Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 12, Number 1, 1992

Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 12, Number 1, 1992

Cover Illustration:

"Town on Steepest Hill," ca. 1871 by Francis Silver
Collection of George Alexander.
Photograph courtesy of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia.

To Our Readers

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* publishes scholarly articles on every aspect and period of Nova Scotia history, and welcomes contributions from everyone interested in the subject. The *Review* has a special mandate to publish non-professional and/or first-time authors, whose work can benefit particularly from the rigorous but sympathetic literary editing provided by the *Review* to all its contributors.

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* is indexed in the *Canadian Magazine Index* and the *Canadian Periodical Index*, and is available on-line in the "Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database." Back issues are available in microform from Micromedia Limited, 20 Victoria Street, Toronto, Ontario M5C 2N8.

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* is made possible by a grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture.

N.B. As of 1 January 1992 the price of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* rose from $5.00 to $10.00 per copy, and from $10.00 to $20.00 per annual subscription.

Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly/Review

Back Issues Available

Quarterly

Volume 2 — Number 4
Volume 3 — Numbers 3 and 4
Volume 4 — Numbers 1, 3 and 4
Volume 9 — Numbers 3 and 4
Volume 10 — Numbers 2, 3 and 4

Available at $4.00 each or $7.00 for two.

Review

Volume 3 — Number 2
Volume 4 — Number 1
Volume 6 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 7 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 8 — Number 1
Volume 9 — Number 1
Volume 10 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 11 — Numbers 1 and 2

Available at $10.00 per copy.

From:

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1W4

Contents

Tear-Out
Subscription Renewal Form

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Province/State _____

Postal Code/Zip _____

☐ I enclose $20.00, 1 year, 2 issues

☐ Enter my subscription

☐ Renew my subscription

☐ Change my address

Send to:

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1W4

"This [is] the hardest I ever climbed": The Political Career of Senator Ezra Churchill

Elizabeth C. Snell

Ezra Churchill was destined to be much more than just a man of shipping globosity: the piercing eyes on either side of the high-bridged aquiline nose, set between the thick thatch of gently waving side-parted hair and the Lincolnesque beard, did not unremittingly gaze only out to sea. His vision would carry Halfway River, the small Hants County community in which he had been raised, and which he later renamed Hantsport, to provincial, national and world recognition in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Biographical sketches of Ezra Churchill differ among themselves. Three of them, *The Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia 1758-1983*, the *Canadian Directory of Parliament 1867-1967*, and the *Canadian Parliamentary Companion* (1872, 1873, 1874) all disagree on various details of personal information, on the date he was elevated to the Senate, and even on the date of his birth.[1] "Evidently Ezra Churchill was not concerned about his public image, not taking the trouble to make sure that anything related to him was properly recorded, or recorded at all," his great-granddaughter Elsie Churchill Tolson has written.[2]

All the published sources, however, agree that he sat as a Conservative for Falmouth District (later Hants North) in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly from 1855 to 1867; that he stood for the first time and was elected in 1855, one year before Joseph Howe, who, having been defeated in his Cumberland riding by Charles Tupper, was elected by acclamation for Windsor;[3] that he was re-elected in 1859 when Howe, who would go on to be premier from 1860 to 1863, was re-elected for Hants South (formerly Windsor); that he won re-election in Hants North in 1863, when Howe suffered a crushing defeat in Hants South; and that "he was not a candidate in 1867."[4]

All the published sources also state that Churchill "supported Confederation." If true, his "support" took a mighty idiosyncratic expression:

Elizabeth C. Snell is a freelance historical researcher who divides her time between Devon, England, and Halifax, Nova Scotia. The quotation used in this title is taken from the caption accompanying the Francis Da Silva folk-painting of Churchill (*q.v.*).

1 Some say 1806, rather than 1804.

2 Elsie Churchill Tolson Papers, privately held.

3 Churchill went in as a Tory, although the Conservative party suffered a resounding electoral defeat. Howe, a Reformer, nevertheless lost his seat to the Tory Tupper, despite the fact of a Liberal landslide otherwise.

4 *Canadian Directory of Parliament 1867-1967* (Ottawa, 1968), p. 120.

Senator Ezra Churchill.
Photograph courtesy Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

he absented himself from the vote of his own government in April 1866, when Tupper, knowing full well he would never get agreement to send delegates to discuss a scheme of union based on the Quebec Resolutions, and hoping to avoid a direct confrontation with the anti-confederates, had a resolution introduced approving the principle of federation, but subject to negotiation by the British government. Churchill's name is not recorded in the *Journal* of the House of Assembly as having voted against the amendment for putting union to a province-wide referendum.[5]

He did not run in Hants against Howe, who was opposed to Confederation as presented and was in fact leader of the anti-confederates in Nova Scotia, in the federal general election of 18 September 1867. Nor did Churchill run in the provincial election held the same day.[6] Indeed, he worked hard to get Howe, previously a Reform Liberal, then an Anti-Confederate Liberal, elected to a Liberal-Conservative seat in the acrimonious 'better terms' Hants federal by-election of 1869. Finally, a case could be made that Churchill, too, in his own way, worked for 'better terms,' by supporting Howe during a singularly lonely and difficult period of his political career.

Like a later English Churchill,[7] Ezra was a Conservative, but with an inherited and errant liberalism that would not allow him to tow the party line on issues which he believed not to be in the best interests of his county and his province. Despite the obvious politically opportunist advantages to be gained had he unreservedly supported Confederation, and perhaps offered himself as the scapegoat candidate against Howe, Churchill chose rather to withdraw and to support Howe as he worked to ameliorate Nova Scotia's position within the new federation.

---

5 *Journals* of the House of Assembly, 17 Apr. 1866, p. 70. Delphin A. Muise, "The Federal Election Of 1867 In Nova Scotia: An Economic Interpretation," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 36 (1968), p. 350, note 41, states that Churchill voted *against* the amendment that union be put to a provincial vote.

6 Howe won all but one poll and the anti-confederates took 18 to 1 seats federally. After Confederation, Hants County was reduced from four representatives to two. J. Murray Beck, *Politics of Nova Scotia (1710-1896)* (Tantallon, 1985), I, 165. Beck has also noted, p. 172, "In quality the post-confederation assembly was decidedly inferior to its predecessors because the leading men of both parties had opted for federal politics or office."

7 Sir Winston Churchill, born six months after Ezra's death, shared a distant common ancestor in John Churchill of Plymouth, ca.1643. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, IV: *Second World War* (Boston, 1950), 728-29.

Churchill's resistance to union, seeing it as a threat to the "wood, wind and sail" economy of which he himself had helped lay the keel, is hardly to be wondered at, and was in line with the views of other merchants and shipbuilders in the province. Political loyalties must needs finish second to economic ones, in someone who had been at the tiller of the commercial boom which preceded Confederation in Nova Scotia. Those were the halcyon days when the general expansion of world trade, combined with American reciprocity, saw the shipbuilding industry sustain its most rapid growth: the number of Nova Scotian seamen and shipping tonnage at this time was more than double the whole of Canada's merchant-marine capacity 100 years later.

Presciently, Churchill worried what the tariff policy likely to be adopted by the new Dominion would do to the established economy--particularly shipping--in light of the fact that central Canada had its own shipping capacity, with the St. Lawrence for summer and the United States for winter ports.[8] He may have foreseen vaguely, if not explicitly, the demise of the eastern shipbuilding industry, when the new Dominion would not live up to its pledges with regard to the Intercolonial Railway--"The People's Road"--and the development of Maritime ports: the bait which had been dangled to lure the prosperous East onto the union hook.

He may have anticipated that freight rates would be imposed, and the revenue collected would be used for central and western development, which from Churchill's perspective was not necessarily bad, unless investment and vision stopped at both seacoasts. No doubt he would have pounded his fists in frustration, had he pictured his province, with the men, materials and facilities to effect the transition from sail to steam, from wood to steel, nevertheless finding the effort unsupported by any national policy to develop an effective industrial base.

The Nova Scotia Assembly, to which Ezra Churchill was first elected in 1855, was the oldest Legislative Assembly in what was to become Canada. "Hats were still worn, most of them plug hats"[9] and the pay was £1 per day attended, plus travel expenses--but there were perquisites. Soon after his

8 The general tariff, previously ten per cent in Nova Scotia, became the Canadian rate of fifteen per cent, accompanied by various other individual duties. The American Civil War had just ended in 1865; there was some worry that the U.S. might close her winter ports to central Canadian traffic if another such major war were to occur.

9 P.B. Waite, *The Man From Halifax* (Toronto, 1985), p. 76.

arrival in the Legislature, a splendid ball was held at Province House in honour of veterans of the Crimean War. There was dancing in the Council Chamber (now the Red Chamber), liquid refreshments in the House itself, and the Supreme Court (now the Legislative Library) doubled as a cloakroom for the ladies. A late supper was served from long tables on the Hollis Street level, which stretched from one end of the building to the other, past the present-day Premier's Office.[10]

During the second session of the twenty-first Legislature, in 1857, Ezra Churchill reminisced about his earlier arrival at that august seat of provincial business:

> On coming to the house as a new member, one has strange feelings which are not easily described; and on my arrival here last year I found that I had been previously measured, weighed, cut and carved. I was immediately jostled through the lobby by the Sergeant-at-Arms, but soon concluded I was not the man to suit their purposes. It reminded me of the green Yankee at Washington....[11]

His conclusions were premature, however, for by 1857 Churchill as a member of the government party, rather than the opposition, had accordingly been named to several standing committees, which would later include that for the Penitentiary, the Poor Asylum, Sick Indians, French Rights, the Township of Falmouth and Trade and Manufactures.[12]

As with Confederation, on the subject of railroad policy Churchill began in opposition to Howe, but when his own Conservative party came into power in 1857, he himself gradually came around to supporting Howe's views; later he actually promoted them. Access to one of the finest anchorages in the world naturally would have been of prime concern to a marine visionary. While Howe was chairman of the Railway Commission in Nova Scotia from 1854 to 1857, Churchill "was so anxious to get the trains on the rails he had to accept the cheap route along the [Bedford] Basin, but, off the record [Ezra] fumed and said Joe would rue the day, or at least

10 *Province House* (brochure, n.d.).

11 *Parliamentary Debates, 1855-1861* (1861), p. 36.

12 *Journal* of the House of Assembly (1857), pp. 222-23.

posterity would, if the railway...was not up back, away from the Basin."[13] On the record, in one speech to the House, Churchill openly criticized the construction of the rail line around Bedford Basin. He did not think much of the engineers, and said that if they would let him replace them with his shipwrights from Hantsport, the work would be done twice as fast and thrice as well. Not one to dissemble, his exact words were: "I do not presume to have much knowledge of engineering but if I could not form a better track than that around the Basin I think I would give it up. At some places they cannot run more than 4 miles per hour the curves are so short....*The railroad is where it ought not to be* [author's italics]."[14] And in another speech he said, "I could find a hundred men in Hants that could select a better route."[15]

His criticism of the laying of track from Richmond Station to Bedford did not, however, preclude his general endorsement of the overall project. By 1859 he was rebuking members of his own party: "I look on the railroad with much interest and dislike extremely any attempt to obstruct the works, or injure it."[16] In response to strong criticism of the railroad by a fellow shipbuilding Tory, Thomas Killam from Yarmouth, Churchill rebutted:

> I may remark that I am not prepared to support any government which is not prepared to carry on the public works....When the railway gets to Windsor, if the present government should abandon the work, plenty of persons, probably, would be bound to take it up and carry it on....I will not sustain a government that is opposed to anything which I believe is for the good of the country. I consider their pledge to be, to carry out the work, to try the experiment. When the road goes to Windsor, no government can stop it...for it will *find its way to the minds of the people* [author's italics].[17]

13 Elsie Churchill Tolson, *The Captain, The Colonel and Me* (Sackville, N.B., 1979), p. 138. The line referred to was the province's first, the Nova Scotia Railway between Halifax and Windsor.

14 *Parliamentary Debates*, 1859, p. 36.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 138.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

The first sod for the extension of the railway past Windsor--for a decade stymied by the need for steel bridges over the Avon and Halfway Rivers--was turned at Hantsport on 1 January 1867, while Churchill was still MLA for Hants North.[18] In March 1870, when there were only 250 miles of mainline track in the province, and when the Western Counties Railway Co. was being formed further down the Annapolis Valley from the Windsor and Annapolis line, Joseph Howe was writing to "My dear Churchill":

> It is a great gratification to me that my Railway policy has been so successful that it's made you and all those who aided me proud and caused those who opposed it————-. Even the people of Yarmouth acknowledge that they were wrong and desire to be connected with the system.[19]

Once the line to Windsor was completed in June 1858, Churchill became a frequent customer, making the train journey between Halifax and Windsor innumerable times. On one memorable occasion, he and Mrs. Churchill returned from attending a ball held at Province House in honour of HRH Edward, Prince of Wales, just in time to meet the royal party following by the same conveyance. The wire from Halifax, dated 7 August 1860, read: "To Ezra Churchill--Lord Musgrave, five or six gentlemen, servants, horses, carriages, all to be at Hantsport about half past nine o'clock this evening." The Prince was met by Ezra in a high carriage with nine steps leading up to the seat. When they reached Hantsport, the carriage turned down Prince Street (so named) to the Churchill wharves, where an arch was erected with the model of a barque on top. After some speeches and entertainment, the Prince and his party embarked on the *Styx* for Saint John.[20]

The Windsor train also played a tragic role in Churchill's life. His wife, Ann Davison Churchill, who after thirty-five years of marriage and ten children, still addressed her husband in writing as "My dear Ezra and well beloved...," was killed when driving to Windsor to meet his train in August

18 This railway was later incorporated as the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company.

19 Joseph Howe Papers (MG 24, B29, Vol. 38, National Archives of Canada [NA]): Private Letterbook, letter no. 91 (mfm. at PANS).

20 Hattie Chittick, *Hantsport on Avon* (Hantsport, 1958), p. 28. Elsie Churchill Tolson still has the snuffbox and candle-holder presented to her great-grandfather by HRH the Prince of Wales.

1861. Ann, an expert horsewoman, had no fear of the colt between the shafts. With pleasant anticipation, she started on her drive to Windsor, alone as she always liked to be when going to meet her husband. The long climb up Holmes's Hill would wear off the colt's enthusiasm, she reasoned, then there would be the winding level stretch. Leaves were thick on the trees; small wild animals scampered across the narrow road; a covey of partridges whirred upwards in flight; the road was alive with flutterings and movements, and the sensitive animal shied often. Suddenly rounding a bend, the horse reared and plunged into a frenzy. Mrs. Churchill tried to turn the colt uphill into the Micmac Road to stop it--but in turning, the carriage upset and she was thrown out, striking her head on a rock. An Indian carried her a considerable distance to Marster's Mill. The miller hailed Churchill when he drove by shortly afterwards in the stage-coach, perplexed as to why Ann had not met him at the station; she died in his arms. Irrational in his grief, he shot the horse. A white marble plaque was fastened to a boulder at the site to commemorate the tragedy; at a rededication service in August 1989, a new stone was put in place.

Despite railway and standing-committee involvements, Churchill did not lose sight of the commercial and financial prospects available to him through the province's business. In 1864, for example, he became involved in an attempt to establish a provincial bank, a charter for which had just been granted by the Legislature. Although the project had the support of the Financial Secretary as well as several prominent Conservative assemblymen, The Mutual Bank of Nova Scotia did not materialize. It remained for a private syndicate to form the Merchant's Bank in the same year.[21]

That Churchill cultivated and maintained a personal friendship with Dr. Charles Tupper says much for the rectitude of both men, considering the political ambiguities which Churchill would later display. Their friendship was so close that there remains today a curious handwritten letter at the Public Archives, filed with the Provincial Secretary's records, written from Churchill to Tupper, marked "PRIVATE," and dated 16 May 1865 when Tupper was premier of the province. The letter apparently refers to Churchill's assessment of a "good and prudent" woman, "just suitable as a wife for me," and compares her to another, not named: "I should judge her to be...rather before the other one,"--Tupper obviously knowing to whom

21 *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 26 Apr. 1864.

Churchill was referring.[22] But Churchill was by that time well and truly married to young Rachel Burgess, so what does this mean? The mystery remains unsolved.

Further evidence of the close personal relationship between Churchill and Tupper is obvious in at least two instances of political patronage. As to the first, there is another letter in the Provincial Secretary's records, written by Churchill and dated 15 September 1865, in which he declined Tupper's invitation to Canada--but nevertheless asked that his son-in-law, Douglas B. Woodworth, be appointed a Judge of Probate.[23] In the second instance, many years later, long after Churchill had died and his son George succeeded to the shipyard, a letter was received from Tupper, then (1887) Canadian High Commissioner in Britain: "I duly received your...sketch of the proposed wharf improvements in Hantsport...which will be brought under the notice of the Government.... Assuring you of the pleasure it will give me to co-operate with you...."[24]

Whatever the personal and political bonds, however, Churchill most definitely was not a blind votary of Tupper. He "withheld support from...Tupper [his own premier] by abstaining in the 1866 vote on confederation. He did not take part in the 1867 general election but joined with Jeremiah Northup to help elect Joseph Howe in the 'better terms' by-election of 1869."[25]

Both as an anti-Confederate and the Assemblyman for Hants North, Churchill would have been a leading signatory to the Petition of the Inhabitants of the County of Hants to Queen Victoria, which Joseph Howe took to England with him in July 1866, asking that the terms for union as stipulated in the so-called Quebec Resolutions--which terms he, Howe, and the petitioners saw as prejudicial to Nova Scotia--be submitted to a popular vote. This document, which now lies "yellowing and forgotten" in the

22 RG 7, Vol. 52, PANS.

23 RG 7, Vol. 53, PANS.

24 Private archives.

25 K.G. Pryke, "Churchill, Ezra," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X (Toronto, 1972), 172. Jeremiah Northup was a close and wealthy Halifax friend of Joseph Howe. Northup's family had become involved in shipbuilding in the Maitland area of Hants County, and he had been elected to the House of Assembly as an anti-confederate in 1867. He joined with Ezra in the effort to get Howe elected.

basement archives of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London, is testimony to how the people of Hants endeavoured to prevent the final passing of the Imperial Act to establish Union:

> That the county of Hants forms a central portion of the Province of Nova Scotia....That it contains seven regiments of enrolled militiamen and sends to sea 54,000 tons of shipping bearing the flag of England....That its people have sent representatives to the Provincial Parliament since 1758, and for a quarter of a century have enjoyed self-government in as full and ample a manner as other British subjects have in the most favoured parts of the Empire....That the people of Hants...have been justly alarmed by attempts at revolutionary change to which they have never given their consent and for which they see no necessity. A scheme of Confederation was hastily prepared at Quebec in 1864, by delegates who had no authority from the Legislature or people of Nova Scotia to consent to a political union with Canada.[26]

Ezra Churchill did not oppose Howe's candidacy in the 1867 Hants federal election, nor did he himself stand for a fourth term to the provincial Assembly. When Macdonald allowed the pugnacious Nova Scotians, led by Howe, to fire the first rounds during the novice session of the House of Commons, Churchill, like Northup--both powerful and politically experienced mercantile mandarins--increasingly began to echo the voice that could not be stilled. Rather than giving way to a coalition between the Nova Scotia party and the federal Conservatives, an unrepentant Howe, acting through the Nova Scotia government, headed off with another delegation to London in February 1868 to seek repeal of the *British North America Act*. His five-month lobby was received with total indifference on the part of HM government.

When Howe returned to Nova Scotia, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, showing himself a master tactician, journeyed to Halifax to enter into direct negotiations for 'better terms,' the price of which was to be Howe's support of Confederation. Eventually, the package worked out between them would lead to Howe's appointment as President of the Privy Council in the Macdonald government, in January 1869.[27]

---

26 As quoted by Michael Cope in *The Mail-Star* (Halifax), 19 Mar. 1977: "Background to Confederation." There is no record of this petition ever having been tabled at Westminster.

27 Over $1,000,000 was added to the debt with which N.S. was credited under the *BNA Act;* a subsidy of $166,000 per annum for ten years was instituted, and beyond the ten years nearly half that total, per annum,

It was the members of the provincial anti-confederate movement who felt most betrayed. Not privy to the Macdonald-Howe negotiations, their rage and impotence fueled the heritage of bitterness surrounding Nova Scotia's participation in Confederation. It was they who reviled Howe as a 'turncoat' in the 1869 by-election. Pragmatic Churchill, however, would not be one to remonstrate. He had not remained intransigent in his opposition to Confederation. He had chosen to support Howe in the latter's quest for 'better terms,' adopting the elder statesman's conviction that since the *BNA Act* could not be repealed and insurrection was unthinkable, there remained only negotiation and appeasement. He also had busied himself back in his shipyard: by 1868, Howe was publicly proclaiming

> the majestic fleet which is dispersed all over the world, bearing our country's flag in every harbour and river's mouth...[;]when told that Nova Scotia is behind in manufactures, we can point to our shipyards...[which should] furnish profitable employment for our people for a century to come. At the head of this great branch of industry stand men like...Ezra Churchill.[28]

Howe held out from accepting Macdonald's offer of a cabinet post until Gladstone, the new Liberal Prime Minister at Westminster, indicated that he, in this instance acting with uncharacteristic decisiveness, would not initiate any repeal action on Nova Scotia's behalf. Even then, Howe pleaded for understanding: "In all departments there was influence and patronage to be exercised and dispensed. Was I not bound to see that Nova Scotia was fairly treated?"[29]

"Macdonald made sure that every promise he had given Howe was honoured."[30] Thus empowered, Howe in his new position as President of the Privy Council had ample time and means to set about wooing the fledgling

---

forever. (*N.B.* For the year 1867, the total provincial statement of warrants was approximately $2,000,000.) The construction of the Intercolonial Railway was promised, plus railway grants, steamboat subsidies, public works, post offices, fisheries protection, agricultural protection and favourable tariffs.

28 J.A. Chisholm, *Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe*, II (Halifax, 1909), 574.

29 Howe's "Letter to the Electors of Hants," *Novascotian* (Halifax), 15 Feb. 1869.

30 J. Murray Beck, *Joseph Howe* [Vol. II]: *The Briton Becomes Canadian 1848-1873* (Kingston and Montreal, 1983), p. 276.

Dominion's prodigal daughter. He did not wish, however, to remain in an unelected position or sinecure. Rather than accept a Senate seat, he opted for a by-election. The subsequent fight in Hants County would be his most bitter political battle. Many of his old friends were now his enemies, "old cronies [who] crossed the street rather than meet him,"[31] but Ezra Churchill was not among them.

Political scientist J. Murray Beck has written that "Tupper and the confederates could give little help [in the by-election] since they were not welcome in Hants. Besides Howe did not want to be indebted to old rivals."[32] Churchill, however, was well positioned within the county, and respected as an employer and a man of his word. He was hardly an old rival, rather a sparring partner, and politically he had expressed his disillusionment with Confederation prior to the 'better terms' for which Howe had held out. Best of all, he had financial resources. Although it was very much in Macdonald's interest to ensure that Howe's campaign was adequately financed, the costs, for the time, were nevertheless staggering, and all assistance was welcome.

A country storekeeper, financially well supported by Halifax mercantile dissidents, was Howe's opponent, and the dirty winter campaign broke the health of the sixty-five-year-old Howe. Eventually it had to be waged via letters to and from the electors of Hants, privately circulated or printed in newspapers. The degree to which the invective degenerated is illustrated by one piece of journalism: "Mr. Howe has been the leading speaker at meetings in Nova Scotia, in Canada, in the United States and in England, where Mr. [Monson] Goudge [the opposition candidate] would not be called upon to move a vote of thanks."[33]

A happier incident took place in Hantsport, probably early in the campaign, and was recalled years later in an undated letter to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, in reference to a book on the *Life of Howe:*

> We were told that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Howe were coming up together [from Halifax] and we went to meet them. I do not think we were formally introduced, but I had a pleasant nod from the distinguished man. In the evening

31 Murrille Schofield, *The Great Tribune* (Halifax, 1973), p. 8.

32 Beck, *Howe*, II, 253.

33 *A Letter to the Electors of the County of Hants by An Elector* [1869], p. 12.

> Mr. Churchill had his sail-loft fitted up with benches, and festooned with flags. The audience was comprised of the people of Hantsport, conspicuous among them being the shipwrights and seafaring men. Mr. Howe told us stories and impressed me by the way in which he spoke.[34]

Despite his inability because of ill-health to continue active campaigning, Howe--with a little help from his friends--won the by-election with a healthy majority. But he never fully regained his previous physical robustness. His entrance into the Macdonald Cabinet, this time as Secretary of State for the provinces, dealt the anti-confederate rump its death blow. By 1869, two-thirds of the Nova Scotia members of Parliament supported the government, and in August 1872 Howe was, for the last time, returned by acclamation as MP for Hants.

As had been the case with Tupper, so too were there close bonds of friendship between Churchill and Howe, strengthened no doubt by the latter's emphasis "on maritime power and his pride in the Nova Scotian mercantile marine."[35] A letter written by Howe from Ottawa, dated 14 March 1870, reads, "My dear Churchill, Your long letter so full of enthusiasm made me feel almost young again....Mrs. Howe and I look forward with the greatest pleasure to the next summer when we hope to visit [you]. Remember us both to Mrs. C. and your Daughters, not forgetting the Boys...."[36] This "Mrs. C." would have been the second wife, young Rachel Burgess; when the letter was written, Churchill and some of his children were still living in the large Victorian house with its conservatory, drawing-rooms and library, located by the E. Churchill & Sons Shipyards in Hantsport,[37] and built *ca.* 1840. Elsie Churchill Tolson, as a young girl browsing among the stacks of dusty books in the attics of her great-grandfather's house, in which she was brought up, discovered one day Joseph Howe's initials carved in an old beam. The two men shared much in life; they were born the same year (1804), and died

34 [Source uncertain.]

35 J. Murray Beck, "Joseph Howe and Confederation: Myth and Fact," in *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, 1964, Section 2, p. 148.

36 JHP *[supra*, note 19], letter no. 91 (mfm. at PANS).

37 Now part of the Canadian Keyes Fibre and Minas Basin Jodrey complex.

within eleven months of each other. Howe was the more literate, but Churchill too had "broad views" and "great worldly sagacity."[38] While Howe's genius was of the pen and tongue, Churchill's lay in directing men in honest labour.

The Dictionary of Canadian Biography says that "Churchill was appointed, *probably on Howe's recommendation* [author's italics], to the Senate in 1871,"[39] while Howe was serving as Secretary of State for the provinces. This was the established line until J.M. Beck, in 1983, found conclusive documentary evidence in the Joseph Howe Papers:

> Patronage followed the usual routine in 1871...For Howe it was burden enough to have to make appointments in Hants, to the departments in Ottawa, and to senior offices such as judgeships, and a relief not to have to deal with the other Nova Scotia counties. 'Delightedly, and despite the railings of the locals,' he had named to the Senate the old Tory Ezra Churchill, who had fought for him 'like a brick' in the Hants by-election.[40]

Howe himself wrote privately to his son, Sydenham, on 2 February 1871:

> Am determined to appoint Churchill the Senatorship with Tupper's full consent. He fought for me like a brick, and stands at the head of the Ship Builders of Hants, and besides even when we differed we were always friends. There will be screams from the locals, as well as from the disappointed no doubt, but the appointment gives me more strength in my County, and more pleasure than any I could have made.[41]

Churchill's appointment filled the fourth vacancy in the original Nova Scotian allotment of twelve senators appointed 23 October 1867.[42] *The*

38 T.M. Lewis, "Hants County Graphic Description," *Yarmouth Herald*, 4 Dec. 1885.

39 *Dictionary*, X (1972), 172.

40 Beck, *Howe*, II, 272.

41 JHP *[supra*, note 19], letter dated 2 Feb. 1871 (mfm. at PANS).

42 N.O. Coté, ed., *Political Appointments, Parliaments and the Judicial Bench of Canada 1867-1895* (Ottawa, 1896), p. 172. The first vacancy, in 1869, had been filled by Archibald W. McLelan who, as a Nova Scotian M.P., had negotiated with Howe and the federal Minister of Finance for 'better terms.' Both Howe and

Journal of the Senate records that on Friday, 24 February 1871, "The Honourable the Speaker informed the House there was a Member...ready to be introduced." Before His Excellency, the Right Honourable John, Baron Lisgar, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Governor-General, Ezra Churchill, in response to the command "for the especial trust and confidence we have manifested in you for the purpose of obtaining your advice and assistance in all weighty and arduous affairs which may the Senate and defence of our Dominion of Canada concern," subscribed the Declaration of Qualification required by the *BNA Act* of 1867.[43]

Ezra's wonderful leather-bound books, some with his name scrawled in huge signature across the flyleaf, are still to be found on his great-granddaughter's bookshelves: *Journals* of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia; *Sessional Papers*, including the first and second Parliaments; *Journals of the Senate* of Canada; *Nova Scotia Statutes, Government of Canada Statutes*. They record that the old Nova Scotia railwayman who was there at the beginnings of the Intercolonial when it was the N. S. Railway, voted negative "to the imposing [on the] Government of the Dominion of Canada the absolute obligation of completing the railway between the Pacific Coast and the railway system of Canada";[44] and that he voted negative to the amendment that the "railway be constructed and worked by private enterprise and not by the Dominion of Canada."[45] But when the question was put again on the main motion he voted yes, and it passed in the affirmative on 5 April 1871: "that B.C. be entered into Union with the Dominion of Canada."[46]

McLelan were offered Senate seats, but Howe chose instead to run in the Hants by-election. In 1870, two senators resigned to become puisne judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. The first vacancy was filled by Alexander MacFarlane, a Tory barrister who had been elected with Tupper to represent Cumberland in the House of Assembly in 1855. The second was filled on Howe's recommendation, by his great friend and 1869 by-election supporter, Jeremiah Northup.

43 *Journal of the Senate*, IV (1871), 29, 30.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

46 The Canadian Pacific Railway, connecting British Columbia with the rest of the provinces, was built by private enterprise with federal government assistance, unlike the Intercolonial which the *BNA Act* stipulated would be built by the federal government.

There is, in the Francis Da Silva Collection on permanent loan to the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, a droll folk-painting of Senator Churchill bicycling uphill to Ottawa from Hantsport--"This [is] the hardest I ever climbed"--wearing a high silk hat and tail coat. This collection has been on tour since its acquisition in 1982, when Alex Colville commented that while it is impossible to preserve everything, "Future generations will say 'Thank God they preserved this.'" Besides the twenty-two paintings and seven wall murals from the John Churchill Carriage House and Harness Room, which were all executed by Da Silva, a Portuguese stowaway on a Churchill ship, who stayed on as handyman, coachman and gardener, and which, according to curator Bernard Riordon, "are a complete socio-economic history of this part of Canada from about 1860 onwards,"[47] there still are a number of small medallion paintings on the foundation walls in the cellars of the house. According to the exhibition catalogue, the political details depicted "with strong Tory overtones" by "Francie," were all incidents related to him by Senator Churchill.[48] Almost certainly, the flower-bordered replication, "Canadian members of Parliament who increased their salaries without permission may have been labouring under the impression that they were working for an insurance company," must have been Churchill-inspired.

Almost all the articles written about this collection refer, erroneously, to the fact that Da Silva was employed at, and painted in, on, and about the Senator's home, "The Cedars." Actually, this house, now the Hantsport Marine Museum and Community Centre, was built by Churchill *ca.*1860, as a wedding present for his second son, John Wiley.[49] The paterfamilias himself never lived there.

Ezra Churchill, on 29 May 1871, three months after he became senator, purchased a Windsor property by auction: "Now, gentlemen," said he, "I'd like to buy this place but I'm not going to pay any price you've a mind to ask for it." "Give me one more bid," cried the auctioneer, "and 'Clifton' is yours."[50] The Hants County Registry of Deeds records the deed transfer of

47 Karen Casselman, "A Folk Art Find To Dazzle The Nation," *Atlantic Insight*, I, 3 (June 1979), 46-47.

48 Eric Nichols, "Gone But Not Forgotten: Francis Silver 1841-1920," *Francis Silver 1841-1920* (Halifax, 1982), p. 14.

49 First son, George Washington, received the shipyard house when Ezra moved to "Clifton" and Ottawa.

50 PANS MG 100, Vol. 218, file 15.

the property, "by the executors of the last will and testament of James P. Pellow, plaster merchant and widow, Ann Pellow, by auction [and partly by private sale] in September 1871 to the Hon. Ezra Churchill" for $21,650.[51] The residence had earlier been occupied by Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton.

In this slightly more urbane setting, still with a fine view of the Avon River, Churchill is said to have entertained "on a scale far more lavish and colourful than anything Judge Haliburton had ever dreamed of."[52] The three First of July concerts held at "Clifton" while he was alive have become Windsor legends. John F. Chandler, a local hardware merchant, was engaged as stage manager, while bands played and the whole town was invited. In 1872, a young Irish soprano who was singing to enthusiastic audiences in Halifax was engaged for a single performance at a fee of $450:

> There was rain on July first but still a great crowd gathered in the evening on the lawn at Clifton. The local tinsmith constructed a large kerosene oil burner with which to light the grounds but the arrangement leaked [and ruined his top hat]....At eight o'clock Miss D'Erino appeared on the porch...but when the rain increased was driven indoors. She sang the rest of her songs in the drawing-room, accompanying herself on the piano and her voice had such quality that the listeners paid scant heed to the inclement weather.[53]

It is almost certain that Joseph Howe and his wife, and perhaps some of their sons, attended one or more of these Dominion Day parties. Howe would have been very familiar with "Clifton," for he and Haliburton had been friends, and *The Clockmaker; or, The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville* had first appeared as anonymous articles in Howe's newspaper, the *Novascotian*, in 1836.

Besides these gala occasions, Ezra Churchill hosted private dinners, not quite so circumspect, for members of the Legislature from Halifax, and sometimes for federal colleagues. One of his daughters, visiting during one such raucous affair, reported in her diary: "A peacock was standing in all its

51 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 56, p. 555. *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 2 June 1871, p. 2.

52 R.B. Blauveldt, "Chebogue Orphan: Province's Richest Senator" (private archives).

53 *Hants Journal* (Windsor), 21 Feb. 1940, "The Historic Halls of Clifton," by Hon. A.S. MacMillan, Minister of Highways.

glory next morning on the sun-dial. Near dawn, some of the gentlemen had been found asleep behind the portières."[54] It was said that one of the guests had taken an accidental splash in bottomless Piper's Pond, down by the keeper's lodge and gates: perhaps the unsteady statesman had caught a glimpse of the phantom carriage which was supposed to haunt the driveway by night.

By 1873, Joseph Howe had been appointed Nova Scotia's first native-born lieutenant-governor, but served in this honorary posting for only three weeks before he died in Government House at Halifax, on 1 June. The Order of Procession for his funeral, at which 6,000 people marched from Government House to Camp Hill Cemetery, while 20,000 others watched, was elaborate.[55] Following the immediate family, members of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, the Admiral, and the Lieutenant-General, came the senators, ahead of the judges of the Supreme Court, and members of the House of Commons and Legislative Assembly. Churchill would have walked with head bowed and hands clasped behind his back, twenty years of political and personal memories flooding his brain.

Eleven months after, he would have his own cortège in Ottawa: "Senator Churchill died on the evening of the 8th inst. from inflammation of the lungs. His remains have left for Nova Scotia in charge of his son. The members of the Cabinet, Senate and Commons accompanied his remains to the railway station."[56] He was buried at Riverbank Cemetery in Hantsport, beside his first wife and in close proximity to where he had built his first ship, on the bank of the Halfway River. His mother had first settled on this land--some believe in a small, shingled and plastered outbuilding on her later Maple Street property--when she brought her two young children, Ezra and Elizabeth, from Yarmouth after the drowning of their father, Ezra Churchill Sr.[57] Parts of the cemetery have been given to the town by the family through the years, so it is only fitting that the Churchill plot commands today the most prominent location, midway along

54 Private archives.

55 Beck *(supra,* note 30), 285.

56 *British Colonist* (Halifax), 12 May 1874.

57 The Maple Street house was where Ezra, Ann and some of their children lived before the house was built at the shipyards. Ezra Sr. was five generations removed from the first John Churchill who came to Plymouth from England before 1643, and two generations removed from the first Churchill in Yarmouth, N. S., 1763. Ezra was drowned when his brig was wrecked on a voyage from New York.

the cedar- and chestnut-shaded grassy path overlooking a low, curving stone parapet that borders a bank dropping down to the river below.

The Senator's will was published in brief on the front page of the *Acadian Recorder* on 30 May 1874, in response to "many inquiries [which] have been made concerning the disposition of the extensive real and personal property of the late Senator Churchill":

> All his real and personal property[58] to his sons George W. and John W. subject to legacies and bequests afterwards specified....To his wife Rachel that part of the Clifton property, comprising the driveway, house and six acres of land 'provided she remains my widow,' all household furniture, horses, cattle, carriages, farm implements together with the sum of $4,000, and an income of $1,000 a year...their two sons $4,000 each...to each [six] surviving daughters $4,000.

In order to draw some sort of comparison, Harry Bruce in *The Story of R.A. Jodrey* has itemized what was considered "by Kings County standards a small fortune"--and this in 1916, forty years after Ezra's bequests: "The book value of his [Jodrey's] investment portfolio was better than $30,000. He now valued his [farm] at $9,250. His real estate also included half-interests in three farm-orchard properties and fruit warehouses. All together, his assets totalled $58,181.52 and his surplus after liabilities, was $26,433.37."[59] This sum is substantially less than Ezra's money bequests to his second wife, daughters and eleven- and nine-year-old sons.

Some years later, the *Halifax Herald* ran a contest asking readers to list the "Twenty Men Who Did Most For Nova Scotia." Candidates were to be "men and women who have contributed most to the material, spiritual and physical growth; to the wider culture and more general welfare of the province. The mere amassing of wealth is not a sole test and the names of the dead, as well as living persons, should be included."[60] Ezra Churchill was included among the winners, along with his old friends Joseph Howe, Sir Charles Tupper and Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton.

---

58 This included two homes, the E. Churchill & Sons Shipyards, thousands of acres of farm and timberland, buildings, wharves, stores, mines, quarries, and rights to water-power and mineral--all bequeathed to his sons, George W. and John W.

59 Harry Bruce, *The Story of R.A. Jodrey, Entrepreneur* (Toronto, 1979), p. 74: pertinent because in 1927 Jodrey would buy Churchill's shipyards, and later the house; both men, at different times, were reputed to be "the richest men" in the province.

60 Private archives.

Family Influences on Thomas Chandler Haliburton in Windsor

Gordon M. Haliburton

Thomas Chandler Haliburton's literary accomplishments stamped him as unique in the Nova Scotia of his day; he compiled and wrote the first lengthy historical and descriptive account of his native province and had it published in 1829 when he was thirty-three; he then wrote a series of humorous sketches in which a Yankee clockmaker named Sam Slick travelled through Nova Scotia and commented on what he saw. These essays were published anonymously in Joseph Howe's *Novascotian* in 1835-36 and then as a book, *The Clockmaker; or, The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville,* at the end of that year. In 1837, *The Clockmaker* was published in England and Haliburton was catapulted to international fame.

People asked then, and have asked since, what was special in the mind and experience of this resident of a distant British colony that allowed him the ability to write what would appeal to an international and cosmopolitan audience. Literary critics have singled out various influences, but the impression among many Canadians today is that Haliburton was not a representative Nova Scotian of his period; consequently, they doubt that he has a rightful place in the Canadian literary pantheon. This article aims to explore the family circle in which the young Haliburton was nourished and shaped, a family circle made up of people belonging to the 'Planter' community.

The Planters were those New Englanders who came into Nova Scotia by invitation to settle the empty lands vacated after 1755 by the dispossessed Acadians. The Planters subsequently made these lands their own, and shaped a society in Nova Scotia which was an extension of that in New England during the period before the American Revolution changed everything. Haliburton was born a part of this community, and since his Loyalist mother died a few weeks after his birth, it was his father's Planter family which preserved and shaped him into the precocious boy he became.

The immediate family circle consisted of his grandparents, William and Lucy Haliburton and their six children, of whom--aside from their daughter Charlotte who was married to a sugar planter in the West Indies--his father, W.H.O. Haliburton, was the only one yet married. As far as the infant and small boy were concerned, the ones who mattered were the grandparents and his Aunt Abigail--the fixed stars in his firmament.

Gordon M. Haliburton is a native of the Annapolis Valley and studied history at Acadia, Dalhousie and London Universities. He taught for more than two decades in Africa, but now lives in Wolfville where he researches and writes in the field of Nova Scotia history and genealogy.

This article has been developed from a paper presented by the author at the Planter Studies Conference, Acadia University, Wolfville, N.S., October 1990.

Pictures exist of the fine home W.H.O. Haliburton built on Water Street in Windsor, across from the more humble home of his parents.[1] It is said that Thomas was born in this house, which may be so, since the father may have built the house for the reception of his bride, Lucy Grant; but if so, it is quite possible that the two households merged after her death, and certainly they remained a close family unit, whether in one dwelling or two, until W.H.O. Haliburton made a second marriage seven years later.

Beyond the intimate family circle, however, there were others, relatives by blood and by marriage who, even if infrequently or never seen, were nevertheless remembered and talked about through the long winter evenings before the fire, when there was no entertainment save for that which they made themselves. Who were those doing the telling, and who were those talked about, in this family circle surrounding and nurturing the young Thomas? [See Appendices A and B for brief genealogical details.]

Most important were the grandparents. The depth of their New England roots cannot be overstated. First cousins to each other, William and Lucy Haliburton both were descended from the earliest settlers of Plymouth Colony and the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The grandmother, Lucy (Lusannah) Otis Haliburton, no doubt tendered Thomas a mother's care and must have been particularly close to the young child. Indeed, during her last days, Thomas--with his young wife and infant daughter--shared her house at Windsor and, in turn, cared for her. She would have been, over the years, a major source of family knowledge and perspective with regard to the New England ancestors and relatives.

When William and Lucy Haliburton came to Nova Scotia from Massachusetts in 1761, they were newly married and unencumbered by children. Their first baby, a boy named William for his father, was born a year after their arrival, when they were presumably living on their farm in Newport Township. He died on 16 April 1764, and his death was a blow to the young mother's courage. She lost interest in wilderness life and evidently urged her husband to find another profession. A daughter, named for her mother, was born in 1765, then in 1767 a second son. The mother gave him three names, William for his father, Hersey for her mother's family, and Otis

1 Robert Grant Haliburton, *Haliburton; A Centenary Chaplet* (Toronto, 1897), p. 17; Allen E. Penny, "Haliburton's 'Clifton', at Windsor, Nova Scotia," in Frank M. Tierney, ed., *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium* (Ottawa, 1985), p. 16.

for herself (and equally for her mother-in-law); she hoped these names would be a triple guard over her boy's life and perhaps the spirits of these maternal families did indeed protect him. She bore two other daughters, Charlotte and Abigail, and two more sons, John Gustavus and George Mordaunt. At some point, William moved his family into the new town of Windsor; according to a family tradition this was after the birth of her second son--which would probably make it in the spring of 1768 at the earliest, and possibly not until June 1771, when William was granted a house lot in the new town then taking shape in what had originally been part of Falmouth Township.[2]

William tried his hand at commerce and was a failure; then he by some means studied enough law to describe himself in records as an 'attorney,' and found he could scrape a living at that, along with buying and selling land. The family was never well-off; an inventory of their household furnishings in 1774, when he was more or less bankrupt, makes pathetic reading.[3]

Other kinfolk in the area included William's brother George, who was at various times the surveyor for Newport Township, the S.P.G. schoolmaster in the area, and eventually--probably utilizing his mathematical skills--a sea-captain. George had married Anna Avery, daughter of Robert Avery, a Planter in Horton, and probably they made their home at Red Bank Farm, which had formed part of the Ellis grant. At any rate, George and his wife were the owners of the farm when in 1790 he decided to turn his back on Nova Scotia. His eldest son, George Jr., was already living in Maine, but the elder Haliburton resettled the rest of his family at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, perhaps because his sister Abigail was there, married to a successful merchant, Jacob Sheafe Sr.[4]

---

2 Georgianna Haliburton, "A Short Account of the Haliburtons of Windsor Nova Scotia from 1760 to 1865...by a relative." Unpublished manuscript dated 28 Feb. 1873, held by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, MA.

Newport was originally designated Falmouth East, and the area that became Windsor was included in it. However, the new township gradually became 'Newport,' with more restricted boundaries; the Windsor area remained as a rump 'Falmouth East' until it was constituted into a new township under the name of Windsor.

3 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 3, p. 300; Vol. 5, p. 62.

4 A.W.H. Eaton, "The Haliburton Family; Old Boston Families No. 5," in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXI (Jan. 1917), 57-74; based also on research in the Registry of Deeds, Hants County; see also A.W.H. Eaton in DeCoursey Fales, *The Fales Family of Bristol, Rhode Island* (Boston, 1919), pp. 171, 179; and John Victor Duncanson, *Newport, Nova Scotia: A Rhode Island Township* (Belleville, 1985), p. 232.

William's other surviving sister, Priscilla, was also in Nova Scotia and at some unknown date became the wife of Jonathan Card, another Newport grantee who became a sea-captain and was lost with his vessel *ca.* 1805. Mrs. Card lived on for many years in Windsor as a dependant of her nephew, W.H.O. Haliburton, and during the childhood of Thomas would often have been in her brother's home.[5]

The family most closely related to the William Haliburtons, and probably their most intimate friends in Windsor, was that of Benjamin DeWolf. Mrs. DeWolf, Rachel Otis, was Lucy Haliburton's sister and was also, because of their New England antecedents, first cousin to William and George Haliburton and their sister, Priscilla Card. Mrs. DeWolf, who lived in close harmony with her sister and family until her health failed *ca.* 1817, gave birth to eight children, of whom Sarah, Rachel, Amelia and Harriot lived to maturity; they will be discussed later.

Although William and Lucy Haliburton reared six children to adulthood, their daughters Lucy and Charlotte died of unknown causes--possibly because they had picked up something fatal in Tobago, where they lived for some years--and Gustavus, a young mariner, was drowned at sea.[6] By the time Thomas was old enough to know them, they were gone. Fortunately, his Aunt Abigail was still unmarried and at home during his youth; she was, as he later wrote, "the nearest, dearest, and best friend I had. I loved her as a child...."[7] Unhappily for him, Abigail went to visit her aunts in Boston and married a young merchant, Samuel Fales. However, she remained in close contact with the family at Windsor, and on occasion visited them with some of her children. George Mordaunt Haliburton, about nineteen years old when Thomas was born, went off to Europe about four years later, brought back a wife, and had, in quick succession, three children who spent much of their time in Windsor with their grandparents--though their father had his own house and mercantile business in Halifax.[8]

5 Duncanson, *Newport*, pp. 131, 232; also, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], MG 1, Vol. 2950 A, docs. 5, 20.

6 Letter from Charlotte Campbell, Tobago, to Lucy Haliburton at Windsor, 6 May 1798 in PANS MG 1, Vol. 2950 A, doc. 3.

7 Fales, *The Fales Family*, p. 97; reprinted in Richard Davies, ed. *The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton* (Toronto, 1988), p. 110.

8 Eaton in Fales, op. cit., p. 184; T.B. Akins, "The History of Halifax City," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, VII (1891), 176-77; PANS MG 1, Vol. 2950 A, docs. 6, 7, 39.

The other survivor among the offspring of William and Lucy was Thomas's own father, William Hersey Otis Haliburton. Born in 1767, he was about twenty-nine when Thomas was born. His lifetime goals were to make a reputation for himself through hard work, and to be more successful in worldly things than his father. He laid a foundation so firm, and cemented with so much friendship, that in 1806 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly by the voters of Windsor Township; he repeated the success, this time by the voters of Hants County, in 1811, 1818 and again in 1820.[9]

Even though W.H.O. Haliburton was a busy man and widowed young, he must have given time to, and exerted an influence upon his son Thomas. The kind of man he was, and this subsequent influence on his son, however, seem not to be perfectly agreed upon by those who have studied his record as a politician. Chittick regarded him as a reactionary, and wrote that there could be "no doubt of W.H.O. Haliburton's complete acceptance of Tory principles, or of his undeviating adherence to them."[10] On the other hand, Murray Beck has dismissed this as "an outrageous caricature of the father." According to Beck, the evidence shows that W.H.O. Haliburton "displayed the usual attitudes of the 'country' assemblyman, though clearly better educated and more articulate, and that he was a highly pragmatic, common-sense person who, cautious and conservative in some respects, was highly enlightened and liberal in many others."[11] So far as his son was concerned, W.H.O. Haliburton gave him the best education he could find, and by all indications encouraged him to develop to the limits of his potential. There appears to have been no lack of confidence on the part of either towards the other.

Much has been written about the anti-American bitterness which Thomas Chandler Haliburton displayed on account of the sufferings of his mother and her people.[12] These influences--unless it can be established that he was at an

9 Shirley B. Elliott, ed., *The Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia 1758-1983: A Biographical Dictionary* (Halifax, 1984), p. 87.

10 V.L.O. Chittick, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton; A Study in Provincial Toryism* (New York, 1924), p. 16.

11 J. Murray Beck, "Haliburton, William Hersey Otis," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VI (Toronto, 1987), 306-8. Professor Beck repeated this verdict on W.H.O. Haliburton in a letter to the author, 5 May 1990.

12 In particular, Chittick, *Haliburton*, pp. 14-15; Fred Cogswell, "Haliburton," in Carl F. Klinck, ed., *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English* (2nd ed., Toronto, 1976), I, 108; and in Fred Cogswell, "Haliburton, Thomas Chandler," in *DCB*, IX, 348-357; these judgments have been repeated in various works quoting such authorities.

early period on close terms with what remained of the Grant/Chandler family connection--would have been gained at second- or third-hand, perhaps indeed through his Haliburton relatives, and would furthermore have been balanced by more positive tales of their own American connections, who were in close touch with the Windsor relatives.

However, it is true that Lucy Grant and her family suffered greatly as a result of the Revolution. Her father was a Highland officer, Alexander Grant, who had been with Wolfe, married and settled in the colonies, and was killed while fighting in the Revolutionary War. His American widow and her children came under the protection of a family friend, Colonel Joshua Chandler of New Haven, and came as a body to Annapolis Royal with the Loyalist migration to that end of the Annapolis Valley. In 1787 Colonel Chandler, with a son and daughter and Mrs. Grant, all perished in a horrible accident while en route to Saint John, New Brunswick to testify before the Commission hearing Loyalist Claims. Crossing the Bay of Fundy during a violent storm, they missed the harbour entrance, were shipwrecked, and died of injuries and exposure.[13]

Of the three Grant daughters, Elizabeth married Thomas Chandler but is understood to have died in 1802;[14] her last child was Ann, born in 1800. Helen Grant married Silas Morse of Annapolis County and bore two sons, Robert and William, before her early death on 6 August 1800; William Haliburton Morse lived to raise a large family in Annapolis County[15] and no doubt knew his cousin Thomas when the latter came to practise law in the area; indeed, he may have been present when the marriage took place in the Haliburton house in Annapolis Royal of Ann Chandler to Silas Hibbert Crane on 5 November 1825. The setting of this marriage is a sure indication that contacts were being made between these cousins as adults.

The Grants and Chandlers had made great sacrifices for the Crown and a United Empire, but whether the bitterness of their defeat and suffering was emotionally communicated to Lucy Grant Haliburton's young son is

13 This story is told in numerous sources, including Eaton in Fales, *Fales Family*, pp. 181-182.

14 Letter from Sarah (Botsford) Millege, Sackville, to her brother William Botsford, 15 Dec. 1801, in Cumberland County Historical Museum, Genealogical Collection, File RG1, Botsford.

15 W.A. Calnek and A.W. Savary, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897), p. 553; the date of Helen (Grant) Morse's death is found in Savary's *Supplement* to this history (Toronto, 1913), p. 82.

uncertain; and unless it was, there is no obvious reason why it should have poisoned his attitude to the United States of his own time. Chittick, convinced that this Loyalist bitterness explained Haliburton's "unreasoning...Tory passion" and hatred for America, felt moreover that it was "doubtless accentuated by the training given him by his aristocratically bred step-mother."[16] Indeed, Susan Haliburton, who joined the family when Thomas was seven, must have been a strong influence on the child, though a lack of evidence prevents one from knowing in which direction it was exerted.

Susan (or Susanna) Francklin Haliburton, stepmother to Thomas, was the daughter of Michael Francklin, a Devonshire man who had greatly prospered in Nova Scotia, retiring to Windsor in his declining years. Francklin began his career in the colony *ca.*1752 as the proprietor of a grog shop, prospering sufficiently to marry in Boston, ten years later, Susannah Boutineau whose maternal grandfather, Peter Faneuil, was a leading merchant and a patriarch of the Huguenot colony in that city. Francklin continued in Halifax, dealing in rum and fish, and securing profitable wartime contracts with the armed forces. He also did well out of privateering and land speculation.[17]

Presumably Chittick classed Michael Francklin--or at least his wife--as aristocrats. What the term seems to mean, when applied to Susan Francklin Haliburton, is that her parents had money and position and educated their daughters with all the graces thought necessary for young ladies of superior family. She had been prepared for a good marriage, and presumably she made it; she initially married Benjamin Davies of Pennsylvania, of whom nothing is now known, other than that he died and left her a young widow.[18]

We are told by Gwendolyn Shand that the Francklin family made their first permanent home in Windsor, and that Michael Francklin helped set up the first school there, for the benefit of his own children.[19] The young Haliburtons may well have attended, and that is where they would have

16 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 14.

17 Eaton, "Haliburton Family," p. 67; L. R. Fischer, "Francklin, Michael," in *DCB*, IV, 272-276.

18 Eaton, "Haliburton Family," p. 66.

19 Gwendolyn Vaughan Shand, *Historic Hants County* (Halifax, 1979), p. 15.

learned what the world expected of them. It is likely that Susan later held up to her stepson the same high standards of deportment and achievement the Haliburtons favoured; given her prominent Boston antecedents, and her pre-Loyalist status in Nova Scotia, there is certainly no reason to think that she was any more anti-American than were the Haliburtons. However, Chittick was convinced that there was an hostility in the family circle, stemming basically from the dead mother and the living stepmother, that left Thomas Chandler Haliburton with "to the end of his life some marked, though varying degree, of animosity towards the American people."[20]

It is significant and instructive to note here, however, that Chittick, a native of Hantsport, Nova Scotia and a graduate of Acadia University, was living in the United States, teaching in an American university, and formulating these opinions in a thesis being submitted to American examiners; perhaps it was these circumstances which made him think it wise and politic to demonstrate that animosity to things American was a pathological Canadian condition needing a diagnosis. Haliburton's general attitude should not strike any patriotic or nationalistic Canadian of today as being at all in need of explanation.

There was one single exception to the otherwise pure New England ancestry of the senior Haliburtons: Andrew Haliburton, William's father, brought exotic genes into the bloodline, since his ancestors, famous in exploit and song, hailed from the Scottish Border country. According to the respected literary critic, John Daniel Logan, these Border genes were the most important element of all in creating Haliburton the writer.[21] Andrew's descendants knew nothing about him, other than that he appeared in Boston while still in his teens, and had evidently come straight from Edinburgh, where he had been apprenticed to a wig-maker, a profession he pursued in Boston for several years. Something, business or health, took him to Jamaica with his wife in 1744, and he died there in 1745. At that time his son William was only six, and probably had not seen him for over a year. Family members believed that Andrew was the son of a Border gentleman who had fought on the continent as an officer during Marlborough's wars, and been killed in action at Dunkirk. His infant son was reputedly brought up by grandparents

20 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 14.

21 John Daniel Logan, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton* (Toronto, 1924), p. 3.

who lived so close to England that the child walked across the border to attend school.[22]

When well established in Windsor, with children of his own, William became anxious to discover where he fitted in among the various Haliburton families. He wrote to a gentleman in Scotland who passed his inquiry on to Walter Scott, an Edinburgh lawyer whose mother had been a Haliburton, and whose son was to become the famous Sir Walter Scott, poet and novelist. The senior Scott wrote back to William Haliburton, telling him that there had been powerful land-holding families of that name, but that they were now extinct or reduced, their glories forgotten, and there was nothing to be gained in looking for them. Walter Scott's son was considerably more interested in the family, and later had researched and published a book about his own line of Haliburton ancestors, justifying it by reprinting his father's reply to William.[23]

As is well known, Scots take pride in the exploits of their ancestors, and Sir Walter Scott was not wrong in thinking that his Haliburton forebears were worthy of respect. According to tradition, the common ancestor of the family was Tructe the Saxon, a man who probably came up from England at the time of the Norman Conquest. He established himself on property in present-day Berwickshire and there built a church, which prefixed the adjective 'Holy' to the 'bur and tun' of the original fortified farmstead. When subsequently it was decreed that all persons of power should take surnames, Tructe's descendants were identified as 'de Halyburton.' As sons multiplied, they scattered across the Lowlands of Scotland and established their own lineages.

Sir Walter Scott took particular pride in the flowering in the late Middle Ages of the Haliburtons who held Dirleton Castle, a massive pile which even in ruins commands respect today as one travels past it, south-east of Edinburgh. A daughter of this house, Janet, was the wife of Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, who, it has recently been argued, was the first European visitor to Nova Scotia and the inspiration for many of the legends surrounding the Micmac god and hero, Glooscap.[24] When the Haliburtons of

22 Eaton, "Haliburton Family," pp. 57-58; based on Georgianna Haliburton ms.

23 Rev. Charles Rogers, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. of Abbotsford with a Reprint of his Memorials of the Haliburtons* (London, 1877).

24 Frederick J. Pohl, *Prince Henry Sinclair; His Expedition to the New World in 1398* (New York, 1974).

Dirleton ran out of male heirs, a daughter carried their estates into the Gowrie family. This family, close to the Royal Stewarts, came to a tragic end as a result of the mysterious "Gowrie Conspiracy," in which the young James VI, being entertained alone by two Gowrie youths, suddenly cried "Treason!"; his guards, rushing to the rescue, slew the two before anyone knew what was happening. All the lands claimed by this powerful family were thereby forfeited to the Crown.

Presumably it was a Haliburton of the Dirleton connection for whom the barony of Mertoun was created by Archibald, Earl of Douglas (1328-1400). It is claimed that the Haliburtons of Windsor, Nova Scotia had in their possession a representation of their ancestral coat of arms;[25] the one used by Thomas Chandler Haliburton on his notepaper appears to be the same as awarded the Baron of Mertoun and was also claimed by Sir Walter Scott as that of his ancestors. It is impossible to say whether this coat of arms was known and valued by Andrew Haliburton of Boston, but in later years the belief that it was, formed the basis for the Nova Scotian Haliburtons to claim a relationship to the great Scottish writer.

It might be well to point out here that William Haliburton himself had literary aspirations to both prose and verse, although there was nobody at that time to value his efforts and he presumably gave no thought to publication. However, when his grandson showed literary interests, the old man encouraged him, and together they read and tested their skills of composition. The grandfather, interested in his Scottish heritage, was particularly fascinated by the poetry of Ossian, and he and Thomas jointly tried their hands on an imitation in the same strain.[26]

Unfortunately for his reputation, William's manuscripts did not long survive him; he hoped his family would treasure them after his death and accordingly stored his efforts in a barrel, to give posterity a chance to appreciate their merit. The end was what might have been anticipated: his sons were distracted by the demands of the daily routine and could not take time to examine the documents; the barrel was placed near the kitchen; and the contents were used as spills for lighting fires or singeing fowls. By the time the sons awoke to their filial responsibilities, their literary inheritance

25 Georgianna Haliburton ms., p. 18.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

was gone.[27] Only a few letters, petitions and other documents stored elsewhere, survive to indicate that William Haliburton could indeed express himself fluently in the written word.

It was believed later by his grandchildren that some of the papers burned consisted of William's correspondence with Walter Scott, though Robert G. Haliburton (a great-grandson) later claimed that these letters had been in his own possession until also destroyed by fire.[28] The date of the correspondence has thus been lost, though a letter of his father's quoted by Sir Walter Scott is dated 1792; it is noticeable, however, that in the legal documents signed by William and Lucy after *ca.* 1785, their rendering of the surname gradually changes from 'Hallyburton' to 'Haliburton';[29] the latter was the spelling preferred by the Scotts, and may be suggestive of the reputed family linkage. However, beyond the general assurance that the Haliburtons had been families of importance in the Middle Ages and later, and that they had once been numerous, especially in their county of origin, Berwickshire, William and his children were not able to find anything definite about the origins of their immigrant forefather.

Chittick, in describing William's efforts to determine his familial background, found them a cause for scorn because of their pretentiousness. Of course, when Chittick was writing, searching for one's origins was not the popular and democratic hobby it has become today; he could only rationalize this romantic quest as a search for unclaimed family property existing in Scotland[30]--and indeed, that may have been a wishful excuse for the exercise. However, as we have seen, the circumstances which left William without any firm facts concerning his father and his obscure background were challenge enough to initiate the investigation.

---

27 *Ibid.*

28 Robert Grant Haliburton in Appendix to Rev. G. W. Hill, *Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton* (Halifax, 1864).

29 In legal documents held at the Windsor Court House, the name is found as 'Hallyburton' until *ca.*1784, then for some years 'Halliburton' is favoured. The spelling 'Haliburton' is first found in a 1787 document, and by 1791 had become the standard for William and his family. However, his brother George and his family continued with the variant 'Halliburton' for another generation at least.

30 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 5; R.G. Haliburton in Hill, *Halliburton*, also speaks of a question of property being an issue.

More recent genealogical research has thrown considerable light on the family origins. Facts about Andrew Haliburton's career in Boston were first established by A.W.H. Eaton in 1917;[31] Andrew appeared in Boston records in 1719 when he married for the first time, and again when he was licensed to keep a tavern and when he held minor municipal offices. Within ten years his first wife was dead and he was married again, to Abigail Otis, from a well-established and extensive family centred on Barnstable and Scituate. Chittick was pleased to cast scorn on Andrew's beginnings as "an obscure wig-maker of Edinburgh,"[32] a profession that did not accord well with the superior family roots being sought for. Andrew, however, could have had many explanations as to how he became a wig-maker, which in any case was a perfectly respectable business in those days.

We have at present no basis for knowing whether the Otis family connections were helpful to Andrew, but there is an assumption that he built up interests in Jamaica, explaining why he and Abigail went there. The children were evidently farmed out to relatives or, in the case of the boys, boarded, because when Abigail returned after her husband's death in 1745, she faced a suit brought by one Andrew Oliphant in April 1746, claiming £360 owed for the living expenses of her sons "Andrew, Billie and George."[33] William ("Billie") was at this time seven years old, George was hardly more than four and Andrew, the eldest, cannot be dated. He ran away to sea, probably; at any rate, he disappeared and was never heard of again. The other two grew up and came to Nova Scotia, as we have seen.

At the General Register House in Edinburgh, there is today an open welcome for people of Scottish descent trying to trace their ancestors. Records held there show that one Andrew 'Hallyburton' was apprenticed on 15 August 1711 to Andrew Mitchell, a barber and wig-maker in Edinburgh. The indenture shows that his father had been Ensign William Hallyburton, deceased.[34] In the depository of wills in the same institution is evidence that

31 Eaton, as in footnote 4 above, and revised in Fales, *The Fales Family*.

32 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 4, footnote; Chittick would have been surprised by a more recent writer who, pointing out the importance of wigs in colonial America, says that at that time "wig-makers--haughty with affluence--strutted through the streets." W.E. Woodward, *The Way Our People Lived* (New York, 1944), p. 83.

33 Eaton, "Haliburton Family," p. 59.

34 *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices* (1701-1755) (Scottish Record Society, 1929); compiled from guild records held by the City of Edinburgh District Archives.

this William died as an officer in the service "of the Company of Scotland trading to africa and the indies,"[35] i.e. the well-known Darien Company whose failure at the end of the seventeenth century led to the bankruptcy of Scotland and its subsequent union with England in 1707.

The same documents, which are concerned with settling the Darien Company's debts after the English government made the money available as part of the conditions of union, show that William Hallyburton left a widow, Janet Allan. They also indicate that prior to joining the Darien Company, he had been on three years' service with Colonel Douglas's Regiment in Flanders; this body had been disbanded at Stirling in December 1697. Furthermore, in the death records kept by the Darien Company's expedition to Central America is found an entry on 6 December 1698 for Ensign William Hallyburton, dead "by reason of Flux."[36]

The facts revealed in these three entries appear to match family recollection, as written down by Georgianna Haliburton *ca.* 1873, too closely to be coincidental. The only serious discrepancy in the two accounts is the tradition that Andrew's father died in the siege of Dunkirk; the William in the Darien Company records, however, may well have been at Dunkirk, only to die less professionally a few years later. Unfortunately, later Haliburtons appear not to have known that a teenaged Andrew appeared in Boston as a wig-maker--or perhaps, like Chittick, they had no respect for the profession of wig-maker, and therefore never consulted the Register of Apprentices when they went ancestor-hunting.

It can be postulated that Andrew was a posthumous only child, with a mother in straitened circumstances. It was perhaps with some of the money settled on her by the Darien Company as her husband's share of the enterprise, that she was able to pay for her son's apprenticeship. At that time, 1707, he would have been about thirteen, the normal age for entering an apprenticeship, and he could well have been living with his grandparents before that. The grandfather was evidently not in a position to put the boy into a profession suitable for an officer's son. If this Andrew Hallyburton was indeed the Andrew who later came to Boston, then he would most certainly have had a significant family background to impart to his children. Details of

35 Commissariot of Edinburgh (Wills); General Register House, Edinburgh, CC. 8/8/83.

36 Dalhousie Muniments, GD 45/24/26; Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

his lineage, however, he was not able to pass along before his premature death.

Although Chittick expressed doubt that Thomas Chandler Haliburton was greatly interested in his Scottish connection,[37] this statement is probably inaccurate. Although it is unlikely that he ever attempted to contact Sir Walter Scott (who died in 1832), Haliburton in later years visited the Border country and was welcomed at Coldstream, on the Tweed, as a 'cousin' and an honoured guest of John Haliburton, a patriarchal landowner there; his name was still honoured in that family a century later.[38] It is certainly a fact, as noted above, that he made extensive--but perhaps unofficial--use of the Haliburton coat of arms, in this case the most popular version, the device being "A stag at gaze" and the motto "Watch Weel." It is certain, too, that he delighted in meeting others of the same surname, a particular example being Alexander Fowden Haliburton, whom he welcomed as a kinsman, and later had the happiness of calling a son-in-law.[39]

Returning to those relatives close to young Haliburton growing up in Windsor, mention has been made of his Aunt Abigail who went on a visit to Boston and stayed there as the wife of Samuel Fales. She remained, however, in close contact by letters, often entrusted to the captains of Windsor vessels sailing back and forth to Boston. Such letters as have survived reveal her frequent thoughts for Nova Scotian relatives, her rejoicings when her parents inherited legacies, her concern to have cucumber pickles made up and sent to them, and her sorrow over the inevitable bereavements and family losses.[40] She visited Windsor on occasion with some of her children, and her home in Boston was open to any who ventured to that city. It is certain that regardless of the distance between them, her nephew loved and appreciated her, and the fact that she had become an American and raised an American family cast no shadow over their relationship.

37 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 4.

38 Statement based on a letter to the author from the Rev. A. Henderson (a grandson of John Haliburton of Coldstream), 18 Nov. 1953.

39 Honoured as kinsman in the dedication of *Sam Slick's Wise Saws and Modern Instances*, dated London, 9 May 1853, Alexander F. Haliburton became his son-in-law the following May.

40 Fales, *Fales Family*, pp. 100,103.

As noted above, the only other surviving sibling of young Thomas's father was the latter's brother, George Mordaunt Haliburton. This man established himself in Halifax as a merchant *ca.*1800, but suffered many reverses and tribulations. His first wife died with her infant daughter, his property burned in a serious fire, and disappointments dogged him for years, until he left Nova Scotia and settled in Boston.[41] His three surviving children by his first marriage, Georgianna, Maria and William, all some years younger than Thomas, appear to have spent much of their time in the family circle at Windsor, particularly after the death of their mother. The son, William H.O., named for his uncle, was not trained for any profession, but as he grew up may have acted as a confidential secretary and research assistant to his cousin; at any rate, he accompanied Thomas Chandler Haliburton to Annapolis Royal, where he subsequently became a shipwright and farmer, retiring in his later years to Wolfville, where he was famed as a gardener. Relations between his family and the Windsor Haliburtons remained particularly close. His older sisters, Georgianna and Maria, seem to have lived for years with their relations in Windsor or in Boston. Georgianna became a fixture of the Samuel Fales household in Boston and was the resident authority on the Haliburton kinfolk. Meanwhile, Maria married at Windsor, 8 March 1831, Dr. Samuel Bayard, who practised medicine first in Annapolis Royal and later in Saint John, New Brunswick.[42]

There were, beyond these near relatives, a group of second cousins also important to the social education and outlook of young Haliburton. His great-aunt Rachel and her husband Benjamin DeWolf raised four daughters to maturity in Windsor. The eldest, Sarah Hersey Otis DeWolf, married Major Nathaniel Ray Thomas Jr., long-time Collector of Customs at Windsor, a cousin of Governor Sir John Wentworth's wife, and the son of a well-known Loyalist from Massachusetts. Their children, brought up in Windsor, included Charles Wentworth Thomas, who went into the army, and Sarah who in 1828 married Lewis Morris Wilkins Jr. Her husband represented

41 Abigail's letter to her husband, 11 June 1809, in Fales, *Fales Family*, p. 102, mentions the death of George's first wife and small daughter; Akins, cited above, describes the fire in 1816.

42 Alice Terry Marion, "Harry King's Courtship Letters, 1829-1831," unpub. M.A. thesis, Acadia University, 1986, p. 363; Davies, *Letters;* also Fales, *The Fales Family*, p. 103. Her cousin, Thomas, gave her away. Information on W.H.O. Haliburton II comes from family traditions, the records of St. Luke's Anglican, Annapolis Royal, and census returns, Annapolis and Kings Counties.

Windsor in the Legislative Assembly for many years and had a respected career; he retired from politics to become a judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.[43] The second DeWolf daughter, Rachel, married James Fraser, a prominent Halifax merchant and member of the Executive Council; presumably they were often in Windsor with their children, who were somewhat younger than Thomas Haliburton.[44]

The third daughter, Amelia Isabella, was seventeen when Haliburton was born. She was a mature woman in 1821 when she married an army captain, John Mackay, from Scotland. Mackay received a grant of land in Windsor and in 1826 was elected to the Legislative Assembly; he died suddenly, however, before he could take his seat. Not surprisingly, there was no issue of this marriage, and perhaps the young Haliburton children filled a gap in Amelia's life. Certainly when Thomas Chandler Haliburton moved back from Annapolis to Windsor, on being appointed to the bench, Mrs. Mackay was very hospitable, and when another Haliburton daughter was born in July 1829 she was named Amelia Mackay in honour of her second cousin, once removed.[45]

The fourth DeWolf daughter, Harriot Sophia, born in 1781, married, at the age of eighteen, the Reverend William Colsell King, M.A., and died in their rural parish of Rawdon, in childbirth, at the age of twenty-six. Soon after her death, her husband yielded to invitations to become Principal of the Academy (later King's College School), of which Thomas Haliburton was then presumably a pupil. His relations with the new principal were very different from those with another of his teachers, a man who evidently did not appreciate young Thomas's sense of humour and about whom Haliburton wrote, as a classmate remembered: "In Windsor town there lived a Parson,/His name it was John Farquharson,/Secluded from domestic life/In vain he strove to get a wife."[46]

43 Elliott, *MLAs*, p. 235.

44 W.A. Spray, "Fraser, James," in *DCB*, VI, 262-263.

45 Eaton, "Haliburton Family," p. 71; Christ Church Anglican records, Windsor, N.S.; R.L. Weis, "Descendants of the Honourable Benjamin DeWolf and Rachel (Otis) DeWolf of Windsor, N.S." (Providence, R.I., 1967).

46 W.C. Milner, *Early History of Dorchester and the Surrounding Area* (1932), p. 24.

The King boys were so much younger than Thomas that there was not much opportunity for friendship, but the fact that in 1808 the Rev. Mr. King took as his second wife another of the Francklin sisters, the widow Elizabeth Gould (then in her mid-forties), brought the Haliburton and King households closer together. The Rev. Mr. King became rector of the parish of Windsor in 1813 and continued in that office--with the help of yet a third and younger wife--until 1843, so was intimately connected with four generations of Haliburtons as their spiritual adviser and pastor.[47] When William Haliburton signed his will on 20 April 1816, a year before his death, he appointed the Rev. Mr. King as one of his executors.[48]

The youngest of the King boys, Harry, whose birth had been the occasion of his mother's death, became as he grew up, close to the Haliburton family and an admirer especially of his cousin Thomas. His letters to his fiancée, Margaret Halliburton Fraser, make frequent mention of him. When in 1829 Thomas was appointed to the bench, Harry commented, "I know his abilities are excellent" and--of special satisfaction--"he will become a resident among us & bring with him an accomplished and amiable Lady & a very nice family."[49] Thomas and his family probably lived up to Harry's expectations, just as they were glad to find him, along with other relatives, forming an intimate society in which to feel at home. By this time Thomas, with his historical work coming off the presses and Sam Slick soon to take shape in his mind, was a mature and finished individual, and long past the time when family influences could mould him. Whatever he had become, the foundations were laid in the first seven years within the intimate heart of his close family circle.

47 Marion, "Courtship Letters," p. 57.

48 The document is printed in Fales, *Fales Family*, pp. 302-305.

49 Marion,"Courtship Letters," p. 57.

Appendix A

A Haliburton Genealogy

1 Andrew Haliburton/Hallyburton came to Boston from Edinburgh, Scotland, where he had qualified for the profession of wigmaking. In Boston he m. (1) 23 Feb. 1719, Amy **Figg**, and (2) 22 Feb. 1730/1, Abigail **Otis**, dau. Job Otis and his wife Mercy Little of Scituate. Andrew died *ca.*1745 and his widow m. (2) 1756, Dr. Edward Ellis, who had been Surgeon-General with the Massachusetts forces at the siege and capture of Louisburg in 1745, and who stayed on for some time in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. When the Acadian lands were opened to New England settlers, Dr. Ellis and his stepson William Haliburton applied for grants. Dr. Ellis's daughters by his first marriage later married men who also lived in Nova Scotia: Maria Ellis m. Capt. Edmund Watmough and settled at Falmouth; Sarah m. Isaac Deschamps and lived in Windsor, as did Elizabeth after she married Frank Delesdernier.

Issue of Andrew and Abigail (Otis) Haliburton:

i. Andrew, b. *ca.*1732; ran away from home.
ii. Abigail, b. *ca.*1734; m. (1) Frederic **Hamilton** and (2) Jacob **Sheafe**, Sr., and lived in Portsmouth, N. H.
iii. Isabella, b. 1736; evidently d. yg.
iv. Priscilla, b. 1738; m. (1) Robert **Pate** and (2) Jonathan **Card**, a grantee of Newport Township, Nova Scotia. She lived as a widow in Windsor for at least two decades after his death in 1805.

2 v. William, b. 1739.
3 vi. George, b. 1742.

2 William Haliburton, b. 1739; d. 1817 in Windsor, N. S.; served in Seven Years War; m. 1761 his cousin Lusannah (Lucy) **Otis** (1738-1821), dau. of Ephraim Otis and his wife Rachel Hersey of Scituate, Mass. William was a grantee of Newport Township in 1761.

Issue of William and Lucy (Otis) Haliburton:

i. William, b. 1762; d. 1764.
ii. Lusannah Hamilton (Lucy), b. 1764; d. *ca.*1799.
4 iii. William Hersey Otis, b. 1767.
iv. Charlotte, b. 1770; lived in Tobago; d. 1799 in London.

v. Abigail, b. 1773; d. 1839; m. Samuel **Fales** of Boston.
vi. John Gustavus, b. 1775; drowned at sea, 1797.
5 vii. George Mordaunt, b. 1777.

3 George Haliburton, b. 1742, d. 1814; m. 1766, in Horton Township, Anna **Avery**, dau. of Robert Avery, a grantee. He was a surveyor and helped to survey Newport Township; taught school for the S.P.G.; during the years of the American Revolution he was living in Horton and was a lieutenant in the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers; after that he went to sea; in 1791 he sold Red Bank Farm (originally granted to Dr. Ellis), moved to New Hampshire, and sailed from Portsmouth as a respected sea-captain.
Issue of George and Anna (Avery) Haliburton:
i. George, b. 1767 in Horton Township; living in Maine by 1790.
ii. John Oliver, b. 1769; ran away from home.
iii. Andrew, b. 1771; lived in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.
iv. Ann, b. 1773; lived in Portsmouth.

4 William Hersey Otis Haliburton, b. 1767; d. 1829; m. (1) 1794, Lucy **Grant** and (2) 1803/4, Susan (Francklin) Davis.
Issue of W.H.O. and Lucy (Grant) Haliburton:
i. Thomas Chandler Haliburton, b. 1796 in Windsor; d. 1865 at Isleworth, near London, England; m. (1) in 1816, Louisa **Neville** and (2) in 1856, Sarah Harriet (Owen) **Williams**.

5 George Mordaunt Haliburton, b. 1777; d. 1861; m. (1) 1801, in Europe, Christina Maria **Loup** and (2) 1810, in Halifax, Maria Cunningham **Peebles**. He went into business in Halifax, but *ca.* 1830 moved to Boston.
Issue of George and Christina (Loup) Haliburton:
i. Georgianna, b. 1803; d. unm., Boston.
ii. Maria Sanby, b. 1805; m. Dr. Samuel Bayard, M.D., Saint John.
iii. William Hersey Otis, b. 1808; Annapolis Royal and Wolfville.
Issue of George and Maria (Peebles) Haliburton:
iv. John Gustavus Peebles, b. 1811; lawyer in Sydney, Cape Breton.
v. George Mordaunt, b. 1813; book-seller in Boston.
vi. Thomas Andrew, b. 1815; farmer in Baddeck, Cape Breton.
vii. Charles William Robertson, b. 1816; details unknown.
viii. Alfred Fales, b. 1820; lawyer in Sydney and sheriff of Victoria County, Cape Breton.

Appendix B

A DeWolf Genealogy

Benjamin DeWolf of Windsor, N. S., m. at Scituate, Massachusetts, Rachel **Otis**, dau. of Ephraim Otis and his wife Rachel Hersey, and sister of Lucy (Otis) Haliburton.

Issue of Benjamin and Rachel (Otis) DeWolf:

i. Sarah Hersey Otis, b. 1770; m. Nathaniel Ray **Thomas**. Issue: Charles, Sarah.
ii. Rachel Hersey, b./d. 1772.
iii. Rachel Otis, b. 1773; m. James **Fraser**. Issue: Sarah, James, Harriett, Amelia, Frances, Benjamin, Catherine and Mary.
iv. John, b./d. 1775.
v. Susanna Isabella, b. 1776; d. 1777.
vi. Frances Mary, b. 1778; d. 1791.
vii. Isabella Amelia, b. 1779; m. Capt. John **MacKay**; no issue.
viii. Harriot Sophia, b. 1781; m. Rev. William Colsell **King**. Issue: William, Benjamin, John and Harry.

The Rawdon Tract, c. 1788
Showing roads, major streams and land locations for colonels and captains. Grants are shown in 500-acre blocks.
N
TO DOUGLAS
TO GORE
TO NEWPORT
TO HALIFAX—WINDSOR RD.
Glen Brook
Little R.
Herbert R.
Meander R.
Long Lake
William Meek
James Nichols
Zachariah Gibbs
George Bond
John Bond
Adam Prelick
John Bond
John Bond (not in original grant)
John Saunderson
William Meek
Thomas Pearson
Thomas Pearson
John Bond, Jr.

Community and Cohesion in the Rawdon Loyalist Settlement

Carole W. Troxler

Unlike most Loyalist settlements in Nova Scotia, Rawdon in Hants County originated in the backcountry of the Southern Colonies. The nucleus of Rawdon's settlers were South Carolina militiamen and their families, who had been inside the last and most important British backcountry installation of the entire Southern Campaign, at the moment when the Revolutionaries laid siege to it in May 1781. After a month, the Loyalists inside Fort Ninety-Six were rescued by the approach of British forces led by Lord Francis Rawdon. The young general then initiated an orderly withdrawal towards the coast--one of a series of decisions which eventually took men, women and children from the vicinity of Fort Ninety-Six to another wilderness frontier, this time in Nova Scotia. By late 1785, the new settlement called Rawdon consisted of at least thirty-four families and thirty-one single men, about two-thirds of them from the southern part of Ninety-Six District, and almost all of the remainder from elsewhere in the Carolina-Georgia backcountry.[1]

The Rawdon settlers went to Nova Scotia with a sense of community, based not on kinship but on personal acquaintance, common origin, and shared wartime experiences. The recognition of Captain John Bond as the main leader of the Rawdon nucleus soon after their arrival from South Carolina suggests that a community dynamic was at work even that early. Usually, Nova Scotian authorities chose the ranking military figure for local responsibility in a new settlement. Bond's appointment as deputy surveyor and as one of four justices of the peace clearly was not based on military rank, for there were several other captains and two colonels among the original settlers, virtually all of them with longer and more substantial service records than his. Bond's early emergence as the main leader of the settlement apparently resulted from the other settlers' preference.[2]

During its first five or so years, Rawdon attracted other southern backcountry Loyalists from elsewhere in Nova Scotia. Cultural and even personal familiarity was one attraction, as the example of Arelia Pace illustrates. Her husband and five of her sons, all Loyalists and all native

Carole Watterson Troxler is Professor of History at Elon College in North Carolina.

1 For the background of Rawdon's settlers and for the wartime experiences which helped form their sense of community, see Carole Watterson Troxler, "Origins of the Rawdon Loyalist Settlement," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 8 (1988), 63-76.

2 For Bond's role, see Carole Watterson Troxler, "A Loyalist Life: John Bond of South Carolina and Nova Scotia," in *Acadiensis*, XIX (Spring 1990), 72-91.

Georgians, had died during the war or shortly thereafter. She settled in British East Florida after the war with three other sons, and they were among the last to leave for Nova Scotia, in 1785. Upon arrival, the illness of one son forced the family to separate from their shipmates, and for a time Arelia Pace rented land at Sackville, some ten miles from Halifax. By 1787 the son had died and she had moved to Rawdon, to be near her "friends and acquaintances."[3]

Another widow, Margaret Evans, moved to Rawdon from Shelburne. She had lived near Salisbury, North Carolina, where her husband had headed a militia company. He died after they went to East Florida in 1782, and she had worked as a tailor in St. Augustine. Margaret Evans took her four children and two "servants," who may have been slaves, to Shelburne in 1784 and was granted a town lot there. Two years later she was living in Rawdon, where she subsequently married one of the original settlers, and in 1787 received three hundred acres there in her own name.[4]

In addition to the pull of personal and cultural familiarity, Rawdon attracted southern backcountry people from other parts of Nova Scotia because its farmland held better potential than they had found elsewhere in the province. The Rawdon nucleus had arrived in Nova Scotia in late 1782, prior to the evacuation of New York; they were given a settlement site both nearer Halifax and better suited for farming than what most southern refugees received when they arrived considerably later. Compared with land which refugees from the southern backcountry received elsewhere in Nova Scotia, the Rawdon site in its virgin state suggested, if not quite paradise, then at least the South Carolina up-country.

---

3 Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], RG 20, Series U, Unused Petitions, Petitions of Arelia and Drury [or Darius] Pace, 17 Sept. 1787; Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, Spanish Censuses, Bundle 323A [hereafter Spanish Censuses], [1784]; Allen D. Chandler, Lucian Lamar Knight, Kenneth Coleman, and Milton Ready, eds., *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 26 vols. (Atlanta, 1904-1916, 1979-1982; vols. 29-39 unpublished manuscripts, Georgia Archives, Atlanta), XXXVIII, Pt. 2, 625.

4 Claims material of Margaret Evans [Fitzsimmons], PRO, Audit Office [hereafter AO] 12, Vol. 35; AO 12, Vol. 125, f. 26; AO 12, Vol. 123, f. 22; AO 13, Vol. 138. Both husbands, Thomas Evans and James Fitzsimmons, were natives of England. Fitzsimmons had served in the Second Regiment of the South Carolina Continentals from 1777 until he was captured. On a prison ship at Charleston in 1781 he joined the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment, which went to Nova Scotia in late 1783. He did not settle with his regiment but went instead to Rawdon, where he was among the first settlers. Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1983), p. 316; William Lowe Recruiting List, PRO State Papers 41, Vol. 29, transcript in State Archives, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh [hereafter NCA].

The tract lay in the hilly portion of the upland plain between the headwaters of the Kennetcook and Herbert rivers. It was not the most desirable farmland in the area: as the Loyalists entered the wilderness from the nearest town, Newport, they encountered richer and more level land convenient to Newport, along the lower section of the Kennetcook. This 30,000-acre tract was not available, however, for it had been granted to William Haliburton only months before the Rawdon nucleus reached Nova Scotia.[5] The settlers at first found the relative inaccessibility of their tract onerous, but they had no complaints concerning its farming potential. The rolling terrain was reminiscent of the creek-watered hills whose fertility had rewarded their labour before the war. To frontiersmen conditioned to regard a heavy hardwood growth as an indication of good farmland, the beech, birch and maple forest was promising. The accumulated organic matter on the forest floor suggested a thick and fertile soil, and indeed the gray sandy loam beneath the humus was rich. Drainage was good, except for the low areas which the settlers avoided, and much of the land was free from large boulders.[6] Altogether, the land appeared to be "of superior quality for producing new land crops." As late as 1819 a Rawdon farmer asserted that "perhaps few settlements in the province are more capable of tillage."[7]

Daniel Phillips said that Rawdon's farmland attracted him there from Shelburne. The Wilkes County Georgia militia captain had taken his family to East Florida when the British evacuated Savannah, and they were among the last to leave for Nova Scotia in 1785. Soon after arriving at Halifax, he took his wife and child to Shelburne. "Not finding the lands agreeable for Agriculture or farming," however, the Georgia native moved on to Rawdon, where in 1787 he asked for five hundred acres and received a grant for four hundred.[8]

5 Shortly after the Loyalists received a grant at Rawdon, disbanded men from the 84th Regiment were granted land nearby; some of the former soldiers tried to settle within Haliburton's more desirable tract, but the Windsor lawyer quickly enforced his ownership. Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 4, pp. 144-145; National Archives of Canada [hereafter NAC], MG 23, D1, ser. I [hereafter Chipman Papers], Vol. 24, p. 327.

6 D.B. Cann *et al, Soil Survey of Hants County, Nova Scotia* (Truro, 1954), pp. 22, 36-38, 58.

7 PANS, County Histories, J.C. Cox, "Hants County" [1865, no pagination]; *Acadian Recorder* [Halifax], 1 May 1819, p. 1.

8 PANS, RG 20, Series A, John Sterling (or Starling) Land Papers, 1787, Memorial of Daniel Phillips; Marion Gilroy, compiler, *Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1937), p. 61; Georgia Archives, Joseph Toomey Collection, Court Cases, Lyman Hall vs. Micajah Williamson, 10 Feb. 1792, petition; Spanish Censuses [1783]; CO 5, Vol. 560, p. 404.

In the first land grant at Rawdon, individual allotments were larger than Loyalist allotments elsewhere in Nova Scotia, a circumstance making Rawdon even more attractive to newcomers. In the original Rawdon grant to John Bond and others, fifty-six grantees were allotted 250 acres each for single men and five hundred acres for men with families--approximately twice the allotment in most Loyalist settlements. Two factors explain the unusual size: the example of Newport and the timing of the request for land. Bond got a warrant to survey in June 1783, one of the earliest Loyalist warrants to come before Governor John Parr and his council. Two months earlier, most of the people who would be included in the Bond grant moved to Newport after spending their first winter at Halifax. At Newport they learned that the grants there had been 250 acres for a single man and five hundred for a family. Significantly, a pre-Loyalist Newport resident of some prominence, Shubael Dimock, received five hundred acres in the Bond grant. It is likely that Dimock helped Bond to use the local precedent in requesting a grant.[9]

As the local deputy-surveyor, Bond's advice on Rawdon land matters carried some weight with the governor's land-granting apparatus. Bond and the other justices of the peace energetically supported the efforts of the new arrivals at their settlement. For southern backcountrymen then, Rawdon was a place where one could count on the local power structure for support in getting a reasonably good piece of farmland.[10]

9 John Victor Duncanson, *Newport, Nova Scotia: A Rhode Island Township* (Belleville, Ontario, 1985); PANS RG 1, Vol. 359, p. 63, "Return of the Loyalists from South Carolina settled near Windsor"; PANS RG 20, Series A, John Bond, 1784; AO 12, Vol. 26, claims material of Thomas Thornton.

10 The Rawdon leaders were not always able to get land for a local petitioner. In 1787, while newcomers were asking for land, George Bond, who had sold the 500 acres which he had received in the original grant, asked for a new grant or a licence of occupation until he could prove himself worthy of a second grant. He explained that the loss of "a valuable negro which he had purchased as well as horses [and] cattle" had forced "the Disagreeable Necessity" of selling his grant. Although he did not mention it, George Bond had also lost the use of one hand from a wound at the battle of Eutaw Springs. The justices of the peace who supported his petition mentioned that three wounds had "rendered him unfit at many times to assist himself...by his Labours." John Bond, perhaps fearing the suspicion of favouritism, struck through his own signature of recommendation and left Gibbs to attest his own approval, which was then signed by William Meek as well. The governor remained unconvinced that one who had sold his grant should receive even a licence of occupation, and George Bond had to wait until 1798 for a new grant, which he received from Parr's successor, John Wentworth. PANS RG 20, Series A, John Hockenhull, 1798, petition of George Bond; PRO Treasury Papers [hereafter T] 50, Vol. 2, petition of George Bond, 12 Apr. 1782; Gilroy, *Loyalists and Land Settlement*, p. 60.

Soon after the original settlers moved to the Rawdon site in early 1784, other refugees from the southern backcountry began arriving there. Rawdon justices of the peace helped them petition for land, endorsing the newcomers' requests with statements that their "industry" and "honesty" could be attested by acquaintances in the settlement. As local deputy-surveyor, Bond tried to speed up a grant for the first ten arrivals from East Florida. He followed up their 1784 petition with a visit to the office of Surveyor-General Charles Morris Jr. and a petition to Parr. Bond told the governor that the petitioners "are now gone up to Rawdon agreeable to your Incouragement [*sic*]" and indicated that he "did wait on the Chief Surveyor and he declares of doing nothing without a Warrant of Survey." The governor responded with an order for a warrant, but by July 1785 some of the lots still had not been surveyed. Meanwhile, the new families had spent the previous year split and scattered among Rawdon residents who had taken them in, and additional people had come to Rawdon seeking land.[11]

During the period of the survey, the new arrivals' land allotments increased, apparently from an effort to reapply the Newport model. At first, the newcomers with families, regardless of their size, had been allowed a uniform two hundred acres; thus Randle [Randal] McDonald, with a woman, three children and three servants in his household was assigned two hundred acres, along with Daniel McKissek who had only a woman and a child with him. Before the grant was made, however, there were adjustments to allow approximately the typical headright of one hundred acres per grantee, with fifty additional acres for each person in the household. Beneficiaries of the adjustment included Margaret Evans with three children and two servants, John Bane with a woman and two servants, and Randal McDonald, who received five hundred acres instead of his original two hundred. However, neither these 1784-85 East Florida arrivals nor later Rawdon settlers received as much land as had the original refugees in the Bond grant.[12]

11 The group from East Florida who requested land in 1784 included nine men, six women, seven children and five unspecified "servants." Seven more southern backcountrymen, with about fifteen additional household members, came to Rawdon in 1785 and were included in the grant; most of them had been in East Florida. PANS RG 20, Series A, John Sterling *et al.*, John Bond petition, 1784; *ibid.*, Randal McDonald petition, 1787.

12 PANS RG 20, Series A, John Sterling *et al.* and John MacKay *et al.*, both 1787. Most of the thirty-five people who received these lands were from the backcountry of the Carolinas and Georgia.

The Rawdon justices of the peace did not restrict their assistance to their former countrymen from the Southern Colonies. Alexander Patterson Jr., who had lived in Nova Scotia for fifteen years, was included in the East Floridians' grant. Patterson did not write, and his petition was penned instead by Zachariah Gibbs, formerly a militia colonel in Ninety-Six District and now a Rawdon justice of the peace. Unable to attest to the truth of Patterson's statements, as they had done for petitioners whom they had known in the South, Gibbs and Bond attested to their *belief* in Patterson's truthfulness. Gibbs further recommended him to Governor Parr as an "Industrious honest man" and endorsed him a second time, as "civil honest and Industrious." Bond added: "I think your Memoralist [*sic*] is a good seteler [*sic*]."[13] The Rawdon leadership wanted to attract such "industrious honest" individuals, knowing that the development of the community depended in part on its population base.

For newcomers, the benefits of a pre-war or wartime acquaintance with someone in the Rawdon nucleus can be glimpsed in Zachariah Gibbs's efforts on behalf of Richard Fenton. The Gibbs-Fenton relationship also illustrates the Rawdon application of the contemporary European model of *noblesse oblige*, tempered on the North American frontier by mutual dependency.

Gibbs was in Britain when the original settlers went onto their land in 1784, but nevertheless he received one thousand acres in that grant, one of only three men receiving that much land. Gibbs went to Rawdon in October 1786 and then energetically helped Bond get land for new settlers. Gibbs tried to help Fenton get Loyalist compensation as well; indeed, he had a financial interest in Fenton's success: Gibbs told his London agent that he had paid the Fenton family's "passage from London to Halifax, upwards of Forty Pounds[. T]hey not being worth ten Pounds, I have little Prospect of being repaid." Meanwhile, between October 1786 and May 1787, Fenton had helped Gibbs clear twenty acres, and together they had built two houses.[14] From Rawdon, Gibbs wrote to James Gordon at Musquash, New Brunswick for assistance in preparing a claim for Fenton. Gordon had been lieutenant-colonel in the Loyalist militia in South Carolina, and like Gibbs he was a justice of the peace in his northern exile. Fenton, his wife and two children

13 PANS RG 20, Series A, John Sterling *et al.*, Petition of Alexander Patterson.

14 AO 13, Vol. 129, pp. 50-51, Gibbs to Lewis Wolfe, 4 May 1787.

had gone from Whitby, Yorkshire to Georgia in 1774 as indentured servants, and Gordon had supervised their settlement in lands recently obtained from Creek Indians. From New Brunswick, Gordon now replied to Gibbs that it was too late for Fenton to enter a claim, but he added "I am very much pleased that Richard & family are in such good hands as yours and...your goodness to them will not be misapplied." He asked Gibbs to "tell [the Fentons] that I have a very Kind Remembrance of them." Meanwhile, Fenton asked for five hundred acres at Rawdon and received four hundred, a headright allotment.[15]

Communication with Halifax was crucial to settlers' obtaining land and to the efforts of the justices of the peace to assist them. More urgent for the initial settlement was communication with Newport, in order to bring in their families, and with Windsor, where their provisions were distributed. In 1786 John Saunderson, an original settler, recalled that "there was very little communication between the Township of Newport & Rawdon till the new settlers made a sort of Road, & very little communication between either of them & Windsor."[16] To bring in provisions from Windsor required a cumbersome journey up the Herbert River and through the woods. Saunderson described the trip: "Provisions were fetched from Windsor, half a yrs. Provisions at a time at first, they got a Boat by which they were brought 10 or 12 miles, then they carried them as they could. [I] carried [mine] on [my] Back 7 miles thro. the woods."[17]

Once the Rawdon settlers were on their land, they cut a cross-settlement road which they linked with that connecting Halifax and Windsor. The latter was one of only two recognizable roads in Nova Scotia, and its nearest point lay about two and one-half miles south of the southwest corner of the Rawdon tract. The cross-settlement road ran roughly southwest to northeast

15 Claims material of Thomas Brown, AO 13, Vol. 34, "Muster Roll of Servants Embarked at Whitby..."; Gordon's letter was addressed to Gibbs, "formerly of South Carolina near Windsor Nova Scotia," 14 Feb. 1787, in PANS RG 20, Series A, John Sterling *et al.*, 1787, petition of Richard Fenton; New Brunswick Museum [hereafter NBM], James Gordon commission, 29 July 1786; Provincial Archives of New Brunswick [hereafter PANB], RG 10, RS 108, Land Petitions, memorial of James Gordon, 6 Dec. 1784; Gilroy, *Loyalists and Land Settlement*, p. 60.

16 Claims material of John Saunderson [or Sanderson], AO 49, Vol. 143; AO 13, Vol. 135; Alexander Fraser, comp., *Second Report of Ontario Bureau of Archives* (Toronto, 1905), p. 679.

17 *Ibid.*

in the western half of the tract, connecting about fifteen grants. The land of a militia colonel lay at either end. The ranking officer present when the lots were laid out, Colonel Thomas Pearson, took the tract nearest the Halifax-Windsor Road, in the southwest corner of Rawdon. By 1786, the route through the settlement and beyond it to connect with the Halifax-Windsor Road was said to be "now getting a pretty public road."[18] Gibbs, the other colonel, took land at the northern end of the cross-settlement road, where it intersected the settlement trail cut from Newport. The Newport road continued past Gibbs's intersection to a sawmill which Bond built on the Herbert River. Thus Rawdon's first crossroads was on Gibbs's land, and there he built "a handsome small church." Just south of Gibbs's tract was Bond's land, around which the neighborhood of Centre Rawdon would develop. Similarly, South Rawdon would develop in the neighborhood of William Meek, another justice of the peace and former militia captain, whose lot lay about two miles from the southern end of the cross-settlement road.[19]

In the autumn of 1786, plans were underway for a road to the east of Rawdon, to a neighboring settlement made by the 84th Regiment. One of the men of the 84th kept a farm diary, in which he recorded a glimpse of the road surveyors from Rawdon. They clearly were friends of the diarist, who had served in South Carolina in 1781. For 18 September 1786 he noted, "Messrs Pearson Day Bond & Meek came thro from Rawdon viewing the proposed course for a road thence hither--dined with me." They spent the night and were delayed in leaving the next day by heavy rain, "the river & brook as high...[as] any remember to have seen it," so that "Messrs. the road Commssrs set out on their exploring jaunt back to Rawdon about noon."[20] The road which resulted from this "exploring jaunt" intersected the road which ran from Gibbs's crossroads to Bond's mill. Except for a gentle curve through the land of Reuben Lively and James Fitzsimmons, the new road ran roughly west to east, leaving the Rawdon tract near the northeast corner. The 1784 settlers had congregated in the western half of the tract, and grants

18 *Ibid.*

19 *The Royal Gazette and Nova-Scotia Advertiser* [Halifax], 15 Feb. 1791; Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources, Hants County Portfolio, plans of Rawdon, no. 31, 33, 35.

20 William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Hector McLean Orderly Book.

along the eastern edge largely went to newcomers; indeed, there was some question about the boundary between the Rawdon tract and the adjoining lands of the 84th Regiment, which delayed the passing of grants for some Rawdon newcomers. This East Rawdon of the late 1780s and 1790s became the Upper Rawdon of the nineteenth century. Settlers avoided the southeast corner of Rawdon, with its low-lying, swampy stretches, and no grants were taken there.[21]

The location of Rawdon's first roads reflected the pre-eminence of the men who had been militia colonels and captains during the war and who were now justices of the peace at Rawdon. This was a familiar circumstance, since the county courts had appointed road surveyors in the southern backcountry as well as in the new Nova Scotian settlements. Primary to the location of the roads was the location of the land allotments which the roads connected. In the initial Rawdon settlement, Bond assigned lots "by virtue of his office," according to an original settler's memory a few years later.[22] Indeed, the location of colonels' and captains' lots argues that they were particularly assigned, with a kind of social symmetry as well as the former officers' convenience in mind. The land of Pearson, Gibbs and Meek marked the outer limits of the tract, and after the first two roads were made, their allotments framed the original and more highly valued portion of Rawdon. That the other officers worked with Bond in making their own land assignments is suggested by the fact that Meek's one thousand acres consisted of two separate tracts, while Gibbs's allotment of the same size was two adjacent five-hundred-acre lots. Moreover, the 250 acres assigned to John Bond's young son lay, like Colonel Thomas Pearson's, in the corner of the tract nearest the all-important Halifax-Windsor Road.[23]

21 Plans of Rawdon, no. 32, 33.

22 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 4, p. 190.

23 By contrast, at the settlement of southern provincial corps at Country Harbour, surveyed about a year later than Rawdon, there is no indication that the ranking officers either selected their lots or were given the best farm lots, although they did receive waterfront allocations in the town site. Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources, Guysborough County Portfolio, Plan 54; *ibid.*, Crown Lands Index Sheet no. 101, Guysborough County; PANS RG 20, Series A, Major James Wright *et al.*, 13 May 1784 [hereafter Wright grant], plan; PANS, "Plan of the Town of Stormont at Country Harbour," MG 100, Vol. 186, No. 18a; J. D. Hilchey et al., *Soil Survey of Guysborough County, Nova Scotia* (Truro, 1964), "East Sheet, Soil Map of Guysborough County."

The road which gave Rawdon access to Halifax facilitated settlers' appearance before Thomas Dundas and Jeremy Pemberton, the Loyalist Claims commissioners who arrived in Nova Scotia in November 1785. Parliament had authorized the commissioners to go to America for two purposes. Primarily, they were to receive evidence on claims which had been lodged in London prior to the 25 March 1784 deadline for submission. Their secondary reason was to receive new claims from persons who had attempted to submit prior to the deadline, but had been unable to do so. Rawdon's access to Halifax resulted in more than one-half of the settlers making claims: thirty-four Rawdon individuals gave in claims or evidence to the commissioners sitting at Halifax in 1786.[24]

The 1785 act sending claims commissioners to North America stipulated that they additionally receive claims from persons who could prove their inability to submit under the 1783 act. The commissioners interpreted 'inability' to mean that an attempt had been made, but had been thwarted by circumstances beyond the control of the claimant. In their circular letter to the governors of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada, Cape Breton Island and Ile Saint-Jean, the commissioners specified that "the number [of new claims] must be very limited--as that farther Indulgence is only given to those persons who are utterly incapable of preferr^{g} their claims under the former act, hav^{g} been prevented by particular circumstances or unavoidable accident."[25]

Dundas and Pemberton further refined their meaning of 'inability' by listing those excuses for not submitting claims by the original deadline which they would as a matter of procedure reject: ignorance of the act; poverty, sickness or ignorance of in what manner to proceed; inattention or neglect; and misinterpretation of the act. In their day-to-day workings, the commissioners consistently rejected three more excuses as well: unspecified inability to send a claim to Britain; loss of the claim; and lack of paper. Consistent with the outlook of the oligarchy to which the parliamentary commissioners belonged, this definition of 'inability' clearly indicated the establishment perspective that compensation was intended for men of substance.[26]

24 AO 12, Vol. 124, pp. 1-43; AO 12, Vol. 123, pp. 15-63.

25 AO 12, Vol. 139, p. 5, Dundas and Pemberton circular letter, 17 Nov. 1785.

26 AO 12, Vol. 39, Dundas and Pemberton to John Foster, Nov. 1785; AO 12, Vol. 125, pp. 2, 8, 18, 26, 33, 42; "Report of Dundas and Pemberton to Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury," 10 June 1786, published in Fraser, *Second Report*, pp. 1351-1358 [hereafter Report of Dundas and Pemberton]. Examples are in AO 12, Vol. 125, pp. 2, 8, 18, 26, 33, 42.

On arriving at Halifax, Dundas and Pemberton published a notice in the *Halifax Gazette*, making it clear that their primary purpose was to receive evidence on claims which already had been lodged in London. Such claimants were required to send to the commissioners either duplicates of their original claims or descriptions of them, with the names of witnesses who would provide evidence. Claimants could inquire from the commissioners' office where their names stood on the list, and they were required to appear on the day their claims were to be examined. Persons wishing to tender new claims were told that they must give under oath their location outside the British Isles during the period for submitting claims (15 July 1783 to 25 March 1784), and additionally must prove that they had been "absolutely incapable" of submitting during that time. The deadline for tendering new claims was 1 May 1786.[27]

The reason universally given by Rawdon claimants for not submitting claims prior to 25 March 1784 was that they had never heard of the legislation authorizing claims and compensation until well after the deadline had passed. This excuse had not been anticipated by the commissioners when they formulated their guidelines, and at first they were incredulous. At the start of their work in Nova Scotia, they assumed that anyone claiming not to have known about the 1783 statute prior to March 1784 must be lying, for the act had been published in New York prior to the evacuation of that city.[28] Once they began taking evidence on the new claims, however, they learned that some claimants had not been in New York. A procession of men from Rawdon, all making the same inadmissible excuse of "ignorance of the act," echoed this news.

The first Rawdon claimant to appear before the commissioners, in February 1786, made a poor impression and had his claim rejected. The commissioners believed that William Cunningham had exaggerated the value of his losses. They rejected his claim on the grounds that he had lied, but whether the alleged lie concerned only the amount of his losses or encompassed some other subject as well--such as his reason for not making a claim under the 1783 act--is not clear. The commissioners simply noted, "the Claimant upon his Examination having grossly prevaricated they are of

27 *Halifax Gazette*, 6 Dec. 1785.

28 Report of Dundas and Pemberton.

opinion that the said Claim is fraudulent and that the Claimant should be absolutely excluded from any Compensation Whatsoever."[29]

Of the thirty-four Rawdon men who appeared before the commissioners, nineteen lodged their claims at the same time and so were scheduled to appear successively to present evidence of their losses. When their time came in July 1786, one after another told the same story: during the period for making claims they had been in Nova Scotia, but had known nothing of the act. In July the first of the Rawdon lot to come in for evidence on their new claims was John Saunderson. Since the next eighteen men scheduled for appearances all had given "ignorance of the act" as their reason for making late claims, Pemberton honed his questions on Saunderson. It is from this interrogation that the details of the sixteen or seventeen-month stay at Newport and the trail from there to Rawdon have been preserved. Apparently responding to Pemberton's questions, Saunderson explained that during their Newport period the settlers had had very little communication with Windsor, which would have been the likely source of news of the act. The commissioners noted that Saunderson "positively says he never knew of the Act till long after Lady Day, 1784."[30] One of the remaining eighteen men, Adam Fralick, testified that he had heard of the 1783 act in June 1784, "when he understood it was too late to Lodge a claim." All of the other original Rawdon settlers steadfastly declared that they had not heard of the statute until 1785. Henry Martindale specified that "he never heard of the Act until the Commissioners arrived last year."[31]

The succession of sober farmers from Rawdon had a compelling effect on the commissioners. Already, similar statements from claimants living elsewhere in Nova Scotia had persuaded them of the error in their assumption that all the refugees in Nova Scotia had known of the 1783 act in time to at least attempt sending claims to London. Thereafter they used discretion in accepting or rejecting "ignorance of the act" as an excuse, depending on

29 Claims material of William Cunningham, AO 12, Vol. 68. It may be significant that Cunningham did not make a claim as part of the Rawdon group. Though named in the original Bond grant, he did not remain long at Rawdon.

30 AO 13, Vol. 135, claims material of John Saunderson (or Sanderson), evidence case no. 569, published in Fraser, *Second Report*, p. 679.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 162.

when the claimant had arrived in Nova Scotia and his/her distance from Halifax and Shelburne. Throughout their hearings in America, the commissioners made no other significant concessions in their definition of 'inability.'[32]

The cohesiveness of the nineteen men who appeared before Dundas and Pemberton, giving the same reason for not sending their claims to London, was effective. The commissioners accepted all of their claims and allowed them compensation of between one-third and one-half of each man's evaluation, a proportion which is consistent with the commissioners' treatment of other claimants. In addition to Cunningham in February and the nineteen men in July, at least fourteen other Rawdon residents presented either claims or evidence or both to the commissioners.[33] Dundas and Pemberton rejected the claims of seven in this group because they did not accept their reasons for not meeting the March 1784 deadline. Most of these individuals were not in the original Bond grant. A few had been in Britain in 1783 or 1784 and had submitted claims under the first act. Others had been in East Florida, where the terms of the act had been well known. John Brown, for example, who had been a tin-worker for the Indian trade in Georgia, had sent a claim to London from East Florida. He gave his evidence in Nova Scotia, and the commissioners accepted his claim.[34]

Finlay Murdoch too was living in Rawdon by 1786. He had worked tar and raised cattle in the "Scot[c]h Settlement" in the Cape Fear Valley of North Carolina. In the Charles Town evacuation Murdoch had gone to Jamaica, where he said he had learned of the act, but had been so "reduced by a train of Corporal Diseases" as to be unable to send in a claim. Sickness as an excuse was automatically rejected by the commissioners, so Murdoch's claim for one hundred barrels of tar, twenty head of cattle, three horses and £25 in wages was thrown out.[35]

32 Report of Dundas and Pemberton.

33 With four exceptions, all the people who appeared before the commissioners at Halifax from Rawdon, Country Harbour, Ship Harbour and the Strait of Canso were from the Carolinas or Georgia. Although not the largest settlement, Rawdon, with its nearness to the Windsor-Halifax Road, provided almost one-half of these claimants. AO 12, Vol. 123, ff. 15-63.

34 Claims material of John Brown, AO 12, Vol. 5, p. 1; AO 12, Vol. 59, p. 2; and AO 13, Vol. 90, p. 138.

35 Claims material of Finahly [Finlay] Murdoch, AO 13, Vol. 25, pp. 339-341.

John Lewis's late claim was rejected as well, but as late as September 1788 Lewis still was uncertain of what this meant. A sergeant in the South Carolina Royalists, Lewis had gone with his corps to East Florida in 1782 and had been briefly at Country Harbour before moving to Rawdon in 1784. He wrote to Pemberton that he had lodged a claim with evidence in the Halifax office, but had been denied a hearing because the reasons he gave in the affidavit required of new claimants had not been satisfactory. Lewis asked to be informed "if there is any other Steps Necessary to be taken by him in the business and whether your honor thinks there is any resons [sic] for him to hope for compensation, or not." Lewis's memorial was endorsed "did not lodge his claim in time. TOO LATE."[36] Probably he, and many other refugees, had decided not to send claims to London simply because, in the words of a Country Harbour settler who had been in East Florida during the claiming period, they did "not expect...that comm[rs] would be sent to this country," and it would have been futile to send a claim to London if the claimant could not go there later to give evidence in person.[37]

Claims made by people living at Rawdon indicate a fairly homogeneous pre-war economic background, illustrated by the following table:

Amount of Property Loss Claimed by Rawdon Residents[38]

Amount Claimed (Sterling)	Number of Claimants
Less than £100	3
£100-199	6
£200-299	10
£300-399	6
£400-1000	5
£1000-2000	2
More than £2000	1
Unstated	1

36 Claims material of John Lewis, AO 13, Vol. 80, p. 252; Wright grant, South Carolina Regiment [*sic*], warrant to survey; NAC, British Military Records, C series, Vol. 1890; Chipman Papers, Vol. 24, pp. 253-255.

37 After having his claim rejected at Halifax, Archibald McDugald (quoted) made a futile trip to London in pursuit of compensation. AO 13, Vol. 25, pp. 121, 345-347.

38 AO 12, Vol. 109, *passim;* AO 12, Vol. 123, ff. 15-63; AO 12, Vol. 124, ff. 1-43; AO 12, Vol. 40, p. 156; AO 12, Vol. 49, pp. 88-92, 97-99; AO 12, Vol. 92, p. 1; AO 12, Vol. 99, p. 336; AO 13, Vol. 25, ff. 313-316; 339-341; AO 13, Vol. 26, pp. 235-238, 371-373; AO 13, Vol. 100, p. 226; AO 13, Vol. 129, p. 36; PANS RG 20, Series A, John Sterling *et al.*, 1787, petition of Richard Fenton.

The three claims in excess of £1000 contrast with the others. William Cunningham acknowledged under the commissioners' scrutiny that his claim of £1513 was a gross exaggeration. Sixteen-year old Darius Pace attempted to get compensation for his mother, Arelia, and himself from his father's estate in Georgia, his father and older brothers having died since the war. The elder Pace had been a tavern keeper at Savannah and had owned some nine hundred acres on the Savannah River and Briar Creek. While the Pace claim, totalling £1687.2.2, gives lively detail, its variety is not typical of other Rawdon claims. Henry Martindale's claim of £915.17.9 is not typical either, for he included holdings in his native Pennsylvania which he owned prior to moving to the Carolina backcountry during the war. Gibbs claimed £2135, which seems to be an accurate reflection of his status. Among the remaining claimants, the next highest was the £585 claim of Thomas Pearson who, like Gibbs, was a militia colonel. At the level of militia captain, however, pre-war distinctions between privates and officers disappear. Bond, the former militia captain who was the senior justice of the peace at Rawdon, as well as its arbiter of land matters, estimated his losses at £257.5.2, while Fenton, the former indentured servant, claimed losses of £338.10.

The Loyalist claims of the Rawdon residents describe single farms, typically between two hundred and three hundred acres each, with approximately thirty acres planted in grain, mainly corn; cattle were the most important livestock mentioned, but several farmers also emphasized horses or swine. A few people said they had owned slaves, either before the war or afterwards in East Florida. Gibbs clearly was exceptional, having owned at least seven slaves and several tracts in northern Ninety-Six District and adjacent Tryon County, North Carolina, which totalled 2,400 acres.[39] The claims give an impression of the Rawdon settlers as typical subsistence farmers and husbandmen of the southern backcountry, having been born largely in America or Northern Ireland.

Just as the cohesiveness of Rawdon settlers was obvious in their attracting to the settlement people of their own background, and was also demonstrated in their dealings with the Loyalist Claims commissioners, so too did such

39 See documentation cited for Table 1 and Troxler, "Origins of the Rawdon Loyalist Settlement," pp. 65-66; also AO 12, Vol. 46, pp. 76-82; AO 12, Vol. 49, pp. 227, 300; AO 12, Vol. 66, p. 10; AO 12, Vol. 68, pp. 44, 60; AO 13, Vol. 93, pp. 599-622; AO 13, Vol. 129, pp. 31-56; NCA, Tryon County Court Minutes, 1769-1774, *passim*.

cohesiveness appear during the lean years of the 1790s, when the population of the new Loyalist settlements, including Rawdon, dwindled.

In the larger Nova Scotian Loyalist centres of Shelburne, Annapolis and Digby, contemporary observers denounced massive departures of recent Loyalist immigrants, observing that most of them returned to the United States when the distribution of provisions ceased, in 1787.[40] The first Rawdon settlers had the optimum time to establish their farms while drawing provisions, for Bond began surveying their allotments in the summer of 1783 and finished the task within a year, giving the new proprietors at least two years to clear some of their land and begin cultivation before becoming entirely dependent on its yield. While the tree stumps were dying, the easiest first crop was pasturage and hay. It continued to be important for the Rawdon settlers, with their background in livestock raising. Even though the Rawdon community had two full years in which to undertake clearing and cultivation before the cessation of provisions, they faced a progression of natural hardships in common with other Nova Scotians: summer droughts and winters of unusual severity throughout 1786-89, smallpox epidemics in 1787 and 1791, and widespread wheat blight in 1791. Drought recurred in 1792 to taunt the settlers who still remained.[41]

Moreover, the land at Rawdon underwent rapid change during its first few years of cultivation. The familiar look of the Rawdon Hills had welcomed the former up-country people, but the virgin forests hid a terrible secret: the fertile soil was thin, and successive cultivation of the steep hillsides exposed it to the treachery of erosion. By the time the population stabilized in the late 1790s, the emphasis had shifted back to hay and pasturage.[42]

The significance of 1792 can be seen in the following table, which gives the date of the last Nova Scotian reference which the records have yielded to each Rawdon settler:

40 For a convenient summary of late 1780s denunciations, see Neil J. MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia* (Kingston and Montreal, 1986), pp. 170-179.

41 NAC, MG 23, C 6, Inglis Family Papers, Charles Inglis Journal, 23 Aug. 1791, 28 June 1792, 3 July 1792; "Memoirs of the Life of Boston King," in *The Methodist Magazine*, Vol. 21, p. 209; D. C. Harvey, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins* (Toronto, 1958), pp. 318-319. For the importance of hay at Rawdon as late as 1813-1817, see Hants County Probate Records, Windsor, Nova Scotia, estate inventories of James Lemon and John Bond.

42 Cann (supra, note 6), 17, 38, 58.

Latest References for Rawdon Settlers from the Southern Backcountry[43]

William Bowman	1784
Moses Bruce	1784
Samuel Covill	1784
William Donaldson	1784
William Fowler	1784
Jeremiah McCrossian	1784
Richard McMullan	1784
Thomas, Abraham and Eli Thornton	1785
Joseph Ellis	1786
Samuel Proctor	1786
John Reily	1786
John Bane	1787
William Cunningham	1787
David Dunsmore	1787
William Ingram	1787
Randal McDonald	1787
Daniel McKissock	1787
John Marshall	1787
Henry Martindale Sr.	1787
Henry Martindale Jr.	1787
John Millan	1787
Daniel Phillips	1787
George, David and Daniel Snell	1788
Thomas Pearson	1789-1818 at Newport and Truro
William Brison Jr.	1790
John Sanderson	1790; 1791 at Truro
Henry Green	1790 at Day's Mill
Robert Alexander	1791 in Newport
John Edwards	1791 in Windsor
Thomas Evans	1791 in Windsor
John Lewis	1791

43 PANS RG 1, Vols. 444, 444 and 1/2; PANS RG 20, Series A, John Millan (1783), Samuel Proctor (1785), Thomas McKay (1784), John Edwards (1787), John Sterling (1787), James Carter (1796), James Wallace (1807, 1808); PANS RG 34, Vols. 21-23, Hants County Court of General Sessions of the Peace [hereafter Hants Sessions], Sept. 1787, Apr. 1789, Apr. 1794, Apr. 1812; Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vols. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, *passim;* PANS MG 5, No. 15, Hants County Cemetery Inscriptions; PANS, MG4 (mfm.), St. Paul's (Anglican) Church, Rawdon; PANS RG 36 "A", Chancery Court records, file 361, file 631; RG 32, Nova Scotia Marriage Bonds, 1790, 1794, 1796, 1797; Probate Court, Hants County, Estate Files 131A, 156A, 262A; PANS, MG 4, Vol. 134 (mfm.), Rawdon Township Book; AO 13, Vol. 126, p. 406; *Acadian Recorder,* 20 June 1818, 1 Aug. 1818, 6 May 1820.

Richard Lewis	1791
John McCullom	1791 Newport; 1797 in Nova Scotia
John Sadler	1791
John Brison	1791 in Newport
Zachariah Gibbs	1792
James Fitzsimmons and Margaret Evans	1792
William Meek	1792
James Nichols	1792 in Halifax
Andrew Rush	1792
Samuel McAllister	1793 in Halifax
William Brison Sr.	1794; died in Hants County by 1813
Arelia Pace	1794 in Halifax County
Darius Pace	1794-1818 in Halifax County
John Berwick	1795
John Frelick	1795
James Mott	1795
George Bond	1796-1802 died at Rawdon
John Nox	1796
Adam Frelick	1798
David Pollock	between 1798 and 1802
John Brown	1809
James Carter	1811
Finlay Murdoch	1812
Richard Fenton	1813
William Wallace Sr.	1813 died at Rawdon
John Bond	1814 died at Rawdon
James Lemon	1814
Samuel Meek	1814
Thomas Parker	1814
John Withrow	1814
Jacob Withrow Sr.	1815
John Laws	1816
James Wallace	1816
Agnes Lemon	1817
John Lemon	1817
William Rogers	1820 in Nova Scotia
John Bond Jr.	1820s active
Jacob Withrow Jr.	1821 or 1822 died at Rawdon
David Withrow	1824
Reuben Lively	1826

The above table shows that about forty people presumably left Rawdon--or died without record--prior to the end of 1792. Fewer than ten additional settlers left the area by the end of the century, and few, if any, departed thereafter. By 1810 there were still at least about twenty families from the southern backcountry living at Rawdon. Further, in the 1838 census, surnames of southern backcountry Loyalists account for some twenty-two per cent of the Rawdon households, a figure which cannot indicate the full proportion of southern Loyalists' descendants among the 1838 Rawdon population, as surnames show male descendants only.[44]

Moreover, the above table warns against the assumption that settlers who moved away from the community left Nova Scotia, for eleven of them have been found elsewhere in the province. Some men who had left Rawdon by 1792 kept their ties there and later returned. Young John Bond, one of two young Rawdon men by that name, lived in Halifax during 1792, working as a chairmaker; he subsequently moved back to Rawdon by the 1820s.[45] Similarly, during 1792 and 1793 three Rawdon men were working as butchers in Halifax, and another butcher from Rawdon seems to have been living in Newport. Rawdon's roads gave the community access to both towns, so the butchers Samuel McAllister, Finlay Murdoch, Thomas Pearson and William Rogers were able to connect their neighbors with town markets for their cattle, sheep and swine. Rogers and Murdoch returned to Rawdon to live, while McAllister apparently remained at Halifax.[46]

Thomas Pearson and his family also maintained their Rawdon ties. As colonel of the Little River brigade of the Ninety-Six District militia, he had commanded at least twenty Rawdon men during the war. After 1789, Pearson continued to own land in the settlement and occasionally lived there. Already a justice of the peace, he was appointed Hants County treasurer in April 1789. He and his wife, Martha, were living at Newport by the autumn of 1789, when he sold one-half of his Rawdon lot, retaining the other half with its desirable location nearest the

44 PANS, Nova Scotia Census, 1838, Rawdon.

45 PANS RG 1, Vol. 444, 1792 poll tax; for two John Bonds at Rawdon in the 1820s, following the death of John Bond Esq., see PANS MG 5, No. 15, St. Paul's (Anglican) Church, baptisms, 1819, 1822, 1824 and Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 9, p. 167, Vol. 10, p. 128.

46 PANS RG 1, Vol. 444, poll tax lists, 1791-1793; PANS RG 32, Nova Scotia Marriage Bonds, 1793, 1794; Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 4, p. 172, Vol. 6, p. 191; Hants Sessions, Apr. 1812.

Halifax-Windsor Road. Clearly, Pearson was struggling to stay on in the area, and it took him a while to become secure. An April 1790 deed referred to him as "of Newport, Esquire," but in a 1792 deed he identified himself as "at present of Halifax, yeoman." Pearson lived briefly in Halifax, but by 1796 he was establishing himself as a merchant in Truro. In 1798 he either lived in Windsor or used a house there for his business; the house he "occupied" was complained of, "the Chimney being down to the roof and very liable of being set on fire."[47]

More than a decade later, an indication of the solicitude of a member of Pearson's family for a distressed Rawdon resident can be glimpsed in the strange story of Henry More Smith. In 1813, John Bond's daughter eloped to Windsor with the adventurer Smith; a few months later, Smith was arrested in King's County, New Brunswick on a horse-theft charge. Smith's wife, estranged and anguished, visited him twice in gaol, only to be spurned. On both occasions she was assisted by a deputy sheriff from Truro, who was Thomas Pearson's son, John.[48]

Darius Pace and his mother, Arelia, provide another example of a family who moved away--but not far away--from Rawdon. By 1792 they had moved back to Sackville, where Darius leased five hundred acres on Bedford Basin, married, and reared ten children. Although Pace sold his Rawdon land in 1798, he lived on the Windsor-Halifax Road, making it unlikely that the family ever severed their ties with the "friends and acquaintances" at Rawdon who had first attracted the widow with her teenaged son in 1787.[49]

Similarly, Rawdon people who moved to Newport were near enough to maintain ties with their old fellow refugees. Robert Alexander's Loyalist claim suggests a reason for his removal to Newport. He had been a weaver before the war and by 1791 was practising his craft at Newport, where a larger population doubtlessly afforded more customers.[50] Henry Green moved

47 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 5, p. 193; Hants Sessions, 1798, Supreme Court Presentments, Sept. 1798; T/50, Vol. 3, pay abstract no. 167.

48 Pardoned following his conviction, Smith was last heard of in 1825, when he was said to be preaching in the southern United States. Walter Bates, *Henry More Smith the Mysterious Stranger* (Woodstock, N. B., 1979, reprint of 1910 Saint John ed.), pp. 10 ff; *Acadian Recorder*, 30 Mar. 1813, 26 July 1817, 8 Feb. 1819.

49 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 6, pp. 130, 148; PANS RG 32 Nova Scotia Marriage Bonds, 1796; *Acadian Recorder*, 20 June 1818; PANS RG 20, Series U, Petition of Darius [or Drury] Pace, 1810; PANS RG 1, Vol. 140, Provincial Secretary's Letterbooks, p. 301.

50 AO 12, Vol. 49, pp. 83-85; PANS RG 1, Vol. 444, Newport poll tax.

to Newport as well. He had worked as a blacksmith for the British forces in South Carolina. By the time he moved from Rawdon to Newport in 1790, Rawdon may not have been able to support more than one blacksmith, and John Bond's multiple enterprises included a blacksmith shop. Bond was a miller as well, and already by 1787 the miller Ely Hoyle had left Rawdon and taken work at Day's Mill, though he continued to own land at Rawdon.[51]

For some of the refugees who were at Rawdon only a short time, knowledge of their circumstances, though scanty, suggests a few observations. Though some single men remained, the first men to depart did not have wives with them. Seven of the nine males who apparently left Rawdon within two years of the June 1783 warrant to survey were listed for the unaccompanied man's allotment of 250 acres. The one man among the nine who is known to have had a wife with him seems to have been typical of those refugees who were simply 'looking over' Nova Scotia. William Bowman in 1782 had taken his wife and ten slaves to East Florida. Either he sold the slaves or they escaped, for Bowman and his wife had only one slave when they reached Nassau in June 1784. From there they went to Nova Scotia in time for Bowman to be listed for five hundred acres in the Bond grant. They were in Nova Scotia a few months at the most, for in March 1786 Bowman was again in the Bahamas, giving notice of his intention to leave the islands.[52]

Further, Bowman and those others who were at Rawdon only a short time may have anticipated that they personally would meet no obstruction upon returning to the up-country. No record of Loyalist military service by William Bowman has been found, although he had lived in the Long Cane Creek area, where records show that other Nova Scotian settlers served in the loyal militia in 1775 and again following the 1780 British capture of Charles Town.[53]

51 PANS RG 1, Vol. 444, Newport poll tax; Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 4, p. 286, Vol. 5, p. 189; Fraser, *Second Report*, p. 709. Hoyle was not a Southern Loyalist, but he had been included in the 1784 Bond grant.

52 A William Bowman was living in Ninety-Six District in 1790, 1790 Federal Census, South Carolina, Union County; *Bahamas Gazette*, 1 Mar. 1786; C.O. 5/560, pl. 406; Lydia Austin Parrish, "Records of some Southern Loyalists...," Widener Library, Harvard University; PANS RG 1, Vol. 359, nos. 62, 63.

53 Many post-war refugees who sought to legalize their returns to South Carolina alluded to revolutionary militia service prior to the British capture of Charles Town. See Theodora J. Thomson and Rosa S. Lumpkin, eds., *Journal of the House of Representatives 1783-1784* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977); *Acts, Ordinances and Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Passed in the Year 1784*, pp. 61-63; SCA, Confiscated Estates, Petitions, Minutes of Committees on Confiscation Act; Moss, *Roster of Patriots*, p. 89.

Seven men who left Rawdon at about the same time as Bowman were from the Little River area between the Broad and Saluda rivers, where even prior to the British evacuation of Charles Town there was some local sentiment to allow the return of those Loyalists who were considered harmless.[54] Samuel Proctor from Little River seems to have left Rawdon soon after 1786. Although he was listed in the June 1783 warrant to survey, he was not at the settlement until sometime in 1785, having lived at least part of that time at Horton, Kings County. In September 1785, Proctor complained that in his absence Bond had given someone else permission to occupy the land which had been surveyed for him. He left no further Rawdon record; apparently he returned to his former home, though not to full paternal acceptance.[55]

Three young brothers, Thomas, Abraham and Eli Thornton, appear to have returned to their home area in the northern part of the Little River militia district, where their father, Thomas Sr., had commanded a company of loyal militia and their uncle David had served in the South Carolina Royalists. Their mother died at Charles Town before the evacuation, and their father died at Halifax during their first Nova Scotian winter. The oldest brother was seventeen when they arrived, and they continued on to Rawdon under the care of Reuben Lively. In April 1785 Thomas Thornton sold his grant, receiving a £25 promissory note as payment. The younger brothers had been listed in the warrant to survey for the Bond grant, but there is no indication of separate sales. One supposes that the promissory note financed the return of the three boys to South Carolina, and that the Thorntons bearing their names in Spartanburg County beginning in 1790 were indeed the orphans who had lived for two years at Rawdon.[56]

54 Thomson and Lumpkin, pp. 59, 209.

55 In 1791 in Newberry County, South Carolina, Samuel Proctor Sr., a former revolutionary, willed his estate to five other children but omitted his son Samuel. Two of the heirs had served in loyal militia but apparently had not left with the British. The younger Samuel Proctor owned land in Newberry County by the time of his father's death in 1795. Holcomb, *Minutes of Newberry County Court*, pp. 247, 257, 296, 310; Newberry County Will Book A: 272, will of Samuel Proctor Sr.; AO 12, Vol. 49, p. 145; AO 13, Vol. 26, pp. 371-373; pay abstracts, Patrick Cunningham's Regiment, Little River Militia, T 50, Vols. 1, 2; pay abstract no. 43, T 50, Vol. 6; PANS RG 20 A, 1785, Land Papers of Samuel Proctor; SCA, Accounts Audited, nos. 2109A and 6146.

56 Proctor and the Thorntons illustrate the tenuous nature of identifying returnees to the southern backcountry; exiles' surnames generally can be found in their home areas, for they had left relatives there. The uncle/nephew naming practice and the scarcity of signatures further obstruct identification. AO 12, Vol. 49, pp. 90-92; Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 4, p. 190; pay abstract no. 155, T 50, Vol. 2; SCA, Secretary of State, Surveyor-General, Colonial Plats, 1731-1775, Vol. 20, p. 349; SCA, Auditor General, Memorials, 1731-1775, Vol. 12, p. 371; Spartanburg District Will Book A, pp. 17-18, 81-82; 1790 Federal Census, South Carolina, Spartanburg County; NAC, British Military Records, C series, Vols. 1890 and 1902.

In May 1788, Zachariah Gibbs and two South Carolinians who had settled at Preston, outside Dartmouth, received permission from Governor Parr to take the schooner *Beaver* to South Carolina and bring their goods to Nova Scotia. Prior to going from Britain to Nova Scotia in 1786, Gibbs had received permission from London authorities to go to South Carolina during the period 1784-87, while remaining eligible for his temporary pension. Apparently he had not gone, for in May 1787 he related that he had "sent fifteen hundred miles for my two small Children in the year 1784 to South Carolina, without Success, for which I promised fifty Guineas. The man I employed being beaten, maltreated & much abused, I have sent a second time, & have wrote many Letters tho' have not had one Sentence from them since the year 1784." Gibbs mortgaged his thousand-acre grant in 1788, presumably in connection with the *Beaver* voyage, and later redeemed his land. He was back at Rawdon in 1789, but left the settlement permanently in 1792.[57]

Meanwhile, as a prominent military figure and large landowner, Gibbs was the only Rawdon resident named in the 1782 confiscation and banishment act in South Carolina. Others came within the reach of an ordinance which the General Assembly passed in March 1783, well after the Rawdon settlers had left the state. It empowered local militia captains to place under virtual confiscation the property of persons who had either left with the British or died in their service. Unlike the 1782 statute, names were not published, so except for the few men whose former commissions in the loyal militia continued to disqualify them from citizenship, the Rawdon exiles could do little more from a distance than guess at their status.[58]

A few Rawdon men who promptly left the new settlement seem not to have had their South Carolina property confiscated. In 1784, when William Donaldson asked for land at Rawdon with other recent arrivals from East Florida, he asserted that he had left a "handsome Fortune" in South Carolina

57 Gibbs and his wife had been in Nova Scotia briefly in 1784, *en route* to Britain: AO 13, Vol. 129, p. 51, Vol. 102, Pt. I, p. 439; PANS RG 1, Vol. 213, p. 150. For Gibbs's Rawdon transactions, see Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 5, pp. 14, 280, 284, 377, 429; *ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 350; *ibid.*, Vol. 9, pp. 194-198. Gibbs advertised his lands for sale for six weeks, beginning 15 Feb. 1791 in *The Royal Gazette and Nova-Scotia Advertiser.*

58 The extant lists, which militia commanders made in spring 1783 in response to the ordinance, are at the Historical Commission of South Carolina, with photocopies in South Carolina Library, Columbia and published in Robert W. Barnwell Jr., "Reports on Loyalist Exiles from South Carolina, 1783," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 1937, pp. 43-46; Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 10 vols. (Columbia, 1836-1841), IV, 568-570.

and asked for one thousand acres. Parr approved him for a mere seven hundred, but there is no indication that he ever occupied them. Apparently he was not there in 1786, for he made no claim before the commissioners for his "handsome Fortune," and there is indeed no indication that Donaldson's property was ever confiscated.[59] David Dunsmore also apparently did not remain and had not been listed for confiscation. He had compelling reason for return, for in 1786 his five children were still in South Carolina, where he had left them with Patriot neighbors when his home was destroyed early in the Southern Campaign.[60]

Rawdon continued to attract occasional newcomers, even as some of the early settlers left. From the beginning, a few old settlers from the Newport area had moved to Rawdon. John Landerkin is an example of a local resident who quickly became a part of the Rawdon community and contributed to its stability. A Newport resident and miller at Day's Mill prior to the Rawdon settlement, he received land in the Bond grant.[61] In another example, Richard Fenton's Rawdon prosperity apparently attracted a relative, Thomas Fenton, to the community. The latter Fenton moved to Rawdon prior to 1803 and died there in 1841.[62]

From a distance of two centuries, only glimpses remain of the personal happiness or distress of those within the Rawdon community, but some of these glimpses are striking. What has survived concerning John Laws's life, for example, suggests a comparison with the biblical Job. During the war, Laws had been a prisoner for several months, paying £25 imprisonment expenses, an amount one-third of the claimed value of his house and farm on the Black River in South Carolina. During February 1782, at least two of his children died while the family were refugees in Charles Town. Laws and his wife Mary still had one child when they went to East Florida and were among several hundred Loyalists who settled on the St. John's River in the northern

59 Donaldson is not included in the extant 1783 lists of "dead or departed" Loyalists listed for confiscation. PANS RG 20, Series A, Thomas McKey *et al.*

60 AO 12, Vol. 49, pp. 88-90; Fraser, *Second Report*, p. 172; PANS RG 20, Series A, John Sterling *et al.*, 1787; Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 4, pp. 320, 526.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

62 Aged 95 when he died, he was too old to be Richard's son. Hants Sessions, 1803; St. Paul's Church, Burials, 1841.

part of the province. In 1784, after East Florida was ceded to Spain, the family went to Nova Scotia, and Laws received two hundred acres in the Sterling grant near the eastern end of the Rawdon tract. He sold part of his land a few years later, and thereafter he continued to sell portions while buying better and more conveniently located farmland. Altogether, by 1816 Laws had bought one thousand acres and sold only four hundred. His properties at Rawdon contrasted favourably with the seventy-five acres which the Irish native had left behind on the Black River; moreover, Laws had at least two sons reach adulthood during his lifetime.[63]

One likes to think that at Rawdon John Laws died, like Job, a happy man. By contrast, it is certain that John Lemon did not. When Lemon made his will in November 1817, he owned only one-half of the 250 acres which he had received alongside James Lemon and two other men from East Florida in the 1790s. His executor described Lemon's farm as being "in a very Rough State," with "a poor log house." Even the hay showed neglect: it was "very much hurt" and "not Merchantable." Illness or personal distress--or both--easily account for the state of Lemon's possessions. His will acknowledged that he was "Very Sick and very weak," but vituperative anger fueled his final act, ensuring that his wife received nothing from his ruined estate. John Lemon and Mary Lively had married in 1808, twenty-three years after Lemon came as an adult to Rawdon; it was the first marriage for both. Three children survived Lemon, but he denounced the third as the product of the "Inconstancy and Debauchery" of "a Lewd Debauched Woman...who was Called my Wife." Whether the adultery was real or imagined, Lemon had lived "Separately from [her] for this twelve Months...to preserve my life." Lemon survived less than six months longer, and Mary Lemon had the child baptized as his.[64]

Mary Lemon herself, born at Rawdon and living her life there, illustrates an important factor in the relative cohesiveness of the settlement. Her father, Reuben Lively, was among the majority of original settlers who had someone else in their household when the warrant to survey was made in 1783. Most of these grantees remained in Nova Scotia after 1792. Having a family

63 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Vol. 5, pp. 190-191, 398, Vol. 6, pp. 200, 521, Vol. 11, pp. 233, 239; PANS RG 32, Nova Scotia Marriage Bonds, 1812; AO 13, Vol. 25, pp. 324-326; T 50/5, coffin accounts, 1 Feb. 1782; Spanish Censuses [1784].

64 St. Paul's Church, Baptisms, 1818; Probate Court, Hants County, Estate File 156 A.

entitled a settler to five hundred acres rather than 250, and the additional land may have provided greater economic incentive to remain. More likely, the presence of family members lessened any urgency which one may have felt to return home. The responsibilities of a family and the additional cost and risk of a return voyage all tended to keep married men at Rawdon. The community also had a higher percentage of families among its settlers than did most of the other clusters of Southern Loyalists in Nova Scotia. The largest southern settlement in Nova Scotia, Country Harbour, offers the sharpest contrast: more than ninety per cent of its settlers were unaccompanied men, and almost half of them left before the end of 1787.[65]

Why did the Rawdon settlers include a high proportion of families, like the one into which Mary Lively was born? The most pertinent factor seems to have been proximity of British protection during the bitter fighting near the close of the war. All of the southern backcountrymen who remained at Rawdon after 1792 had lived within forty miles of Fort Ninety-Six. Such nearness had facilitated the movement of whole families to the fort in 1781, so that when the British abandoned it, many of the departing militiamen could take their families with them. The initial decision to take refuge at Fort Ninety-Six became the first step along a road that could lead to Rawdon; for most of the families who followed it that far, the road would end there as well.

65 "List of Men in the County of Sydney from Sixteen to Sixty Years of Age," PANS RG 1, Vol. 233, No. 155.

Thomas Chandler Haliburton and the Bliss Brothers: Secret Rivals in Literary Ambition

Richard A. Davies

"Tom Haliburton was long despised as to talents and laughed at for his first attempts at poetry--yet I shall not be surprised if some day even you find something to commend in him," Lewis Bliss wrote to his brother Henry (a circuit barrister in England), on 5 January 1839.[1] At King's College in Windsor, from 1812 to 1816, it was Henry Bliss, not Thomas Chandler Haliburton, who had been deemed by his schoolfellows as the one most likely to succeed in a literary career. Other contemporaries also had poetic ambitions. In 1815, for example, Neville Parker penned an "Apostrophe on Leaving Windsor":

> Good bye thou dear stupidest village on earth
> (Thank heaven I soon shall be far, far away).
> Abode of sweet harmony, music & mirth
> Where nonsense and folly hold absolute sway.[2]

He repeated himself in prose two years later from the metropolis of Saint John: "I can hardly conceive a more stupid place than Windsor now. I would not go back on any acct" (9 February 1817).[3]

Neville Parker's poetic impulses did not survive his youth. Once in the grips of his chosen profession (the law) and of an evangelical wife, like Little Chandler in Joyce's short story, "A Little Cloud," his creative impulses vanished. But the poetic (and literary) hopes of the brothers Bliss, Henry and William, were lifelong. They both believed that their poetic endeavours would somehow eventually release them from their daily drudgery: "I must try something else beside the law," wrote William to Henry on 19 December 1825: "Do you think a small volume of translations from the Latin poets would sell--I care little about this selling to the public. I mean could a Bookseller buy them of me. I might if I could get any encouragement make up a proper number...Am I serious do you ask in this talking of publication--

Dr. Richard A. Davies is Professor in the Department of English, Acadia University, Wolfville, N. S.

1 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1606, #10. References are to the Bliss family papers in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax.

2 Charlotte County Historical Society, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Parker Papers, MS 4/58.

3 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1604, #33.

half serious, half jest I answer."[4] Their fellow student at King's, Thomas Haliburton, whose "first attempts at poetry" they had all scoffed at, turned his literary talents to the writing of the *General Description of Nova Scotia* (1823), and then to a more public and ambitious two-volume *History of Nova Scotia* (1829), described by William, oddly, in April 1829, as a "got up thing between Tom & his corepresentatives."[5]

A third Bliss brother, Lewis, had no literary pretensions at all, but clearly saw that brother Henry was being outflanked by Thomas Haliburton: "Write something on the Colonies--on the currency--on the law & the Catholic question--Haliburton's book is nearly completed" (31 March 1829), he urged him.[6] Henry's pamphlets caused nothing like the stir of Haliburton's "Recollections of The Clockmaker" (1835-36). Lewis Bliss tried hard to support his brother's flagging ego in the light of Haliburton's successes: "There is more in yr. pamphlet of merit than in all the Clockmakers & Bubbles--Cannot you be tempted again to come forward...?" (5 January 1839).[7]

While William Blowers and Henry, in private correspondence with each other in 1835, debated the finer points of verse drama, Thomas Chandler was composing the first instalments of *The Clockmaker*, purloining the decidedly unclassical and vulgar figure of the Yankee clockmaker from the *Sketches and Eccentricities of Col. David Crockett, of West Tennessee* (London, 1834).[8] "Read in the Nova Scotian the article headed Recollections of Nova Scotia--some are not bad..." (15 January 1836), Lewis wrote to Henry.[9] "Tom gave me some time ago a copy of 'The Clockmaker' to send to you from him. I could find no means of conveying it, and I recollect how you were severe

4 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1605, #6.

5 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1605, #10. Bliss most likely is referring to Haliburton's colleagues in the House of Assembly, rather than those who assisted him in writing the *History*.

6 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1605, #10.

7 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1606, #10. The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (X, 71-72), lists among his pamphlets: *Considerations of the Claims and Conduct of the United States* (1826), *On Colonial Intercourse* (1830), *On the Timber Trade* (1831), and *The Colonial System* (1833). Among his verse publications were several dramas (apparently never acted) and *State Trials* (1838).

8 See PANS MG 1, Vol. 1606, #6 for the discussion of "Saul." See *Sketches*, 151-58, for the portrait of "Mr Slim," the Yankee clock-peddler.

9 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1606, #7.

with his History of Nova Scotia..." (22 May 1837), wrote William to Henry.[10] "I hear Tom under rated perhaps I over rate the man--but depend on it he has some cleverness and sense" (5 January 1839), commented Lewis to Henry.[11] The first series of *The Clockmaker* was followed by the second, then Haliburton penned *The Bubbles* (1839) and seven letters to *The Times* responding to the Earl of Durham's *Report* (February 1839). Henry Bliss begrudgingly expressed his liking of the latter: "Haliburton's letters signed Colonist are the best of his productions, to my taste--though written with little of either the delicacy of a scholar or the spirit of a gentleman. Snobbish--both in literature and manners. Perhaps the public have I believe a better opinion of them."[12]

Lewis, ever favourable to Haliburton, tried to persuade Henry to look Haliburton up when the latter visited London in 1843: "I can say no more--if you cannot bring yourself to seeking him out--I can not help it--...I almost think it owing to his having written & written successfully."[13] Henry's reply betrayed as much as it tried to conceal: "Yes I will go and see Haliburton because you seem to desire it...I can not think that I envy him his success in authorship as you appear to apprehend. Whatever be his merit, why should a man covet posthumous fame?" What follows is a form of genteel sour grapes:

> Surely it is better that our name like our dust should be buried in obscurity and oblivion, rather than have our faults canvassed, our follies recorded, and our regrets proclaimed above our graves; which is almost all that literary success can do for us with posterity. It consoles me to think how soon mine will be forgotten. And as to notice and attentions while living, the more I see of the world, the more do I wish to be left alone. I was born and bred for seclusion and obscurity and was never happy in society, which nothing but eating & drinking render tolerable to me. Of course then I am heartily weary of Circuit trials and arguments at law.[14]

10 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1606, #8.

11 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1606, #8.

12 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1606, #10: 3 March 1839.

13 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1607, #4: 17 July 1843.

14 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1607, #4: 2 August 1843. See the final paragraph for Haliburton's response.

Henry was devastated by his school-friend's sudden fame. But more astonishing than anything else was the form in which Haliburton had succeeded, vulgar prose, and the lucubrations of a Yankee clockmaker. As William Blowers's wife, Sarah, remarked in 1843: "I have read some parts of Judge Haliburton's book [*The Attaché*]. The parts that are not Slick suit me best: in this country one hears so much bad English or Yankee expressions that it is no agreeable novelty to meet them in print."[15]

D.G. Bell has focused on the Bliss brothers and the importance of their literary activity as an expression of their genteel aspirations:

> The correspondence passing between Blowers [William Blowers] and Henry Bliss and their lawyer friends reveals an obsessive concern not with monetary gain itself but with the cultivation of a genteel life-style...an elaborate emphasis on breeding served to shore up the fragile distinction between the gentry and the 'vulgar'...Among young men fresh from King's College this sensibility was acute...To their father's generation, embittered by revolutionary misfortune but confident in at least their genteel pedigrees, literary creativity had represented--in Chief Justice Bliss's phrase--a 'Consolation to Distress'; it was an affirmation that elevated instincts survived amid the rocks and stumps of exile. To his sons, cultivation of the poetic muse met a need that was perhaps even more urgent: an assertion of their very status as gentlemen.[16]

When the post of chief justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas was left vacant in July 1829 by the death of Thomas Chandler's father, at £450 a year (almost £200 more per annum than William was then earning in his Halifax legal practice), and was offered to William Blowers Bliss, he declined it.[17] Bliss thought he could do better. As Professor Bell observes, Bliss's relationship with the old Chief Justice Sampson S. Blowers (he had been virtually adopted by Blowers), and his marriage to Blowers's adoptive daughter, Sarah Anderson, fostered his belief in what Bell calls the "connectional" system of patronage.[18] For William Bliss, it was only a matter

15 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1607, #4.

16 D.G. Bell, "Paths to the Law in the Maritimes, 1810-1823: The Bliss Brothers and their Circle," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 8 (2), 1988, pp. 32-33.

17 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1605, #10: 15 July 1829.

18 Bell, "Paths to the Law."

of time before something better came along. And he was right. In 1834, he was appointed to the Supreme Court bench.

Even though William and Henry Bliss clearly felt that success was their due, they still kept a sharp eye on the competition. Thomas Haliburton was privately often the subject of disparaging remarks among members of their circle. When Sarah Anderson heard of his marriage to a young lady in England, where he was visiting his step-aunt in Henley-on-Thames, she was unable to suppress her personal sense of disappointment: "But to return from the Elysium [*sic*] fields to the pomps and vanities of the world let it be published in the streets of Fredericton that Thomas Haliburton is married!! What a death blow would it be to your fair ones had they seen, known, and admired him as we have done. This youth 'excelling so in mien' has served the Acadians a shabby trick," she wrote to Henry Bliss on 23 July 1816.[19] "Did you see Tom's wife?" wrote Neville Parker to Henry Bliss: "I should prefer single blessedness to [£]4000 with such a wife. She plays & sings so as to beat Woodberry all hollow. Did you ever hear the wind through a keyhole? We had a dance at Mrs W Fraser's the night before I came away..." (6 October 1816).[20] When Sarah Anderson met the new Mrs. Haliburton, she was able to report to Henry with relief: "Her manners are perhaps not perfectly polished but she has evidently been rather retired than much engaged in the gay world."[21]

In 1817, Thomas Chandler threw a "very stylish ball" for a "select party" (William Bliss's words): "You must be told first however that the gentleman *hangs out* at his grandfathers. Now to make room for him there, one would naturally suppose that the old Gentleman himself had been *hung up* in good earnest--No his time is not yet come. They divide the house between them--not as Euclid teaches us to divide a line into two equal parts--Tom takes about two thirds--but you may remember he never knew much about Euclid" (22 January 1817).[22] If the Blisses were born with the proverbial silver spoon

19 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1604, #32.

20 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1604, #32.

21 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1604, #32.

22 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1604, #33.

in their mouths, or as near to it as one could come in the emerging society of New Brunswick, Thomas Chandler tried hard to compete socially with them. Sarah Anderson commented when she heard of his marriage, "...if Haliburton should bring out his young wife this season it would be some amusement for the summer months, to see him playing off his important airs upon the simple villagers; for simple they are though not free from guile--Unless we had tied your rare bird by the leg or bagged him, I suspect there would have been no possibility of detaining him so eager was he to take flight to happier climes" (27 May 1816).[23]

The Haliburton family fortunes reached a comfortable plateau in 1817. Thomas Chandler's stepmother, Susanna, wrote to Abigail Fales (her sister-in-law) in Boston: "how very snug Thomas's apartments are fitted up. His parlour which is very long painted blue yellow curtains & handsome Sopha & Chairs--All together cost his father [£]300 all new furniture, I was determined it should be so if in my power."[24] The family had not always been so comfortable. Thomas Chandler's paternal grandfather, William, arrived in Nova Scotia in 1761 from Boston, weathered difficult early years, and survived business failure in the 1770s. In 1789, he sent his daughter Charlotte to Boston to their rich relations Barney and Lydia Smith. Charlotte clearly noticed the difference between the life she had left and life in Boston. Windsor was as poor as ever and she could hardly believe, during her absence, that her father was now keeping a chaise with two horses.[25] She acquired a rich husband and emigrated to the West Indies with him. Her sister Lucy joined her there in 1790.[26] Her husband, Alexander Lyon, soon died. Early in 1797, her brother's young wife, Lucy, also died. When she heard, in May 1798, of her younger brother, John Gustavus's, death, she lamented that the family was

23 PANS MG 1, Vol. 1604, #32.

24 PANS MG 1, Vol. 2950A, #39: Abigail Fales from Susanna Haliburton, Windsor, 25 March 1817.

25 PANS MG 1, Vol. 2950A, #2: Lucy Haliburton from Charlotte Haliburton, Portsmouth, 12 December 1789.

26 Hants County Court-house. Registry of Deeds, Hants County, Book 5, p. 251: Lucy Hamilton Haliburton declares that she is about to "sail for the West Indies Islands and uncertain if [*sic*] she shall or shall not return again" (8 May 1790).

disappearing like "dew" in the morning.[27] Charlotte relocated to England where she herself died in 1800, leaving her parents a legacy of £900.

The generous legacy left to the Haliburtons in 1815 by their rich Boston relative, Barney Smith, and the consequent air of confidence exuded by young Thomas Chandler, offset the unsuccessful business activities of his uncle, George Mordaunt, whose increasing difficulties cast a shadow over the career success of Thomas Chandler's father, who advanced, by diligent attention to business and political activities, in 1824, to a chief justiceship of the Inferior Court. William Hersey Otis's second marriage, to Susanna Boutineau Francklin, in 1801, undoubtedly helped his social and political advancement. Thomas Chandler's grandfather, William, who now occupied a local position of some substance as Judge of the Probate Court at Windsor, prophesied that even though "Thomas has his health but very indifferently--if he lives he will be much likelyer than his Father:"[28] a prophesy made by a man who had spent a lifetime scribbling on political, social, philosophical and historical topics.

Although Thomas Chandler exuded confidence as a young lawyer in training, neither his attorney father nor his notary grandfather had achieved success on the scale of Chief Justice Bliss in New Brunswick, or Robert Parker Senior, father of Robert and Neville, even though neither of these Loyalists had been in the colonies for as long as Haliburton's grandfather. Thomas Chandler's own Loyalist connections, through his mother, had been largely cut off at the root in 1787, when several members of the Grant and Chandler family perished on the shores of the Bay of Fundy *en route* to a Loyalist claims commission hearing in Saint John; and again, when his mother did not long survive his birth in 1796. To compensate, the Haliburtons fostered a strong sense of pride in their Scottish roots. The family cherished a notion that they were descended from well-connected, perhaps even noble Scottish ancestors, a notion planted early in Thomas Chandler's mind.

The Blisses, however, were better placed, as were the Parkers, to benefit from the system of family patronage that controlled career advancement in the Maritime provinces during the early years of the nineteenth century.

27 PANS MG 1, Vol. 2950A, #3: Lucy Haliburton from Charlotte Haliburton, Tobago, 6 May 1798.

28 PANS MG 1, Vol. 2950A, #7: Abigail Fales from William Haliburton, 2 April 1808.

Thomas Chandler and the Bliss brothers were therefore destined, from school onwards, to be career rivals. Thomas Chandler naturally figures prominently in the Bliss brothers' private correspondence. After Henry's removal to England in 1823, almost every sailing packet, and later, every steamer, carried one or another of the Bliss brothers' letters to Henry, filled with local gossip.

After his schooldays at Windsor, William did the unthinkable (in Neville Parker's terms). He stayed on at Windsor to learn the legal profession in the office of a local lawyer, William P. G. Fraser. He spent most summers at the Windsor home of old Chief Justice Blowers, his surrogate father in Nova Scotia. He married the Chief Justice's adopted daughter, Sarah Anderson. William's family were therefore an accepted part of Windsor's summer society for over forty years. The Haliburtons and the Blisses (wives and children) interacted freely. Yet it is doubtful whether William and Thomas Chandler were ever intimate friends, because the evidence of the Bliss correspondence suggests that the Bliss brothers reserved a special intimacy for each other. And irreparable damage to the relationship occurred in 1838, when Thomas Chandler found out that his school 'friend' was on the opposite side to him during the crisis concerning the future of the Inferior Courts in Nova Scotia.[29] Even though they later became colleagues on the Supreme Court bench, the relationship never recovered from this setback.

Thomas Chandler had no close fraternal bonds like the Blisses and the Parkers. He was an only child, and constantly looked outside his family circle for 'confidantes.' When he lived in Annapolis Royal, prosy Peleg Wiswall corresponded with him. He maintained another "confidential correspondence" with his wife's former guardian in London, John Stephen (who died in 1850).[30] After 1837, Thomas Chandler's friendship with school acquaintance, Robert Parker of Saint John, revived. Although he told Parker

29 "...It is the pain I feel at the conduct of an old friend, the mortification I endure, that a cloud should now pass over a friendship of nearly 30 years, and that this impassioned, ungentlemanlike, unfriendly act should have come from *him*--It was the only friendship I had in the Province--" (Robert Parker, Windsor, 24 March 1838, in the John Clarence Webster Fonds at the New Brunswick Museum, Saint John: Webster 159-2). I am grateful to Professor D. G. Bell of the Faculty of Law, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, for bringing this letter, part of an important series of letters to Robert Parker, to my attention. I have prepared these letters for prospective publication in an article entitled, "Thomas Chandler Haliburton's Letters to Robert Parker."

30 *The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton*, 156.

that new friends are seldom made after the age of forty,[31] in Haliburton's case this appears not to have been true. Some of his old friends (such as the Blisses and Joseph Howe) fell away and were replaced by new ones (James Haliburton, Decimus Burton, Edmund Hopkinson, Richard Bentley, Frances Trollope, Alexander Fowden Haliburton and William Watkins).

As a result of his fame, Thomas Chandler expanded his circle of acquaintances far beyond the small group of companions from his days at King's. The failure of Henry Bliss to achieve anything like the literary success of his school-friend meant that in their private correspondence, the Bliss brothers were less than charitable towards their contemporary. An entire chapter, discussing the coldness of a former school-friend of the Squire's, in the second volume of the second series of *The Attaché:* Chapter VIII, "Paying and Returning Visits,"[32] is almost certainly an allusion to Henry Bliss's reluctance to renew their old friendship when Haliburton visited London in 1843. Sam Slick discourses at length on the personality defects of that man who will not renew the fond ties of friendship. The result is a good instance of Haliburton's use of both the Squire and Slick for his own purposes. The chapter contains some of Haliburton's most vivid memories of his school-days (placed in Slick's mouth). What Thomas Chandler did not know, as he struggled to understand the seeming coldness of his old friend, was that the Bliss brothers had long been envious of his literary success, an envy resulting from their secret literary rivalry.

31 *Letters*, 79. The correct date of this letter is 2 July 1839.

32 See pp. 109-126.

A Blazing Rage: T.C. Haliburton's *Reply To The Report Of The Earl Of Durham*

Rhonda Bradley

Lord Durham's mission to the British North American colonies in 1838 began as an investigation into the turmoil that was shaking Lower and Upper Canada. Though his visit was brief, Durham went home to England fully confident that he understood the causes of the uprisings. Secure in his own identity, Durham could never have foreseen that what he proposed would totally restructure the government of the colonies, and in the process crush that ethos which the Loyalist Tories had built over generations to distinguish themselves from the United States. Durham's Report of 1839 outlined his plan of Responsible Government, which would render the Council and even the Governor-General responsible to the popularly elected Assembly. For the Tories it would mean an end to their influence, and they intended to fight it every step of the way.

Though it would take ten years before these reforms were accepted, it was clear by 1849 that the Tories had finally lost the battle. On 25 April of that year the Rebellion Losses bill was passed, to provide compensation for private property damage incurred in Lower Canada during the rebellion. A similar statute had already passed the Upper Canadian Assembly. However, the present legislation "seemed to the Tories to be compensating some of the people who had actually engaged in rebellion."[1] The Tories were adamantly opposed to reimbursing these rebels. Governor-General Lord Elgin did not personally wish to endorse the bill, but signed it on the grounds that as a 'responsible' governor he was obliged to follow the wishes of his Executive Council. As the ink dried on the new law, it was acknowledged that the system of colonial self-government that Durham envisioned had been now fully realized.

In anguish, the Tories took to the streets to exercise their grief: "No sooner had the Governor-General performed the rite in the Legislative Council than a groan broke out in the galleries...then as Elgin rose to retire, the visitors rushed out into the square, where a crowd of respectably dressed citizens began to shout insults at him as soon as he appeared."[2] The Reverend

Rhonda Bradley is a student in the Faculty of Education at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton. This article has been developed from a paper written in her senior year as an Arts student.

1 H.H. Herstein, L.J. Hughes and R.C. Kirbyson, *Challenge and Survival* (Scarborough, 1970), p. 196.

2 Jacques Monet, *The Last Cannon Shot* (Toronto, 1969), p. 377.

William Rufus Seaver was a Congregational minister and Montreal shopkeeper who witnessed the brushfire spread of violence:

> ...as his Excellency left the House for his carriage at the door he was assailed with stones, clubs, and...rotten eggs by thousands, and he was struck in the face with an egg, his carriage windows broken etc...but by the speed of his horses he was enabled to escape with no injury except to his carriage and his equipage...and from my shop door I see the red flames light up the Heavens...about eight o'clock...while Parliament was still sitting a mob (it can be called nothing else tho' composed of our most worthy citizens) assembled around the House...."[3]

In an horrific display of destruction, the frenzied throng attacked the Assembly building and set it on fire. As "the flames were licking the walls about the roof...rioters were running around the building, singing and yelling...they had turned away the firemen and cut their hose. At midnight the huge fire still raged high into the black sky."[4] Rev. Seaver reported with dismay that "All was lost, nothing saved and the structure now is but a heap of smoking ruins...."[5] Though it was the Tory faction who were responsible, it is believable that they were retaliating for the destruction of their own world.

It is difficult to imagine that respectable Tories were the perpetrators of such anarchy. It had always been they who revered British government; they who valued order and loyalty above all else. But as a group, they had "reacted to the Rebellion Losses bill with the primitive, panic-stricken, almost standard response of a dispossessed political class."[6] They were not, however, the first Tories provoked to a blazing rage by Lord Durham's Report. Though the coming of Responsible Government was not as painful a transition in Nova Scotia, it was just as heatedly opposed by Tories there as anywhere, a fact exemplified in the work of second-generation Tory Loyalist, Thomas Chandler Haliburton.

---

3 Herstein et al., *Challenge and Survival*, p. 196.

4 Monet, *Cannon Shot*, p. 338.

5 Herstein et al., *Challenge and Survival*, p. 197.

6 Monet, *Cannon Shot*, p. 343.

Haliburton is most widely known as the Nova Scotian author who won brief international acclaim for his humorous, satirical accounts of life in his home colony. So fine were his portrayals that Haliburton and his most famous fictional character, Sam Slick, were often mistaken as being one and the same. His writing provided Haliburton with a medium for exposing what he believed were the ills of the colony, and on many occasions he took the opportunity to blast Nova Scotians for their lack of progress.

Initially, the people of Nova Scotia were proud of the success of their native son. They could even laugh at their shortcomings, but not long after Lord Durham made his recommendations, their romance with Haliburton came to an abrupt end. In 1839, while visiting in England, Haliburton quickly published a passionate series of letters in the London *Times*, denouncing the Durham Report. Upon returning home to Nova Scotia, he met with the most scathing criticism, from which his reputation would never recover. By this time, popular opinion in the colony had swayed toward the reform movement, and Haliburton's rough handling of Durham's Report won him little respect. Toward the end of his life, he left the colony for England, where he died in 1865. So enduring was antipathy towards him in Nova Scotia that sadly, "Haliburton's passing excited only the slightest sympathetic public interest in his native province."[7] Nevertheless, his *Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham* remains as the most overt and vibrant manifestation of the beliefs Haliburton held all his life.

Haliburton was fortunate enough to enjoy a long period of "immunity from rebuke"[8] when writing what he pleased about the state of Nova Scotia and her people. But with the publication of his series of anti-Durham letters, his period of immunity was over. An anonymous author, calling himself "Peter Pindar," was the first of many to lash out at Haliburton in retaliation to his *Reply*: "the party here to which he belongs is now in rightful possession of the power and patronage of the country--which power and patronage they must lose, and they themselves sink into oblivion, and no more known hereafter than their grandfathers are at present, if Lord Durham's plans succeed...."[9]

7 V.L.O. Chittick, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton: A Study in Provincial Toryism* (New York, 1924), p. 42.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

9 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 279.

Anger spilled out and overflowed the contemporary press with abusive correspondence, but Haliburton himself had opened the floodgate. In an explosive series of letters, he hoped to stem the tide of change and to hold high a vision of Tory grandeur that would vindicate his family's Tory roots and Loyalist connections. In the end, the overwhelming movement toward change made Haliburton's *Reply* appear as a desperate and contemptibly small attempt to retain his own diminishing power, as well as that of his class.

V.L.O. Chittick, who published an extensive biography on Haliburton in 1924, was a credible propagator of this theory. Though his attention to detail must be marvelled at, it is unfortunate that Haliburton's biographer failed to understand his subject thoroughly. Haliburton was from an élitist Tory background, yet as a member of the House of Assembly from 1826 to 1829, he was frequently vocal in his disapproval of the Council. He was equally articulate in his support of Roman Catholicism and seemed genuinely progressive. His searing *Reply*, though written in a later period, is still very much in keeping with the Tory aversion to governmental reform. Chittick dismissed it as "over-heated resistance"[10] and afforded but a single chapter to the *Reply*, in which he divided his attention between it and Haliburton's earlier anticipation of the Durham Report, a piece entitled *Bubbles Of Canada*. In light of the extreme hostility of these two *tours de force*, however, it is difficult to characterize the *Reply* as merely "over-heated resistance."

Chittick's chapter on these political responses is coloured by an air of disapproval for Haliburton's stance. In specific reference to the *Reply*, Chittick believed that "Whatever slight excuse may [have been] discovered for Haliburton's indiscretion...it can hardly be urged in justification of the extreme vindictiveness which according to contemporary opinion earned him the unenviable reputation of having handled it more severely than anyone else."[11] In one sense, Chittick was right--no "slight excuse" would have been justification for so brutal an attack as Haliburton's *Reply*, and indeed Haliburton offered no such "excuse." What is entirely defensible, however, is that Haliburton believed that he was championing the preservation of everything his forefathers had suffered to achieve. His blood, his home and

10 *Ibid.*, p. 266.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

his education all irrevocably tied him to the Loyalist Tory élite, and when this ethos became the target of Durham's reform, Haliburton fought for his life.

No doubt the apparent thoroughness of Chittick's biography has since led many a scholar to believe that there is little else to know about Haliburton. As a result, more recent authors have never tackled the *Reply*. They instead have relied on Chittick for evidence to support their own theories, and have unfortunately acquired his prejudices as well as his data. Chester New, in his book, *Lord Durham's Mission to Canada*, made but a brief reference to the *Reply* in a chapter entitled "Immediate Reception of the Report." Quoting exclusively from Chittick, New failed to bring any original insight to the *Reply*, except to add that another prominent British North American Tory, John Beverley Robinson, offered "noble contrast" to Haliburton, among others, and that "any one of his rapier thrusts was more telling than all the blunderbusses of Sam Slick."[12]

Similarly, S.F. Wise and Robert Craig Brown, in *Canada Views the United States*, gave no importance to the *Reply* as an expression of Tory grief over the impending death of their brand of order and tradition in the face of reform. These authors, too, relied on Chittick--or, more accurately, derived from him that "Haliburton's retreat from politics to the Bench signalled his shift to the right wing of Tory politics."[13]

It would appear that Robert McDougall was the first to challenge Chittick as the sole authority on Haliburton. He was certainly more kind, and in fact called attention to one of the former's greatest failings. Chittick's work ends without ever reconciling what, on the surface, appear to be glaring inconsistencies in Haliburton's life. McDougall, in *Our Living Tradition*, found it "highly disconcerting [that]...his [Haliburton's] chief biographer and critic....can see in Haliburton's championship of reform...only a deploring inconsistency with his later behaviour." Chittick, he proclaimed, "is in the end baffled by his subject...and can only fall back with increasing petulance on the cry of 'inconsistency'."[14]

12 Chester New, *Lord Durham's Mission to Canada* (Toronto, 1963), p. 188.

13 S.F. Wise and Robert Craig Brown, *Canada Views the United States* (Seattle, 1967), p. 38.

14 Robert L. McDougall, ed., *Our Living Tradition* (2nd and 3rd series; Toronto, 1959), pp. 10, 22.

McDougall felt that Haliburton's actions and words were vivid examples of his inbred Toryism. He also believed that Chittick was not "capable of letting us see even momentarily the picture of a man who fought a brave rear-guard action, however foolishly at odds with the course of history, against the forces of democratization." Unfortunately for Haliburton, McDougall also firmly established that he himself had "no wish to propagate a Tory myth or make a Tory hero." McDougall offered no analysis of the *Reply*, though we may infer that many of his opinions came from careful analysis of this particular sequence of letters. Nevertheless, McDougall concluded his chapter on Haliburton by opening the floor to others, in an "attempt to bring an important figure from our past into relation with the present." His, he admitted, is but one interpretation and "other interpretations are possible."[15]

In his introduction to T.C. Haliburton's *A Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham*, A.G. Bailey also offered a more profound interpretation of Haliburton's life and opposition to the Report. As Bailey noted, any criticism Haliburton put forth on Nova Scotia was never "against the form of government but at the people...for their slothfulness, lack of enterprise, and seeming indifference to progress." "Haliburton," Bailey continued, "failed to observe, blinded perhaps by prejudice, a connection between lack of initiative in the economic sphere and the prevailing system of government." In terms of Haliburton's "inconsistencies," Bailey explained them away as examples of a "recessive Yankee component, stemming from his father's background... unpredictably obtruding itself upon the dominant Loyalist attitude...."[16]

Without giving full study to the intricacies of the *Reply*, Bailey felt that Haliburton's, "political writings were nonetheless important as expression of his most fundamental beliefs...ideas which once helped to shape the course of this country's development." According to Bailey, the Reply should be of "some interest to the growing number of persons concerned with the study of Canadian intellectual history..."--even if he himself has yet to undertake the task.[17]

Bailey was referring to Haliburton's most integral beliefs when he spoke of the "prejudice" that "blinded" the author. Chittick, despite his faults,

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 30.

16 T.C. Haliburton, *A Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham*, introduced by A.G. Bailey (Ottawa, 1976), pp. 1, 2.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

deserves credit for the extensive research he amassed on Haliburton's life, research which establishes the foundation upon which Haliburton's "prejudice" was built. Chittick documented that Haliburton's paternal grandfather took part in the New England Planter settlement of Nova Scotia prior to the Revolution, making his home and that of three successive generations of Haliburtons in Windsor.[18]

Haliburton's father, William Hersey Otis Haliburton, in 1794 married Lucy Chandler Grant, who had come to Nova Scotia as a Loyalist refugee. In addition to the personal sufferings and indignities she endured for being loyal, she lost both her parents to the cause. As she came from a fairly prominent family, her sufferings no doubt seemed more acute. On 17 December 1796, Lucy gave birth to a son who was named Thomas Chandler; she died just three years later. Through his mother, Haliburton can thus be classified as a second-generation Loyalist. Chittick remarked that "it is little wonder that there remained with her son to the end of his life some marked, though varying degree of animosity toward the American people."[19]

Six years later, W.H.O. Haliburton married Susanna (Francklin) Davies, a widow and daughter of Michael Francklin, one of "the wealthiest and most prominent early Nova Scotian officials...." The young Haliburton was ensured through this woman a proper social education in the Tory tradition. Neatly, Chittick sums up: "From his father [came a legacy of]...Tory principle and practice...; from his mother, or rather from the associations connected with her, an unreasoning but cruelly implanted Tory prejudice and passion, doubtless accentuated by the training given by his aristocratically bred step-mother."[20] It was a powerful mix of all the elements of Tory élitism.

Haliburton's social and formal education provided the incubation which would build upon and solidify his already inbred tendencies. The town of Windsor, even before the Loyalist migration, was recognized as the 'country seat' for establishment Halifax and was permeated with an air of formality. Particularly after the arrival of the Loyalists, Haliburton's hometown placed

18 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 9.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

an exaggerated emphasis on the civilized, and hence developed a rigidly imposed social stratification. The hope was to imbue in its inhabitants the kind of society that reflected culture, breeding and a reverence for tradition. King's College, located in Windsor, was a gift to the colony for the loyalty of both the recent exiles and the early Church of England colonists, to instruct their sons and to make up for what they had lost in King's College, New York: "But even this desirable addition to what was best in local society only tended to emphasize the original class differences and exclusions. Exclusively, King's College was both Tory and Anglican."[21] It was here that young Haliburton received his formal education.

Haliburton followed in his father's professional footsteps and studied law. Once called to the bar, he and his new wife, Louisa Nevill Haliburton, moved to Annapolis Royal where he established his law practice about 1820. In his new environment he found another community steeped in the Loyalist and English establishment traditions--"a society precisely calculated to continue the influence of Windsor and King's College."[22] In effect, Haliburton had bred in him a certain genteel urbanity and detachment that would have been quite foreign to rough-and-tumble reformers such as fellow Nova Scotian Joseph Howe. The way of life to which Haliburton was exposed offered to the prominent--and only the prominent--members of society the valuable contacts and cultural familiarity of the Tory Loyalist élite.

On the other hand, coming from such a background also isolated, or sheltered one, in terms of ideology. Although the Tory élite could sympathize with, and even on occasion represent popular concerns, they could never imagine themselves as a part of the cause they might defend. In reality, they were exclusive and did not know, nor even care to know beyond a superficial sense, how the 'other half' lived. Any degree of toleration or sense of mission which they professed stemmed from an inherent belief that they, as the rightful leaders of society, were burdened with the responsibility of caring for those lesser mortals whom they felt were in need of their self-appointed guidance. In this, the élite likened themselves to parents. The institutions which they insisted were necessary fostered the continuation of these ideals,

21 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

and provided training for their sons to perpetuate the tradition of maintaining order and dignity in the 'wilds' of colonial British North America.

In good Tory custom, Haliburton quickly entered politics, serving from 1826 to 1829 as the Member for Annapolis County in the Legislative Assembly. He was widely known for his wit, and added to his credentials both skillful oratory and eloquence. He was often outspoken in the Assembly, and even though opposing the Council could mean political suicide for some, Haliburton had style and grace. When he finished speaking, his audience was invariably moved, whether it be to tears or laughter.

It is this time in Haliburton's life that Chittick found so difficult to reconcile with the overall picture of his subject. The zeal Haliburton exhibited in his "blistering attacks" on the incompetence of the Executive Council, describing them as "twelve dignified, deep read, pensioned old ladies...filled with prejudices and whims like all other antiquated spinsters..."[23] seemed in total antithesis to both his upbringing and his later life. Chittick went so far as to surmise that had Haliburton not been appointed to the bench in 1829, he would have been forced to make a decision as to what position he truly supported: "For him to remain in the Assembly and progress politically was...impossible without his joining the ranks of radical reformers, a move forbidden by both temperament and conviction."[24] Chittick believed this was a turning point, but further evidence suggests that Haliburton's life followed an unfailing path of Toryism in the Loyalist tradition.

The Tory mind was not "insensitive to the abuse of privilege or inevitably opposed to the correction of institutions which seem to have deteriorated from their pristine state. When the stand taken by the Assembly appeared to be simply a stand against the misuse of powers by a privileged few, Haliburton supported the call for reform."[25] He denounced the Council's intention to fix Customs House salaries, on the grounds that this was the prerogative of the Assembly. He also defended the cause of popular rights. In 1827, a petition from Nova Scotian Catholics was presented to the Assembly, requesting repeal of the exclusionary Test Acts. Anglican supporters as a

23 McDougall, *Our Living Tradition*, p. 10.

24 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 151.

25 McDougall, *Our Living Tradition*, p. 10.

whole did not want to give up their position of supremacy in Nova Scotia. In a brilliant and inspiring speech, Haliburton nevertheless defended the Catholic cause, reminding his audience that the two factions, Anglican and Roman Catholic, both hoped to return their parishioner's souls to the Kingdom of God: "I will pray that...as brothers we may both be received."[26]

Yet he also refused to support certain popular rights efforts. When a member from Cape Breton introduced a bill that would relieve debtors from unjust arrest and imprisonment, Haliburton was surprisingly rigid in his opposition. He felt such a measure would undermine English law and that "the system of English jurisdiction was one of the noblest structures which the wisdom of man has ever been able to rear...[and he did not] like to see its foundations shaken...."[27]

Haliburton was often condescending in his appeals, which can be offered as evidence that his support for reform derived more from a belief that he was upholding his responsibility to the lower classes. "The patronizing references to the 'lower orders' or...his frequently and forcibly expressed contempt for popularity..."[28] strongly suggest that Haliburton never experienced a feeling of unity with those he represented, and indeed was fundamentally opposed to the idea that lesser mortals should be able to govern themselves.

Lord Durham and the Reformers felt differently, and it was here that Haliburton's generosity ended. "When the Reformers, led by Joseph Howe, began to concentrate, not on what Haliburton called 'minor features of law' but on constitutional issues fundamental to the regulation of colonial government," Haliburton became deeply upset. Not only would Durham's call for Responsible Government destroy the system which the Tories had created, but also "such a conception of colonial government was completely at variance with the conception of a continued connection between colony and mother country."[29]

Into the small, existing pool of conservatism, the influx of Loyalists to Nova Scotia had reinforced Tory ranks--but they brought their biases too.

26 Chittick, *Haliburton*, p. 146.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

29 McDougall, *Our Living Tradition*, p. 11.

The Loyalists, most especially the élite among them, strongly influenced the attitudes and prejudices of Nova Scotian Tories. Upper-class Loyalists were obsessed with establishing and maintaining a 'respectable' society, and with creating a British colony that would make Americans "complain of being treated as aliens, forgetting they made themselves such...," so that "like Vinegar fretting on their own lees, [they] will soon curse the Day which made them independent."[30]

The Loyalist élite, from whom Haliburton in part descended, were relatively few in number, but were nevertheless the loudest voices on this matter, and with good reason: "They were all displaced gentry, of a higher or lesser sort. They had all suffered heavy material losses, of a real or prospective nature [and] as a consequence...were all desperately in need of reestablishing themselves in the post-war world." These men were no longer secure in their futures; their entire existence and "their hopes of rebuilding their tattered fortunes rested entirely on the good will and generosity of Great Britain." Though the Mother Country had pledged not to neglect her supporters, the Loyalists could ill-afford to forget that Britain had let them down once before, and because of this they had no other choice than to "take every possible advantage of Her promises to the Loyalists." At the same time, "their American past and their resentment of British policy during the war would incline them to regain as much control and autonomy in their lives as circumstances would permit."[31] It was from these convictions that the Family Compact or Tory oligarchies arose, building up a network of power and patronage that few governors could penetrate--until Lord Durham. Haliburton, acting as a representative as well as an embodiment of this ideology, had no course to choose but the offensive.

Lord Durham attacked the institutions of the Loyalist ascendancy, endorsed the Reformers, and proposed a plan that would completely change the existing system of government. In the process, society would be forever changed. Shocked and outraged, the Tory élite found themselves undermined by a man who was a representative of the very class they sought to emulate. No doubt they had anticipated his journey to North America with pleasure,

30 Ann Gorman Condon, *'The Envy of the American States:' The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1984), p. 62.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41.

for he was the most distinguished governor-general that had ever graced their soil. Their hopes were quickly dashed, however, because Durham was also the first liberal-minded peer they had encountered, and the only one formally to tell the Tory élite that they were undeserving of their position in society.

The Tories felt that Durham had abandoned them and--worse still--that he had dismissed both their loyalty and that of their forefathers. The most significant characteristic of Haliburton's *Reply* to Lord Durham is the righteous anger and profound sense of betrayal which he expressed in reaction to the Report. Lord Durham understood neither the Tory desire to remain distinct, nor the Loyalist efforts to build a society in North America that would make the Americans rue the day they became independent.[32]

Haliburton, the heir to this philosophy, could not discern why Britain no longer seemed to want or value the same objectives as did the Tory élite, nor why the Colonial Office had sent a representative so committed to re-shaping the colonies into a mould they had suffered to avoid. By failing to acknowledge or support its own institutions of culture and loyalty, it seemed that Great Britain wanted to set the colonies adrift. In Haliburton's eyes, the Mother Country had once more let down its most ardent offspring.

In 1839, Haliburton was visiting England when the Durham Report was released. He immediately wrote the seven letters making up his *Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham,* which were published serially in the London press before his return to Nova Scotia. He did this because he hoped to create a greater impact on English voters than if he delayed, knowing that his appeal might come too late to affect them if he corresponded from the colonies. The letters presented a variety of difficulties which Haliburton had encountered with the Durham Report and they reveal, in particular, the righteous fury which was his overall reaction.

In these seven brief letters, Haliburton expressed a myriad of emotions. He was angry, bitter, fearful--and ripped the Report to pieces, using every method available to ridicule both Durham and his ideas. The *Reply* is both shocking and insightful because it is blatantly savage. Haliburton's other works can all be characterized as sophisticated, subtly sarcastic Tory humour, but they are vastly different from the *Reply,* which is the fiery response of a disillusioned man.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

In his first letter, Haliburton heatedly denounced the "rebels" who had instigated the uprisings and "deceived" Lord Durham. In the second letter, he deliberately misinterpreted Durham's intention by making one of the Report's pivotal arguments appear based on falsehood. Although Durham certainly hoped it would eventually happen, he realized that British North America was not yet ready to be one nation. He never proposed a legislative union of all the colonies, but advocated only one between Upper and Lower Canada. Obviously Haliburton had not read the Report closely, or perhaps he chose to read too much into it. In any case, his sarcastic criticism of the union issue was groundless, and the second letter served only to discredit him.

Haliburton pointed out accurately in his third letter that Durham had never visited the United States, nor had he seen very much of the British colonies either. He hoped to convince his readers that Durham was ill-equipped to make the decisions he had reached, for in truth he knew very little about the North American situation. The fourth letter lost no opportunity to outline the failings of the American Republic, despite its prosperity. Even though Haliburton had often criticized Nova Scotia's sorry state, in this letter he was quick to come to the colony's defence; his love for and pride in his home was clearly evident.

The fifth letter reinforced Haliburton's theory that the only way to save British North America from the perils of democracy was to build upon existing structures, not to tear them down. In the sixth letter, Haliburton reached the height of his passion, this time in repeatedly assaulting Durham for his attack on the establishment of the Church of England.

The seventh letter, as hostile as the rest, again attempted to enlighten its audience as to the importance of the existing form of government as a stabilizing influence and the vital link with the Mother Country. Haliburton was well aware that his *Reply* was disrespectful and brutal--he admitted as much--but he hoped that in doing so he could emphasize the extreme desperation of the situation as he perceived it. In one of his concluding comments, Haliburton observed: "If there are any parts of these letters calculated to give your Lordship [Durham] pain, believe me, the infliction has been mutual."[33]

Haliburton was particularly appalled by Durham's "ill-directed zeal" in denigrating the Established Church while praising other colonial institutions:

33 Haliburton, *Reply*, p. 32.

"men of all shades of belief and of disbelief, except the Church, and of every graduation of politics, except the Loyal Conservatives, have received their due share of commendation and encouragement. How is it, my Lord, that they have incurred your displeasure, and merited this rebuke?"[34] To Haliburton and fellow conservatives, Durham in his Report seemed eager to tear down one of the most fundamental structures needed to build the kind of society they wanted. John Strachan, an Upper Canadian Tory, once said: "it is only through the Church and its institutions, that a truly English character and feeling can be given to, or preserved among the population...."[35]

The Church was thus the vehicle of civilization, loyalty and order that most Tories felt was necessary to create a society that would never fall into the clutches of American democracy. The Loyalists "blamed Britain for having encouraged rebellion by neglect and lax administration."[36] They felt that forging deep religious bonds would serve as "a powerful barrier against any attempt to overthrow or undermine the existing form of Government."[37] "By an Established church they hoped to inculcate loyalty to the King of England, as well as to the King of Kings. They sought stability not progress," and desired through the Church "to hold aloft the torch of civilization."[38] Finally, a strong Established Church would allow the Tory Loyalists to fulfil their belief that they were "God's chosen people...[a] superior, cultured and elevated class of men."[39]

Haliburton, as a defender of this ideology, had to convince Britain that such measures as Durham proposed would be totally wrong for the British North American colonies. Like any good lawyer, he sought to strengthen his case by disproving Durham's theories and by discrediting not only Durham

34 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

35 John Strachan, *Documents and Opinions*, J.H.L. Henderson, ed. (Toronto, 1969), p. 94.

36 William Nelson, *The American Tory* (Boston, 1961), p. 171.

37 L.F.S. Upton, ed., *The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths* (Toronto, 1967), p. 46.

38 D.C. Harvey, "The Intellectual Awakening of Nova Scotia," in G.A. Rawlyk, ed., *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 105, 107.

39 Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto, 1970), p. 99.

and the Reformers, but also--indirectly--Britain herself. He hoped to make the British Government see that what Durham proposed would be a monumental mistake. Haliburton began his assault by asserting that Durham had not written the Report. It was a clever device, for not only did it make Durham appear inept, but it also allowed Haliburton to attack both the Report and Durham while maintaining a degree of distance from, and proper respect for, an English peer. In doing so, he could denounce both Durham and Britain obliquely, by shifting responsibility onto the treacherous "compilers" of the Report. Thus Haliburton cast himself in the honourable role of a commentator, pointing out that it could not possibly have been Durham who was a party to "misrepresentation," or to the plot to undermine the "loyal and truly English body--the Church...." He concluded, "I cannot believe that your Lordship was aware of those injurious aspirations when you signed the Report, but it was your duty, my Lord, to have examined it minutely before you adopted it."[40]

When it suited his purpose, however, Haliburton was more than willing to attribute the Report solely to Durham, and to castigate him for his failings: "your Lordship has been too credulous and too hasty, but, like every ingenuous man will rejoice, no doubt, in being corrected." In doing so, he made Britain appear negligent for sending such an inferior representative; Durham in essence became the scapegoat for all of Haliburton's anger at the Mother Country. Haliburton went on to denounce Durham as a coward for promoting a campaign on a body such as the Church of England, so inherently incapable of defending itself, and for failing to allow the colonies to make a proper "defence against these slanders."[41]

Haliburton felt that Durham and Great Britain had betrayed and deserted the Tories, the true protectors of British life, selling them out to dissenters and American voluntarism. He argued that Loyalists "regarded the rebellious character of dissenting churchmen as a prime cause of the Revolution."[42] The Tories, moreover, held that democracy was a threat to their position. They had come to distrust both religious and secular dissent, which were often

40 Haliburton, *Reply*, pp. 33, 35, 36.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

42 *Ibid.* Voluntarism is that doctrine which holds that the Church should be independent of the State and supported by voluntary contributions.

labelled 'disloyal': "Have your Lordship's compilers sought the opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the enemies of the Church," and thus conspired to "add fresh fuel to the war of dissent?" Haliburton asked. Even more repugnant to the Tory mind was the propagation of the idea that because American voluntarism flourished just across the border, "there should be no Established Church in the colonies."[43] To the Tories, it was exactly for this reason that there should be an Established Church, and more importantly, that it should be a British institution: "Tories labelled all Reformers as pro-American traitors and blamed the Imperial authorities for countenancing their grievances."[44]

To most of Haliburton's contemporaries, however, the War of the American Revolution was a painful story, but in their past; they were no longer held by its spell. People were ready to move on, to take charge of their lives and their government. Dissent was no longer something to fear, especially in Nova Scotia where a majority of the Protestant population were dissenters. Great Britain was willing to accept this change, but the Tory élite within the Established Church found themselves unwilling to relinquish their posts, and remained faithful to their vision of a proper social order.

The Loyalists bequeathed to their descendants a deep concern over establishing an identity. As displaced members of the former Thirteen Colonies, the refugees after 1783 could no longer call themselves 'Americans,' and instead suddenly found themselves required to prove who they were, their worth and their distinctiveness from America. It was important to them not only to vindicate themselves, but also to become living examples of the wisdom of their choice. It was thus imperative for these people to remain distinct as a "genuine alternative to this revolution-born democracy, and organized upon principles and for purposes, quite different from it."[45] The Dissenters--or reformers, as they were known--meanwhile seemed desirous of a closer bond with America than with Great Britain.

43 Haliburton, *Reply*, pp. 32, 33.

44 Gordon T. Stewart, *The Origins of Canadian Politics: A Comparative Approach* (Vancouver, 1986), p. 33.

45 Wise and Brown, *Canada Views*, p. 22.

To Haliburton, this was an unforgivable sin, and for the Mother Country to support this move seemed both foolhardy and blind, deserving of the severest criticism. Scornfully satirical, Haliburton wrote:

> Having thus attempted to conciliate favour...your Lordship descants on the universality of the voluntary principle in America, and proclaims one of those discoveries that is to astonish the people of this country, not merely from its importance, but its novelty--that they have no established church in the United States,

from which the author of the Report "argues there should be no established church in the colonies."[46]

Haliburton attempted to argue the benefits of the Anglican clergy, not only to convince his readers of their worth, but also to portray himself as a man of tolerance and prudence, representative of others of his class. In doing so, he endeavoured to make Durham appear biased by commenting on the latter's praise of French Catholic priests: "Your Lordship commences by an eulogium upon the Catholic clergy of Canada, extolling their exemplary lives, their loyalty, and many virtues...they deserve this commendation, and I am happy to add my humble testimony in their favour." Still, Haliburton believed that the Catholic clergy were no more deserving of praise than the Anglican, and observed that "Your Lordship's compilers[']...impartiality would have proved their sincerity, and enhanced the value of their praise."[47]

Haliburton's toleration of the Roman Catholic clergy is typical of the Tory élite, because the latter also were supporters of an hierarchical organization of society and obedience to authority. By allowing the Catholics their clergy, the Tories sought to guarantee, through them, the same order and loyalty they expected from their Anglican confrères. Nonetheless, Haliburton could not resist comparing the virtues of the two clerical groups in relation to the 1837 Rebellion:

> How could your Lordship assert that an English Clergyman conferred no benefits on an English congregation, when you everywhere found the flock of one disobedient to their pastor and traitorous to their Queen, while the great

46 Haliburton, *Reply*, p. 33.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

> body of the parishioners of the other [Anglican] afforded the pleasing contrast of respect for the laws and fidelity to their sovereign?[48]

His conclusion was that if the Church of England had been the Established Church, promoting British affection and loyal submission, no uprising would have occurred.

Finally, Haliburton dealt with Durham's assessment that the Anglican clergy were, for the most part, unsuited to the needs of their parishioners. Haliburton, in contrast, considered that the Established Church was exactly what they needed. This difference of opinion sprang from opposing viewpoints concerning the underlying nature of man. Haliburton's class was backward-looking; they saw the American Revolution as a result of too much individual freedom, and hoped to avoid any repetition: the Revolution had been caused by "the weakness of social institutions in America," which allowed people to be "led astray."[49] Typically, Haliburton believed that man needed structure and guidance within an organically organized society, in which those best suited would lead. By contrast, Lord Durham was attempting in his Report to point out that missionaries of other churches appealed more to the elementary needs of the people, and that because the Established clergy had official backing, "the sense of community which might have sprung up from a common effort to build a church and support a minister did not develop."[50] When people are a part of the church, Durham argued, there is a loyalty of the heart that cannot be artificially shaped.

Haliburton was deeply embittered by what he considered to be betrayal; Durham had forsaken the British promise to the Loyalists, showing "no remorse of conscience when [he] assailed [his] own Church, [when he] represented it as having too much of the public money, as comprising of none but the opulent, and lauding the policy of stripping it of its lands, to appease the craving appetite of others....Such things may be popular," Haliburton fervently declared, "but they are not respectable."[51]

---

48 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

49 Nelson, *The American Tory*, p. 172.

50 Condon, *'The Envy of the American States'*, p. 186.

51 Haliburton, *Reply*, pp. 35, 36.

It is difficult to admit that Haliburton was narrow-minded, because he was as liberal and forward-looking as his upbringing and social orientation would allow him to be. Nothing in his life, however, had afforded him a close look at the life of the 'lower orders.' His training taught him to be tolerant and worldly, but he only saw part of the picture. He had no idea, for example, how it felt to forge new ground and set down roots in the vast and unpopulated areas of Upper and Lower Canada. He could not identify with these pioneering people, who instead needed "reassurance," "solace," and a sense of "justification" in their lives.[52]

Durham, having no experience of the American Revolution, could never have been affected by it as had the Loyalists and their descendants--his loyalty had never been in question, his identity had always been secure. Durham did not share in the Loyalist dream and could lightly dismiss the refugees' concept of 'loyalty,' because to him it had never been a means of identifying himself. In his Report, Durham clearly stated that "a blind reliance on the all-enduring loyalty of our countrymen" may have been carried too far, and that in contrast to the United States, the colonies were embarrassingly "inferior."[53] It was a stinging slap in the face, especially to those who felt they were in the process of building a society to endure as a monument of loyalty to their beloved England. Alluding to the unruly mobocracy of the United States, Haliburton ended his sixth letter with an ominous warning to Durham and Great Britain alike: "Gross food like this, my Lord, excites but never satisfies the appetite of the populace...[and] he who ministers to its wants will soon find he fills both a dangerous and thankless office."[54]

Haliburton, a self-appointed champion of the Loyalist ascendancy, may well have been a hero, had the course of history been different. His violent denunciation of Lord Durham's Report arose from a desperate need to defend the Loyalist Tory world and its vision, at a time when people were ready to move on independently, and to leave behind both the descendants of the

52 Condon, *'The Envy of the American States'*, p. 185.

53 Gerald M. Craig, *Lord Durham's Report* (Toronto, 1963), p. 129.

54 Haliburton, *Reply*, pp. 36.

Loyalists and their like-minded peers, consigning them to "sink into oblivion...no more known hereafter than their grandfathers." As with the Loyalists, we can admire Thomas Chandler Haliburton for his unceasing commitment to his principles; and we owe it to him as well to attempt an understanding of why he poured such scorching opposition into his *Reply to the Report of the Earl of Durham.*

The Reverend Alexander Clarke.

The Reverend Alexander Clarke and the Cumberland Covenanters

Eldon Hay

In the West Amherst Cemetery in the Chignecto border area of Nova Scotia, there is a large, yellow, four-sided tombstone. On the east side of this monument are the following words:

Erected
by the
Reformed Presbyterians
of the Eastern
Presbytery
in Memory of
Their Venerated
Pastor
Rev. Alex Clarke D.D.
born Co. Derry
Ireland A.D. 1794
who died
March 18th A.D. 1874
aged 80 Years

On the south side, the stone reads:

Ordained in
Ireland 1827
as a Missionary
to these Provinces
and Ministered
with Great Zeal
and Acceptance
47 Years
He was a
Powerful Preacher
a Successful
Pastor
an Accomplished
Scholar
and a Zealous
Servant of God
The Righteous shall
be had in Everlasting
Remembrance[1]

Professor Eldon Hay is a member of the Department of Religious Studies at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick.

1 The exact time of erection and inscription is difficult to ascertain, but probably *ca.* 1876. Clarke's death actually occurred on 15 Mar. 1874, not on 18 Mar. as recorded on the monument. "His death took place on the morning of Sabbath, March 15th." Nevin Woodside, "Death of Rev. Alexander Clarke, D.D.," *Reformed Presbyterian Advocate*, July-Aug. 1874, p. 282.

The tombstone tells the story, but only in the barest outline. To fill in the silhouette, and because this is a Presbyterian story, we must start in Scotland, stop briefly in Ireland and the American colonies, and also provide some fundamental understanding of Reformed Presbyterianism.

Presbyterianism was brought to Scotland by John Knox in the late 1550s. In 1560 the Scottish Parliament abolished the papacy. There followed an eighty-year struggle amongst the contending religious and political forces in Scotland. A significant consensus emerged in a series of events and decisions between 1638 and 1649. Several important doctrinal documents were developed--amongst them the Solemn League and Covenant, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. It is this period of just over a decade that is looked upon as the golden age of the Covenanters. This was the Reformed Church manifested. However, the golden age closed.

In particular, the years following the Restoration of 1660 when Charles II came to the throne threatened to efface all the gains previously made. Those who held to the golden-age principles and practices were themselves subject to harassment, punishment, even death. Reformed worship became illegal. There was much hardship, suffering, holy sites and holy wars, bloodshed and martyrdom. A weary nation was looking for a way out of its tumult.

The Revolution Settlement of 1690 seemed such a way. The Settlement was a compromise; a compromise that most folk welcomed because it seemed to signal an end to costly struggle. The arrangement was not accepted by the Covenanters, the Reformed Presbyterians; the compromise undermined the previous attainments. Under William of Orange, prelacy--the system of church government by bishops--was made official in England. The Church of Scotland was established in Scotland, but the King, the civil ruler, was accepted as Head of State. To the Covenanters, that title belongs to Jesus Christ, King Messiah. To witness to their disagreement with the Settlement, Covenanters refused to vote, to take an oath in the name of the King, or to hold any civil office where such an oath was required. In the Maritime Canadian experience, the most well-known and pronounced Covenanter characteristic was in the Chignecto region, where Covenanters would not vote in elections. A Covenanter member "who in any way supported any human government was subject to excommunication."[2]

2 George M. Moore, "A History of the Church at Goose River, which became Linden about the year 1880" (*ca.*1973), p. 2. Unpublished manuscript at Cumberland County Museum, Amherst, N.S. George Moore was a descendant of Rachel Moore Darragh, wife of Rev. Wm. S. Darragh. Rev. Darragh was Clarke's colleague, later his protagonist in Cumberland County.

Covenanters have a rich history of dissent and martyrdom, in both Scotland and Ireland. The denomination is also strongly lay in orientation; at various times, in the face of what seemed critical junctures, clergy left--to go to other, less exclusive churches. In Scotland, Ireland and later the United States, the denomination survived, sometimes without benefit of any clergy. The historical situation in Northern Ireland (where the first presbytery was organized in 1763) was of course different from that in Scotland, but there was a parallel holy history of struggle and persecution. Finally, Covenanters also made their way to the American colonies where, though Reformed Presbyterians had been present for some fifty years, the first presbytery was not organized until 1774. In the American colonies, Covenanters did not suffer overt persecution. But in crafting an indigenous Covenanter policy and platform in that part of the New World, a task at which they were finally successful, some old problems reasserted themselves--especially the loss of ministers, whereby Covenanter clergy not infrequently left to join other, more compromising, less exclusive, Christian communities.[3]

North of the United States border, there were eventually three Reformed Presbyterian communities in the Maritimes, all founded by the Irish Synod; these were located in the Saint John River Valley of New Brunswick, the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia, and the Chignecto region between the two provinces. There was another group of Covenanter communities in eastern Ontario and western Quebec, founded at approximately the same time, but by the Scotch Synod; and much later a group of congregations in Western Canada, founded by Old School (conservative) American Covenanters.[4]

How did the Reverend Alexander Clarke come to Amherst? The answer lies in Saint John, New Brunswick. In that Loyalist stronghold, very early in the 1800s, there were a few Covenanters from Scotland and Ireland, apparently worshipping together without any formal organization. This

3 See Matthew Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, Its Origin and History, 1680-1876* (Paisley, 1893); Adam Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Belfast, 1984); W. M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (Baltimore, 1888); and David M. Carson, *Transplanted to America: A Popular History of the American Covenanters to 1871* (Philadelphia, 1979).

4 See Frank Archibald, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, or The Covenanters in the Lower Provinces" (Halifax, 1934), unpublished ms. at Maritime Conference Archives, Halifax, N. S.; and Robert M. More, Jr., *Aurora Borealis: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Canada (Covenanter), 1820-1967* (Philadelphia, 1967).

small group appealed for support to Reformed Presbyterian congregations in the United States. Two American Covenanter clergymen came to visit, organized the scattered elements into a praying society, and wrote to both the Irish and Scotch Reformed Presbyterian Synods, pressing the needs of the Saint John Covenanters.[5]

The Irish Synod responded in time, and in 1827 the Rev. Clarke, his wife Catherine and small family embarked for New Brunswick. On board the vessel were, in Clarke's own words,

> two hundred and fifty Irish...from the western parts of the Island of Saints and Heroes, irritated by the presence of a sprinkling of nominal Protestants of all shades, from the halfway Romanist to the Reformed Presbyterian Covenanter. The stimulating element of the heterogenous mass was not, mark ye, plenty of holy water, but an abundant in-pouring of Jamaica liquid fire.[6]

A rowdy lot, indeed. One bully in particular was a continual threat, until Clarke took him on, bodily, with fists; the bullying was finished.[7] The incident, somewhat casually reported by Clarke, was later embellished:

> On his first voyage across the Atlantic, a rude and burly Roman Catholic had frequently imposed upon a boy sent under Dr. (then Mr.) Clarke's care. Frequently the rude fellow was remonstrated with, but his insults became more frequent and annoying. At length Mr. Clarke, seeing that disturbance might spread over the entire vessel, and terminate in a mutiny, determined to arrest it in its incipient stages. He confronted the disturber of the peace, and with the firmness for which he was always distinguished, ordered him to desist. This demand only irritated the pugilist, who told Mr. Clarke if it were not for the coat he wore, he would 'drub' him as well as the boy. Without a moment's hesitation Mr. Clarke stepped back and threw off his coat, turned to the rude fellow, and said, 'Now, sir, there's my coat, and here's myself.' This was the signal for a personal encounter, which was watched with interest by the seamen

5 Glasgow, *History*, p. 165.

6 Rev. Alexander Clarke, "Autobiographical Sketch," p. 2. This manuscript was composed *ca.* 1873 and recorded by Wm. Y. Chapman, Clarke's grandson. It is now held by the Mount Allison University Archives, Sackville, N. B., in the J. C. Webster Papers, 7001/23.

7 *Ibid.*

> and passengers. Mr. Clarke gave his antagonist a 'thorough drubbing,' to the great delight of the sailors, and comfort and security of the passengers during the remainder of the voyage.[8]

Whichever version is more accurate, one lesson is clear: Covenanters do not retire from the world.

The Irish Synod intended that Saint John should be the centre of Clarke's missionary endeavours. During the interim of waiting for an appointee, however, the few Covenanters of that city had entirely lost hope, and by the time he arrived, the Reformed Presbyterian "Society in St. John was broken up and scattered."[9] Clarke instead went to the Chignecto border area, whither he had been immediately invited: "Early in the Fall [of 1827] a man from near Amherst, a Mr. McMorris, a native of Donegal, Ireland, visited St. John, and on me he called and insisted on my making a visit to Amherst."[10] This McMorris had been in connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and indicated to Clarke that Amherst was a prospering community with a congregation of Presbyterians. There was even one man, a Mr. Logan, whose son had espoused Reformed Presbyterian principles: "In the presence of such endorsement...I made a visit to Amherst on the strength of friend McMorris' invitation."[11] Clarke went by schooner to Fort Lawrence; slightly sea sick, he finally reached Amherst, only to discover that Mr. Logan was three miles away, in Amherst Point.

Logan was initially not at all impressed by Clarke--but then, there had been several Presbyterian ministers in the area previously, all of whom Logan had considered incompetent, or uncommitted, or both.[12] His advice to one of the earlier arrivals had been terse: "Sir, you need not stop here; there is no room for you here. They want none of your sort here, and I may say to

8 Woodside, "Death of Rev. Clarke," p. 282.

9 Clarke, "Sketch," p. 3.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Rev. James MacGregor had visited the community in 1788; Logan could not have been referring to this remarkable clergyman. See James MacGregor, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1859), ed. George Patterson.

you...unless you can live upon potatoes and marsh hay, you could not subsist three months."[13] Clarke admired Logan's open integrity: "as honest a man as ever I did meet."[14] Yet Clarke could see the logic underlying Logan's remark: being a missionary in the area would be no easy task. "Still, I did not despair of being somewhat successful. I believed I had a good cause and a glorious Master, and that he had not brought me so far without having some work for me to do."[15]

Clarke stayed in Amherst for three weeks, then returned by land to Saint John with the understanding that he would come back in the spring of 1828. He returned in March, and by the first of June had his family with him. He settled for a time on the shores of the Northumberland Strait, but in 1835 he purchased a farm some five miles from Amherst, and remained on that property until he died in 1874. Although he had left Saint John, that did not preclude further dealings there. Clarke occasionally visited the city and held services; in 1835 a Covenanter Church was opened, and in the eyes of some Saint John Kirk folk, Clarke was seen as the minister.[16] Nonetheless, it is clear that Amherst was henceforth to be the centre of his activity for the remainder of his long and effective ministry.

With the brief exception of William Sommerville's ministry, to be discussed below, Clarke was on his own in Cumberland and Westmorland Counties for a twenty-year period from 1828 until 1848. We do not have from Clarke's own pen a record of what happened, Sabbath by Sabbath, year by year, during those early heroic days; but there are some vivid accounts, from slightly later times:

---

13 Alexander Clarke, "Presbyterianism in British North America," in *Guardian*, 20 Mar. 1846, p. 300 and "Presbyterianism in British North America. No. II," in *Guardian*, 10 Apr. 1846, p. 324 [hereafter cited as "Presbyterianism I" and "Presbyterianism II"]. The two-part article is virtually a reprint of the original "Presbyterianism in British North America," and "Presbyterianism in British North America. No. II," in *Banner of Ulster*, 20 and 23 Jan. 1846.

14 Clarke, "Presbyterianism II."

15 *Ibid.*

16 Alex MacLean, letter to the Glasgow Colonial Society, 10 Nov. 1835. The Glasgow Colonial Society Correspondence, Book 5, No. 193, United Church Archives, Toronto. MacLean, a Church of Scotland clergyman in St. Andrew's, N. B., wrote that a Reformed Presbyterian Church had been built in Saint John, and "Mr. Alexr. Clark" obtained as its minister.

> In a severer climate, in a wilderness country, in settlements remote and far distant from each other, in the most inclement seasons of the year, his appointments had to be kept up. Through the snows of winter, and amidst the still more dangerous freshets of the spring and fall, he has had to struggle. Travelling thus for miles on miles through the bosom of the wilderness, often without even a bridle path to direct his steps, he has frequently been obliged to dismount from his horse, and turn him loose, shoulder his portmanteau, and, pushing along on foot through swamps and thickets, arrive, perchance, a little beyond his time, amidst his expectant congregation, where, wet and weary, he would stand for hours and distribute the bread of eternal life.[17]

A specific incident involving Clarke and Ruling Elder John Cooper of Goose River has also come down to us:

> At that time it was not easy to carry extra clothing, the saddle-bags then used only holding the necessary linens and few books required. On one of those occasions Mr. Clarke was accompanied by...[John] Cooper...who was a stalwart, brawny Scotchman. They had quite a large stream of water to cross, and Mr. Cooper, after getting the horses safely over, said to Mr. Clarke, 'Now I will carry you over on my back.' Mr. Clarke objected to this mode of travel, but Mr. Cooper insisted and carried his point. He said he was used to carrying large sacks of grain and he thought the minister would be easily carried. So he stooped down, and Mr. Clarke mounted his back and thus they started. He [Cooper] found the gospel, however, heavier than grain, for when about half-way over he exclaimed, 'Man, dear, I can keep up no longer,' and so plunged with his burden into the stream. They escaped with nothing more serious than a good wetting.[18]

From other accounts, we can be certain of several distinguishing marks in the ministry of the "Indefatigable Missionary."[19] Firstly, Clarke did not make church membership an easy matter. He insisted on proper instruction before

17 "Report of a Visit to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," in *Banner of the Covenant*, Dec. 1849, pp. 372-3, which also noted: "In presenting this we derive our information principally from a letter of Mr. Clarke's, published several years ago in the *Banner of Ulster*, and from a valuable report presented to us by a committee of the Amherst and Nappan stations."

18 Lavinia Clarke Baird, "Missionaries of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to the Lower Provinces of Canada: Alexander Clarke, D.D.," in *Olive Trees*, Jan. 1899, p. 20. Lavinia was Clarke's daughter.

19 This was the appellation given Clarke by the Irish Synod in an article, "Rev. Alexander Clarke," in *Covenanter*, Sept. 1831, p. 328.

one joined, became an elder, or had one's child baptised. And of all those whom he did baptise, Clarke could boast that "never yet has one...[turned] to immersion."[20] Secondly, Clarke's greatest and most enduring impact was upon the communities of Shemogue, Goose River and Amherst, where many of the folk were, like himself, either Irish or Scotch-Irish. Thirdly, the first Communion was held at Shemogue in 1831.[21] Lastly, Clarke's letters to brethren in Ireland and the United States consistently pleaded for more helpers.[22]

In 1831, the Reverend William Sommerville, an Irish Reformed Presbyterian missionary, emigrated from Ireland to serve the church in the colonies. He went first to Saint John, but then found his way across to Cornwallis, where he eventually settled and had a long and distinguished career. At first, he and Clarke worked closely together. Sommerville courted and married Sarah Dickey, a woman from Clarke's Goose River congregation.[23] The two missionaries decided to form a presbytery, reasoning that it would give them mutual support and supervision. Accordingly, they constituted "The Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia," in Point de Bute, New Brunswick, on 25 April 1832, with Robert Cook of Amherst and William Peacock of Shemogue as ruling elders, Clarke as moderator, and Sommerville as clerk.[24] Once constituted, the presbytery wrote to the Synod in Ireland for approval; Synod was not pleased:

---

20 Clarke, "Presbyterianism II." That is to say, none of them became Baptists!

21 M.W. Armstrong, "History of St. Stephen's Church," in *Amherst News and Sentinel*, 3 and 7 Feb. 1930. Armstrong wrote that "the first communion service was held in William Brownell's barn at Northport in August 1828." This is mistaken. Clarke referred more than once to the 1831 Shemogue service as the first Lord's Supper. See Clarke, "The Church Property of the Eastern Provinces," in *Reformed Presbyterian Advocate*, June 1870, p. 173: "the first eucharistical communion...was celebrated at [Shemogue] on the first Sabbath of July, 1831." In a religious tradition where communion is central, this was therefore a significant event.

22 In 1831, Clarke addressed the American Reformed Presbyterian Synod. See "Minutes of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, 1809-1831," pp. 179, 198; originals held by the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh.

23 "Obituary Notice [of Mrs. William Sommerville]" in *The Monitor and Missionary Chronicle of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, Apr. 1853, pp. 289-290.

24 "Minutes of the Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Presbytery from its first Constitution on the 25th day of April 1832," pp. 1-4 (mfm. at Maritime Conference Archives, Halifax, N. S.). [In the original text, pagination does not begin until p. 126. The page numbers above are arrived at by numbering backwards from p. 126, which is so numbered in the original text.]

> The Resolutions of a Presbytery constituted in New Brunswick by Rev. Messrs. Clarke and Sommerville with Ruling elders are received. After discussion it is resolved that this Synod disapproves of the precipitancy and want of courtesy with which their missionaries have proceeded in constituting a Presbytery without consulting this Court: and it is agreed that the Committee of Correspondence shall give indication of this disapprobation.[25]

Nonetheless, there were indications that Synod would tacitly accept the status quo: "Synod does recognize the Constitution, and directs them [the new Presbytery] to continue subject to this Synod, until reasons may occur and be assigned for placing them under the direction of another Synod."

For a time, the new presbytery gave real support to its members. Clarke and Sommerville rendered personal assistance to each other, particularly during communion seasons, and the elders also performed useful functions.[26] From 1832 to mid-1838, all went reasonably well. Then, somewhat abruptly, Clarke and Sommerville had a falling out, possibly at the time Clarke received a sharp letter from Saint John, declining his services as a minister of the Reformed Presbyterian congregation in that city.[27] Whatever the cause, the two men became estranged and the presbytery did not meet.

Either concomitant with his distancing from Sommerville, or as a result of it, Clarke grew steadily apart as well from the Irish Synod--while Sommerville increased in wisdom and in status, in favour with God and with the Synod. In 1839 Sommerville's work was praised, while instead of being hailed as the "Indefatigable Missionary," Clarke's name did not even appear in the Synod report--though there was still talk of "our missionaries."[28] In 1841, Synod noted that there had been no communication from Clarke, though they had written to him at least twice. In 1842, it was noted ominously that matters

25 "Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland, 1832," minute 22. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.

26 The official presbytery exchange between the two is documented in "Minutes of the Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia." See also, for some account of the interchange between Clarke and Sommerville, Elihu Woodworth, *The Diary of Deacon Elihu Woodworth 1835-1836*, ed. Watson Kirkconnell (Wolfville, 1972).

27 "Minutes of the Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia," pp. 22-23.

28 *Covenanter*, Sept. 1839, p. 229.

concerning Clarke had come to Synod's attention, "which may require...mature consideration."[29] In 1843, the pertinent committee noted that "as the relation in which the Rev. Alexander Clarke, of Amherst, stands to the Synod, has not for some time past been satisfactory, [the Committee] refrains from offering, at present, any report respecting his stations or labours."[30] After this time, the sources become somewhat murky.

It is known that the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Presbytery was reorganized in 1845, with ministers Sommerville of Cornwallis and the Reverend A. McLeod Stavely of Saint John (who had come out from Ireland in 1841). Clarke was invited to join, but apparently never responded.[31] From a secondary source, we know that Clarke's name was stricken from the roll of the Irish Synod on 14 October 1847.[32] Why was he ejected? Indigenous Chignecto sources give the story quite casually, and without criticism of their minister; one colourful Chignecto reminiscence recounts it thus:

> In connection with his transfer from the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland to the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America I have a very distinct recollection of an incident the late Stephen Anderson told me. Mr. Anderson said when he was a small boy his father (an elder) took him to...a meeting of Session. The houses were rather Primitive in those days and in this one there was a bed in the kitchen. Dr. Clark[e] was lying on the bed with his three elders near him and after they were through discussing their own business he told them he had been ordered by the Presbytery of Belfast to return home and report conditions here in N.B. This would be some time after his permanent location in the Maritimes. His session was urging him to go and the old Gentleman slowly raised himself up and let his legs hang over the edge of the bed and said 'he could not afford to go much as he would like too nor they could not afford to send him' and he then and there proposed they would Join up with the R.P. Church of North America which had its Headquarters in Philadelphia. They had a Theological College there and held many of the courts of the Church there....After a while the Session endorsed the change for

29 *Ibid.*, Sept. 1842, p. 223.

30 *Ibid.*, Sept. 1843, p. 221.

31 "Minutes of the Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia," pp. 25ff.

32 W.M. Glasgow, "Annals of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Presbytery," in *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter*, June 1895, p. 127.

> convenience sake and on application the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland so far as Dr. Clark[e] and his several congregations were concerned were duly transferred to the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America. The question of voting...was likely an incident in the matter.[33]

The standard explanation is given less colourfully:

> Dr. Clarke...got into trouble with the Ulster Synod. This was because he, and many of his flock wished to be allowed to vote for the party or man of their choice. The Ulster Synod did not allow any Church member to do that, as they taught that Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, was the only King and ruler, and to support any other form of government was being disloyal to him. Therefore any member who in any way supported any human government was subject to excommunication.[34]

From the official side--the side which disagreed with Clarke's decision--the story was somewhat different:

> Mr. Clarke had voted at some election in Nova Scotia, [and thereby] identified himself with the government which the Covenanters under the British Crown had been endeavouring to reform for many years, and the same government which had inflicted the persecution upon his forefathers in Scotland.[35]

Although Clarke argued that this

> was not contrary to the position of the church in civil relations, [he] failed to satisfy the requirements of the presbytery, [and] absented himself from the meetings....Mr. Clarke having violated his church principles and ministerial vows, and having declined the authority of the presbytery and Synod, was formally suspended, and his name stricken from the roll October 14, 1847.[36]

---

33 J.R. Pugsley, "Letter about Clarke and Shemogue," 24 Nov. 1927. A copy of the original was given to the author by Lois Peacock Trenholm of Murray Corner, N.B. She also holds the Clarke family Bible, where an entry for the birth of the Rev. Clarke's eighth daughter, Mary, 26 June 1835, establishes the date of removal to the Amherst-area farm property.

34 Moore, "A History of the Church at Goose River," p. 2.

35 Glasgow, *History*, p. 172.

36 Glasgow, "Annals," pp. 126-7.

Clarke himself spoke very little about the matter. It is likely that two factors additional to the voting issue were involved. First, Clarke was stung by the less-than-complete approval of the Irish Synod over the formation of the presbytery, and by what he construed as Synod's less than whole-hearted attention to the on-going life of the new presbytery. Second, Clarke was disappointed that the Irish Synod did not send more ministerial help; he needed all the support he could muster, and he felt increasingly isolated. In addition, the Irish Synod was having its own internal troubles, and apparently Clarke felt less and less attached to the main group, and more in tune with the splinter faction that finally broke with Synod in 1840, terming itself the Eastern Reformed Presbytery of Ireland.

Clarke the Presbyterian now had no presbytery; he was without a home, but not for long. He found--or was found by--another presbytery. In the United States, there had been a split in the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in 1833, into Old School (conservative) and New School (liberal) groupings.[37] Clarke joined the New School Synod, through its Northern Presbytery, on 21 April 1848. And he took all the churches and preaching stations in Westmorland and Cumberland Counties with him. The sole statement that we have from Clarke concerning this decision is in this paragraph, which forms part of his petition to join the New School:

> --that in the present field of his labour, petitioner found but one professed Covenanter,--that there was not a Presbyterian house of worship in the two counties in which the petitioner's circuit lies, nor any suitable place for preaching, at all--that there were but few of the Presbyterian name, and those, in many instances, unworthy of even the name,--that now there are many stations, four houses of worship, a fifth in progress, other places of accommodation, and nearly two hundred communicants,--that in view of these facts, and aware that the petitioner stands alone, others wish to press into the field, that without immediate help no one man, in these shaking times, can hold these many posts together,--...And as your petitioner's views of public policy are in accordance with those of your reverend body,--Therefore petitioner earnestly prays that you will, without delay, take him into your connexion,

37 The matter is fully discussed by Glasgow, *History*, pp. 89ff., whose stance is definitely Old School. For a New School interpretation, see George P. Hutchison, *The History behind the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod* (Cherry Hill, N.J., 1974), Chapter III. Though formally Old School, I commend the careful analysis and conclusions of Carson's *Transplanted to America*, Chapter X: "Society Affects the Belief of the Church."

> under your protection, and send him some assistance. And petitioner hereby promises, to follow no divisive courses, but to yield all due submission in the Lord....[38]

The Northern Presbytery welcomed him and reported to Synod at its October 1848 meeting in New York that

> Mr. Clarke had been for several years a missionary connected with the Reformed Synod in Ireland, before the disruption of that body, but owing to a variety of circumstances, growing out of the state of the divided church, and the peculiarities of his own position, he had not considered himself as responsible to that body, for some time past.[39]

Clarke himself tendered a written report to Synod, in which he described the past and present circumstances of those communities under his charge:

> 1. Amherst.--There has been erected in this place a very commodious house of worship, and the attendance is large, regular, and respectable. At present there is but one ruling elder, Mr. Robert Cooke--Mr. J. Armitage [Armstrong] and Mr. J. Buchanan having been removed by death. A Bible class is held by the Pastor, once every week.
>
> 2. Napan [*sic*].--This place is about six miles from Amherst, and, like it, an old settlement advanced in improvement and population. The attendance here is large, although the number of church members in communion with us is but few as yet. The community consists chiefly of Wesleyans, but our ministry is respectably sustained.
>
> 3. Goose River.--This is a new settlement, to which there is at present much emigration [*sic*]. It is twenty miles from Amherst, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence [*sic*]. We have here a house of worship, and a prayer-meeting, and flourishing Sabbath-school and week-day school. Nearly forty families are in connexion with us at this station, where also we have an elder, Mr. A. Ferguson, a very worthy and zealous man....
>
> 4. Chimoguee [Shemogue]....

38 *Banner of the Covenant*, July 1848, p. 225.

39 *Ibid.*, Nov. 1848, pp. 326-7.

5. Sackville....

6. Jolicure....

7. River Hebert.--This station is eighteen miles from Amherst. It is a promising neighbourhood, and is able to build a church.

With all these stations there are connected other preaching places, where the ordinances are dispensed occasionally. Hitherto they have all been self-sustaining missions, having been kept up without cost to any society as such. Under Divine blessing the work has been done by individual exertion.

They are now committed to the care of the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian church, having been received by the Northern Presbytery, to which they are nearest.[40]

Again, Chignecto sources noted this change in affiliation with equanimity; only one alteration was recalled as significant: "The [American] church was exactly the same with the one exception that they allowed their members to vote."[41] From this time on, Clarke's activities are much easier to trace, since he was well-received by the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and his work was accordingly given prominent coverage.

Clarke was an able Bible Class teacher, and an eloquent and persuasive preacher. The editor of the official church publication, *Banner of the Covenant*, visited one such class in 1850, and has left the following first-hand description:

We had the pleasure of attending [the Amherst Point Bible Class]...during a visit last summer to Nova Scotia. The place of meeting was a log cabin, in a grove not far from the Bay of Fundy. As we approached the place, we found a large number of vehicles of various kinds, and horses, around the building, while within, was a large assemblage of youth with a considerable number of persons of riper years. After the usual examinations in the Shorter Catechism had been completed, some remarks were made in regard to the missionary

40 *Ibid.*, p. 350.

41 Moore, "History of the Church at Goose River," p. 2.

> operations of our church in India, with especial reference to the condition of heathen youth. The Rev. Mr. Clarke followed with a very interesting and appropriate address, which rivetted the attention of his hearers. It was then proposed to form a missionary society in connexion with the Bible class, and the countenances of many beaming with pleasure, showed how willing they were to engage in good work. Arrangements were then made in regard to officers, meetings, &c., and it was determined to undertake the support of a heathen child, to be called Alexander Clarke, after their respected and beloved pastor.[42]

A communication was sent to India, and in due course, the following reply was featured in the *Banner of the Covenant:*

> I am now happy to inform you that we [have] selected and set apart a very interesting boy, about nine years old, who now bears the name of your very respected pastor Alexander Clarke, and is henceforth to be known as your beneficiary. He is a Hindu boy, but his parentage is not known. After the massacre of the English troops that took place at Cabul [Kabul] some years ago, he was picked up as the child of some of the camp-followers that had fallen in the general slaughter. A little more than three years ago, he was sent to our Orphan Institution. His mother tongue is the Persian, but he has been taught by us to read and write the Hindustani. He has also committed several portions of Scripture, and a part of the Shorter Catechism to memory, in the same language. As ours is a manual labour institution, he has heretofore spent a part of each day in learning the carpenter trade. As he appears to have a good capacity for learning, he has lately been placed in the English school, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Woodside, and henceforth he will not be required to work in the shop, as it will, doubtless, be more in accordance with your wishes to qualify him to become useful as an instructor of his benighted countrymen. The interest that you will take in his welfare has been fully explained to him....[43]

Further evidence of the Rev. Clarke's eloquence as a preacher has come down to us from various contemporary observers. On an occasion in 1860

42 *Banner of the Covenant*, Sept. 1850, p. 304.

43 *Ibid.*, Jan. 1851, p. 25.

when he shared a pulpit-platform with his old protagonist, the Rev. William Sommerville, it was remarked:

> If the presentation of Mr. Sommerville was a great success, that of Dr. Clarke, of Amherst, was greater, in a popular point of view. It will not read better in print; it is not, in my opinion, superior, if it be equal, in merit to that of Mr. Sommerville; but it was so full of genuine Irish humour, relieving the gravest discussions, that the presiding minister forgot all about 'the bell,' and allowed Mr. Clarke to take his own time....[44]

Another family tradition from the Chignecto area recalls that

> At that time, Dr. Clarke was travelling from place to place on horseback, staying with a parishioner over night and preaching within the area on Sunday. On this occasion he stayed with great grand-father John Angus and family. On Sunday morning John Angus took Dr. Clarke out to the barn[,] proudly showing off a pair of fat oxen. In the following church service that day, Dr. Clarke singled out great grand-father with a lecture on worshipping the material things of life instead of the spiritual.[45]

Clarke was also a builder of churches. His report of the opening of a new structure in Nappan, in 1855, is typical:

> The house is a commodious and comfortable erection; 44 by 34 feet, without a gallery. The pulpit is a plain, neat and handsome article of the desk kind. The wood is neither rosewood, walnut nor mahogany. The carpet is not Brussels, but the sofa is somewhat elastic after all. There are not twenty members in the whole of the Nappan district. Of course but few to bear the weight of the building. But with Joseph Coales [Coates] and William Keiver at their head, the work went on with energy. Of my collections...I put into this erection one hundred and sixty dollars, for which I hold the receipt. There will yet be some debt against the house, which may cause pews to be sold, and this is very injurious to the support of the ministry afterwards....[46]

44 William Elder, "Tri-Centenary Celebration," in *Christian Instructor*, Nov. 1860, p. 348.

45 Norman Smith, Linden, in a letter to the author, Jan. 1988.

46 *Banner of the Covenant*, Mar. 1855, p. 86.

That Clarke was beloved by devoted congregants is evident from accounts such as the following:

> The Rev. A. Clarke, D.D., was presented, on Friday last, with a handsome covered buggy, built by Messrs. Christie, together with a wrapper and whip, worth in all $150.--These were the united gift of his congregation and friends in Amherst, Amherst Head, Napan [*sic*], and Jolicure, and are but a true exponent of the appreciation in which his faithful pastoral services are held...The Rev. Doctor, in accepting, stated to the delegation that, much as the gift might be valued intrinsically, his great appreciation of it arose from the fact that its bestowal, as they had stated, had been prompted by their affection for him.[47]

Finally, as already noted, Clarke had a great sense of humour: he was a clergyman with the quick quip. Another local reminiscence recalls that

> Evidently a certain kindly interest existed between the Covenanters and the Methodist church [in Amherst]. Among Bishop Black's descendants there was exceptional musical talent. One known as Asher Black, Esq., having sent to England for materials, had made his own bass-viol, sometimes called the fiddle. With his fiddle and rich musical bass voice Asher Black led the Methodist choir and congregation in song.
>
> On one occasion Dr. Clarke was invited to preach in the Methodist pulpit. Of course, Covenanters considered it sacrilegious to use a musical instrument in the church. It just 'wasn't done.' Here was a nice situation, the Rev. Dr. Clarke mounting the steps to the high pulpit in the Methodist Church and opposite in the gallery Asher Black Esq. poised and ready with his great booming bass-viol, to lead the church singing. Undaunted, Dr. Clarke arose and announced, doubtless with a certain wicked mental satisfaction, the singing of the Psalm--[one of] the longest in the book with its 34 verses. Gazing steadily across into the eyes of Asher Black, Dr. Clark[e] in his rich Irish brogue added, 'Now fiddle and fiddle and fiddle away till you get tired fiddling.'[48]

Clarke's standing within the Reformed Presbyterian Church remained high. In 1856, he was elected moderator of General Synod, and was appointed to visit the brethren in Ireland and Scotland. It was a once-in-a-

47 *Reformed Presbyterian Advocate*, Dec. 1869, pp. 373-4; reprinted in part from the *Amherst Gazette*.

48 L.P. Bird, "History of Trinity-St. Stephen's United Church" (1955), p. 11. Unpublished manuscript held by the minister of Trinity-St. Stephen's United Church, Amherst, N.S.

lifetime triumphant return to the Old Country, and Clarke was lionized before, during and after his journey. So successful was this trip that most modern sources note that Clarke was also awarded an honorary degree in 1856, although this did not happen in fact until 1860.[49]

Meanwhile, the Chignecto congregations within the Reformed Presbyterian Church had become sufficiently numerous and influential to form their own distinct unit, and Clarke became the first moderator of the Eastern Presbytery on 5 August 1859.[50] The formation of this presbytery--which meant that the congregations in Chignecto had a court of their own--had been discussed for a decade. From its formation in 1859 until his death in 1874, Clarke was its only moderator.

Otherwise, the years 1859 and 1860 were a low point in Clarke's ministry. At that time, his brilliant and able younger colleague, William S. Darragh of Goose River, left the Reformed Presbyterians and joined the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. The move hurt and angered Clarke, and he and Darragh fought, leaving the scars of their struggle on the divided congregations of Goose River--the one Covenanter, the other Presbyterian.[51]

The year 1863 marked an abyss in Clarke's personal life, with the death of his wife Catherine. She was not the first clergy wife, nor will she be the last, about whom much more was written after her death than had ever been said during her life.[52] The north side of the Rev. Clarke's tombstone, in the West Amherst Cemetery, provides the bare outline of this life:

In
Memory of
Catherine
Wife of
Rev. Dr. Clarke
who Died
June 23, 1863
Aged 63 Years

49 *Banner of the Covenant*, Jan. 1860, p. 58.

50 *Ibid.*, Oct. 1860, p. 320; 1859, pp. 13-4.

51 W.W. Rainnie, "Presbyterianism in Linden," in *The Theologue*, Jan. 1892.

52 There is a moving obituary in *Banner of the Covenant*, Aug. 1863, p. 71.

the First Female
Missionary Sent
to Foreign Parts
by the Reformed
Presbyterian Church
of Ireland and the
First Presbyterian
Minister's Wife
Buried in this
Cemetery

In conclusion, what manner of man was Alexander Clarke? Ideologically, he was conservative. On the one hand, he was moved by the egalitarian tradition in the New World, and later recalled of his early years that "people were all very kind to me. All called me brother Clarke, which made me feel very proud to have, in my adopted country, so numerous a brotherhood, of whom I had never before heard."[53] On the other hand, in another reflection on his first days, Clarke noted:

> in a young country, with few inhabitants, and that few very much divided in religious opinions, especially where the levelling principle is a ruling one, and a spirit of insubordination regarded generally as a virtue, it is extremely hard for a Christian minister to maintain consistency and faithfulness in every case.[54]

Politically, he was a Tory. Towards the end of his career, Clarke served on the Board of School Commissioners for Cumberland County. After an election in which the Whigs were victorious, an Amherst Whig wrote to Joseph Howe, then premier of the province, suggesting that Howe kick out the Amherst lot, Tories all, and replace them with good Whigs. Howe refused, though he did not deny they were all Tories--but, specifically, he noted: "Why should an old clergyman like Mr. Clarke be degraded?"[55]

53 Clarke, "Sketch," p. 3.

54 Clarke, "Presbyterianism II."

55 Joseph Howe to J.S. Morse, Jan. 1861. Joseph Howe Papers, MG 24, B 29, Vol. 8, pp. 16-19 (mfm.), Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S. I am indebted to my Mount Allison colleague, Dr. William Hamilton, for drawing this Howe letter to my attention.

In religion, Clarke was first and foremost a Covenanter, and secondly a Presbyterian: he "rejoiced in the growth of the Presbyterianism which he loved so well although it was not altogether after his own heart--for he was a 'Covenanter' to the last."[56] He was utterly opposed to the hierarchy of popery and the prelacy of the Church of England. Presbyterianism, with its division between clergy and ruling elders on the one hand, and congregants on the other, suited his own political and civil intuitions. Of course, it hardly hurt that he was also fully convinced that the Presbyterian form of church government was divinely instituted, a view to which he gave vigorous expression in his sermon delivered at the opening of the new Eastern Presbytery in 1859.[57]

Clarke realized as well that he had been largely responsible for whatever Presbyterianism there was in the Chignecto area: "God has been pleased to bless my instrumentality for the preservation of Presbyterianism in the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland [*sic*]."[58] On another occasion he commented that

> if there is a question whether I should be regarded as having arrived in time to nurse and invigorate Presbyterianism, or to introduce it in the community of Amherst and Cumberland--the latter, from the difficulty I had in introducing it at all, is the only true view of the case. I therefore, cannot be said to have builded on any other man's foundation; and after building upon the R. Presbyterian foundation, and possessing the superstructure for forty-five years with such labour, it is nothing less than Godless and cruel for anyone to disturb such possession on such foundation.[59]

Small wonder that he bore such rancour against Darragh, who dared to pull out of Reformed Presbyterianism and take his followers to the Nova Scotia Presbyterians.

---

56 Robert Murray, "[Obituary of] Rev. Alexander Clarke, D.D.," in *Presbyterian Witness*, 4 Apr. 1874, p. 105.

57 *Banner of the Covenant*, Jan. 1860, p. 2; *Reformed Presbyterian Advocate*, Dec. 1876, pp. 410-2.

58 *Banner of the Covenant*, May 1857, p. 160.

59 Clarke, "Sketch," p. 7.

Clarke's principal religious tenets were shared by Covenanters and Presbyterians alike--distrust of and hostility to Roman Catholicism, advocacy of strict Sabbath observance, a strong stand on total abstinence, commitment to education, and hearty difference with Baptists over baptism. It is therefore somewhat curious--and cheering--to note the relationship which existed between Clarke and the Reverend David Steele, the Baptist minister who came to Amherst in 1868. Just before his death, Clarke delivered some harsh criticisms of Baptist doctrine, from a public platform in Amherst. Although he sharply disagreed with the Rev. Steele, Clarke nevertheless paid tribute to him, "the excellent, charitable Christian brother."[60] And Steele was quoted extensively in the official obituary that appeared in the Reformed Presbyterian Church newspaper when Clarke died:

> Dr. Clarke was long past his prime when I first saw him, a little more than six years ago, not that he was bowed by age. He was as erect as a soldier, and able, as he then expressed himself 'to thrash seven days in the week; six days in my barn,' said he, 'and,' he added, in his own inimitable manner, 'I thrash sinners on Sabbath.' I could readily discover that age was doing its work, and that he must have been in his best days a powerful man. He was a type of the minister required in this Province fifty years ago: a hard-handed, broad-shouldered, clear-headed, warm-hearted Irishman. He never took hold of a subject with white gloves; but he handled his themes as he dealt with the trees of his forest--he cut them down, he uprooted them, and chopped them small. Yet his roughness was largely outward. He had a way of speaking that repelled some. Perhaps he did not manifest enough of the gentleness which becometh the pastor. But I know that gentleness was there....
>
> As a theologian the Dr. was remarkably clear and strong. His view would be regarded as sound in accordance with Calvinism as interpreted by Calvin himself. He had a horror of the liberal theology, which robs Christ of so much of His glory, and which takes from His cross so much of its power. 'The saving efficacy of the blood of Christ' was the comprehensive theme of his ministry.
>
> As every one who knows any thing of Dr. Clarke, he did not obtrude his religious experiences upon the public. I can make more allowance for this than most of our people. I know, too, that his phraseology differed from ours, and that, therefore, he was misunderstood. But if a shadow of doubt should linger in any mind in regard to Dr. Clarke's experience, permit me to say that as far as I

60 *Reformed Presbyterian Advocate*, Mar. 1874, p. 87.

> am concerned, there is the same evidence for his experience as there is for that of the best of us....and during his late illness, in answer to a question as to his state of mind, he said to me, 'I am on the rock where I always was.'[61]

Clarke's kind of Covenanter faith did not long survive him. Of the dozen or so communities in which over fifteen Covenanter churches were erected during his lifetime, only one is still in use today as a place of worship.[61] The reasons for the decline lie beyond the scope of this paper, but it is clear that much of the Covenanter strength in the Chignecto area emanated from and was dependant upon the Rev. Alexander Clarke; as pastor Steele noted, "it will be long before we look upon his like again."

61 Woodside, "Death of Rev. Clarke," pp. 283-4.

60 Calvary United Church, Mount Pleasant, N. S.

List of Books for a Public Library in Halifax, 1793

B.L. Anderson

The formal title proper of this manuscript document is "List of Books Proposed for the Public Library at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Sent from Ch. Ch. Oxford by the Dean [etc.?] 1793." My interest in it began nearly thirty years ago, when I learned that Dr. Shirley Elliott, Nova Scotia's Legislative Librarian, had discovered the manuscript among papers in the Library. I obtained a photocopy and started to try to identify the titles listed, without ever having seen the original. With nothing to go on but the superscription and the bibliographically inadequate list of works of which the document consisted, I set out to try to answer four main questions:

1) What was "Ch. Ch. Oxford" and who was the Dean who prepared the list?
2) Who had asked the Dean for such a list? Did the enquirer act on the suggestions?
3) What was this "Public Library" in the Halifax of 1793 going to be like? Whom would it serve?
4) What were the works that the Dean had suggested? Would they be appropriate for a public library of that period?

Question 1 was comparatively easy to answer, provided one were in a library with a large reference collection. "Ch. Ch. Oxford" was obviously Christ Church, and, given the date, the Dean was readily identifiable as the Reverend Dr. Cyril Jackson.[1] A check of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and other sources[2] yielded some relevant details. Jackson had been a Student (i.e., Fellow) of Christ Church; he had helped to teach the Prince of Wales (later George IV); he had been preacher at Lincoln's Inn from 1779 to 1783. He had refused high church office in order to stay at Christ Church and revitalize what had become a rather slack institution; his knowledge of

Dr. Beryl Anderson resides in Ottawa, where she was formerly Chief, Library Documentation Centre, National Library of Canada.

This paper was presented at the meeting of the Library History Interest Group, 17 June 1988, during the Annual Conference of the Canadian Library Association in Halifax. The original is at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, in the Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection (MG 100, Vol. 86, doc. 53). The author wishes to thank the staff of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia for their invaluable assistance in the preparation of the paper.

1 *Alumni oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886...* (London, 1888), Vol. 2, p. 734.

2 *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1921-22), Vol. 10; Andrew Clarke, ed. *The Colleges of Oxford: Their History and Traditions* (London, 1891), pp. 316-17; Sir Keith G. Feiling, *In Christ Church Hall* (London, 1960), p. 110.

architecture enabled him to guide even physical improvements there. He seems to have been, on the whole, well-liked by former members of the college, many of whom kept in touch with him throughout their careers.

Question 2--the identify of the individual or individuals who had asked the Dean to prepare the list--was another matter. I anticipated a long and perhaps fruitless search. The list itself offered no clues; I could only guess at possible names. The project sounded like one that might have interested Bishop Charles Inglis. But a number of other Loyalists had settled in Halifax, among them the Rev. George Wright, who had been at one time Librarian of the New York Society Library and who from 1790 was Master of the Halifax Grammar School.[3] He was another possibility. I even toyed with the idea that it might have been a project of the House of Assembly, unlikely as that possibility seemed to be.

My third question arose from the words, "*the* Public Library" [italics added]. On the face of it, they implied that the library was a *fait accompli;* but, if so, it had vanished without a trace. Besides, a "public" library at that date? The kinds of "public" library that would be familiar to British or Loyalist settlers in the colony were two: the circulating library (that "evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge"[4]) and the proprietary library.[5]

A circulating library was essentially a commercial venture, often a sideline for a bookseller, who would keep a stock of popular titles to be lent out to those willing to pay the rental fee, or perhaps a subscription. Such an institution in Halifax at the time was a possibility. However, scanning the *Royal Gazette* for 1790-93 yielded no evidence of one. Books advertised for sale by local merchants--perhaps sandwiched between wafers and playing cards,[6] or included under "Pickles, etc."[7]--tended to be Bibles, testaments,

3 Austin Baxter Keep, *History of the New York Society Library; with an Introductory Chapter on Libraries in Colonial New York, 1698-1776* (New York, 1908), pp. 210-11; *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society (Halifax, 1936), Vol. 23, pp. 121-123.

4 Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *The Rivals*, Act I, Scene ii.

5 Frank Beckwith, "The Eighteenth-Century Proprietary Library in England," *Journal of Documentation*, Vol. 3 (Sept. 1947), pp. 81-98.

6 *Royal Gazette and the Nova-Scotia Advertiser* (Halifax), 29 Oct. 1793.

7 *Ibid.*, 10 Jan. 1792.

prayer-books and spelling-books, with the occasional songbook or French grammar. Belles-lettres were rarely mentioned and classics not at all. Auction sale lists indicated that other books were available in the colony--law books and encyclopedias were noted, for example--but one suspects that they arrived with their former owners or were the fruit of special orders. It seemed safe to conclude from external evidence that a circulating library had not been established--a conclusion made virtually unassailable by the internal evidence afforded by the contents of the list.

It remained to consider the proprietary library, i.e., one set up by a group of individuals joined together to form a continuing institution, and able to pay the entrance and subscription fees set for membership. (When "public" library is used hereafter, it is the proprietary type that is understood.) Such a library required a large enough group of people with the funds to support it, and the leisure and education to use it. But Halifax was a garrison town not yet fifty years old; did such a group exist there?

To assess this possibility I needed a breakdown of the city population in 1793. This I accomplished by analysing the capitation assessment roll for Halifax and its immediate environs in 1793 by occupation and by amount of tax levied.[8] The two largest groups were craftsmen and tradesmen (36.0 per cent of the total) and labourers (24.0 per cent). It was possible, but unlikely, that they would be interested in this putative public library. Those who might have been included merchants (6.0 per cent), professional men (3.0 per cent), salaried or pensioned individuals (4.0 per cent) and government officials and employees (less than 2.0 per cent). In all, perhaps between 10 and 14 per cent of the taxpaying population (some 90 to 125 people) might be considered potential library members. The addition of interested women, and possibly military and naval personnel, might have increased the number.

However, a further analysis of the capitation assessment roll, based on presumed ability to pay any necessary fees, reduced the number of potential members. The lowest tax paid was one shilling. It may have been based on an assessment of £8, to judge by other amounts, or may have been a straight poll tax, as in a later revision of the Act. I was unable to locate the full text of the 1792 Act, so one cannot be sure. The median of the taxes levied was two

8 For this and what follows, see B.L. Anderson, "The 1793 Capitation Assessment Lists for Nova Scotia," in *NSHR*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (June 1989), pp. [18]-30.

shillings, while fully 86.0 per cent of the 909 persons listed[9] paid less than six shillings--indicating, so far as I can judge, assessments of about £40 or less. A little over 8.0 per cent paid ten shillings (the usual levy, apparently, on an assessment of £80), while slightly over 3.0 per cent paid more. From these figures I drew the rather shaky conclusion that perhaps 11.0 per cent of the population--those assessed 10 shillings or more--might have been able to afford library fees if they had so wished--about 100 people. At 20 shillings a year (assuming the same fee as for the Quebec library) this would have yielded £100 to be spent for books. How many that would buy I do not know, but I concluded that a proprietary-type public library in Halifax at that time might have been feasible, although the potential membership base for one seemed neither large nor strong.

I come now to my fourth question, the works actually suggested and their appropriateness for a "public" library. The compiler evidently assumed that everyone was as familiar with the works listed as he was himself, and some of his entries were cryptic, to say the least, while some of those that looked the most straightforward posed the greatest difficulty for interpretation. What were *Clerici Comm in Test. V. & N.?* Or *Salmasii Exerc. Plin.?* Or *Enchiridion Theolog.?* Or *Collection of Boyle's Lecture Sermons?* In the end, however, I was able to identify--more or less satisfactorily--everything except the *Collection of Boyle's Lecture Sermons.* Serendipity had already produced the author of the "Enchiridion" to which I referred; now Bishop Inglis's reading list prepared for the Quebec clergy provided the title of the "Collection."[10]

Following identification of that final item, I was able to prepare a transcript of the list, giving the identifications I had made. I also assigned broad Dewey class numbers to each item. In addition, I studied the list to see whether Dean Jackson had made any subject groupings. The results are not definitive, since I could not be sure of the order of the original sheets, but spacing and some obvious sequences indicated that he had had some broad categories in mind. Finally, I analysed the list by publication date to see whether the Dean was choosing recent editions or otherwise.

9 Halifax population in 1791 was given as 1301 males above 16; 935 under 16; females 2209; Blacks 222: Thomas C. Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, in Two Volumes...*(Halifax, 1829), Vol. 1, p. 270.

10 *Catalogue of the English and French Books in the Quebec Library* (Quebec, 1792), p. iii.

One hundred and thirty-seven authors or titles had been suggested by the Dean, who had added (as an afterthought apparently) that the library would also want modern English and foreign history, law and modern natural history and philosophy--in other words, the sciences. The groupings he followed seem to have been science (with an admixture of grammar and rhetoric), 11.0 per cent; Greek and Latin poetry and drama, 17.0 per cent; a combination of dictionaries, philological works and geography, 11.0 per cent; history, with an admixture of classical orators and geographers, 25.0 per cent; philosophy, combined with satire, natural history and what we might call collectanea, 15.0 per cent; Bible and theology, 22.0 per cent.

Based on an analysis by Dewey classification which ignored the Dean's own groupings, the proposed public library would have contained 27.0 per cent classical languages and literature, 28.0 per cent history, biography and geography, 30.0 per cent philosophy and religion, and 15.0 per cent science, law and the aforementioned collectanea. Except for the philosophy and theology sections, most of the works were in Latin or Greek or both, rather than English. The Dean's choices assumed an audience that had received a classical education and adhered to the Church of England.

In general, the editions specified in the list were eighteenth-century publications, and some of those from earlier centuries were available in the eighteenth century in reprints or revisions by later scholars. The breakdown, disregarding reprint dates, was sixteenth-century editions, 12.0 per cent; seventeenth-century, 26.0 per cent, and eighteenth-century, 62.0 per cent. Therefore, the selections were fairly up-to-date, and should have been procurable.

The choice of classical texts for most subject fields and the inclusion of a selection of theological works were not unreasonable for the period. Educated men who might have been interested in a library would presumably have been able to read these works in the original language, while religious works were apparently the main type of book regularly imported into Halifax at the time. However, the number of people fluent in classical languages in a new colony was not likely to be large. It is true that the classics were being taught, both at the Grammar School in Halifax and the Academy at Windsor, but classes were small[11] and it would be some time before they would add to the

11 In 1790 there were sixty students at the Grammar School in Halifax and thirty at the Academy in Windsor: *Royal Gazette and the Nova-Scotia Advertiser*, 12 Jan. 1790 and 26 Feb. 1790.

population any number of graduates with a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek. The omission of belles-lettres and the arts from even the addendum was a further weakness in the selection, if indeed a public library collection was intended. It is difficult to escape the conclusion, therefore, that this was an inappropriate list of works for a public library in Halifax in 1793.

The selections in Dean Jackson's list seem inappropriate only if my assumption that "public library" meant a proprietary-type library, open to those who could afford the membership, was correct. I tried to find Canadian--or, failing that, American--catalogues of this type of library for comparative purposes, but the only one immediately available for Canada was the 1792 catalogue of the Quebec library.[12] This subscription library had opened in 1783 with the gift of 100 volumes from Governor Haldimand of Quebec; by 1792, it numbered 1,211 volumes in English, 1,209 in French, and 23 in Greek and Latin--the latter forming less than one per cent of the total. Seven of the classical works had been listed by Dean Jackson; with the addition of fifteen other works, mainly theological, the overlap between the two lists was 16.0 per cent of the Halifax list. The main sections of the two also differed: theology, history and, to some extent, arts and sciences in the Quebec catalogue corresponded to sections in the Dean's list, but the latter did not include jurisprudence (excepting a few titles) or modern belles-lettres. The differences seem to indicate that, for a public library in a settlement far younger than Quebec, the Dean's choices were not entirely felicitous.

To help in assessing the relevance of the Dean's theological suggestions, I found a selection of theological works appropriate for Canadian Anglican clergy appended to Bishop Inglis's charge to the Quebec clergy in 1790.[13] Although earlier in date, it still seemed likely to be relevant, considering the length of time it would take for newer titles to be imported and prove their value. But only sixteen books (12.0 per cent of the 1793 list) were common to the two lists, Bishop Inglis's recommendations tending more to the practical than the scholarly. The percentage rose to 55.0, however, when comparison was made with Dean Jackson's theological section--a considerably better showing.

12 See Note 10 for citation.

13 Bishop Charles Inglis, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Province of Quebec, at the Primary Visitation Holden in the City of Quebec, in the Month of August 1789* (Halifax, MDCCXC [i.e., 1790]), pp. 59-85.

I had found references to catalogues of early New England proprietary libraries, but getting access to them promised to be difficult. I strongly suspected in any case that the Dean's list would resemble early college library catalogues more closely than public library catalogues, but the problems of access were the same, despite two exceptions. The Kraus thesis on early colonial college libraries[14] recorded at least some of the titles held by such libraries at about this date, and I had previously been able to consult a photocopy of the complete Yale catalogue of 1791.[15] I retained a record of the works common to it and the Dean's list, and was able to obtain the copy on interlibrary loan so that it could be re-checked.

Using the selective entries noted by Kraus from the Harvard catalogue of 1790, and the College of Rhode Island catalogue of 1793, I compared the two with the Dean's list. The results were tentative and possibly inaccurate, partly because Kraus did not reproduce the complete catalogues and partly because it was not always possible to be certain whether he was referring to works in the original or to translations. In any case, the Dean's list contained 12.0 per cent of the Rhode Island titles mentioned, and 29.0 per cent of those from the Harvard catalogue. The percentage jumped considerably for the Yale catalogue of 1791, which could be collated in its entirety. In all, 69.0 per cent of the Dean's suggestions appeared in that catalogue. Such a percentage certainly supported the idea that the Dean's proposals were strongly academic in nature.

Before returning to Question 2, the person or persons who requested this list, I shall summarize my findings thus far. The compiler was certainly the Rev. Dr. Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church at that period. If the impulse behind the list was a desire to start a public library, as the superscription implies, then a proprietary-type library was the probable choice. But in the Halifax of 1793, both the number of people likely to be interested and their ability to support such a venture appeared limited. Moreover, the list itself seems more appropriate to an academic than to a public library, although the theological section might have suited both. But who had asked for it?

14 Joe Walker Kraus, "Book Collections of Five Colonial College Libraries: A Subject Analysis," Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1960, especially pp. 184-220.

15 Yale University Library, *Catalogue of Books in the Library of Yale-College, New-Haven* ([New Haven] 1791).

It turned out that the most likely candidate was the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange had been born in 1756 and received his B.A. through Christ Church, Oxford, in 1778. He had entered Lincoln's Inn in 1776, and was called to the bar in 1785. In 1789 he was appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, in which capacity he served as *ex officio* member of the board of governors of King's College, Windsor. In 1798 he was sent to Madras to clean up the corruption of the courts there, and was also knighted. He returned to England in 1817 and in 1825 published his *Elements of Hindu Law*, for many years the standard work on the subject. He died in 1841. His portrait was painted after his final departure from Halifax in 1796 by Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy.[16]

The letters by Strange found in the Colonial Office records proved both fascinating and rewarding. As Chief Justice, Strange was one of the governors of the Academy at Windsor, as well as of King's College. An early discovery was a letter asking the advice of Dean Jackson on the plans proposed for a building to house the fledgling college. (Incidentally, Strange would have liked to see it named Christ Church![17]) Another was a letter from Strange to John King, Undersecretary of State, dated 24 August 1794. The part which concerns this study ran as follows:

> I wish now to interest you in a concern for which I have pledged myself. The Building for the College here being now considerably advanced, tho' I cannot say much for the flourishing state of the Institution, I have at a late meeting of the Governors held on purpose, undertaken, by means of private Subscription, to finish so much of it within as may be proper for a Library, and to furnish the same with such a number and Selection of Books, with Philosophical Instruments, as shall be a good foundation for a public Collection. As to the Selection, I have been assisted by our friends at Ch: Ch:, for [i.e. from] whom I last year received a list for a Classical Library, including some Books relating to Theology, transmitted me by Pett, as made out at my desire by the Dean and

16 See entry for Strange in *Dictionary of National Biography...to 1900*, Vol. 19, pp. 27-28; see also Donald F. Chard, "Strange, Sir Thomas Andrew Lumisden," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VII (1988), pp. 831-32. A vivid pen-portrait of Chief Justice Strange is to be found in [Bénigne Charles Fevret de Saint-Mesmin], "Journal of our navigation leaving from the port of Falmouth in England to that of Halifax in Nova Scotia...Wednesday, 12 June, 1793," in *Report* of the Public Archives of Canada [1946], p. xxvii.

17 Letter from Thomas A.L. Strange to the Dean of Christ Church, Halifax, 13 Nov. 1790. Great Britain, Colonial Office Records: Original Correspondence, Secretary of State, CO 217, Vol. 62, pp. 286-289 (mfm. at National Archives).

> others; which I am by this Packet forwarding to Payne ye Bookseller, as the subject of a Commission to be Executed against next Spring. For the means of providing for them, and compleating my intention, I depend upon my Influence here, and the co-operation of Friends at Home....[18]

The letter goes on to explain that large sums were not being sought, that donations might be left with friends in London, and so on.

The points of similarity between the list which I have been describing and the details in this letter are numerous. Strange had been thinking of a "public Collection"--which perhaps explains the "public" in the superscription of the list. It was to be for the college--as internal evidence and the Yale catalogue comparison had suggested. He had received the list "last year," i.e. in 1793, and it was to be for a "Classical Library" to which some books on theology were added--precisely the two major divisions of the list. Finally, it came from the Dean of Christ Church, whom Strange had asked to compile just such a list. While identification cannot be conclusive in the absence of any explicit connection of Strange with the manuscript, the points of similarity are sufficient to quiet most doubts as to his being the requisitioner.

So there it was--not a list for a public library at Halifax, but rather for a classical library at the new college. In short, most of my research had been based on wrong assumptions. The works on the list had seemed quite unsuitable for a proprietary library, but when regarded as selections for a college library, they became fairly reasonable. The classical section was still rather daunting for a new institution in a young colony, but the character of the theological works included was in keeping with the predominantly Anglican ambience of the period, and with the subsidiary purpose of the college, which was to provide within the province (and not in the United States) a basic classical education to potential candidates for the Anglican ministry, who would later pursue advanced studies in England.

There is another bit of evidence which points to a connection between Strange and the list. The Rev. Dr. William Cochran, president of the college, seems to have been commenting on Dean Jackson's choices in the course of a letter to Strange in July 1796, when Strange was about to return to England on leave. One notes that the plans set out in Strange's 1794 letter seem not to have come to fruition.

---

18 Letter from Thomas A.L. Strange to John King, Halifax, 24 Aug. 1794: *Ibid.*, CO 217, Vol. 36, pp. 287-288 (mfm. at NA).

> You may possibly intend at this time to procure the books for the Library. I had a cursory glance of your Catalogue, and remember the articles to be excellent and well chosen. But I do not remember that it includes any thing of our domestic literature. If this be the case, I would submit it to you whether room should not be made for it (if in no other way) by striking out part of that which is foreign. You surely would not think it right that the Classical Student, or Classical Professor, should be without the labours of Bentley, Toup, Heath, Tyrrwhit, Gataker, Markland, Burton, Taylor, Hurd, and even Joshua Barnes, altho' Bentley held him [in] such contempt. I might name many more Commentators and very many Translators whose works I would wish to see on our Shelves; but it is needless, for they are better known, and, I doubt not, as much esteemed, by yourself as by me. I highly value the works of foreign Philologists; but they themselves highly value ours, at least as many of them as by writing in Latin have become as extensively known as they deserve.[19]

This is a cogent criticism of the 1793 list.

The phrase in Strange's letter, "a public Collection" is difficult to interpret--although it may be worth noting that the Cambridge University Library at this period was also known as a "public" library.[20] Perhaps it meant that the books would be accessible to others outside the college. It might even have meant that undergraduates would be able to use the collection, for, as Akins tells us, when the college finally did authorize a library in 1799, no student could use the books until after he had graduated![21]

There is in his correspondence a slight hint that Strange may have been thinking in terms of a library open to Halifax people, but it occurs in a letter to King written a month later than the one in which he seems to be discussing the 1793 list, and in a more ambiguous context. Strange was explaining why he had not included certain fees in his salary, and continued,

> But as I found they consisted of small sums, to be received often from very indigent people, it became disagreeable to me to think of drawing any part of my Income from such a Source. I have accordingly applied them from time to

19 Letter from William Cochran to Thomas A.L. Strange, Windsor, N.S., 16 July 1796: *Ibid.*, CO 217, Vol. 37, pp. 106-107 (mfm. at NA).

20 Beckwith, *op. cit.*, 81.

21 Thomas B. Akins, *A Brief Account of the Origin, Endowment and Progress of the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1865), p. 24.

> time in the purchase of a good Law Library, which was much wanted, for the Use of the Profession in general; *which Idea I have been of late extending to a Collection of a more popular Nature, for the Use of the Town.*[22] [italics added]

However, a postscript to that same letter reverts to the plan to raise a subscription for the college library, thus clearly separating the two schemes:

> Whatsoever may be the result of this Letter, I request that it may not operate against the Subscription for a College Library, in which I endeavoured to interest you by the last Packet, as in case I should eventually quit this province, I should still wish to leave that intended mark of my Connection with it behind me.[23]

As Cochran's letter implied, no books had been obtained up to 1796. By 1798 Strange was on his way to India, and I have found nothing to show whether any of the books on the 1793 list ever reached King's College. I was nevertheless able to examine a photocopy of the manuscript catalogue of the Library drawn up in 1803 by the Rev. Benjamin Gerrish Gray. It contains twenty-four titles which definitely correspond to items in the 1793 list, and another twenty-five which may do so. They are standard works, however, and probably have no connection whatsoever with Dean Jackson's suggestions or Chief Justice Strange's efforts.

As a footnote to this search, I may record that Strange did not lose his interest in King's College. In 1804 he sent some East Indian "natural curiosities" to the library, and in 1810 a gift of £100 towards completing the library room.[24]

My original purpose in starting this study was to find out whether indeed there had been plans for a public library in Halifax at so early and unlikely a date, and with such an unusual selection of books proposed for it. I think we may almost certainly conclude that the originator of the request was Chief Justice Strange; that the list was intended to contain proposals for a college, not a public library; and that, given the limits Strange placed on his request, the Dean's suggestions were reasonable.

---

22 Letter from Thomas A.L. Strange to John King, 2 Sept. 1794: CO 217, Vol. 37, p. 95 (mfm. at NA).

23 *Ibid.*

24 Akins, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

An unexpected bonus during the course of this research was the discovery of a very interesting and rather admirable human being, the young chief justice, whose contributions to the legal and educational life of the fledgling colony deserve better recognition by Canadians than the brief sentence with which the British *Dictionary of National Biography* dismisses them.[25]

25 The first Canadian biography of Strange appeared only in 1921: J.E.A. MacLeod, K.C., "A Forgotten Chief Justice of Nova Scotia," in *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Oct. 1921), [308]-313.

Appendix 1

Transcription and Proposed Identification of Items in the 1793 List

There were two major problems to be overcome in identifying the 137 items in the 1793 list. The first was the compiler's handwriting, which was not always decipherable--a problem compounded by the need to work from a photocopy. The second was the lack of consistent and complete bibliographic detail. For example: *I. Vossii Opera omn.* could mean a set of collected works or, in the absence of any record of such, the varied individual works of the author. *Petavii Rat. Temporum 2 Voll. fo[1]* could either be the original work in Latin or an English translation which met the collated description. Some identifications had to be conjectural; these have been noted as such.

The entries have been transcribed exactly as they appear in the manuscript. A broad Dewey class mark has been added preceding them, and the suggested identification follows. It consists of the author's full name, the title of the work and, if appropriate, the name of the editor in the form "Ed. [name]." Dates are given in the last column; they are those of the first edition ("edn.") found in the bibliographical sources checked, unless a specific later edition by the same editor was found. Although eighteenth-century reprints or revisions by other editors were available for many of the works listed, they have not been cited. The first and primary source for checking all titles was the *British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975;* when it failed, the *National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints* and the Canadian Union Catalogue were consulted. Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship,* Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities,* the *Nouvelle biographie générale* and similar reference books were used to check authors' and editors' names. Where the sources disagreed as to the name of an ancient writer, the name which seemed accepted by more recent authorities was used. Because of such variations, ancient authors' names are given in direct order; modern authors, however, are given in the order surname-forename.

Assigning even broad Dewey class marks had pitfalls in the case of ancient authors of compilations of abstracts, and later authors who wrote in a number of fields. While the groupings in the list itself gave some help, they were not a sure guide. Consequently, the Dewey breakdown (Appendix 2) must be used with caution.

List of Books proposed for The Public Library at Halifax in Nova Scotia Sent from Ch. Ch. Oxford by The Dean [etc.?] 1793

Dewey Class	*Form as in the List*	*Suggested Identification*	*Probable Date*
600	Dioscorides Saraceni	Dioscorides Pedacius/P. Dioscoridis opera quae extant omnia. Ed. J.A. Saracenus	1598
600	Hippocrates Van Linden	Hippocrates/Magni Hippocratis Coi opera omnia.... Ed. J. Antonidas vander Linden	1665
600	Galen	Galenus, Claudius/Magni Hippocratis Coi et Claudii Galeni...universa quae extant opera. Ed. R. Charterius	1639
600	C. Celsus Halleri	Aulus Cornelius Celsus/ Aur. Cornelii Celsi De medicina libri octo. Ed. Albertus von Haller	1772
600	Rei Rustica Script. Gesneri	Gesner, Johann Matthias/ Scriptores Rei Rusticae veteres Latini...	1735
300	Quintilian Capper-onerii	Marcus Fabius Quintilianus/ M. Fabii Quintiliani De Oratoria Institutione libri XII. Ed. C. Capperonnerius	1725
400	Grammat. Vet. Lat. Putschii	Putschius, Helias/ Grammaticae Latinae Auctores antiqui...	1605
500	Is. Newtoni Opera Horsley	Newton, Sir Isaac/Isaaci Newtoni Opera quae extant omnia. Ed. S. Horsley	1779-85
600	Plinius Harduini	Gaius Plinius Secundus/Caii	1741

		Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae libri XXXVII. Ed. J. Harduinus	
900	Salmasii Exercit. Plin. ad Solinum	Gaius Julius Solinus/C. Salmasii Plinianae exercitationes in C. Julii Solini Polyhistora	1689-88
500	Euclides} Apollonius} Oxford Archimedes}	Euclid/Elementorum libri XV.... Ed. Federicus Commandinus	1572
		Apollonius Pergaeus/ Apollonii Pergaei Conicorum libri octo, et Sereni Antissensis De sectione cylindri & coni libri duo... Ed. Edmundus Halleius	1710
		Archimedes/Archimedis quae supersunt omnia.... Ed. Josephus Torellus Veronensis	1792
500	Theodosius & Menelaüs	Theodosius of Tripoli/ Theodosii sphaericorum elementorum libri III... Menelai sphaericorum lib. III...	1558
800	Lectii Poetae Gr. 2 Vol. fol.	Lectius, Jacobus/Poetae Graecae veteres carminis heroici scriptores, qui extant, omnes	1606
800	Mattaire Corpus Poet. Lat.	Maittaire, Michael/Opera et fragmenta veterum Poetarum Latinorum profanorum et ecclesiasticorum	1713
800	Homerus Clarke per & Ernesti	Homer/Homeri opera omnia. Edn. of S. Clarkius, ed. J.A. Ernestus	1759-64

800	Hesiodus Heinsii	Hesiod/Hesiodi Ascraei quae extant. Ed. D. Heinsius	1613
800	Theocritus Heinsii	Theocritus/Theocriti, Moschi, Bionis, Simmii quae extant. Ed. Daniel Heinsius	1604
800	Pindar Heynii	Pindar/Pindari Carmina. Ed. C.G. Heyne	1773
800	Aeschylus Schutz or Stanley	Aeschylus/Aeschyli tragoediae quae supersunt.... Ed. Christianus Godofr. Schütz	1782-1821
		--Aeschyli tragoediae. Ed. Thomas Stanleius (curante Joanne Cornelio de Pauw)	1745
800	Sophocles H. Steph.	Sophocles/Sophoclis Tragoediae septem. Ed. H. Stephanus	1568
800	Euripides Musgrave	Euripides/Euripidis quae extant omnia. Ed. Samuel Musgrave	1778
800	Aristophanes Kusteri	Aristophanes/Aristophanis comoediae undecim... Ed. Ludolphus Kusterus	1710
800	Virgilius-Heyne	Publius Vergilius Maro/ P[ublii] V[ergilii] M[aronis] opera. Ed. C.G. Heyne	1767-75
800	Horatius Gesneri	Quintus Horatius Flaccus/ Q. Horatii Flacci Eclogae .... Ed. J.M. Gesnerus	1772 (2d edn.)
800	Anthologia Brodaei	[Greek anthology] Epigrammatum Graecorum libri VII. Ed. J. Brodaeus	1549

800	Tibullus & Propertius	Albius Tibullus/Tibulli et Propertii Opera. Ed. J. Broukhusius	1753
800	Catullus?	Gaius Valerius Catullus/ Possibly: C. Valerii Catulli Carmina. Ed. Frid. Guil. Doering	1788, 89
800	Ovidius Burmanni	Publius Ovidius Naso/Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera Omnia IV. voluminibus comprehensa. Ed. P. Burmannus	1727
800	Juvenal Henninii Persius Casauboni	Decimus Junius Juvenalis/ D.J. Juvenalis...Satyrae. [Ed. H.C. Hennin.] Accedit A. Persii Flacci satirarum liber. Ed. J. Casaubon; new edn., M. Casaubon	1695
800	Lucretius Havercamp	Titus Lucretius Carus/T. Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura libri sex. Ed. S. Havercampus	1725
800	Plautus Lambini or Ernesti	Titus Maccius Plautus/M. Accius Plautus...emendatus. Ed. D. Lambinus	1576
		--M. Accii Plauti quae supersunt Comoediae. Pref. J.A. Ernesti; ed. J.F. Gronovius	1760
800	Terentius Westerhovii	Publius Terentius Afer/P. Terentii Afri Comoediae sex. Ed. Arn. Henr. Westerhovius	1726
800	Martial Schmids	Marcus Valerius Martialis/ Epigrammata. Ed. Lud. Smids	1701
400	Suidas, Kusteri	Suidas/Suidae Lexicon Graece et Latine. Ed. L. Kusterus	1705

400	Jul. Pollux Hemsterhusii	Julius Pollux, of Naucratis/ J. Pollucis onomasticum Graece et Latine. Ed. T. Hemsterhuis	1706
400	Hesychius Alberti	Hesychius, of Alexandria/ Hesychii Lexicon. Ed. J. Alberti	1746-66
400	H. Stephan. Thesaurus L. Gr. cm Glossar. & Append.	Estienne, Henri, le Grand/ Thesaurus Graecae linguae. (Appendix libellorum ad Thesaurum...pertinentium)	1572
400	Constantini Lex	Constantinus, Robertus/ Lexicon Graecolatinum Rob. Constantini. Secunda hac editione, partim ipsius authoris, partim Francisci Porti....	1592
400	Budaei Comment. L. Gr.	Budé, Guillaume/Commentarii linguae Graecae	1529
400	Rob. Steph. Thes. L. Lat. per Gesner	Gesner, Johann Matthias/ Novus linguae et eruditionis Romanae Thesaurus, post R. Stephani	1749
900	Sigonii Opera	Sigonio, Carlo/C. Sigonii Opera omnia, edita et inedita. Ed. C. Argelatus	1732-37
400	Du Cange Glossar. & Supplem.	Du Fresne, Charles, Seigneur Du Cange/Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis...	1678
		Carpentier, Pierre/ Glossarium novum ad Scriptores medii aevi cum Latinos tum Gallicos, seu Supplementum ad auctiorem Glossarii Cangiani editionem...	1766

400	Meursii opera omnia per Lamium	Meursius, Johannes/J. Meursii Opera omnia.... Ed. J. Lamius	1741-63
900	I. Vossii Opera omn.	Vossius, Isaac/Opera omnia not found. Works varied--theological, geographic and literary	17th cent.
900	Petavii Rat. Temporum 2 Voll. fo[1]	Petau, Denis/Apparently is a translation published in London of Rationarium temporum: The History of the World; or, an Account of Time... continued by others...	1659
900	Blair Tab. Chronolog.	Blair, John/The Chronology and History of the World from the Creation to the Year of Christ 1753. Illustrated in LVI tables...	1768
900	Baudrandi Lexicon Geogr.	Baudrand, Michel Antoine/ Lexicon geographicum...	1670
900	D'Anville's Geograph. Works	Bourguignon d'Anville, Jean Baptiste/Numerous individual works. An English translation is: A Compendium of Ancient Geography	1791
900	Sir W. Raleigh per Oldys [?]	Possibly: Raleigh, Sir Walter/The Historie of the World... The eleventh edition...To which is prefix'd, the Life of the Author, by Mr. Oldys	1736
900	Herodotus Wesseling	Herodotus/Herodoti Halicarnassensis et Ctesiae Cnidii quae extant opera et fragmenta. Ed. P. Wesselingius	1781
900	Thucydides Hudson	Thucydides/Thucydidis de Bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo. [Ed. J. Hudson]	1696

900	Xenophontis Op. Francfort fol.	Xenophon/Xenophontis quae extant opera. Ed. J. Leunclavius	1596
900	Plutarchi Op. 2V. fol. Francfort or H. Steph.	Plutarch/Plutarchi...quae extant omnia. Ed. H. Cruserius	1599
		Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae extant opera. [Ed. H. Estienne the Younger]	1572
900	Diodorus Sic. 2V. fol. Wesseling.	Diodorus Siculus/Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae historicae libri qui supersunt. Ed. Petrus Wesselingius	1745
900	T. Livius 4to Drackenbork	Vols.Titus Livius/T. Livii... historiarum...libri qui supersunt omnes. Ed. A. Drakenborch	1738-46
900	Polybius Casaubon.	Polybius/Polybii... historiarum libri qui supersunt. Ed. I. Casaubonus	1609
900	Appianus Schwaegheuzer [?]	Appian, of Alexandria/ Appiani...Rom. historiarum, Punica, Parthica.... Ed. Johannes Schweighaeuser	1785
900	Sallust Havercamp	Gaius Sallustius Crispus/ C. Crispi Sallustii quae extant.... Ed. S. Havercampus	1742
900	Corn. Nepos Van Staveren	Cornelius Nepos/Cornelii Nepotis Vitae excellentium Imperatorum. Ed. A. van Staveren	1734 [Expanded edn., 1773]
900	C.J. Caesar Oudendorp. 4to	Gaius Julius Caesar/C. Julii Caesaris et aliorum de bellis Gallico civili Pompeiano... commentarii. Ed. Oudendorpius 8^{o}; 4to not found	1780

900	Arrian Raphelii	Flavius Arrianus/Arriani... Expeditionis Alexandri libri septem et Historica Indica... Ed. Georgius Raphelius	1757
900	L. Florus Graevii	Lucius Annaeus Florus/L.A. Florus [Epitome]. Ed. J.G. Graevius	1680
900	Vell. Paterculus Burmanni	Marcus Velleius Paterculus/ C. Vellei Paterculi quae supersunt ex Historiae Romanae voluminibus duobus. Ed. P. Burmannus	1744 (2d edn.)
900	Suetonius Oudendorp.	Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus/ C.S.T. ex recensione F. Oudendorpii	1751
900	C. Tacitus Ernesti	Publius Cornelius Tacitus/ C. Cornelii Taciti Opera. Ed. J.A. Ernestus	1772
900	Justin Gronovii	Justinus, the Historian/ Justini Historiae Philippicae (ex Trogo Pompeio). Ed. A. Gronovius	1719
900	Eutropius Havercamp.	lavius Eutropius/Eutropii Breviarium historiae Romanae. Ed. Sigebertus Havercampus	1729
900	Orosius Havercamp.	Paulus Orosius/Pauli Orosii...adversus Paganos historiarum libri septem... Ed. S. Havercampus	1738
900	Q. Curtius Snakenburg.	Quintus Curtius Rufus/Quinti Curtii Rufi De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni...libri super-stites. Ed. Henricus Snakenburg	1724

900	Herodian & Zozimus Oxford	Herodian, the Historian/ Herodiani Historiarum libri 8	1704
		Zosimus, the Historian/ Historiae novae libri sex...	1679
900	Hist. Aug. Scriptores -Salmas. & Casaub. 1620	Augustan History/Historiae Augustae Scriptores Sex. Edn. of Claudius Salmasius, ed. Isaacus Casaubonus	1620
900	Dionys. Hal. Opera-Oxford or Reiske	Dionysius, of Halicarnassus/ Dionysii Halicarnassensis Antiquitatum Romanarum libri quotquot supersunt. [Ed. by John Hudson] Oxford	1704
		Dionysii Halicarnassensis opera omnia...Ed. J.J. Reiske	1774-77
900	Dion Cassius Reimari	Dion Cassius/Cassii Dionis Historiae Romanae quae supersunt. Ed. H.S. Reimarus	1750-52
900	Pausanias Kuhnii	Pausanias/Graeciae Descriptio. Ed. J. Kuhnius	1696
900	Strabo Casauboni	Strabo/S. rerum Geographicarum libri XVII. Ed. I. Casaubonus	1587
900	Stephanus de Urbibus Berkelii & Hostenii [*sic*]	Stephen of Byzantium/Genuina Stephani Byzantini de Urbibus et Populis fragmenta. Ed. A. Berkelius	1674
		Holstenius, Lucas/L. Holstenii notae et castigationes postumae in Stephanii Byzantii [*ethnika*] quae vulgo [*peri poleon*] inscribuntur	1684
900	Josephus Hudson	Flavius Josephus/Flavii Josephi Opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia. Ed. J. Hudsonus	1720

800	Oratores Graeci Reiskii	Reiske, Johann Jacob/ Oratorum Graecorum...quae supersunt monumenta ingenii	1770-75
800	Isocrates H. Stephan	Isocrates/Isocratis Orationes et Epistolae. Ed. H. Steph[anus]	1593
300	Grotius de Jure B & P. Barbeyrac	Groot, Hugo de/Hugonis Grotii de Jure Belli ac Pacis libri tres. Ed. J. Barbeyrac	1720
300	Puffendorf. Barbeyrac.	Pufendorf, Samuel von, Baron/Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens...traduit du latin...par Jean Barbeyrac	1712 (2d edn.)
900	Universal Hist. Anc. & Modern	Possibly: An universal history from the earliest accounts to the present time. Comp. by G. Sale and others. Ancient part: 18 v. Modern part: 42 v.	1779-84
100	Bacon's Works fol.	Bacon, Francis, Viscount St. Albans/The Works of Francis Bacon...	1730 edn.(?) 1740 edn.(?)
100	Locke 3 Vols. fol.	Locke, John/The Works of John Locke, etc. (3d edn.)	1714
100	Plato Ficini	Plato/Platonis opera omnia quae extant. Ed. M. Ficinus	1590
100	Aristoteles Duval	Aristotle/Aristotelis opera omnia quae extant.... Ed. Guillelmus Du Val	1619
100	Epictetus & Theophrast. Oxford	Epictetus/Epicteti Enchiridion. Theophrasti Characteres Ethici. Ed. C. Aldrich	1707

100	Arrian Upton	Epictetus/Epicteti quae supersunt dissertationes ab Arriano collectae.... Ed. J. Uptonus	1744
100	M. Antoninus Gataker	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus/ Marci Antonini...de rebus suis...libri XII. Ed. Thomas Gatakerus	1697
100	Diog. Laertius Meibomii	Diogenes Laertius/Diogenis Laertii De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X. Ed. Marcus Meibomius	1692
100	Seneca Lipsii	Lucius Annaeus Seneca/L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera, quae extant, omnia. Ed. Justus Lipsius	1615 (2d edn.)
100	Sextus Empiricus Fabricii	Sextus Empiricus/Sexti Empirici Opera Graece et Latine. Ed. J.A. Fabricius	1718
800	M.T. Ciceronis Op.: 4to Oxon	Marcus Tullius Cicero/M. Tullii Ciceronis opera	1783
000	Athenaeus Casauboni	Athenaeus, of Naucratis/ Athenaei Deipnosophistarum libri quindecim. Ed. Isaacus Casaubonus	1612
800	Lucian Hemsterhusii	Lucian, of Samosata/Luciani opera. Ed. T. Hemsterhusius	1743-46
000	Stobaeus	Joannes Stobaeus/Possible edns. of the Anthology: Joannis Stobaei Eclogarum libri duo. Ed. G. Canterus (Bks. 1 & 2)	1575
		Joannis Stobaei sententiae, ex thesauris Graecorum delectae... Ed. C. Gesnerus (Bks 3 & 4)	1608

000	Photius Schotti	Photius, Saint/Photii Bibliotheca. Ed. A. Schottus	1606
900	Aelian Var. Hist. Kuehn.	Claudius Aelianus Praenestinus/Claudii Aeliani varia historia et fragmenta. Ed. Carolus Gottlob Kuehn	1780
500	Aelian. De Nat. Animal. Schneider	Claudius Aelianus Praenestinus/Claudii Aeliani de natura animalium libri XVII. Ed. J.G. Schneider	1784
000	Valer. Maximus Variorum [?]	Valerius Maximus/Valerius Maximus cum selectis variorum observat. et nova recensione. Ed. A. Thysius	1670
100	Macrobius Zeunii	Ambrosius [?] Theodosius Macrobius/Aur. Theodosii Macrobii...Opera. Ed. J.C. Zeunius	1774
200	Biblia Polyglott. Walton. & Castelli Lexic.	Bible. Polyglott/Biblia Sacra Polyglotta...Ed. Brianus Waltonus	1655-57
		Castell, Edmund/Lexicon Heptaglotton...	1669
200	Septuaginta Gr. Breitingeri	Bible. Old Testament/Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum. Ed. Joannes Jacobus Breitingerus	1730-32
200	Wetstenii Testam. Gr.	Wetstenius, Joannes Jacobus/ Novum Testamentum Graecum editionis receptae...	1751-52
200	Trommii Concordant. Gr.	Tromm, Abraham/A. Trommii Concordantiae Graecae versionis vulgo dictae LXX. interpretum	1718
200	Schmidt Concordant. Gr.	Schmidt, Erasmus/Novi Testamenti Jesu Christi Graeci...hoc est originalis linguae [*tameion*], aliis concordantiae...	1717

200	Cruden's Concordance	Cruden, Alexander/A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures...	1738
200	Poli Synopsis Critic.	Poole, Matthew/Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturae interpretum	1669-76
200	Clerici Comm in Test. V. & N.	LeClerc, Jean/Uncertain. Possibly: The compleat history of the Old and New Testament...with...annotations ..from the writings of...LeClerc	1752
200	Grotii Opera Theolog.	Groot, Hugo de/H. Grotii Opera Omnia Theologica	1679
200	Collection of Boyle's Lecture Sermons	A defence of natural and revealed religion: being a collection of the sermons preached at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle...	1739
200	Gibson's Coll. of Tracts on Popish Controversy	Gibson, Edmund/A preservative against Popery, in several select discourses upon the principal heads of controversy between Protestants and Papists	1738
200	Stillingfleet's Works	Stillingfleet, Edward/The Works	1707-10
200	Barrow's Works	Barrow, Isaac/The Works of the learned Isaac Barrow, D.D.	1683-87
200	Tillotson's Sermons	Tillotson, John/The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson	1712
200	Sherlock's Sermons	Sherlock, Thomas/Possibly: Several discourses preached at the Temple Church	1772-75 (6th edn.)

200	Newton on the Prophecies	Newton, Thomas/Dissertations on the Prophecies, which have remarkably been fulfilled, and at this time are fulfilling in the world	1754-58
200	Butler's Analogy & Sermons	Butler, Joseph/The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the constitution and course of Nature --Fifteen Sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel...	1736 1726
200	Wollaston's Religion of nature	Wollaston, William/The religion of Nature delineated	1722
200	Conybeare's Defence	Conybeare, John/A Defence of Reveal'd Religion against the Exceptions of a Late Writer...	1732
200	Clarke's Demonst. of Being & Attr. of God	Clarke, Samuel/A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God...	1705
200	Hooker's Eccles. Polity etc. [?]	Hooker, Richard/Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie	[1593]-97
200	Chillingworth	Chillingworth, William/Chief work: The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation. Or, an Answer to a booke...which pretends to prove the contrary	1638
200	Jewel's Defence of Apolog.	Jewel, John/A defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande, conteininge an answeare to a certain booke... by Mr. Hardinge...	1567

200	Enchiridion Theolog.	Randolph, John/Enchiridion Theologicum; or, A Manual for the Use of Students in Divinity	1792
200	Pearson of the Creed	Pearson, John/An Exposition of the Creed	1669 (3d edn.)
200	Burnet on the Articles	Burnet, Gilbert/An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England	1699
200	Wheatley on the Com. Prayer	Wheatly, Charles/A rational illustration of the Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments...	1720 (3d edn.)
200	Lardner's Works	Lardner, Nathaniel/The Works of Nathaniel Lardner	1788
200	Gibson's Codex. last Edit.	Gibson, Edmund/Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani: or, the Statutes, Constitutions, Canons, Rubricks and Articles of the Church of England...	1761 (2d. edn.)
200	Eccles. Histor.	Ecclesiastical History	
900	Modern Hist. English	Modern History English	
	Modern Hist. Foreign	Modern History Foreign	
500	Modern Nat. Hist.	Modern Natural History	
600	Modern Nat. Philos.	Modern Natural Philosophy	
300	Law	Law	

Appendix 2

Breakdown by Broad Dewey Class Mark of the Items in the 1793 List

Dewey Class	*Subject*	*Number of Works*
000	Generalities, miscellany	4
100	Philosophy (some modern)	12
200	Theology	29
300	Social sciences (chiefly law)	3
400	Language and literature (classical)	10
500	Pure sciences (especially geometry, biology)	7
600	Applied sciences (chiefly medicine)	6
700	Fine arts	0
800	Literature (Latin and Greek only)	27
900	History, geography, biography (mainly classical; little contemporary)	39
	Total	137

Appendix 3

Groupings by Predominant Subjects in the 1793 List

Subjects	*Number*	*Per cent*
Science, grammar and rhetoric	15	11.0
Classical literature	23	17.0
Classical language and geography*	15	11.0
History, with geography, oratory, law	34	25.0
Philosophy, with collectanea	20	15.0
Biblical texts, concordances, commentaries	10	7.0
Theological works	20	15.0
Total	137	101.0**

*It is not clear whether this should be combined with the next group.

**The extra 1.0 per cent is due to rounding percentages up to whole numbers.

Appendix 4

Breakdown by Century of Publication

Century of Publication	*Per cent of the 141 Editions* Suggested*
16th	13.0
17th	25.0
18th	62.0

*Two possible editions were named for some authors.

Appendix 5

Authors and Works Common to the 1793 List and Selected Other Lists and Catalogues

Authors and works in the 1793 list were checked against other complete or partial listings of Latin holdings of approximately the same period. Entries were considered *the same* if author and title (but not necessarily edition or editor) matched; *similar*, if the list being compared gave specific titles, where the 1793 list specified only "Works" or a similar heading.

Lists Compared with the 1793 List	*Same Entry*		*Similar entries*
	Number	*Per cent*	
Yale College catalogue, 1791	94	69.0	2
Harvard holdings cited by Kraus from the 1790 catalogue	40(?)	29.0	3+4 trans.(?)
College of Rhode Island holdings cited by Kraus from the 1793 catalogue	16(?)	12.0	8+9 trans.(?)
Quebec library catalogue, 1792	22	16.0	9 trans.
Bishop Inglis's reading list from the 1790 *Charge* to the Quebec clergy	16	12.0	7
King's College (N. S.) catalogue, 1803	24	18.0	25

The McFatridge Family of Coleraine, Northern Ireland, and Halifax, Nova Scotia

Wendy A. Purchase

1 John[1] McFatridge of Coleraine, County Londonderry, Northern Ireland, m. Mary _____ . No further information.
Issue of John and Mary McFatridge (probably incomplete):
2 i. John, b. *ca.* 1798-99, Coleraine.

2 John[2] McFatridge (John[1]), b. in Coleraine, 1798/99; m. Isabella **Wright**. She was b. *ca.* 1801, Ballymena, Co. Antrim; d. 15 Feb. 1897, Halifax, after being "helpless for quite a while," according to her burial record at Park Street Presbyterian. John d. of "Lung Disease," Halifax, 10 May 1867.

The McFatridges came to Halifax *ca.* 1830 and lived at 6 Gottingen St., on the west side near Cogswell St., where John set up a blacksmithing business. Later, his sons John and Archibald would also work with him in this trade. The family first attended St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church, then, during the mid-1850s, they moved to Poplar Grove Presbyterian, and in the 1890s they attended Park Street Presbyterian. Isabella's sister, Mary Wright, spinster, lived with them and d. 25 May 1877, aged 83 years.
Issue of John and Isabella (Wright) McFatridge:
3 i. John, b. *ca.* 1824, Coleraine.
4 ii. Helen, b. *ca.* 1826, Coleraine.
5 iii. Robert, b. *ca.* 1828, Coleraine.
6 iv. Mary Ann, bp. 18 Sept. 1831, Halifax.
v. Isabella, bp. 12 Dec. 1834, Halifax; no further information.
vi. Archibald, bp. 21 Aug. 1836, Halifax; d. 10 Oct. 1916, Halifax; m. 31 Dec. 1884, Halifax, Mary Elizabeth **Pyke**. She was b. Halifax, 2 Oct. 1844, daughter of William and Emily Pyke; d. 29 Aug. 1929 in Halifax of "old age and complications." Archibald was a blacksmith for many years with his father, brother John and nephew Archibald Grant McFatridge. Later, he became a realtor. He had been in failing health for over a year before he died; d.s.p.
7 vii. James Henry, bp. 29 July 1838, Halifax.
8 viii. William, bp. 13 Aug. 1840, Halifax.

3 John[3] McFatridge (John[2]), b. in Coleraine, *ca.* 1824; d. Halifax, 7 Apr. 1902 of chronic diarrhea and was bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery with his parents and wife; m. 18 Mar. 1873, Halifax, to Elizabeth **Grant**. She was

Wendy A. Purchase, the great-granddaughter of Daniel McFatridge[4], is an amateur genealogist who has been researching her family since 1974.

b. *ca.* 1840, daug. of Alexander and Janet Grant; and d. 26 Dec. 1899 of carcinoma. John followed his father in the blacksmithing trade and lived at 6 Gottingen St.

Issue of John and Elizabeth (Grant) McFatridge:

i. Archibald Grant, bp. 28 June 1874, Poplar Grove Presbyterian; d. 12 Jan. 1947, Halifax; unm., born deaf. Was first a blacksmith and then a realtor.

4 Helen[3] (Ellen) McFatridge (John[2]), b. in Coleraine, *ca.* 1826; d. Halifax, of pneumonia, 11 Sept. 1894; m. 3 Jan. 1849, Halifax, to Charles Henry **Drysdale** of Brookside, Halifax Co. He was bp. 14 Jan. 1823, St. Matthew's Presbyterian, son of George and Sophia Drysdale, and d. 20 Apr. 1886, Halifax. They attended St. Matthew's Presbyterian until the early 1860s, after which time they moved to Poplar Grove Presbyterian. Both are bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax.

Issue of Charles Henry and Helen (McFatridge) Drysdale:

i. Arthur William, bp. 19 Jan. 1850; d. 3 May 1899, Halifax, of fatty degeneration of the heart, and was bur. in St. John's Cemetery, Halifax; m., date unknown, Louisa M. _____. He ran a drugstore on the corner of West and Agricola Streets; was a Methodist; and was described as a native of Prospect, N. S. Issue: two sons and two daughters.

ii. Isabella, bp. 15 Sept. 1851; d. 12 Oct. 1907, Bridgeport, Conn.; m. _____ **Cline.**

iii. Alice Maud, b. 14 Apr. 1853; d. 26 Feb. 1935, Halifax; m. 10 Jan. 1877, John C. **Davis.** He was b. 1841, Newfoundland, son of George and Annie Davis; d. 4 July 1914.

iv. Amy, b. 27 Mar. 1855 or Emma (according to birth registration, b. 1857); d. 22 Dec. 1924, Meriden, Conn.; m. 11 Jan. 1881, Halifax, Charles H. **Woollard**, who was b. *ca.* 1858, Warwickshire, England, son of Charles H. and Louise Woollard. Emma and Charles are both bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery. Issue: Harry and Gordon.

v. James Henry, b. 18 Jan. 1857; no further information.

vi. Amelia, b. 29 July 1858; m. 27 Apr. 1882, Halifax, James W. **Taylor**, who was b. *ca.* 1856, Halifax, son of John and Charlotte Taylor.

vii. Alfred George, b. 16 Oct. 1860; no further information.

viii. Rufus John, b. 16 Oct. 1860; d. 21 Apr. 1861, "decline"; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery.

ix. Zenos Edmund, bp. 27 Nov. 1862; known as Enos; 8 yrs. old on the 1871 Census; no further information.

x. Charles Stewart, b. Mar. 1863; d. 26 Sept. 1863, "convulsions"; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery.

xi. Robert Archibald, bp. 23 Apr. 1866; poss. error in date.

xii. Mary Jane, bp. 23 Apr. 1866; d. 23 Mar. 1866 [*sic*]. Mary Jane and Robert Archibald were twins; her age was listed as 5 mos. when she died. They were probably baptized on the day of her death, at which time the wrong month was entered

xiii. Newton Seymour, b. 1866/67. A man of this name shot himself in the right temple in his boardinghouse room in Austenville, Dartmouth, on the evening of 26 Apr. 1909. This individual could not be identified conclusively as the son of Charles Drysdale. He worked for the Dartmouth Rope Works, smoked a pipe, had only one arm and had a drinking problem.

xiv. Helen, b. Feb. 1870; d. 25 Mar. 1870, of brain fever.

5 Robert[3] McFatridge (John[2]), b. *ca.* 1828, Coleraine; d. Halifax, 11 Oct. 1897; m. Agnes **Preston**, 21 Nov. 1856, at Poplar Grove Presbyterian. She was the daug. of George Preston and was b. *ca.* 1834; she d. 22 June 1898, Halifax. They are both buried in Camp Hill Cemetery. He was educated at Harvard University, graduating M.D. in 1862. They lived at 45-47 Gottingen St., east side at the corner of Cornwallis St., where he had his drugstore and medical practice.

Issue of Robert and Agnes (Preston) McFatridge:

i. Emma K., b. *ca.* 1857; d. on or after 6 Sept. 1949, Wolfville, N. S.; m. 3 Sept. 1879, Three Mile House, Halifax Co., Charles E. **Wilson**. He was b. *ca.* 1839, Windsor, N.S., d. 1891, son of Benjamin and Camilla Wilson. Charles was a draper.

ii. Lydia Agnes, b. *ca.* 1858-61; d. 21 July 1944, Wolfville; and was bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax; m. first, Halifax, 1 June 1885, Frederick Augustus **Kaizer**. He was b. *ca.* 1857, Saint John, N. B., son of Charles and Eliza Kaizer, and d. in or before 1908; he was a merchant. He and Lydia appear to have been separated several years before his death. She m. secondly, 13 May 1908, Halifax, Henry Brymer **Robinson**, b. *ca.* 1848, Port

Williams, Kings Co., son of Charles and Margaret Robinson. Henry d. 4 Apr. 1921, Port Williams, and is bur. there in St. John's Anglican Cemetery. Emma and Lydia lived together in Wolfville in their later years.

iii. Robert J., b. *ca.* 1860; d. 11 Oct. 1894, Natick, Mass.; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax.

9 iv. James William, b. *ca.* 1864; d. 19 June 1911, Halifax; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax.

6 Mary Ann[3] McFatridge (John[2]), bp. 18 Sept. 1831, St. Matthew's Presbyterian, Halifax; d. 9 July 1913, Halifax, after being in ailing health for several years; m. 9 Nov. 1854, Brunswick St. Methodist, Richard **King**, a carpenter, who was b. 24 Jan. 1826, "Kempt Cottage," Halifax, son of Richard and Sophia King. He d. 25 May 1901. Richard and Mary lived at 3 Kempt Rd., Halifax. Their children were all bp. at Brunswick St. Methodist, although they later attended Charles Street Methodist, Halifax. Issue of Richard and Mary Ann (McFatridge) King:

i. Sophia Jane Isabella, b. 12 Apr. 1858; d. 25 June 1937, Halifax; m. 27 Sept. 1882, Halifax, Rupert C. **Peart**. He was b. *ca.* 1858, Musquodoboit, Halifax Co., son of John W. and Hanna B. Peart; d. 22 Nov. 1929, Halifax, of arteriosclerosis. Issue: four daug.

ii. Alfred J., b. *ca.* 1860-62; d. 11 Nov. 1907, Halifax; m. 5 Sept. 1888, Halifax, Alice B. **Dempster**. She was b. *ca.* 1863, Saint John, N.B., daug. of James and Isabella Dempster; d. 21 Feb. 1926, Halifax. Both are bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery. He was a dental supply dealer.

iii. Emma Ida, b. *ca.* 1860-63; d. 26 Jan. 1937, Halifax, and bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery; m. 14 June 1892, Halifax, to Winters **Burnham**. He was b. *ca.* 1867, Falmouth, N. S., son of William and Eliza Burnham. Issue: one daug., three sons.

iv. Richard William, b. 30 May 1863; d. 1 Apr. 1949, Halifax, bur. Camp Hill Cemetery; m. first, details unknown; m. secondly, 3 Sept. 1902, Halifax, Cassie Irene **Young**. She was b. *ca.* 1876, Quoddy, N. S., daug. of Joseph and Sarah Young. Richard lived in Halifax and Somerville, Mass.; he was a builder and contractor. Issue: daug., Lillian.

v. Mary Eleanor, b. 13 Dec. 1864; d. on or after 9 Oct. 1919, Halifax or Lynn, Mass.; m. first, 1901, _____ **Phelps**; m. secondly, by 1913, Albert J. **Strout**. Issue: two sons, one daug.

vi. Herbert Henry, b. 10 Oct. 1866; d. 12 Apr. 1881, Halifax, of diphtheria; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery.

vii. Robert Newton, b. 5 Apr. 1868; d. 14 Mar. 1881, Halifax, of diphtheria; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery.

viii. Ernest Archibald, b. 4 Mar. 1870; d. 23 Sept. 1946, Halifax, and bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery; m. Nellie **Francis**, b. 1897, d. 1967. Realtor. Issue: four sons, four daug.

ix. Maude, b. 21 July 1872; d. 10 Nov. 1954, Halifax, and bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery; m. after 1917, Jeremiah **O'Dwyer**, who d. before Nov. 1954.

7 James Henry[3] McFatridge (John[2]), bp. St. Matthew's Presbyterian, Halifax, 29 July 1838; d. Sandy Point, Bay St. George, Nfld., 24 Apr. 1920. Why he left Halifax is not known. He was included in the 1871 Census for Halifax, living with his mother and listed as single and a merchant; it is possible that he was moving back and forth between N. S. and Nfld. In Nfld., he initially lived common-law with Susannah **Marche**, a Micmac French woman who was possibly the daug. of Francis (or François) Marche. James and Susannah were m. 22 Mar. 1872, which was also the birthdate of their fourth child. Susannah was b. *ca.* 1840 and d. *ca.* 1880-81. James reputedly murdered her; she had tried to leave him several times, but he always went after her and brought her back. James m. secondly, 8 Dec. 1883, Adelaide (Parsons) Shaw, widow of William Henry Shaw. She was b. ca. 1835 and d. 13 Dec. 1896, Sandy Point, Nfld. of "dilation of the heart." James attended the Anglican Church at Sandy Point until after 1880, when he started attending the Methodist Church. It is believed that he donated the land on which the Methodist Church was built, 1883-1884, in Sandy Point.

Issue of James and Susannah (Marche) McFatridge:

i. Walter, b. 20 Sept. 1866; d. 21 Sept. 1924, Matthew's Point, Main River, Nfld.; m. 9 Oct. 1890, Sandy Point, Isabel(la) **Shears** of Cartyville, Robinson's Head, Bay St. George. Isabella was b. *ca.* 1871 and d. 17 Feb. 1906, of heart failure after childbirth, bur. Anglican Churchyard, Sandy Point, with her husband. Walter was a lobster packer. Issue: six sons, one daug.

ii. Henry, b. 20 Dec. 1867; d. 6 Dec. 1947, Toronto, Ont.; bur. Sandy Point; m. 12 Feb. 1891, Robinson's Head, Jane Fanny **Morris**. She was b. *ca.* 1869; d. 6 Aug. 1943, Sandy Point and

was bur. in the Anglican Cemetery. Henry owned the schooner **MacKenzie**, and at the time of his marr. was a clerk. Issue: four sons, five daug.

iii. Susannah, b. 20 Feb. 1870; m. 30 Dec. 1891, Benjamin Thomas C. **Harvey** of Holyrood, Nfld. He was b. 1862; d. 1951, Haspeler, Ont., and was the son of Andrew and Honour (Tregear) Harvey. Issue: ten children.

iv. Phoebe, b. 22 Mar. 1872; d. 20 Aug. 1946, Port au Port, Nfld.; m. 27 Mar. 1898, Walter C. **Romaine**, who was b. *ca.* 1861, Port au Port, and d. 31 July 1929. He was a son of Joseph Ernest Lods Romaine, and was a farmer. Issue: eight children.

v. John Robert, b. *ca.* 1873; m. Ella (or Ellen) Susan **Morris**, who was b. *ca.* 1879, daug. of William Morris. They left Nfld. and never returned. Issue: six children.

vi. Mary Elizabeth, b. *ca.* 1875; d. 5 Oct. 1964, Hamilton, Ont.; unm. She was brought to Halifax to live with her Uncle John and Aunt Elizabeth McFatridge, and to be a companion for her cousin, Archibald Grant McFatridge. She moved to Hamiltion, Ont. after his death in 1947. In the 1891 Census of Halifax, she was referred to as John and Elizabeth's daug. She is bur. with her cousin in Camp Hill Cemetery.

vii. Samuel, b. 17 Jan. 1877 (mentally handicapped); no further information.

viii. Isabella, bp. 9 Mar. 1879; d. 10 Oct. 1909 of pneumonia, Sandy Point; m. 12 Dec. 1905, Bennett **Swyer**. He was b. 25 Oct. 1877 and d. 27 Jan. 1975, son of Bennett and Sophia Swyer. Issue: two sons.

ix Daniel, bp. 26 Dec. 1880; d. *ca.* 1965, Sandy Point; m. first, 21 Apr. 1909, Sandy Point, Estella Rose **Boyden**; div. ca. 1925. She was b. 31 Mar. 1889, Sandy Point; d. 27 July 1972; and was a daug. of Otis and Rosanna Louisa (Swatridge) Boyden. Daniel m. secondly, 20 Mar. 1926, Halifax, Sarah **Melville**, who was b. *ca.* 1882, England, and d. 29 July 1933, of cancer. Daniel was a fisherman. Issue: four daug. by first wife, one son by second.

8 William[3] McFatridge (John[2]), bp. 13 Aug. 1840, St. Matthew's Presbyterian; d. 6 Dec. 1917 as a result of injuries sustained during the Halifax Explosion; m. 2 Jan. 1871, Caroline **McKay**. She was b. in either

P.E.I. or Nfld., *ca.* 1840-42, daug. of Samuel and Eunice McKay, and d. 29 Nov. 1916, Halifax, "suddenly." William was a merchant dealing in stoves and junk; owned McFatridge Wharf and the steamer *Goliath*. He also owned the property in Rockingham, Halifax Co., referred to as Prince's Lodge, including the Music Rotunda, at the time of his death. The family lived on North Park St. and later at "Elmbank," which was located on Gottingen St. at Russell St. William was also an alderman for many years.

Issue of William and Caroline (McKay) McFatridge:

i. William, b. 5 June 1871; d. 14 July 1871, Halifax.

10 ii. John, b. 1872; d. 9 Aug. 1924 after a short illness, Halifax.

11 iii. Elizabeth, b. *ca.* 1875; d. 27 Dec. 1965, "suddenly," Halifax.

12 iv. Howard Simonds, bp. 1 May 1879; d. 24 Mar. 1958, Halifax, after an illness of one year.

13 v. William, b. May 1883; d. 13 Sept. 1956, Halifax.

9 James William[4] McFatridge (Robert[3]), b. Halifax *ca.* 1864; d. 19 June 1911, Halifax, of "Perristial [*sic*] Sarcoma." He m. first, 6 Nov. 1887, Halifax, Rebecca Stanislaus **Butler**. She was b. *ca.* 1864, Bedford, N. S.; d. Halifax, 14 Sept. 1888; and was the daug. of John and Rebecca Butler. James m. secondly, 3 Sept. 1894, Halifax, Alice Maude **Tremaine**, who was b. 16 May 1873 and d. 18 Oct. 1935; she was the daug. of Albert and Jane Tremaine. James was a druggist and took over his father's business in the area of Gottingen St. and Cornwallis St.

Issue of James and Rebecca (Butler) McFatridge:

i. James John Parker, b. 4 Sept. 1888; d. 7 Feb. 1892, of diphtheria paralysis.

Issue of James and Alice (Tremaine) McFatridge:

ii. Marjorie, b. 20 Apr. 1896; d. 197?, Los Angeles, California; m. first, 27 Nov. 1917, Roy Lorenzo **Filimore**; m. secondly, Claude **Shields**.

iii. James Robert, b. 4 Sept. 1898; d. 20 Nov. 1943, of diabetes, and was bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery; m. Enola Mae , who d. after Nov. 1943. James was a druggist at 45 Gottingen St.

iv. Cyril Tremaine, b. 23 Aug. 1900; d. 15 Feb. 1960, "suddenly," unm.

v. Geoffrey Duval, b. 23 Aug. 1900; d. 16 Apr. 1966, unm.

14 vi. Alice Maude, b. 6 July 1910.

10 John[4] McFatridge (William[3]), b. 1872; d. 9 Aug. 1924; m. 12 Apr. 1898, Janet Gordon **McIntosh**, b. 1873, daug. of James and Rebecca McIntosh. She was bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery, 21 Jan. 1946. John conducted a business on Argyle St., which he later sold out to enter into partnership with A.S. Wylde, Fire Insurance Agent. He served as a major in the 66th. Princess Louise Fusiliers during World War I, on home defence duty. He was active in the Liberal Party for several years.

Issue of John and Janet (McIntosh) McFatridge:

i. Winnifred Gordon, b. 14 June 1899; d. 17 Nov. 1978, Halifax, unm.; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery. She was secretary to the Provincial Archivist, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, until her retirement, 31 July 1973.

11 Elizabeth[4] (Bessie) McFatridge (William[3]), b. 1875; d. 27 Dec. 1965, Halifax; bur. in Hillcrest Memorial Gardens, Sackville, N.S.; m. 21 Aug. 1899, Halifax, Harold (Harry) Howard **Davison**. He was bp. 21 Sept. 1873, Poplar Grove Presbyterian, Halifax, son of John and Ada Davison. Harry and Bessie lived in Amherst, N.S. for a time after their marriage, but had returned to Halifax by 1925. Harry was an insurance agent.

Issue of Harry and Elizabeth (McFatridge) Davison:

i. Greta Zilla, b. *ca.* 1900, Amherst, N. S.; m. 4 June 1925, Halifax, Arthur John **Moore**, who was b. *ca.* 1897, England, son of Harry and Mary (Wrentmore) Moore. Greta Moore was living in Halifax, 1989.

ii. Frances E., d. by 1989, Halifax; unm.

iii. Wilfred, living in Halifax, 1989.

iv. Roy Edwin, b. 31 Mar. 1910; d. 4 May 1976; m. Florence M. **Underwood**. She was b. 11 June 1906 and is still living in Halifax. He was employed with the Canada Permanent Trust Co. for 46 years.

12 Howard Simonds[4] McFatridge (William[3]), b. 1878; d. 24 Mar. 1958, and bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery; m. 25 Apr. 1902, Halifax, Sarah B. **King**, widow of Herbert M. King, and daug. of Henry and Catherine Clements. She had three children by her first husband. She was b. *ca.* 1867-75 and d. 29 Sept. 1933; bur. in St. John's Anglican Cemetery, Halifax, with her first husband. Howard was a veterinary surgeon and had his own business on Argyle St. He provided veterinary service to the horses used by the

local militia, later served in the armed forces attending the cavalry horses, and afterwards was employed by the City Health Dept. as dairy inspector and veterinary surgeon. He retired three years before his death, after thirty years of service with the City.

Issue of Howard and Sarah (Clements King) McFatridge:

i. Brenda, m. Dr. Henry R. **Balze** and was residing in Leonia, New Jersey, 1958; d. before 1989. Issue: one son, one daug.

13 William[4] McFatridge (William[3]), b. May 1883; d. 13 Sept. 1956, Halifax and was bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery. He m., 1920, Nora Victoria **Landry**, who was b. 13 Mar. 1900, daug. of Capt. Neil and Willamena (Mason) Landry; she d. 5 July 1976 and was bur. in Camp Hill Cemetery. William owned a roofing business and had property on McFatridge Rd., where he stored his gravel. He also owned subdivision property in the same area, which was turned over to the Dept. of Highways, 15 Nov. 1955.

Issue of William and Nora (Landry) McFatridge:

15 i. William, b. 28 Jan. 1926.

16 ii. Joan Caroline, b. 7 Mar. 1928.

14 Alice Maude[5] McFatridge (James William[4]), b. 6 July 1910; m. 2 June 1927, Arthur Clifford **Harris**, who was b. 7 Dec. 1900 and d. 1977. He worked for the City of Halifax as an engineer.

Issue of Arthur and Alice (McFatridge) Harris:

i. Arthur Clifford, b. 28 Nov. 1928; m. 6 Apr. 1956, Joan Margaret **Blaxland**, who was b. 12 July 1936.

ii. Sylvia Marjorie, b. 11 May 1931; m. 30 Apr. 1954, Donald Frederick **Stafford**, who was b. 14 May 1932.

iii. William Carl, b. 13 Jan. 1933; m. 3 Sept. 1960, Florence Ruth **Purdy**, who was b. 17 Oct. 1934.

iv. Dorothy Gwendolyn, b. 16 Aug. 1935; m. 21 Aug. 1954, Donald George **Houston**, who was b. 9 Jan. 1933.

v. Jean Alice, b. 30 Jan. 1939; m. 17 Sept. 1960, Donald George **LaPierre**.

vi. Joan Maude, b. 30 Jan. 1939; m. 3 Mar. 1959, Graham R. **Winterbourne**, who was b. 29 Mar. 1937.

vii. James Robert, b. 30 Jan. 1941; m. 27 Apr. 1968, Karen Ruth **Ryan**, who was b. 25 Apr. 1945.

viii. Kenneth Charles, b. 21 Dec. 1942; m. 12 Dec. 1980, Nancy **Murray**, who was b. 18 Sept. 1950.

15 William[5] McFatridge (William[4]), b. 28 Jan. 1926, bp. St. David's Presbyterian, Halifax; m. 24 July 1953, Jean Anna **Bonnezen**. She was b. 26 Jan. 1922, Coburg, Ontario, and d. 7 June 1981, Halifax; she was the daug. of Robert Tyler and Elizabeth (Parton) Bonnezen. William owns McFatridge Roofing Construction Ltd.

Issue of William and Jean (Bonnezen) McFatridge:

i. Joanne Vicki, b. 9 Mar. 1963.

16 Joan Caroline[5] McFatridge (William[4]), b. 7 Mar. 1928; m. 7 July 1950, Bruce Robert **Havill**, b. 12 Sept. 1928. They live in Deep Cove, Lunenburg Co.

Issue of Bruce and Joan (McFatridge) Havill:

i. Christopher, b. 18 Mar. 1960 (adopted).

ii. Caroline Jean, b. 13 Sept. 1962 (adopted).

The author acknowledges, with thanks, the assistance of Eric McFatridge, Stephenville, Nfld., without whose detailed research the section on the Nfld. branch of the family could not have been prepared. Most information contained in this genealogy was located in the holdings of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador. Anglican and United Church records in Stephenville were also consulted, as were those of Camp Hill Cemetery in Halifax.

Comments, queries, corrections or additions should be addressed to:

Ms. Wendy Ann Purchase
5915 Hillside Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3K 2S6

Book Reviews and Notes

Allen B. Robertson

Anna Leonowens: A Life Beyond The King and I, by Leslie Smith Dow. ISBN 0-919001-69-6. Pottersfield Press, Lawrencetown Beach, N.S., 176 pp., illustrated, paper, $15.95.

Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography, by R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin. ISBN 1-88629-137-2. Carleton University Press, Ottawa, 1991 [Oxford University Press, 1974]. 355 pp., illustrated, paper, $21.95.

Facets of the Eighteenth Century: Descriptive, Social and Normative Discourse, edited by Roland G. Bonnel. ISBN 0-921801-71-8. Captus University Publications, North York, Ont., 1991. 190 pp., paper, $25.15 [Publisher's order price].

Fire on the Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing, Volume One, edited by George Elliott Clarke. ISBN 0-919001-667-X. Pottersfield Press, Lawrencetown Beach, N.S., 1991. 178 pp., illustrated, paper, $14.95.

Mason Wade, Acadia and Quebec: The Perception of an Outsider, edited by N.E.S. Griffiths and G.A. Rawlyk. ISBN 0-88629-149-6. Carleton University Press, Ottawa, 1991. x + 198 pp., paper, $22.95.

Music Education in Canada: A Historical Account, by J. Paul Green and Nancy F. Vogan. ISBN 0-8020-5891-4. University of Toronto Press, 1991. xxxviii + 534 pp., illustrated, cloth, $125.00.

New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914, by Ruth Compton Brower. ISBN 0-8020-6750-6. University of Toronto Press, 1991. xxvi + 294 pp., illustrated, paper, $19.95.

The Nova Scotia Pulsifers, by Eunice M. (Pulsifer) Burrows. L. & B. Print, Bible Hill, N.S., 1990. v + 121 pp., paper, $10.00 [plus $2.00 postage & handling if ordered from author: R. R. 1, Truro, N.S., B2N 5A9].

Time & Place: The Life and Works of Thomas H. Raddall, edited by Alan R. Young. ISBN 0-919107-31-1. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N. B., 1991. 200 pp., paper, $16.95.

It has been the mandate of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* to bring to readers' attention books which explore the province's history and cultural heritage. Several of these works have challenged traditional images of the past, while others have charted new fields of study. Together these books are a joint effort on the part of their authors to make readers in the present listen to and understand voices from the past. The offerings for this mid-1992 review article speak eloquently for that endeavour.

Some voices must shout louder than others to be heard. George Elliott Clarke raises up the songs, prayers, sermons, poetry and reminiscences of Afro-Nova Scotians in his well-chosen collection, *Fire on the Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing*. This first of two volumes (the second will cover 1936-1971) draws on late eighteenth-century literature to set the foundation for the volume. Three memoirs by the religious leaders David George (Baptist), John Marrant (Huntingdonian Methodist) and Boston King (Wesleyan Methodist) carry the themes of spiritual salvation, temporal liberation from slavery and the call for self-affirmation by Blacks. The succeeding selections by Clarke are interspersed with variants on these themes: spiritual values; freedom from slavery, bigotry and anything less than full citizenship; and pride in the community and oneself.

All of the items in this anthology were created by Afro-Nova Scotians rather than written about them. Clarke has been able to carry the literary tradition back from the present to the 1780s Loyalist era. (John Marrant, it should be noted, died in England not in Sierra Leone, as stated by Clarke.) Some hymnody and oral tradition hints as well at an earlier period in Nova Scotia and the United States. Indigenous Afro-Nova Scotian literature does not truly begin to flower till after the final legal abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833. Within thirty years, Black culture in the province became infused with vigour in the cause of anti-slavery (aimed at aiding American Blacks), the start of the West Indian immigration and the growth of schools for Afro-Nova Scotians. These events combined with the provincial creation of the African Baptist Association in 1854 to foster a regular interchange of spiritual and intellectual-cultural developments.

The book which may be claimed to mark a turning-point in nineteenth-century Afro-Nova Scotian writing is Peter McKerrow's *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, and their First Organization as Churches, A.D. 1832* (1895). This was a product of a burst of local history writing in Nova Scotia from the mid to late 1800s: witness several well

known county and denominational publications. For the Black community, however, McKerrow's volume proclaimed the fact that Afro-Nova Scotians had a past deeply rooted in the province, that they had contributed to its growth; it also spoke of the need for Blacks themselves to treasure their own unique heritage as a basis on which to build for the future. It is not an exaggeration to state that George Elliott Clarke's *Fire on the Water*, nearly a century later, is a clarion call to all Nova Scotians not to ignore the Afro-Nova Scotian literary heritage, a call that echoes McKerrow's first history of and by Afro-Nova Scotians.

No anthology claims to be inclusive of all the literature it represents. Clarke has provided enough of a sampling, however, to offer the reader a wide variety of material, from folk tales to poetry to religions reflections. It is enough to show that much more is available to read or promote. Hymns and spiritual songs are interspersed throughout *Fire on the Water*, for these have had an unbroken vital role in the worship of Afro-Nova Scotians at home and in church. Some remind the reader that the evangelical Protestant tradition shares certain hymns across ethnic lines. In the beginning, indeed, Baptists and Methodists were non-segregated congregations; the hymns reflect that shared legacy. Clarke draws heavily on the Black Baptist tradition, but he does advise readers that other Protestant traditions did and do include specifically Black churches as well as mixed congregations. The African Methodist Episcopal Church is one such denomination that can be mentioned, as well as Sydney's African Orthodox Church. *Fire on the Water* serves as a challenge to survey literature with its roots in these other traditions.

Clarke comes full circle in his book with closing selections which comment on Afro-Nova Scotian history, the Bible and freedom. The well known names of Carrie Best, W.P. Oliver and Pearleen Oliver join historian Calvin Ruck's ruminations and the poetry of George Borden. There are reflections on the Black American experience, with which Afro-Nova Scotians have some common bonds, as well as on the distinctive heritage rooted in this province. It is in his introduction that Clarke expounds his reasons for publishing this anthology of voices past and present. The prose he uses is full of a nervous energy in which the poet-editor is uneasily constrained. He does make it clear that Afro-Nova Scotian literature deserves to take its place within the mainstream of Nova Scotian and Canadian literature. The call goes out to all Nova Scotians to recognize this part of our collective cultural inheritance. There is a stridency in Clarke's introduction

which reveals his activist stance in the promotion of Black history, poetry and civil-political goals. The invention of words to articulate that agenda, unfortunately, tends at times to obscure his message. At his best, Clarke draws his readers into the historical background of Afro-Nova Scotian literature in order to prepare them for the anthology proper, which itself is a testimony to its inherent literary merits. Digby native Grace May Lawrence's reflections include a line which is perhaps the best counsel for emphasizing positive self-affirmation without creating an opposing spectre, when she writes, "My perspective is 'Go gentle with the condemnation or in the crossfire we will all be caught'."

The theme of self-worth and affirmation is pursued in Ruth Brower's *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914*. Missionary zeal for evangelical Protestantism coincided with the colonial expansion of the British Empire, notably in the nineteenth century. By the mid-1800s, the leading Protestant churches in Canada had their own denominational journals or newspapers which served to spread the news of mission work from large urban centres, such as Halifax and Toronto, to the farming and lumbering communities scattered throughout Canada. The efforts of missionaries, usually husband and wife teams, were portrayed as latter-day apostolic labours. Here was a potentially attractive field for adventure and religious fervour to be expended in the cause of one's denomination. Women saw in the mission fields opportunities which they could assume only with difficulty at home in Canada.

Brower's study of Presbyterian missionaries reflects comparable work done by American historians now at last in its Canadian manifestation. She rightly notes that the idea of women going half-way round the world to live in an alien culture had a specifically Victorian cast. Foreign mission work was perceived as an extension of acceptable roles for women as exemplary mothers, teachers and nurses. Portrayed in the literature of the day as the prime religious instructors at home, women grasped the chance to make missions their alternative "homes." At the same time, thousands of women who did not go overseas organized societies at home in support of missions. They forged a national network within each denomination that resulted in Canadian women from widely different backgrounds becoming part of something far beyond their restricted geographical spheres.

In *New Women for God*, the author is careful to provide the British and American precedents for foreign mission activity before turning to the

Canadian response to overseas evangelization. The reader is doubly served, since the approach provides information on recent literature--British and American--pertinent to women's involvement in the missions. Moves by the Foreign Missions Committee of the newly unified Presbyterian Church in Canada to form female auxiliary societies (1875) opened the door to more direct participation in mission work by women. The previously limited scope for female leadership or participation in church affairs in the Presbyterian tradition meant that the eventual call for recruitment of single women to serve overseas offered an unprecedented opportunity for Presbyterian women to exercise authority. Brower traces the institutional bodies in Canada which formed the different women's groups devoted to what was termed the "Great Commission." Paradoxically, the expansion of the Empire which stimulated mission work was countered by late nineteenth- early twentieth-century expansion and demographic shifts in Canada. The arrival of vast numbers of immigrants in Western Canada reoriented the focus of the Presbyterian hierarchy toward home mission efforts, delimiting the support given to the foreign mission field. On the eve of World War I, aspirants to overseas work found themselves without needed endorsement from the upper echelons of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The actual participants who served overseas numbered over 100 women in the period up to 1914. Brower provides a fine analysis of their backgrounds, qualifications and the conditions in which they lived at their respective mission stations. She astutely notes, that at a time when educational opportunities were opening for women, the careers in which the resulting new professionalism could be employed were severely limited. Mission work afforded a necessary outlet for the talent of a new wave of educated Canadian women. It would require the great disruption of World War I to change the situation at home.

Readers of the *Review* will be interested in discovering the prominent part which Maritime women, especially Nova Scotians, played in the initial recruitment for overseas missions. Brower's appendices list known volunteers, place of origin (or where childhood was spent) and extent of participation in foreign missions. Twenty-two Nova Scotians served in fields from India to Korea. One should be aware that missionary endeavour is not ancient history; several Maritimers were among those women who were alive as recently as the late 1960s and 1970s. Why has their collective story been

so long in the telling? Brower proposes neglect of women's studies until after the 1960s, and a peculiar shame in acknowledging anything which appeared to be "tainted" with colonialism and racism. She could have enlarged on these possible reasons by referring to the fact that there is a current trend in branches of feminist studies which denigrate or ignore anything having to do with traditional Western Christianity. Presbyterian missionaries had as their first objective the salvation of souls, a cause which makes many intellectuals of the 1990s nervous. The result has been the undervaluing of the achievements of earlier generations of Canadian women who collectively influenced their home communities, the nation and global relations. Brower's *New Women for God* has redressed that deficiency in her finely written, well researched and comprehensive examination.

A very different missionary-educator's life can be found in the recent biography, *Anna Leonowens: A Life Beyond The King and I*, by Leslie Smith Dow. The description "missionary" may be used of Leonowens because of her campaign for specific causes--the abolition of slavery, educational equality and social justice. It was as an educator, however, that Anna Leonowens earned a livelihood when widowed and left with two children to raise. Her most famous employer was the king of what is today Thailand--King Mongkut. At his court she taught his children and wives, translated royal correspondence, and acted as a consultant. For her part, Anna Leonowens pursued an agenda of social change inspired in part by the anti-slavery literature of the United States. One is left amazed that she was able to express herself as she did without any more serious consequences than those recounted in the biography.

Dow has succeeded in writing an engaging account of an extraordinary woman. Throughout she has had to work against the myth of "Anna and the King of Siam" fostered by Leonowens herself, and enlarged by subsequent stage and screen adaptations of her books. Through persistent detective work Dow has pieced together the story of Leonowens's British barracks family origins in colonial India, her fascinating life in Siam, and the career Leonowens created while in Halifax, Montreal and the United States. Readers will be grateful for the chapter devoted to the subject's Halifax period—in connection with social causes, art education and public lectures. The network of Haligonians associated with Leonowens is delineated with care.

The figure who emerges from the pages of *A Life Beyond the King and I* is far different from the Hollywood film character with whom most people are

familiar. Dow reveals Leonowens to have been a woman of determination who overcame social disadvantages to exert influence well beyond the role of schoolteacher to imperial colonial officials' children. In spite of cultural prejudices, she was remarkably open to the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism as well as Christianity. She did allow the demands of popular literature to curtail that openness, though rarely to dampen her devotion to the elimination of slavery or unjust laws (whether Siamese or British). At the same time, readers will find that Leonowens was akin to Rousseau--an exponent of fine ideals which did not match her life at home. Leonowens dominated her daughter, ruled with oppressive severity the households of her children and grandchildren as a thorough-going Victorian matriarch, and showed by the occasional social *faux pas* that her lower-middle-class origins were always present in the background.

Dow's research is indeed extensive. That includes her contact with Leonowens's descendants. Certain factual errors do occur as vexatious points. It is true that a number of Nova Scotians fought in the Union Army during the American Civil War; the figure of 10,000 is a vast exaggeration, however, when the actual number may have been only a tenth of that total. Dow may have confused this number with those Nova Scotians called up in 1864-66 to bolster the militias in case of a Fenian invasion. As to her writing style, Dow employs the Donald Creighton "historical recreation" approach. Anna Leonowens is imagined as having said, done or worn something at a given time--replete with dialogue and physical description. While this adds atmosphere or period "flavour," it also irritates the historically-minded reader of biography who would prefer accounts of diaries, letters or interviews in order to hear the subject speak.

Dow's biography, in spite of certain stylistic flaws, rivets the reader in a twofold fashion. First, she has marshalled her sources in order to create an admirable story; the depth of research shows throughout. Secondly, there is no denying that Leonowens was an exotic yet dynamic individual who rarely allowed the prevalent notions regarding gender roles (or social origins) to hold her back. There is much to admire in this secular missionary who made an impression wherever she lived, whether in Thailand or in Halifax.

The collected papers of Acadia University's first symposium on Atlantic literature and culture (September 1990) are dedicated to adopted Nova Scotian and internationally recognized author, Thomas H. Raddall. Under the editorial guidance of Alan Young, *Time & Place: The Life and Works of*

Thomas H. Raddall, brings together literary criticism, biographical studies and sociocultural reflections--all based on Raddall's publications and his fascination with colonial history. The result is a fine series of articles on one of the province's leading writers, who during the 1940s and 1950s gave a renewed voice to the past.

The volume itself is divided into six thematic groups: historical and critical contexts, feminist critique, Raddall as conservator and historian, historical fiction, heroes and paradigms, and Raddall's contributions to children's literature. The two leading articles by Elizabeth Waterston and Alan Young, respectively, are wise selections with which to begin the book, for they introduce the reader to Raddall's place in both the tradition of Canadian historical fiction and his reputation in the past and present canons of English-Canadian literature. Unlike Dow's *Anna Leonowens*, where history is enlivened with some creative dialogue, Raddall's historical fiction is romance and adventure undergirded by historical research. Raddall was not writing the definitive interpretation of New England Planter, Loyalist or Yorkshire sense of self in his fiction, whether in *Roger Sudden, His Majesty's Yankee* or *Pride's Fancy*. These settings and characters nonetheless popularized the romance of Nova Scotia's history. It is not an exaggeration to say that Raddall helped to set the necessary conditions for a renaissance of pride in Nova Scotian history, literature and cultural heritage, which accelerated in the 1960s and continues today.

Waterston perceptively relates Raddall's geographical and historical contexts to the intent of his fiction. She also provides useful comparisons with predecessors in the genre, especially James Fenimore Cooper's American romances. The ethnic diversity of Nova Scotia allowed Raddall to exaggerate certain attributable characteristics in order to explore the wide range of human strengths and frailties. This is true whether the novel is set in eighteenth-century Liverpool or twentieth-century Halifax. The reader can best appreciate Waterston's observations, and those of other contributors, by carefully reading *Time & Place* for themselves. All the articles exemplify Waterston's concluding remarks: "An accurate historian, an ethically complex romancer, a regional recorder of the Atlantic area, a seafarer who added oceanic themes to Canadian literature, Raddall helps us re-examine own native romance."

It may be said that Alan Young, in "Thomas H. Raddall and the Canadian Critics," following naturally after Waterston's opening essay, treats

interpretations of the value perceived in Raddall's work from a national perspective. In blunt fashion, central Canadian literary critics downplay "regional literature" (i.e., neither Ontario or Quebec), in addition to undervaluing the ongoing tradition of Canadian historical fiction. Writers popular with the reading public also come under suspicion. Young counters with arguments which attack academic élitism's too ready dismissal of significant Nova Scotian literary products. The essays in *Time & Place* certainly speak for the value of expending time on a "regional author."

The reader is invited to explore Raddall's historian and folklorist aspects in articles by Allen Penney, Clary Croft, Judith Dudar and David Sutherland. His long dedication to the Queen's County Historical Society at Liverpool provided the impetus to preserve the now treasured Simeon Perkins house. Folklore and hidden lives reveal the depth of Raddall's search for knowledge. It illustrates as well his fascination with the Micmac presence in Nova Scotia; Raddall's use of Micmac personae and lore makes him a literary preserver of Micmac heritage complementary with Silas Rand's linguistic and ethnological studies in the 1800s. Sutherland, as professional historian, addresses *Halifax: Warden of the North* in his examination of the Young Nova Scotia Party, to confirm Raddall's remarks on the closed, in-bred "Brahmin" class which dominated the city's economic and political life. Evidence again of the insightful historian as one of Raddall's facets.

Both Barry Moody and Chris Ferns continue the critique of how historical fiction can mould the present-day outlook of readers about their own past. The three feminist articles by Buss, Smyth and Lacombe enhance the richness of Raddall's legacy by seeing his work as reflecting his own society and perceptions of women. The constraints of one's own time as the sociological framer of mentality did indeed inhibit Raddall's psychological presentation of his female literary creations. Bruce MacDonald and Hubert Morgan extend comment from another perspective, seeing Raddall's historical fiction in relationship to existentialism and visionary hope. In "Living on the Edge," MacDonald does not pronounce Raddall as a writer of despair. He does depict him, however, as an author who confronts the loss of values, fatalism, and judgement against any who do not strive for the fulfilment of humanity's potential to reach higher ethical goals. Morgan goes further in order to show how Raddall handles the mythic imagery behind conflicting human desires. Finally, Hilary Thompson uses the heroic images and fantasy in fiction in order to transport the reader back to childhood's

thirst for adventure. Raddall as a writer of children's, especially young boy's fiction, enables the reader to go back to what are essential prerequisites for enjoying historical romance. That is no mean feat in this day of industry, technology and computer interfacing. It is perhaps the theme behind the entire collection in *Time & Place*--a willingness to engage oneself in a world of wonder and imagination.

In contrast to Raddall, the writer of historical fiction, is the work of Canadian historian Mason Wade. Under the joint editorial authorship of George Rawlyk and Naomi Griffiths, the voice of Wade is heard in this assessment of his contributions in the field, and particularly his comparative studies of New France (Québec) and Acadia (the Maritimes). The resulting volume, *Mason Wade, Acadia and Quebec: The Perception of an Outsider*, provides valuable insights into this American-born historian who was drawn to study the French heritage of this northern country. The reader is reminded as well that Quebec was not the only locus of French colonization; Acadia had its own unique French-speaking era, and a subsequent period of Acadian cultural renaissance following the dominance of English-, German- and Gaelic-speaking aftercomers.

Both editors are well qualified to handle this memorial book. Griffiths is a specialist in Acadian history and the subsequent migrations of the exiled Acadians, whether to France or the United States. The second editor, George Rawlyk, likewise is a colonial American-Canadian scholar who has the added advantage of having known Wade personally. Jointly they combine, in their editorial capacity, sensitive observations on Wade's work, and add to it excerpts from that historian's writing, together with assessments by David Farr and Stephen Kenny. The greater part of *Mason Wade* is devoted to the history of the Maritimes--in both the Acadian and Planter-Loyalist eras. This includes chapters from a projected work that was until now largely unpublished. It is to be regretted that the author of *The French Canadians* (1955) did not live to complete his comparative volume on Quebec and Acadia.

Naomi Griffiths's introductory biographical chapter is well conceived, and places Wade's historical writings in their appropriate relationship to Canadian historiographical developments. It was Wade's editorial work on Francis Parkman's work (1942) that introduced him to French-Canadian studies. A subsequent friendship with John Bartlett Brebner cemented his interest in Quebec and also drew his attention to the Maritimes. (Brebner's

Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia still exerts a strong influence on Nova Scotian historical studies.) Left unsaid by Griffiths is the fact that Wade began his Canadian research on the heels of World War II, when Canadian-American cooperation had been at its height. Eventually Wade left a dual impact through his published work on Quebec and the founding at the University of Rochester of a Canadian studies programme, where a school of disciples emerged to further Canadian-American historical scholarship.

Amid the current constitutional debate in Canada, Wade's observations on Quebec's history and nationalism make for timely reading. David Farr's "Wade as Historian of Quebec," permits readers to compare reactions from English-speaking Canadian historians and Quebec historians to Wade's analysis of that province's past and society. Wade endeavoured to determine how much of pre-Conquest society persisted into the 1760s-1950s period, how it had survived, and whether historical interpretations had been objective enough to allow a true evaluation to stand. Political-nationalist interests have highly coloured French-Canadian historians' vision no less than the view of their English-Canadian counterparts outside Quebec. Farr rightly points out that Wade rejected the opinion that only native Quebecers understand their past. Special interest protection is intellectual censorship akin to the recurring revisionist histories of the defunct U.S.S.R. Farr extrapolates further with the warning that, in his opinion, "preservation of the cultural distinctiveness of a majority can bring danger to minorities in a pluralistic society" (p. 46). Wade's outsider's view sought to enrich mutual understanding across linguistic barriers.

In a similar fashion to his Quebec studies, Wade's examination of Acadia and the post-1700s Maritimes came from the vantage point of a scholar seeking to understand the present through the past. The excerpts provided in *Mason Wade* show how Wade blended his own research and the work of other historians (especially Brebner's). The result is a noteworthy attempt to comprehend how this marginal colony failed to become the fourteenth state of the newly founded United States of America. The heterogenous nature of the Maritime population added a richness to the area's heritage. At the same time, it has presented its own challenges to understanding the emergent cultural identity. Readers will likewise find Wade's comments of interest in their own right, and as reflections on present-day constitutional arguments.

Stephen Kenny's final article in *Mason Wade* brings together several of the foregoing themes, and attempts to compare American cultural-linguistic

developments to Canada's so-called "two-nation" identity. This is a fitting conclusion to a book dedicated to an American historian who disdained political borders in intellectual pursuits. Historians' assessment of Wade's contribution to Canadian historiography is a lesson in itself of political infighting among academics. At the same time it should alert readers of *Mason Wade* that selective memory, and the exclusion of professional historians' observations on the basis of their ethnic or cultural origins, are assured ways to stifle voices from the past.

An international approach to regional history is a valuable means of adding depth and context to it. In *Facets of the Eighteenth Century,* edited by Roland G. Bonnel, articles on Nova Scotia's religious and legal history are placed alongside discussions of David Hume's philosophical legacy, French literature, esthetics, Austrian military history and women in English literature. The articles represent a selection of papers presented at the April 1990 meeting of the Atlantic Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, hosted by Saint Mary's University in Halifax. This collection reminds one that the Atlantic Ocean was not a barrier between colonial Nova Scotia and the Enlightenment and revolutionary ferment of Europe; instead, it was a highway that permitted people and ideas to cross, allowing colonists in turn to enjoy continuity with Western European civilization while forging their own North American identity.

Bonnel's succinct summary of the volume begins with the leading four articles devoted to Nova Scotia. Two in particular stress trans-Atlantic connections for a proper understanding of the Nova Scotian experience. Barry Cahill's detailed account of the Court of Exchequer is part of a growing historiography which seeks to delineate the province's legal history. The actual function of and authority for judicial procedures had to be grounded in English precedent and colonial royal mandates. Cahill leads the reader through the avenues that were available to gain relief against the Crown (as opposed to private civil actions for damages), for the redress of grievances or the failure of justice to be done. The article actually goes beyond the eighteenth century in its attempt to critique the equity jurisdiction of the Federal Court of Canada. Readers should note as well the wealth of legal documentation which Cahill was able to draw on, which is preserved at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. In the sphere of religious history, Allen Robertson's study of John Wesley's Nova Scotia correspondence also considers the problems of jurisdiction. In this case, the problem hinges on

Wesley's injunction to Methodists in the province to seek missionary aid from the independent American Methodist Episcopal Church, yet simultaneously to respect both the Church of England and the English Methodist Conference. This was one area only in which cross-cultural competition between the United States and Britain both divided and enriched Maritimers' sense of identity. Complementary with these two articles are the offerings of Philip Griffin-Allwood and Judith Norton. They each address the nature of religious identity in pre-revolutionary Nova Scotia. Griffin-Allwood's look at Halifax's heterogeneous religious make-up presents a model which anticipates the future Canadian religious identity. From a sociological perspective, Norton analyses Horton and Cornwallis Townships' participation in Nova Scotia's "Great Awakening." To discover who the participants were on the basis of sex, age and economic standing is a means of penetrating the collective psyche.

The remaining contributions to *Facets of the Eighteenth Century* are all grounded in European developments. At first glance the general reader may question the merit of reading discourses on Hume's philosophy, Blake's mystical visions or the perception of women in literature. The answer of course lies in the fact that all three are part of our common European inheritance, from which Nova Scotia was neither isolated nor immune. Rowland Marshall's brief presentation, "Philosophical Influences on William Blake's Aesthetics," for example, concentrates on the authors whose works shaped Blake's artistic vision. The influence of Swendenborg and Jacob Boehme, though not elaborated by Marshall, fed Blake's mystical nature. Here would be a starting-point from which to compare Blake with the metaphysical writings of Nova Scotia's religious visionary Henry Alline, himself influenced by Swedenborg and Boehme through the works of the English Anglican pietist William Law. Readers interested in music may wish to consider Vincent Tobin's, "Drama and Character in the Theatre Work of Handel." The compositions of Handel were performed by military bands in eighteenth-century Halifax, including the beloved "Messiah." Tobin provides an opportunity to explore that composer's contributions to the English musical tradition, and at the same time enriches our understanding of a composer whose reputation reached across the Atlantic to the outpost of Halifax. It can be said that *Facets of the Eighteenth Century* is indeed a 'feast of rich reading'.

One of the more significant works to have been published in the past year has been a most impressive joint effort by J. Paul Green and Nancy F. Vogan. Their lengthy study, *Music Education in Canada: A Historical Account*, is a national history covering the 1700s to 1980s. Each area of Canada, from Newfoundland and the Maritimes to British Columbia, is covered from its pioneer days of formal training by private teachers and singing masters, through to formal public school and college-level developments in music curriculum. Linked to twentieth-century accounts is CBC Radio's promotion of musical performance in the country. The overall result is a singularly masterful depiction of music education that has been long overdue.

Green and Vogan do not elaborate on musical performance or activity in the colonial period or later; their emphasis is on education and public demand for it. (The former subject has been covered already in Helmut Kallman's 1960 monograph, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914*.) One does find chronicled in *Music Education* a continuing struggle to have music in the public schools placed on the same footing as the sciences, literature and history. The achievements of dedicated teachers over the last century are the more remarkable, given the too frequent relegation of music into the category of elective subjects. Given the importance of music in daily life, moreover, notably in many religious traditions, this attitude is a sad reflection on Canadian education in general.

Just as *Facets of the Eighteenth Century* in regard to Europe and Nova Scotia, so too in *Music Education*, the overall national picture places any appreciation of Nova Scotian musical instruction in a fuller context. The presence of organs in churches, and certain religious traditions (the Roman Catholic liturgy; a Methodist emphasis on hymnody), fostered a desire to offer formal musical training. The Catholic teaching orders in Halifax, especially the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, early on offered music education as an integral part of the schooling which they provided to generations of young women. From its 1871 founding, the Maritime School for the Blind in Halifax also promoted music in "pianoforte, cabinet organ, singing, writing and reading music, and pianoforte tuning." Teachers directly from Germany, or those who had studied at Berlin and Leipzig, imported a high professional standard into Nova Scotia. Yet within the public schools outside Halifax or the larger towns, music education languished despite its endorsement by the official journal of the provincial education office.

Twentieth-century music education in Nova Scotia, as well as in most provinces, depended ultimately on the dedication of individuals who strove either to place musical instruction in the curriculum of schools, or promoted it as private and as an extra-curricular school pursuit. Green and Vogan note that teacher training included the rudiments of music, but was not sufficient to carry talented students any further. It was the growth of music teachers' associations, public choral and orchestral societies and modern telecommunications which provided avenues for young people to advance in music. The 1928 CHNS school broadcast from Halifax was the precursor to regular radio broadcasts of both school music performances and instruction. The impact of radio cannot be overestimated in its ability to link communities across the province and its heightened effect on musical awareness.

This brief commentary on *Music Education* cannot do it full justice. The authors have neglected neither the growth of schools of music at Maritime universities nor the trend towards qualified, professional music teachers at all levels. It is the dissemination of musical knowledge and music's role in our cultural identity which are the unifying strands in *Music Education*. Green and Vogan are sensitive to the fact that formal education may stifle folk tradition unless the latter is somehow promoted within the curriculum. At the same time, the promotion of music as an artistic expression bolsters aspects of Canadian cultural identity in the face of the American audio-visual onslaught. The 1949 Massey Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences brought that message to a national audience long before the 1967 centenary celebrations or unity angst. The publication of *Music Education in Canada* can stand as the 1990s vocal testament to a diverse musical heritage and pedagogical tradition.

The reprint of a 1974 book has made available once more an outstanding contribution to our understanding of Canada. R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin were the authors of *Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography*, which synthesized most of the recent studies (to 1974) that viewed the country's development in terms of "people, places, and landscapes." The interaction of these elements dictated in part community formation and regional identity. The land has its impact on economic exploitation, transportation and communications; people as settlers or newcomers bring to a new place foreign concepts about regional economy, attitude to wildlife, domesticated environment and the cultural web which is spread over the community; and the landscape itself is shaped by human

activity--buildings, roads, farms, industrialization and forest clearance. Harris and Warkentin used these viewpoints to chart the settlement history of what became Canada and its subsequent manifestations.

This is a study which provides a comparative basis for examining different provinces or regions. Readers are free to concentrate on the Atlantic Canadian sections or to consider the work as a whole. Harris and Warkentin concentrate on economic motivations for settlement and how the land's resources dictate further developments. Attention is given to the indigenous peoples of the Maritimes, for example, for the sake of contrast with European (French and British) approaches to land use. Micmac and Malecite trading systems, the goods bartered, and tribal organization would have enhanced the coverage.

Acadians, Planters and Loyalists all made their mark on the land through dyking systems to vernacular architecture. Livelihoods gained from agriculture, the fisheries, and mining are discussed each in turn, before attention is given to industrialization at its different stages of development. Shipbuilding is included among the latter to reinforce the fact that scattered centres could possess small-scale concerns, which detracted from the emergence of one dominant metropolitan centre. Halifax, Saint John and later Yarmouth, along with the Pictou area, competed for economic pre-eminence. Harris and Warkentin support the thesis that the geography and dispersed economic effort strengthened localism at the expense of a unified Maritime economy able to compete with New England, Quebec and Ontario.

What is intriguing in *Canada Before Confederation* is the idea that all provinces of the country (even when apparently separated by linguistic, cultural or religious barriers) shared certain economic and social commonalities dictated by the land. Canada indeed remains very much a ribbon land. Its major population centres and economic activity are stretched along Maritime and Newfoundland coasts, extend westward near to the American border, and lie south of the Great Shield. Industrialization in Ontario and Quebec drew in Canadians who could not readily wrest a living from limited arable land or fish stocks. Maritime urban centres suffered the same effect, though on a lesser scale. Vast regions of Canada remain in a wilderness state compared to the continental United States. That closeness of domestic civilization and wilderness, in Harris's and Warkentin's opinion, presented a peculiar challenge for the Canadian identity at Confederation, which continues today.

It seems fitting to conclude this review by returning to a book by a Nova Scotian author who also seeks to make the living hear voices from the past. The effort put into *The Nova Scotia Pulsifers* by Eunice Mildred (Pulsifer) Burrows aims at creating a collective biography full of reminiscences, family vignettes, and sketches of Pulsifer branches to be filled out by future generations. Mildred Burrows is an enthusiastic researcher, as her handling of sources reveals. She is particularly adept in her handling of primary sources, and conflicting traditional stories. One may even venture to compare *Nova Scotia Pulsifers* to Clarke's *Fire on the Water;* the latter anthology notes the impact of religion on the Black community, yet the reader is soon aware that families were the cradles of faith and self-respect. A well-done genealogy bears witness to a family's recognition of its special heritage and the need to preserve what is best in the collective memory.

Mildred Burrows has not written an all-inclusive genealogy since she is interested primarily in her own branch of the family tree. The genealogist in her has provided, nonetheless, information on several collateral branches. Above all, she has explored the various traditions as to the origins of founder Benedict Pulsephar (at Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1659), and the arrival of his descendant, John Pulsifer, at Chester Township, Nova Scotia by 1778. The latter was the sole progenitor of the surname in this province. At an early date, he and his wife Mary (née Vaughan) joined the local Baptist society under Reverend Joseph Dimock. One son, William Pulsifer, entered the Baptist ministry and served pastorates in New Brunswick and Maine. This reminds us that Nova Scotians could be far more mobile than is usually thought customary for pioneer generations. The international border was far less a barrier in the last century to the movement of people between the Maritimes and New England. Part of the value of a book such as *Nova Scotia Pulsifers* is the detail it can provide for researchers who need case studies of mobility.

Where possible Mildred Burrows has recorded oral history interviews and recollections which offer both Pulsifers and the general reader glimpses of a former age in Nova Scotia. Family life, chores on the farm and musical talent bring the past fleetingly to view. The "Pulsifer Voice," for example, referred less to singing than it did to distinct, robust speech useful, in one instance, for calling sheep and cattle at two miles' distance.

It would be an understatement to say that for many families their origins are obscure and hidden. Stories about parents or grandparents may be rich in detail, yet end abruptly. Burrows herself admits as much when explaining

what led her to write *Nova Scotia Pulsifers:* "I loved to have my parents tell of their childhood, but, unfortunately, my dad did not know much about his background." Dedicated family history researchers such as Burrows and American Pulsifer cousins in Maine, and the wealth of documentation preserved at institutions such as the Public Archives of Nova Scotia were needed to break through the barrier of collective memory loss. That is true, of course, of all history; until the living give it attention, it does not live in imagination. It takes the skill, dedication and devotion of historians or genealogists to act as mediums through whom the past can communicate with the present.

Book Notes

Crime Wave: Con Men, Rogues and Scoundrels From Nova Scotia's Past, by Dean Jobb. ISBN 0-919001-68-8. Pottersfield Press, Lawrencetown Beach, N.S., 1991. 152 pp., illustrated, paper, $14.95.

Popular history with a twist best describes Dean Jobb's retelling of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century crime in Nova Scotia. A deft use of newspaper accounts and archival sources is shown in the lively narratives of robberies, confidence tricks, murder and disasters. Jobb's lack of annotation is the one major flaw in this new offering about history's neglected underside. It is a book that refutes the charge that history is dull; its tales include, among others, Jordan The Pirate, the Bowie-Macdonald feud, and the 1939 Queen Hotel fire. Well-chosen photographs enhance the entire volume.

Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour, edited by Colin Howell and Richard Twomey. ISBN 0-919107-32-X. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N. B., 1991. 275 pp., paper, $21.95.

This is a re-evaluation of mariners--civilian and military over two centuries, on both sides of the Atlantic. Most of the articles were contributions to the 1990 October "Jack Tar in History" conference at Saint Mary's University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Stereotypes of sailors are replaced by information on politics, wages, gender concerns, warfare and oral history. Two articles that discuss the role of Black seamen will be valuable for Nova Scotia ethnic studies. The resulting new windows from which to view our Maritime past make *Jack Tar* an indispensable complement to Fingard's *Jack in Port* and Wallace's *Wooden Ships and Iron Men.*

Journey Through a Cape Breton County: Pioneer Roads in Richmond County, by Arthur J. Stone. ISBN 0-920336-39-6. University College of Cape Breton Press, Sydney, N.S., 1991. X + 164 pp., illustrated, paper, $19.95.

Away from cities and superhighways are the winding roads of rural Nova Scotia. Anyone who has stopped to reflect on them realizes that there are stories behind each country mile. Mr. Justice Arthur Stone of the Federal Court of Canada has opened up the past in his look at post roads and settlement routes in Richmond County. Social history, original accounts,

politics and the post office have much to tell us of the men and women who lived along these Cape Breton roads. A wealth of textual documentation, as well as maps and photographs, make this book equally useful as a reference source. Stone is to be commended for a pioneering study and a treasury of local history.

Lost Mariners of Shelburne County: As Inscribed on the Fishermen's Memorial unveiled 1992, Shelburne, Nova Scotia, edited by Eleanor R. Smith, compiled by Joanna H. Haeghaert. ISBN 0-9691913-5-9. Stoneycroft Publishing, Yarmouth, N.S., 1991. xvi + 195 pp., illustrated, $15.00.

Those who live by, and gain their livelihood from, the sea do not soon forget the men who leave port never to return. The Shelburne County Genealogical Society wanted to ensure that remembrance, and add meaning to the names inscribed on the Fishermens monument at Shelburne. That desire resulted in a book which provides family sketches, photographs and contemporary accounts of tragedies at sea, which from 1856 to 1991 have claimed at least 280 Shelburne-area men. The result shows how greatly the past is intermingled with the present.

The Militia of Shelburne County 1783-1868, by Mary Archibald, Shelburne Historical Society, 1991. viii + 71 pp., illustrated, paper, $9.00.

Home defence or militia history is more than preparedness for war. Mary Archibald shows the reader that it can touch on legislation, accoutrements, social standing and community history itself. The militia was especially important in Shelburne, where many of the original Loyalist settlers arrived in militia companies, including formally organized free Blacks. The use of diaries, commissions, correspondence and muster books sheds new light on a subject of local and indeed provincial interest. Local historical societies will want to consult the book when setting up museum recreations of militia activities, as will military enthusiasts and anyone curious about the colonial past.

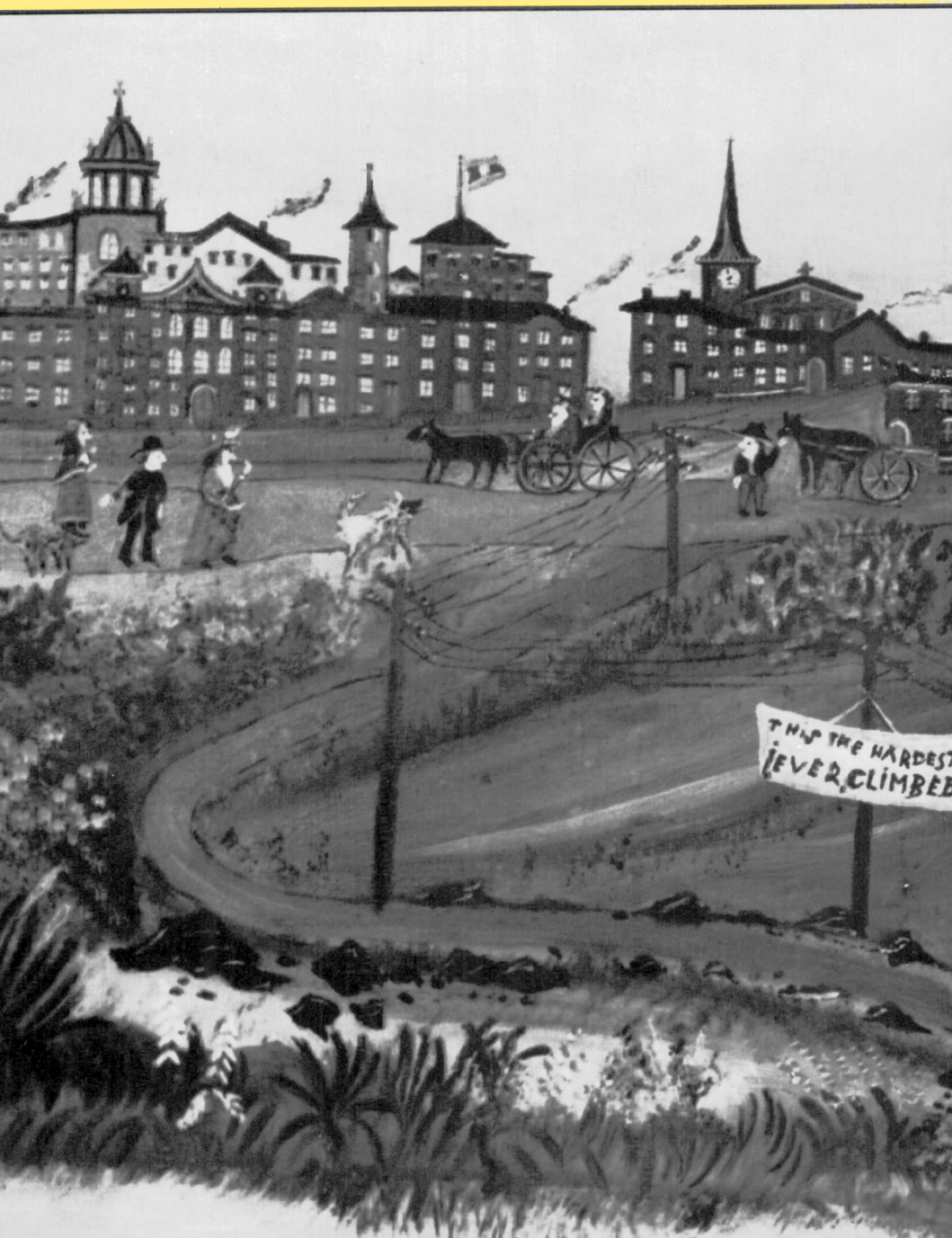
Religious Marriages in Halifax, 1768-1841, From Original Sources, by Terrence M. Punch. Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S., 1991. xviii + 271 pp., paper, $15.00.

Any guidebook which aids the family historian is always welcome. T.M. Punch, immediate past president of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society,

has made available a listing of Protestant and Catholic marriages at Halifax which will prove invaluable to any researcher who does not know in which church records to begin. Women's surnames are cross-referenced to men's surnames in a listing of 9,034 marriages. A history of marriage legislation and practice in Nova Scotia provides a fine introduction. The Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia is to be congratulated on sponsoring a work which will be an immense help to genealogists and historians alike.

Department of
Tourism and Culture

ISSN 0227-4752


THIS THE HARDEST
EVER CLIMBED