), the *Unity* (6 tons) and the *Prince* (64 tons); Shipping Registers, Port of Halifax, Vols. 9, 11, 10 and 18, respectively (mfm. at PANS).

41 As defendant in a dispute with one David McCurdy over land, Supreme Court, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., 1865, PANS RG 39, Series C(GU), # 91.

In the proceedings of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, 1852-1877, he appears repeatedly as a Pilot on the river. Interested in the regulation of trade and the administration of justice, he served from time to time as Inspector of Weights and Measures, Fish Inspector, Beef and Pork Inspector, Coal Measurer and Trustee of Booms. In his later years he was a Trustee, then a Commissioner, of the Court House and the Jail. In 1853, 1864 and 1870 he sat on the Grand Jury, emerging in the 1870s as John McDaniel, Esquire, Magistrate, and later as Judge of the Court of Probate.[42]

He established two ferry services, the first on 19 February 1862, across Wine Harbour to the Gold Diggings there (the Shore Lead), and the second across St. Mary's River *en route* to Goldenville. On 12 December 1839 he had purchased for £10 from his grandfather John Umlach, a wharf lot on the North West Arm of the river--a part of Umlach's Lot No. 2;[43] now, in the boom economy of the sixties, he established a landing dock there as the nearest point by water to Goldenville, where lucrative gold mines were then opening, arranging in addition that a road be opened to the wharf from the main road to Goldenville. He then initiated a ferry service running every half-hour to this new dock from his wharf in Sherbrooke. The size of the ferry boats and the scows, the rates and the schedule (every half-hour from 5. a.m. to 9 p.m.) were strictly regulated in a special session of the Court of the Peace on 18 February 1867:

4 cents per person
children 2 cents
Oxen and Cattle 20 cents
Horses 20 cents
Light wagon 12 1/2
Horse, light wagon and driver 25 cents.[44]

His most lasting bequest, however, an amenity to Sherbrooke and a boon to the wayfarer, was McDaniel's Hotel, established around 1863. Partly intact, it is open to this day as a restaurant in the restored Sherbrooke Village.

42 PANS RG 34-322, Series P, Vol. 1.

43 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., Book B, p. 387.

44 PANS RG 34-322, Series P, Vol. 1.

Linking up his operations, he would send a well-appointed carriage to his ferry wharf to meet guests--mining engineers, managerial types, prospectors and speculators--and bring them in style and comfort to his hotel. To greet them was the long, hospitable verandah--still there, with its suggestion of hitching posts--and through the open door, the soft glow of lamplight under cranberry glass and the gleam of silver on white linen tablecloths. His holdings also included a two-storey general store, a stable and a large wagon shed. He could send commodious equipages to his wharf to meet heavily laden packet boats from Halifax and even the occasional schooner from the West Indies. From his wharf and store, he ran a delivery service all the way to Antigonish and a livery service as well.

There was a kind of largesse in all he did--a man, it was said, to fill a cheerful glass to the brim and running over. Though principally a landsman, he could entertain mariners in his hotel with accounts of the perils he had known at sea. Imaginative and active, he had the business acumen to meet the new age and to make others comfortable in it.[45]

His brother Henry (1820-1871), the third son of Henry and Catherine McDaniel, apparently taking full note of how his father, uncles and others built ships, would become a master shipwright in the age of the tall ships. In 1854 he built the schooner *Sultan* (44 tons).[46] In 1859 he acquired from James McNab, for £150, a river lot of ten acres in the Village of Sherbrooke adjacent to the "Ship yard lot" of the Cumminger Brothers,[47] who in the 1850s and 1860s were building barques and brigantines and selling them in England through the agency of Peter Sutherland of Liverpool.

In the sixties, it is said, the Cummingers built on an average two such vessels a year, and one of the master shipwrights in their yards was Henry McDaniel. Their greatest triumph must have been the *Regina*, a barque of 599 tons, launched in 1866.[48] There are few things in art or nature more

45 The authors are grateful to Keith Gallant of Sherbrooke for allowing them to read the corrected typescript of his authoritative study, "Sherbrooke Hotel/Sherbrooke Village," to which many of these details are owing.

46 Shipping Registers, Port of Halifax, Vol. 51 (mfm. at PANS).

47 Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., Book D, p. 227.

48 Blakeley, "Sherbrooke," p. 29; Shipping Registers, Port of Halifax, Vol. 52 E.

graceful than a tall ship in full sail. A framed watercolour of the ship, mentioned in the will of Samuel M. D. Cumminger, may be seen today in Cumminger's store as restored in Sherbrooke Village.

The achievements of the McDaniels have brought our story forward over half a century, since 16 July 1811 when John Umlach presented his daughter Catherine with her dowry in land on the St. Mary's River. The third daughter so to qualify was Ann, who had married Thomas Mara, an innkeeper in Halifax, son of John Mara and Johanna *née* Daly of County Tipperary, Ireland. Still in John Umlach's possession was Lot 10 of Binneyland, one thousand acres of wild forest at the extremity of the West Cape. Facing the open ocean, it was bounded on the west by Gegoggin Bay and on the east by the estuary of the St. Mary's River. This land Umlach conveyed on 17 October 1815 to three of his daughters, Ann Mara, Margaret and Rebecca in equal shares, the price exacted being £10 each. Margaret, however, whose future life--perhaps already planned--would lie not in St. Mary's but in Prospect, Halifax County, transferred her share to her brother-in-law, Thomas Mara, in an indenture of the following day.[49]

Still in their twenties, the Maras must have faced a daunting task in clearing away forest growth on the rock-bound promontory and in finding a living, for which the salmon fishery on their shores would have offered succour. The Irish Mara could have had little experience with the perils of the Atlantic coast, the winds, the surge and swell of the sea on such an exposed headland. On 2 August 1819, at the age of 33, he was drowned in tending his salmon net near Trunk Rock, not far from his home.[50] The couple had had three children, all baptized in St. Peter's Church in Halifax within days of their birth: Margaret (11 October 1814), Johanna (17 July 1816) and John (3 July 1818).[51]

49 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 42, pp. 110-11.

50 Jordan, "History of St. Mary's River and Sonora," p. 3.

51 Of the Mara children, Margaret m. Thomas Leslie of Halifax. Johanna, probably adopted by one of her mother's relatives in St. Margaret's Bay, m. 21 May 1835 Edward Moore, son of John and Elizabeth Moore *née* Wagner. Johanna d. 20 Nov. 1858; *Acadian Recorder*, 11 Dec. 1858, p. 2, col. 3. Neither dates of marriage nor dates of death have been found for John Mara (1818-*fl.* 1853), but apparently he married and brought up a family on the extensive lands inherited from his father on the Gegoggin side of the West Cape. In deeds and similar documents, the original name Mara appears as Marr, Megr, Meagher and finally Maher.

Still in her twenties, a widow with a young family, Ann married secondly, 10 December 1821 at St. Mary's, Halifax, Thomas Byrn of Waterford, Ireland, blacksmith, who lived to the age of 81, dying on the West Cape on 28 August 1876. Their four sons were baptized in the Roman Catholic parish of St. Peter, Halifax: James (24 July 1822), Thomas (28 July 1824), Patrick (17 October 1831) and Edward Henry (21 July 1834). Born also was a daughter Catherine *(ca.* 1826-1872), later the wife of Nelson Nickerson *(ca.* 1820-1896). Brought up on the outer extremity of the West Cape, the Byrn sons and their issue turned out to be a hardy, skilful and highly motivated race of sea captains, shipbuilders, traders, merchants, farmers, lighthouse keepers and hotel keepers, well known and respected for generations along the Eastern Shore.

Byrn, the father, was a blacksmith, a trade that depended partly on vehicular traffic, horse shoeing and repairs to carts, wagons and sleighs. To attract this and other custom, the smithy had to be accessible. Espoused to a mariner's daughter with a dowry of some 333 acres of forest on the extreme end of the West Cape of St. Mary's, to which there were as yet no roads, Byrn must have had to review his situation. On the wooded peninsula bounded on three sides by water, he turned with great adaptability and capability to that element, emerging successively in census reports as fisherman, but chiefly as shipbuilder, and only later in his life as a farmer.

For wooden ships there was material enough at hand and space more than sufficient for shipyards. Ann was a true helpmate. Brought up on St. Margaret's Bay, where she had seen her father and grandfather build ships, she undertook, according to family history, to carve models for the vessels that her husband and sons later built, in early years even sewing the sails.[52] The eldest son James (1822-1901) was a shipwright and so also, by turns, was the second son Thomas (1824-1903), sea captain, and in his late years, a farmer. According to the Halifax Registry of Shipping, the ships built by the Byrn family included the following:

Nancy,	40 tons,	1828;	*California,*	72 tons,	1850;
Three Sisters,	41 tons,	1831;	*Amazon,*	86 tons,	1856;
Nancy,	31 tons,	1837;	*Melvina,*	88 tons,	1866.[53]
Emperor,	26 tons,	1847;			

52 Jordan, "History of St. Mary's River and Sonora," p. 3.

53 Shipping Registers, Port of Halifax, Vols. 18, 21, 29, 42, 46, 51 and 52 E (mfm. at PANS).

On the southeast or the Gegoggin side of the Cape is Byrne Point, probably the location of the Byrn shipyard and of the Byrn homesteads. Along the Gegoggin side of the Cape, as part of Lot No. 10, are the lands of Thomas Mara or Marr (*ca.* 1843-1926), Ann's grandson by her first marriage.

Available in the inventories included in the elaborate census returns of 1861 and 1871 are surveys of the basic industries--agriculture, lumbering, fishing, manufacturing and mining. For the agricultural survey, the farmer was interrogated on the number of acres he owned, had cultivated and the yield; the number of domestic animals and the yield; farm equipment and the number of buildings on his lands.[54]

The growing season on the West Cape was short and the land difficult to cultivate because of its "stoniness" (boulders and rocks of all sizes on the surface of the soil and beneath it),[55] but by 1861 the elder Byrn, turned farmer, had managed to clear and cultivate four of his 333 acres. The yield was twelve tons of hay, twelve bushels of oats and twenty of turnips. He had thirty sheep, two pigs and ten head of cattle, including four milch cows. His wife Ann, whose province would normally encompass the dairy and the loom, had prepared for sale one hundred pounds of butter and thirty-three yards of homespun. Thomas still had a fishing boat and had salted down six barrels of herring and five of salmon. Byrn's modest homestead could be cited perhaps as typical of farms on the Eastern Shore. Running down to river, lake, harbour or ocean, and bordered on three sides by the dark greenery of spruce or fir, or the autumn glory of maple and birch, they were often scenically beautiful, but in the economic terms of later years impracticable.

Of the Byrn sons, Thomas (1824-1903), though still bearing the title sea captain, could make by 1871 a most impressive report statistically with respect to animal husbandry and cultivation of the land. Of the seven hundred acres in his possession by then, he had cleared and cultivated fifteen, having ten in hayfield, three in pasturage and one in root crops, the yield being twenty tons of hay, twenty bushels of potatoes and eleven of turnips. He had

54 The authors are indebted to Keith Parker Smith for his careful transcription of relevant inventories from the census reports of 1861 and 1871.

55 See J. D. Hilchey *et al.*, *Soil Survey Guysborough County, Nova Scotia* (Report No. 14, Canada and Nova Scotia Departments of Agriculture, Truro, 1964), pp. 25-27, and accompanying geological maps. Because of its "stoniness" the Eastern Shore was decidedly not farming country, but with inordinate labour it was possible to grow forage crops, root crops and fruit trees.

two working oxen, four milch cows, thirty sheep and five pigs, from which animal husbandry he had for sale three hundred and fifty pounds of butter, ninety pounds of wool, also mutton and pork from the slaughter of three sheep and four pigs. With a vessel and a crew of five, he had in 1861 fished for cod, the catch being one hundred and twenty quintals; and in 1871 with one hundred and fifty fathoms of nets and seines, he had caught and salted down for his own use three barrels of mackerel and six of salmon.

From these statistics for only two of the Byrn households, one can form some idea of their appearance in the 1870s. The enumerator unfortunately neglected the count of boats and buildings (dwelling houses, barns, etc.), but there must have been at least four Byrn or Mara homes and, on the shore, boats, wharves and 'slips' (poled landing places), also fish-houses in which to store nets, oars, sails, fish oil and barrels of pickled fish. Fish flakes would have been needed on which to dry the cod, barns to shelter the cattle and store hay, sheepfolds, pig-pens, a wood-house and probably a hen-house, though no federal accounting was required of the chickens. In the pastoral scene of summer, one can imagine cattle and sheep grazing on broad fields running down to the bay or ocean. One could look at that creation and say that it was good.

All this from the resources of land and sea, the collaboration of man and beast, and intensive manual labour according to the seasons. From the wilds, blueberries; in the old choppings, raspberries; in the bogs, cranberries and bake apples; from the hard sand-beach, clams; in the forest, partridges, deer and other game; in the coves along the shore, wild ducks and shell birds; in the fields, buttercups, daisies, blackberries and wild strawberries (prized by French gourmet chefs to this day). Why should all this have passed away?

In answer to this query, economists, sociologists, and in particular climatologists and geologists, could supply--and probably have supplied--reasons and causes for the eventual desertion of the West Cape and others like it on the East Coast. On the eastern side of the river were the exciting arrivals of sailing ships from near and far, wharves, roads, markets, shops, the busy throngs of men, churches and schools. These were powerful magnets. By the twentieth century, third generations of the families (Mara, Byrn, McDaniel and Pride) were prosperously settled on the east side of the river, that is, in Sonora and Sherbrooke. After 1870, when a solid bridge was built across the river near Sherbrooke, traffic turned along a road (now Highway 107) *en route* to Halifax, paying no heed to the ferry, the ferry road, or the road to Gegoggin Bay, thereby accenting still further the isolation of the West Cape.

The youngest Byrn was Edward Henry (1834-1885), for years a Pilot on the river but appointed in 1880 the first lighthouse keeper on Wedge Island, about two miles from shore. To this lonely post he took his family and also, in an attempt to simulate normal life, a dog, a flock of hens and a cow, as in his time the island was large enough to graze one animal. Within five years he died of pneumonia on the Wedge, his widow raising a white flag as a signal of distress. A white stone marks his grave in a burial ground on the Cape, now partly overgrown with trees as the forest reclaims the inroads of the early settlers.

The Burns family kept the Wedge light, it is said, for thirty years. First Edward's widow, Piercy *née* Dickson, tended the light and operated a fog horn by hand, warning mariners to steer clear of the dangerous shore. She was succeeded by her son, William H. Burns (1870-1911). On the edge of a continent, the outer islands, constantly buffeted by winds, tides and heavy seas, are often inaccessible. It must have been in calm weather, therefore, that William, aged 23, courted Katherine (*ca.* 1873-1943), aged 20, daughter of Seth Crooks (*ca.* 1829-1911), keeper of the Liscomb light on Crooks Island. The wedding took place on 19 July 1893 when, as the story goes, the rising winds and pounding surf marooned the wedding party for a full three days.[56]

Thomas Byrn died on 28 August 1876 at age 81 and his widow Ann on a date that must have preceded the probate of her will, 5 February 1878. Her son Patrick (1831-1900), still spelling his name Byrn and faithfully a Roman Catholic, was residuary legatee and executor of the will, dated 17 April 1875.[57] In this document, Ann mentioned her daughter Margaret Mara (b. 1814), who in 1865 had become the wife of Thomas Leslie of Halifax; her deceased daughter Catherine Nickerson *née* Byrn (*ca.* 1826-1872); and her deceased sister Rebecca McDaniel *née* Umlach (1801-1837). Ann's will, thoughtful and just, seems the reflection of a strong, direct, decisive and upright character. Apart from her lands, as all will agree, she left in her family and their descendants a strong and lasting legacy to Sonora and Sherbrooke.

56 Jordan, "History of St. Mary's River and Sonora," p. 3. Her daughter, Ruby (Mrs. Victor Kaiser of Sonora), has kindly sent to the authors a snapshot of Edward's gravestone, as well as the story of the wedding party on the Wedge.

57 Probate Court, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., Book F, p. 530.

Rebecca (1801-1837) was the third Umlach daughter to settle on St. Mary's River. She married, 5 December 1820, Thomas McDaniel, master mariner, shipbuilder and trader. The youngest son of James McDaniel, he was well supplied with land, his father having conveyed to him on 28 October 1816 the half of the "undivided moiety" of Lots No. 5 and 6 on the West Cape that together with James Hemloe he had bought in 1796; and as well, on 24 October 1816 an advantageous 250 acres on the east side of the river near the "narrows."[58] On the latter lot, though he had other lands as his probate documents show,[59] Thomas had constructed, as most convenient for trade and commerce, a wharf, a general store and a dwelling house. He had little need of Rebecca's dowry, 1,000 acres on the West Cape.[60]

A man apparently of good standing in the township and later the district, Thomas was entrusted with such civic offices as school trustee, assessor and collector of taxes and commissioner of the jail. Among the customers at his store were such prominent townsmen as the Archibalds and the Cummingers.[61]

His interest and chief sources of income were shipbuilding, trading and merchandising. As already noted, in 1818 he and his brother Henry had built and sold the *Two Brothers* (84 tons) and in 1824, the *Margaret* (43 tons). In 1825 he was Master of the *Little George*, a prize ship of 68 tons captured from the Americans in the War of 1812 and sold by the Court of Vice-Admiralty in 1813 for £120. In 1828 he was sailing a schooner, the *Velocity* (91 tons).[62] The stirring waterfront was evidently his milieu.

Money could be made in building, selling and trading ships, and as well in carrying local cargoes of fish, beef or lumber, for example, to Halifax and returning with fishing supplies, foodstuffs and manufactured goods procured wholesale in Halifax and retailed locally in one's own shop, preferably built on or near one's own wharf, for instance, in Sherbrooke. Thomas had built up just

58 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 43, p. 16; Registry of Deeds, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., Book A, p. 83.

59 Probate Court, Sherbrooke, Guysborough Co., 1878, Estate Papers, Vol. 1, Mc 135.

60 Registry of Deeds, Halifax Co., Book 42, pp. 110-11.

61 Township records, PANS MG 4, Vol. 138; PANS RG 34-322, Series P, Vol. 1.

62 Shipping Registers, Port of Halifax, Vols. 1-15 (mfm. at PANS).

such an enterprise, as his probate file will show. Such ventures require, however, not only business acumen and seamanship, but also alertness and sobriety.

All was going well for the young family, consisting in 1831 of six children--four sons and two daughters.[63] Then came two killing blows: first, the death of Rebecca on 5 September 1837 at the age of thirty-six; then, only eight months later on 25 or 26 May 1838, the violent death of Thomas in Halifax, at the age of forty-one. On his usual business trip to the city in the early spring, he was set upon, robbed and murdered. His body, partly decomposed, was found "in the woods near the entrance to the gates of Belmont," the North West Arm estate of John Howe Jr. At the inquest held on 3 June, no conclusion other than the above could be suggested.[64] Life on the waterfront was indeed dangerous. Thomas's son Thomas II (1827-1849) was drowned off Fairbanks's Wharf in Halifax on 15 September 1849, aged 22.[65] Many master mariners survived the perils of the sea and of waterfront life; others, like the brothers Henry and Thomas McDaniel and his son perished "before their time."

This and other biographical sketches in this short article are by no means exhaustive or complete. Of the descendants of John Umlach and James McDaniel, much is yet to be recorded; but the efforts and characteristic pursuits of the earliest generations of a family in a region may be taken perhaps as illustrative of its ways of life, resources and historical development--some of its successes, some of its failures.

John Umlach died in 1849. If he could have lived only two decades longer, to make one of his periodic visits to St. Mary's, he would have seen amazing developments there--great log booms on the river, and sawmills and shipyards large and small along its banks. Mariner and something of a shipbuilder himself, he would have marvelled at his grandson's construction of tall ships, graceful barques and brigantines, large on the river but fading

63 With two exceptions, the children were baptized in St. Paul's Ang., Halifax, as follows: James David, b. 1 Oct. 1822; Margaret Isabel, b. 1 Aug. 1824; Thomas, b. 13 Apr. 1827 (bapt. St. George's Ang., Halifax); Charles Malcolm Knodel, b. 23 June 1828; John Hemlow, bapt. 2 Sept. 1831; and Anna, m. Hugh Fraser of Glenelg, 4 Mar. 1858 (*Presbyterian Witness*, XI, 10, p. 39), d. 1914. Charles and John, said to be mutes, lived on the West Cape and worked as coopers in Sherbrooke, appearing in the census of 1871, aged 60 and 62 respectively.

64 *Acadian Recorder*, 2 June 1838, and Coroner's Inquest, 1838, Halifax, PANS RG 41, Series C, Vol. 14, #13.

65 Coroner's Inquest, 1849, Halifax, PANS RG 41, Series C, Vol. 23, #24.

into the horizon as, loaded with lumber, they entered the open ocean *en route* to England. On the high hills or escarpment above his land on the North West Arm of the river, gold mines had opened with powerful crushers pounding out in 1867, the peak year, 9,463 ounces of gold,[66] a far cry from the nuggets his granddaughter had carried home in her apron six or seven years previously. At the wharf lot that he had sold to another grandson in 1839, a busy ferry docked every half-hour, the chief link between Sherbrooke and Goldenville for heavy traffic before a substantial bridge was built across the river in 1870. Down river was his brother James's fine homestead, by 1855 Squire Pride's place and site of another ferry--but James's story and that of his descendants must wait for another instalment.

What was John Umlach's contribution to the area? First, vision and good judgement, then the hard-headed encouragement of settlement and the provision of a land base for his posterity and for developments yet to come.

66 Malcolm, *Gold Fields of Nova Scotia*, p. 226.

Book Reviews and Notes

Allen B. Robertson

Atlantic Canadian Imprints, 1801-1820: A Bibliography, compiled by Patricia Lockhart Fleming. ISBN 0-8020-5872-8. University of Toronto Press, 1991. xviii + 189 pp., illustrated, cloth, $95.00.

The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760 to 1990, edited by G. A. Rawlyk. ISBN 1-5501-142-6. Welch Publishing, Burlington, Ont., 1990. 254 pp., paper, $19.95.

Gingerbread & House Finish of Every Description, by Barbara R. Robertson. ISBN 0-919680-33-X. Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, N. S., 1990. 70 pp., illustrated, paper, $3.95.

Guide to Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799, by Luca Codignola. ISBN 0-660-13758-5. National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, 1991. xiii + 250 pp., paper, $29.95.

The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950, edited by Ruth Holmes Whitehead. ISBN 0-921054-83-1. Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, N. S., 1991. xiv + 385 pp., illustrated, paper, $17.95.

Rebels & Royalists: The Lives and Material Culture of New Brunswick's Early English-Speaking Settlers 1758-1783, by M. A. MacDonald. ISBN 0-920483-37-2. New Ireland Press, Fredericton, N. B., 1990. 137 pp., illustrated, paper, $12.95.

It is the task of the historian to represent to the reader an organized picture of the past with critical judgement or analysis, and most importantly, in as vivid a fashion as the word either written or spoken can convey. The remoter in time the world depicted the greater the challenge to make that era comprehensible to the modern mind. The historian has to re-enter the world of a particular society to understand its symbols, political structures and machinations, religious outlook, family values and physical setting. In this fashion he hopes to depict as close to actuality as possible what is now a non-existent world. This reconstruction must be made intelligible to present-day audiences, whether the society under study lived two generations or 200 generations ago.

In the second number of the *Review*, Philip Hartling offered advice on how to approach the re-creation process in writing community histories. "A Microcosm within the Canadian Mosaic" (1981) covered such topics as early settlement, description, livelihoods (farming, fishing, mining and shipbuilding were major topics), religious history, education, the temperance movement, and finally, collective biography and genealogy. The last was vital in his consideration since history is human activities; it is not autonomous events devoid of a human setting. Gordon Leff, in his book *History and Social Theory* (Garden City, N. Y., 1971), observed that history is the product of the human mind at work, whether creating an institution or a building. Another historian, John Demos, sought to re-enter the past world of seventeenth-century Plymouth plantation in a manner which one can recognize as a blend of Hartling's and Leff's approaches. He studied the physical environment (houses and furnishings), the historical geography of the colony (including property boundaries), civil laws, church life and private documents such as letters and diaries. Using this approach, Demos tried to see how the family in colonial New England functioned (hence the title of his book, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Plantation*, 1970).

These three writers show a concern to make sense of the past and offer vivid illustrations, as if the events now past were still living experience. Each of the following publications in their varied ways endeavour to re-create a portrait of Nova Scotian or Maritime history, or provides the necessary tools to do so. One of the exceptional books of the past year has been Barbara Robertson's *Gingerbread & House Finish of Every Description*. Part of the Nova Scotia Museum's "Peeper" series, *Gingerbread*'s author has given us a fascinating guide to home construction and ornamentation in the Victorian era. The profuse photographs and prints enhance a thoughtful text accessible to young and old readers alike.

Anyone who has taken time to marvel at the rich moulding, spindles and shingling of nineteenth-century houses may have wondered how these were constructed. Robertson takes the reader on an excursion tour through pattern books to see the house designs which inspired our Victorian ancestors. She builds on that foundation by using prints which display the new mass-production wood-turning and cutting machines available to owners of woodworking factories and mills in the province. Fortunately for researchers, the 1800s was the age of using mass media print to advertise goods and businesses. Provincial directories and letterhead lithographs provide

Robertson with an excellent visual source for *Gingerbread*. Finally, the photographs (most of which are of surviving Victorian homes) show 'house-watchers' what to look out for as they walk the streets of their home towns or tour the Nova Scotia countryside.

The "Peeper" series is meant to be both entertaining and educational. *Gingerbread* fulfills these objectives admirably. There is a glossary to explain the mysterious terminology of house construction which every non-specialist can appreciate. A style is not a fashion statement; it is the vertical pieces of wood on the exterior of a frame such as a window sash. The pediment is that decorative trim over windows or doors, often in a triangular shape. Then there are the several joints, grooves and machines described in the glossary for ready reference. The more ardent house-watchers will want to check the list of woodworking factories and mills in Nova Scotia as arranged county by county.

Historians have in Robertson's *Gingerbread* a handbook to use in describing the social aspirations of Victorian Nova Scotians. The age of mass production lowered prices and made enhancement of one's home a far more accessible means of self-expression; the elite were no longer the sole possessors of taste and material higher culture. Multiple manufacture of ornamental shingles or window trim did not mean that clones were dotting the province. The availability of a wide variety of wooden forms permitted 'mix and match' to satisfy the wants of the individual home-owner. Barbara Robertson does not go into the shift from formal Greek and Roman architecture to neo-gothic, Indian and Byzantine building styles. These certainly played an important part in the proliferation of design books which displayed everything from so-called "cottages" (mock tudor and anglo-saxon) to miniature Italianate castles and Chinese retreats. One could say that the British Empire inspired cross-cultural exchange in architecture-at least in Britain and North America.

Gingerbread's value would be underrated if it were not mentioned that the reader has access through its pages to good examples of technological change. Improved machinery permitted woodworking interests to expand into small factories. This change increased the need for more labourers, and promoted the forest industry in the province. The visual landscape itself was moulded quite literally in the woodworking mills of each county.

Barbara Robertson has helped us to compose a picture of the past through an examination of domestic architecture. In a different medium, Patricia

Fleming provides the basic material to examine aspects of Georgian Atlantic Canada through the printed word. *Atlantic Canadian Imprints: A Bibliography 1801-1820* provides a detailed list of works published on the east coast. The bibliographic format for titles, collation, paper and typography are meant to assist specialists. To consider the book as solely a bibliographer's guide, however, is to downplay its usefulness for other purposes. Wherever possible Patricia Fleming has given details on the publisher/printer, the author(s) and content. Although the reliability of this last information depends on the sources used, such as the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, it nonetheless enables the reader to appreciate the place of a particular item in Atlantic Canada's literary heritage.

Government generated the bulk of printed material between 1800 and 1820. Formal accounts of trials, journals of the colonial houses of assembly and compilations of laws head the list. The age of provincial almanacs was under way too; each of these annual publications is a treasure house of historical information. Sermons, funeral texts and doctrinal works found a ready audience. Here and there one comes upon an item which was a forerunner of what D. C. Harvey called the "Intellectual Awakening" of Nova Scotia. Among the latter can be cited Thomas McCulloch's *The Nature and Uses of a Liberal Education* (1819), and the satirical *Triumphale, a Poetical History of the Successive Triumphs of the Recorder over the Free Press; In Four Cantos* (1820).

Seventy-three pages of text in *Atlantic Canadian Imprints* are devoted to Nova Scotia. The reader would be mistaken in believing that the works cited were the only ones read by Nova Scotians in these years. Instead, the imprints reflect topics deemed useful or instructive for readers, and works which authors or publishers were willing to invest money in. Most of the publications were in English, although a German almanac and at least one French imprint remind us of the diverse ethnic background of Nova Scotians. The genre and subject index will be the most fruitful introduction for the general reader to the types of literature available to be examined on a wide range of topics. Music, hymns and fast day sermons compete with benevolent society reports, Freemasons tracts and pastoral letters. The advantage of *Atlantic Canadian Imprints* lies as well in its making possible comparative surveys of what was being printed at the same time in each of the four east coast colonies. Finally, the name (author) index giving lists of publications ascribed to each writer shows who were the more prolific authors of the period.

The schemata used in Fleming's bibliography lend themselves to another means of reconstructing the history of a given era. The War of 1812 generated legal and general works which were available to us long after the memory of that conflict had faded. Two examples will suffice. In 1813, Halifax publisher Anthony Holland printed copies of *The Substance of a Judgement, Delivered in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, at Halifax...in the Case of the Little-Joe, Fairweather, Master, upon some questions relating to droits of Admiralty.* As Fleming briefly notes, the case arose over conflict of interest between the crown and Liverpool, N. S., privateers in a captured American vessel. The *Liverpool Packet*'s crew lost out to the crown in the jurisdictional dispute. The reader is alerted to the fact that not all privateering ventures resulted in handsome profits for those directly involved. That same year, Halifax Methodist lay preacher, poet and shopkeeper Thomas Cowdell paid for the printing of Elijah Parish's discourse given in Byfield, Massachusetts. Cowdell got away with printing an American's work because it condemned the war with Britain. The preface was written by Cowdell himself to explain that point. In spite of active privateering along the Atlantic coast, the war-fever in the New England states and the Maritimes did not burn as high as in the interior around the Great Lakes. Parish and Cowdell were not alone in denouncing the conflict. The foregoing two publications more than demonstrate the usefulness of Patricia Fleming's contribution to historical research.

Another source-book for historical reconstruction takes us into religious activity in pre-1800 America. Luca Codignola has opened up archival materials previously underused and largely unavailable to North American scholars. *The Guide to Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799* gives the reader a succinct account of Vatican repositories which possess material relevant to colonial America. Codignola rightly points out that manuscripts (letters, reports) on North America, especially Canada, are meagre compared to European materials. What has survived, nonetheless, shows that even the periphery could reach, and expect replies from, the centre of the Catholic world. One can trace jurisdictional disputes among bishops, recruitment problems in Nova Scotia (too few priests, too many people too widely scattered) and reports on competing Protestant churches and governments.

It should be brought to the attention of the reader that *de Propaganda Fide* must be used in conjunction with a set of microfiche (text in English or

French) available from the National Archives. The printed text is primarily an index to the latter. This reviewer has used both, and can state that the index-fiche combination is "user friendly." Each letter or report is set out in a standard format with a synopsis of contents; moreover, each item is internally cross-referenced. It is possible in some cases, therefore, to trace the initial letter through reception at Rome, commentary, and final outgoing report. The manuscripts themselves contain comments on the Acadians, aboriginal peoples, various Gaelic-and English-speaking immigrants to what became Canada, as well as unexpected observations.

Among the items to be found on fiche using *de Propaganda Fide* is a 1757 letter from Pierre de la Rue, abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, Vicar-General of the bishop of Québec, to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide. The former expressed doubts "...concerning the formula of baptism administered to the Micmac in Canada, as submitted to the Sorbonne." The Prefect forwarded la Rue's concern to the Holy Office. That one point of doctrine and its implementation were crucial matters worthy of Rome's weighty judgement. The letter provides mid-eighteenth century evidence, too, which confirms a Micmac presence beyond Acadia (probably the upper northwest of New Brunswick, near present-day Québec). Another item of potential significance for Nova Scotian history arises out of correspondence during the American Revolution. This letter, dated 20 March 1770, was sent to Propaganda Fide from the archbishop of Tyana [in Germany]. In it the archbishop stated that, "...former Jesuit Pieret asks for faculties as missionary in America. With the consent of the Margrave of Ansbach-Bayreuth, the bishop of Würzburg...has appointed Pieret chaplain of the c. 100 Catholics that are among the troops soon to go to America." Pieret was also to minister to Catholics in the Hessen, Braunschweig and Württenberg troops. It usually has been assumed that disbanded German mercenaries who were in the service of Britain during the Revolution and settled in Nova Scotia were all Lutherans. *de Propaganda Fide* alerts researchers to the possibility that some of those who came to Nova Scotia may have been Roman Catholics instead.

Codignola's *de Propaganda Fide*, with its excellent bibliography and informative commentary, should serve to accelerate new work in the field of colonial Catholic studies in Canada. The fact that the microfiche is available in English or French means that anyone unfamiliar with Latin, Italian and other ecclesiastical languages still can gain access to records of the oldest continuous "European" institution, similarly to Anglicans consulting records

at Lambeth Palace. It is a guide long overdue to join the studies of Atlantic Canadian Catholicism by Halifax native Terrence Murphy (Memorial University).

More in line with the approach of Robertson's *Gingerbread* in the use of material culture to explore our heritage is the monograph by M. A. MacDonald. *Rebels & Royalists* combines historical essays with surviving artifacts of the 1758-1783 period in a dual fashion. Surviving material items — furniture, homes, paintings and firearms — are used to illustrate pioneer life. More than that, these artifacts speak directly to the present day as creations or cherished belongings of colonial forebearers. Status, utility, implements of peace and war—each aspect is reflected in the items examined by the New Brunswick Museum and the author in their quest to authenticate and document the provenance of these colonial treasures. MacDonald has provided in ten chapters detailed accounts of various immigrant groups who came to old north western Nova Scotia (New Brunswick prior to its creation in 1784 as a separate government). New England Planters, Yorkshire families, Pennsylvania Germans and the residual Acadian population all left an impact on the land which even the Loyalist influx could not wholly overwhelm.

It is astutely pointed out by MacDonald that the old Nova Scotia of the interior had a far different history from the peninsula during the Revolutionary years. The Eddy Rebellion, privateer maraudings, American rebel and Indian campaigns and retaliatory British expeditions left few settled areas unscathed. As a consequence, much of the material culture of the pre-1783 era has been lost to posterity through the looting and burning of homes. Nova Scotia proper, by contrast, is almost embarrassingly rich in Planter artifacts.

MacDonald in *Rebels & Royalists* shows how textual documentation and the artifactual record can support each other in interpreting early New Brunswick history. Photographs and explanatory notes for items surveyed run as a parallel text to the main essays. Archival history in the search for verification used oral tradition, surviving documents such as estate inventories, and wood analysis. It is an admirable blend of the historian's and the museologist's professions. Four tall clocks associated with Yorkshire immigrants are shown for comparative analysis of origin and dating. The Dixon, Harper and Trueman descendants all have works made in England pre-dating the mid-1770s. The structures, however, are built of native North

American wood probably crafted in the Chignecto area by the heads of each respective family. By contrast, the Chapman clock is of American origin. Joseph Phillips of New York has been identified as the works designer. The yellow birch body was constructed on this side of the Atlantic, too. Together these tall clocks warn of the risks of taking tradition at face value. Ascription of Yorkshire or otherwise English origins to three of these clocks is true only in part. Ownership by a Yorkshireman (or Loyalist, or Planter for that matter) does not prove the origin of a particular artifact.

As a final comment on *Rebels & Royalists*, MacDonald has not forgotten John Demos's use of homes to make the past speak. The brick Chapman house at the New Brunswick - Nova Scotia border is a substantial two-and-a-half storey structure. Its construction blends old English techniques and North American adaptations. Special attention is paid to the number of large windows. This feature represented an aspect of freedom for the Chapmans. Windows in England were subject to taxation, hence were few and small. No such impediment existed in Nova Scotia, where, as the 1770s travellers Robinson and Rispin were pleased to observe, "the windows are all sashed...they are very numerous, and render their houses light and pleasant." MacDonald's study has allowed light to be cast on an often neglected period of New Brunswick history.

From artifacts we move to oral tradition and written accounts which reconstruct nearly five centuries of Micmac history. *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950*, by Ruth Holmes Whitehead, is a rich compendium of the aboriginal peoples' world pre-and post-European contact. She has gleaned impressions left by Catholic missionaries, French explorers, New England soldiers' journals, mythological lore as collected by Silas T. Rand, Indian treaty-charters, and late nineteenth-century ethnologists' studies. Grouped in chapters by century, Whitehead has brought together what proves to be a valuable collection delving into all aspects of Micmac life. She has cited records which purport to quote native spokesmen, so that although the documents may have been generated by non-Micmac scribes, the contents enable Micmacs to tell their own story. Taken together with European colonists' records and those of their American-born descendants, the book will become a standard reference source. The religious world of the Micmac, old faith and Catholicism, with accompanying symbols, folklore and social customs are to be found in *The Old Man Told Us* in enough detail to permit the reader partially to step inside a non-European

way of experiencing reality. That alone is worth the "price of admission" in purchasing the book.

The general reader interested in Micmac society has usually read (or at least heard of) Hantsport resident Silas Rand's nineteenth-century philological studies and collection of Micmac folklore. His 40,000-word dictionary is a masterpiece in itself. Wilson and Ruth Wallis's 1955 *Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* is likewise a standard text. Ruth Whitehead expands our knowledge of available sources greatly beyond these two earlier works. In so doing, she has provided a great service to non-Micmac wanting to delve further into the world of one of Nova Scotia's founding peoples, and to Micmac themselves in this fine cross-cultural contribution.

One will soon discover that the *The Old Man Told Us* is not a sanitized account of Micmac history. Peace and war are presented side by side. Warfare or torture committed by aboriginals and non-aboriginals alike was a brutal fact of life in the colonial era. Intertribal conflict between Mohawk and Micmac had become part of the latter's folklore as well. On the other hand, the acceptance of Christianity from French Catholic missionaries in the early 1600s was one influence from Europe which provided a focus for Micmac culture (language, special customs, etc.) which helped to preserve a sense of cultural identify, and in the same way that faith and language played a major role in Acadian society. The interplay between cultures, therefore, was not always negative. Micmac society was chiefly oral rather than literate. One can say that our knowledge of sixteenth-to nineteenth-century Micmac history was another gift (intentional or not) of the literate non-aboriginal colonizers of the Maritimes.

Sketches, maps and photographs compliment the many pieces found in *The Old Man Told Us*. These are essential for a work which touches on material as well as social, religious and political history. The index permits the reader to identify passages bearing on a particular theme. For instance, under the heading "death" are useful subheadings for afterlife, burial, burial sites, cremation, embalming, infant mortality, etc. Knowledge of death and burial customs can be applied to the study of occupancy of territory by using the age and continuity of burial grounds for mapping identifiable Micmac sites, as distinct from seasonal camping locations. Other avenues for research and analysis are suggested by the index and lengthy bibliography.

One does not have to be a specialist to enjoy *The Old Man Told Us*. The excerpts are selected to complement each other, and to unfold the Micmac

world for the reader. Only a brief glance will leave the reader wanting to go further into the text. Currently there is a disturbing fad in historical circles that only members of a particular group can or should undertake to write about that group. Men are disparaged for commenting on women or the family in history, or ardent celtic nationalists will attack studies by an Englishman on Scottish culture. Whitehead's successful book has shown that that myopic, anti-intellectual bias needs to be quickly and quietly buried.

Cape Breton has a unique history based on its insular isolation, late nineteenth-century industrialization and immigration, and the influence of Gaelic-speaking Scots combined with French-speaking Acadians and Channel Islanders dominating the cultural landscape. The creation of the University College of Cape Breton has fostered local pride in the island's music, literature and history, which have experienced a renaissance during the past generation. Kenneth Donovan has tried to capture that movement in a collection of essays under the banner, *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton History 1713-1990*. Ten authors (Donovan among them) explore different periods and topics which in their essence declare that Cape Bretoners are distinct and proud of it.

Six main subjects are handled in *The Island*. Two of these consider colonial (eighteenth-century) Cape Breton—Christopher Moore's study of economic viability under the French and British regimes, and Alex Storm's account of twentieth-century underwater archeology in the recovery of the French treasureship, *Chameau*. Stephen Hornsby, Rusty Bitterman and Donovan re-examine Scottish immigration, the resulting realignment of social structures in rural Middle River, and the drive to promote schooling in the 1840s. Coal-mining and the steel mills provide the focus for essays by Michael Owen, Ron Crawley, Joan Bishop and David Frank. The latter three are chiefly interested in social stratification, political consciousness (as embodied in the career of J. B. McLachlan) and the state ownership of industry vis-à-vis employment or welfare among Cape Bretoners. Owen's "Making Decent Law-Abiding Canadian Citizens: Presbyterian Missions to Cape Breton's Foreigners, 1900-1915" examines the response to East European Orthodox, Catholic and Jewish immigrants drawn to the coal mines and mills of Cape Breton. A. J. B. Johnston offers a new contribution to women's history in his biographical account of Katharine McLennan's nursing experiences overseas during World War I. The overarching introductory essay by the editor, "Reflections on Cape Breton Culture,"

promotes folk culture, especially music and traditional stories, as the embodiment of the spirit of Cape Bretoners along-side renewed interest in the visual arts, history and theatre.

Each of the foregoing essays demands an individual critique which this article cannot undertake. Certain observations, however, can be made. *The Island* represents both a Cape Breton and Atlantic Canadian growth in regional historical studies. Where traditional subjects are addressed, such as eighteenth-century Louisbourg under French rule, twentieth-century shifts in historiographical interest are applied. In this connection, Moore's reappraisal of A. H. Clark's pronouncements on economic underdevelopment are challenged as post-1900 pessimism projected into the distant past. Moore argues that until Britain eliminated the French presence from Louisbourg, the latter was a viable economic centre for the region. He may have overstated his own case by arguing that after 1758 Cape Breton has ceased to be economically viable through the loss of local control over markets and supplies. Comparison is wanting as well with the economic studies of Julian Gwyn on Maritime underdevelopment in the eighteenth century. The revisionist tract by Moore, nevertheless, is indicative of the reinvigoration of Maritime historical studies.

More recent topics, such as David Frank's "The Election of J. B. McLachlan: Labour Politics in Cape Breton, 1916-1935" (the subject is a figure still within living memory), bring political and sociological methodology to bear on the career of a controversial individual. Frank explores through one man the tradition of dissenting political activity among one segment of Cape Breton's labour force. Although it is true that McLachlan was unsuccessful as a candidate in three provincial and three federal elections, he established a focus for working-class disagreement with management and government in relation to wages and employment conditions for industrial labourers. McLachlan's political adherence shifted from socialism to radical communism. A vote for him was not necessarily a vote for the ideology he espoused. Frank argues that McLachlan's support stemmed from dissatisfaction with existing political avenues of recourse. Discussion of labour politics has tended to be oversupplied by academics specializing in labour history, or by supporters of particular twentieth-century ideologies. It is a loss, therefore, to a sensitive understanding of Nova Scotian history when articles and books on the topic are passed over. Labour history should join religious history as an integral part of high school and

undergraduate studies in order to redress the imbalance which currently exists. If this is not done, who will appreciate, or perhaps even challenge, interpretations such as are found in "The Election of J. B. McLachlan"?

Donovan's *The Island* provides the basis for a continuing process of reconstructing the history of Cape Breton. Periodic synthesis of recent studies which have returned to primary sources, or have made both new and old sources yield something different, is crucial to avoid expounding works that may otherwise stand alone as fractured reflections on a subject. The dynamic advance in Canadian religious historiography has produced such a response through a number of recent attempts to provide integrated overviews of that history. That was the specific assignment for five Canadian religious historians at the behest of editor George A. Rawlyk (himself a leading figure in evangelical Protestant historical research). The result is *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990*, which is national in scope but contains more than enough Maritime content to make it mandatory reading for anyone who follows church history developments.

The chronology of the Rawlyk volume is determined by wars and Confederation (1760-1815; 1815-1867; 1867-1914; 1914-1945; 1945 to the present). Each concluding date marks a shift in colonial and Canadian concepts of identity, and particular immigration periods when newcomers reinforced or introduced a major alteration to the religious demography of the land. Rawlyk views the eighteenth century as one of experimentation among evangelical Protestants, in contrast to the established Presbyterian and Church of England polities. The nineteenth century was the golden age of Protestant influence in Canada (e.g., temperance reform, political leverage as in the Manitoba Schools Question, the growth of universities), which faded in the aftermath of Darwinism, Modernism and the shattering effects of modern warfare. In an increasingly secular, pluralistic society, the influence of evangelicals in particular and Protestantism in general declined until the 1960s renewed the search for spiritual satisfaction among the young. By the 1970s, this began to emerge as a rebirth of evangelical Protestant influence-with modifications. Evangelical Methodism had been subsumed in 1925 in the United Church of Canada. The latter has ceased to be credible as an orthodox and/or evangelical church, in its move to New Age acculturation which shapes doctrine to satisfy its special interest groups. Traditionally, men and women have had their lives shaped by church tradition and Scripture, not the reverse.

In the opening essay, Nancy Christie introduces the emergence of evangelical Protestantism as it strove for the allegiance of colonists. Anglican and Presbyterian leaders in Upper Canada and Atlantic Canada, imbued with the Enlightenment's call to order and reason, regarded dissenters as more than religious rivals. Bishop Charles Inglis linked dissent in religion with dissent in politics. The American and French revolutions exaggerated this concern. For their part, Methodists, Baptists and sectaries, Henry Alline's New Light Congregationalists among them, dissociated themselves from politics in their spiritual warfare for souls. A political expression was inevitable, though, for to stand against the established churches was to question the established order. The eighteenth century laid the basis for a tradition of dissent in Canada. At the same time, dissenters introduced religious revivals, thus creating a vital periodic expression of pietistic faith that shaped the life of evangelical Protestantism.

Michael Gauvreau picks up the thread of these themes in "Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867." Methodists, Baptists and evangelical Presbyterians numerically outstripped the adherents of the Church of England throughout most of Canada. The former moved to seek social respectability while making themselves heard in politics and education. The evangelical impulse, in part matched by the growth of evangelicalism among Anglicans, was channelled into social outreach concerns. The temperance movement was a product of nineteenth-century social reform. Out of the same matrix were born moves to reshape Canadian society according to external conformity to a middle-class vision of Protestantism. At the same time, revivals and camp meetings kept the spiritual impulse alive at evangelical Protestantism's heart. Both the curriculum of Protestant colleges and the public speeches of their proponents expressed this dual structure.

The growth of evangelical moralism is considered at length in Phyllis Airhart's, "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism, 1867-1914." Unity and protectionism emerge in this period in response to political consolidation of the nation, and in reaction to non-Protestant immigrants from non-Anglo-Saxon and -Celtic eastern Europe. Airhart traces the merger of separate colonial religious bodies into successive regional and national unions. Presbyterians and Methodists in particular realigned district conferences and synods in what was the prelude to the United Church of Canada. In the previous century, Henry Alline had a vision of Nova Scotians

as a "People Highly Favoured of God"; evangelical Protestants of the mid-1800s became entranced with the idea of God's Dominion of Canada. This view of how things should be conflicted with the country's growing Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish populations in Quebec, the western territories and elsewhere in Canada. A national "Church of Canada" was to founder on the shoals of an increasingly pluralistic nation.

Robert Wright's "Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945," and John Stackhouse Jr.'s "Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1945," wrestle with the inter- and post-war transformation of Canadian society. The inter-war years in particular brought the upheavals of doctrinal conflict (Modernism versus Fundamentalism), the role of political reform in relation to evangelical platforms and the response to international armed conflict. The same decades which included the formation of what became in time the largest Protestant denomination in Canada—the United Church—were the very years in which non-Protestant Churches had so expanded that the idea of a Protestant "Dominion of Canada" had to be abandoned. Stackhouse's concluding essay attempts to come to terms with the post-1950s decline in Canadian church attendance, the advances of secularism and the pull of non-traditional (i.e., non-Christian) belief systems. At the end of the era, what appears to be a re-emergence of evangelicalism may indeed be more apparent than real. In the headlong rush to be more relevant and contemporary, main-line denominations have opted for fad and diminished traditional Christian doctrine. The United Church of Canada epitomizes this trend, though it is by no means alone.

The pessimism of Stackhouse's essay brings to mind the title of a book on a different subject. Peter Laslett's *The World We Have Lost* (2d ed., 1970) is a re-examination of traditional academic assumptions about pre-industrial, particularly Tudor-Stuart, English society. The title is evocative of an imagined lost paradise or golden age. Research deployed Laslett's study attacks that nostalgic vision, while seeking to confirm and refute different strands of older historical interpretation. That remains the task of historians of special topics, local and national history. It is no less the duty of Maritime historians.

Book Notes

Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Index: Volumes I to XII:1000 to 1900, edited by Francess G. Halpenny and Jean Hamelin. ISBN 0-8020-3464-0 (regular edition). University of Toronto Press, 1991. vii + 557 pp., cloth, $85.00.

Users of the *Dictionary* soon recognize its value but may be frustrated in locating entries if a death date is unknown. Publication of the last pre-1900 volume in the set (XII) has permitted the issuing of a cumulative index. The first section is of subjects, together with their dates for volume identification. There follows the main section of total cumulative, nominal entries, fully cross-referenced. This feature will be especially useful in locating significant contemporaries of a subject. Anyone who has thought little about indexes should examine this latest *Dictionary* volume as a researcher might do in order to appreciate its worth. Despite the high cost, it is true value for money.

Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada before 1914, by J. M. S. Careless. ISBN 0-8020-5824-8 (cloth), 0-8020-6907-X (paper). University of Toronto Press, 1991 reprint. xiii + 132 pp., $22.50 (cloth), $15.95 (paper).

The second Donald Creighton Lectures (1987) at the University of Toronto has produced this thoughtful reappraisal of metropolitanism by leading historian, J. M. S. Careless. A long-time proponent of the metropolitan thesis, Careless explores both the development of Canadian versions of frontier versus metropolis, and his own assessments of the continuing validity of his preferred thesis in relation to Canadian historiography. Economic and political expansionism remain the author's main focus, though he is willing to concede some importance to denominational/sectarian growth in identity formation. Readers may wish to compare Careless's contribution with two regionally based metropolitan proponents - T. W. Acheson of the University of New Brunswick in his studies of the city of Saint John, and David Sutherland of Dalhousie University in his examination of Halifax's merchant community.

The Gilded Beaver: An Introduction to the Life and Work of James De Mille, by Patricia Monk. ISBN 1-55022-104-3 (cloth), 1-55022-106-X (paper). ECW Press, Oakville, Ont., 1991. 293 pp., illustrated, $25.00 (paper).

The reserved, quiet James De Mille has proven rather intractable as a subject of biographies, thanks to the paucity of personal papers and the loss by fire of other records relating to his Saint John and Acadia College periods. Patricia Monk has managed, as a literary historical researcher and critic, to prepare a detailed account of De Mille as scholar, teacher, family man and author. Too often dismissed as the writer of mere children's adventures, De Mille is resurrected in Monk's biography as a capable and gifted Maritime author in several genres. She rightly demonstrates that there is far more to learn about the life of the writer of *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder*.

Mapping the French Empire in North America, prepared by David Buisseret. ISBN 0-91128-46-3. The Newberry Library, Chicago, 1991. xii + 102 pp., illustrated, paper, $ [?].

Visions of the New World were formed by prose accounts of explorers, commemorative verse and missionaries' descriptions. Illustrations were crucial, of course, and maps provided a ready medium. This catalogue of an exhibit sponsored by the French Colonial Historical Society/La Société d'Histoire Coloniale Française is a fine example of how North America was perceived through changing French attitudes in the approach to cartography, and of the wealth of information to be found in illustrations which bordered or interspersed the maps, whether of aboriginal people, Europeans or architecture. A number of initial maps chosen for the exhibition include Acadia. Subsequent plates offer fascinating comparisons.

The Old St. James Anglican Burial Ground...Meander (Old Methodist) Cemetery...Hants County, Nova Scotia: Gravestone Inscriptions recorded 1988-1989, prepared by the West Hants Historical Society. 36 pp., paper, $5.00. Available from West Hants Historical Society, Box 2355, Windsor, N. S., B0N 2T0.

Members of the West Hants Historical Society have saved other genealogists work by locating county burial grounds in order to record gravestone inscriptions. Their latest contribution joins an earlier work, *Riverview Haven Cemetery (Old Presbyterian), Brooklyn...* as a valuable source-book for family historians. A historical sketch of each cemetery is provided, and its location noted, should researchers wish to visit the site themselves. Pagination would have been a useful standard feature to

include—it is absent from both works—though this is no way diminishes the Society's contribution to Hants County historiography.

The Story of the Rev. Duncan Ross, Pioneer Minister in Pictou, Nova Scotia, with a Genealogy of Some of His Descendants, by Gordon MacKay Haliburton. ISBN 0-9695382-0-0. Stony Hill Publishing, Wolfville, N. S., [1991]. 122 pp., paper, $20.00. Available from Stony Hill Publishing, P. O. Box 1276, Wolfville, N. S., B0P 1X0.

From the author of *Clansmen of Nova Scotia (1979)* and *"For Their God"—Education, Religion and the Scots in Nova Scotia* (1981) comes this latest biography of Pictou County missionary, educator, author and farmer Duncan Ross. As his *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entry observes, Ross has long been overshadowed by great contemporaries such as Thomas McCulloch and James MacGregor, yet he made important contributions to Presbyterianism in the Nova Scotia. Gordon Haliburton supplements his reconsideration of Ross with a genealogy which shows both Ross's personal influence (sons and other descendants entered the ministry), and the celtic wanderlust which induced the minister's family in time to migrate across the continent. A worthy contribution to Nova Scotian biography and family history.

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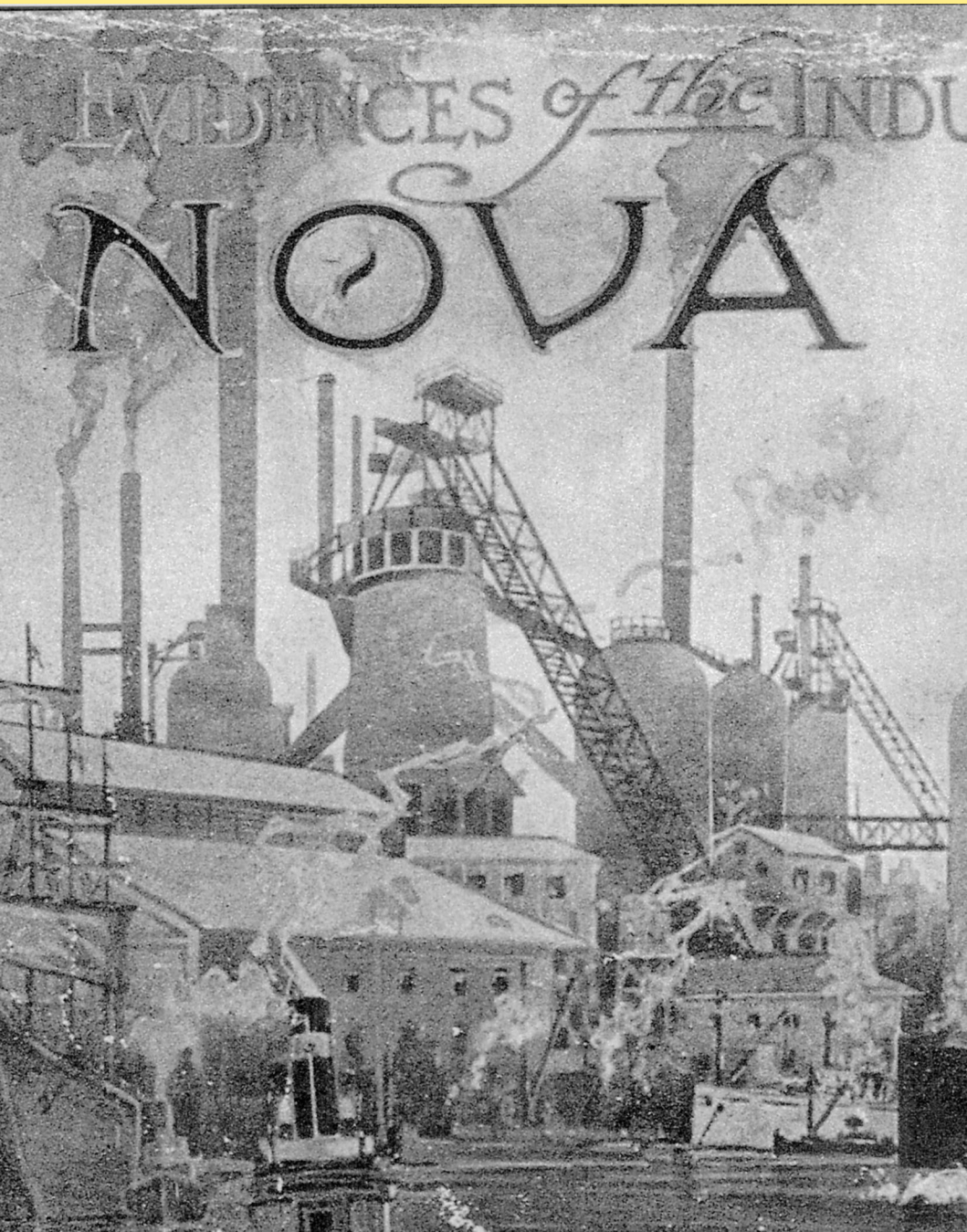
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