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Cover Illustration:

"View of Parsborough [sic] *Village Island, &c," by Lieut. H. Pooley.*
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The Parrsboro Shore -- West Indies Trade in the 1820s: The Early Career and the Diary of Joseph Norman Bond Kerr

Julian Gwyn

"Scenic Parrsboro: Nova Scotia's Best Kept Secret," the 1992 tourist brochure proclaims. "In this harbour where the lobster boats ply their trade, schooners and square-riggers once waited for the tide to carry them to the high seas and destinations around the world." The details of such trade either for Parrsboro or for the nearby settlements of Fox River, Port Greville and Diligent River, remain largely unknown. That there was an extensive trade in wood products to the West Indies, which survived into the 1930s, is still remembered by both woodsmen and mariners alike. Yet when one visits these places today, their anchorages silted up and their wharves utterly ruined, and no one around except a couple of lumbermen turned lobster fishermen, such earlier activity is almost impossible to imagine. The Parrsboro Shore seems certain to keep its past shrouded in mystery.

Economic historians, given their insatiable appetite for statistics, will not thrive on the Parrsboro Shore, as it throws up so few statistics before the 1850s and little enough thereafter. Nova Scotia, and with it the Parrsboro Shore communities, in many ways entered the world of statistics only with Confederation. Before then the provincial and colonial legislatures had printed very few of the type of statistics which historians now find so useful. Exceptions are few. When gold was discovered in Nova Scotia in the 1860s and began to be mined in many places, for example, the legislature lost its collective balance and elevated gold mining to the first place in the economy. For the historian of gold this event was fortuitous, as the annual reports to the House of Assembly provide every kind of useful statistic, even though gold-mining remained utterly peripheral to the province's economy. Furthermore, when in the 1850s the legislature was in the grip of railway fever, the immediate consequence--once the first line opened between Halifax and Windsor--was the annual publication, again by the House of Assembly, of very detailed statistics, despite the fact that the railway, like gold-mining was of marginal importance to the economy. Coalmining, concentrated near Pictou and Sydney, was also well reported from the 1820s onwards. Before Confederation, and long afterwards, the governments of Nova Scotia--whatever their political stripe--produced no proper reports on agriculture, the fisheries or lumbering, which constituted the centrally important spheres of

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economic activity.[1] This meant that for the ports of the Parrsboro Shore, as with many other regions, little information can be gleaned from the official public record.

Parrsboro itself was identified in the trade statistics as a separate port only in 1850, when the local collector of impost and excise, T. D. Dickson, began submitting annual reports. Before then the extent and nature of Parrsboro's trade can only be guessed, as few merchants ever bothered to register their imports or exports with the imperial or colonial officials in Halifax, for many years the closest legal port of entry or exit in Nova Scotia. In the 1820s Truro was made the station of a customs collector, who was no more useful for surveying the trade of Parrsboro, as Thomas Nickleson Jeffery reported in October 1833, "than the stationing of officers at Chelsea for the superintendence of the trade at Gravesend!"[2]

If official trade statistics are largely lacking so too are the relevant account books and business correspondence, vital records for merchants in Nova Scotia, and the only other documentary source on which historians depend to write intelligently about the history of what is now called the 'formal' economy. One of the best sources has been curiously ignored: the correspondence found in the records of the imperial customs office. They contain for Nova Scotia some forty-one volumes of mercantile correspondence ranging from 1785 through to the 1840s.[3] Elsewhere there is very little,given the surprisingly small survival rate of letters and account books of Nova Scotia's colonial merchants. The only body of records which illustrate Nova Scotia's extensive export of wood products to the British Isles are those of David Crichton of Pictou in the 1820s and 1830s.[4] Hitherto the only collection of records with which to document Nova Scotia's enduring West

1 The first really useful annual reports on the fisheries were not published until after Confederation, when the Canadian government assumed responsibility.

2 PRO, CUST 34/659, fol 19.

3 Known as CUST 34, the fonds was acquired by the Public Record Office, Kew, England, in the late 1970s. The National Archives (Ottawa) had earlier microfilmed this little-used fonds in 1959, when it was still at the Customs House in London. Not until 1983 was a finding aid prepared.

4 Located in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia [PANS] Court of Chancery fonds, RG 36, the letters have only recently come to light. See Julian Gwyn, "Nova Scotia's Shipbuilding and Timber Trade: David Crichton of Pictou and his Liverpool Associates, 1821-1840," in Peter Baskerville, ed., *Canadian Papers in Business History*, II (Victoria, 1993), 211-233.

Indies' trade before 1870 are those of William Roche of Halifax in the 1830s and of the Zwickers of Lunenburg from the 1830s onwards.[5] Cape Breton's fish trade to southern Europe and the Mediterranean survives only in the records of two Jersey firms, Robin and Messrs. DeCarteret and LeVesconte.[6] For the era before Confederation, the account books and letters of very few farmers, professionals, shipbuilders, shipowners or tradesmen have survived. There is, except for Cape Breton, an abundance of account books kept by general stores, though none presents a coherent history of even a single such store or shop.

When even a small cache of mercantile records from the world of pre-Confederation Nova Scotia turns up, it is thus reason for celebration. Hence the need to focus attention on Kerr family papers found among documents filed as evidence in Nova Scotia's Court of Chancery. Especially interesting is a diary kept by Joseph Norman Bond Kerr in the first five months of 1822 at Parrsboro, recounting his efforts during winter to cut and haul timber, and then to mill it into boards for export to the West Indies in the spring.

Before trying to consider what the documents reveal, let us discover what we can about Joseph Norman Bond Kerr,[7] their principal subject. A member of the Loyalist ascendancy in Cumberland County, he owed his position to his father's prominence, himself adding little to the family's lustre. A figure of minor importance, Joseph Norman Bond was the seventh of eight sons of James Kerr, a native of Dumfriesshire, Scotland, who had served under Colonel John Graves Simcoe as a captain in the Queen's Rangers in the American War of Independence, "during which he was distinguished by repeated acts of bravery, and by the friendship and confidence of the highest officers in that service."[8] Kerr had been wounded at the battle of Brandywine Creek near Philadelphia in 1777, and surrendered along with the rest of the

5 Both in PANS, MG 3.

6 The Robin letter books for 1790-1858 are on microfilm at the PANS; those of the other firm, for 1825-61 are also at PANS, MG 3, vols. 5-9.

7 He was named after Joseph Norman Bond (1758-1830), a surgeon in the British Army and his father's wartime friend, who settled in Shelburne in 1783 but died in Yarmouth, where he had lived for many years. See Colin D. Howell, "Bond, Joseph Norman," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VI (1987), pp. 76-77.

8 From his obituary, *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 26 June 1830; he died at his son's home in Amherst on 9 June.

British army under Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. Paroled to New York City, he married Elizabeth Brown of New Brunswick, New Jersey, whose father was a cooper and whose mother had been born and raised in Martinique. After three years in Scotland the couple, along with their first child, settled in 1786 in Cornwallis Township, Nova Scotia, where he purchased land. Kerr, who became a justice of the peace and lieutenant-colonel of the county militia, made his living as a farmer and sawmill-owner. The recipient of land grants in New Brunswick and in Cornwallis township, as well of some 700 acres several miles to the west of Parrsboro village, at Fox River, not far from Ratchford River [Port Greville], Kerr eventually settled in what was then Kings County but has long been part of Cumberland County.[9]

About 1812 James Kerr moved with his younger children from Cornwallis township near Kentville to his Fox River property. Joseph, along with his brothers Daniel, the twins Ebenezer and Robert, David, then about two, and their sisters Catherine, Rachel, Ann and Elizabeth, accompanied his parents, and lived in Cumberland County for the rest of his life.[10] A substantial house was built, along with a barn and outbuildings, and the undulating terrain in this narrow valley was cultivated. It was poor soil, however, and no great reward could have been achieved. Overlooking the farm, and keeping out the sun until late in the day, were the heavily-forested hills which surrounded the settlement. If any wealth to be generated, it would come not from unrewarding tillage but from the forest. All the Parrsboro Shore Kerrs, if they managed to accumulate any new capital, did so as lumbermen.

Of Fox River no contemporary description survives, but of "Parrs-

9 Much of this information is in a letter which he wrote from Parrsborough, 23 May 1826, to "My much valued old friend," Nicholas P. Olding. Kerr noted that in December 1825 he had entered his seventy-second year: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 11. His wife Elizabeth was born 16 March 1767, either in New Jersey or possibly Martinique, whence her mother Margaret Rozelle [or Rosel] came. Mrs. Kerr died in Cornwallis, 14 April 1840, and was buried at Berwick. There were sixteen children, eight boys and eight girls. The eldest son, John, married a Saint John widow in 1812. Beginning as an auctioneer, by 1826 he was, according to his father, "in good credit and thriving circumstances." There survives in the Baker family fonds a series of John's letters to his youngest brother, Joseph, with a couple of replies from Joseph: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761.

10 Brother Thomas, the second eldest, as an ensign in the Newfoundland Corps, died after the battle of Freetown, Upper Canada, while serving under General Proctor, 22 January 1813. The third son, James junior, served for seven years in the Royal Navy, lost his health at New Orleans, and died on board ship, at Torbay in 1817: PANS, RG 20 "A", vol. 80. The youngest brother, David Shank, was born on 8 July 1810 in Cornwallis township and died in August 1886 in Saint John, N.B. D. S. Kerr, the most accomplished member of the family, was for many years prominent at the New Brunswick bar: *Dominion Annual Register...1886* (1887), pp. 275-76.

borough," as the township's name was originally spelled, an older and much more important settlement, a good deal is known. The village itself was still a rather primitive place when the Kerr family arrived. It boasted less than two dozen wood-framed houses and barns, all dominated by a blockhouse on one of the prominent hills which isolated the hamlet from the interior and held it close to the water's edge. The solitary church, also wood-framed, was built for the Church of England with funds from the province in 1787-90, and dedicated to St. George. It was rough indeed compared to either Windsor or Horton, 56 km and a six-hour sail across Minas Basin, to which it was linked by the biweekly ferry. The anchorage was protected somewhat by Partridge Island, which towered about 76 metres above the high-water mark. There were no wharves. The hamlet stretched along the rough road eastwards to Economy. An equally primitive road--no stage coach would attempt them for years--cut through the hills to Maccan and Amherst, from which a branch forked off westwards towards Fox River and Advocate Harbour.[11] Everywhere in the township there was a shortage of bridges. A frequent complaint voiced by those who lived on the Parrsboro Shore was that, as part of Kings County (until 1840), they had to attend court across the Basin. In the 1827 census the huge area of Parrsboro township showed a population of less than 1,700, which was nevertheless an increase of thirty per cent over 1822. Its agriculture was still in a primitive state throughout the 1820s, 3.7 cultivated acres per capita yielding 5.3 bushels of grain, 46.6 bushels of potatoes and 2 tons of hay. In all the township there were only 235 horses, 1,951 cattle, 2,423 sheep and 1,585 swine, which was well below the average for peninsular Nova Scotia.[12] T. C. Haliburton wrote,

> the land in this township is much broken and hilly, and the shore from Partridge Island to Advocate harbour, consists chiefly of a high rocky cliff, beyond which are lofty hills, but the soil on the summit as well as slopes of these produces all kinds of vegetables and grain.[13]

11 See "A New Map of Nova Scotia compiled from the latest Surveys...": frontispiece for Thomas C. Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova-Scotia...* (Halifax, 1829), 2 vols.

12 Details of the 1827 census were printed in the *Novascotian* (Halifax), 8 Oct. 1828.

13 Haliburton, *Nova-Scotia*, II, 124.

Two documentary art works survive of early Parrsboro. One was a sketch by Lieutenant H. Pooley,[14] ca. 1818-20, showing Partridge Island in the background and one small vessel at anchor offshore. The second, a charming miniature oil painted from the water by Alice Anne Jeffery, from which an uninspired lithograph was made and used as the frontispiece to Abraham Gesner's celebrated *Remarks on the Geology and Mineralogy of Nova Scotia*.[15] It shows a number of small craft and creates the impression of considerable activity. Together these works portray a tiny community of a few unpainted, but well-constructed houses, stores and barns set against nearby hills, denuded of forest cover, and where rail fences marked the boundaries of fields used for hay and pasture.

In time Joseph Norman Bond Kerr received, as a result of his political connections in western Cumberland County, a number of local patronage appointments. These may have been acquired through the influence of Alexander Stewart, member of the House of Assembly from 1826 to 1838, who acted as Kerr's counsel in the Chancery action, the details of which will be gone into below. In 1838, 1841 and 1848 Kerr was appointed a justice of the peace for the county.[16] In 1839 he was commissioned a lieutenant the county militia.[17] In 1842 he became a member of the Land Board for Cumberland,[18] while in 1846 and 1848 he was named to the county's Board of Health,[19] and in 1849 commissioner of pilots at Wallace.[20]

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14 Reproduced on the cover of the present issue of *NSHR*, it is in the William Inglis Morse Collection, Special Collections, Dalhousie University Library. The work was previously reproduced in Mary Sparling, *Great Expectations: The European Vision of Nova Scotia, 1749-1848* (Halifax, 1973), 59: plate 5-12.

15 (Halifax, 1836). The lithograph "Parrsboro' From the Water" was reproduced by Sparling, *Great Expectations*, 58: plate 5-10. The Jeffery painting is held by PANS.

16 On 2 June 1838: PANS, RG 1, vol. 175, p. 84; 31 Dec 1841: RG 1, vol. 175, p. 202; 20 Nov 1848: RG 1, vol. 214½, p. 190.

17 Promoted from the rank of 2nd lieutenant, 25 February 1838: PANS, RG 22, vol. 26, p. 101.

18 7 April 1842: PANS, RG 1, vol. 175, p. 223.

19 25 Mar. 1846: PANS, RG 1, vol. 175, p. 406; 12 Dec. 1848: RG 1, vol. 175, p. 539.

20 12 Sept. 1849: PANS, RG 1, vol. 175, p. 574.

In 1823 Kerr, portrayed by his father as a "sober, prudent man,"[21] entered the first of his three marriages. Described in a 1819 land petition as a "husbandman,"[22] and in his contract with Maynard in 1821 as a "yeoman," his first bride was Charlotte, the youngest daughter of magistrate Charles Baker of Amherst, who was a Virginia-born son of a Virginia planter and a Princeton University graduate.[23] As the Bakers were rather more prominent than the Kerrs, this would have been considered an advantageous marriage. Within a few months of his marriage to Charlotte, Kerr had been given a house and lot in Amherst by his new father-in-law. Land speculation became one of Joseph's enduring passions. He subsequently was involved, both as a purchaser and as a vendor, in many dozens of land transactions in Cumberland County.[24] The last of these occurred in 1864, which can be assumed to have been the year when he last conducted active business. These conveyances were concentrated in Wallace and Amherst, but several other purchases and sales occurred elsewhere in the county: River Philip, Nappan, Remsheg [Wallace] River, Pugwash, Leicester, Tidnish and Wentworth.

Besides speculating in land, Kerr operated as a merchant. When settled at the Minas Basin, he was still in agriculture[25] but is probably best described as a lumberman, primarily concerned with providing wood products for export to the West Indies. His skill was in the management of a sawmill, a skill

21 PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 11.

22 On 23 March 1819 he and his three brothers made oath before James Ratchford, J.P., that the facts contained in petition requesting 250 acres of land for each of them were true. The grant of land, lying to the east of Parrsboro and partly bordering the road leading from Partridge Island to Maccan, was made 14 Feb. 1821: PANS, RG 20 "A", vol. 80.

23 *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 6 Dec. 1823. Indications are that it was an affectionate relationship. Several of Charlotte's letters survive. One, dated 10 Mar. 1828, is addressed "My Dear Dear Joseph," which she wrote on hearing that he was ill: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, file 18. Another letter, dated 26 Oct. 1834, from Joseph to Charlotte in Amherst, is equally affectionate, and refers to his being "home sick": PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 42.

24 Cumberland County Deeds (PANS, mfm. reel 17,540). He also received a grant in 1846 of 500 acres of wilderness land on the East Branch of Wallace River, in 1847 of 100 acres on the Westchester Road, and finally in 1851 of another 100 acres on Wallace River: PANS, RG 20 "A", vols. 131, 132, 134.

25 In the 1819 land petition Kerr and his brothers all recited that they "have been generally engaged in the business of agriculture, and have never had a grant of land."

learned at a mill built and owned by his father. Kerr's father wrote of him in 1822, "I do certainly consider as one of the most ingenious and otherwise capable young men for the management of a saw mill there is in the Province."[26] By the early 1820s young Kerr had the reputation of milling more boards than anyone else who ever used the mills he leased. Before ceasing to trade to the West Indies, moreover, Kerr made at least two trips there himself: to St. Vincent's in 1822 and Nevis in 1823. In August 1822, investing the capital gained from the sale of his wood in St. Vincent's, and an order coming from New Brunswick, Joseph and his brother Robert, in partnership,

> commenced trading at Amherst...where there is little interference with them in a great extent of country. Most of their predecessors having failed from extravagance, perhaps fooling speculation [*sic?*] and almost unbounded credit. They run a considerable risk, but they are both extremely prudent, fully up to Major Ratchford in their advances, and not given to any species of extravagance.[27]

In November 1822 Kerr chartered the *Lark*, a schooner owned by Charles Nelson of Londonderry, to carry a cargo from Apple River to Demerara, and to return via Nevis. After his marriage in 1823 and move to Amherst and still later to Wallace, Kerr switched from the West Indies market to that of Liverpool. He himself made at least two business trips to England, one in the winter of 1839-40 to Liverpool, and the other in the winter of 1847-48 to London and Liverpool.[28] On the first occasion, Kerr had capital enough to purchase goods, which he shipped to his brother John in Saint John. He sold several cargoes, presumably of timber, deals and other wood products, and used the proceeds to make his import purchases. "He can get what credit he wants at home [in England]," Kerr's brother boasted, "but will not go in

26 Letter to J.W. Maynard, Parrsboro, 30 Dec. 1822: PANS, RG 36, Misc. box 1 [Kerr].

27 *Ibid.* James Ratchford (1763-1836), collector of customs, registrar of deeds, postmaster, magistrate, etc., is considered to have been the founder of Parrsboro.

28 For details about the second English trip, see his agent's letter J.A. Chipman to J.N.B. Kerr, Amherst, 14 Nov. 1847: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 117. There are also many letters, from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, England and Scotland, addressed to his lodgings in London and Liverpool in 1847-48: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761.

debt."[29] It was a bad time for large investments, the great depression of the 1840s being in full swing. By September 1841 John reported to Joseph from New Brunswick,

> The Ratchfords have gone down and it is a very bad failure. We lose a great deal by them. Indeed our loss has been considerable by all who have failed this season, and they are tumbling fast. It is horrid bad times here. I never knew them as distressing. Money is not to be had. All confidence is lost in the Banks and out of the Banks, and times will be no better till lumber and ships pay better at Home."[30]

Initially Joseph N. B. Kerr had been in business with his elder brother, Robert, who also stayed in Cumberland County, and they kept a store at Wallace.[31] Nothing is known, however, of the extent of the business which they jointly conducted. There is extant one case in the Supreme Court of Halifax for 1825-26, where the two brothers initiated an action against an Amherst surgeon, John Carritt, who was then imprisoned by the sheriff for debt. The Kerrs were owed £244.10.6 [Halifax currency], for which they had Carritt's bond, dated at Halifax 30 December 1825. The plaintiffs were awarded the sum of the debt plus costs, bringing the total to £249.[32] We know that the Kerr brothers' affairs had advanced sufficiently to permit a joint venture in building a vessel, which in August 1829 Robert reported was

29 John Kerr to Charlotte Kerr, Saint John, N.B., 24 Apr. 1840: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 59.

30 John Kerr to J.N.B. Kerr, Esq., Saint John, 28 Sept. 1841: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 64.

31 A waste book (i.e., daybook) of Joseph and Robert Kerr, Amherst, 1824-1826, is in PANS, MG 3, vol. 374. Robert married Jane Kelt of Amherst on 4 Oct. 1826. *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 21 Oct. 1836. He died by drowning after falling off Wallace bridge on 7 Sept. 1834: *Halifax Journal*, 15 Sept. 1834. He was buried in the Methodist cemetery at Wallace. According to genealogist, D.R. Lock, the Wallace bridge had a draw in the middle some eight feet narrower than the rest of the bridge; not long after it was erected, Robert, forgetting himself while attempting to cross the bridge, stepped into the gap on one side and fell into the river. See "Loyalist Families in New Brunswick," Saint John Regional Library, 173. (information from A.D. Gates). On 15 Feb. 1832 the *Novascotian* (Halifax) reported that Alexander Stewart, MHA had tabled in the Assemby, together with a request for a provincial grant, a survey, plan and estimate for a bridge at Wallace—a local subsription having been raised. An earlier reference is found in the same newspaper under date 31 Mar. 1830.

32 PANS, RG 39 "C" (HX), box 171: 1826, *Kerr* v. *Carritt*.

"nearly ready to launch."[33] When in 1834 Robert drowned after falling from the bridge over the Wallace river, Joseph thereafter operated without partners.

At that time, Wallace was a place of even less significance than Parrsboro. According to the 1827 census the entire township had a population of but 1,211, 4.1 cultivated acres per capita, yielding 7 bushels of grain, 32.5 bushels of potatoes and 1.6 tons of hay, only 198 horses, 1,372 horned cattle, 2,003 sheep and 931 swine scattered on the tiny, primitive farms then characteristic of the township.[34]

As few of Kerr's business records have survived, scholars are dependent on scattered bits of evidence to construct some idea of his business affairs. For instance, in 1844 he petitioned the House of Assembly for compensation for the expense he had incurred in rebuilding and repairing an extensive sawmill, dam, a "superior" grist mill with three pairs of stones, and a stone kiln, all of which had been swept away in a "heavy ice freshet" in 1840.[35] The House was deaf to his pleas. Yet the ownership of such a concatenation of buildings indicated a man of some capital, and marked him off as perhaps the largest merchant in Wallace. His home there was known as Woody Bank Cottage.[36] The mill site was just down from where the modern Kerr Bridge spans the Wallace River. A mill, which continued in operation as late as 1920, has nevertheless long since vanished,[37] while his name survives in Kerr's Mill Road on the east bank of the Wallace River.

Part of the motive underlying Kerr's second trip to England in 1847 was to discover whether there was a market in England for railway sleepers, cut and

33 From Robert Kerr's testimony, given at the hearing of witnesses, Partridge Island, 31 Aug. 1829: PANS, RG 36 "A", case file 735.

34 The details were published in the *Novascotian* (Halifax), 6 Nov. 1828.

35 1844: PANS, RG 53 "P", vol. 3, doc. 3.

36 It is thus spoken of in the report of his daughters' marriages: *New Brunswick Courier* (Saint John), 17 Nov. 1849.

37 On 19 August 1992, the present owner, Dr. Bidwell, an emeritus Professor of Biology at Queen's University, very kindly walked me over the site and shared with me what he knew of the place. He and his wife have located the foundations of seventeen buildings, two of the original six grindstones and a gravestone dating from 1832.

shipped from Nova Scotia.[38] From another source we learn that in the spring of 1848, Kerr committed himself to six cargoes of such sleepers (in vessels of 300 to 400 tons each) to be delivered at Wallace and Pugwash after the month of June. They were to be dressed to 10" in diameter and nine feet in length, or sawn in a mill to 10 inches and then split through the middle.[39] It was a chance for Kerr to recoup part of his diminished wealth--if a letter in 1847 from one of his debtors in North Shields, England, be an accurate source. In response to Kerr's attempt to call in a debt, the debtor replied with well-worn phrases:

> I am truly sorry to hear you have been so unfortunate in money matters and equally sorry to say that at the present moment it is completely out of my power to accom[m]odate you, but trust, ere long to get turned round and matters put straight, when you shall hear from me. I have been a great sufferer in this commercial storm.[40]

The documentation for the business life of Joseph Norman Bond Kerr runs out in 1848.

Joseph N. B. Kerr married three times. Upon Charlotte's much lamented death in 1845,[41] when he was described as "Esq.," he remarried in 1847. As his second wife, he chose a local Wallace girl, Isabella, the nineteen-year-old daughter of Donald McFarlane and Helen McNab.[42] After her death at age thirty-six in 1854, a year later he married Sarah Ann Baker, a woman much older than Isabella and well child-bearing age and who in fact was the niece

38 See letter from Messrs Stone & Man to J.N.B. Kerr, 8 Jan. 1848, at 8 Fenchurch Buildings, London: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 123.

39 J.N.B. Kerr to Messrs Stone & Man, London, 14 Jan 1848: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2671, doc. 124.

40 Messrs Christopher & Jordeson, of 8 Walker Place, North Shields, to J.N.B. Kerr, 28 Dec 1847, Commercial Road, London: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 120.

41 Born on 21 Mar. 1794, she died in her fifty-first year on 2 Feb. 1845 at Wallace, though interment took place in Amherst, "the burying place of her family": obituary in *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 1 Mar. 1845; accompanied by poem lamenting her passing, and *Halifax Morning Post*, 25 Feb. 1834.

42 Details are found in A.D. Gates, "Notes on James Kerr (1754-1830) and His Family in Cornwallis and Parrsboro, N.S." (1989): PANS, MG 50, box 1, file 1. Isabella McFarlane was buried at Wallace. One of her brothers, Alexander, subsequently became a Canadian senator.

of his first wife. Kerr, who died in 1872, was almost twenty-eight years in his grave, when his third wife died at the advanced age of ninety-two, in April 1900.

Kerr and Charlotte Baker had five children: Ann Elizabeth (1825-1893), many of whose letters from age thirteen onwards survive,[43] Charlotte Amelia (b. 1828),[44] Mary (1829-1861);[45] James (b. 1831)[46] and Charles Edward (1833-1908).[47] Three children survived from the second marriage: Helen Fraser (b. 1851),[48] Harvey Daniel McFarlane (d. after 1908), and Isabelle Mitchell (d. ca. 1890).[49] None seems ever to have been involved with Joseph N. B. Kerr in his business, which died with him.

The fortunate survival, among the records of the Court of Chancery, of a number of documents which had been exhibited as evidence in a case involving Joseph N.B. Kerr as a young man starting out in business, allows us a rare glimpse behind the unsatisfactory trade statistics, into Nova Scotia's

43 There is a particularly charming letter to her grandmother Baker, in which she asks to borrow her French dictionary, 22 Oct. 1837: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 46. Ann Elizabeth was married to William B. Oxley on 8 Nov. 1849.

44 Accompanied by her sister Ann Elizabeth, in 1839 she went to complete her education in the household of her uncle, John Kerr, in Saint John, and became the favourite of his wife. Charlotte and her sister lived several years there, apparently never having occasion to visit their parents and siblings at either Amherst or Wallace. Charlotte married H.G. Pineo of Pugwash on 29 May 1851: *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 31 May 1851, and *Novascotian* (Halifax), 2 June 1851.

45 After her mother's death in 1845, when Mary was about fifteen, she was sent to complete her education in the household of her uncle, lawyer David S. Kerr and his wife in Fredericton. She was married, to Amos Botsford Chandler, at Wallace in a joint ceremony with her sister, Ann Elizabeth, 8 Nov. 1849: *Novascotian* (Halifax), 19 Nov. 1849. She died 28 Aug. 1861, aged thirty-one at Richibucto, N.B.

46 There are a few extant letters of his son, James Joseph, from Fredericton, where he studied law—doubtless with his uncle, D.S. Kerr; he was admitted an attorney in 1852, but apparently never called to the bar in either New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. One of these letters expresses James's relief at his father's and stepmother's safe arrival in England in 1847: James Kerr to J.N.B. Kerr, Fredericton, 19 Jan. 1848: PANS, MG 1, vol. 2761, doc. 125.

47 He married Elizabeth L. Morris (1846-1895), and died on 13 April 1908, aged seventy-five.

48 She married John K. Hannay on 29 Apr. 1871 at Carleton, N.B.

49 Gates, *supra*, note 42, 9-10. Kerr died at Amherst on 18 Aug. 1872, aged seventy-five, and was interred in the Old Burying Ground, West Amherst.

lumber exports to the Caribbean and imports of sugar products.[50] The ingenuity, the toil, the ever-present disappointments and difficulties, highlight the conduct of business in that risky world. It was hardly unique, yet it is rarely documented; hence the special interest of the small volume of papers which survive.

In January 1826 Joseph N. B. Kerr, then aged about twenty-seven, felt obliged to file suit in Chancery against Josiah Webb Maynard, planter and merchant on the Leeward Island of Nevis in the British West Indies.[51] The argument went back to November 1821, when Kerr rented Maynard's sawmill on Ratchford's River, through Maynard's agents, Edward Thompson Sinclair and William Spratt, for a period of nine months.[52] Through William Spratt, who described himself in August 1817 as "a Native of Ireland and has lately come to this Province from the Island of Nevis as agent" for Maynard, a long, narrow 1,000-acre grant was acquired by Maynard at Fox River.[53]

Spratt indicated that he planned to emigrate from Nevis to Parrsboro in the spring of 1818. He wished to erect a sawmill on Maynard's grant, and so applied in August 1818 for a licence to occupy another 137 acres adjoining the granted lands as a suitable mill site, in order to construct the necessary roads as well as a dam to raise the water into a pond to drive the wheel. This important addition was surveyed in the spring of 1818. The surveyor-general, Charles Morris III, recommended to Maynard, who was then in Halifax, that he should also apply to the lieutenant-governor for permission to cut the timber on another adjoining lot, which had been reserved as glebe land as well as for the support of a school--all containing about 467 acres.

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50 PANS, RG 36, Misc. box 1 [Kerr]. The Court of Chancery records were reorganized in 1989, and have been the subject of two recent articles: Barry Cahill, "*Bleak House* Revisited: The Records and Papers of the Court of Chancery of Nova Scotia, 1751-1855," *Archivaria* 29 (Winter 1989-90), 149-167; Jim Cruickshank, "The Chancery Court of Nova Scotia: Jurisdiction and Procedure, 1751-1855," *Dalhousie Journal of Legal Studies* 1 (Spring 1992), 27-48.

51 Little enough is known about Maynard. He was an appointed member of the Executive Council of Nevis, and hence was styled the Honourable J.W. Maynard.

52 The details are largely derived from a deposition laid before the Court of Chancery of Nova Scotia: PANS, RG 36 "A", case file 735; see also PANS, RG 20 "A", vol. 68 (Spratt) and RG 20 "A", vol. 100 [Maynard).

53 See Spratt's petition to Dalhousie, Parrsboro, 6 Aug. 1817.

Several witnesses later described Kerr at that time as being "well acquainted with the business of attending a saw mill."[54] Kerr, in 1821, had worked a sawmill owned by Isaac Lamb since 1815; "more lumber was made that spring by him" than had occurred during his ownership of the sawmill. Kerr also noted that two men with two yoke of oxen could haul twenty to twenty-five logs a day. The agreement called for Maynard to furnish the mill in good repair and to provide feed for a yoke of oxen during the whole period of the lease. The partners, for their part were to find and supply the oxen to haul to the mill logs and timber sufficient to keep the mill fully employed. The purpose was to cut boards suitable for the Nevis market to the advantage of Maynard and Kerr, each to share equally in the profits. Sinclair--on Maynard's behalf--and Kerr had also agreed to ship to Nevis on their own accounts the lumber owned and already cut into boards by Kerr, chartering the first suitable schooner for the voyage, debiting the joint account of Kerr and Maynard, the proceeds to be shipped in the form of sugar and rum and other Caribbean produce. There was one other proviso: the deal would be concluded only if four puncheons of rum and four hogsheads of molasses, owned by Maynard, but then being held by James Ratchford at Parrsboro, were delivered to Kerr as partial payment for the boards.

William Spratt, Maynard's regular Parrsboro agent, had first introduced Kerr to Sinclair because of the former's skill and experience at sawmilling. Sinclair, when learning of the lease, suggested that the agreement was not sufficiently definite and instead he suggested drafting a formal contract:

> The Honble J.W. Maynard lets the use of his saw mill on Ratchford River with a sufficient team to haul in logs to the said mill to keep her in constant employment during a sufficiency of water, to furnish such saws and files as may be necessary and to make such repairs from time to time as may be necessary, excepting from the negligence of the said Joseph Kerr. The cattle now on the farm to be employed unless some unforeseen accident occurs, finding them with hay under the management of the said Joseph Kerr for the term of nine months from the date hereof.
>
> In consideration of the above advantages the Honble. J.W. Maynard to have one half of whatever logs are cut at the said mill, and to have the preference in purchasing the other half at the Parrsborough current price, payable in West India produce at the Halifax price, if landed at the usual port of

54 The witnesses were William Braley, a very experienced Alexander Fullerton, Isaac and John Lamb--both of whom claimed in 1829 to have known Joseph Kerr for nearly twenty years--and finally William Spratt: PANS, RG 36 "A", case file 735.

> entry in Shepperday an additional charge of $3 on each puncheon of spirits and other produce in proportion. No part of the lumber to be removed from said river within the above period without mutual consent.
>
> If at the expiration of the period there should not be a new agreement, whatever logs may remain unsawed that have been cut and hauled by the said Joseph Kerr, when cut by any other sawyer, Joseph Kerr to have one third of the lumber. If a new bargain one half as above.
>
> It is further agreed that in the event of a vessel being sent here this fall by Captain Sinclair for a load of lumber, if there should not be sufficient lumber at Ratchford's River belonging to Mr. Maynard, Joseph Kerr engages to furnish her loading without any unnecessary delay to be paid on the return of the vessel in West India produce as above stated. Boards at $8 per thousand, and staves at the same price as sold last year to wit £3 [Halifax currency] per thousand.[55]

The agreement was signed at Parrsboro on 1 November 1821, James and Daniel Kerr witnessing Kerr's and Spratt's signatures.

Complications began almost immediately. When Kerr tried to get his hands on the rum and molasses, Ratchford, by claiming that Maynard was in his debt, insisted on keeping the goods to be used as security to pay off this debt. As he was then by his own description "a young man and possessed of but little capital,"[56] Kerr was materially hurt by the position in which Maynard had placed him. Had he been able to acquire the rum at wholesale prices and sell at retail, he could immediately have realized a profit, which several witnesses later suggested would have been in the order of 100 per cent. Nevertheless, in December Kerr loaded the half-full schooner *Ocean* with a cargo of lumber, which entirely belonged to him, and none of which had been sawn at Maynard's mill.

When finally Kerr began to work the mill he found it in poor repair, and lost a great deal of time having to summon Spratt to repair it. As James Kerr, Sr. later explained to Maynard,

> A heavy freshet had carried away the floor that had not been properly constructed, or secured when my countrymen were there, and had gullied away the foundation on one side of the mill, causing it to lean over.

Jacking up the building some 61 cm, reconstructing the damaged foundation

55 *Ibid.*

56 *Ibid.*

and making a new saw-frame were all tasks which Kerr undertook without compensation from Spratt, before he could get on with felling trees. Uncovered for the most part and exposed to the elements, the sawmill was now properly framed for the first time. Its most glaring defect was the ineffectiveness of the saw-gate. There was too little control over the amount of water which was allowed through, setting the saw moving at an unproductively excessive rate. The leaking saw-gate also determined that the water level of the millpond in the summer's dry season was never as it was intended to be. Again the problem related to the original construction, which Spratt had overseen. In the end Kerr himself was put to considerable expense having the saw-gate repaired. When the saw broke, while John Mahoney was operating it for Kerr, the cause, according to Edom Lamb, was not negligence but excessive water getting through the mill-gate. The saw had originally been a good one, but its replacement "was not so good."

Moreover, despite the terms of the contract, there was a severe shortage of hay, owing in part to an "unusual deficiency"[57] in the 1821 crop. This proved to be a far greater obstacle than the deficiencies of the sawmill. When Edom Lamb, who worked with Kerr at the mill, was asked about this he was very specific: the oxen, which Spratt provided, were "very poor and [there was] no hay to feed them but a small quantity of poor salt hay." John Mahoney, who lodged at Spratt's, said as much, while Lamb, who was hired in April and was a good teamster, one day when yoking the oxen, "had to turn them out, they being too weak to work." Mahoney estimated that Spratt's farm had raised no more than two tons of hay in 1821, while it would normally take between ten and twelve tons of "good English hay" to feed two yoke of working oxen through the winter and spring. Kerr described them as becoming "weak and ultimately unable to perform the necessary work of hauling logs and timber to be sawn."[58] Again it was a matter of Spratt's poor management. He wholly failed to provide the hay needed for the oxen, if they were to work continually and haul logs both into the pond and out of it to the mill. In November Kerr had been given the chance to buy five tons of good hay from Robert Salter, a farmer residing only five miles distant from the mill site. Instead of providing payment at once for this essential commodity,

57 James Kerr to J.W. Maynard, 30 Dec. 1822, PANS, RG 36, Misc. box 1 (Kerr).

58 *Ibid.*

however, Kerr tried to bargain for better terms, and thereby lost the deal. Later Salter sold him only 12 hundredweight (about 607 kilograms). Kerr told Maynard the first time he wrote to him, in December 1821, "The cattle are very thin in flesh at present, and a very dull prospect of getting any [hay] about."[59] Most witnesses believed that two yoke of oxen, in good condition and properly fed, could haul between twenty and twenty-five logs a day to the pond or mill. Had this been Kerr's situation, he would have had no difficulty in sawing 100,000 board feet by early May, as he had originally hoped.[60]

It must be clearly understood that the oxen, which were so central to this industry, resembled in no way the oxen of today. Nor did they resemble those fat beasts to which the Halifax newspapers occasionally referred with pride, when their weight was noised about town by both the butcher and the farmer who had raised them. Instead these were beasts which at six or seven years of age had reached no more than 400 or 500 lbs. In stature they much more resembled a modern dairy calf, though far less well-made and filled out, at six months, and possessing a great pair of horns. These were tiny beasts of burden, capable of pulling logs only when there was a light covering of snow or frost to ease their passage. Consuming two and one-half tons of hay each, every winter and spring, over perhaps 210 days, as these animals did, was the equivalent in weight of half a modern bale of hay per day--about all one would expect a modern calf to consume, if one ignores the grain supplements which a modern calf receives.

Spratt's failure as a manager of Maynard's affairs is nowhere more obvious than in the matter of hay. His neglect suggests both a man of very little experience as a husbandman, and perhaps one faced with an impossible situation created by Maynard's way of doing business. Maynard wanted wood products in Nevis, and in order to produce them had established a sawmill. To make it work he had to operate it himself, through a properly trained and suitably motivated employee--an unlikely situation as he was absent in distant Nevis. Clearly Spratt, who lacked all the necessary qualifications, was not ready to play that role. Instead Maynard needed a lessee who was unafraid of hard work and familiar with the simple mechanics

59 J.N.B. Kerr to J.W. Maynard, Parrsboro, 11 Dec. 1822: PANS, RG 36 "A", case file 735.

60 Kerr to Maynard, Parrsboro, 11 Dec. 1821: PANS, RG 36 "A", case file 735.

of the mill works, and who had ready access to oxen. Kerr lacked only the last element. His father owned at least one yoke of oxen, and perhaps two, but they were normally fully employed on James Kerr's land. All Spratt had to find was a fit and ready yoke and an adequate supply of feed for them. He failed on both scores, partly because he may have been a poor business man, and few people trusted his word, or--more simply--because his mentor, Josiah Maynard, was unable to provide his Parrsboro agent with the necessary funds to purchase or hire the oxen, or acquire the necessary forage. To deal for hay in December was a fool's game, for the price, as the behaviour of the Halifax hay market indicates, tended to be highest then and to remain so until May. During the Christmas week of 1821, in the face of Spratt's failure, and in an attempt to rescue his own project, Kerr managed to buy 5,000 lbs. of hay across Minas Basin "at great personal risk and loss of his time" to repair to Horton to procure hay." The cost for the hay and the hiring of a small vessel in Cornwallis in order to freight the hay came to using 8,000 feet of lumber as payment in kind. He had to hire the boat at a cost of £8.18s. [Halifax currency] ($35.67). At $15.85 a ton, moreover, Kerr's purchase was the most expensive hay anywhere recorded in any part of Nova Scotia in the century between 1770 and 1870!

The incident was a measure both of Kerr's determination to make a success of his operation and of Spratt's gross incompetence as a manager. According to Kerr's diary, this dearly-bought hay lasted only until early February. Thereafter, he was able to purchase only 900 lbs. (on 9 February), and another 2,400 lbs. (on 4 March), altogether less than 3½ tons, or far less than was needed. A second attempt in late April to buy more hay in Horton failed. By 29 April Kerr was dolefully scribbling, "the oxen fallen away dangerously from having no hay these several days." The rush to find feed had ended in failure. Spratt's contribution was confined to storing in Maynard's barn what hay Kerr had purchased, hauling it to the work site for the oxen on 17-18 and 30 January and again on 6-9 February, and going to fetch a replacement yoke of oxen at Advocate Harbour at the beginning of May--too late to be of much use to Kerr.

How much lumber was produced under these very difficult circumstances? Kerr's work diary makes specific reference to hauling 243 logs, and cutting 171 logs and sawing 20,471 feet of boards. The bill of lading for the *Ocean* indicates that 39,127 feet of boards were shipped, together with 10,945 feet of scantling (a total of 50,072 feet), 3,904 feet of ranging timber, probably 12" square, 266 feet of hardwood and 4,000 staves for barrels. Edom Lamb

remembered the figure as between 37,000 and 38,000 feet of lumber, or some 20,000 to 25,000 less than the vessel could have carried, so that additional cargo had to be purchased by Kerr. Kerr bought the staves from his brother, Ebenezer. Between 2,500 and 3,000 feet of lumber, moreover, were also purchased from Robert Kerr in order to make up the cargo, and were rafted down from a mill owned by Benjamin Morris, where they had been sawn. The account-book of the late Daniel Kerr, another brother, who, as his father noted, "when well enough to attend to business is very correct,"[61] in 1829 used his account-book to inform the arbitrator that 49,483 feet of boards had been loaded. Other witnesses estimated that with two men and two yoke of oxen, between 1,200 or 1,500 and 2,000 logs should have been cut in nine months, 1,000 feet of square-edged boards being manufactured from every five, six or seven logs. William Dow claimed to have cut only ninety of the 1,000 logs for which he had contracted with Kerr. Robert Kerr thought his brother should have cut 166,000 feet of boards, if the cattle had been fit and the mill in good order. Mahoney thought 150,000 feet a reasonable expectation for the mill concerned. Many trees had been felled by Kerr. and the logs trimmed and cut to size which, nevertheless, owing to the weak oxen, were left in the forest. John Lamb, a friend and admirer of Kerr's, thought about 250, while John Mahoney, who had no reason to exaggerate, estimated 150 logs, which he hauled out after Kerr's lease expired. Besides this, Mahoney had asked John Pettis, the local surveyor of lumber, to measure the lumber at the mill site itself--left there when Kerr sailed in the *Ocean* for the Caribbean--and Pettis estimated the extent at 4,400 feet of merchantable lumber. It seems clear that less than 60,000 feet of boards were milled, when, at the lowest estimate of production--that is, 1,200 logs @ 7 logs per 1,000 feet of square-edged boards--between 166,000 and 171,000 feet should have been cut. It was a grave loss and serious disappointment to Kerr, from which no redress was possible.

Greater still was Kerr's disappointment, after all his exertions that winter, to find the schooner *Ocean* arriving in April 1822 from the Caribbean without any goods in exchange for the lumber which he had exported the previous November. His father later explained this to Maynard in the

61 James Kerr to J.W. Maynard, 30 Dec. 1822, PANS, RG 36, Misc. box 1 (Kerr).

following words:

> The boys having no property but the fruit of hard industry were much disappointed and ashamed before the neighbours, who crowded down to the schooner at her bringing no kind of return for him, tho' payment had been made for the articles shipped by Capt. Sinclair. Joseph particularly so, having made several engagements for produce on her return, which he could not answer; and still more at your not giving them any information at what rate you had sold their lumber.[62]

Maynard refused to ratify the terms of the agreement which Kerr had made with Spratt on Maynard's behalf, so that Kerr was obliged at length to seek recourse from the Court of Chancery.

Joseph consulted his brothers, and with their advice and the moral support of his father, decided not to consign the new cargo of wood products, which had cost him so much pain, to Maynard in Nevis. Instead he chartered the *Ocean* to sail for St. Vincent's, because of the better prices for lumber which he believed could be obtained there. The *Ocean*, with Kerr on board, sailed from Ratchford [Greville] River towards the end of May 1822, enduring a rough passage in which the main and mizzen topmast were sprung. The cargo sold well and a return cargo of rum and molasses was taken on board. The vessel then made for Nevis but, as Kerr wrote to his father when he reached Campo Bello in August,

> we got within sight of Nevis, and that was as far to the windward as we could...This with the mast so weak and a strong lee current going, we could not carry sail to fetch it, and concluded it was useless to attempt it. So I had to put up with aggravation of having undone the business I went so far to do.

Furthermore, in August 1823, Kerr, having chartered a vessel with a cargo of lumber for the Antigua market, went himself as crew in order to secure a return cargo in payment for the lumber which he had shipped to Maynard at Nevis in 1821. There Maynard at last informed him that the net sum owed him was only $652 (£163 [Halifax currency]). Kerr was astounded; although he believed that he had been robbed by Maynard, he was anxious to clear the account and take back to Nova Scotia the equivalent in Nevis goods. Maynard somehow managed to talk Kerr out of this obviously sensible plan. Maynard, by supplying false information to this relative neophyte, convinced

62 James Kerr to J.W. Maynard, 30 Dec. 1822: PANS, RG 36, Misc. box 1 (Kerr).

Kerr that the Nevis port charges for breaking cargo were so exorbitant that there was a better deal available to him. Maynard instead suggested that Kerr return to Nova Scotia and hire a vessel to ship to Nevis a cargo of lumber owned by Maynard at Ratchford's river. Maynard promised to settle his account with Kerr when that vessel returned to Parrsboro. Maynard also told Kerr that he had sent, in the spring of 1822, in the *Ocean* (under Captain Sinclair), to Passamaquoddy, a cargo of eleven puncheons of rum, two hogsheads of cotton wool, one puncheon of old iron and ninety-three barrels of salt. Now Maynard induced Kerr to leave Nevis without payment, and instead "take an order for the proceeds thereof" on Edward Sinclair (the son of Captain Edward Thompson Sinclair) and his mate, John Snell, who held these goods in their warehouse on Grand Manan, to which they had recently immigrated from Plymouth. In this way roundabout and dilatory manner, Kerr could be paid in 1824 for his 1821 cargo of lumber. When he reached Grand Manan, however, Kerr found that the partnership of Sinclair and Snell had gone under, and there were no goods to be found.

There matters rested between Kerr and Maynard, until in July or August 1825 Kerr learned that Maynard had arrived in Halifax and had later gone to Parrsboro. Kerr went immediately to Halifax to ask for a just accounting of the 1821 cargo of lumber, and to demand payment of what was owed. When Maynard refused, Kerr asked for a meeting in order to appoint arbitrators to decide the matter between them, to which Maynard relied that those best informed as to the circumstances of their dispute resided at Parrsboro, where he agreed to meet Kerr in April after having spent the winter in Halifax. When nothing came of this exchange of letters, Kerr briefed his Amherst solicitor, Alexander Stewart,[63] who in turned had to employ the Halifax solicitor, Charles Twining. A lengthy complaint was submitted to the Court of Chancery, where it was filed on 14 April 1826.

Maynard was subpoenaed by the Court of Chancery. In his reply to the complaint, which was prepared by his solicitor, James W. Johnston, Maynard

63 See J. Murray Beck, "Stewart, Alexander", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IX (1974), 746-48. Stewart was first elected to the House of Assembly in 1826, and was appointed in 1838 to the Legislative Council, and in 1840 to the Executive Council. Six years later he himself became Master of the Rolls in Chancery. In politics Stewart acquired a reputation as a formidable debater, as he had been an energetic defender of his clients' interests. David Shank Kerr, Joseph's youngest brother, who described himself in 1833 as a student--law, articled in Stewart's Amherst law office. See PANS, RG 36 "A", case file 735. Stewart, who had been called to the New Brunswick bar in 1824, also maintained an extensive legal practice in neighbouring Westmorland County, N.B. (I am grateful to Dr. Brian Cuthbertson for this last piece of information.)

made as detailed a statement as possible. He identified himself as a proprietor of an estate in Nevis "for some years before" 1821 and ever since, not a merchant, as alleged by Kerr. Maynard stated in his reply,

> The said defendent saith that he was not and never had been a Merchant...and had no Compting House, nor kept any Clerk, merchantile Books or Establishment of any description, nor had he ever previously the disposition of any vessel's cargoes with the exception of, he thinks, two which were partly composed of the proceeds of his own [sugar] mill, and which (after he had taken what he wanted for his own use) he put into the hands of a Merchant for sale.[64]

Why Maynard made such a palaver over this is not clear. Several of the witnesses were asked direct questions about what they considered to be his status, and each responded that they thought Maynard a merchant. His Nevis estate was distant from the port where the *Ocean* discharged her cargo, and was, moreover, a place which he did not frequent. Maynard also owned a large tract of land "on and adjacent to Ratchford's River in the district of Parrsborough in King's County," on which he had made "expensive improvements by clearing and establishing a farm and erecting a saw mill on the said river." William Spratt, Maynard's hapless agent, now occupied the farm. In Nevis in 1821 Maynard met Edward Thompson Sinclair, a Plymouth (England) shipmaster who was, then considering settling permanently in British North America. Learning that he was sailing to the Bay of Fundy, Maynard asked Sinclair to ascertain the state of his Parrsboro property, and to procure a vessel to transport the lumber from his sawmill to Nevis. Sinclair thereupon set about making arrangements for the effective and steady use of the sawmill and for the regular export of lumber to Nevis. Sinclair was also to export a small quantity of fish on a regular basis, along with staves and shingles for the purpose of "small stowage." Sinclair was given a small quantity of West India produce to sell in North America "to assist him" with these plans. For his trouble, Sinclair was to be allowed $1 for every 1,000 feet of lumber shipped.

In January 1822 the schooner *Ocean* (Sylvanus Ricker) arrived in Nevis with a cargo of 7 casks of dried fish, 40,000 shingles, 33 bundles of hogshead staves (i.e., 3,000 hogsheads staves) and one barrel of tar--all shipped by Sinclair from St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, as well as 37,000 feet of boards,

64 PANS, RG 36 "A", case file 735.

3,900 feet of scantling, 6,013 feet of timber, 666 feet of hardwood and some very poor-quality staves--shipped by Kerr from Parrsboro. The cargo was unloaded, according to Maynard, by "his own negroes...instead of going to the expense of employing porters, as the merchants are in the habit of doing." This was to have been the first of three voyages which the *Ocean* was to make on behalf of Maynard from the Bay of Fundy. The return cargo, consigned to Sinclair, had been unloaded at St. Andrew's, and thus Kerr's portion had not been sent on to Parrsboro.

On the *Ocean*'s second voyage, Kerr loaded lumber while Spratt consigned to Maynard "a box of valuable carpenter's and blacksmith's tools," which Maynard in his ignorance accused Kerr of having stolen. Spratt later explained that they had been consigned to the Rickers; when the *Ocean* failed to reach Nevis, the tools had been delivered into the care of Messrs. Jones and Sinclair at Passamaquoddy, and had been sold at auction as constituting part of the goods belonging to them when the partnership folded. Kerr was also wrongly accused by Maynard of having failed to deliver his letters from Spratt, when in fact Spratt had consigned them to the captain. That the letters failed to be delivered was clearly not Kerr's responsibility. Without these letters, however, Maynard had no idea of the fate which had overtaken his cargo shipped to St. Andrew's, for which Maynard, owing to the insolvency of Messrs. Snell & Sinclair, claimed to have received nothing. At that point, on Maynard's direction, Leslie Moffat of Halifax, wrote to Kerr enquiring about Maynard's second shipment; Kerr, if he ever received the letter--no one else ever mentioned it, while Maynard, who later was keen to corroborate every proposition, did nothing to secure Moffat's testimony--did not answer it. It was not until the summer of 1823 that Kerr finally showed up in Nevis, in a failed attempt to secure payment. That same year Maynard sent a merchant's clerk, one John Brown, from Nevis to Parrsboro to try and settle his accounts with Kerr, as Maynard had come to believe that either Kerr was in *his* debt or that certainly he owed Kerr nothing. Two or three separate appointments apparently were made, but though the two finally met no business was undertaken. Kerr by this time had moved to Amherst, a distance of 70 km, and there his records were kept.

Although the original bill in Chancery was filed in April 1826, a year later Maynard's solicitor, James W. Johnston, had not even bothered to respond to the court's subpoena. Despite the fact that Maynard's solicitor submitted in May 1827 what can fairly be described as a pathetically weak defence of his

position, there was no speedy resolution to the case. In February 1828 Kerr's solicitor pressed the court to conduct interrogatories. Not until August 1829 were witnesses first interviewed, however, and a second round of interrogatories only took place at Economy in March 1831.

The written evidence of the more than thirty witnesses--viva voce testimony was not admissible in Chancery--several of them appearing more than once, and filling more than sixty manuscript pages, provides a richly-layered picture of the Fox River district in 1821, 1822 and 1823. What emerges is a series of snapshots of this frontier community. Of course, scholars can only speculate about the witnesses' motives. Clearly there were at least three subgroups interacting throughout: those who favoured the respondent Maynard, those who favoured the complainant Kerr, and those unaligned who were merely drawn into the lawsuit and who accepted the ordeal, since their costs were being paid and a small fee offered for their giving evidence. What reason had witnesses to take sides? Maynard retained an interest in Parrsboro township, where he spent money, but was otherwise little known by the denizens, for his home was in far distant Nevis; on the few occasions when he visited Nova Scotia, moreover, he almost invariably confined himself to Halifax. Nevertheless, by retaining an interest in his Parrsboro property, and continuing to spend money in the district, Maynard ensured that there was no compelling reason for the locals to alienate such an important plantocrat. As William Spratt, Maynard's incompetent steward, had charge of Maynard's business affairs in the area, there were probably few among the witnesses who visualized a crock of gold at the end of the Maynard rainbow. As for Joseph N. B. Kerr, by 1829-1831, he had long since departed from Parrsboro township. His much respected father, the patriarch James senior, was already a very old man when he died in 1830. The Kerr family maintained their home and connections at Fox River, even if Joseph and Robert had established their new centre of business in Amherst and Wallace. Moreover, J.N.B. Kerr was clearly admired by several of the locals. He had shared fully their experience of hard physical work and dangers--he was hurt while hauling logs on one occasion, and was hit on the chin by John Mahoney's swing of the axe on another--in the bush and at the mill. Kerr was also no stranger to the rough work of handling livestock, as his lancing of his ox's infected leg, mentioned in his diary, indicated. Moreover, as one witness testified, Kerr was believed to be "a man of veracity," a claim difficult to sustain on Maynard's behalf.

The inquisition took place in the home of Edward Crane, Partridge Island, Cumberland County, who was reimbursed for the inconvenience, and before arbitrator Silas H. Crane, a merchant of Economy. Kerr was present throughout, acting on his own behalf and putting questions to the witnesses, while Maynard, then in Nevis was represented by lawyer Hugh Hartshorne, who regularly cross-examined the witnesses. The location inconvenienced several witnesses, not the least of whom was Robert Kerr, who was visibly upset at the expense of the case, especially in view of what he considered to be Maynard's perfidy, which had so materially injured his brother Joseph. Robert Kerr had to close his store and travel twice from Wallace, a round trip of 257 km. His travel and accommodation costs alone exceeded £30 (Halifax currency), while the loss of business at the store he estimated at £20. The only important new witness in 1831, proceeding insisted on by Maynard in a vain attempt to shore up his position and which he himself attended, was Captain Sinclair. His testimony, which was the focus of a collateral issue, was to confirm that he had sent not an empty, but a half-filled vessel to Parrsboro in December 1821, which Kerr's lumber had merely completed. What he failed to explain adequately was why Kerr never received market value for his 1821 shipment.

When a decision could not be made after the 1829 round of testimony, the two parties, through their solicitors, at length agreed that Crane's report had to reach them by the last day of 1830. To aid him in his deliberations both Kerr and Maynard were instructed to submit to him all their records relating to the dispute. When the deadline passed without the arbitration report yet in hand, the lawyers allowed a further extension of the deadline by three months.

The deeper he delved into the problem the more nervous Crane felt about acting alone. He met with both principals at Partridge Island in March 1831, at which time they agreed to include James Flemming, a merchant of Londonderry, as second arbitrator. Finally, on 8 March 1831, a hearing for new witnesses and new testimony by former witnesses was held at Economy. Maynard tried to demonstrate, through the testimony of several locals, that Kerr had bribed William Braley, an experienced sawmill worker who knew Kerr and his family very well. At Ratchford's store, after his August 1829 testimony, Braley apparently had brandished his promissory note around and become intoxicated and indiscreetly talkative. Whatever impression this incident may have made on the arbitrators, the very next day they awarded

Kerr £237.16s.6d. ($952 Halifax currency).

The settlement looked like a paltry sum given all the difficulties which Maynard had caused his young associate. Kerr alone had incurred expenses of more than £83 (Halifax currency) in order just to cover the costs of the witnesses; such expenses the Court of Chancery refused to consider as part of the award, as the witnesses had appeared before the Court of Chancery in Halifax. Kerr's other legal costs in pursuing the action in the Court of Chancery came to not less than £53 (Halifax currency).

Although both sides agreed to accept the decision of the arbitrators, Maynard, because he had lost, broke his word and refused to pay. The affair returned to the Court of Chancery in November 1831, when Kerr applied for the registration of the arbitrators' judgment in the Court. Maynard's solicitor simply wrote back saying that the decision of the arbitrators exceeded the deadline to which the lawyers for the contending parties had originally agreed. This absurd procedural obstruction then had to be demurred to by Kerr's solicitor. Finally the Court of Chancery, on 19 March 1832, issued its decree, which confirmed the arbitration award to Kerr. Now Maynard was required as well to pay Kerr's £53 in legal costs in Chancery.

Still no payment was made. Maynard further protested the judgment as being "utterly inconsistent with the principles of justice." To support his case Maynard produced documents from St. Vincent's showing that Kerr had sold his 1822 cargo there for £908.19.3. (St. Vincent's currency); it consisted of 58,000 feet of scantling board, 2,000 feet of ranging timber, 4,800 staves, 28,000 shingles, 30 boxes of smoked herrings and 1 hogshead of dried fish. This so-called new evidence, which Maynard had already adduced, was summarily dismissed. The Court wrote to Maynard at Parrsboro, strictly enjoining him, by a writ of execution dated 14 November 1832, to comply with the Court's judgment. When this was also ignored by Maynard, Chancery in February 1833 ordered that an attachment issue against Maynard property in Nova Scotia. This seem to have achieved the desired effect for it is known, from a petition which Kerr addressed to the House of Assembly the same month, that the sum due him had been recovered.

The purpose of Kerr's petition was to recover the heavy cost of fees for witnesses at the interrogatories, which amounted almost to £100. The House

of Assembly appointed a Select Committee, chaired by John Creighton,[65] which did not recommend Kerr's petition as the committee believed that the fees which he had paid his witnesses "are much larger than are allowed to witnesses attending the Common Law courts."[66] Thus after a dozen years, eight of them taken up with litigation, Kerr emerged victorious--perhaps wiser, but only marginally better off as a result of the process. For his part. Maynard to pay off his debts in 1836 mortgaged all his property to the Halifax merchants Hartshorne & Boggs.[67]

There are many interesting aspects to Kerr's story, none more interesting perhaps than the light which it casts on the business methods of the 1820s. No money--that is, no coin or currency--ever passed the hands of any of those involved. Every transaction was on credit and reckoned in book value. Kerr paid out no money for the sawmill itself or for the labour he hired to repair the mill, fell the trees, shape them into logs, haul them to the mill and operate the mill, raft the boards, load them onto the vessels, freight them to the West Indies and unload them there. Kerr's workers' wage was reckoned in commodities at agreed values. Thus William Dow, the illiterate but sturdy axeman, was paid $5 per 100 feet of logs, in West India produce "at cost and charges, for cotton wool or potatoes at the market price."[68] Edom Lamb, also an illiterate but sturdy woodman, was to earn £131.10. for six months' work, but to be paid in rum at £0.4.0. per gallon and molasses at £0.2.5. gallon, with some tobacco. His brother, John Lamb, was likewise paid by the value placed on tobacco, at whatever time the bargain was struck. Since Kerr was to purchase such commodities at the wholesale Halifax price, whatever profits

65 The petition, dated 6 Feb. 1833 is in PANS, RG 5 "P", vol. 4, doc. 47. It was tabled in the House on 23 Feb. 1833 by Alexander Stewart, who was named to the Select Committee along with John Johnston, James B. Uniacke and Jotham Blanchard: *Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly for 1833* (Halifax, 1834), 339.

66 The report had been written by 16 April, and the next day the House resolved to receive and adopt it, ordering it to be printed in the *Gazette* and as an appendix to the *Journals and Proceedings*: *ibid.*, 500; Appendix 61, p. 46.

67 These lands were sold in 1849 to John Elderkin and Joseph Norman Bond Elderkin, Joseph Kerr's nephews, sons of his sister, Elizabeth. (I am grateful to A.D. Gates and Brian Cuthbertson for this information. Dr. Cuthbertson researched the history of the Maynard house, which Spratt built and occupied, and which still stands, though much altered in appearance from the 1820s. I visited the house in August 1992.)

68 PANS, RG 36, Misc. box 1 (Kerr).

he ultimately hoped to realize depended on the difference between the Halifax wholesale price and the Parrsboro retail price.

Such price differences were equally crucial to Kerr's principal transactions with ship's captains for the cost of freight and a myriad of other costs associated with landing goods at distant ports, for essential services such as primage and wharfage. The captains concerned, after paying all such charges, were also entitled to a premium if the commodities which had been consigned to them sold at a price above what had been bargained for as a base price. Payment was rarely reckoned in terms of cash in the West Indies. Instead payment was measured in terms of the value of the return cargo, either calculated by the Halifax wholesale price, or the wholesale price which obtained in whichever Caribbean port the Nova Scotian cargo was sold: so much a gallon for rum and molasses, for a pound of cotton wool or coffee, or for a hundredweight of sugar. To the novice it seemed (and seems) confusing and complicated. In fact, it was a highly sophisticated and finely balanced tension between supply and demand, where information was crucial.

The American exporters did not gain full access to the British West Indies market until 1830, even though Maynard feared they were about to achieve that advantage in 1822. When it happened, commodity prices fell dramatically, hurting Nova Scotia's exports, and making profits very difficult to realize. Merchants, even modest ones such as J.N.B. Kerr, who shipped goods on the high seas or stored them in their warehouses or at their sawmills and on their plantations, then faced ruin. The new export economy proved in the early 1830s to be as grave a setback to merchants right through the Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds as the price collapse consequent upon the outbreak of peace in 1815, which ended a long period of war-induced hyperinflation. In the course of the 1820s, even in ports of little significance such as those along the Parrsboro Shore, such painful memories were still very fresh.

Kerr's Fox River Diary, 1 January to 30 May 1822

Jan:	1	Haul logs at home, 15 started
	2	at Mr. Spratt's, rained, no logs hauled
	3	Thomas, Mahony & Allan[69] hauled 11 logs

69 Not identified.

4 snowed & hauled 10 logs, 3 of them Dow's

5 violent storm

6 Sunday: ditto.

7 hauled 2 logs, Wm. Dow's, struck by John Mahony with the axe in the chin; cattle breaking road

8 hauling 6 logs, chopped by Wm Dow

9 hauled 12, 8 of them Dow's, John Mahony and David Proudfoot fought

10 Thomas hauled 8 logs, 6 of the Dow's

11 hauled 7 logs, 5 of them Dow's, he also left chopping the logs

12 hauled no logs; came home to go to mill; stormed all day; Allan did no work; came up to Mrs Robinson's for his socks

13 Sunday: at home

14 went to mill; Allan did no work

15 snowed all day; divided the lumber

16 Allan and myself chopped 12 logs; the ox lame since last Friday;

17 chopped myself 18 logs; Allan had to leave work from the cold; Mr. Spratt hauled hay;

18 the cattle employed by Mr. Spratt in hauling hay; Al[l]an & I chopped 14 logs;

19 Allan & I chopped 15 logs, 6 of them we threw into the river; ox still lame

20 Sunday: at home

21 abused by John Mahoney for chopping up some trees which he called his; hauled this day 17 logs; chopped 4 of them; the ox still lame

22 Hauled into the pond 27 logs, enough to make at least 5,000 feet of lumber

23 hauled 19 logs; chopped one of Mahoney, came into the woods to abuse me; 5 lbs tobacco to John Davy

24 Allan & myself chopped 12 logs; stormed all day; hauled wood in the afternoon

25 hauled 20 logs; chop[p]ed 8; lanced the ox

26 The ox unable to work; Allan leaves work from the cold; Edward Robinson got 1.5 lbs tobacco 2/6; John Lamb 1 lb tobacco

	27	Sunday: went home
	28	brought 15 small baskets potatoes from home to Mr. Spratt's; 8 before; the ox still very lame; Allan & I chopped 5 logs
	29	William Dow chopped 21 logs; Allan 16; myself 10; the ox still lame
	30	Dow chopped 21 logs; Allan and myself chopped 16 logs; cleared a road; ox still lame; Mr. Spratt hauled one load of Hay with Lamb & Brown
	31	Hauled into the river 17 logs, a severe storm; ox still lame & unable to work
Feb:	1	hauled with the three oxen, 11 logs, chopped 2
	2	hauled 18 logs; chopped one
	3	at the Spratt's; Allan at Mr. Fowler's
	4	Allan at Mr. Fowler's; hay most gone; snowed all day
	5	the oxen breaking roads; Allan does not work; talking of going through to Apple River, finally bargains to get me out 50 tons of ranging timber @ 10/6 per ton; bargaining with Mr. Parson's for 100 hogs @ 4d per hog
	6-9	oxen hauling hay, breaking roads and hauling wood. The hay from the boat gone; no logs hauled this week; got some hay from Mr Salter 8 cwt.
	10	Sunday: at the [Partridge] Island
	11	Returned from the Island; snow very deep in the woods; Allan wants to give up his bargain for the timber
March:	4	nothing done since the 11th Feb. at the saw mill except one day shovelling snow off the log way and two days breaking roads into logs, but all to little purpose as the snow is so deep. The cattle have run out of hay part of the time; got 7 or 8 cwt of hay from Mr Dow, 14 cwt of salt hay from Fullerton;
	11	took between 7 & 8 bushels of potatoes to Spratt's
April:	1	took molasses down to Spratt's; the pond still froze[n] over; no hay or cattle to haul logs; taken from the mill last fall by John Pettis & carried to Horton for potatoes 4,750 feet of boards; sawed last fall of Ebenezer [Kerr]'s logs 2,273 feet
	9	Edom Lamb began work; came down to Mr. Spratt's with father's oxen to haul up logs; Isaac Hatfield with his oxen hauled up 33 logs; 8 bushels potatoes

10 Working at the mill and Mr Spratts; Edom chopped 10 logs; put in the saw

11 a bucket out of the wheel; 4 cogs came out of the Nigrow [? *sic*] which sawed 1,846 feet

12 sawed 1,674 feet

13 sawed 1,000 feet; broke the teeth saw gudge[o]n in the rag wheel camion; no file to whit with, but a craft cut

14 Sunday: came home the boys from the woods

15 sawed 2,000 feet

16 only 3 logs to saw, no cattle; 800 feet; Edom & I got down logs; hurt my leg

17 rained; Edom Lamb and I idle for want of cattle to haul logs; got father's cattle in the afternoon and hauled up 16 logs

18 sawed 2,246 feet

19 sawed part of the day, no logs: 742 feet

20 got one yoke of the cattle from the harbour; hauled up 9 small logs, not able to handle any more: 1,173 feet

21 Sunday: Edom & I went home

22 got Parson's small steers to help us with logs, with a great deal of difficulty got 16 up, not able to haul more, sawed 864 feet

23 Edom sick, not working; sawed 1,746 feet

24 Edom sick; no logs but 2: 580 feet

25 John Hatfield's cattle about 2 hours; hauled 10 logs; Edom working, sawed none to 5 o'clock PM: 800 feet

26 sawed till 4 PM, not more logs and no cattle: 1,500 feet

27 Mill idle for want of cattle to haul logs; Edom & I rafting logs

28 Sunday: at home; letter from Catherine and K. Harrington

29 Mr Pettis & Capt Hatfield from Horton brought no hay, the oxen fallen away very dangerously from having no hay these several days; no sawing for want of a team; got Capt [Pettis] to go over to Horton with 4,000 feet boards for hay and potatoes; rafted and put on board by me

30 No logs at the Mill for want of cattle; Mr Spratt went to the [Advocate] harbour for the other yoke of cattle; Edom helping John Mahoney; I went to Partridge Island; got a bushel of

wheat from Dickerson's; gave McGrath 5/- for leather

May: 1 returned from the Island and went down to Mr. Spratt's; Edom and John Mahony; hauled logs part of the day; Fullerton took away the cattle 1 day without leave; Mr. Spratt brought the oxen from the [Advocate] harbour.

2 hauled logs and sawed 2,000 feet; schooner Ocean, [Capt. Silvanus] Ricker came in

3 went to the [Partridge] Island and back again; John Mahoney broke the saw; sawed 500 feet

4 put in another saw; sawed 1,000 feet; hauled logs; Rickers got to a place of loading

5 Sunday: at home; Edom Lamb two figs. tobacco

Finis

Appendix: Synopsis of Evidence

Braley, William: key witness in 1829, 1831; a sawyer for eighteen years in 1829; had worked three weeks with Joseph Norman Bond Kerr [JNBK] at a mill on Fox River in the spring of 1821 and made about 75,000 feet of boards; under proper conditions, he believed, Maynard's mill should have cut 25 per cent more, although it "was more inconvenient to draw logs into" Maynard's millpond than at the Fox River mill, the distance being less; found Maynard's yoke of oxen "slow & poor"; from his knowledge of JNBK's industry, believed Kerr he would have got out between 1,500 and 2,000 logs and sawn 150,000 feet of boards--5 logs estimated to make 1,000 feet of lumber; estimated that 50/- would be the value of JNBK's raising the side of the mill which had settled; to repair the floor 40/-; to repair the rag wheel 10/-; estimates that in 1821 Maynard's mill was about five years old, and had remained always chiefly uncovered; estimated Capt Pettis's vessel at 38 tons; had JNBK not loaded the lumber in May 1822, Ricker intended to sail for a load of gypsum at Windsor; at Maynard's Parrsboro house in the summer of 1826 heard him say that "on account of Mr. Kerr's usage & misconduct towards him that he did not think that he was in duty bound to pay him any more or settle with him without a law suit"; estimated the cost of rafting and loading boards @ 2/6 per 1,000 feet; price of rum at Parrsboro in 1821 was 6/- and molasses 2/6 "in barter"; "it was a usual thing for the people of Parrsboro to send over the Bay [*sic*: Minas Basin] after hay"; one yoke and a man earned 7/6 a day; he was in

the habit of passing the sawmill often during the winter and that during the nine months that Mr. Kerr had her he had frequently "saw her idle"; he could have raised the mill in five days, and two men might have done it in two days; and one man repaired the floor in three days--another three days to repair the rag wheel.

Brown, John Webb: a Black or mulatto from Nevis, perhaps Maynard's biological son; Maynard 's agent sent in 1823 to Parrsboro to settle his accounts; introduced to JNBK by Spratt; JNBK's business records were then in Amherst, so he could not settle his accounts; Brown assumed responsibility for chartering a vessel on Maynard's behalf.

Burns, Peter: 1831 witness; happened to be at Spratt's when John W. Brown was there with JNBK. Brown said to Kerr that he had written two letters to his father to settle his accounts with Maynard. Kerr told him that his records were in Amherst. Brown said he would wait, Kerr replied that he need not wait, for he would not come to settle; could not recollect the exact time this conversation was supposed to have occurred.

Casey, Thomas: 1831 witness; reported that Braley had told him in 1829 that he had earned £4 upon giving evidence in the case.

Crane, Edward: master of a Fundy coasting vessel; Partridge Island lighthouse-keeper, 1857; 1829, 1831 witness; leased his house for the August 1829 interrogation of witnesses; after returning from Nevis on the *Désirée Ann* (Captain Amos Armstrong), in September 1823, JNBK had crossed in the packet to Windsor in search of a vessel to charter for Maynard, in order to freight lumber from Ratchford River to Nevis. JNBK wrote to Crane from Amherst (5 October 1823) to try himself to charter a vessel for this purpose. Crane reported that he had verbally chartered the schooner *Traveller* (Captain Bradshaw), but that the other owners did not agree. JNBK then went to Newport to charter the *Cleopatra* (Captain Fox) but a deal could not be struck; made an unsuccessful attempt in Falmouth to charter the *Union* (Captain William Young); went to Truro, but again failed; JNBK had come from Amherst twice, crossing to Windsor in search of vessels for Maynard, and should be allowed five days each time, or £5 each time, for horses, ferriage and travelling expenses, as well as his time; price of refuse boards he estimated at $3-$5 per 1,000 feet; knows that as

early as 1818 Maynard had chartered a vessel, the *Earl of Dalhousie* (Andrew DeWolf) which was loaded with lumber, potatoes, spars, horses, fish & butter.

Crane, Silas H. (1788-1872): Methodist farmer and merchant of Economy; youngest son of Colonel Jonathan Crane of Horton, a 1760s New England Planter; raised in Parrsboro by his uncle and aunt, the Shannons, with whom about 1812 he began business; Justice for Colchester County, 1837; office-holder; "an obliging neighbor and a most lenient creditor"; married 1823 Ann Chandler, cousin of Thomas Chandler Haliburton; one of the two merchants selected in 1829 by Kerr and Maynard, and retained by their solicitors to hear witnesses, 10 July, 13, 31 August, and again in March 1831.

Crossman, John: 1829 witness; assisted in rafting 2,500-2,700 feet of lumber from the Morris mill.

Davis, Charles: 1831 witness; Braley said that "for his time & trouble & serving subpeonas [*sic*] for Kerr at the tryal at Partridghe [*sic*] Island he received 60/-after which he told me 50/-"; cross-examined by Kerr, he admitted that he drank a glass of spirits at Maynard's house three times the past winter.

Dow, Daniel: 1831 witness; at the time of the 1829 examination of witness, he had met JNBK near the crossroads which came from his father's place, and asked him what he remembered about the shingles. Dow remembered a great deal, whereupon Kerr suggested that his testimony was not needed, and that he should return to his wife who was sick. JNBK treated them to two pints of brandy.

Dow, William: 1829 & 1831 witness; illiterate Parrsboro woodsman; described by Colonel James Kerr as "a very capable axeman and teamster"; hired in December 1821 to cut 1,000 logs at the rate of $5/100 ft. of log, to be paid in West India produce; estimates that he cut only about 90 before quitting in mid-February because he found Mahoney cutting logs, where he had expected to cut.

Fullerton, Alexander: 1829 witness; lived in Parrsboro since about 1819

during which time he knew JNBK, who he said "was one of the best persons he is acquainted with to attend and manage a saw mill"; believes that two men with two yoke of oxen could drawn 1,200 logs in nine months; believes that Spratt, had he tried earlier, could have secured a "sufficiency of hay in Parrsboro to have wintered and fed 2 yoke of oxen."

Flemming, James, Jr.: son of James Flemming (1741-1829) of Londonderry, Ireland, who was member of the House of Assembly for Londonderry Township, 1811-1826, and Mary Vance; married Elizabeth Cottam in 1835; Justice of the Peace for Colchester County, 1837, 1838.

Hatfield, Isaac: rafted boards with Ebenezer Kerr from Fox river in May 1822.

Hatfield, William, Jr.: 1831 witness; remembered Edom Lamb stowing shingles in the *Ocean* in 1821, and assisted in rafting lumber down Fox River.

Kerr, Daniel (1795-pre 1826): fourth son of James Kerr; died of an epileptic seizure, an illness which he had endured for thirteen years; kept account of cargo loaded in *Ocean* (80 tons) in December 1821.

Kerr, Ebenezer (1797-1870): 1829 and 1831 witness; fifth son of James Kerr, twin brother of Robert Kerr; grandfather of John Chipman Kerr, awarded Victoria Cross in World War I; in 1826 heard Spratt say that Maynard had employed lawyers and should stand a trial in his dispute with JNBK; knew that JNBK came twice to Parrsboro in 1825 to settle his accounts, before the suit was begun; sold JNBK 4,000 staves in 1822; rafted boards owned by JNBK from Fox River with Isaac Hatfield in May 1822; drove his father's ox team three or four times to haul logs out of the millpond for JNBK; previously sold his brother boards at 40/- per 1,000; the lumber was taken from Colonel Kerr's landing at the shipyard.

Kerr, Lieutenant-Colonel James (1754-1830): JNBK's father; 1829 witness; paid Joseph Nesbit of Cornwallis £4.13.9. for hay in 1822, purchased for JNBK to feed oxen at mill work; believed his son had suffered very great damage as a result of the non-performance by Maynard of his obligations under the agreement; when Pettis surveyed the lumber at

the mill, after JNBK went to the Caribbean, there were 4,257 feet of boards and 1,101 feet of scantling; held in high regard by Maynard.

Kerr, Robert (1797-1834): sixth son of James Kerr, JNBK's business partner; 1829 witness; considered the oxen generally "very poor"; knows that the failure to receive the return cargo of West Indies produce in 1822 had caused severe damage to his brother, who had undertaken many engagements to pay people in kind with such produce; JNBK in May 1822 had gone to the West Indies to settle with Maynard but the vessel "fell to the leeward of Nevis"; that his brother had chartered a vessel owned by Charles Nelson for shipping a load of lumber and securing what Maynard owed him, but Nelson would not oblige him; he finally went to Nevis via the *Désirée Ann*; he and his brother had a store "and are concerned together in trade at Wallace[;] has a vessel nearly ready to launch, being obliged to lock up his store and from many circumstances it was at the present time a very serious inconvenience to leave home" to travel eighty miles each way to Partridge Island. The loss in business was about £20; estimated that his brother could have cut 166,000 feet of boards had the conditions been better; stated that his brother had worked at Lamb's mill in 1821, where he sawed between 60,000 and 70,000 feet. Maynard's mill should have sawn in six days as Lamb's mill would in nine days; that he knew Lamb's mill well as it had formerly been owned by his father for about ten years, "and that he had frequently attended her, and has a considerable knowledge in the management of saw mills."

Lamb, Edom: 1829 and 1831 key witness; illiterate Parrsboro sawyer, hired by JNBK in April 1822 for six months for £131.10s to be paid in rum, molasses and tobacco; described by Colonel Kerr as "a stout able fellow, acquainted with sawing"; when hired there was but one yoke of oxen available, which Spratt had brought from Advocate Harbour; that one day he yoked them for work but "had to turn them out, they being too weak to work"; "they very poor and no hay to feed them but a small quantity of poor salt hay"; that JNBK was obliged to borrow his father's oxen and those of Captain Hatfield, which would have cost him perhaps 12/6 a day; that the mill frequently could not be used for lack of oxen; estimated the average price of hay from $8-$12 per ton in Parrsboro; the negro [*sic*] wheel and rag wheel were out of order and the gate was insufficient to stop

the weather, both of which caused much delay and trouble in operating the mill; when the *Ocean* arrived, JNBK was very disappointed not to receive his West Indies produce; there were available for loading 37,000 or 38,000 feet of lumber, about 20,000 to 25,000 feet short of what the vessel could have taken, and so extra lumber had to be bought by JNBK to complete the cargo; he had heard Maynard say in the summer of 1828 that he did not send West Indies produce to Parrsboro in 1822 "for fear of Old [James] Ratchford that he was such a damn'd old rogue." (In 1831 he changed this to "damned old rascal, who had cheated him [Maynard] out of some rum.") Claimed that since 1825 Maynard had continued to ship lumber to the West Indies in return for imports into Nova Scotia; says he cut fifty logs for the mill, but which were never hauled out; believes that two men with two yoke of oxen could have drawn 1,500 logs in nine months, yielding 80,000 or 90,000 feet of boards cut in the spring had the mill been in proper repair; the "usual calculation is that seven mill logs make 1,000 feet of square-edged boards; had several conversations with Maynard about his dispute with JNBK; had the mill been in order and the oxen well-feed he would have had "sufficient employment in sawing at times and drawing logs at other times"; the mill saw they first had was "a very good one that it was broked by Mahony...that they got another one out of the house that was not so good"; believes that the saw broke, not from negligence, but from the excessive water getting though the mill gate, which spoiled the saw; logs remained in the pond, as the cattle were too weak to draw them out; 4,000 feet of boards were used to buy hay; when JNBK went to St. Vincent's, Lamb--instead of working out his contract--went off to Horton without permission, and was discharged by Colonel Kerr "as an unfaithful servant"; quit the mill "on account of the oxen being too weak to work, and for the want of water to saw," owing to the leaking mill gate [he repeated this in 1831].

Lamb, Isaac: 1829 witness; has known JNBK since 1809, considered him "well acquainted with the business of attending a saw mill"; in 1822 sold Kerr 5,440 feet of spruce boards; considers JNBK a "man of veracity."

Lamb, John: 1829 witness; saw some 250 mill logs on Maynard's lot, cut by JNBK or by those he hired; had known JNBK for about twenty years; believed him a "good hand in managing a saw mill." It took seven such logs

to make 1,000 feet of good square-edged lumber, and a proportion of wavy-edged. He worked for three days with JNBK with two thin yoke of oxen, which could only do the work of one yoke; little hay available on Maynard's farm, when J. Mahoney showed him it. Normally two yoke would haul twenty logs a day.

Lovely, Morris: 1831 witness; saw Braley go into Ratchford's store with a 40/- bill saying it was what he received from JNBK either in 1829 or 1830.

Mahoney, John: 1829 and 1831 key witness; Parrsboro logger, lodged with Spratt; Colonel Kerr said of him, "I have always thought him an upright character"; was in Nevis in June and July 1821, where Maynard told him that Sinclair would settle his business at Parrsboro; heard Sinclair and JNBK agreeing about the sawmill; soon after, saw JNBK and John Morris repairing saw frame; believed oxen in good condition, but that there was little hay, perhaps two tons raised on Maynard's farm that season; estimated that it would take ten to twelve tons of "good English hay" to feed two yoke of working oxen through the winter and spring; "there was much less hay raised in the lower part of Parrsboro [in 1821] than at present [1829]"; only about ten to twelve feet of saw-frame was covered when JNBK took over the lease; one side had settled nearly two feet and needed extensive repairs before it could be employed; thinks it works to disadvantage to cut mill logs without a team in readiness to haul them immediately out; some 150 logs left behind as oxen were too weak, which Mahoney hauled out after JNBK's lease expired; estimated that with two men he would be able to draw out to the millpond 1,500 mill logs, the oxen being in the condition they were in from November 1821 to the end of July 1822; six logs would make 1,000 feet of square-edged boards; a man and a boy attending the sawmill, well supplied with logs, could saw 150,000 feet in nine months; believed that JNBK in 1822 had bought lumber from Fox River, sawn at the Morris mill, to ship to West Indies; believed there had been six to seven logs on the ways and fourteen more or less in the pond in May 1822, when Kerr went to the West Indies.

McGrath, John: 1829 witness; Ratchford's clerk for four to five years before engaging in mercantile business; went once as supercargo to Antigua, December 1824; had never been to Nevis.

Morris, Benjamin: 1831 witness; Fox River sawmill owner; employed by Spratt to frame Maynard's sawmill; 3,000 feet of boards, sawn at his mill, used to complete cargo of *Ocean* in May 1822; noticed a large quantity of cypress shingles on board the *Ocean* in 1822, some 22 inches in length.

Morris, John William: 1831 witness; Parrsboro carpenter; saw Braley with a 40/- bill in 1829, which he said he got from JNBK for his fees and with which he bought a quart of rum.

Newcomb, George, Jr.: 1831 witness; claimed that Braley had said that "at the former examination...Kerr us'd him very well, that he gave him glass after glass. He heard the case would go to Halifax & he hoped it would for it paid him better than any other business...saw him intoxicated at Partridge Island at time of former examination."

Pettis, John: 1829 and 1831 witness; described by Spratt as the only surveyor of lumber within six or seven miles of Parrsboro; for fourteen years had been a sworn surveyor of lumber; estimated that one-quarter to one-fifth of refuse lumber is made out of lumber sawn at the sawmill in Parrsboro; never required by JNBK to survey lumber; swore there were shingles on board the *Ocean* in 1822, when she arrived at Ratchford River; had been asked by John Mahony to survey some lumber, which Mahony said JNBK had left at Maynard's mill, some 4,400 feet of merchantable lumber.

Potter, John: Parrsboro master of thirty-eight-ton vessel, which carried JNBK to Horton for hay in December 1821, @ 20/- a day; returned with 2.25 tons of hay.

Pritchard, Francis: 1831 witness; swore there were shingles on board the *Ocean*, when she arrived in 1822 from New Brunswick.

Ratchford, James: (1763-1836); son of Thomas Ratchford and Désirée Gore of Groton, Connecticut; married 1790 Mary Crane (sister of Silas H. Crane) of Parrsboro; 1829 witness; militia major, 1829; Parrsboro merchant, store owner, Justice of the Peace and office-holder; bitterly complained of by Maynard, who called him "the worst man I know"; in the fall of 1821 sold boards @ 45/- 1,000 to David Dill, William Faulkner,

George Cooke by the cargo, they all being masters of vessels; knew of none shipped from Parrsboro in 1821 for less; gave Faulkner 2/8 for rum 1/5 for molasses, wholesale landed at Parrsboro--their retailing price being at the same time 4/6 for rum and 5/6 a credit price per gallon, while in May 1822 the cash price was 2/8 for rum, 1/4 for molasses; knows that in 1818 Maynard chartered the *Earl of Dalhousie* from Andrew DeWolf.

Ratchford, John William: son of James Ratchford and Mary Crane; 1829 witness; was living in Halifax in the winter of 1826, when JNBK asked him to accompany him to call on Maynard; heard him say that he had been to Parrsboro for payment without success, and now asked for it in Halifax; Maynard declined, saying that JNBK had already got all he was owed in lumber from his mill; JNBK replied that if the mill account was settled, Maynard would be in his debt; Maynard asked Kerr "in somewhat harsh terms" what he had done with "the large quantity of lumber that was saw'd at his mill"; equally irritated, JNBK replied "that was best known to himself." Maynard said that the lumber at Nevis had fetched $40 per 1,000 and had been sold to a nephew, Walter Maynard; after leaving Maynard's Halifax house, Ratchford had been asked by JNBK to make a memorandum of the conversation.

Ricker, Sylvanus: of Argyle, master of schooner *Ocean*, sailed in 1821 to Nevis and in 1822 to St. Vincent carrying JNBK's lumber.

Salter, Robert: 1829 witness: Parrsboro-area farmer; sold eight to ten tons of English hay @ 45/per ton for cash in 1821; Spratt had applied to him for five tons of hay, but Salter would not agree to Spratt's "proposals relative to payment," which would have required him to wait until spring for his money; but let Spratt have about twelve hundredweight of hay, and carted it five miles from his farm.

Sinclair, Edward Thompson: 1831 witness; of Plymouth, England; master of the brig *Spectator*; father of Edward Sinclair, who emigrated to Grand Manan in 1822, and promptly went under with his partner, John Snell; his chief concern in coming to Parrsboro in 1821 was to settle the mill's lease for Maynard; introduced to JNBK by Spratt; viewed the mill with JNBK and found it in disrepair; promised by JNBK to keep down expenses in repairing it no more than was necessary; shipped 10,000 cedar shingles,

66,000 laying shingles by the *Ocean*; had failed to deliver the West Indies goods to Parrsboro in 1822 because he had received no such instructions either from Maynard or JNBK.

Spratt, William: 1829 and 1831 key witness; born in Ireland, emigrated to Nevis; sent in 1817 to Parrsboro by Maynard to erect a house and sawmill; described JNBK as "a very capable man in the management of a saw mill & recommended him as such to Capt. Sinclair"; during the time of JNBK's lease, "more lumber was cut than was at any time before or since during the same space of time" at Maynard's mill; said that Sinclair had asked JNBK to state his terms for the mill in writing, to which Sinclair would respond when he had taken time to consider them; after the agreement between Kerr and Mahoney was made, JNBK showed up at Spratt's house and asked to see it, and said that he had a better right than Spratt to retain it, when "some words passed between us relative to it & we had a scuffle & so ordered a boy to call in another person more to assist me than anything else. On his appearance he gave me the agreement without anything farther." Spratt knew the sawmill gate was out of order, one side of the mill settled, and that there was no roof when the mill was leased to JNBK; says oxen in November 1821 were in "fair working condition," but on account of hay shortage, one yoke had to be sent away to Advocate Harbour; believes JNBK had suffered a great loss by not receiving his payment for lumber in May 1822; had recommended that JNBK go to Nevis to see Maynard about the former cargo; the carpenter's and blacksmith's tools were consigned to the captain of the *Ocean*, not to JNBK; Spratt later learned that the tools had been returned to Campo Bello and consigned to Messrs. Jones & Company; when JNBK went to the West Indies a second time, Spratt's letters were again given not to him but to the captain; the manner of landing lumber at Nevis is for the ship's captain to deliver it on shore as far as the water will float it, and for the purchaser then to carry it up; Spratt knew of no wharf charges there; confirmed that long cypress or cedar shingles were on board the *Ocean*, when she came to anchor at Ratchford River in May 1822; when JNBK threatened not to load lumber on the *Ocean* in 1822, Spratt said he would apply to Ratchford for a load, whereupon Kerr decided he would load and go to Nevis to see Maynard; JNBK did not employ Pettis (q.v.) to survey the lumber, as he habitually condemned so much of it as refuse boards; instead JNBK employed Patrick Herring for that purpose,

despite Spratt's objections that Herring knew nothing of lumber; Pettis later expressed his astonishment to Spratt that he had not been called to survey the lumber.

Wilkinson, William: 1831 witness; claims that Braley said to him that whatever JNBK wished him to say, he had said as a witness in 1829. George Newcomb, who was also present, had then said to Braley, "You had a fine time of it. Plenty of brandy to drink." "Yes" he said, "glass after glass."

The Expression of Second-Generation Loyalist Sentiment in the Verse Dramas of Henry Bliss (1797-1873)

Bertis Sutton

Poetry is one of many literary forms which has evolved into a powerful vehicle for the expression of sentiment. One of Canada's most influential writers, Margaret Atwood, has described poetry as "a form of human speech that is used to express, among other things, sentiments that the writer considers appropriate to the occasion."[1] Poetry has become a means of illustration with infinite possibilities and limitations dictated only by convention. Literary history must be concerned with the two compelling aspects of poetry, namely the prevailing technical and stylistic conventions and the general attitudes of the period which, to a degree, shape the ideas and sentiments that are produced in the current intellectual and literary climate, such as the Renaissance, Romanticism, and the like. Often there are more subjective forces at work, however, such as personal bias, experience and attitudes, that play an important role in the composition of poetry. Isolating these forces within the general context of a period can surely lead to a more nearly complete understanding of the poetry and an accurate interpretation of it, thereby achieving a sense of the poet's beliefs as well as his or her distillation of experience.

This study is concerned with the poetic works of lawyer Henry Bliss. Bliss was born in Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1797, the youngest son of Jonathan Bliss, a Massachussetts Loyalist refugee who later became second Chief Justice of New Brunswick, and Mary Worthington. Jonathan Bliss was from an élite colonial family; as one of Governor Thomas Hutchinson's protégés, he moved in high society circles, both in New England and in London. Bliss's loyalism derived from his legal training under Hutchinson; like many American tory lawyers of his day, moreover, he looked to the British Crown for advancement. Jonathan Bliss obtained the post of Attorney General of New Brunswick in 1784, was elected to the New Brunswick Assembly in 1785 and 1795, and was sworn in as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1809. Although "Some of the younger loyalists, such as Ward Chipman, were able to adjust to their adopted homes...Bliss never made the transition."[2]

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1 Margaret Atwood, *The New Oxford Book Of Canadian Verse In English* (Toronto, 1982), p. xxx.

2 Phillip Buckner, "Bliss, Jonathan" in *Dictionary Of Canadian Biography*, VI (1987), 76.

Jonathan Bliss and Mary Worthington had four sons: John Worthington (born 1791), Lewis (born 1792), William Blowers (born 1795), and Henry (born 1797). The boys' mother died shortly after Henry's birth and, in 1799, Henry and William went to live with their maternal grandfather in Massachussetts. Henry Bliss received a classical education--he took his BA at King's College, Windsor--and after legal training in Saint John went to London, where in 1824 he was called to the English bar at the Inner Temple. That same year Bliss was appointed joint agent (with John Bainbridge) for the province of New Brunswick; for a number of years after Bainbridge's death, Bliss also served as agent for Nova Scotia and Quebec. As agent, Bliss tried to protect colonial interests by supporting favourable legislation and by voicing the concerns of the provincial legislative assemblies at the Colonial Office. After the role of agent faded in 1846, Bliss continued to advocate the interests of his native province.

Bliss had a strong passion for the plight of the colonies and their economic well-being, as evidenced by the numerous pamphlets on colonial matters which he published; among them are *Consideration of the Claims and Conduct of the United States Respecting Their North Eastern Boundary, and the Value of British Colonies in North America* (London, 1826); *On Colonial Intercourse* (London, 1830); *On the Timber Trade* (London, 1831); *Letter to Sir Henry Parnell, Bart., M.P., on the New Colonial Trade Bill* (London, 1831); *The Colonial System, Statistics on Trade, Industry, and Resources of Canada, and the Other Plantations in British America* (London, 1833); *An Essay on the Reconstruction of Her Majesty's Government in Canada* (London, 1839). The most important of these pamphlets, *On Colonial Intercourse*, advocated the maintenance of the favourable trade arrangement which then existed, and insisted that opening the West Indies to American commerce would not be in the best interest of either Britain or the colonies.

Bliss's ambition and devotion to the welfare of the colonies was matched by his ambition for literary achievement. The product of Bliss's literary endeavours was a number of historically-based narrative verse dramas, including *State Trials: Specimen of a New Edition* (1838); *Cicero: A Drama* (1846); *Philip the Second: A Tragedy* (1849); *Ideas Seldom Thought of, for Extending Knowledge* (1851); *A History of the Lives of the Most Heroic Martyrs who Suffered from the Thirteenth Century in Upholding the Protestant Faith, Part I* (1853); *Robespierre: A Tragedy* (1854); and *Thecla: A Drama* (1866). Though the political tracts on colonial affairs "caused

considerable discussion in English and colonial journals," the literary efforts seem to have gone unnoticed.[3] In works on Canadian poetry, Bliss is not so much as mentioned; obviously, his works failed to earn a position in the significant literature of the day.

The purpose of this work is to bring to light the sentiment and feelings expressed in the poetry, in order to achieve a fuller understanding of Bliss's values and his attitude to life and experience. To do this a number of explorations are necessary. First, the poems themselves must be examined. The three works that will be used as representative of Bliss's poetical works are *State Trials* (1838), *Philip the Second* (1849) and *Thecla* (1866). These works are a reflection of several important features that characterize the literary career of almost any writer: the different themes and ideas addressed in different works; the change in attitude, or hardening or softening of a writer through experience; and the experimentation with different styles and conventions. *State Trials* contains three long dramatic narrative poems: "Trial of Anne Ayliffe, For Heresy"; "Trial of Sir William Stanley, For High Treason"; and "Trial of Mary Queen of Scots." The other works, *Philip the Second* and *Thecla*, are each poems in themselves. Three of the poems are at least 100 pages long, *Thecla* being the longest at 204 pages, and all are stories cast in dramatic form.

Secondly, it is necessary to understand the influences which were formative in the composition of the poems, thereby giving the sentiment expressed in them historical value. Perhaps most significant for Bliss was the Loyalist experience. Certainly the reality of flight and exile, and the deep psychological wounds inflicted as a result, had not faded from memory by Bliss's time. His father had migrated to England after the Battle of Lexington, but unlike many Loyalists who were disheartened by exile, the elder Bliss seems to have flourished. Henry grew up hearing of the plight of the Loyalists, learning their values, witnessing the repercussions of exile, experiencing life in a new land which was a veritable wilderness erected into a separate government by the imperial power, and inheriting his father's

3 W. A. Spray, "Bliss, Henry," in *Dictionary Of Canadian Biography*, X (1972), 72. (This article was written without the benefit of access to the Bliss family fonds at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia [MG 1, vols. 1604-1613]. The most important treatment of Bliss's career is D. G. Bell, "Paths to the Law in the Maritimes: The Bliss Brothers and Their Circle," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 8, 2 (Dec. 1988), 6-39. See also Richard A. Davies, "Thomas Chandler Haliburton and the Bliss Brothers: Secret Rivals in Literary Ambition," in *NSHR*, 12, 1 (June 1992), 67-75.)

respect for British institutions and values. Certainly, these influences found their way into the poetic efforts of Bliss.

Another factor was the character of Henry Bliss himself, his ambition, his yearning for greatness, fame and prestige, characteristics that are obvious from the Bliss family letters. In the preface to *State Trials*, moreover, Bliss is very candid about his predilection for the refined, elegant, sophisticated, classical, exquisite, honourable and noble: a tendency which presumably could not be indulged in the pathways of his legal career. Perhaps Bliss's desire for greatness was frustrated by the monotony of this career, thus forcing him to seek other outlets for his ambition.

Finally, it is necessary to establish the literary context in which Bliss's works were composed. In this regard I propose that there were two major conflicting influences on Bliss's literary technique: the Maritime cultural, and more specifically, poetic heritage, and English Romanticism. Of course these factors influenced other Maritime poets, or certainly would do so by the latter part of the nineteenth century. The influence of Romanticism on Bliss, however, was greater because his poetic works were composed in England where the Romantic sentiment was stronger than in America.

The Maritime poetic heritage was almost exclusively defined by Loyalist writing and English Romanticism. Henry Bliss was greatly influenced by the poetic heritage of his father's generation, as well as by their political values and principles. Bliss's writings, however, are certainly less satirical and direct than those of the original Loyalists. Bliss does not address immediate concerns and specific issues; he is more general and abstract. It is nonetheless essential to understand the poetic conventions of the Loyalists and the principles that dominated their published works, for Bliss was clearly influenced by the Loyalist literary environment and the experience which formed this milieu.

Early literary activity in the Maritimes was limited by a number of factors. The environment--physical, political and economic--was one such restraint. Taming the wilderness, as A.J.M. Smith has put it, "absorbed all the energies of a young people."[4] Gwendolyn Davies suggests that "economics, geography, politics, and personal differences militated against their [the Loyalists] founding a literary movement between 1776 and 1814 or leaving

4 A.J.M. Smith, *The Book Of Canadian Poetry* (Toronto, 1957), p. 4.

behind an identifiable literary tradition...."[5] Fred Cogswell has pointed out that much significant writing dealt with the "shifting, gambling economy" imposed by the new physical surroundings and the concern for "industry and order in business and agriculture."[6] Eking out a viable existence from the resistant Maritime environment was a draining, time-consuming and necessary task that left little time or energy for literary pursuits.

The writing that was produced, moreover, was stunted by yet other factors, the most crippling of which was the "spirit of colonialism." This, in the minds of literary historians, created a stifling and inhibiting mind-set and dampened the creative spirit. Smith describes this mind-set as an acceptance of subordination that seeks a standard elsewhere, and "is content to imitate with a modest and timid conservatism the products of a parent-tradition."[7] Northrop Frye reduces colonialism to "a frostbite at the root of the Canadian imagination," which produced an instinctive tendency "to seek a conventional or commonplace expression of an idea."[8] Such lack of confidence and abundance of self-doubt stood little chance of nourishing a healthy and enduring literary tradition.

To complicate matters, the whole attitude towards literary activity was unhealthy. Early Maritime writers--most notably Jonathan Odell and Joseph Stansbury--were tainted with prejudice after the experience of revolution. Their published writings were largely political satires having ad hoc and propagandist aims; they were dated by "local and contemporary allusions" which served a purpose then, but were doomed not to acquire enduring popularity.[9] Though they failed to initiate a literary tradition, to be sure, the Loyalists nevertheless produced a literary heritage, and their importance in this regard must be acknowledged.

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5 Gwendolyn Davies, "Consolation to Distress: Loyalist Literary Activity in the Maritimes," in *Acadiensis*, 16, 2 (Spring 1987), 51.

6 Fred Cogswell, "Literary Activity in the Maritime Provinces 1815-1880," in Carl Klinck, ed., *The Literary History Of Canada*, I (Toronto, 1976), 106.

7 Smith, *Canadian Poetry*, p. 12.

8 Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto, 1971), p. 134.

9 Cogswell, "Literary Activity," p. 79.

Furthermore, Loyalist writers saw literary pursuits as basically an élite indulgence. Gwendolyn Davies states,

> What Jonathan Odell, Jacob Bailey, and other Loyalist writers did was to introduce into the Maritime region and into Maritime literature a body of active and educated authors who regarded the composition of poetry and prose not only as a pleasant avocation but also as a social grace reflecting the standards of taste and sensibility of cultured society.[10]

By tradition, poetry was essentially "a prestige symbol" and a "genteel hobby," but one that was little understood by most writers.[11] Writing was almost entirely confined to lawyers, schoolteachers, journalists, clergymen and the wives and daughters of these literate professional men. Classically educated and trained in the eighteenth-century British conventions, writers were "inculcated with the principle of imitation at the expense of originality."[12] The result was many amateur attempts with little or no self-criticism.

There were, nevertheless, some positive advantages. Though the Maritime 'wilderness' was at times discouraging and disheartening, many writers were able to retain their hope and optimism. This attitude is realized in many early Maritime writings: "the literature reflects the spirit of a people still capable of responding with human warmth to ideal virtues and simple situations...."[13]

Although significant Maritime literature really began with the Loyalists, they by no means provided the Maritimes with an immediate literature. There are essentially two classes of early Loyalist writing. The first is journals, diaries and letters recounting the experiences of the American Revolution, flight, exile and resettlement--much of which was written outside the Maritimes. Jacob Bailey's documentary writings provide us with perhaps the most readable historical account, while the Winslow papers are rich with documentation of personal and political events.

10 Davies, "Consolation to Distress," p. 54.

11 Cogswell, "Literary Activity," pp. 103, 105.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

The second class, with which this study is primarily concerned, is what Fred Cogswell describes as the "more formal class of literature": the satirical writings and verses of the prominent Tories, "particularly effective in a war-time [*sic*] climate where satire dominated as a literary form and where a sense of immediacy heightened the passion of ridicule...."[14] Clever, witty, brilliant yet obsolescent, condemnatory and prejudiced, Loyalist poets such as Mather Byles Jr., Joseph Stansbury and Jonathan Odell, turned their verses into propaganda to serve immediate purposes. Non-Loyalist writers also contributed to the literature of the day: William Cobbett, Thomas Daniel Cowdell, Lieutenant Adam Allan, Lieutenant-Governor the Earl of Dalhousie (of Nova Scotia), and two missionaries, James MacGregor and Joshua Marsden. It is noteworthy that the Canadas were without important literature at this time--they would not possess any until at least after 1812--because the creative literary minds, almost exclusively Loyalists, had settled in the Maritimes. Although serious writing was largely confined to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, no great literary tradition arose. Many Loyalist writings were too topical, local and immediately purposeful to endure in popularity. It would be the Loyalist attitude and perspective, however, that would guide Maritime cultural growth throughout the century and provide the basis for a later literary tradition.

Ray Palmer Baker traces the founding of a Loyalist literary heritage in the Maritimes in his monograph, *A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation*, and notes that "the literary ideals of New England which were still those of the Old Land [Dryden, Pope, Churchill] were carried into Acadia and the Canadas" by the Loyalists.[15] These refugees represented the "highest traditions of American culture" and established an educated élite in a pioneer society.[16] The letters of the Loyalists are dominated by despair, resentment and homesickness, until the exiles finally found contentment. The phenomenon was what Gwendolyn Davies has called "consolation to

14 Davies, "Consolation to Distress," p. 51.

15 Ray Palmer Baker, *A History Of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 19.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

distress." "Everywhere," writes Baker, "the Loyalists clung to outworn ideals of neo-classicism"; a "proper love of England became social decencies to be expressed in traditional terms."[17]

It was the second generation of Loyalist writers whose literary efforts were to become the first rung on the ladder of a genuinely Canadian literature. Desmond Pacey observes that "in the 1820's and 1830's[,] when the second generation was reaching maturity, the first literary work of lasting significance began to appear."[18] During this time the Maritimes became the "seedbed where a national poetry might arise if it were to arise at all."[19] Of course, this was precisely what happened, when later in the century the works of Archibald Lampman and Charles G. D. Roberts became normative.

Fred Cogswell's helpful essay on Maritime literary activity, 1815-1880, from *The Literary History Of Canada* (1st ed., 1976), is one of the few works that confines its attention to the Maritimes. Cogswell makes it clear that during this period the limiting factors mentioned earlier endured, although they faded sufficiently with time to allow a more 'Canadian' literature to emerge. Poetry in the Maritimes was expanding rapidly. In a mere three pages (pp. 116-119), Cogswell mentions twenty-nine nineteenth-century Maritimes poets--only a few of whom were of significance. Only Peter John Allan, Alexander Rae Garvie, John Hunter-Duvar, Joseph Howe and Oliver Goldsmith are discussed at any length. It is significant that narrative poetry in couplets was made fashionable in the Maritimes by Goldsmith's *The Rising Village*; the form was already obsolete in England, but used extensively by Maritime poets and by Bliss.

The general picture of Maritime poetry which arises, then, is that poets fell into one of two groups: those who "attempted to describe and interpret what is essentially and distinctively Canadian," and those who entered into "the universal, civilizing culture of ideas."[20] Bliss clearly belongs in the latter

17 *Ibid.*, 31, 32.

18 Desmond Pacey, *Creative Writing in Canada* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 9-10.

19 Cogswell, "Literary Activity," p. 109.

20 Smith, *Canadian Poetry*, pp. 2-3.

group. Writers were, for the most part and for the time being, set in a mode of imitation, not only in the moralizing tendency and sentimentality, but also in terms of technical conventions. Epic couplets, the public anthem and Miltonic blank verse--forms obsolete across the Atlantic--were the staples in early nineteenth-century Maritime poetry. This was accompanied, however, by a curious admixture of Romantic sentiment, due to the influence of the English Romantic poets. Arthur Sladen and Alexander Kent Archibald imitated Byron's *Don Juan*, and Amos Henry Chandler clearly revealed the influence of Shelley. The emotional thrust of the poets, according to Cogswell, was to prove that the colonies "were still indivisibly one with British culture."[21] The combination of these various elements constituted Maritime poetry: clumsy, unoriginal, yet sincere, patriotic and promising. Bliss inherited this tradition, adopting formal conventions--long, verse narrative poems and epic couplets--as well as the values and ideals of the Loyalists, which are themes in his poems.

Across the Atlantic, the Age of Romanticism was in full bloom. Infatuated with the imagination and intoxicated with nature, the Romantics--among them Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Moore, Byron, Keats, Shelley and Carlyle--laid Classicism aside and ventured into the unconventional. Literature throughout the western world was to feel their influence, share their experience, imitate their originality, and forever be changed by the whole movement.

The general characteristics of the Romantic Movement were, according to Agnes Addison,

> a reaction against classical canons; an emphasis on the individual; reliance on the imagination rather than reason; a new interest in the Middle Ages and the revival of Christianity; a pride in the national history and a curiosity about the culture and literature of other countries.[22]

Many of these elements are central to the poems of Henry Bliss, who arrived in England in 1824. The preoccupation with the Middle Ages, Christianity, national history, love and the expression of sentiment through nature--all intimately associated with Romantic tendencies in England, not to mention

21 Cogswell, "Literary Activity," p. 104.

22 Agnes Addison, *Romanticism and the Gothic Revival* (New York, 1967), p. 3.

Germany and France--were the cornerstone of Bliss's works.

The rekindled interest in the Middle Ages went hand-in-hand with the Gothic Revival, which influenced literature in the latter half of the eighteenth century and architecture in the nineteenth. During the 1760s, a number of works displayed a growing interest in the Middle Ages, including Thomas Gray's *Fatal Sister* and *Descent Of Odin*, Thomas Warton's *Fairie Queene*, Horace Walpole's *The Castle Of Otranto*, Bishop Percy's *Reliques Of Ancient English Poetry*, and Ossian's *Fingal*. The Gothic tale of horror was made popular by Radcliffe, Maturin and Lewis, and their popularity endured into the Romantic Age. In literature, however, there was a reaction against the eighteenth-century Gothic. Jane Austen poked fun at the "absurdity of the fantastic, oversentimental novels," and Byron satirized the genre in *Don Juan*.[23]

Besides the cult of the Middle Ages, there were religious and social aspects to Romanticism. Many Romantics adopted "a conservative and traditional Christian position," and saw in the movement "a revival of an age of faith, in reaction to the sterile enlightenment of the eighteenth-century, when a rational and analytic perspective was thought to have reached an extreme."[24] With regard to social structures and civilization, conservative Romantics stressed the traditional aspects such as church and aristocracy, regretting their decline and desiring their resurgence. Henry Bliss would best be designated a conservative Romantic. There appears to be a rigidity to his principles which is comparable only to those of the Church of England clergy of his father's generation. In step with the renewed interest in national history, Bliss glorifies, in a most grandiose fashion, the ideals of past ages, such as the divine right of kings and passive submission to authority. Here is the indelible mark of Romanticism. Each poem explores traditional aspects of English history--monarchy, religion, justice--and the attitude towards these changes wrought by time and experience. The treatment of the king in *State Trials*, for instance, is quite different from that in the later *Philip the Second*, where he is tyrannical. The latter poem places emphasis on human relationships, whereas *State Trials* is concerned with more abstract themes of monarchy, justice, religion, freedom and virtue. *State Trials* seems to be a

23 *Ibid.*, 52.

24 Northrop Frye, *A Study Of English Romanticism* (New York, 1968), p. 27.

tribute to the principles of his father's generation; and the exaggerated, grandiose manner in which this tribute is paid apparently derives from the influence of Romanticism on the idealistic Bliss.

In the ensuing pages, the major influences on Henry Bliss--the values inherited from the Loyalists, Bliss's reaction to the Loyalist experience, Romanticism, and the personality of Bliss himself--will be examined in light of various poems. First, I shall explore the themes in the three poems of *State Trials* and attempt to highlight evidence of the various forces at work. Secondly, I shall examine *Philip the Second* and *Thecla*, identify the themes therein, and try to identify a shift in attitude, a hardening reflected in the poems. It is hoped that identifying the sentiment reflected in the literary endeavours of Henry Bliss will enhance our knowledge of the second generation of Loyalists, and advance our understanding of their reaction to life and experience.

State Trials: Specimen of a New Edition appeared in London in 1838. This large collection of three narrative verse poems was an ambitious undertaking, one which was well received by at least one contemporary:

> I have been frequently surprised by the facile exertion of power by which you wreathed stubborn materials into the graceful forms of poetry...these high merits and the many sterling lines of vigor akin to Dryden's which occur in almost every line...[lead to a] desire to see the powers which have produced it applied to other themes. They have beyond question a Specimen of masculine intellect and industry which must lead to the most substantial rewards of the legal profession and of elegance and taste which will enhance and grace them.[25]

The preface is signed "11, Crown Office Row, Temple, June 28th, 1838" by the author, Nicholas Thirning Moile, the pseudonym under which Bliss published the volume; and explains his decision to explore the avenue of poetry.

In the preface Bliss expresses a love and admiration for legal poetry, citing as his principal inspiration Sir James Burrows's "flower of posey" in his report of *Shadwell* v. *St. John, Wapping*, and Sir Edward Coke's impersonation of *Meum and Tuum*. Bliss praises the former particularly highly:

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25 Henry Bliss to Lewis Bliss, quoting J. N. Talfourd, 6 Nov. 1838, Bliss family fonds, PANS. (Notes on the Bliss correspondence were provided by Ann Gorman Condon.)

> The indelible impression made by those verses on the memory, the pleasing accordance of their rhythm and metre with a grave and useful question of sessions' law, and the picturesque description of unanimity, which so happily prevailed on the bench at that decision, seem to evince, that, by further pursuing the same device, similar assistance and recreation might be extended to other points, and other divisions of learning.[26]

Bliss was confident that a strong analogy existed between criminal trials and tragedy as a literary form or genre: "Undoubtedly, the statutes at large keep in reserve an inexhaustible and golden vein [of judicial subjects congenial to poetry]....The common law offers still more fertile resources."[27] To this end, Bliss wrote his poetic dramas about what he knew best: legal subjects. In fact, a series of "notes" appears at the end of the work which justifies with legal explanations the use of certain language.

Written entirely in rhyming couplets, the long, dramatic narrative poems of *State Trials* are a tribute to Bliss's love of the theatrical and the noble, expressed both in the legal realm and in human nature. His characters, based on historical figures, are heroic and memorable. The cases and authorities at the heart of the poems are enhanced by Bliss's skill of vivid description. The author makes use of many literary and poetic devices--prolepsis, irony, figurative imagery--as well as classical, 'Shakespearean' motifs: long dramatic speeches, prophecy, cloaked figures, even a ghost--by which he moulds his poetry into a work of literary, legal and historical significance.

In the three poems which comprise *State Trials*--"Trial of Anne Ayliffe, For Heresy"; "Trial of Sir William Stanley, For High Treason"; and "Trial of Mary Queen Of Scots"--Bliss's views on five basic questions are expressed: the value of discourse, the role of religion, the role of the monarchy, the value of justice and the value of tradition. Justice, tradition and discourse pervade all three poems, while the role of religion finds its greatest expression in "Trial of Anne Ayliffe"; the role of the monarchy is addressed in "Trial of Sir William Stanley" and "Trial of Mary Queen of Scots."[28]

The way in which Bliss develops these notions reveals a theme in itself. The importance of discourse is central to Bliss's concept, as evidenced by the

26 Henry Bliss, *State Trials: Specimen of a New Edition* (London, 1838), p. viii.

27 *Ibid.*, xv.

28 All long quotations from the dramas are identified by a page number in parentheses.

large majority of verses within *State Trials* which are in the form of dialogue. In "Trial of Anne Ayliffe" and "Trial of Mary Queen Of Scots," particularly, verbal clashes and argumentation are the primary means of extracting the truth, which process is essential to the guilt or innocence of the main figure. This, according to Bliss, is the key to justice:

> Fraud flies in ordeals, savageness of force, Ignorance to lot,--but justice loves discourse (p. 124);

and more emphatically,

> Rack but his words, his reason rend and mince! Come, sift we fact from fiction!--Gracious Prince (p. 214).

"Rend and mince" perfectly conveys Bliss's sentiment, while his status as a colonial *émigré* and second-generation Loyalist helps to explain this view. Bliss was very much involved in the public dialogue of his time, and voicing opinion was an inherent part of his career as a lawyer and colonial agent. His numerous articles on colonial issues suggest that Bliss believed discourse to be central to expressing points of view. Indeed, it is through the discourse in these poems that Bliss's other sentiments are revealed.

On religion, Bliss makes four general points: the value of Christian religion as the ultimate source of truth, grace, understanding and love; the duty of man to love and obey God and adhere to Christian principles, as well as to be thankful and praising; the duty of Christian people to share their principles with non-Christians; and the supremacy of Christianity, the Christian God and Christian beliefs. In conveying these views, Bliss's poetry is dramatic, passionate and sincere, revealing devotion and adherence to principles which, though perhaps not agreeable to all, are nevertheless admirable. Bliss's emphatic writing style makes his themes memorable, and provokes reflection and contemplation on the part of the reader. Many of the best verses will be quoted here for the sake of illustration.

The prime device used by Bliss to develop these points is the verbal clash sparked by Anne Ayliffe's recalcitrance and defiance towards Holy Church. Bliss portrays Anne as a strong-willed and resolute individual, whose mockery and sarcasm fuel a long and passionate debate between Anne and the Primate. The poem opens at a Communion service in the Church of England. The sermon is delivered--dense with description, classical allusions,

references to the Book of Common Prayer, passion and sincerity--the service ends, and the members proceed to the courtyard for Anne's trial. Bliss's description of her being freed from the dungeon is memorable:

> Which marks a mould and temper well combined
> To lodge all grace and energy of mind...
> She, wildly rising from the womb of earth,
> Seemed not of English, scarce of mortal, birth (p. 20).

The purpose of the trial is simply to give Anne--"this miscreant, miserable, maid"--a final opportunity to repent, commit herself to Holy Mother Church and be pardoned. Having established this basic premise, Bliss depicts the Church as an understanding, forgiving and morally imperative institution. Through the spirited discourse that drives towards this end, Bliss allows his views to surface in the Primate's argument, the latter serving as his *alter ego*. The first point made by Bliss is the value of the Christian religion as the ultimate source of truth, grace, understanding and love:

> And thus it shall be through each clime and age
> Let scorners mock it, let the seeming sage
> Dispute, let heresy, let Hell, assail;-
> Against this rock their gates shall not prevail.
> This shall endure through every age and clime,
> Till the last Angel soar and sound the doom of time (p. 14).

"Through each clime and age" suggests a concept of longevity and permanence that testifies to a belief in religion as transcending time. "Against this rock their gates shall not prevail" is another evocative line, carrying the implication of strength and endurance. The Church is an institution demonstrating permanence, according to Bliss's Loyalist education and beliefs; the centre of being, the fountain of truth. Bliss indeed seems to have been more devout than all but the Loyalist clerics:

> ...for were not Holy Church
> Sole search for truth, where else is man to search? (p. 40).

Surely the rigidity of Bliss's conviction was related to the influence of the tractarian Oxford Movement, which commenced in 1833. A conservative reaction against the liberalism which was perceived to be corrupting the Church, the Oxford Movement would certainly have found a supporter in Bliss. His sentiment was undoubtedly shaped by his Loyalist upbringing, but

contemporary forces--the Oxford movement as well as Romanticism--also played a role in maturing his views and in helping him to express them.

To this end, Bliss asserted the duty of mankind to love God and religion, to be thankful and give Him praise--the dominating sentiment of the poem. In doing so, Bliss revives the seventeenth-century doctrine of passive submission. The reader is immediately introduced to the glory of God and the lustre of Christianity, by means of the sermon during the Communion service:

> What fairer dome, save that which Heaven expands,
> What worthier seat of temples made with hands.
> Then builders sage her pillared for his throne?
> For nature's God a work like nature's own:
> Or where unlike the form her hands produce,
> Still like in grace, magnificence, and use (p. 5).

The Primate offers Anne the privilege of loving God and Church, their forgiveness and their wealth:

> Behold the Book of Life! Adjure thy sin,
> And haste, dear child, to write thy name therein.
> Thine shall be all rewards in heaven possest,
> And all this earth retains to make thee blest (p. 24)
> --which offer the accused defiantly refuses:
> Let fiends for ever tear and spurn me,--look!
> As thus I rend, and trample on your book (p. 32).

Throughout the trial, Bliss--speaking through the Primate--counters Anne's uncompromising disdain for "the hell-born science Holy Church." Yet the extent to which the Primate repeatedly tries to convince her, and the conviction and passion with which he does it, illuminate a third point concerning religion: the duty to enlighten, to disseminate Christian principles among non-Christian people. The following passage not only illustrates this point, but does so through a brilliant metaphor indicative of Bliss's literary talent:

> Let this suffice, her tenets are confest,
> And are not such as Holy Church approves.
> Them to correct,--as swift a mother moves,
> Whose babe stoops gazing o'er a folded asp,
> Charmed with its hues, and half prepared to clasp;
> Or wanders near a cliff where beetling hangs,

O'er gulfy waters,--yea, with keener pangs
The mother of our Souls made haste to take
this erring child, and rescue from a snake,
Of hue and fang more fascinous and dire,
A cliff more slippery, and a gulf of fire (p. 11).

The other striking aspect of this passage is the sincerity of Bliss's conviction. Although obviously not self-righteous, he is nevertheless imbued with stern conviction. Perhaps he was praising the work of English missionaries in evangelizing the non-Christian peoples of underdeveloped countries. The Primate speaks for Bliss when he states,

And such the grief that lacerates my heart,
For what thou might'st have been, and what thou art (p. 49).

Bliss's final statement concerning religion is revealed near the end of the poem. The reason for Anne's refusal to adopt Christian principles is elucidated in another dramatically impressive passage:

And suffering grace with crowns of martyrdom.
I will. Yes, Allah Kierim! I come.
God is my God! Mohammed is his seer!
And Islamism the faith I die for here! (p. 72)

The gasps of astonishment that follow Anne's declaration attest to the status and perception of Islam in England:

Is there one neophyte so simply schooled
One catechumen so by words befooled...
A creed, whose birth no miracles adorn.
By ignorance swathed, of plagiarism born... (p. 76).

Bliss here revives the conflict between Christianity and Islam that existed in the Middle Ages. Anne Ayliffe was ultimately burned at the stake, which dates the subject of the poem to a time when religious warfare was endemic. Islam, a monotheistic religion of Middle East origin, was intolerable, presumably because it was not understood and was regarded as the product of an 'uncivilized'--in other words, non-English--culture.

The circumstances of Bliss's life, moreover, must be recalled in this context. Bliss was a colonial *émigré* lawyer whose father supposed himself to have made tremendous sacrifices for the mother country: empire, institutions

and values. To hold the Church of England as the highest and best of all religious institutions, then, is understandable. Anything contrary to this would be destructive of Bliss's ultramontane Loyalist heritage. Gwendolyn Davies has argued that "Many Tory clergy merely transferred this relationship and influence into the Maritimes when they left the United States, reaffirming through their authorship their sense of traditional values."[29] She cites the Reverend Roger Viets's "Annapolis-Royal" as an example: "The world he presents is ordered, stable, hierarchical, and conservative. At the very heart of it is the Anglican Church, a symbol of God and the Crown."[30] Henry Bliss, however, is more rigid in this regard than was his father's generation, which was comparatively tolerant. Again, the Oxford Movement may be identified as the source of his strictly conservative view. In much the same way, these circumstances also explain Bliss's attitude towards the monarchy, expressed most sublimely in "Trial of Sir William Stanley" and "Trial of Mary Queen Of Scots."

With regard to the role of the monarchy, Bliss develops a number of themes: the divine right of kings, the duty of subjects to obey and respect the monarch, the role of the monarchy as a representation of the country, and the duty of the monarch to reign justly and righteously, as a viceroy of God. Bliss uses the dramatic poem, "Trial of Sir William Stanley"--the longest by far of the three poems, as well as the most densely plotted--as the vehicle for the most fervent expression of these views. "Trial of Mary Queen Of Scots" makes the fourth point emphatically, however, whereas "Trial of Sir William Stanley" only adumbrates it.

Once again, Bliss sets the scene through rich description. This poem chiefly deals with the revelation of Stanley's treasonous actions--the trial itself is only mentioned *en passant*. The King's Council has met in the Tower, where King Henry VII tells them that although treasonous Clifford has fled, he still suspects the presence of a traitor in the court. Henry is telling the council of plans devised by himself and Stanley, his Lord Chamberlain, in order to expose this traitor when a masked, mysterious figure appears at the Tower demanding to be heard by the King. After a number of exchanges it is revealed that the masked figure is a repenting Clifford, who has come to beg

29 Davies, "Consolation to Distress," p. 54.

30 *Ibid.*, 55.

forgiveness and, as a gesture of repentance, to expose the traitor. To the King's astonishment, Clifford accuses Stanley. What ensues is a sixty-page speech by Clifford, indicting Stanley for treason against previous monarchs and even for a plot against Henry VII himself; followed by another sixty-page speech by the accused, claiming innocence.

Bliss's first point is a very traditional one: the divine right of kings. Though this principle was obsolete after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the poem is emphatic in this regard. The king was held to be God's chosen representative on earth, as both head of state and head of the Church of England:

> What greater, than that law--of Heaven designed,
> That act of grace and mercy to mankind,
> Which guards his title whom the throne sustains,
> And bids our ligeance to the king who reigns (p. 210).

As such, the throne is a sacred office intended to execute God's will on earth. This premise had as its corollary Bliss's second point: the duty of the king's subjects to obey and respect the sovereign anointed by God. Obviously, this argument was of foremost significance to a second-generation Loyalist. The loyalty which motivated Bliss's father to reject the rebellious course of the Thirteen Colonies and to sacrifice his homeland for the sake of adherence to the crown comes to the forefront in Bliss's poem. Indeed, by reading the poem as a tribute to the principles of the first Loyalist generation, the contempt for crimes against the monarch takes on a different, more meaningful dimension. The influence of Romanticism is surely the rationale for the grandiloquent expression of these values. Bliss's infatuation with the monarch is revealed by the introduction given to the king:

> The south doors opened with a noiseless swing
> And lords, with golden wands, announced--The King.
> Anon there entered, at whose presence shown,
> Each knee was dropped, and every forehead prone (p. 108).

This obeisance is demanded by the monarch, however, making rebellion against it not merely unlawful but also a sin against God:

> No man bestowed my crown! 'Twas God's own gift
> Which--woe the rebel!--that conspires to lift (p. 265).

The story of Sir William Stanley as told by Clifford is one of bribery, trickery and betrayal. Stanley's blatant disregard for "Heaven's high prerogative" is, for Bliss, a crime:

> But show, ere treason reached this giant growth,
> How often Stanley has betrayed an oath,...
> Crimes to the crown--no matter on whose brow,
> They claim revenge from him who wears it now... (p. 132).

Bliss also cites an association between the king and his kingdom--an association wherein they become virtually one and the same. On several occasions, Bliss refers to Stanley's betrayal as a betrayal of the kingdom:

> A secret pistol's shot, or dagger cast,
> Might pierce all England, Bind and hold him fast...
> ...with its King the kingdom falls betrayed (p. 115).

There is also the broader picture which must be borne in mind: Bliss implies that any betrayal of England--the American Revolution, for instance--is a betrayal of the empire. Bliss was well acquainted with the aftermath of the rebellion in the Thirteen Colonies and viewed it in a most negative light. That he was quick to condemn similar acts of disloyalty seems natural. On the broader topic of empire Bliss has little to say, although he does glorify Britain's imperium in the lines,

> For England's sake so fashioned sea and land,
> Her site, soil, climate, mines beneath her sod,
> All formed for wealth, for empire,--praise to God! (p. 153)

This seems sufficient to enable us to conclude that Bliss's denunciation of crimes against the crown was related to his love for the empire, and his perception of the harmful repercussions stemming from the Thirteen Colonies' betrayal of the first British empire.

Bliss's final point regarding the role of the sovereign emphasizes monarchical duty: the responsibility of the King, as an instrument of God and of the Church, to reign justly and righteously. Without such fidelity the kingdom falls into a desperate state, as noted by King Henry:

> When monstrous Richard trod the realm in gore
> And rent his kindred, like a rabid boar--
> When, desperate else of rescue or relief,

> The people called from exile--me--their chief... (p. 110).

Obviously Bliss sees the responsibility of the monarch to God and to his subjects as an important one. To make this point emphatically, he uses the poem "Trial of Mary Queen Of Scots," citing her failure to accept monarchical responsibility. Suspected of murdering her husband and entering into a scandalous marriage, Mary fled to England where she was accused of complicity in plots against the life of Queen Elizabeth. In Bliss's poem, Mary uses her status as queen anointed by God as a means to escape judgment:

> You cannot judge me, and you shall not try...
> Nor you...Can try a monarch and I will not plead...
> You shall not judge me, and I will not plead (pp. 292, 293, 295).

The responsibility of being a monarch, however, is too great to be abused. As Bliss would have it, Mary is tried for her crimes--for betraying God, her position and her country:

> Is God's your bar?--God gives you this on earth.
> Guilt levels all respect of sex, of birth:
> No woe can palliate guilt, no title screen.
> We judge for God, for England, and our Queen (p. 302).

The outcome of these poems, and indeed the fate of their historical subjects--Anne Ayliffe burned at the stake, Sir William Stanley and Mary Queen of Scots beheaded--indicates Bliss's profound sense of justice. Having devoted much of his professional energy to society's legal affairs and to arguments for impartial conduct in colonial matters, Bliss has an obvious and deep sense of justice and fair play, at least in the nineteenth-century British sense of the word. Surely his status as a colonial-attorney-turned-English-barrister had a profound effect on his thought. A sense of injustice pervades the Loyalist experience, not only in the context of the rebellious and lawless actions which forced the Loyalists into exile, but also in the sense that--once settled in crown territory to the north--the refugees felt continually betrayed by the mother country. As colonial agent, Bliss sought to rectify this injustice, and his lasting preoccupation with it is at the heart of *State Trials*.

Bliss's final major theme is the value of tradition, another element which constitutes the basic premise of the poems and illuminates many areas of the author's thought. First, tradition acts as a method of approaching issues,

which greatly contrasts with the literary genre used by Bliss's father's generation. As stated previously, the original Loyalists generally wrote in a manner which clearly illustrated the intended point. To this end, themes were expressed using incidents of the day and characters clearly representative of a real person or a certain attitude. Bliss, by contrast, harkens back many centuries to retroject his attitudes and ideas to an historically-based incident--a format which is all the more subtle for not being immediate. Secondly, this theme emphasizes that Bliss believed his values were traditionally-based, old-fashioned and commonplace in English history. He recalls in these poems old-fashioned sentiments which were revived by both the Loyalist myth and the Oxford Movement, and which he particularly uses to illustrate not only his own loyalty but also his profound respect for old English values.

Despite the conviction and sincerity which are clearly manifested in these poems, Bliss maintains a marked sense of humour. His wit is captivating, and finds expression on a number of occasions in *State Trials*. When Clifford, cloaked in mystery and doom, arrives at the Tower in "Trial of Sir William Stanley," the King momentarily abandons his royal, sophisticated demeanour and asks,

> What crime, what folly, places in my power
> This double boon, to do a traitor dead,
> And save the bounty offered on his head? (p. 118)

On other occasions in *State Trials*, Bliss is simply comical: "Lord Derby! Shame! has sense with colour past?" (p. 107). These extremes are evidence of a well-rounded, likeable personality who understood the humdrum, as well as the sophisticated, side of human affairs.

The above discussion displays the values of a second-generation Loyalist, as well as illustrating the extent to which the *émigré* experience and early Loyalist writing shaped the sentiments expressed in *State Trials*. It cannot be expected that the principles adhered to by Bliss epitomized prevailing intellectual currents or entirely captured the mood of other second-generation colonial refugees. To some degree, however, humans are all the product of their environment and, without committing to a determinist's point of view, it may be said that Bliss was representative of his time and place.

This is demonstrated not only by the universality of the themes of Bliss's poems and by the device of the rhyming couplets acquired from the poetic heritage of the Maritimes, but also by the Romantic nature of his work. The

setting of the Middle Ages, the preoccupation with national history and the revival of Christianity, and the infatuation with nature are features distinguishing both Romanticism and its impact on Bliss's poems. Verse after verse illustrates this contemporary influence, both in tone and in the use of nature as theme and subject. The following lines speak for themselves:

> Morn, roseate seraph, pinioned as the dove,
> With golden feet, and starry brow of love,
> On earth alighting, pearled from orient bowers above (p. 102).

One naturally associates Wordsworth or Coleridge with Romanticism, rather than the massive verse dramas of Bliss. Just as Romanticism shaped Chopin's waltzes, however, it also undeniably is at the heart of the poems in this volume.

The combination of these attributes with the values expressed in *State Trials* constitutes an example of second-generation Loyalist sentiment. The problem which still exists is that published writing by or on this generation is so attenuated that the valuable exercise of comparison is not possible. Without the benefit of such an exercise, however, general statements about a colonial mentality or set of values, relative to other sons and daughters of Loyalists, are inconclusive. All that is certain is that *State Trials* reflects the beliefs of Henry Bliss. Yet even here a qualification is necessary. Dealing solely with this work offers insight into Bliss's convictions at the time of its creation, namely the 1830s. Isolating these poems from his literary works in general, however, ignores development or alteration in his outlook. Certainly there were to be changes in colonial affairs, as well as changes in Bliss's personal life. Furthermore, the Romantic movement lost momentum over time, and Bliss was hardened by the disappointments which came to pervade his life. As *State Trials* does not reflect any of this, I shall now explore two additional poetic works by Bliss: *Philip the Second: A Tragedy* (1849) and *Thecla: A Drama* (1866). The change in attitude and the different themes addressed in these works raise important questions in their own right.

The three verse dramas chosen to represent the works of Henry Bliss reflect not only the philosophical thought of the author, but also his practical thought: "philosophical" addressing the universal, "practical" addressing the personal. *State Trials* tends to indulge the former, the emphasis falling on elevated notions of religion, justice and virtue; *Philip the Second: A Tragedy* and, to a lesser extent, *Thecla: A Drama* are indicative of his personal life.

They deal not with abstract concepts but with human emotions. There is less and less evidence of the Romantic young man who composed a tribute to Loyalist ideals: the fire had been dampened and there is a change in perspective.

Philip the Second: A Tragedy was the third verse drama published under the author's *nom de plume*, N. T. Moile. Loosely based on the reign of King Philip II of Spain, the long dramatic poem is another articulation of Henry Bliss's thought. In this case, however, the poem is a sort of self-revelation or coming-to-terms with his own emotional state. It was published in 1849 in London, where it seems to have gone completely unnoticed.

This verse drama is a departure for Bliss. Relative to his other works, *Philip the Second* is the exception rather than the rule: this drama is personal. Grand ideals of justice and righteousness which permeate the other poems--particularly *State Trials*--are downplayed. After fifty-three years of life and bitter experience deriving from his fair share of disappointment and disillusionment, Bliss seems to have 'come down from his pedestal,' at least temporarily. The sentiment in *Philip the Second* echoes a mid-life crisis or some similarly traumatic psychic state.

Philip the Second is about interpersonal relationships and the destructive emotional potential of such interactions. Bliss here explores the personal nature of humanity, setting aside the intellectual and political ideals which occupied his attention in earlier works. Certainly notions of justice, religious faith and monarchical duty are present, but they are not pursued with the once-typical Bliss ferocity. At this point in his life, the author seems less concerned with principle--more concerned with feelings--and the poem suggests a yearning for more balanced relationships.

There are three specific relationships in *Philip the Second* on which Bliss focuses, each centred around the protagonist, Carlos. These interactions, in turn, involve different emotional states which supply the themes of the drama. The three relationships are those between Carlos and Isabel, Philip II's wife; Carlos and Philip II, his father; and Carlos and Pedro, a boyhood and lifelong friend. The poem's opening scene occurs on a lawn inside the palace, where Carlos is wandering aimlessly--disillusioned, despondent, angry, bemoaning the state of Spain and of himself:

> Art thou for ever doomed for priests to drudge,
> And bleed for despots, whom--But God must judge.
> Her despot gave me being--boon of ill!

And boon he grudges, can revoke, and will (p. 9).

The reason for his sorrow is established immediately:

Ah, Father, sons have rights a sire should spare;
And, King, your own blood mantles in your heir;
And love's are ties no tyrant can untwine.
Could all earth offer you no bride but mine?
And thou, lost Isabel, my promised spouse,
What feelings now are thine--and where thy vows? (p. 11)

It should be pointed out that Bliss exercised artistic licence in writing this poem; it is only loosely based on fact. Historically, Don Carlos was deemed mentally retarded and unfit to succeed his father. Peter Pierson, in his historical account of Philip II's reign, states that "[Carlos] had been pledged for the hand of Elizabeth de Valois, but his condition was such that in 1559 all held it better that Philip himself marry the young princess for the sake of peace between the houses of Valois and Habsburg."[31] Don Carlos died in July 1568, and Spain's queen, Elizabeth de Valois, the following October; Pierson points out that "Among Philip's enemies, the deaths of Don Carlos (July) and Elizabeth de Valois (October), coming so close together, soon gave rise to an untrue story that they had been lovers, for which Philip had them both murdered."[32] Apparently Bliss was intrigued by this rumour; seeing Philip II as the archetypal tyrant, he thought the scenario entirely consistent with his character, and a fascinating and appropriate premise for the drama. For whatever reason, Isabel assumes the persona of Elizabeth.

The two main themes conveyed by Carlos and Isabel's relationship are sympathy and love, two very humane and compassionate emotions which had previously failed to find a voice in Bliss's poems. The treatment of these emotions is genuine and touching, and expressed with such apt words and phrases that Bliss stirs a spontaneous response in the reader. The importance of love pervades the entire poem and is repeatedly eulogized:

Men but in this each other's worth o'ercome:
They all love some one, and the good love some;
The bad love few, and them with fervour small;
The good love many much; the best love all (p. 15).

31 Peter Pierson, *Philip II of Spain* (London, 1975), p. 54.

32 *Ibid.*, 56.

In a much more specific way, however, romantic love becomes the focus of the work. Carlos's remorse over the loss of Isabel to a political marriage is profound; he cannot acquiesce in such a solution:

> My grief has deeper reach and loftier scope:
> He robbed, aye, robbed my very heart of hope,
> Mine eyes of light, my spirit of its fire,
> My mind of health, my soul of all desire,
> He robbed me--oh! of more than youth, and life,
> And heaven, the day he robbed me of my wife (p. 19).

This theme of lost love, and the disillusionment and sorrow stemming from unrequited love, initially seems foreign to our concept of the idealistic Bliss. As stated earlier, however, the drama is a personal piece, a testament to his emotional state at a decisive point in his life. After playing with notions of marrying a "rich local belle" in France with "some connexion in the country," as he intimated in letters dated 1825, and intermittently mentioning marriage thereafter, the once independent and detached Bliss gradually fell into a state of loneliness and diffidence.[33] He had fathered an illegitimate son before he left New Brunswick and ultimately married his housekeeper, an obvious step beneath his social rank which would have been scandalous or at least worthy of contempt from contemporaries. Although knowledge of this marriage is very limited, it is clear from Bliss's correspondence that he was lonely and yearning for suitable companionship. His failure to advance socially through marriage was also disillusioning. In 1839 he wrote to his brother Lewis,

> And how face the Northern Circuit after marrying a person who has neither beauty nor youth nor talent nor future nor family, nor even character in their sense, though in mine, the most lively and perfect one...marriage would remove from these sweet chambers, and the calm and delicious life I lead here.[34]

Bliss seemed unable to reconcile his social position as a member of the English bar and the son of a prominent Loyalist with his personal well-being. *Philip the Second* indulges this emotional state, as unhappy and demoralized as it may have been.

Sympathy is the other theme of Carlos and Isabel's relationship. Bliss opts

33 Henry Bliss to William Blowers Bliss, 27 Jan. 1825, Bliss family fonds, PANS.

34 Henry Bliss to Lewis Bliss, 30 May 1839, *ibid.*

for the 'tyrannical' interpretation of Philip II, an enigmatic monarch, perhaps in order to suggest the importance of monarchical duty or to emphasize, by means of contrast, the value of love. Either way, the result is characters pitying other characters and the reader pitying them all. Such sweeping generalizations were once reserved for ideals of justice or virtue in *State Trials*, but here more personal qualities are praised in light of Bliss's quest for universal improvement. It is significant that throughout this drama sympathy is evoked from the reader, thus providing evidence of Bliss's sincerity as well as perhaps of his own yearning for sympathy. There is a degree of self-pity in the poem which could be misconstrued as selfishness or vanity:

> Nay--But one word--What heart like mine distraught,
> While other arms hold all it ever sought,
> Could deem more vain than venial this behaviour
> To haunt the trace of treasure lost forever: (pp. 22-23)

Such grief, however, is too genuine, too intense and too convincing to suggest mere whining; Bliss himself was clearly troubled.

The second key relationship in *Philip the Second* gives the general tone of the poem a new dimension: in the interaction between Carlos and his father, Philip II, is an awareness of Bliss's relationship with his own illegitimate son, Fitzhenry. At best, knowledge of this affiliation is sketchy, but may be gleaned from correspondence in the Bliss family letters. The problems apparently experienced by Bliss as documented in his letters, moreover, are mirrored in the verse drama by Carlos's relationship with Philip.

Carlos is convinced that Philip's marriage to Isabel is an indication of his hatred for Carlos:

> The more grief grew my fortitude had growth;
> But my stern Father's hatred outstripped them both (p. 18).

Isabel cannot accept this notion--"no father's heart can hate his son"--and pleads unsuccessfully with Carlos to mend his relationship with his father. She afterwards, in a passionate speech, urges Philip to initiate the reconciliation:

> Invite his confidence, your own impart,
> And have an honest change of heart for heart...
> Reserve for foes that majesty severe;

But to your son be gentle, and be dear.
Revive his virtues, fan their faintest spark:
In Philip's heir all never can be dark...
By youthful ardour to excesses driven,
Which would be--censured? yes, and be forgiven (pp. 44-46).

Again some factual background knowledge is requisite. Don Carlos was "erratic and scandalous in his conduct" and "openly contemptuous" of his father, because Philip had not made him regent of the Netherlands.[35] In *Philip the Second*, Philip accuses Carlos of conspiracy with the Netherlands:

Whom didst thou encounter? whom didst entertain?
Whom? but--that miscreant Flanders sent to Spain,
Prayers in his mouth for mercy from the mud,
But bosom fraught with treason, spoil and blood (p. 52).

The fear of treason, however, seems to be only part of Philip's anger. The monarch is suspicious of Carlos and Isabel; he is convinced that their love has not been extinguished. He therefore toys with Isabel and endeavours to trick her into confessing her true feelings.[36] The result is death for both Isabel and Carlos.

Regarding the paternal-filial relationship theme, it is clear that Bliss believed a strong bond existed between father and son:

True, tears at times are counted fresh offence;
There is a heart they soothe not but incense.
But you, you bear a father's, not a stone.
Assuage his tears, or blend them with your own! (p. 70)

Bliss's view of the bond between father and son can be traced to his own experience with his son. Reared illegitimately in the 1820s or early 1830s--the precise date is indeterminable--Fitzhenry Bliss spent a year or two in boarding school in France, under Lewis Bliss's supervision. Almost immediately, Henry was appalled by the lack of cultivation which the precocious but selfish "Fitz" exhibited at school: "Does he know how very ignorant he is and how uneducated?" Henry wrote to Lewis, 18 October

35 Pierson, *Philip II*, pp. 54-55.

36 Henry Bliss to Lewis Bliss, 18 Oct. 1837, Bliss family fonds, PANS.

1837.[37] Henry requested Lewis to buy a copy of Homer's *Odyssey*, specifically to have "Fitz" read it; the following summer, Henry himself went to Paris in order to study with his son in the mornings and then spend the rest of the day with him. In the autumn of 1838, Henry was thrilled to detect some grace in Fitz's letters from France. Bliss's efforts to cultivate his son in the Loyalist fashion were finally being rewarded: "He has almost entirely abandoned that horrid vocabulary of the Yankee schoolboys which he had retained last year, and now begins to study proper words and good expressions. He has more regard to civilities and courtesies."[38]

The father's assurance, however, was short-lived. Though craving his son's love, Henry was careful not to spoil the child, and was therefore strict rather than affectionate. This led to resentment, and by 1843 tensions had mounted severely. Henry continued to support "Fitz" at university, but the latter developed grievances against Henry and was insulting to his wife. That January, Henry referred to his son's "coarse brutish savage temper and manners" in a letter to Lewis.[39] By July, father had forbidden son ever to come either to his house or chambers: "My love has been thrown away on him," wrote Bliss with remorse.[40]

The failure of this relationship is mirrored by the failure of that between Philip II of Spain and his son, Don Carlos. Perhaps seeking to vent his disappointment, Henry turned to writing. Espousing the ideal father-son relationship was probably therapeutic, while recreating a similar situation from his own life offered him comfort.

The final and less well-developed relationship in this drama is the friendship between Carlos and his boyhood friend, Pedro. During Carlos's darkest hour, Pedro offers his services to his friend:

> Carlos! But, oh, how changed in sight and soul!
> What cares, dear Prince, distract your self-control?
> Tell them the partner of your earliest years.
> Let me, who shared your studies, share your tears (p. 27);

37 *Ibid.*, 11 Oct. 1839.

38 *Ibid.*, 3 Jan. 1843.

39 *Ibid.*, 3 July 1843.

40 Bliss, *Philip the Second*, p. 118.

Carlos appreciates Pedro's devotion but cannot confide in him:

> Dearer than life within my heart it hides,
> A nameless woe, which only death divides.
> Never was friend more generous then thou art:
> But ah! I cannot show that friend my heart (p. 31).

Bliss further develops this theme of friendship, love and loyalty through a dramatic and passionate speech by Pedro in defence of Carlos, in which he offers his own life in order to save that of his friend. At the end of the poem, Pedro is killed for his loyalty, which causes the protagonist still greater affliction: "How many deaths already have I passed?"[41] The theme of friendship adds greater weight to the argument that this drama is a personal one--a testament of Bliss's own distress and a sort of cathartic resolution to experience.

The last of Henry Bliss's verse dramas appeared in 1866, seven years before his death. *Thecla: A Drama* is the most ambitious of the works examined here because of its development of plot and character, its insight and its sheer magnitude: 204 pages, excluding prologue and epilogue. The usual literary *nom de plume* was not used; Henry Bliss was at least ready to accept credit for authoring the drama.

Thecla is a Christian morality play which explores the transitory nature of Rome, its glory and empire, and expresses an admiration for both pagan and Christian morality. It is a gloomy work, made all the more ponderous by speechifying and abstraction. In this drama, two significant characters reject Emperor Nero and power for freedom and Christianity; Bliss praises their higher idealism.

Thecla takes place in Rome near the end of Nero's reign. It is the story of a young female slave from Egypt who is transported to Rome. The attractive young woman comes to the attention of Nero, who ultimately makes her his wife. Inspired by the teachings of the Apostle Paul, however, Thecla renounces Nero, material wealth and empire, and converts to Christianity. For Bliss the drama is his final statement to the world, a reconciliation of the extreme sentiments which characterized *State Trials* and *Philip the Second*,

41 Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition In New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825-1914," in *Acadiensis*, 4, 2 (Spring 1975), 5.

and the final testament of his thoughts and feelings. Bliss was sixty-nine years of age when *Thecla* was published, and in it there is little trace of the witty idealism or bitter disillusionment found in his earlier works. *Thecla* is much more temperate and stolid, indicative of the author's age and tumultuous past. Happily, the poem ends on an optimistic note, suggesting that Bliss had finally found peace of mind.

Perhaps the best way to convey Bliss's intention in this drama is through the characters, who are well developed and represent different interpretations of, and attitudes towards the same situation. The most noble responses are portrayed in a favourable light: those of Seneca, Nero's adviser on political and philosophical matters, and Thecla, the heroine. It is principally through these two characters that Bliss's final state of mind is articulated. Seneca represents a middle ground between the intense sentiments of the earlier works. He is balanced, realistic, acquiescent, at times even passive, but nevertheless retains hope and optimism. Seneca is Bliss's *alter ego* in this poem, the character with whom Bliss identifies most strongly.

Another of the major characters in *Thecla* is Nero's wife Statilia, whom Nero later divorces in order to marry Thecla. Statilia is deeply troubled by Nero's tyranny and voices pessimism, despair and hopelessness:

> Is there no ransom can redeem the past?
> No school can cure remorse? Is death the last?
> Was this world made to shudder at and scoff?
> Was chance its author? Is the end far off? (p. 15)

Seneca instructs Statilia to take comfort in accepting what she cannot control:

> Statilia, need I ask? we live in times
> When all things turn on fortune's power and crimes.
> Nor is the moment meet for deep discourse
> Of means to baffle crime's and fortune's force...
> Guard bud and blossom in a glassy bower,
> Invite the sunbeam, counterfeit the shower,
> Till when full orbs in orange-tawny shine--
> Then enter, eat, and bless the power divine (pp. 16-17).

Statilia would have Seneca "bid me despair," but Seneca suggests that she

> Learn rather how to hope.
> Events show man what should have been his scope...
> Events we cannot change but can discuss,
> And mitigate the change they make in us (pp. 17-18).

This is a new, refreshing attitude for Bliss. In the earliest poems, grand ideals of virtue and duty expressed Bliss's strong identification with the Loyalist experience inculcated in him as a young man. The depression and disillusionment of *Philip the Second* mirrored an emotional mid-life crisis. In the end, however, Bliss seems to have learned from both these experiences. In his later years, his attitude was better balanced; the idealism and despair tempered one another. What had evolved was stoic yet hopeful perspective.

The primary dramatic means of highlighting this resolution is through juxtaposition with the anger and hostility of Statilia. When she cries

> His doom to-day to-morrow must enforce
> Oh, doom of misery! exile and divorce! (p. 106),

Seneca replies

> Exile, divorce, and death, in all their force,
> What are they? E'en death, exile, and divorce.
> No more? All else is added by our fears.
> Anxiety and grief, like sobs and tears (p. 108).

After Seneca rejects the pomp and glory of empire and is put to death on a trumped-up charge of treason, Statilia eulogizes him as "the noblest sage / That ever graced an impious clime and age," whose "stern philosophy" guided Rome (p. 117).

Thecla is the second major character whom Bliss portrays as noble. She is a symbol of hope and represents the possibility of redemption. Initially, Thecla bows to Nero's demand and marries him. A speech by the Apostle Paul, however, inspires Thecla and convinces her that devotion to God is more important than devotion to Nero or empire:

> How proud, how selfish have I been, how vain!
> What insolence of grandeur turned my brain!
> Off, off, vile geegaws of a worthless world!
> This tired, these rubied rings, these bracelets pearled,
> These spotted wasps, these adders sting my head.
> How can I wear what others want for bread?
> Take, take them, and divide to those that need!
> Go, clothe the naked, bid the famished feed! (p. 121)

Thecla's remorse for her private indulgence at the expense of the many testifies to Bliss's compassion, as well as to his belief in the virtue of redemption. Furthermore, Thecla takes a noble stand against the corruption and tyranny of

Nero by denying that his power rivals heaven's:

> *Nero*
> Accept earth's empire, and its master's love!
>
> *Thecla*
> Heaven's kingdom comes: my master reigns above (p. 147).

She commits herself instead to Paul's cause:

> Away! let none resist me, none recall!
> My master summons! From the world! To Paul! (p. 152)

Thus does Bliss conclude his final work with a happy ending. That good conquers evil in this poem is very significant, for it implies that Bliss had made peace with both the world and himself. After the idealism of youth was curtailed by reality, Bliss seemed to have lost faith in the world and abandoned his noble aims. *Thecla* reveals, however, a glimmer of the much younger Bliss: the principles of monarchical duty, religion and justice are still intact, but they have been severely tempered by the disillusionment of mid-life. The composition of these dramas forced Bliss to confront and come to terms with his own attitudes, and this process is documented by the text of the poems themselves.

The verse dramas of Henry Bliss have heretofore served to exemplify second-generation Loyalist thought. The poems elucidate the mentality of this particular author and serve as a reflection of his tumultuous emotional life and changing attitudes through time and experience. In this respect the dramas are rich. Surely not all writers are as true to themselves as Bliss apparently was, but it is difficult to conceive of a literary work which does not serve to some degree as a reflection of a time and place, an experience, an emotion or an idea.

Bliss's literary efforts may also be indicative of a broader range of thought. In all good historical conscience, the conclusions drawn from this endeavour are modest at best. Nonetheless, it is certainly possible that the sentiment expressed in the literary creations of Henry Bliss is indicative of a 'typical' second-generation Loyalist response to the experience of expulsion and exile, or that Bliss's works capture the mentality of a generation which in an era of economic hardship and political instability harkened back to Loyalist ideals for guidance and comfort.

Murray Barkley has written of the development of the Loyalist 'myth' in

New Brunswick in the nineteenth century. His work traces the evolution of the "image of the Loyalists"[42] as it was shaped by contemporary social, cultural, economic, political and intellectual forces. Barkley identifies two periods of "profound veneration and intense emotional fervour": 1837 to 1849 and 1887 to 1897.[43] The first period was a reaction against and response to economic depression, a precarious political situation, American aggression, Irish Catholic immigration, and Britain's adoption of free trade. The historical myth developed during this period was, according to Barkley, essentially reactionary. Among its characteristics were

> the Loyalists' élitist origins, their loyalty to the British Crown and steadfast adherence to British constitutional principles, institutions, and the unity of the British Empire, their sufferings and self-sacrifice on behalf of these principles, their struggle against nature, a recurring element of anti-Americanism, and their divinely-inspired sense of mission.[44]

At different stages in the development of the province, therefore, the sons and daughters of the original *émigrés* sought direction and comfort by recalling their Loyalist heritage and by celebrating its most noble and honourable features. Bliss's dramas testify to the tendency of this generation to evoke its past and exalt the principles and strength of character which led a loyal people into exile.

State Trials has been interpreted as just such a celebration of the Loyalists and their values. The sentiment of the work is clearly highly idealistic and of the most universal sort. In his glorification of abstract principles is the suggestion that Bliss was not preoccupied here with specific concerns, but rather with the crowning glories of the English constitutional tradition. *Philip the Second* has been seen largely as a personal piece concentrating on the splintered life of the author, a one-time Romantic idealist. *Thecla* has been presented as a mirror of reconciliation, a coming-to-terms with life and its hardships. In his final dramatic work, Bliss reposed confidence in Christianity and in mankind's capacity to purge itself of vanity and self-interest, in order to seek faith and love.

Certainly the environments in which Bliss composed his dramas--economic, political, intellectual--influenced the sentiment conveyed. The modest proposals set forth in this present study are insufficient to achieve a full understanding of

42 *Ibid.*, 5-6.

43 *Ibid.*, 6.

44 *Ibid.*

the forces which motivated and shaped Bliss's thought. The paper has instead attempted to elucidate the values of a second-generation Loyalist by suggesting a very limited interpretive framework. There are four additional literary works by Bliss which have yet to be brought to light, to say nothing of his numerous tracts on colonial political matters. The Henry Bliss correspondence used in this work is but a sample of the Bliss Family fonds currently deposited in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. There is, moreover, no lack of secondary materials by which the political, economic and intellectual climates of the new Canadian provinces and Victorian Britain may be reconstructed and compared. Within this fuller context, a better understanding of Bliss's values can be achieved. Within the broader context of second-generation Loyalist writing in general, moreover, the sentiments expressed by Bliss may assume more significance.

The epilogue of *Thecla* is Bliss's final farewell to the world, and clearly reflects his own thought:

> Since nothing is by chance--say! what decree
> Brought back such shadows of the past on me?
> And mixed with mine their character and speech,
> And made me e'en live o'er the life of each--
> Till my soul seemed the mirror they surveyed,
> The wax they moulded, and the pipe they played
> Who brought them hither, and their coming timed
> When woe was me except I wrote and rhymed?
> When thought had sallies nothing could coerce,
> And my lost soul poured forth itself in verse (p. 205).

Creative writing was therapeutic for Bliss and the best forum for his thought. Bliss found inspiration and encouragement in the characters which he developed and in the messages which he communicated:

> The character they formed inspired content;
> Gave the great strength to welcome each event;
> To spurn all vulgar care for place or self,
> All vulgar virtue that but seeks itself,
> And found my peace beyond the world's control,
> In the heart's thought, the kingdom of the soul (p. 210).

Bliss's response to the patrimony which he inherited--the state of exile and status as a colonial--is reminiscent of his father's generation. He consoled himself with literature. The verse dramas of Henry Bliss record one man's appreciation of life and experience, his high aspirations and bitter disappointments, and his unfailing recourse to creative writing as a channel for his thoughts and feelings.

William J. Weaver (ca. 1759-1817): Halifax Portraitist

Paul D. Schweizer

In 1914 the Canadian archivist Harry Piers published his landmark and still useful essay on the artists of Nova Scotia. In this study he briefly mentioned an artist known to him only as "J. Weaver," from the signature that appears in the lower left corner of the Nova Scotia Legislative Library's small oil portrait of H.R.H. Prince Edward, Duke of Kent (**Fig. 1**).[1] Perhaps because this full-length figure of the prince appears awkwardly drawn in some parts, Piers declared that Weaver's "work does not show any real skill." And because he was unable to learn more about Weaver, Piers added that the artist's identity "cannot be traced."[2]

Piers's frustration in not being able to uncover more information about the early artists of Nova Scotia is apparent in the opening paragraph of his 1914 essay:

> It is only with the greatest difficulty that any information whatever can be gained regarding them, and then merely in the most fragmentary and disjointed scraps. Some of their work is scattered throughout the province, while much of it has gone to other lands with descendants of the older opulent families into whose possession such heirlooms have descended. Sometimes even the name of a portrait's subject has been forgotten, and in many cases the artist's name is lost to oblivion.[3]

Besides providing an insight to the challenges Piers faced when he undertook his study, this passage summarizes the obstacles that still hinder developing a better understanding of the Canadian phase of the career of William J. Weaver--the Anglo-North American artist who painted portraits in the late

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1 This article is dedicated to my five-year-old daughter Natalie Paula, who watched its progress during the day, and especially late at night. I am grateful to Scott Robson, Curator of Historic Buildings and Furnishings, Nova Scotia Museum, for the information he generously shared with me regarding the location of several of the paintings and documents used in this study, and for his hospitality in the summer of 1991, which made my examination of virtually all of the portraits attributed to Weaver that remain in Halifax such a pleasure. Scott Robson, Jane K. Schweizer, Marianne Corrou and Mary E. Murray read earlier drafts of this article and made helpful suggestions that have improved the text. The cost of the photographs was defrayed by the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute.

2 Harry Piers, "Artists in Nova Scotia," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 18 (1914), 110.

3 *Ibid.*, 101.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in many of the principal cities along the Atlantic seaboard from Halifax to Savannah, Georgia.[4]

The observations about Weaver in this article are based on the author's personal examination of virtually all the extant portraits that Piers and others have cited as evidence that Weaver was one of Halifax's earliest professional portraitists. Piers deserves considerable credit for recognizing the basic hallmarks of Weaver's portrait style and for being the first to suggest that he indeed worked in Halifax. Nevertheless, the confusion that has surrounded Weaver's identity may explain why J. Russell Harper and Dennis Reid did not mention Weaver in either of their histories of Canadian painting.[5] Now, however, because of the recent identification of a number of the portraits that Weaver painted in the United States, there is a better understanding of the principal characteristics of his portrait style. This has made it possible to eliminate from his oeuvre the Canadian portraits that have been incorrectly attributed to him. It will also make it easier to identify additional portraits Weaver no doubt painted in the Halifax area, and which may yet remain in private hands.

Because so little is currently known about Weaver's activities in Nova Scotia, this article will focus on the issues of style and attribution. Further research is needed on other equally important questions, such as the provenances of the portraits, the social or economic class of the citizens who patronized Weaver, and the identity of his sitters.

The case for Weaver's presence in Nova Scotia has traditionally rested on fourteen portraits. Between 1914 and 1931, Piers attributed nine of these to Weaver.[6] Four of this group of nine are now lost.[7] Of the ten extant portraits

4 Paul D. Schweizer, "The 'Strong and Striking' Likenesses of William J. Weaver (c. 1759-1817): An Introduction," in *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, XVII, 2 (Nov. 1992), 1-36.

5 J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (2nd ed.; Toronto, 1977), p. 81; Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto, 1973), pp. 31-32.

6 The nine works are portraits of H.R.H. Prince Edward, Adam de Chezeau, Charles Geddes, John Halliburton (a miniature?), Robert Hume, Ann Madden, Charles Morris III, Joseph Prescott (panel, *ex. coll.* Miss V. Fairbanks) and Joseph Prescott (*ex coll.* Mrs. M. A. B. Smith).

7 The four lost portraits are of Charles Geddes, John Halliburton, Joseph Prescott (*ex. coll.* Miss V. Fairbanks) and Robert Hume. The Geddes and Halliburton portraits were published in James S. Macdonald, *Annals, North British Society, Halifax, Nova Scotia with Portraits and Biographical Notes* (Halifax, 1905), pp. 35, 110. The poor quality of these illustrations does not permit any stylistic conclusions to be drawn from them.

that have been attributed to him, by Piers or others, four have stylistic characteristics that suggest they were not painted by him.[8] Thus, out of a group of fourteen works there are only six portraits (two women and four men) upon which the case for Weaver's presence in Halifax can be securely based. Of this group, Piers wrote about four. He never discussed the fifth, an unfinished portrait, even though it is difficult to imagine that he was unaware of it. Apparently the sixth portrait was completely unknown to him.

When Piers was researching the career of the artist Robert Field, he discovered some biographical information about Weaver and assembled a list of portraits he believed the latter had painted while in Halifax. In his 1927 monograph on Field he noted:

> There are several unsigned oil portraits of Halifax residents, mostly half-lengths, on tin-plate and wood, and measuring from 10 x 8 to 14 x 12 ins., which I once erroneously attributed to Field....They may be now definitely attributed to John Weaver, an artist who was in Halifax at least in 1797 and who in the following year painted a signed, full-length on panel, 26 x 16-1/2 ins., of Lieut. Gen. Prince Edward. Dunlap says of this artist that he was probably an Englishman, intemperate, and painted in the United States small oil portraits, generally on tin, 'inveterate likenesses, hard as the tin and as cutting as the outline.' Probably, through drink, his work degenerated after he left Halifax, as some of his Nova Scotian portraits have decided merit.[9]

There are four points in the above passage that require closer scrutiny, chiefly because of the influence that Piers's comments have had on what subsequent historians have thought and written about Weaver. These are: whether it is correct that Weaver's art degenerated after he left Halifax; the source Piers relied upon for biographical information about the artist; the question of Weaver's first name; and the plausibility of Piers's suggestion regarding the dates Weaver might have been in Halifax.

Even though Piers wrote that Weaver's portraits were "over-sharp in treatment,"[10] the generally higher quality of the works he attributed to the artist in his own assessments after 1914 may explain why he revised his

8 Three of these works are discussed in fn. 18; the fourth, a portrait of Joseph Prescott, is discussed in fn. 33.

9 Harry Piers, *Robert Field, Portrait Painter in Oils, Miniature and Water-Colours and Engraver* (New York, 1927), pp. 143-144.

10 *Ibid.*, 144.

initially low opinion of Weaver's portraiture skills. In view of this, it is hard to understand why Piers believed Weaver's art degenerated after he left Halifax. The portraits and miniatures he subsequently painted in the United States indicate just the opposite. They show Weaver to be a competent technician of usually half-length portraits of individual figures painted in warm earth colours, with well-drawn facial details and plain backgrounds. Collectively, they convey a chaste elegance that is similar in look and mood to the finest neoclassical portraits made in North America.

The biographical facts which Piers mentioned about Weaver, namely that he was an intemperate Englishman who painted small "inveterate" portraits on tin, derive from a five-sentence account of the artist in William Dunlap's 1834 *History of the Rise and Progress of The Arts of Design in the United States*. Dunlap noted:

> ***WEAVER--1797***
>
> Probably an Englishman. He painted portraits in oil, small size. He generally painted on tin, 'inveterate' likenesses, hard as the tin and as cutting in the outline. He was one of those, who, by intemperance disgrace, as far as they can, a liberal and honourable profession. His portrait of Alexander Hamilton attracted attention from the strong likeness, and was the property of Dr. David Hosack, but he gave it in exchange to Mr. Trumbull, and, as I am informed, Mr. Trumbull destroyed it.[11]

It is indeed unfortunate that Weaver's given names were not included in Dunlap's discussion, for this would have eliminated the confusion that surrounds the question of Weaver's correct name.[12] Piers claimed that the 'J' he saw in the red signature in the lower left corner of Prince Edward's portrait stood for 'John.' It seems he based this belief on his discovery of an individual named John Weaver in an unpublished document of 1793, titled

11 William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834; repr. New York, 1969), II, 64.

12 See, e.g., the several different first names and initials listed in George C. Groce and David C. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860* (New Haven & London, 1957), p. 667. Piers noted in *Field* (p. 144, fn. 12) that other authorities had given Weaver's initials as 'P. T.' I have discussed this matter in greater detail in my article cited in fn. 4.

"List of the Officers with the dates of their Commission...of the 2nd Regiment of Halifax Militia." On his transcription of the relevant section of this record Piers wrote, "Was this the artist?"[13] If Dunlap's low opinion of the artist's character is accurate, it seems unlikely Weaver would have enjoyed the gentlemanly distinction of serving as an officer in the Halifax militia. Contrary to Piers, I believe that the 'J' in the corner of the prince's portrait stands for 'Joseph,' the name Weaver used just after he came from England to New York City ca. 1794.[14]

Piers's belief that Weaver was in Halifax in 1797 probably also derived from Dunlap. This date appears next to Weaver's name in the original edition of Dunlap's book. Just what it signifies can be inferred by examining the careers of two other artists who have the same date next to each of their names in Dunlap's history. This was the year Henry Sargent returned to Boston from London, and for William Woolley 1797 was when he left England for Philadelphia.[15] This suggests that Dunlap believed Weaver came to America in 1797 as well. And Piers, using Dunlap's date as a guide, simply assumed this was when the artist arrived in Halifax.

Piers had good reason to make this assumption, for this date corresponds with a notice that appeared in Halifax's *Weekly Chronicle*, announcing the raffle of a full-length portrait of H.R.H. Prince Edward, fourth son of George III, later Duke of Kent and father of Queen Victoria:

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13 "List of the Officers with the dates of their Commission...under the Hand and Seal of the Lieut. Governor...the following Gentlemen, of the 2d Regiment of Halifax Militia," in the unpublished "Commission Book, 1793-96" at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, RG 1, Vol. 171, p. 70. Piers's handwritten transcription of a small part of the "List of the Officers" is at the Nova Scotia Museum. John Weaver is also listed as an officer of the Halifax militia in *An Almanac for the Year of our Lord, 1797...by Theophrastus* (Halifax), unpaginated. His name also appears in Theophrastus's almanac for 1800, the only other copy I have been able to examine.

14 William Duncan, *City Directory* (New York), 1794, s. v. "Joseph Weaver." There was a "J. Weaver" who lived in London in the first decade of the nineteenth century but, because the four animal and landscape paintings this artist exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1801-09 are unlike anything William J. Weaver is known to have painted in America, it seems unlikely this artist is the Halifax portraitist. See Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work From its Foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London, 1905-06), VIII, 181.

15 Dunlap, *History*, II, 58, 60, 63.

A CARD

> The Gentlemen of the Army in particular and of the Town of Halifax in general, are most respectfully informed, that an highly finished whole length Portrait of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, is submitted by the Artist to their Inspection at Mr. Minns's, and is intended to be disposed of by way of Raffle. It is therefore requested that the Gentlemen intending to Subscribe will be as early as possible, as it may fairly be presumed that besides a Taste for the fine Arts, the Universal Affection this Town must bear to the Person and Qualities of so amiable a Prince, will occasion so many to strive to possess themselves of it, that doubtless many Gentlemen will be disappointed, as the Number is limited to Twenty five.[16]

Despite the absence of Weaver's name in this announcement, there is little reason to believe it does not refer to the Legislative Library's whole-length portrait of Prince Edward (**Fig. 1**).[17] Although the early ownership of this picture is unknown, there is no other surviving portrait of the prince to which this notice could plausibly refer.[18]

16 *The Weekly Chronicle* (Halifax), 24 Nov. 1798, p. 3. The notice was republished on 1 Dec. 1798.

17 Fig. 1 shows the condition of the painting before it was conserved in London in the early 1970s. The claim by J. Russell Harper (*Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* [Toronto, 1970], p. 325) that a print after this portrait is in the J. Ross Robertson Collection at the Metropolitan Toronto Library is incorrect. Christine Mosser, Senior Collection Librarian, History Department, Toronto Library (letter to the author, 18 May 1988), has described the work in the Robertson Collection as a turn-of-the-century hand-coloured photograph of the Halifax portrait. Harper's claim that another print after this same painting is at the British Museum is incorrect as well. The work in London, engraved by "C. Turner" after a painting by "Weaver" and published in Jan. 1826 has the inscription: "To WILLIAMS ADAMS ESQUIRE, This Print representing him with his favorite Horse and Hounds, is respectfully inscribed by his Friends and the Gentlemen of the Ludlow Hunt." The subject of this print suggests that it may have been made by the same British painter identified in fn. 14.

18 Weaver's name has been tentatively linked with a miniature of Prince Edward and another presumed to depict his mistress, Madame de St. Laurent. Both are in the collection of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. According to Jim Burant of the National Archives of Canada (letter to the author, 6 Jan. 1989), someone pencilled the notation "J. Weaver?" next to entries for these works in the Archive's 1981(?) Art Collection Inventory. Piers only saw photographs of these miniatures, but was confident that neither was painted by Weaver ("Art and History: Portraits," in *Report on the Provincial Museum, Science Library and Public Records of Nova Scotia For the Fiscal Year 1929-30* [Halifax, 1931], p. 27). I examined them and also found no reason to believe either was painted by Weaver. The one of Prince Edward is of poor quality and the other is technically more accomplished than any miniature Weaver is known to have painted. I am grateful to Margaret J. Campbell, Head Documentary Art and Photography Division, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, for facilitating my examination of the miniatures; and to Martha R. Severens, Curator, Portland Museum of Art (letter to the author, 7 Mar. 1991), for her insights regarding the stylistic characteristics of the miniatures. Another miniature of Prince Edward (Art Gallery of Nova Scotia) appears to have been copied from Weaver's Legislative Library portrait. It was tentatively attributed to Weaver in Alexander Mowat, Donald C. Mackay et al., *200 Years of Art in Halifax, an exhibition prepared in honour of the bicentenary of the founding of Halifax, N. S., 1749-1949* (Halifax, 1949), p. 16. I have not personally examined this work; however, a photograph suggests it is not by Weaver.

Even though the author of this announcement sought to flatter the gentlemen of Halifax by suggesting they would quickly perceive the portrait's artistic merits, it was more persuasively promoted as a testament of the high regard the citizens and British officers stationed in Halifax professed for the prince. The portrait was raffled on the eve of the North British Society's local celebration of the festival of St. Andrew, when patriotic sentiment was roused by the stunning news of Admiral Nelson's glorious naval victory over Napoleon in the Bay of Aboukir. It may not be coincidental that the painting was publicized several weeks after the prince's birthday, when he had already left Halifax for medical treatment in England following a riding accident. And even if Weaver was not commissioned to paint this work, he may have reasoned it was worth the effort because of the public attention it would bring to him, and that might subsequently lead to other portrait commissions.

Weaver's composition reflects a knowledge of British and French military portraiture. Prince Edward, wearing the uniform of a lieutenant-general, was depicted standing in an open field illuminated by a shaft of bright light.[19] His scarlet coatee and white breeches form a dramatic contrast with the foreground shadows and stormy sky. In the background are ranks of marching soldiers to whom he points with his left hand, a gesture that seems particularly appropriate in view of the prince's legendary zeal for military discipline.

His coatee is decorated with the Star of the Order of the Garter.[20] Historically, this order has been limited to only the sovereign and twenty-five knights, although this restriction was changed in 1786 when Edward and his brothers were elected, even though the chapter was full.[21] Edward was not

19 I am grateful to Margaret Murphy, Librarian, Nova Scotia Legislative Library, for making it possible for me to study this portrait under ideal circumstances. The pose Weaver used in the portrait of Prince Edward is very similar to the one in John Hoppner's portrait of Edward's brother, *The Duke of York*, which Weaver could have known from the mezzotint engraved by William Dickinson. See *The Martial Face: The Military Portrait in Britain, 1760-1900* (Providence, R.I., 1991), p. 95.

20 According to L. Smurthwaite, Department of Uniform Badges and Medals, National Army Museum, London, in a letter to the author, 20 Nov. 1989. A sash that crossed the prince's chest from his right shoulder was originally depicted in the portrait, but subsequently painted over. This sash can be seen in William Beechey's portrait of Prince Edward. An impression of Charles Warren's engraving after Beechey is at the Nova Scotia Museum, acc. no. 91.73.2.

21 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XV, 857.

installed a Royal Knight Companion of the Order until 1801,[22] but his election fifteen years earlier entitled him to wear the order's breast star during his years in Nova Scotia. This privilege explains why the Nova Scotia House of Assembly presented to him a London-made "diamond Star of the Order of the Garter...executed in the best and most elegant manner" when the prince was recuperating in England in January 1799.[23] Assuming the star shown in Weaver's portrait was present when the portrait was mentioned in the Halifax newspaper, however, Weaver could not have intended it to represent the one the Assembly gave Edward. That ceremony took place several months after the painting was raffled. And when Edward returned to Canada in the summer of 1799 he wore the uniform of a general, which had different insignia than the uniform shown in Weaver's portrait.[24]

Another portrait of the prominent Halifax resident Charles Morris III (**Fig. 2**)[25] is one of the works Piers originally believed Field painted, but subsequently attributed to Weaver.[26] The picture's small size and tinplate support--characteristics of Weaver's art that were mentioned by Dunlap--no doubt helped to convince Piers it had indeed been painted by him. Particularly characteristic of Weaver's portrait style are the work's carefully drawn facial features, the distinctive blend of yellow and pink skin tones used on Morris's face, and the awkwardly-rendered anatomy--especially Morris's excessively-long upper left arm and poorly drawn hands.

On the back of the Morris portrait is another likeness that Piers never wrote about and that Weaver never finished.[27] This portrait was first attributed to him by Donald C. Mackay who believed it depicted Prince

22 L. Smurthwaite, letter to the author, 20 Nov. 1989.

23 Erskine Neale, *The Life of His Royal Highness Edward, Duke of Kent* (London, 1850), p. 60.

24 W. S. MacNutt, "Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent and Strathearn," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V (Toronto, 1983), 297; also, "Kent and Strathern," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XI (London, 1959-60), 19.

25 Donald F. Chard, "Morris, Charles," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VI (Toronto, 1987), 519-20.

26 Piers, *Field*, pp. 143-144; also, Piers, "History and Art: Portraits," in *Report on the Provincial Museum, Science Library and Public Records of Nova Scotia, January to September 1929* (Halifax, 1930), p. 27.

27 This sketch is difficult to photograph because so little of it was completed.

Edward.[28] Rapidly applied strokes of paint were used to block in a chest-high portrait of a military officer facing left. The sitter has side-whiskers and is wearing a blue-green waistcoat and a scarlet coatee with epaulets. Because so little of the portrait was completed, it is difficult to confirm Mackay's suggestion that it depicts Prince Edward. However, on the basis of what exists, this suggestion is certainly plausible.

The portrait of Halifax resident Ann Madden (**Fig. 3**) was attributed to Weaver by Piers.[29] This engaging study shows Weaver as an accomplished colourist. The blond-haired Madden is portrayed against a reddish-brown background, wearing a plum-coloured dress, red shawl and coral necklace. The pink and yellow flesh tones that vivify her face appear in virtually all of Weaver's North American portraits. The lines of Madden's nose and nostrils, and the contours of her lips and eyes were drawn in his typically sensitive manner.

Another work that Piers attributed to Weaver is a portrait of Adam de Chezeau, Sr. (**Fig. 4**), who came to Nova Scotia from Boston in 1776.[30] When Piers wrote about this work, it was owned by a member of his own family and he was therefore able to speak knowledgeably about its stylistic characteristics. Piers believed it was the best portrait he had ever seen by Weaver and described it as being "carefully but rather sharply painted."[31] It shows de Chezeau seated in a chair set against a plain chestnut-brown background, wearing a powdered wig, white waistcoat and brown coat.

28 Donald C. Mackay, "Portrait of a Province, Artists And Their Pictures in Nova Scotia, 1605-1945" (unpublished manuscript), pp. 51-52, in the Mackay Papers, Dalhousie University Archives, Halifax. A close resemblance that Scott Robson has noticed (letter to the author, 16 Jan. 1992) between Morris's face (Fig. 2) and Prince Edward's likeness (Fig. 1) is sufficiently intriguing to indicate additional research is needed regarding the identity of the sitter portrayed in the Morris portrait.

29 Piers, "History and Art," 1930, p. 27; also, Piers, "History and Art," 1931, p. 28. Writing about the portrait of Ann Madden in 1931, Piers recorded her birth date as "1777(?)." Scott Robson has brought to my attention (letter to the author, 16 Jan. 1992) an unpublished note at the Nova Scotia Museum that Piers wrote in Sept. 1929, recording a family tradition that Ann Madden was twenty years old when Weaver's portrait was painted. Whatever faith Piers had in this story would have supported his theory that Weaver came to Halifax in 1797. According to Piers (1931), at one time there was a portrait of Wyndham Madden, the sitter's husband, in Prince Edward Island. This work may also have been painted by Weaver.

30 Piers, "History and Art," 1930, p. 27; also, Piers, Field, p. 144.

31 Piers, "History and Art," 1930, p. 27.

Delicate tones of pink describe de Chezeau's lips, and strokes of white paint highlight his neckband. All the facial details are carefully rendered, especially the lines of de Chezeau's lips and eyes, which are enlivened with white highlights on the irises and pupils. Like some of Weaver's other portraits, there are aspects of the work that were rendered less competently. These include de Chezeau's summarily painted hands, his narrow sloping shoulders and the awkward juncture of his left arm and shoulder.

It seems certain that Weaver also painted a portrait of Elizabeth Schmidt (**Fig. 5**), a work that Piers apparently never saw.[32] The sitter, descended from an early Halifax family, is portrayed in front of a dark red curtain and column. To the right of these studio props is the slight suggestion of a landscape with clouds and a small tower or fortification on a hill. This and the Nova Scotia Legislative Library's portrait of Prince Edward are Weaver's only known Nova Scotian paintings that have any background details.[33] The Schmidt portrait is thinly painted, except for several folds of Schmidt's sash, which are rendered with thicker strokes of white paint. She is fashionably portrayed in a pink, neoclassically-styled dress that is fitted with long sleeves and a neck ruff. In terms of drawing, the picture shows the same abilities and defects seen in Weaver's other portraits. Although the facial details are carefully rendered, the sitter's right forearm is too long. The one hand he included in the composition is also poorly executed. Weaver additionally had difficulty in correctly drawing the contour of Schmidt's left breast, whereas he successfully avoided a similar problem in the Ann Madden portrait by adroitly disguising the profile of her bust with a shawl.

There is good reason to believe that all five portraits discussed above were executed by Weaver in Halifax, because of the connection that the subjects of the five portraits had to the city, as well as because of the physical and stylistic features the portraits have in common with one another and with works Weaver is known to have painted in the United States. What is surprising,

32 According to Scott Robson (letter to the author, 5 Dec. 1991), the painting was attributed to Weaver by D.C. Mackay when it surfaced in Halifax in 1979. I am grateful to Mary Allodi, Curator-in-Charge, and Carol Baum, Technician, Canadiana Department, Royal Ontario Museum, for making it possible for me to examine this work in Nov. 1990.

33 A portrait of Joseph Prescott (tinplate, ex coll. Mrs. M.A.B. Smith), at Prescott House, Nova Scotia Museum, Starr's Point, N.S., also has a landscape background. Although Piers attributed this work to Weaver (Field, p. 144), he had a "slight doubt" about this. In my opinion the picture was not painted by Weaver, because the brush work is broader than what appears in his other portraits.

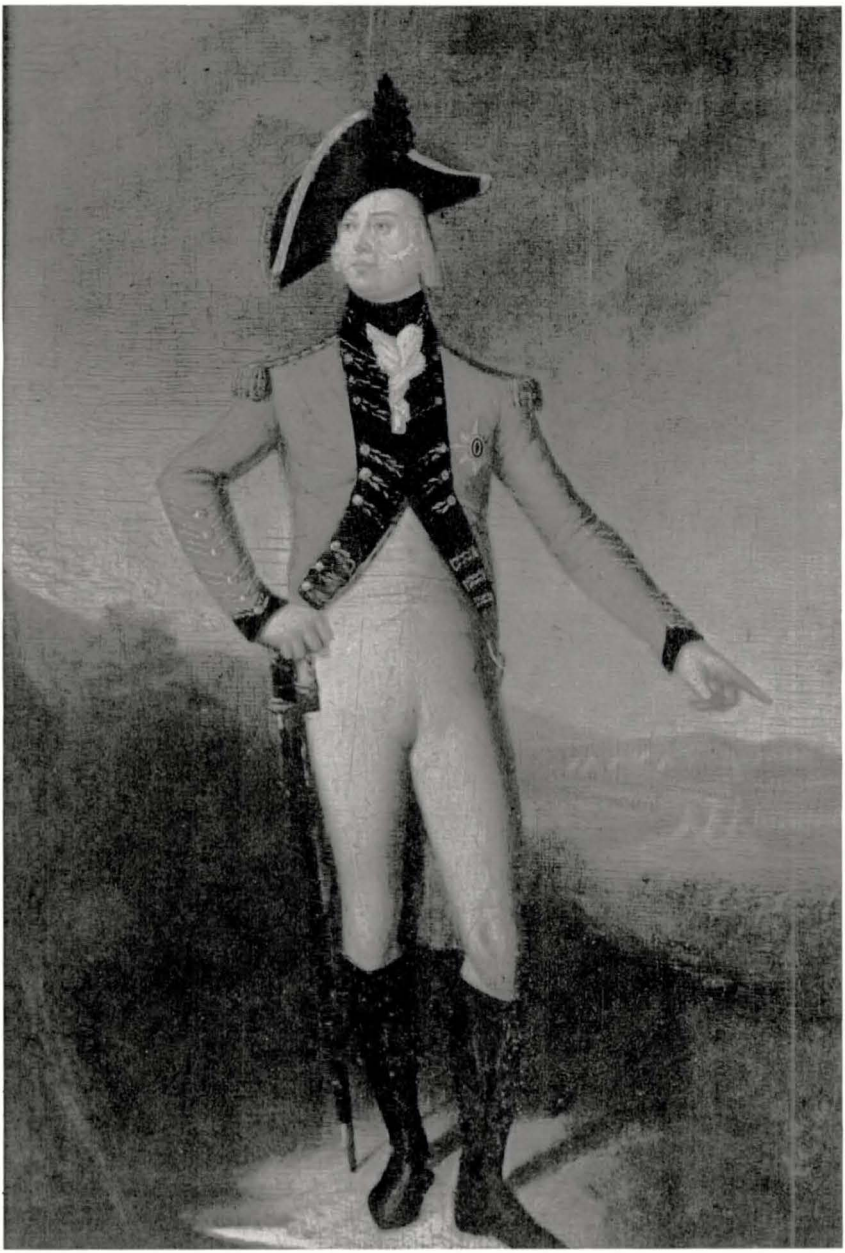


Figure 2. William J. Weaver, *Lieutenant General Prince Edward Augustus*, 1798, oil on wood, 65.3 x 42.2 cm, Nova Scotia Legislative Library, Halifax.

Figure 2. Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Charles Morris III (?)* ca. 1798, oil on tinplate, 30.3 x 25.4 cm, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax.

Figure 3. Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Ann (Nethercote) Madden*, ca. 1798, oil on tinplate, 33.7 x 28.6 cm, Prescott House (Starr's Point, N.S.), Nova Scotia Museum.

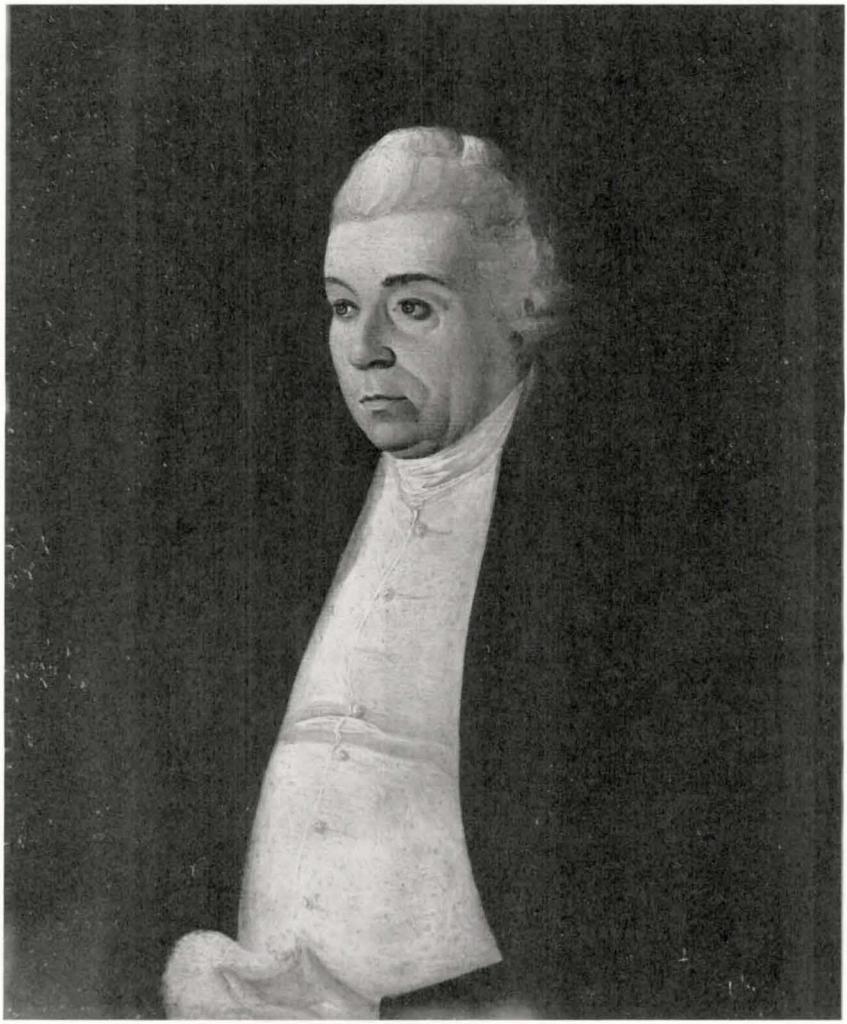


Figure 4. Attributed to William J. Weaver, *Adam de Chezeau, Sr.*, ca. 1798, oil on tinplate, 31.1 x 30.3 cm, private collection, U.S.A.

Figure 5. Attributed to William J. Weaver, Elizabeth (Pedley) Schmidt, ca. 1798, oil on tinplate, 30.8 x 23.4 cm (irregular), courtesy Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario.

however, is that no documentation from a newspaper, census, ship passenger list, tax roll, church or litigation record has surfaced that would corroborate the evidence of the portraits.[34] By contrast, and despite Weaver's peripatetic lifestyle, he left some documentary evidence of his presence in several of the American cities in which he worked. Now that there is a better understanding of the portraits he painted in Halifax, similar documentation will hopefully surface that will enhance our knowledge of this early Nova Scotian portraitist.

34 A search, albeit unsuccessful, for the names "William J. Weaver" or "Joseph Weaver" in the surviving Halifax poll tax and church records for the period 1792-1802 was kindly undertaken on my behalf by Mr. Terrence M. Punch of Halifax.

The Lunenburg Indian Raids of 1756 and 1758: A New Documentary Source

Linda G. Wood

If a twentieth-century newspaper reporter had seen the accompanying document and had conducted some background research, the following four articles might have resulted:

May 1756...

LUNENBURG, N.S.--Local resident Louis Payzant, 58, was shot and scalped by Indians at his home on Payzant's Island in Mahone Bay last Thursday night, May 8th. Also scalped on the island were his servant Anne Riovant, her two-year old son Jean, and a boy from nearby Rous Island who was probably forced to act as a guide. Earlier in the evening on Rous Island, the father of the guide had been killed.

Colonel Patrick Sutherland of Lunenburg sent officers and thirty men to the two islands. They reported that the Payzant home had been looted and burned to the ground and that there was no sign of Mr. Payzant's wife or their four children.

The only motive for this horrendous raid was perhaps the Indians' interest in the stock of English goods Mr. Payzant had accumulated in order to set up a trading post this summer.

March 1758...

LUNENBURG, N.S.--Johannes Ochs, a 29-year-old local farmer, was shot and scalped at sunset by Indians on his 30-acre lot in Northwest Range, on the 23rd of this month. Also scalped were his wife Maria Barbara, their two children Christian, age 4, and Maria Christina, 2, and the wife of William Roder.

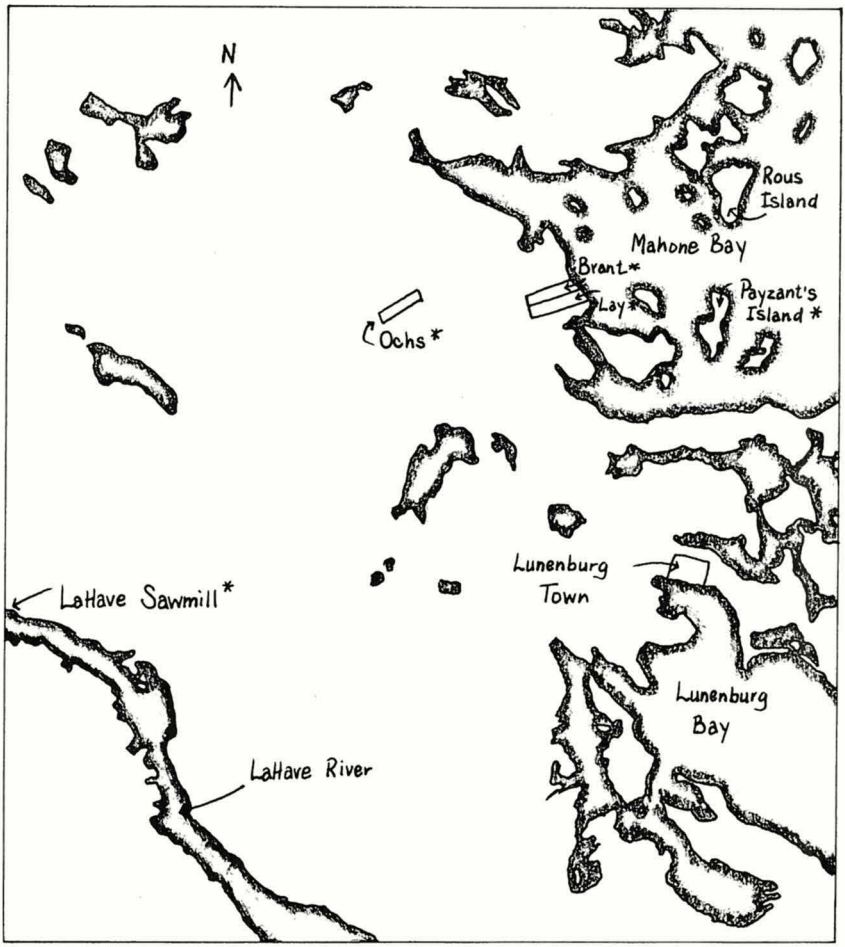
About 9:30 p.m. a neighbour of Ochs' rode frantically into town to alert Colonel Sutherland, who immediately had the two alarm guns fired. The men of the town and the militia captains were ready to send out a search party, but Colonel Sutherland decided to wait until morning. At daybreak a sergeant, corporal and twelve men departed for the Northwest Range in pursuit of the Indians.

This incident brings to mind the scalping of Louis Payzant and three others on his island just two years ago. To date there has been no trace of Mrs. Payzant or their children. Local residents are understandably nervous about the Indians.

July 1758...

LUNENBURG, N.S.--Young John Wagner was shot by Indians at noon on July 13th as he and three friends were swimming in the LaHave River. They were taking a break from their duties as guards of the blockhouse near the LaHave Sawmill when two Indians came to within 50 yards of the mill and fired on the boys as they scrambled to get dressed. One of the Tanner brothers had a musketball pass through his waistcoat and shirt.

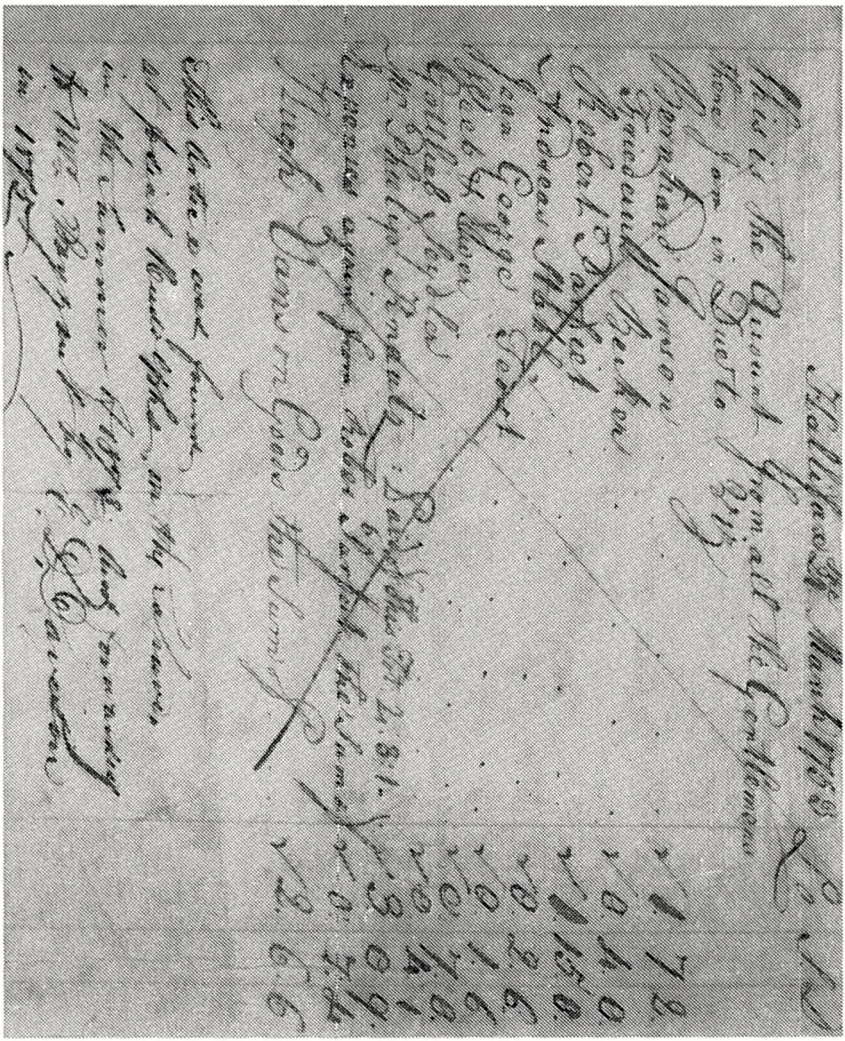
Linda G. Wood is an Albertan with Nova Scotian ancestry; she has been studying the Payzant story for the last seven years.



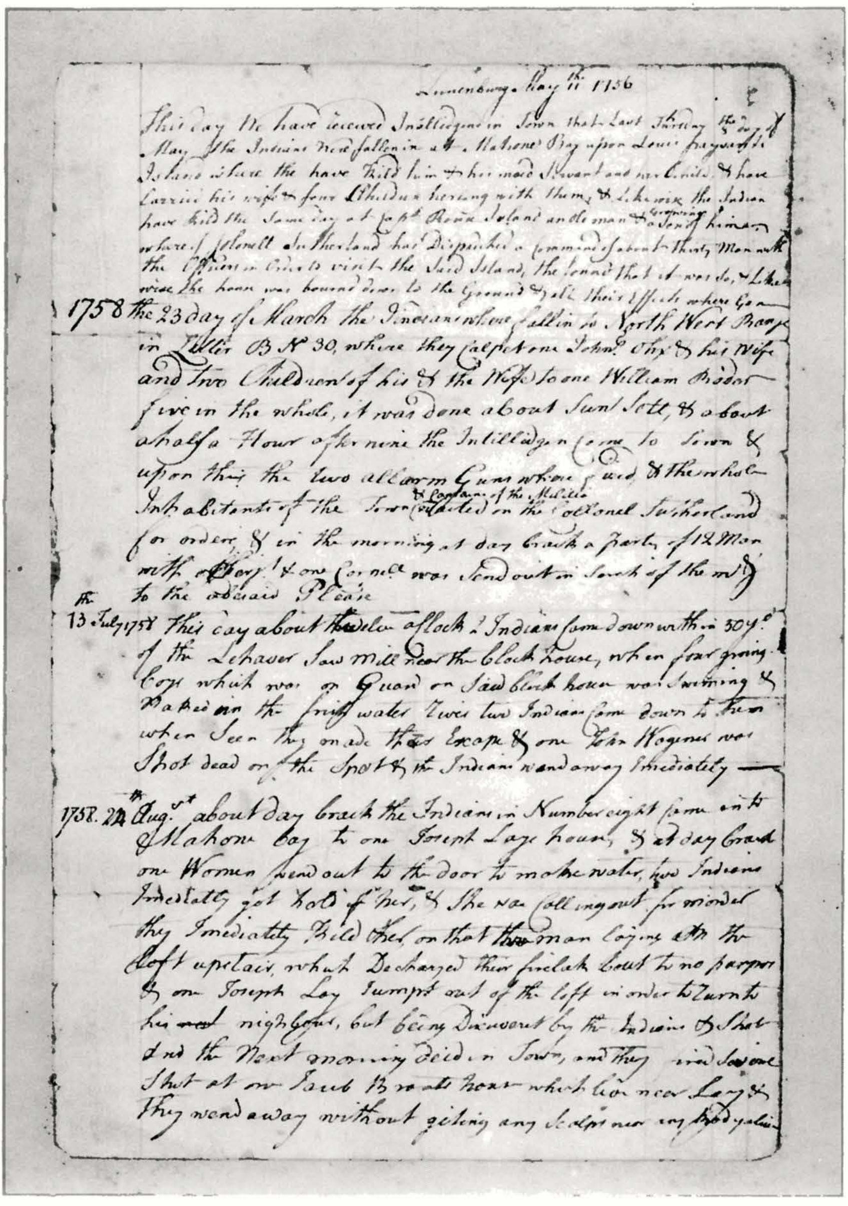
*Indian attacks

Lunenburg Township 1753-1765

Map based on that found in Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* ([Sackville, N.B.].,1990 [repr.]), p. 242, figure 8.



Photograph courtesy of the author.



Lunenburg. May 11th 1756

This day We have received Intelligence in Town that Last Thursday the 6 day of May the Indians were fallen in at Mahone Bay upon Louis Payzant's Island where the have Kild him & his maid Servant and her Child. & have Carried his wife & four Children [illegible] with them, & Likewise the Indian have Kild the same day at Capt Ross Island an old man & [illegible] of him, whereof Colonell Sutherland has Dispatched a Command of about thirty Men with the Officers in Order to visit the Said Island, the found that it was so, & Likewise the house was burned down to the Ground & all their Effects where Gone

1758 the 23 day of March the Indians where fallen in North West Range in Letter B No 30, where they Calpet one John [illegible] & his Wife and two Children of his & the Wife to one William [illegible] five in the whole, it was done about Sun Sett, & about a half a Hour after nine the Intelligence Come to Town & upon this the two allarm Guns where fired & the whole Inhabitants of the Town & Captains of the Militia Collected on the Colonel Sutherland for order, & in the morning at day brack a Party of 12 Men with officers & one Cornell was Send out in Search of the [illegible] to the aforesaid Place

13th July 1758 This day about twelve a'clock 2 Indians Come down within 30 yd of the [illegible] Saw Mill near the block house, when four young boys which was on Guard on Said block house was Swiming & Naked in the fresh water Twice two Indian Come down to them when Seen they made their Escape & one John Wagener was Shot dead on the Spot & the Indian wend away Imediately —

1758. 24th Augst about day brack the Indians in Number eight Come on to Mahone bay to one Joseph Lay house, & at day brack one Women went out to the door to make water, two Indians Imediatly got hold of her, & She was Colling out for murder they Imediatly Kild her, on that the man laying on the Loft upstairs, which Decharged their firelock but to no purpose & one Joseph Lay Jumped out of the loft in order to [illegible] his neighbours, but being Discovered by the Indians & Shot and the Next morning deid in Town, and they [illegible] Shot at one Jacob [illegible] house which lie near Lay & they wend away without geting any Scalps nor any [illegible]

Photograph courtesy of the author.

The Indian who shot Wagner might have been one of the Labrador family, well-known to Lunenburg residents.

Just four months ago the Ochs family was scalped at their farm in Northwest Range. Again, local residents are uneasy about the Indian presence.

August 1758...

LUNENBURG, N.S.--Locals Conrad Hatt, his wife Rosina, and neighbour Joseph Lay were shot at daybreak by Indians on Lay's farm in Mahone Bay on the 24th of this month.

Eight Indians approached Lay's home and when Rosina Hatt went to the door, two Indians grabbed and killed her as she screamed. It is believed that her husband Conrad Hatt tried to save her, but he met with the same fate. Joseph Lay jumped out of the loft of his home and tried to run to the house of his neighbour, Jacob Brant, but the Indians discovered and shot him, and fired several shots at Brant's home as well. The Indians left without any scalps or prisoners.

Lay was brought into town that day by a neighbour, but died the next morning.

This makes a total of nine local residents killed by Indians since March of this year. When and where will they strike next?

The single manuscript from which has been developed the above four accounts of Indian raids in the Lunenburg area has been in my family for over 100 years. This article is an attempt, in note form, to share information about this document: its content, authors, some of the probable motives of the protagonists, and some background on the Lunenburg settlement founded in 1753.

Introduction

1. *Description:*

This one-leaf holograph, describing the Indian raids of 1756 and 1758, has been in my family since 1875 and came into my possession in 1989. It had been framed, but upon having it restored, two entries on the reverse were discovered: one dated 1753 in Halifax, and the other 1875 at the LaHave River.

The unlined paper (12 in. x 8 in., or 30.5 cm x 20 cm) is ledger paper, with four vertical light brown lines: a margin of almost one inch on the left, and three lines on the right, for entries of pounds, shillings and pence. The ink is brown-coloured iron-gall ink.[1]

1 John L. Winch, Library Preservation Specialist, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

The document originated in Halifax in 1753, was taken to Lunenburg, then folded and possibly kept in a ten-page booklet (see below). A century later, it was discovered at LaHave and taken to Canning, N.S., where it was put in a frame by members of the Payzant family. It was conserved (deacidified and a backing added) in January 1990.

2. *Provenance:*

To my knowledge, the provenance of the document is as follows:

1753: Entry written in Halifax by unknown person.

1756: Entry written in Lunenburg by Dettlieb Christopher Jessen.

1758: entries written in Lunenburg by Dettlieb Christopher Jessen.

1873: Document found at the home of Josiah Rudolph on the LaHave River, about ten miles south-west of Lunenburg. This was probably William Josiah Rudolf (b. 1827), a great-great-nephew of Dettlieb Christopher Jessen. Land at present-day Meisners, Lunenburg County, on the LaHave River, was granted to Christopher Jessen and Francis Rudolph on 15 December 1810.[2]

1874: An article in an unnamed newspaper: "A Relic of Olden Times. By the favor of an old and respected friend we are privileged to present our readers with a copy of an original Diary of over one hundred and eighteen years ago....[3] The article went on to quote the four entries written in 1756 and 1758. Perhaps this "respected friend" was Mather Byles DesBrisay (1828-1900), author of History of the County of Lunenburg (Halifax, 1870; 2nd ed., Toronto, 1895).[4]

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2 Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1967; repr. Belleville, Ont., 1982), p. 426.

3 Payzant documents from William Lewis Payzant (1869-1955), possibly quoting Mather Byles DesBrisay, ca. 1876; in scrapbook of Dr. Elias Nichols Payzant (1830-1925), MG 1, Vol. 747, file 42, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

4 A.A. MacKenzie, "DesBrisay, Mather Byles," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII (Toronto, 1990), 250-51.

1875: Entry written on the document by E.D. Davison, who forwarded the item to "Mr. Payzant." E.D. Davison was probably Captain Edward D. Davison (1811-1907), a master mariner. The surname Davison is of New England Planter origin in Falmouth, Hants Co., N.S. 1760, where there were several intermarriages with the Payzants, the first being that of Louis Payzant (1751-1845) and his neighbour, Grace Davison (1754-1829). Her father, John Davison (1708-1799) was granted Farm Lot #45 in Falmouth, one over from that of the widow Marie Payzant (1711-1796).[5]

The "Mr. Payzant" was, I believe, my great-grandfather, William Henry Payzant (1827-1885), a merchant in Canning, Kings Co., N.S. He and his brother-in-law, Daniel Cox (1818-1899), were general merchants in Canning and Parrsboro, and the firm Payzant & Cox owned the sailing vessels *Calcutta* and *Canning*.[6] William Henry was a great-grandson of he Louis Payzant who was scalped by the Indians in 1756.

1885: At the death of William Henry Payzant the document passed to his son, Alfred Doull Payzant (1868-1945).

1892: Letter to the editor of the *Halifax Chronicle*, 1892, from A.D. Payzant in Canning, N.S.:

> I would like you to publish...the enclosed copy from a leaf out of an old gentlemen's diary, who lived either in Mahone Bay or Lunenburg, and which was cut out and sent to my father a number of years ago, and is now in my possession.[7]

The letter went on to quote the four entries written in 1756 and 1758.

1916: From a letter dated 26 Nov. 1916 to Mrs. A.D. Payzant (Nellie Gertrude Harlow, 1883-1961) in Canning, N.S. from her aunt, Mrs. Stephen Harlow (Mary Ellen Fox, 1846-1934) in Halifax, N.S.: "Alfred ought to get

5 John V. Duncanson, *Township of Falmouth Nova Scotia* (Belleville, Ont., 1983), p. 224.

6 Marion M. Payzant, *The Payzant and Allied Jess and Juhan Families in North America* (Braintree, Mass., 1970), p. 44.

7 Payzant documents from William Lewis Payzant (1869-1955), in MG 1, Vol. 747, file 42, PANS.

that ancient writing--the framed one--photographed and keep it in another place in case of *fire*. Sounds kind of *scary* but it is so valuable."[8]

1945: At the death of A.D. Payzant, the document passed to his son, William Harlow Payzant (b. 1908).

1961: Dr. Winthrop Bell, in referring to the raid of 24 August 1758, wrote: "DesBrisay printed his account of the Indian raid on the Lay house in quotation marks. I have been unable to find the original from which he was quoting."[9] I believe that this "original" is the document which has been in my family.

1989: Document given by William Harlow Payzant to his niece Linda Wood (daughter of his sister, Mary Layton), who is descended from Louis Payzant, as follows:[10]

Louis Paisant (i.e. Louis Payzant, 1698-1756) m. Marie Anne Noget (1711-1796);

Jean Paisant (i.e. John Payzant, 1749-1834) m. Mary Alline (1753-1835);

William Payzant (1782-1868) m. Mary Dexter (1784-1856);

William Henry Payzant (1827-1885) m. Eliza Ann Harris (1836-1893);

Alfred Doull Payzant (1868-1945) m. Nellie Gertrude Harlow (1883-1961);

Mary Nazette Payzant (b. 1916) m. Robert Blackwood Layton, Jr. (b. 1917);

Linda Gertrude Layton (b. 1947) m. Michael Kent Wood (b. 1946).

3. *The Author of the Document:*

A scrutiny and comparison of these handwritten document entries for 1756 and 1758 with those of Dettlieb Christopher Jessen in his "An Journal Book...." found at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia has led to the

8 ALS in author's possession.

9 Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961; repr. Sackville, 1990), p. 518.

10 Payzant, *Payzant Families*, pp. xxiv, 31, 34, 44, 65, 101.

conclusion that the current document was written by Jessen.[11]

Dettlieb Christopher Jessen (1730-1814) was born in Holstein, Germany and in 1751 he, and possibly a brother Gotthard, travelled to Rotterdam to board the *Speedwell*, bound for Halifax. He had some education, including a good understanding of English, and his occupation was listed as that of wine-cooper. From July 1751 to June 1753 he lived in Halifax. In May 1753, Governor Peregrine Thomas Hopson appointed him one of nine lieutenants for the militia regiment in charge of the new settlement of Foreign Protestants at Lunenburg.

Possibly in 1754, in Lunenburg, he met Francisca Barbara Rudolf (d. 1807); they were married in January 1755, and two years later their only child, Frederica Francisca, was born--only to die at age 16. In his Lunenburg career, Jessen was at various times deputy provost marshal, muster-master in charge of the victualling lists, justice of the peace, town naval officer, a judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, registrar of deeds, customs and excise collector, and Member of the House of Assembly for Lunenburg County from 1785-1793.[12]

On 11 May 1756 Jessen, as deputy provost marshal, recorded in the document reproduced at the beginning of this article, information regarding the massacre on Payzant's Island, which had taken place three days earlier. In March, July and August 1758, Jessen again recorded, in the same document, data concerning further Indian attacks near Lunenburg. From 8 to 15 September of the same year, Jessen also recorded a week's trek in the Lunenburg area, accompanied by 104 men of the militia, in search of Indians; they found none. He recorded this trek in a ten-page journal measuring 3 3/4 inches by 6 1/4 inches (9.5 cm x 16 cm).[13] Since the document now in my possession was at one time in its custodial history folded twice width-wise, and once length-wise, making it 3 inches by 4 inches (7.5 cm x 10 cm), it is

11 D. Christopher Jessen, "An Journal Book Keept when gan hounting after the Indians Sept. 8th, 1758 Under the Command of Capt. Christ. Jessen & Lieut. Cambell of the Regular Troops Settlement of the Town of Lunenburg," in RG 1, Vol. 382, PANS.

12 J. Murray Beck, "Jessen, Dettlieb (Detleff) Christopher," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (Toronto, 1983), 453-454.

13 Jessen, "An Journal Book," in RG 1, Vol. 382, PANS.

possible that the folded document was once tucked inside the above-mentioned journal, thus keeping all records of the Indian attacks together.

4. *The Halifax Account, 1753:*

Hallifax the 21 March 1753

	£.	s.	d.
this is the Amount from all the Gentlemens there I am in Due to Viz			
Bernhard Janson...	1.	7.	2.
Friederick Becker...	0.	4.	0.
Robert Parfiet...	1.	15.	8.
Andreas Stahl...	0.	2.	6.
Jean George Jeost...	0.	1.	6.
Weeb & Ewer...	0.	7.	0.
Gottlieb Seydler...	0.	4.	1.
Mr. Philip Knautz: Paid of this Tot:2:8:1...	3.	0	9.
Expenses again from Rober Parfiet the sum of	0:	7:	4
Hugh Vans on Goods the sum of...	2.	6.	6

This list of nine persons to whom the unknown writer owed money is crossed over with an X, possibly after everyone had been repaid. Under the pound sterling symbol (£), there is a check mark in front of every numerical entry.

The settlement of Halifax was only four years old in 1753. In June 1749 about 2500 Londoners, mainly ex-soldiers, led by Colonel the Honourable Edward Cornwallis (1713-1776), had crossed the Atlantic. The British government, wary of the threat from the French fort at Louisbourg, had decided to move the colony's capital from Annapolis Royal, on the Bay of Fundy, to the deep harbour on the Atlantic called Chebucto (Micmac for "chief harbour"). The area was renamed in honour of the head of the Board of Trade and Plantations in London, George Montagu Dunk, second Earl of Halifax. From 1750 to 1753, additional Protestant settlers from New England and various German states and municipalities arrived in Halifax. In May 1753, some 1,500 of the European Foreign Protestants 1,453 were moved about sixty miles southwest of Halifax to the Indian-named Merligueche, henceforth called Lunenburg. By 1753 in Halifax, the inhabitants were living in log huts, with wharves, public storehouses, and St. Paul's Anglican Church

already erected. Dense woods surrounded the settlement on three sides, and a wooden palisade protected its citizens.

The men mentioned in the above account:[14]

Johan Bernhard Jansen (b. ca. 1717) was a tailor who arrived in Halifax from Hamburg on the *Speedwell* in 1751.

Friedrich Becker lived in Halifax, and died there in September 1764.

Robert Parfiet married Sarah Slight in Halifax, December 1749; he was still there in 1757.

There was a Johann Andreas Stahl in Lunenburg by December 1753. A sergeant of the militia guard, he was arrested at that date for being one of the ringleaders of an insurrection; taken to Halifax, he was later pardoned.[15]

Johan Georg Jeost (b. ca. 1728) was a locksmith who arrived in Halifax from Strasbourg on the *Betty* in 1752. He later moved to Lunenburg and was also arrested in December 1753 for taking part in the insurrection; he too was taken to Halifax and later pardoned.[16]

Webb & Ewer were the Halifax merchants John Webb and Robert Ewer. Webb died there, June 1757. Lieutenant Ewer had arrived in 1749 on the *Charlton* and was a justice of the peace.

Johan Gottlieb Seidler (b. ca. 1715) arrived in Halifax on the *Speedwell* with Jansen.

Philip Augustus Knaut, from Saxony, had arrived in 1749 in Halifax on the frigate *Canning*:

> At the first settlement of Lunenburg he was a coroner, and performed the duties appertaining to the office of sheriff. He was also a Justice of the Peace, kept one of the earliest stores opened in Lunenburg, and represented the county in the first Nova Scotia Parliament. He dealt largely in furs, purchased from the Indians.[17]

14 Unless otherwise noted, information for the following section is taken from letter of Terrence M. Punch to author, 21 Apr. 1991.

15 Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants,"* p. 464.

16 *Ibid.*

17 Mather Byles DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg* (Halifax, 1870; 2nd ed., Toronto, 1895; repr. Belleville, Ont., 1972), p. 110.

He was a sawmill owner and trader as well.[18]

In July 1752, Hugh Vans lived "within the pickets" at Halifax.

5. *The Indian Attack of 8 May 1756:*

> Lunenburg May 11th 1756
> This day we have received Intellidgend in Town that Last Thursday the 8 day of May the Indians were fallen in at Mahone Bay upon Louis Paysants Island where the have kild him & his maid Servant and her Child, & have Carried his wife & four Children her long with them, & Likewise the Indian have kild the Same day at Capt. Rouse Island an old man & a Growing Son of Him. whereof Colonell Sutherland has Dispatched a Command of about thirty Man with the Officers in Order to visit the Said Island, the found that it was So, & Likewise the house was bournd down to the Ground & all their Effects where Gan [were gone.]

Louis Payzant (1698-1756) had been a fabric merchant in Caen, Normandy, France. A Huguenot, he escaped the religious persecutions and fled to the Channel Island of Jersey in 1738, where he married Marie Anne Noget (1711-1796). In 1753 Louis, Marie, their four children, Philippe (b. 1746), Marie (1748/49-1804?), Jean (1749-1834), and Louis (1751-1845), with three servants, James and Anne Riovant (d. 1756) and Charles Langlois, all sailed for Nova Scotia.[19]

In July 1753, Payzant and his household arrived in Halifax. Governor Hopson directed him to Lunenburg, where the Foreign Protestants had been taken two months earlier. Hopson had sent Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Lawrence (1709-1760) to oversee the settling of the new community. On 8 August 1753, Lawrence wrote to Hopson regarding Payzant and his servants: "The Families from Jersey appear to be a contented, well disposed sort of people. I wish we had 500 such, to settle that fine harbour of LaHave and set an Example to the Germans of behaviour worthy of their imitation.)[20]

Meanwhile, as was later determined, a group of ten Maliseet Indians from

18 Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants,"* p. 443.

19 Payzant, *Payzant Families*, p. xxiv; and Winthrop P. Bell Fonds, Card Index, "Payzant," MG 1, Vol. 122, PANS.

20 Bell Fonds, "Payzant," MG 1, Vol. 122, PANS.

near present-day Fredericton, New Brunswick, were in the employ of the French, who were seeking retaliation for those raids carried out by the British on Acadian territory.[21] The governor-general of New France, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, ordered his commander in Acadie (that area, presently encompassing New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island), Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetat, to continue sporadic raids on English territory.[22] Certainly they knew of the new settlement at Lunenburg, and perhaps word had also gotten out about Payzant's stock of goods which he intended to use in a local trading post.[23]

The Indian raiding party first landed on Rous Island, which was occupied by a tenant family for its owner, Captain Joseph Rous. There the Maliseets killed an unnamed Irishman,[24] took his son, tied his hands behind his back, and had him guide them to Payzant's Island.[25] Payzant had employed local soldiers stationed at the fort in Lunenburg to build a two-story house for his family, who were at that time still living in a log hut. These men, along with Payzant's male servants, had returned to the mainland for the night.[26]

About midnight of Thursday, 8 May, the sound of barking dogs wakened Payzant, who jumped from his bed, opened the front door and fired his musket into the air to scare off whomever was out there.[27] He no doubt believed they were local insurgents from Lunenburg. Three of the Indians,

21 Brian C. Cuthbertson, ed., *The Journal of the Reverend John Payzant (1749-1834)* (Hantsport, N.S., 1981), p. 16.

22 Pierre-Francois de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, "Lettre de Vaudreuil au Ministre, Montreal, le 6 aout 1756," *Public Archives of Canada Report for 1905, Vol. II, app. A, part III* (Ottawa, 1905), p. 181.

23 Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants,"* p. 505.

24 Elias Payzant (1778-1870); grandson of Louis and Marie Payzant, *ca.*1860, in MG 1, Vol. 747, #42, PANS.

25 Captain Patrick Sutherland, letter enclosed in Minutes of 14 May 1756 of His Majesty's Council for Nova Scotia, in MG 100, Vol. 204, file 33-33b, PANS. The island is today known as Coveys Island.

26 Silas Tertius Rand, "Early Provincial Settlers: an Indian Story," in *The Provincial* (Halifax), I, 8 (Aug. 1852), p. 302. [From an interview ca. 1845 with Louis Payzant (1751-1845); Rand's brothers-in-law were descended from Louis and Marie Payzant.]

27 Cuthbertson, ed., *Journal*, p. 16.

seeing his figure at the door, returned the fire and shot him. As his wife ran out to him, he cried to her, "My heart is growing cold! The Indians!" The natives then uttered their war whoop and proceeded to scalp Payzant.[28] Some of the Maliseets gained access to the quarters of the servant woman, Anne Riovant, whom they also killed. They then dashed out the brains of her two-year-old son Jean.[29] The scalped bodies were left near the water-side of the house.[30]

The raiding party next broke into Marie Payzant's quarters, where nine-year-old Philippe sprang to the table and shook his fists at the intruders, to no avail.[31] The Indians no doubt realized they would receive more ransom for live prisoners, especially the wife and children of a wealthy merchant, so the family's lives were spared.[32] Also, the Indians would have understood and were perhaps surprised by Marie's French, a language shared by both parties. They then proceeded to raid the house of its belongings and boxes and bales of merchandise. Louis Jr., then aged five, recalled some eighty-nine years later, in an animated state: "O, I hear them now! I see them! Hewing down the boxes! Hewing down the boxes! Seizing and securing every valuable article as fast as they could!"[33]

After killing the guide boy, and adding his scalp to those of Payzant, Anne Riovant and her child, the Indians ushered the widow and children outside and into their canoes, piled with Payzant's possessions; the house was torched.

The family was eventually taken to Quebec, the seat of government for New France, where they were held as British prisoners of war and released four years later, after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. On returning to Nova Scotia, the Payzants settled in Falmouth, Kings County (the community became part of Hants County in 1781).

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28 Rand, "Early Provincial Settlers," p. 302.

29 *Ibid.* and Bell, MG 1, Vol. 110, p. 38, PANS.

30 Sutherland, MG 100, Vol. 204, file 33-33b, PANS.

31 Rand, "Early Provincial Settlers," p. 303.

32 Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants,"* p. 505.

33 Rand, "Early Provincial Settlers," p. 303.

6. *The Indian Attack of 23 March 1758:*

> 1758 the 23 day of March the Iindians where fallin to North West Range in Letter B No 30, where they Calpet [scalped] one Johns. Ohx [Johannes Ochs] & his Wife and two Children of his & the Wife to one William Roder five in the whole, it was done about Sun Sett, & about ahalf a Hour after nine the Intillidgen [intelligence] Came to Town & upon this the two allarm Guns where fired, & the whole Inhabitants of the Town & Captains of the Militia waited on the Collonel Sutherland for orders, & in the morning at day brack a party of 12 Man with Serjt. & one Corpell. was Send out in Serch of them & to the aberaid [abovesaid] Please [place]

Johannes Ochs (b. 1729) and his wife, from Baden-Durlach on the Rhine River, had arrived in Halifax on the *Sally* in 1752. They moved to Lunenburg in the spring of the following year, with all the other Foreign Protestants. According to the victualling list of 1757 for Lunenburg, the family consisted of Johannes, his wife Maria Barbara, and their children Christian (b. 1754) and Maria Christina (b. 1756). Their 30-acre lot was in Northwest Range B, lot 29. The Indians wiped out this young family, as well as the wife of William Roder.[34]

7. *The Indian Attack of 13 July 1758:*

> 13th July 1758 This day about twelve oClock 2 Indians Came down within 50 yd. of the Lehaver Saw Mill near the block house, when four growing boys which was on Guard on Said block house was swiming & naked in the frish water river two Indians Came down to them when Seen they made their Escape & one John Wagener [Wagner] was Shot dead on the Spot & the Indians wend away Imediately.

John Wagner, two men named Tanner, and another unidentified boy were all swimming in the LaHave River when Indians appeared. They were no doubt near the sawmill owned by Captain Frederick Albert Strasburger, on the stream emptying into the LaHave at present-day Dayspring.[35] The men "dressed with all speed, and attempted to escape."[36] They were, however, not fast enough: one of the Tanner men had a musketball pass through his waistcoat and shirt; John Wagner was killed.

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34 Bell, MG 1, Vol. 110, p. 142, PANS.

35 Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants,"* p. 486.

36 DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, p. 343.

The man who shot him was called Labrador,[37] probably a member of the Métis (i.e., Micmac and Acadian) family of Paul Labrador who owned a small farm at the head of Lunenburg harbour when the Foreign Protestants arrived in 1753. In 1755 the Labrador family had been struck from the victualling list (i.e. they no longer received food from the government) because they "had proved incorrigibly lazy and good-for-nothing."[38] No doubt that family retired to the woods and turned into bitter enemies of the settlement.

One of the Tanner men--natives of Schaffhausen in Switzerland--eventually lived to the age of ninety-five. He was a tall man, over six feet, and powerfully built; afterwards, he "went several times to shoot Labrador, but always returned without so doing, his conscience never allowing the deed."[39]

8. *The Indian Attack of 24 August 1758:*

> 1758 24th Aug.st about day brack the Indians in Number eight Came in to Mahone Bay to one Joseph Laye house, & at day brack one Women wend out to the door to make water, two Indians Imediatly got hold of her, & she was Calling out for morder [murder] they Imediately kild her, on that the man laying in the loft upstair, what Decharged their firelock bout to no purpos & one Joseph Lay Jumpt out of the loft in order to run to his nighbour, but being Discovered by the Indians & Shot and the Next morning deid in Town, and they fired several Shot at one Jacob Brants house which live neer Lay & they wend away without giting any Scalps near [nor] any body alive.

The names of those buried on 27 August 1758 by the Reverend Jean-Baptiste Moreau at St. John's Anglican Church in Lunenburg were Joseph Lay, Conrad Hatt and the latter's wife Rosina. Joseph Lay left a widow, Maria, and children; the Hatts were also survived by their children. The Lays and the Hatts were from Switzerland and had arrived on the *Speedwell* in 1751. Joseph Lay's 30-acre lot was located at Mahone Bay B-6; his neighbour, Jacob Brant's, was Mahone Bay B-7; and Conrad Hatt's was Mahone Bay C-8.[40]

37 *Ibid.*

38 Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants,"* p. 510.

39 DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, p. 344.

40 Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants,"* p. 518.

Haliburton Family Letters, 1789-1839

Gordon M. Haliburton

The letters published here were accumulated in Boston by Abigail Haliburton (Mrs. Samuel Fales) and members of her family; and preserved since, together with many other family papers, by her descendants. In October 1990 a number of these letters were accepted by Professor Richard A. Davies of the Department of English at Acadia University for donation to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS). The donor was Haliburton Fales of Gladstone, New Jersey, the present head of the family, who is descended from Samuel and Abigail (née Haliburton) Fales.

In these letters, the Haliburton family of Windsor comes alive through all their hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows. The close bonds existing between them are very evident, especially those linking the children of William and Lucy with each other and with their relatives in New England.

Some of these letters (including several not donated to PANS) were published in DeCoursey Fales's *The Fales Family of Bristol, Rhode Island* (Boston, 1919). These were evidently edited by A.W.H. Eaton, whose research on the Haliburton family was significant, and who tidied up the spelling and punctuation of the originals when necessary. By contrast, I have tried in the following to make very few corrections, leaving the spelling as in the originals--as far as I have been able to decipher them. Readers interested in learning more about the background of this family may wish to examine my earlier article, "Family Influences on Thomas Chandler Haliburton in Windsor," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12, 1 (June 1992), pages 20-39.

The letters reproduced below for the most part will be found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia in Manuscript Group 1, Vol. 2950A, items 1 to 51. The item number will be quoted here as 'PANS', followed by the appropriate digit, both within brackets.

Letter One (PANS 1): from Charlotte Haliburton, who was making a long visit to her aunt Abigail Sheafe (née Haliburton) who, with her second husband, Jacob Sheafe, lived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; to her sister Lucy (Lusannah Hamilton Haliburton) in Windsor; previously printed in *The Fales Family*.

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 West Africa, to which he has recently returned.

Portsmouth November 1, 1789

My Dear Lucy

I begin to think you have forgot you Have such a sister as Charlotte or that She is not worth Remembering it is almost three months since I have had a Letter from any of the family--I write so often that I am sometimes at a loss for a subject that is New to entertain you with--if I was to Inform you of Deths births or marriages it could not be Interesting as you due not know the parties but of one person whose Name will Never Die I must say something that is the Great Washington Last Saturday his arrival was announced with the ringing of bells, firing of Guns and every sign of Extravagant joy. He entered the town at two o'clock escorted by one thousand Light-horsemen, the Gentlemen of the town and the artillery. He went directly into the town house and stood on the Balcony to see the different Companies of horse go through their manouvers and to gratify the applauding multitude with a sight of their Idol. He walked to his lodgings bowing to the Ladies as he passed. At night the town house was Illuminated and fire works from Diferent parts of the town. Next morning he paraded to Church preceded by the President, Vice-President, the Marshall and his two aids. We sat in the Governor's Pew and I had an opportunity of haveing a full view of this celebrated man. He is tall and graceful with a great Deal of Gravity in his Countenance and does not look moved at any think.

My buckles have come from New York they are very beautiful and costly they are silver with a rose top and bottom with a rim of gold inside. They are very large and very much admired, the price was three pound fourteen. I have had a very fashionable bell hoop given me, tis an english one and comes down to the bottom of my Petticoats and I assure you I made a tolerable figure at Church with my straw coulard gown and peticoate blue sattin shoes with white straps pink sash with the thirteen stripes on each end, New white kid gloves, Double ruffles of blond Lace very handsome white satin hat lined with pink and gold buckles on my wrists. You may very easy gess to whom I am indebted for those advantages in dress. and so much for my dress tis very like you will say I was conceited or I should not have been so particular in my description of it but I consider to whom I write tis one who I know is anctious even in trifles if it concerns me therefore an apology is needless.

Aunt has with Difficulty made out to write the particulars of an afair which if I had my will should Never have been mentioned not from any want of respect or attention to my parents but tis a match so far above my

expectations that I sometimes think what I have herd and seen is all a Dream an my only reason for not wishing them to know it was for fear of a Disappointment. In that case if they had not of known it I alone should have felt it but as it is we must trust to providence and think whatever is write.

I wish you and Papa would write to my uncle and if you have time to write to but one let it be to him. I think Lucy if you did but reflect a moment gratitude would have suggested it to you that it was your duty nor ought you to have been reminded of it by me.[1]

Aunt desires her love to you all her lameness prevented her from being as particular in her letter as she could wish She Desires you would write her everything you know about Aunt Card and Uncle Halliburton[2] her compliments to those she was formerly acquainted with. her health is not worse but her lameness is no better. my uncle is much as you sal [usual] and I am as well as ever I was. My love to papa, mama and all the Children.

I remain your affectionate Sister
Charlotte

Letter Two was written by Mrs. Sheafe to explain to William and Lucy the matrimonial prospects opening for Charlotte, who at this time was nineteen years old; her sister was five years older. This letter is not in PANS, so the text is taken from *The Fales Family*.

Portsmouth, November 5th, 1789

Dear Brother & Sister,

I would inform you that a gentleman of the name of Fisher, belonging to Bristol, has made his address to Charlotte. He asked the consent of Mr. Sheafe and myself, which he obtain'd as far as we had the power. He is a gentleman, and of a very good family. He was here in a large ship that he and his two brothers own'd. His father is living but retir'd from business. He has three sons and a daughter, he has put his sons into good business and made

1 This remark suggests that the Haliburtons owed Mr. Sheafe a special favour; possibly William and his daughter Lucy had already stayed with them, during the period when legal problems drove William from Nova Scotia.

2 Aunt Card was Priscilla Card (née Haliburton), William's sister and the wife (later widow) of Jonathan Card of Windsor. Uncle Haliburton was their brother George, who had lived in both Horton and Newport townships but was at this time going to sea. Within a year of this letter he had established himself at Portsmouth.

his will, when he gives his children £5,000 each. Both Mr. Fisher's parents are living, they [are] Quakers, but the sons are not. He sailed for Bristol the 9th September, was to go from there to Naples, and to return here in June after touching at Newfoundland. He told us in that time we could inquire about him and family. He does not intend to go to sea after he is married, as his circumstances are easy. He will settle in America if it is most agreeable to her. He desired you might be informed of these things and your consent obtained.

I should be glad to be informed about Sister Car and Brother George and familys. Mr. Sheafe joins me in love to all, he and I are very infirm, this is the first time I could hold a pen for a long time. Charlotte is well and appears contented.

I am dear Brother and Sister
Your Most affectionate
Abigail Sheafe

Mr. Fisher's Christian name is Lewis, and [he is] about 6 feet high, [and] 24 years old.

Letter Three (PANS 2), from Charlotte to Lucy, gave more information about the handsome mariner, Lewis Fisher; this is also in *The Fales Family*.

Portsmouth, December 15, 1789

My Dear Lucy

Yesterday I was agreeably surprised with the arrival of Capt. Carne and Mrs. Dorton.[3] He brought me a letter from papa and yourself, but as it was under cover to Mr. Smith[4] I took mine out and sent his on. I find 'tis vain to make any request to you or papa, for you will not comply with what I ask you; when I have so often urged you to write to your uncle you wont pay any attention to it and he takes it very unkind. You know I am under his protection and tho he dont say anything, he feels hurt. Dont let me have cause to remind [you] of it again. By what I can learn Windsor is as poor as ever. I

3 Captain Crane must be Jonathan Crane of Horton, MHA for Kings County. "Mrs. Dorton" must be Mrs. Dordin, i.e., Elizabeth Ellis, whose marriage to Francis Delesdernier had ended sometime before; ca. 1788 he was married to Mary Newman of Newport, Rhode Island.

4 Probably Lusannah Haliburton's brother-in-law, Abiel Smith.

think Mrs. Deschamps[5] must be a good Deal reduced or she would not send her silver urn to Boston to be sold. Mrs. Dorton tells me papa keeps a chaise and two horses, which I can hardly believe, but I am glad if 'tis so for mama's sake.

Inclosed is a Letter from your aunt, the contents No Doubt will surprise you. A copy of the same was sent by the way of Shelburne. If you are surprised at aunt's Discription of him [Lewis Fisher] you would be more so if you was to see him, he looks so Noble and so genteel. I believe since I have mentioned him I must give you a Discription of his cabin, for I was on board his ship at an entertainment he gave on my account. He desired me to chuse whom I pleased and he would invite None else. He waited upon me on board a ship that appeared like [a] Mountain to me, went down a beautiful staircase with turned banisters, and a carpet on the stairs, went through an entry handsomely painted, papered, and carpet on that to a very large Cabin. I must first begin with the windows, which were four in Number, a pair of very Large Looking-Glasses and very fashionable chintz window-curtains festooned with cord and tassel, and white fringe sette of the same kind, mahogany chairs with hair bottoms, mahogany tables, on 2 cases silver-handled knives and forks. The chimney-piece was mahogany, done with gold, with a neat little brass stove and a marble hearth. The doors of his state-room and closet were mahogany, wrought in a variety of figures, and some glass let in. The pictures round the cabin were done with red paint and the prettiest I ever saw. Six silver candlesticks with wax candles were lit in the cabin; tea and coffee and different kinds of nice cakes, silver tea-pot, coffee-pot, cream-pot and sugar dish. In his stateroom a handsome bureau, a bed with the curtains festooned and fringed, and the prettiest book-case I ever saw, filled with well-chosen authors. After tea we danced on the quarter-deck, there was an awning all over it, hung round with lights. We danced till 12 and then sat down to a very elegant supper. And now if you aren't tired of Captain Fisher's cabin I am, so I will say no more about it.

The assemblies have begun, tomorrow night I shall go with Mrs. Thompson. I was invited to a dance Thanksgiving night at Mrs. Boyd's, but I was confined with the influenza and could not go. I have sent you by Capt. Crane my hood, riding habit, and buskins, they are useless to me and I did not know but they might be of some service in the family. I would have sent my

5 Presumably Mrs. Isaac Deschamps, i.e., Sarah Ellis.

sirtute [surtout] but as I did not know what might happen I deferred it till another time. Tell William and Nabby I dont think them worth being affronted with for not writing to me. Indeed I dont know how I came to expect it, her head is so full of Lefargue and his whole study is how to get money. Ask papa to write to your uncle. My love to papa and mama, the 2 boys and yourself.

Your affectionate sister
C. Halliburton

Aunt and uncle send their love, they are much as you sal [usual].

Perhaps Captain Fisher was forgotten before he got to the Mediterranean, for no more was heard about him; at least there is nothing in these letters. In fact a new suitor appeared on the scene, was accepted and the marriage took place within three months of this letter; there is no correspondence preserved to shed light on it. Charlotte's husband was Alexander Lyon, a sugar planter from Tobago. He carried his young wife from the winter in Portsmouth to the perpetual summer of the Caribbean. From there he wrote, in a well-educated hand, to her guardians, the Sheafes, to announce the couple's safe arrival. **Letter Four (PANS 34)**: Alexander Lyon, Tobago, to Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Sheafe, Sr., Portsmouth, N.H. This is also printed in *The Fales Family*.

Tobago, 10th April 1790

Dear Sir & Madam,

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mrs Lyon and myself arrived here safe after a passage of four weeks: the first part of it Mrs L was a little affected by the roughness of the sea & weather, but soon recovered, and landed very much improved in every appearance of health.--We staid a week in the Town, where she was visited by every Lady of note in the Island, whose attentions (tho not more than I expected) was pleasing and flattering in the highest degree, and made a deep impression on my Charlotte. We have been at home for some time;--my friends had made every exertion to get my house ready for our reception;--it is not yet quite finished, but so much so, as to enable us to live in it comfortably. Charlotte says she likes her situation,--is contented & happy, and only wishes for the society of one of her sisters to render her situation completely blessed. You would be surprized to see the alteration that has already taken place in her;--the gay, lively, volatile Charlotte, fond of parade, balls and amusements,

was tired in one week we remained in and about Town, and sighed for home & retirement; and 'tho she promised all the Ladies to return their visits in a short time, now declares she cannot think of leaving home these six months. I shall certainly endeavour to make that as agreeable to her as possible, but she will enjoy it the more that she sometimes leaves it and mixes in our little gay world. She has been, she says, better than she ever was in her life, 'till within this week, when some business calling me from home for the first time, she imprudently, not knowing the danger, left the windows of her chamber open in the night, by which means she has caught a cold and sore throat that prevents her from being able to write you herself, but which I hope will soon be removed, and you may depend on her writing you by the first vessels after this. She desires me to make her most affectionate compliments to you both, and begs you'l believe she retains the most gratefull sense of the many obligations she lyes under to you; in this I most heartily join her, and request you'l be so good as to make our joint compliments to Mr.& Mrs. Jacob Sheafe jun. as well as all the rest of your go[o]d family and believe me to be with the greatest respect,

Dear Sir & Madam
Your most obedient servant,
Alex Lyon

This letter was sent on to Windsor and perhaps as a result Charlotte's elder sister, Lucy, travelled to Portsmouth with the intention of going on to Tobago to be with her sister. By this time, however, the French Revolution was raging, with repercussions in the West Indies. Tobago was ultimately claimed by both France and Britain, but for the moment was termed 'neutral'; it was nevertheless affected by the Revolutionary atmosphere.

Lucy Haliburton was some time waiting at Portsmouth for a vessel bound for Tobago. Before leaving she wrote to her parents; from the next letter they wrote, it appears they were responding to it. This letter was one of those edited by A.W.H. Eaton and printed in *The Fales Family*. **Letter Five**: Lucy Haliburton to her parents William and Lucy Haliburton.

My Dear Parents are anxious I know to hear from Both their girls. I can inform you of their health--Since I have Been here 2 vessells have arrived from Tobago they bring accounts of the Town Being Burnt but this affects not them as their Estate Lyes at such a distance but may Prevent your hearing

for a Time as their letters were probably Destroyed in the fire--George Turner saw both Mr & Mrs Lyon, says they were well 5 weeks Since--Charlotte is Delighted With the Place & Well she may--such a husband & such a situation may Content any Reasonable Woman. He is indeed from aunt's Description everything good and amiable. his fondness for Charlotte made him By 2 horses which he Took with him. he gave Captain Wardrobe 50 guineas for Their Pasage & his complaisance in Detaining his ship near three weeks. The English name for the town is Scarborough but the french call [it] Port Louis. Mr. Lyon's plantation is at a place called Hanover Bay; there is a much shorter way to it by water But that is not permitted. Mr. Lyon has a Sugar Plantation called Caledonia, this he does not improve. The one he lives on he has not named, as it should be called by whatever name his wife Pleased. It must indeed Be a sweet spot, the river running by their door, from which they have what fish they want. They live quite after the English manner, make their own beer, which is bottled and preserved with care. They keep four cows, churn every other day. His plantation does not raise fruit, but he lives on such a friendly way with the gentlemen around him that he has great plenty from them. Aunt tells me this estate brings him a clear five hundred per annum. And now, my dear papa and mama, have you not reason to be thankful to the great Disposer of all for his great mercies, how well has He provided for those you thought most helpless. Those that put their trust in God and endeavour to do what they think to be their duty will not be forsaken by him. My uncle and aunt have acted the part of indulgent parents to both sisters, especially to Charlotte in endeavouring to provide for her happiness both here and hereafter. My aunt gave her the best books, instructed her in every duty, and I have the happiness to inform you that Mr. Lyon appears to be a religious man.

I wish my dear papa could see my uncle, you would I am sure love [him] better if possible than you do. I am truly sorry they have not letters from Charlotte. Mr. Lyon's father is dead, I have not heard of any other relation of his but a half brother that he is very fond of. Archie Lyon lived in the town, the late fire has destroyed his house. Trains of powder were laid to almost every genteel house in town, as the fire crossed the street in so many different directions. This was done by soldiers. The confusion was very great and even the governor was obliged to take off his hat and be very civil to them. They are to be sent to France.

Mr. Lyon tells aunt they have a minister that preaches at the different

plantations in turn, for the Church was in the town. Mr. Ogden, the Church minister married them. This is wrote at different times, as you will see. I expect to leave this place tomorrow in a brig of Mr. Jake Sheafe's.[6] I saw the captain last night, middle-aged, a grave, civil man, has a very good character, says they have made one third of the cables into a room for me, with a sliding door. This man has been ten voyages to Tobago.

Give my best love and compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Ellis,[7] their friendly and polite attention to me will ever be gratefully remembered. Love to Miss Bell. Give my kind love to Susan[8] and the rest of the family [and] to Mrs Dewolf and family, I shall write to both when I get home, and compliments to all who think me worth enquiring after.

Will and the Dear little Boys must write to me, may this find you all as well as it leaves me. God preserve & keep you all in health & every other blessing.

Prays your ever affectionate
Lucy

It appears that the parents had received this letter before they wrote the following. **Letter Six (PANS 35)**: William and Lucy Haliburton, Windsor, to their daughters Charlotte and Lucy and son-in-law in Tobago; this was not printed in *The Fales Family*.

No. 1 Windsor 29 July '90

Dear Children:

We have seen a letter from Mr. Lyon to Mr & Mrs Sheafe, but not being directed to us it is no letter at all, or rather worse, for having Represented our Daughter afflicted with a sore throat, the last Image Impressed hath remained on our minds, ever since, & she cannot possibly be well any more, until we have it in solemn black and white from yourselves--Again we are affrighted

6 Jacob Sheafe, Jr., a stepson of Abigail Sheafe (née Haliburton).

7 Rev. William Ellis succeeded Joseph Bennett as Church of England minister in the Newport-Windsor-Falmouth area in 1775; he was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1764 and sent out to Nova Scotia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, going first to Lunenburg. In 1775 he and Bennett changed parishes; services were held once a month at Falmouth and Newport, and twice a month at Windsor. After 1791, until his death in 1795, Ellis confined his pastoral activities to Windsor.

8 Susan was probably Susanna Davis (née Francklin), who first married one Davis and in 1803 W.H.O. Haliburton.

by Horrid Images from Your Quarter of the World, an Enraged Soldiery--houses on fire, your safety depending on soot-col'd guards, an Exiled garrison, a Defenceless Island, an Approaching war. Arrets & Proclamations forbidding everyone that now is, or ever has been English to see or speak with you--a Thousand Hydras which a Single Line would remove or Destroy like Enchantment, and as we have not one Scrape of a Pen from you to support ourselves under such fretful circumstances, we are obliged to have recourse to Calculation, Surmises & Fancied Causes & Consequences, which being all Visionary & Unsubstantial we Experience that craving of Soul which is many, many times worse than the cravings of our Appetites...and we shall actually be famished to Death, than which a more dreadful Fate cannot be Conceived.

Your mother is already a Skeleton & Fancies she shall shortly be one of those thin shades described by Homer, and will go Flitting and Screaming overseas after you, and if you will not write speedily you must not be surprized if you should Hear her in your Chamber one of these nights when the weather is very Dark & Tempestuous--We will now Banish these Images & give Room for others more agreeable. Fair skies, a Climate where Spring is ever Blooming, cool breezes tempering the Heats when too Ardent, water falling in Cascades Hasting with musical melody to the Bosom of the Parent Sea, Pails of flowing milk, Butter, Cheese & Beer all of your own making. Health forever Gay & Happiness hourly assuming new forms, each more pleasing than the other, the Golden Age restored & Perpetuated. Lucy arrived to Increase a Felicity already so full & complete. What would we not do, and what should you not Enjoy, if we had but the Power. But then the same Power offended by such Unbearable Silence and Neglect, might erect new Bastiles, & we might forget that we were Parents. Pray do write to us & that shortly--for you Know not what may Happen. In pity! write to your poor Parents, Knowing nothing, Surmising all things. Remember the Rule that Sorrow Divided is Lightened, and that Joy communicated is Increased--

Here with us, our Noble Windsor Looks forward with Expectation--Fatning Sheaves & fruitful Seasons promise to fill the Horn of Plenty till it can hold no more...Windsor hopes to be the Seat of the muses. Academies & Colleges shall distinguish this from all the Acadian villages, and we are now Conscious and Inclined to Boast of our future Importance. We are already dignified with a stately new Church that will contain 500 Hearers and of Tillotsons & Clarkes our Church shall never be wanting.

Our Inmates are all in Health as usual. Time Rolling onwards his Carr, at the old pace. Interrupted only now & then, at meals or Eventide, to Know how Charlot & Mr Lyon are Spending their Hours--How far Lucy is advanced on the Seas, and When she may be Expected to be Arrived. To conclude we give you the Gratulations & Kind Complimts of Mr & Mrs Ellis, the Judge [Isaac Deschamps] & his Lady, Mr & Mrs Dewolf, Dear Susan, her brother & Mama & many others, who all, though not personally known to Mr Lyon, Kindly interest themselves in the Happiness of you both. Our Prayers Rise Ever for your Happiness Here & Hereafter,

To the Sheltering wings of a Good Providence we Commit you, and Remain with warmest Affections

Your Loving
Longing Parents WH
& LH

Mr Alex Lyon & his Lady

On the outside of the letter is written: Copy to Mr Lyon & wife to make them more attentive to their Parents July 29 1790

Lucy safely arrived in Tobago, proceeded on to the Lyon plantation--now bearing the name "Charlotteville," in honour of its new chatelaine--and was able to write her aunt, Rachel DeWolf, at Windsor. **Letter Seven (PANS 36.1-36.2)**: Lucy Haliburton, Tobago, to Mrs. Benjamin DeWolf at Windsor; printed in *The Fales Family*. This is not the original letter, but a copy; on the outside is written (not in the copyist's hand), "in answer to a very foolish & improprer Request."

Charlotteville
14 August, 1790

Tis with pleasure I now inform my dear Friends of my arrival after a tedious passage of thirty-nine days. Mr. Quincy, Captn Richardson and Mr Campbell came on board in a barge for me. They were very polite and as attentive to me as possible. I staid five days at Montpellier, which is really a pleasant place. Mrs Hamilton insisted a great deal on my going with her to Rysland, but I was so anxious to be at home I did not go. A horse with five servants was sent by Mr Lyon for me--Charlotte tells me they never travel with less. His brother was so polite as to be my escort. Mr Lyon met us at Kendall

place and received me in the most affectionate manner. He is really one of the best of men. So much attention & kindness I never before received. He tells me he is much fonder of Charlotte than he was when first he married I do not think tis possible for any couple to be happier than they are. She scarce can form a wish that is not instantly gratified. Their house is in great forwardness & when finished will really be an elegant one, a two story house, which is not common in this country. Handsome galleries all round with jalousies, a large beautiful portico in front, floored with blue & white marble tile, and the outhouses, stores, cotton, and sick houses are all exceedingly convenient. They keep two most excellent horses and three mules. The day I came they gave me two beautiful negroes, Patty and Christmas. I want for nothing this country can afford, they both are as good as possible.

One beautiful piece of furniture in this country I believe you never saw, is glass shades for the candles. They are above two feet high and shaped like a barrel, no genteel family can be without them. They have the handsomest candlesticks I ever saw, they are oval & the work is very beautiful. They cost fourteen pounds apiece. She [Charlotte] has two pair of them & two of elegant cut glass that look nearly as well. Pardon me if I have dwelt too long on trifles, but it was your desire that I should be very particular &c.

And now give me leave to enquire after you and Mr. Dewolf, with all the rest of your amiable family. Believe me I shall ever be grateful for favours received. Long, very long, will they remain engraved on my heart. If it should please the Almighty ever to grant me the power, all obligations shall be returned. I doubt I have already tired your patience, and will not write more than, Love and compliments, in which Mr and Mrs Lyon join.

Lucy H. Haliburton

Some years passed. Lucy returned to Windsor unmarried, before or after the unforseen death of Mr. Lyon. Charlotte remarried, to a Mr. Daniel Campbell. The eldest brother, William, married Lucy Grant; their son Thomas Chandler was born, and shortly after that his mother Lucy died. No letters concerning these events have been preserved. Lucy Haliburton wrote Charlotte after the drowning at sea of their brother, Gustavus, in December 1797. Charlotte was now twice a widow, for Daniel Campbell had also died. As no letters survive, we cannot know the full story of Charlotte's life and its vicissitudes. Her reply to her sister Lucy was the next letter preserved, but is not printed in *The Fales Family*. **Letter Eight (PANS 3)**: Charlotte Campbell, Tobago, to Lucy Haliburton, Windsor.

Tobago 6th of May 1798

My Dear Sister:

Yesterday I received your melancholy tho welcome letter. I am truly shocked at the fate of poor Gustavus but after the Dreadful losses I have sustained all others appear light in Comparison; our Family is disappearing like Dew in the morning and I am afraid will leave few traces behind of its existence. My own health is so bad I am obliged to quit this Country. I have sold my estate and never mean to return to this Island if I can help it--at present my destination is not to America but England. I shall embark this evening with my Brother-in-law Doctor John Campbell--we sail with convoy and I have no apprihentions of capture--my complaints at first had a consumptive appearance and I was advised to go to Barbados and drink asses milk which I did and am happy to say with some degree of success--tho myself I think tis a confirmed asthma in which case I shall not be able to live long in a cold climate but shall be obliged to return either to Madeira or Bermudas but you shall know my determination as soon as ever I arrive in england, and don't write to me till you hear from me--when once I am settled and am sertin which climate my health will permit me to reside in I shall then invite you to live with me--but at present it would be madness to think of it--this letter will be delivered to you by a Mr. Mitchel whose Family I am acquainted with if tis in your power to show him any civilities I am sure you will do it--remember me to my parents and Surviving Brothers--if God spares my life to get to England I will then inform you of all the past and all the Future. Adieu God Bless and preserve you prays your affectionate Sister

Charlotte Campbell

Charlotte arrived in England and for eighteen months apparently lived in London, near her brother-in-law. We have no information on whether or not she sent for her sister Lucy, but between the letter of May 1798 and the next letter of December, Lucy evidently died. Charlotte was subsequently concerned with trying to help her youngest brother, George Mordaunt Haliburton, who may have been staying with her in London at the time. He was twenty-two years of age and interested in a mercantile career. The following letter, which he was to carry to Tobago, was not printed in *Fales*.

Letter Nine (PANS 38): Charlotte Campbell, London, to Gideon Gilman, Esq., Tobago.

London December 3rd 1799 Hans Place No. 35

My Dear Friend:

This will be delivered to you by my Brother Mordant who you have been so kind as [to] promise your protection to. I own tis with reluctance I have Consented to his going to the West Indies as you know how Fatal it has been to all my *Friends* but as tis his own inclination and I see no better prospect for him I am happy to possess a friend that can more than supply my place to him. When he is in health give him your advice and I am sure He will follow it--but if he gets sick *oh* take care of him for *my sake*...recollect whose brother he is--and what an additional obligation you will confer on your cincear friend--

Charlotte Campbell

A month after writing this letter, Charlotte made her will--and shortly after that died. Her last concerns were for the welfare of her parents, and to them she left the greater part of her estate; they were to enjoy it during their lifetime, after which it was to go to their only surviving daughter, Abigail. George

Mordaunt Haliburton was either in London during the final days of his sister's life, or came there as soon as news of her death reached Nova Scotia. At any rate, he called on Dr. John Campbell, her brother-in-law and executor, to show him the power of attorney which he held from his parents and his sister Abigail. The estate in question amounted to £900 sterling, and Dr. Campbell was doubtful about the wisdom of handing it over to the young man, particularly when the interest of the parents was only a life interest. Legal advice was given that the young Haliburton was fully authorized to receive the money, however, so Dr. Campbell paid it over to him.

George Mordaunt Haliburton borrowed from his parents to set himself up in business on his own, not in the West Indies but in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Evidently he was in Europe again in 1801, as the following letter from his parents to his sister Abigail, who was visiting her aunts in Boston, shows. Abigail had written to request her parents' consent for her marriage to a young Boston merchant, Samuel Fales; Abigail was twenty-eight, Fales was twenty-six. This letter too is published in *The Fales Family*. **Letter Ten (PANS 4)**: William and Lucy Haliburton to Abigail Haliburton, directed to "Miss Abigl Haliburton Care of Abiel Smith, Esq., Boston." On the outside of this letter, one of the Fales family, probably Augusta, noted "This letter is from my Grandfather, on the engagement, to my father, of my mother."

Windsor 25 July 1801

Dear Abby

Your Letter by Captn Baker did not come to hand till late last evening. He sails this morning from Campbell's creek, and the time scarce sufficeth to pack up and send on board the things you wrote for.

You may Imagine, Dr Girl, our Sensations at the receipt of a Letter announcing and asking consent to an intended union that Threats perpetual separation from our only surviving Daughter, whose company, converse, and music had become more and more endearing and whose presence became daily more interesting to both, and more so now to the mother on account of William's long absence and my engagement with George to take charge of his Business until his return next spring from England.

Melancholly prospects these, for a feeble old woman advancing fast in years and Infirmities. As for the Father, He feels not, or feeling scorns to own it. But we are Parents anxious as fond, and as such more solicitous for our Daughter's wellfare than for any Interests of our own.

You are now Dear Child at years of discretion and do not lack discernment. If you see in Mr. Fales those qualities and accompanyments which afford a well grounded prospect of happiness, you have our approbation and of course our consent.

Remember however that Matrimony is no trifling connection. It is a Copartnership that cannot be dissolved at pleasure. Each one should put into the joint stock, Industry, Economy and prudent foresight, Sincerity, Justice, generosity and tender compassion, much Patience, mutual forbearance and great Fear of offence, Each striving to deserve and claim the Esteem of the other by virtuous honorable conduct and all those innocent endearments which sweeten the Cup of life.

This is the Pleasing side of the Picture, and God forbid you should ever see the reverse, the very apprehension would fill our souls with Terror.

Do you therefore Do your best in the Fear of God, and we as fond Parents will hope the best. Our affectionate regard shall be unto him as to you, and the happiness of both shall be the burthen of our prayers to the throne of Grace.

Commend us to Mr. Fales as Parents worthy of Esteem, and assure him that we shall be impatient for the time when we shall see Him, and the Dear Friends you have named, within our cottage at Windsor.

You know the warmth of our affection for our Friends in Boston, commend us sincerely to each Person in terms proper to the occasion.

God Bless proper and direct you in all things, Sayeth your ever affectionate Parents

W. Haliburton
Lucy Haliburton

Miss Abby Haliburton
P.S. Miss Dewolf had closed her Letter before yours arrived last night.

During his year abroad (beginning in the summer of 1801), George Haliburton was evidently making useful business contacts, not only in England but also perhaps in continental Europe where, between October 1801 and May 1803, the Peace of Amiens gave brief respite to those involved in the long wars between France and the rest of Europe. A family tradition states that George first saw his future wife, Christiana Maria Loup, peeking over a convent wall in a quiet street in Paris. Without more details it is hard to establish the circumstances of their meeting, courtship and marriage, but when George returned to Nova Scotia he brought Mlle Loup with him as his bride, thus setting a precedent which his nephew, Thomas Chandler, was to follow fifteen years later when, on his first visit to England, he met and married Louisa Neville. **Letter Eleven (PANS 14)**: W. H. O. Haliburton to his brother-in-law, Samuel Fales, dated 18 January 1803; not printed in *The Fales Family*.

Dear Fales:

How does my sister. Her silence as well as yours Convinces me that she is not well, yet I trust not dead, as I presume I should have been made acquainted with an Event so dreadful had it taken place. Consider my anxiety for an only sister, and then If you please relieve me, by Informing me how she does & whether you are Happy in a young Samuel *Plowden*, allowed the Males a Preeminence. If your child should be a Male you will therefore be entitled to more Congratulations, and for the reason that he gives that the Females can not Continue his name and Estates go out of the Family Name; now Sir Having no great preference myself In either Case, I shall congratulate you provided my Sister and her offspring are alive. Don't fail to acquaint me. My Family here are well. I received some time ago a letter of yours enclosing a Copy of a Note of Jno Steel's with a favour from a Gentleman in Boston to whom Steel owed the money to Collect the debt for him; Steel was called upon for payment--he

proposd sending up by Captn Kelly the Pay[ment] and assured me he had. I find on Enquiry from Kelly he has not except ten pounds; you will please to inform that Gentleman that he must send to me the Original Note, he may keep a Certified Copy in case of accident, and send also an Affadavit Taken regularly that the Defendant is Justly and Freely indebted to him in the Sum that may be Claimed on the note, Specifying the Same and the payment made, upon the receipt of which I shall attach Steel's property or person. I will thank you to Send me as much as fifteen or twenty yards of silk worm gut it may be had at Greenwoods the Dentist. It is for to Tie teeth in. Don't fail, as I really want it. I paid your money & interest to My Brother as soon as I knew what it was. the money pd Gray I mean & Hope he paid you the Same. I have enclosed a Small Memorandum of things[?] which I wish you to procure & send down to me Early in the Spring with the bill which shall be immediately pd.

my love to Abby I am in haste yours Truly
18 Jany 1803 WHO Haliburton

The infant enquired of had already been born on 22 December 1802 and was named Lucy Ann Charlotte Augusta, in memory of her two dead aunts and her dead uncle; for a time she was called "Gusta," which makes that reference clearer. **Letter Twelve (PANS 5)**: William and Lucy Haliburton to their daughter, Abigail Fales.

Windsor 30 March 1806

Dear Child:

I am now your mother's amanuensis, and you may expect that I have wrote all her commands, messages and communications. First I am to acknowledge the receipt of a Letter from you written in haste, one half thereof to us and the other to your aunt Card, which was duly forwarded. Then paying due respect to seniority she begins by enquiring how brother Abiel does--and his Lady (but she did not ask what they were doing), how Nancy Clapp[9] does, and who Mr. Smith has gotten to live with her--Next whether you have ever heard of

9 Lusannah Haliburton (née Otis) had a sister Priscilla (1742-1836), who married William Clapp; they lived in Boston, attended King's Chapel, and became staunch Unitarians. One of their daughters was Nancy, who married in 1805 (as his third wife) Daniel G. Wheeler; she may have been of special interest to Abiel Smith, as she was remembered in his will, and she called her youngest son "Abiel Smith." This letter may be a reference to her need for domestic help, since her first child was born in September 1806; otherwise it cannot be explained, nor can a later reference in the letters to Clapp's misfortunes.

Brother Barney's wife[10] and whether she got safe to England, and all how and about them--She wants to know how you and Mr. Fales have your health, and little Gusta, whether she is coming to Nova Scotia. How Master Bradford does and whether He is like to become a Colonel. Then she wants you to make her another visit next summer and to bring Mr. Fales and Gusta with you--I am then to inform you that Mrs. N. Thomas[11] has lost her little Boy, the darling of her soul. There is much sorrow and wailing in that house, and each refuseth to be comforted. Also, whether in way of banter or not has Mrs. B. Dewolf talked of going to see her Friends in Boston in Captn Curry's [vessel] by whom this goes. So I have given you my Mistress's complimts and tell you all she bid me--I forgot--She bid me tell you that Mr. King[12] has gotten another son, thus the Two Parsons have gotten three sons apiece--Anna Linnard is married to the handsome Carpenter (W. Church) and lives in the great white house opposite Vandergrafts, O Strange!

Now for some addenda on my account.

I must say to you my dear that I love to read your scribble as you have a faculty of enlivening what you write. And you have also another singular faculty, that when you write of marriages actual or intended, the Gentleman or the Lady, or one of them, is always nameless.

I acknowledge also that I grow more and more anxious to obtain the earliest best information of events relative to *that man* whose fortunes I have watched with much attention and sollicitude, and that I was much dissappointed at not having newspapers at a time when Bonaparte's feats hath filled Europe with alarms. I thank God that the ambitious madman hath received a Check that prognosticates his overthrow, and fall from a greatness obtained by basest acts.

That I have watched her fortunes will appear from the manuscript entitled a warning to the United States of America, which as a mark of esteem and

10 Mrs. Barney Smith was another of the Otis sisters, and is sometimes referred to as Nancy or--more formally--Anna; her husband, though not so wealthy as his brother Abiel, was nevertheless sufficiently well-off to send his wife and younger children to live in Europe for nearly eight years. This enquiry may mark the commencement of the visit.

11 Mrs. Nathaniel Ray Thomas (née Sarah H. O. DeWolf) was Lusannah's niece and Abigail's cousin; the name of the little boy has not been preserved.

12 Rev. William Colsell King, a husband of Harriot DeWolf; at this time he was S.P.G. missionary in Douglas and Rawdon.

gratitude I had sent to your Uncle Abiel, the receipt whereof He never condescended to notice.

That manuscript I recommend to Mr. Fales and yourself to borrow and read with much attention, as containing matters of highest importance to America and Europe--unfolds the views of France respecting both, contains a display of the features & principles of the French Revolution, and an account of the wars and remarkable events thereby occasioned. Predicts Napoleon's elevation...shows that England prepared a crown for his head. Shows also the ready assent of all Europe. If He would be content with the sole-government of France--and what would be the Consequence, if his ambition aimed at universal dominion.

Time, who justifys the truth or falsehood of every Prediction has verified many things therein contained and hitherto approved the work we have began in Windsor to innoculate for the Kine Pox [cowpox] success has attended alike the attempts of the Physician and the unauthorized adventures.--We owe statues to Jenner and Waterhouse. The latter I much admire and wish to be acquainted with. I think I was intimate with his Father, if Timothy Waterhouse of Newport, Rhode Island, was such to him.--The Pamphlet sent down to Dr. Haliburton[13] was forwarded according to direction.

Thomas yet attends the Colledge which [has had] various alterations--the Death of Doctr [Thomas] Cox [22 October 1805] was a great Blow to that seminary--the Conduct of Mr Ironside has put him away. Doctr Cochran is now the sole director in all things--Deschamps has taken Gerrish Hall[14] and Mr Gray[15] is settled in his Parish at Sackville.

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13 Presumably the Loyalist Dr. John Halliburton (ca. 1739-1808), formerly a physician in Newport, Rhode Island, who was appointed Head of the Navy Medical Department at Halifax in 1782 and became a member of the Council in 1787. See Brenton Haliburton, "Dr. John Halliburton: The Loyal Sufferer," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 9, 1 (June 1989), 7-17.

14 Gerrish Hall was a mansion located on the slope of Fort Edward, facing the village of Windsor, and built by Benjamin Gerrish, a prosperous merchant who received a large grant of land in the township. On his death, part of the estate was cut into streets and became the core of the town. The Deschamps referred to must be George (d. 1809), as his father Isaac had died in 1801.

15 Rev. Benjamin Gerrish Gray (1786-1854) was a grandnephew and co-heir of Benjamin Gerrish (note 14 above). Educated at King's College, Gray was ordained deacon in 1796 and priest next year; and from 1796 until their departure to Sierra Leone in 1801 was missionary to the Maroons at Preston, near Halifax. In 1802 he returned to Windsor to teach English at the Academy and to act as librarian of the College. In 1806 he was appointed to the parish at Sackville, near the head of Bedford Basin; Windsor society thereafter had to manage without him.

Thomas begins to take to his studies; is much with his Grandparents, sends Love and duty to his uncle & aunt in Boston--Susan & Maria & their Caro sposoi ["better halves"] are well. Our neighbours all well & Gay except as above often ask after you. Our Love & Complims to Brothers Sisters relatives & acquaintance in and near Boston--

With Prayers and wishes for the welfare & happiness of yourselves & your little ones we remain

Your affectionate Parents
Wm & L Haliburton

Bad Ink, Paper & Pen conducted with fatigued and jaded spirits/ it being now Censt Nimi [*sic*]; must plead excuse for your WH

P.S. This Letter will repay you the long one which miscarried. Mrs Dewolf says Amelia is at Rawdon with her sister. Mrs Dewolf desires her Love and kind Com[plimen]ts to you, Mr. Fales and all the Brothers & Sisters in town & country.

I send 1/2 Dollar [this is scratched out and another note says] I find 3/6 by Mr. Hutchinson to by one 1/2" Cinnamon or as much as it will buy.

The next letter is addressed to "Mr Samuel Fales, Merchant, No. 11 Cornhill, Boston per Favour of Mr F. Hutchinson of Windsor." Already in these few years, clouds were gathering which later resulted in the War of 1812. **Letter Thirteen (PANS 6)**: William and Lucy Haliburton to Samuel Fales.

Windsor 24th July 1807

Dear Sir:

I write in haste to go by a vessel which has cleared for Boston, but the Master cannot be certain of her destination until her owner arrives, who is hourly expected from Halifax.

I cannot but Lament that late events in the Chesepeak will render our Intercourse more precarious. Indeed it Grieves me, who love both England and America to see them going to logger-heads. And I am not a little surprized to see your American merchants who have much property exposed and defenceless on every part of Ocean lightly sacrificing the same for Mutineers & Deserters in whom America can have no Interest: Seamen whom Britain cannot relinquish without endangering her Navy, and her very Existance.

In my last I acknowledged the Rec[eipt] of a Band box with Gingerbread

& Newspapers &ca. and therein promised to return Nabbie's red book (which I had copied) by first safe conveyance.--In that Letter I mentioned a Jenny Laws who wished to take a service in your Family, but could not do so before next Spring.

Have been thinking of recommending a Nelly Liswell who lately lived with us till her Father removed to Halifax. She is young not exceeding 16 or 17. Neat, clean, active, discreet and honest, and withal of a very good Countenance.--I mentioned the subject to her Brother, a sensible well behaved married man in whose Family she resided! I held out the prospect of a good place--four Dollars per month and her Passage paid, but acknowledged that I had no authority from you. Nor knew I but you might be provided.

Now if you desire to have Nelly, write your Proposals to her, directed to her Brother John Liswell, Baker in Halifax, and forwarded in care of your sister Maria Haliburton.[16] Thus the Girl will have something certain to go upon. But if you choose to wait and take Jenny Laws, who I suppose Nabby knows, write to me thereupon.

Give me Leave to acknowledge an obligation to you for the Newspapers which [I] should be glad to have regularly, as they are becoming interesting to Englishmen and Americans.

Am pleased with the Editor of the Boston Gazette who appears to possess more discernment than some others in your states and is also more candid!

Am sorry to Inform Nabby of the Death of her Cousin Mrs King who was buried at Rawdon this day week. She expired presently after giving birth to a fine Boy.[17] Thus King is left with four motherless Boys the eldest about 6 years old. An event more melancholly and affecting was hardly ever known. The Distress of Mr. King and of her [*sic*] family cannot be Described.

The news was industriously kept from Mrs. Franklin who yesterday Presented her Husband with a fine Girl. James was so overjoyed that he instantly rode off to communicate the news to his mother, and when there could not tell whether it was a male or female child! So excessive was his Joy, that the sex was a matter of less consideration with him--we will not neglect by 1st safe Person to send the Book & other Papers prepared for

16 Christiana Maria Loup, wife of George M. Haliburton of Halifax.

17 On the death of his wife, Harriot DeWolf, Rev. William C. King was left to care for his motherless sons, William, Benjamin, John and the newborn Harry.

Nabby...wish to hear from you by all opportunities & send Papers or messages even if you cannot write--William's Family, to include Tom & Georgiana are well--Neighbours the same, but my writing is unknown. Your Mother & myself are growing old & our ail[ment]s keep Pace with our years. You have our Prayers & blessings for yourselves & your sweet little ones. Pray make our most grateful respects to your uncle & aunt Abiel and Love to all Friends & relatives in Town & Country. The remembrance of Boston & the Kindnesses we have all there experienced still warms the heart of your affectionate Parents Wm. & L. Haliburton.

Letter Fourteen (PANS 7): William Haliburton to Mrs. Samuel Fales, 2 April 1808.

Dear Abby

Yours of the 26th March with some Newspapers came safe to my hands yesterday the 1st April--and I feel myself much Indebted to Mr. Fales and you my Dear Daughter for the Newspapers and still more for the Kind & very pleasing expressions of his and your regard. The Love of our Children has been at all times most dear to us, and as the time of our Departure approaches becometh more precious and more Intense. the fifteenth of this month your mother will have completed her seventieth year--and I come but a year behind.

While Life is Lent us, Let Love and kind offices unite us--and when we go hence may Love and Kind offices unite all our children and their descendants in the same harmonic System--You feel, my Daughter, the strong ties of affection for Nova Scotia. I feel the same for my Native place Boston--But this Par[r]acidal war threats to destroy our Peaceful intercourse--We will however think with Pleasure on our Relatives and friends on your side the water and strengthen our Love towards them by the grateful remembrance of former Kindness.

I am very glad to hear the Return of your uncle B[arney] Smith & Lady--remember us most affectionately to them on the Occasion--and yet more so to your Uncle Abiel & Lady--to whose kindness ourselves & all our Family are Deeply indebted--we wish a Remembrance to all our Relations in Town and Country--For Mr Clap's misfortunes we feel pain and earnestly Pray that the Tide of good fortune may again set favourably for him & his family.

Have to inform you that Jenny Laws is now in Windsor, fearful of an

Early passage. She has hired with our President Mr Porter[18] at four Dollars & a half (22/6) *the* month--her child to be with her.--But She Expects (I see) to receive like wages from you, and her passage (self & child) to Boston--To go by way of Halifax would now cost her more to Town than to go from hence.--She intends to write you her-self and await your answer--your Mother thinks her such good help and trusty--that she encourages the Business--I should have thought the ruinous Policy of shutting yourselves from foreign trade would have given you the choice of many good servants at this time...But whatever advantages may be had in that way--the General Consequences must be destructive.

William & his Susan are well and commend their love and complements to both of you, and little Georgiana now beside me sends her Love to her young Cuzins Bradford & Augusta.--Thomas has his health but very indifferently.--But if he lives will be much likelyer than his Father.--Mrs Dewolf and Mr Fraser[19] Returned from Halifax last night in good health.

Have just seen Mrs Dewolf she looks brave and healthy. Desires her complims to her Brother Bara & wife, and Daughter. Advises them next to come to see her and their other relations in Windsor...Wherein [I] heartily Join...and I will get them a Safe Conduct, and every welcome this country (a very delightful one) offers.--Your friends & acquaintance desire their complimts to you and Mr Fales--accept our Best wishes, and may Heaven Bless you both and your little ones--

W. Haliburton

April 2nd 1808

A few months after receiving this letter, Mrs. Fales received one with the news that her brother George had lost his wife, followed by another announcing that one of his small daughters had died and another was dangerously ill. If these and other letters of the next several years have survived, they are not yet available; in this sequence there is a six-year gap in the record.

18 Rev. Charles Porter (d. 1864) became president of King's College in 1806. The first president was Dr. William Cochran, from 1790 to 1802. He had had to retire because the college statutes stipulated that the president be an Oxford graduate; Cochran had instead matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin.

19 Rachel Otis DeWolf married in 1802 James Fraser (1759-1822), a native of Scotland and member of the Council of Nova Scotia.

At some point in 1814, Abigail Fales and her husband became concerned about the inheritance from Charlotte Campbell, since both Abigail's parents were getting old and one or the other might die at any time. They evidently consulted lawyers in Boston, then wrote to the Windsor family. **Letter Fifteen (PANS 8.1)**: William Haliburton to his daughter Abigail Fales, enclosing a copy of his will.

Windsor 28th Oct. 1814

Dear Daughter:

Mr Fales' Letter with yours Enclosed came to hand and afterwards others of 6th September by Mr Hazen. If you have copies of them you will be better enabled to Remember their contents--But! Ask of a Professional Person what will be your Claim to C. Campbell's monies in our hands If you should not survive Either Parent? Ask also If the monies willed to your Parents was Not a Trust reposed in them. *And* If Mr Jno Campbell was not obliged to Pay the same even without your consent! Having no banks in Nova Scotia the monies were put out as you know Payable to Wm Lusanna and Abigail Haliburton, and the Survivor of them--whereof the Borrower may avail himself--and Refuse payment until such survivership shall be eventually determined. This was claimed, and would have been Insisted upon in Shearman's mortgage If Shearman Had not sold land to Cogswell and taken his Bond to Pay that mortgage--The Payment of George's Bond might have been so postponed to other Demands. Such were my Reasons for Putting out the last two sums in my own Name. I owe nothing to William or to George and to all the world together I am not Indebted in the amount of Ten pounds--and now! Pray do not cavail at your Father's will. It is the only means within his Power to Realize your Expectations. I send you this copy as Evidence of your Father's care for you. With our Blessing. I have only to add that all your Friends are greatly Hurt by your Letter.

W Haliburton

P.S. Did your uncle Abiel receive answer to his letter directed to his wife's 2 Sisters--our kind regards to Him & all our relatives in Town & Country--& Mr Barney Smith & Lady.

your 2 Looking Glasses are in good order and at your Service when called for. WH

The will sent to Boston in this letter was not the final one, which was

signed 20 April 1816. However, it may not have been very different. In his final will, William Haliburton noted that on the death of his daughter Charlotte, her estate of £982 was put out at interest, payable half-yearly. In order not to delay Charlotte's wishes on the death of either parent, William had, as trustee for his daughter Abigail Fales, called in some of the money and let it out again, payable to himself. This consisted of £300 in the hands of George M. Haliburton, "secured by his Mortgage to Andrew Baur assigned to me"; the remaining £682 was in the hands of W. H. O. Haliburton. Half this sum was to go to Abigail, "if living," on the death of either parent, and the whole sum on the death of both parents. **Letter Sixteen (PANS 9)**: William Haliburton to Abigail Fales.

Windsor 11th April 1815

Dear Daughter

The purport of this is to know if you received my Letter and Copy of the will aforesaid and why you returned me no answer? The Purpose of my will, and respect to your Parents, entitled them to an Answer--

You may have heard of my Illness, but I am now much Recovered and the approaching warm weather may be further serviceable to me--your mother has suffered exceedingly by her attendance on me. She is now in tolerable Health. Both sisters desire their Love and regards to your unkles Abiel & Barney Smith and his wife, and their kind remembrance also to all enquiring relatives &ca. William and Susan are well--Suppose their Letter will go by the same convoy with this--Now Peace has removed the Obstruction to Intercourse Hope we shall hear from you often. George and his wife are well--She has lately presented him with another Son, and his Circumstances are now very respectable more so than ever--

Although sorely hurt by your Letters, I remain your
affectionate Father W Haliburton

P.S. Your mother recd. a kind letter from Mrs Barney Smith when in England But knew not where to Direct an Answer. Adieu WH I desire Mr. Fales to accept my very kind regards to him and all his children.

W Haliburton

Letter Seventeen (PANS 39): Mrs. W. H. O. Haliburton to Mrs. Samuel Fales; William Haliburton died on 27 February 1817, close to his seventy-eighth birthday. Although Susanna Haliburton sounds both depressed and apprehensive in this letter, she lived to age eighty-five, not dying until 3 September 1850.

Windsor March 25th 1817

My Dear Sister

Before this can reach you your Brother William's letter will have informed you of the long expected event, The death of Our Valued Parent--The calm manner with which he met the King of terrors must, to the minds of those who witnessed It, reconcile us, If any thing can, to that debt we all know--we must sooner or later pay--May we, my beloved friend, always endeavour to prepare ourselves for the awful change, is my constant prayer. He was sensible untill the last moment, Bowed his head, and went off as if in fine sleep without a Groan, sitting in his Chair. He had been aBed some hours but wished to get up--Had been doing business in the course of duty--said he felt a total change, complained of a burning at his breast, and cold hands & feet. He told your Mother he felt a perfect willingness to go--for some years has had the Sacrement administered to him at home, he being too feeble to attend divine worship. We sent to Halifax for my H[usband] and his Brother. They came, the day after that night or rather morning. Our dear Louisa was delivered of a daughter between 1 & 2 o'clock. She was and has been wonderfully favored considering the very severe Illness she experienced for 7 weeks before her confinement--You may well suppose our time was pretty well occupied. Our worthy Mother bears up with her usual Christian fortitude--We have said all we thought Duty and affection ought on the Subject of her residing with us--She at present says It is her determination, having protection in the house, to remain at least to try it for awhile. The same young woman is with her and my spare hours I spend with her. Louisa & Child improves daily she promises to make a good nurse--They talked of nameing it Susanna Louisa; I wish it to be after the 2 grandmothers--Lucy Ann.[20] The latter name was Mrs. H's mother's. Your Brother's last son is named Charles William Robinson[21]--George bears wonderfully well his severe losses--poor fellow he has been often tried. Georgiana is with them for the Winter, she is to return in the Spring. Maria & William [are] well they often talk of their dear Cousins. It affords your kind mother great comfort your having all visited N.S. last Summer. But it will long be regretted, It was attended with so little comfort to you and your esteemed husband. You would be much gratified to see how very snug Thomas's appartments are fitted up. His parlour which is very long painted Blue, Yellow curtains, a handsome Sopha &

20 This child was christened Susanna Lucy Ann.

21 Mrs. Haliburton made a slight error; the child's third name was Robertson, for the family of his maternal grandmother, Mary Robertson.

Chairs. It altogether cost his father £300 all new furniture, I was determined it should be so if in my power. We have also much smartened up in appearance--a handsome set of new chairs for the front Parlour--But indeed my dear Sister, my mind has been and is still so much occupied by melancholy subjects--It leaves little relish for shew. My dear Sister King's health is at this time in an alarming state.[22] It is feared she has a cancer in her right breast--an operation has been talked off--But thought it could not be done with success at present. It is not the least discoloured--But a large lump--and painful at times. Yesterday for the first time for 4 months she took dinner with me--went home before Sun sett--Her spirits are better than her Husband's are--[&] to add to my other afflictions our dear niece Elizabeth F. is dangerously ill with, as the Doctors call it a nervous complaint; for six hours was constantly from one fainting turn to another. I have just had a letter from her mother who writes very doubtfull of her recovery--what a stroke will her death be to her sorrowing Parents--The only Child.

We must submit to the All wise disposer of events. He knows what is best for us--I endeavour as much as possible to feel thankfull for the many blessings I daily receive. I often forget my good. Sister we [are] not sufficiently grateful for the many benifits we receive. You my dear Abby have a great charge to bring up such a little flock in the right way--example goes a great way--religious habits early acquired are not so soon forgotten--All that a Parent can do should be done. It will ever leave a satisfaction on the Mind--even should the child or children not turn out well, that cannot be taken away. Too great a fondness for finery in the female mind sometimes takes it from better things. I hope you and your worthy Partner may be blessed in your little flock--they promise fair--The pleasures of this fleeting world are so very transitory, we should not rely too much upon [them].

Our valuable neighbour Mrs. Rudolph paid her last debt 3 weeks ago--after a tedious Illness. She was an exemplary woman in every respect. Appeared perfectly resigned to her fate. Aunt Dewolf remains much as usual, rather worse--wholly confined to her room at times very much deranged. Mrs. Thomas's children just recovered from the measles--which disorder prevails much here--but generally favorable.

The winter remarkably severe. The ground still covered with Snow. I have little news to write. Miss Maria Boyd it is said is soon to be well married to Mr.

22 Abigail Fales (née Haliburton) gave her youngest son, born in 1815, only one name: "Haliburton."

[Edward James] Jarvis a Lawyer. Your Brother William is still at the House [of] Assembly. I expect him shortly home--His frequent & long absences leave me too much leisure to ponder over grevience. I wish he would give up attending the House--The Courts are his living [so] that I feel thankfull he has health to attend--but the other might be dispensed with. Your aff. Mother unites in regards to you & your Spouse--Please assure him of my good wishes--also my dear Girls--I fear the ill state of Sister King's health will deprive one [of] the happiness of seeing you this Season. If there was not any other obsticle in the way. My health is wonderfully all things considered--With every good wish

My dear Sister regards to all relations
Yours truly affectionate Susanna Haliburton

Letter Eighteen (PANS 20): W. H. O. Haliburton to Samuel Fales.

Windsor 22nd May 1821

Dear Fales,

I enclose to you my Mother's receipt for the amount of the Draft of Richard Cunningham Esq. on my son. I wrote to you by George, who was under the necissity of seeking the means of living in another Country. His health was restored, but he was so embarrassed, his Estate mortgaged and incumbered for more than it is worth, that he has no chance of making anything here to pay his debts or to support his Family. If, by your friendly advice he could find employment, or do anything to support his family without injury to yourself, I should be glad. I can do no more than I have done for him. Mr. King and myself as Executors of my Father's Will have foreclosed the mortgage on his Houses and lots in Halifax, and shall sell them, but they must be sold on a Credit [?] or they will be sold at a great loss. Of the money arising on the Sale of this Property your balance is to be paid. I paid my own, and a part of his leaving a balance of about One Hundred and thirty Pounds, of His. How would you like to take a transfer of my Division of Half the money in the Loan-office at Boston, so that at my Mother's decease you will have the whole, and for me to pay you any balance which might remain of George's three hundred, then the mortgage money arising in the sale of George's place would belong to me altogether and I would give such time on the sale as I pleased, and the whole money of my sister would be settled.

I wish to hear from you on the subject. My Mother grows daily more feeble, and I fear I shall have to take her to my House. She is very helpless, almost as a child. Tell Abby Aunt Card is yet confined to her bed. I support her altogether. My regards to George if he is with you, his Family are all well.

Susan joins me in regards to Abby and yourself.
yours truly &c
WHO Haliburton

Lucy (Lusannah Otis) Haliburton died 10 September 1821, and a number of letters went back and forth concerning the payment to her daughter Abigail of the final share of her sister Charlotte's bequest. The elder Mrs. Haliburton's grandson, Alfred Fales Haliburton, last of the children of George Mordaunt, was baptized at Windsor on 29 May 1820, so she probably held him in her arms. Her son William did not outlive her by many years; his letters reveal that his health was poor, and he died in the early summer of 1829. Ten years later his sister Abigail Fales died in Boston, whereupon her nephew wrote the following affecting letter; it was published in *The Fales Family*, as well as by Richard A. Davies in *The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton* (Toronto, 1988). **Letter Nineteen (PANS 25)**: Thomas Chandler Haliburton to Samuel Fales.

Windsor, Nova Scotia N S 19th Dec. 1839

My dear Sir:

I have just received from Haliburton a note informing me of the melancholy tidings of the decease of my very Kind, and very dear aunt, the only sister of my poor father, and the nearest dearest and best friend I had--I loved her as a child, and feel her loss proportionately severe, having flattered myself we should have been spared to meet again in the Spring, to which I looked forward with much pleasure--I feel that to you, and your united and excellent family it is a heavy and irreparable blow, as it is to us all, but amidst all this tribulation and affliction, it must be a consoling reflection that they have always been as devoted to her, exhibited such filial affection, and proved by their tenderness and care how worthy they were of such an excellent mother--Their conduct towards her, has been beyond all praise, and has endeared them still more to me, pray assure them how much I feel for and with them, how much I admire their unremitting, untiring, care of her, and

what a consolation it is that her virtues have been hereditary--To you I feel it is impossible to offer any consolation, while the wound is still fresh and bleeding, beyond the hope we all entertain that she has exchanged a world of care and pain, for one of bliss and happiness, and the knowledge that you are blessed with a most amiable and charming family, which that you may long live to be happy, as you have reason to be proud of, is the earnest prayer of yours always

Thomas C. Haliburton

I had intended to have written to Haliburton & his sisters but my heart is too full, and I am unequal to the task, when more composed I will do so--

Might I beg the favour of Haliburton to forward the enclosed *immediately* to Philadelphia as it is of importance to me.

The death of Abigail Haliburton, Mrs. Samuel Fales, seems an appropriate place to conclude this selection of Haliburton correspondence. Mr. Fales died on 6 August 1848; members of the Haliburton family, particularly the nieces Georgianna and Maria (Mrs. Bayard), lived with and looked after him up until his death.

From Mother to Daughter: Some Maritime Planter Family Links

Althea Douglas

In the shipbuilding communities of nineteenth-century Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, commercial relationships were often based on complex inter-family links that grew out of daughters' marriages, especially in the second and third generations. Esther Clark Wright and A. Gregg Finley have both stressed the commercial advantages of such kinship ties,[1] while D.G. Bell considers one such interconnected family, the Vaughans, to be "an instructive example of how important 'connectional' history can be in understanding the Newlight and Baptist network."[2]

Part Nine of H.V. Griffin Sr.'s carefully researched history of the Vaughan family contains a detailed account of three brothers, John, Daniel and Anthony Vaughan of Nova Scotia, sons of David and Dinah (Baker) Vaughan. Griffin provides extensive information on their descendants, primarily through tracing the male (Vaughan) lines.[3] The following additional information on the wife, daughters and granddaughters of Daniel Vaughan may help "connectional historians" complete links between shipbuilding and Baptist families around the Bay of Fundy.

Lydia Harrington Vaughan's Origins

1 Ebenezer Harrington [Herrington/Hearnden] was b. *ca.*1727 in North Kingston, R.I., the son of Job and Alice (Weightman/Whitman) Harrington. He m. at Exeter, R.I., 18 Dec. 1743, Rebecca Spencer, daug. of Thomas and Mary (Greene) Spencer.[4] The births of seven children are

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1 Esther Clark Wright, *The Ships of St. Martins* (Saint John, N.B., repr. 1978), p. 7; A. Gregg Finley, "The Morans of St. Martins, N.B., 1850-1880...," in *The Enterprising Canadians...*, ed. Lewis R. Fischer & Eric W. Sayer (St. John's, Nfld., 1979), pp. 37-54.

2 D.G. Bell, ed., *Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis* (Saint John, N.B., 1984), p. 283.

3 H. Vaughan Griffin, Sr., *John Vaughan Settled Newport, Rhode Island 1638 A Genealogical Record of His Descendants Including Twelve Branches Started By Twelve Pioneers who left Rhode Island* (Rutland, Vt., 1976), pp. 268ff.

4 Mentioned in her father's will; see John O. Austin, *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island* (Baltimore, rev. ed. 1969), p. 87. For Harrington/Hearnden lineage, see p. 95.

recorded in Exeter,[5] while Simeon Perkins provides evidence of one other daughter.

Issue of Ebenezer and Rebecca (Spencer) Harrington:

i. Thomas Harrington, b. 4 Apr. 1744; lost at sea 1781; m. *ca.*1769, Mary, daug. of Thomas and Sarah (Wilcox) Gardner. They had two sons, Thomas and William, both of whom m. at Liverpool, N.S., and at least two daugs. Simeon Perkins reported on 1 Nov. 1799, "The *Regulator* sails for Annapolis. Mr. Gates is married this morning to Mrs. Harrington and carries her with one of her daughters with him in the *Regulator*."[6]

ii. Benjamin Harrington, b. 22 Oct. 1745; m. *ca.*1770 Bethia Smith (b. Chatham, Mass., 5 Jan. 1754), daug. of Liverpool, N.S. proprietor Stephen Smith Jr. and Mehitable (Eldredge) Smith.[7] The last record of Benjamin Harrington is his selling land in Port Medway, 16 Mar. 1779;[8] the census of 30 Apr. 1787, Liverpool Township, lists Bethiah Harrington, widow, as the head of a household with five children.[9]

iii. Alce [*sic*] Harrington, b. 22 Oct. 1747 (no further information; she may have m. and remained in Rhode Island).

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5 James N. Arnold, ed., *Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850* (Providence, R.I., 1911 *et seq.*), 21 vols., each indexed. Vols. 1-6 contain records from Town Books, arranged by county and township. North Kingston and Exeter, both in Washington Co., are in Vol. 5.

6 H. A. Innis, D. C. Harvey and C. Bruce Fergusson, eds., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1812* (Toronto, 1948-1978), IV, 196. For Thomas Harrington, see II, 13 fn; for his sons, IV, 73 and 314.

7 Elizabeth Pearson White, "Nova Scotia Settlers from Chatham, Massachusetts, 1759-1760," in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 62, 2 (June 1974), 114. Smith ancestry is traced by William C. Smith in *Early Chatham Settlers* (1915) and *A History of Chatham, Massachusetts*, 4 vols. (Hyannis and Harwich, Mass., 1909/1917). "Chatham Vital Records," in *The Mayflower Descendant*, IV-XVII, *passim*. (1903-1917); Stephen Smith Jr.'s children listed in XVI, 131. "Vital Records of Liverpool, N.S.," in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 126, 127, 128 (1972-74); the Smith children and grandchildren born in N.S. are in 126, pp. 101 and 288-289.

8 Registry of Deeds, Queens County, II, 36.

9 "Early Census Rolls of Nova Scotia," in *Report of...the Public Archives of Nova Scotia for 1934* (Halifax, 1935), App. B, p. 58.

2 iv. Lydia [Elidia] Harrington, b. 2 Oct. 1749.

v. Ebenezer Harrington, b. 11 Apr. 1752, presumably d. in infancy, pre-1 May 1756, when a second Ebenezer was born.[10]

vi. Elizabeth Harrington, b. 19 Apr. 1754; m. Liverpool, N.S., 22 May 1771, Jonathan Eldredge Smith (b. Chatham, Mass. 27 Aug. 1747), son of Stephen Smith Jr. and Mehitable (Eldredge) Smith; lived in Ragged Harbour and Liverpool, N.S. The births of four daughters and two sons were recorded at Liverpool.

vii. Ebenezer Weightman [Whitman] Harrington, b. 1 May 1756; presumably the Ebenezer who m. 3 Aug. 1778, Sarah Smith (b. Liverpool, 1 July 1764), daug. of Stephen Smith Jr. and Mehitable [Eldredge] Smith. Ebenezer and Sarah's eldest son, b. Liverpool, 22 Oct. 1778, was given his father's middle name, Whitman. Ebenezer was killed in 1812 while acting as pilot of *The Chubb*, which was mistaken for a privateer and fired on.[11]

viii. "Rebecca Harrington, daughter of Eben Harrington." On 9 Dec. 1776, Simeon Perkins and his wife attended her wedding at Liverpool to Doan Freeman; he d. of consumption, 14 Oct. 1779.

Harrington brought his family to Nova Scotia ca. 1765.[12] He obtained a grant of 250 acres at Petite Riviere in New Dublin Township and settled there sometime before the 1770 census was taken. Harrington mortgaged the property in December 1772, and in March/April 1776, "Ebenezer Harrington, of Dublin...Cooper..." discharged the mortgage and sold the property, though without his wife's signature.[13] He moved to Liverpool, where Simeon Perkins recorded on 24 June 1777, "The wife of Ebenezer Herrington dyed yesterday, or in the evening."

Soon after her death, Ebenezer appears to have returned to New England, remarried, and is said to have served in the Revolutionary Army. In the 1930s, Grace D. Wheeler transcribed what may be his gravestone in the Thomas Miner graveyard outside Stonington, Conn.:[14]

10 But see *Perkins*, II, 155, where the 1752 birthdate is assigned to Ebenezer Harrington of Liverpool.

11 James F. More, *The History of Queens County, N.S.* (Halifax, 1873; repr. 1972), pp. 184-185.

12 *Perkins*, II, 13 fn.

13 Registry of Deeds, Lunenburg County, I, 398 and II, 32.

14 Grace D. Wheeler, *Old Homes in Stonington* (1936), pp. 304-305.

Ebenezer, Son of Job Harrington, born Greenwich, R.I., died at Stonington, Ct., 1790 age 75.
Mary, widow of Ebenezer Harrington and daughter of Benjamin Mory, born South Kingston, R.I., died at Sherman, Chautauqua Co., N.Y. 1842 age 82.

Most of the Harrington children and grandchildren remained in Nova Scotia. Many of the men were mariners, fishermen, traders and, when opportunity offered, privateers. Several were lost at sea.

2 Lydia [Elidia] Harrington, b. 2 Oct. 1749, m. on 25 Feb. 1768, St. John's Anglican Church, Lunenburg,[15] to Daniel Vaughan, b. at Scituate, R.I., 21 Feb. 1747 (twin to Obadiah), son of David and Dinah (Baker) Vaughan. His antecedents are traced by H.V. Griffin, Sr.[16]

Daniel Vaughan may have come to Nova Scotia with his brother John in 1764, or soon thereafter. All three Vaughan brothers are listed as original proprietors in documents among the Chester land papers.[17] After their marriage, however, Daniel and Lydia initially lived in New Dublin with the Harringtons. The 1770 New Dublin census lists Daniel Vaughan and one female, but without children--though by that date their eldest daughter Elis [or Alce] must have been born. Probably their eldest son David was born there as well, but ca. 1772 Daniel and Lydia Vaughan moved to Chester, where nine more children were born.[18]

The names and order of the children in Griffin's list are taken from Daniel Vaughan's will (printed pp. 272-73), where he appears to refer to them in order of age, his "well beloved Dauter Elis Smith" coming first.
Issue of Daniel and Lydia (Harrington) Vaughan:

3 i. Elis Vaughan, b. ca. 1768.
ii. David Vaughan, b. 1770; d. 1830; m. Rachel Floyd.

15 MG 9, B 8, Vol. 22, National Archives of Canada [hereafter NA].

16 Notes 3 and 5 above. *Vital Records* of Scituate, R.I. are in III.

17 RG 20, Series C, Vol. 90A, Nos. 37, 39; Vol. 90, Nos. 63, 89, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

18 "Records Kept by the Town [of Chester]...," certified typed transcript in MG 9, B 9, Vol. 3, NA. The "Heirs of Daniel Vaughan" are on p. 12.

iii. John Vaughan, b. 13 Mar. 1773; d. 1848; m. Sarah Sweet.
iv. Rebekah Vaughan, m. Rev. Peter Crandall (her first cousin), son of Wilbur and Mary (Vaughan) Crandall; he was b. ca. 1770 at Tiverton, R.I., and m. (2) Nancy Titus.[19]
v. Ebenezer Vaughan, b. 30 Sept. 1777; d. 3 June 1854; m. 17 Sept. 1809, Hannah Brown, daug. of John and Sarah (Bailey) Brown. The marriage was performed at St. Martins, N.B. by James Innis, for which action he was prosecuted under New Brunswick's 1791 *Marriage Act*.[20]
vi. Henry Vaughan, b. 13 Oct. 1779.
vii. William Vaughan, b. 7 Apr. 1782; m. Hannah
viii. Mary Vaughan, b. 26 Feb. 1784; m. William Compton.
ix. Lydia Vaughan, b. 7 Mar. 1786, m. Fownes. Referred to in her father's will as "Liday Fowns," family tradition holds that she was the first wife of Capt. William Fownes (b. 1785, d. 16 May 1824) of St. Martins, son of William Fownes and Isabell/Gabella McCoy; if so, her death in 1819 at St. Martins, age 32, was reported in the *Colonial Gazette* of 7 Aug. 1819. In his will,[21] William Fownes names four children of this marriage: Eliza (1807-1881), Jerusha (1809-29 Mar. 1867), Alexander (1813-3 Jan. 1879) and Thomas (1818-17 Jan. 1897; m. 1 Feb. 1840, Caroline Lutz, Salisbury, N.B.). Anita Fownes has determined that there was another daughter, Hannah (b. 1806 or 1819; d. pre-2 Mar. 1824).[22]
x. Elizabeth Vaughan, b. 1 Jan. 1789; m. Thomas Brown,[23] who d. 12 June 1827, age 43; Elizabeth d. 29 Sept. 1870, age 84; both are bur. at St. Martins, N.B.
xi. Daniel Vaughan, b. 12 Oct. 1789 [?]; m. 1) Hattie McLean.

19 John Cortland Crandall, *Elder John Crandall of Rhode Island and His Descendants* (New Woodstock, N.Y., 1949), pp. 78-79.

20 Bell, *Newlight Journals*, pp. 209-210, 282-283, fn. 137.

21 Saint John County Probate Records, RG 7, RS 71A, Fownes, William (1826), Provincial Archives of New Brunswick [hereafter PANB].

22 Anita Fownes, "The Fownes Ancestry," in *Generations*, 33 (Sept. 1987), 41, and personal correspondence.

23 Bell, *Newlight Journals*, p. 283, fn. 140.

Elizabeth's birth was the last family statistic registered in Chester (on 3 Feb. 1789), but Griffin states that Daniel was born there as well. This is probably correct, since Lydia Vaughan was still in Chester on 9 Oct. 1790 when she appeared before the authorities to relinquish her dower rights to land that Daniel was selling.[24] However, by 19 Nov. 1790, when she signed away her rights to the remaining Chester property, she was in Windsor, Hants. Co.[25]

On 24 Mar. 1791, Daniel Vaughan bought Red Bank Farm in Newport Township, Hants Co. In 1796 he sold it and moved across the Bay of Fundy to Quaco [St. Martins], New Brunswick,[26] where he was one of the original grantees.[27] He made a will on 27 Jan. 1808 and died later that year in St. Martins. Lydia survived him, dying sometime after 1810.[28]

3 Elis [Alce] Vaughan Smith, eldest daug. of Daniel and Lydia (Harrington) Vaughan, was apparently named for her aunt, Alce Harrington. The spelling of her name varies widely: Alce, Ellse, Eils, Elce, Else, Elsy. Elis is used here, with variant spellings, as found, placed in [ ]. The date of her birth is unknown, but was probably in the latter half of 1768.

If born as late as November, she was barely fourteen years old when, on 18 Dec. 1782, Elis [Elcy] Vaughan and James Smith were married by the Rev. Bruin R. Comingo of the Lunenburg Dutch Reformed Congregation [later Presbyterian].[29] Sometime later, on 12 Mar. 1784, the marriage was also recorded in the Chester Town Book (p. 72) as taking place on 30 Dec. 1782.

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24 Registry of Deeds, Lunenburg County, III, 447.

25 *Ibid.*, 438-39.

26 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, V, 260; VI, 296. The move to St. Martins is verified in Registry of Deeds, Lunenburg County, VII, 223, dated 18 June 1800 [registered 16 Apr. 1818], whereby "Daniel Vaughan now residing in St. Martins in New Brunswick" granted Thomas Templeton power of attorney to sell a town lot.

27 Wright, *Ships of St. Martins*, p. 6.

28 Bell, *Newlight Journals*, p. 282.

29 Records of Dutch Reformed Congregation, Lunenburg, N.S.; typed translation in MG 9, B 8, Vol. 21, NA.

James Smith's origins remain obscure, but he would seem to have been somewhat older than Elis. No James Smith is listed among the original grantees in Chester, in Falmouth, nor along the South Shore of Nova Scotia, but several lists in the Chester Land Papers state that he obtained town lot no. 102 in the original "Draugh."[30] Was he a younger relative substituting for the original applicant and grantee Edward Smith, or perhaps a connection of Stephen Smith Jr., of Liverpool? Stephen had a younger half-brother, James Smith (bp. Chatham, Mass. 8 Dec. 1730), who disappears from the Chatham records, still unmarried; hardly a suitable match for fourteen-year-old Elis, but such things happened. It seems unlikely that her family would allow her to marry quite so young, unless the man were someone they knew.

That they accepted the marriage is evident, for on 7 June 1784, Daniel and Lydia Vaughan, for "Love, and Esteem" gave a small farm on the west side of Mahone Bay to their "son in Law James Smith and our Daughter Alce Smith his wife." Soon after, the Smiths sold town lot no. 102 in Chester, James signing and Elis [Alce] adding "Her X Mark" in agreement.[31]

The birth of the Smith's first son was recorded in the Town Records of Chester; and three more births followed (p. 22): James, b. 5 Jan. 1784; Daniel, b. 23 Apr. 1786; William, b. 31 July 1788; and David, b. 18 Mar. 1791. This last birth was recorded on 12 April 1791. Later that year James Smith, Elis and their four sons moved to Falmouth, settling on a farm on the Pisiquid (Avon) River, almost opposite the Vaughan's property in Newport. Although James and Elis sold the Mahone Bay farm which the Vaughans had given them,[32] they did not purchase another farm property when they moved to Falmouth. Not until November 1811, when Daniel Smith of Falmouth, mariner, bought a large property near Mount Denson from Benjamin Dewolf, Esq. of Windsor, do the Hants. Co. Deeds offer an

30 List of Chester Town Lots Settled by Committee, 6 Sept. 1784 in RG 20, Series C, Vol. 90A, No. 39, PANS.

31 Registry of Deeds, Lunenburg County, III, 280 and 393.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 467, reg. 25 Oct. 1791, records the sale to Henry Toller. James signed the deed at Chester and Elis [Ellse] consented with "Her X Mark." James took a mortgage on the farm (*ibid.*, pp. 468-9) which, on 23 Feb. 1802, was discharged to "James Smith of Falmouth...farmer" (V, 237).

explanation. Dewolf took back a mortgage on farm property described as being "all that Certain Farm in Falmouth in the County of Hants...which is now in the Possession of James Smith and Alexander Wallace by a Lease bearing date the third day of August...one Thousand, seven Hundred and ninety one...."[33]

At least eight more children were born to the Smiths at Falmouth, but there is no official record of the births. By this time, the New England tradition whereby the township kept vital records was in decline in Nova Scotia. Moreover, the Vaughans and their daughter Elis Smith, perhaps through their connections with Stephen Smith Jr.'s family, were followers of the Newlight Church, and the family would eventually become staunch Baptists. Accordingly there are no baptismal records for the family, but a list in an old family Bible[34] records the following births, without naming the parents:

James Smith	Born January 5th 1784
Daniel Smith	Born April 23d 1786
William Smith	Born July 31st 1788
Smith	Born March 18th 1791
John Smith	Born December 25th 1793
Mary Smith	Born February 23d 1796
Alexandria Smith	Born November 28th 1797
Lydia Smith	Born October 2nd 1800
Ebenezer Smith	Born March 16th 1802
Rebecca Smith	Born November 24th 1804
Henry Smith	Born November 20th 1809
Nelson Smith	Born April 12th 1812
David Smith	died May 1st 1870
Henry Smith	died June 25th 1872

[and in another hand and ink:]

Henry Smith my Grandfather/DRS

33 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, IX, 177-178.

34 The Bible, according to Robert R. Smith, Woodstock, Ont., originated with Captain David Smith and his wife, Sarah née Osborne. The list was on a loose page in an envelope, presumably copied by Sarah from an earlier Bible, since the handwriting is similar to her entries in the Bible itself. The name pattern is 'right,' the dates approximately correct, and in the absence of wills or other documents, this constitutes all the evidence there is.

The first four are almost certainly the sons born in Chester to Elis and James Smith. Family tradition holds that Lydia Smith was a sister of Henry and Nelson Smith; and that these two men had three sisters, and came from Chester to St. Martins.[35] Typically condensing events, tradition omits the Falmouth years, perhaps because once her parents moved to New Brunswick, Elis and the younger Smith children seem to have shuttled between Nova Scotia and St. Martins.

James Smith, however, was "of Falmouth." The township assigned cattle ear-marks to him in 1791 (a half-penny the underside of the right ear, and three slits on the end of the same ear); Smith and Wallace had at least six head of cattle and paid poll taxes, rising from 5s. to 7s.6d. through the 1790s; a James Smith was Pound Keeper in 1796;[36] and James Smith, "brother" of Ebenezer Vaughan of St. Martins [Elis's brother had also moved there], welcomed the Baptist preacher James Innis in the fall of 1805, proving very hospitable:

> Smith want to the Cubbord and Showed Me where their was borth Meat and Drink and Said you Say [see] the house is yours...[make] free to halping yourself to aney thing you want...this is the man that his own Wife Judged Varey heard [hard] and Said She ded not believe he ever would be Seaved....[37]

In 1812, Daniel Smith sold a portion of the family farm to David Smith, taking back a mortgage. Both documents were made "on the

35 These family traditions have been collected by a descendant, Cyrus Happy III of Tacoma, Washington. A skilled genealogist, he has been more than generous in sharing information and sources. He quoted from a "Family History," written in her schooldays by Miss Arvilla Gillmor, who stated: "Henry and Nelson Smith had 3 sisters" and "The Family originally came from Chester."

36 Falmouth Township Book, p. 81, in MG 4, Vol. 31, PANS. Poll Tax and Assessment Rolls, 1791, 1792-1796, in RG 1, Vol. 444, PANS. Hants County Courts of Quarter Sessions, RG 34-313, Vol. P1, Falmouth, Apr. 1796, PANS.

37 Bell, *Newlight Journals*, p. 221.

Oath of James Smith" and were witnessed by James Smith.[38] A James Smith also signed Daniel Smith's marriage bond on 24 Feb. 1813, and Edward Manning preached at the house of James Smith in the lower district of Falmouth on 14 August 1814.[39] Among the Falmouth school records for 1817 and 1818 are warrants and drafts to "Pay to Mr. James Smith" the half-year allowance for an English School in the village.[40]

James Smith seems to have been alive when his daughter Lydia was married in 1820, but no record of his death has been found. His sons having bought the farm he left no will, and whatever estate there may have been was not sufficient to require an administrator. Elis [Else] Vaughan Smith died at St. Martins, 3 February 1844, aged 75. Saint John newspapers described her as the "Widow of the Late Wm. Smith of Falmouth," though William was her son, not her husband.[41]

Issue of James and Elis (Vaughan) Smith:

i. James Smith, b. Chester, 5 Jan. 1784. He joins the confusing number of James Smiths to be found in the Falmouth-Newport-Windsor region in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

ii. Daniel Smith, b. Chester, 23 Apr. 1786; m. Maria Irish at St. George's, Falmouth, 3 Mar. 1813; undoubtedly the Daniel Smith of Mount Denson whose descendants are listed by John Duncanson in *Falmouth: A New England Township in Nova Scotia, 1760-1965* (1983 edn.), p. 405. Note that his eldest son was named James.

iii. William Smith, b. Chester, 31 July 1788. Confused with his father in his mother's obituary, he does not appear to have lived at Falmouth; like his brothers Daniel and David, he may have

38 Registry of Deeds, Hants County, IX, 276.

39 Bell, *Newlight Journals*, p. 285, fn. 144.

40 School Records, RG 14, Vol. 35, Hants County, 1811-1833, PANS.

41 *New Brunswick Courier*, 10 Feb. 1844, p. 2; *Saint John Morning News*, 12 Feb. 1844, p. 3.

gone to sea.

iv. David Smith, b. Chester, 18 Mar. 1791; d. 1 May 1870 or 1871. He is clearly Duncanson's "Smith Family No. 2," in *Falmouth*, pp. 402-405; again there is a son named James. Family associations in shipbuilding and shipowning started early:

> Ebenezer Vaughan of Quaco in the Province of New Brunswick, Ship Builder...Together with Daniel Smith and David Smith, both of Falmouth in the Province of Nova Scotia, Mariners, are sole owners of the ship or vessel called Rover of Quaco...above named David Smith is Master.[42]

v. John Smith, b. 25 Dec. 1793. A John Smith of Falmouth m. at St. George's Anglican Church, 31 Aug. 1815, Mary Shaw. John Smith, J.P. and a second John Smith, both signed a petition at Falmouth on 1 Mar. 1819; as well, a John Smith subscribed £1 towards the Falmouth Baptist Meeting House in 1830.[43]

vi. Mary Smith, b. 28 Feb. 1796; no further information, but a Margaret Smith married John Harris on 21 Nov. 1811 at St. George's, Falmouth.

vii. Alexandria Smith, b. 28 Nov. 1797 and possibly named for Alexander Wallace, her father's partner; no further information.

4 viii. Lydia Smith, b. 2 Oct. 1800.

ix. Ebenezer Smith, b. 16 Mar. 1802. An Ebenezer Smith was m. at St. George's, Falmouth, 18 Mar. 1830 to Rebecca Aikins; d. 27 Oct. 1884, aged 83, and is bur. with this wife, who d. 5 Apr. 1893, aged 83, in Lockhartville, a few miles north of Mount Denson, in Horton Township.[44]

x. Rebecca Smith, b. 24 Nov. 1804; no further information.

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42 Built at Quaco and reg. at Saint John in 1818, she was a square-rigged schooner, one deck, two masts, 75 tons. General Register...of Shipping and Seamen (Transcripts and Transactions -BT 107) in RG 42, Plantation/Colonial, Copies of Ships Register Papers, Saint John, NA.

43 RG 5, Misc. A, Series P, Vol. 1, No. 52, PANS. Daniel and David Smith and a J^{thn} Smith signed on p. 2, both John Smiths on p. 3. In 1830 John Smith, James M. Smith, and a Margery Smith each subscribed to the new Baptist Meeting House (MG 1, Vol. 806, No. 26, Shaw Family Papers, PANS). The John Smith named in many school records is probably John Smith, J.P.

44 Douglas E. Eagles Collection, "Cemeteries," MG 9, B 9, 24, Book 2, p. 105, NA.

xi. Henry Smith, b. 20 Nov. 1809; m. 8 Sept. 1831, Sally Brown,[45] daug. of John Brown of Quaco. Foreman of the Moran shipyard in St. Martins from 1862, he was crushed by a falling ship's timber and d. 24 June 1872.[46] Administration of his estate was granted to his wife, who d. 2 Nov. 1884, aged 74, and is bur. with her husband in St. Martins. The following list of children is based on the heirs who agreed on 3 Dec. 1874 that the widow could charge repairs on the family homestead to the estate:[47]
   a. Henry Smith (1841-1876), master mariner, St. Martins.[48]
   b. David Smith (1849-1925), master mariner, St. Martins.[49]
   c. William Smith (1843-1928), merchant, St. Martins.
   d. Eleanor Smith, wife of Andrew Brown, house joiner, Saint John.
   e. Sarah Smith, wife of Amasa Brown, limeburner, Petitcodiac.
   f. Margaret Smith, who after her father's death m. William Albert Reid, merchant, Annapolis, N.S.

xii. Nelson Smith, b. 12 Apr. 1812. m. first ca. 1840, Mary Brown; issue:
   a. Levi, d. 7 Feb. 1844, age 1 yr. 8 mo.[50]
   b. Nelson, b. ca. 1844; m. 27 July 1870, Susan Wood.
   c. Ezena, m. 29 Nov. 1866, William Fletcher. Nelson Smith Sr.

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45 Saint John County, Marriage Registers, B, 101, PANB.

46 Described in detail in the *Saint John Daily Telegraph*, 25 June 1872.

47 Saint John County Probate Records: Smith, Henry (1872), RG 7, RS 71A, PANB. The total estate was valued at $3,739.55.

48 *Lloyd's Captains' Register* (London, 1869) includes Henry Smith, born 1841 in New Brunswick (certificate C. 30,311, North Shields, 1867). In 1876 he was master of the *Prince Waldemar*, a ship built that year for the Moran Galloway fleet. Early in November (1876) she was stranded on the Boldering Sands in the Hoogly River, on a voyage from Liverpool to Calcutta; and on 7 Nov., Captain Smith, age 35, his wife Eleanor, aged 32, and their two small children, Grace Gertrude, age 4, and Robert Henry, age 2½, lost their lives, together with most of the crew. The Saint John *Daily News*, 22 Nov. 1876, lists the names of those lost.

49 David Smith, b. 1849, Saint John, received his Masters Papers in Liverpool, 1874 (cert. 12624). After 1869, *Lloyds' Captains' Registers* were kept in manuscript volumes, now in Lloyd's Marine Collection at The Guildhall, London. A card index of Canadian Masters listed in these volumes has been compiled by Charles Armour, Archivist at Dalhousie University.

50 *Saint John Morning News*, 12 Feb. 1844, p. 3.

m. secondly, ca. 1873, Rebecca Jane Vail:[51]

d. Robert, b. ca. 1875.

e. Lydia, b. ca. 1876.

Though not included in the manuscript list from the Bible (above), there is said to have been another "sister" of Henry, Nelson and Lydia Smith:

xiii. Hannah, d. 16 Jan. 1894, age 82; m. first, date unknown, Toal; m. secondly, 1832, Robert Cochran, master mariner, who d. 18 Oct. 1884, age 71.[52]

Robert Cochran is said to have been the brother of George Cochran, Lydia Smith's second husband. This could account for Robert's wife being termed a "sister" of Lydia. Capt. David Smith, however, told his descendants that when he first went to sea with Capt. Robert Cochran, his "Aunt Hannah" accompanied her husband on the voyage. Another child in the Smith family between Rebecca and Henry is possible, but would make Hannah a few years older than she claimed. She is buried with her second husband at St. Martins. She petitioned to administer her husband's estate[53] on 27 Oct. 1885, listing their children as: William Cochran, Boston, Mass.; Sarah Baird, wife of John Baird,[54] Moncton; Phoebe A. Main, wife of William Main, New York; and Sally A. Kimball, wife of George L. Kimball, Portland, Maine.

4 Lydia Smith, daug. of James and Elis (Vaughan) Smith, b. 2 Oct. 1800 [her tombstone and her daughter's sampler give the year as 1801]; d. 19 June 1875; bur. at St. Martins beside her second husband.

Lydia, "daughter of James Smith of Falmouth," m. at Saint Martins, 1

51 Robert R. Smith's "Family Records" give the names of Nelson's wives, the 1871 and 1881 Census for St. Martins, some of the children and their ages.

52 Marriage Bonds, RG 32, PANS, bond dated 11 Apr. 1832: Robert Cochran, mariner of Windsor and Hannah Toal, widow. *Lloyd's Captains' Register* (1869), p. 125, gives his birthdate as 1814, in Nova Scotia (S. 37,359); he was master of William Vail's *Jane* (1856-59), then successively the *Alabama* (1859-62), *Black Prince* (1863, 1867-68) and *Chanticleer* (1864-67), all of the Moran fleet.

53 Saint John County Probate Records, RG 7, RS 71A, Cochran, Robert (1885), PANB.

54 The marr. on 30 Nov. is reported in the *New Brunswick Courier*, 3 Dec. 1853.

June 1820, the widower, Captain William Fownes.[55] They had two children before he d., 16 May 1824:

i. Caroline Matilda Fownes, b. ca.1821; d. 30 Nov. 1857; bur. in the Moran cemetery, St. Martins, where her stone reads "Aged 38 Years"; m. 23 Dec. 1841, James Hamilton Moran (1816-1879), with issue:
   a. Adelaide Moran, b. 1843; d. 19 Aug. 1855.
   b. Maggie Moran, b. 1845; m. William W. G. Irvine, Newburgh, Fifeshire, Scotland.
   c. Elizabeth Moran, b. 1847; m. D.G. Mackenzie, Saint John.
   d. William Henry Moran, master mariner, b. 8 June 1849; m. 15 Jan. 1870, Georgina Vaughan,[56] daug. of Silas, granddaughter of David.
   e. Jane Moran, b. 1851; m. George S. Parker, Saint John. Their son Edgar, a dentist, moved to the United States, where he changed his name to Painless Parker, dying in San Francisco, 1952.[57]
   f. Edgar Randolph Moran, b. 14 July 1855; d. 13 Apr. 1873.

ii. William H. Fownes, b. 1823; d. 6 Nov. 1851; m. 15 Jan. 1846, Sarah Vaughan, daug. of Simon, granddaughter of David. He d. intestate and his widow and David Vaughan inventoried the estate.[58] There was one daughter:
   a. Caroline M. Fownes, m. 6 Jan. [June ?] 1871, Samuel F. Macumber, "both of St. Martins."

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55 William Fownes' first wife, also named Lydia, had died pre-7 Aug. 1819, leaving him with five young children. If, as family tradition claims, she was Lydia Vaughan, then Lydia Smith was her niece, someone who would love and care for the children.

56 Saint John County, Marriage Book G, p. 618, PANB.

57 *New York Times*, 9 Nov. 1952, p. 89.

58 *New Brunswick Courier*, 22 Nov. 1851; Saint John County Probate Records, RG 7, RS 71A, 1851, PANB.

Lydia (Smith) Fownes m. secondly, St. Martins, 4 May 1826, George Cochran, who was b. 16 Aug. 1802 and d. 25 Feb. 1852. They had the following children:[59]

iii. Mary Jane Cochran, b. 29 Apr. 1827; d. 19 May 1900, unm.; bur. with her parents in St. Martins. Her estate was administered[60] by her sister, Hannah, widow of James H. Moran.

iv. Rebecca A. Cochran, b. 18 Sept. 1829; d. 4 Oct. 1891; m. 4 Feb. 1853, Isaac Cleveland (b. 1816 or 1822; d. 2 Feb. 1879), spar-maker and carpenter. They are bur. in St. Martins, with five children who d. young. Three daughters and two sons were alive in 1912; each inherited $12.43 from their aunt, Mary Jane Cochran:

a. Alma Cleveland, b. ca. 1853; widow of James "Ed" Carson, Stonington, Conn.

b. Althea Alice Cleveland, b. 5 Oct. 1861; d. 28 July 1933; m. 24 Oct. 1883, A. Cavour Chapman (1860-1943), eldest son of Robert Andrew Chapman, whose shipyard at Rockland (Dorchester) in Westmorland Co., N.B. operated 1861-1883.

c. James H. Cleveland, b. ca. 1862, a carpenter who by 1912 was living with his widowed sister in Stonington.

d. Annie Cleveland, b. ca. 1869; she was a registered nurse and worked in the U.S.A., dying unm. in San Jacinto, Calif. sometime in the 1960s.

e. Robert Cleveland, b. ca. 1874, a railroad engineer, d. in a

59 The names and birthdates come from a sampler worked by Lydia Ellen Cochran at "St. Martins N B August 16 A.D. 1850 aged 13 yrs," now in the possession of Cyrus Happy III, Tacoma, WA.

60 Saint John County Probate Records, 1900-1908, RG 7, RS 71A, PANB. The final distribution of the estate in 1912 provides detailed information on the families of her brothers and sisters.

train accident in New York State; he m. with several sons and at least one daug., Edith.

v. George Nelson Cochran, b. 20 July 1832; mariner, pre-deceased Mary Jane, leaving no family.

vi. Daniel S. Cochran, b. 27 Aug. 1834, master mariner;[61] survived his sister, but d. before her estate was settled, leaving his widow Annie and issue:
   a. Parker Cochran, Schenectady, N.Y.
   b. George Cochran, Starbottom, Yorkshire, England.
   c. Annie Cochran, Starbottom, Yorkshire, England.

vii. Lydia Ellen Cochran, b. 17 July 1837; d. 1909; m. 26 May 1857, Andrew Ruddick (23 Jan. 1830 - 1915). They had five daughters:
   a. Jane Ruddick, m. Patrick McGowan, Moncton, N.B.
   b. Adele Ruddick, m. George H. Barnes, Hampton, N.B.
   c. Arvilla Ruddick, m. Harry K. Todd, Tacoma, Wash.
   d. Elizabeth M. Ruddick, Hampton, N.B.
   e. Margaret Irvine Ruddick, b. 29 Oct. 1863; d. 12 June 1910; m. Charles Alexander Sayre (8 Mar. 1860 - 17 Dec. 1911), with issue: Marjorie A. Sayre, b. 23 July 1890, Tacoma,Wash.; d. Tacoma, 4 May 1969; m. Cyrus Happy Jr. (1888-1965).

viii. Hannah V. Cochran, b. 3 Jan. 1840; d. 4 July 1920; m. 10 Feb. 1859 as his second wife, James Hamilton Moran (1816-1879). Her children[62] did not share in their aunt's estate:
   a. Arvilla L[idinia?] Moran, b. 1860; m. Nov. 1892, Horace A.

61 *Lloyd's Captains' Register* (1869), p. 125, includes a Daniel Cochran, [born] 1836, Saint John, N.B. (C 1,419, Liverpool, 1865), master of the *Prince Patrick* (Moran Galloway fleet) from 1865 through 1868, sailing to Australia. The Moran connection suggests this might be George and Lydia's son.

62 Hannah's choice of romantic, non-family names led to contractions, nicknames and some imaginative misspelling on the part of census-takers. Data collated with two typescript Moran family histories, as well as other documents.

Hutchins, K.C. (b. 1859, East Farnham, Que.).

b. Madena Moran, b. 1862, m. 4 Nov. 1885, C. Aubrey Vaughan (1860-1933), son of Henry and Hannah (Moran) Vaughan, a grandson of David.
c. Ella Blanche ("Nellie") Moran, b. 1864; m. 2 Sept. 1885, Henry Edward Gillmor, M.D.[63]
d. Robert Galloway Moran, b. 6 Apr. 1866; d. Long Island, N.Y., 17 Oct. 1933; m. 23 Apr. 1891, Edith, dau. of Capt. John W. Parker.
e. Alice Moran, b. 5 July 1871; d. 12 Mar. 1873; bur. St. Martins.

viii. James R. Cochran, b. 31 Aug. 1842; d. 2 Feb. 1892; m. 26 June 1870,[64] Mary Louisa Davis (b. 28 Feb. 1848; d. 4 Sept. 1915); both are bur. in St. Martins. Nine children are named in Mary Jane Cochran's estate papers; those whose dates are given are buried in St. Martins:

a. Frederick Main Cochran, St. Martins, N.B. 1873-1938).
b. Ella Blanche Cochran, St. Martins, N.B. (1876-1941).
c. William Ellis Cochran, St. Martins, N.B. (1881-1938).
d. Mary J. Cochran, St. Martins, N.B.
e. Mildred Cochran, St. Martins, N.B. (1891-1939).
f. Florence Cochran, St. Martins, N.B. (1883-1954).
g. Annie G. Cochran, m. Malcolm McPhail, Saint John.
h. George Cochran, Spokane, Washington.
i. Alice Cochran, Boston, Mass.

Lydia (Smith) Fownes Cochran married as her third husband, 2 October 1856, the recently widowed shipbuilder James Moran (1781-1860); so, as William H. Moran explained to his half-brother Robert,

63 Their wedding at St. Martins, briefly announced by the *Daily Sun*, 5 Sept. 1885, was in marked contrast to the "gay and fashionable...nuptials of C. Aubrey Vaughan to Miss Madena Moran," where the bride in "handsome white satin...wore diamond ornaments," as reported on p. 3 of the *Daily Sun*, 5 Nov. 1885.

66 Saint John County, Marriage Book G, p. 689, PANB.

> Lydia his second wife is singularly related...this Lydia Smith (Fownes) (Cochran) (Moran) was James H. Moran's mother-in-Law twice and stepmother. She was twice your grandmother and three times my grandmother, viz:- She was my mother's mother, my step-mother's mother and my father's stepmother.[65]

As one descendant ruefully commented, "It's rather like having a plate of spaghetti for a family tree!"

65 Moran Family Papers, typescript family history by William Moran (1849-1945), pp. 12-13, PANB.

Book Reviews

Allen B. Robertson

The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation, edited by Ernest R. Forbes and Delphin A. Muise. ISBN 0-8020-5886-8 (cloth), 0-8020-6817-0 (paper). University of Toronto Press, and Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1993. xii + 628 pp., illustrated, paper, $29.95.

Cinders & Saltwater: The Story of Atlantic Canada's Railways, by Shirley E. Woods. ISBN 1-55109-027-9. Nimbus, Halifax, N.S., 1992. xii + 228 pp., illustrated, cloth, $24.95.

Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930, edited by Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz. ISBN 0-7735-0954-2. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montréal, 1993. XXXIX 253 pp., illustrated, cloth, $39.95.

Echoes from Labor's Wars: The Expanded Edition: Industrial Cape Breton in the 1920s, Echoes of World War One, Autobiography & Other Writings, by Dawn Fraser. Introduction by David Frank & Don MacGillivray. ISBN 1-895415-16-0. Breton Books, Wreck Cove, N.S., 1992. xxvi + 177 pp., paper, $9.95.

From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of David George, Pioneer Black Baptist Minister, by Grant Gordon. ISBN 0-88999-506-8. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1992. xvii + 356 pp., illustrated, paper, $13.95.

Loyalists to Canada: The 1783 Settlement of Quakers and Others At Passamaquoddy, by Theodore C. Holmes. ISBN 0-89725-087-7. Picton Press, Camden, ME, 1992. xxvii + 319 pp., illustrated, cloth, $36.50. Copies available at cost, + $3.50 handling fees, from the author: 41 Woodmont Street, Portland, ME, U.S.A. 04102.

New Brunswick Schools: A Guide to Archival Sources/Les écoles du Nouveau-Brunswick: Guide des sources archivistique, compiled by Diana Moore and Andrea Schwenke under the direction of Ernest Forbes. ISBN 0-919107-36-2. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1992. iv + 148 pp., paper, $\$$_____.

Open Doors: Canadian Baptists 1950-1990: Popular Addresses and Articles, by Jarold K. Zeman. ISBN 0-88999-473-0. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1992. xv + 212 pp., illustrated, paper, $7.95.

Quest for the Phantom Fleet, by James T. Bebb. [For the author by] Passage Print and Litho, Cape Sable Island, N.S., 1992. viii + 200 pp., illustrated, paper, $ _____ .

The Records of the Church of Jebogue in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia 1766-1851, edited by Stuart and Gwen Trask. ISBN 0-9691913-7-5. Stoneycroft Publishing, Yarmouth, N.S., 1993. xviii + 284 pp., illustrated, paper, $20.00. Available from Stoneycroft Publishing, Box 1710, R. R. 1, Yarmouth, N.S. B5A 4A5; please add $2.00 postage and handling.

To Be A Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889: Nineteenth Century Protestant Missionary to the Micmac, by Dorothy May Lovesay. ISBN 0-88999-508-7. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1992. xx + 282 pp., paper, $13.95.

Trouble in the Woods: Forest Policy and Social Conflict in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, edited by L. Anders Sandberg. ISBN 0-919107-37-0. Gorsebrook Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies and Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1992. vi + 234 pp., maps, paper, $19.95.

The traditional view of history is one which expects that historians will try to relate for modern readers the course of events long past. Genealogies, biographies, community histories and conference papers are all supposed to provide us with windows which look out over yesterday's world sometimes with great clarity, but sometimes only as glimpses of a misty landscape. At the same time, the past is informed by the present. Current research trends or social fashions will dictate which aspects of history are to be examined. Such diverse starting-points have provided us with new understanding of traditional subjects and opened vistas on neglected themes. It is also true that the present and the future can be reshaped by historians' representations of the past. Wherever a current political agenda does not place a burden on the past which it was never intended to bear, we can view our landscape and relationships in an innovative manner. When the past is perverted in order to

serve a "cause," however, it can equally skew our perception of where we came from, who we are today and where we are going.

The latest three volumes published by Lancelot Press for the Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada series indeed help us to look both backwards and forwards. Three centuries are represented in studies of pioneer Afro-Nova Scotian Baptists, a nineteenth-century missionary who devoted his labours to the Micmac people and language, and the reflections of a first-generation Czechoslovak evangelical intellectual. Together, these studies give witness to the broad scope of the Heritage Series.

Grant Gordon has provided a well-rounded account of the career of David George, a Black Loyalist, in *From Slavery to Freedom*. George's own autobiographical account, first published in the 1790s, provides the core of the biography, yet Gordon has gone well beyond this unique source. The editor himself states, "No one to date had explored records related to George's period of slavery in Virginia, his trip to England, or his connections with various Baptist leaders" (p. xv). Gordon addresses these deficiencies through meticulous research, cross-checking David George's "Memoir" against surviving colonial government records and Baptist archival materials in Britain. As a result, *From Slavery to Freedom* should attract attention in the United States, Canada and England, as well as in Sierra Leone, for the new light which Gordon has shed on the exceptional career of this colonial missionary preacher.

Although David George spent only ten years in Nova Scotia, his influence was not confined to the village of Birch Town. He trarersed both this province and New Brunswick, delivering an evangelical message in a powerfully eloquent fashion. These sermons made an impact on receptive listeners, regardless of ethnic origin, and long after George had gone to Sierra Leone he was still remembered in the Maritimes. It is indeed significant, as Gordon observes, that both Baptists and Wesleyan Methodists, prior to the mid-1790s, had not become uniformly segregated by racial origin. It remains an open question for historians to debate whether external or internal events disrupted this initial harmony.

It is important to recognize that David George was one of three evangelical preachers who left accounts of their Nova Scotia missions during the 1780s and 1790s. The Methodist of Birch Town, Boston King, and his Huntingdonian Methodist rival, John Marrant, contributed additionally valuable accounts of colonial Afro-Nova Scotian life. It would have been

instructive had Gordon compared Marrant's life to that of George, even though the former was born free. Both men experienced conversion at a young age, both spent time as Indian captives and the American Revolution enmeshed both of them in the tremendous events of 1776-1783.

Grant Gordon's biographical inquiry precedes the reprinting of the memoir and related documents. It provides a contextual account through which the reader can fully appreciate the printed primary sources and archival documents. Lieutenant John Clarkson's journal of his Sierra Leone recruitment drive coalesces well with George's and King's own writings. The result is a finely detailed account of organization, group response, personal hardship and triumph in forging a new life in Africa. Gordon has availed himself of the latest Sierra Leone histories in order to flesh out George's final years to 1810.

The study by Gordon goes into detail on a wide range of subjects--social history, colonial evangelization, mass emigration and readjustment, and the international networking of religious organizations. There is no evading the delicate subject of George's temporary lapse into antinomianism (perhaps a legacy of the Nova Scotia years) which falls outside the narrow purview of James Walker's article on George in Volume V of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Throughout *From Slavery to Freedom* Gordon is intent not on depicting a saint without blemish, but rather presenting a credible portrait of a man filled with faith, fervour and pastoral gifts and who survived the passage from chattel slavery to hard-won freedom.

The Baptist minister Silas Tertius Rand was as much a man of conviction and commitment as David George. Dorothy Lovesay's *To Be A Pilgrim* chart's the seventy-nine year life of this remarkable New England Planter descendant. Rand was born in Kings County, Nova Scotia, undertook a missionary career as both a Baptist preacher and Plymouth Brethren sojourner, and ended his days in the shipbuilding town of Hantsport. A talent for languages led him to a study of First Nations cultures, as a result of which Rand came to be known primarily as a missionary to the Micmac and a devoted student of their language, customs and oral traditions. His extensive writings held by the Smithsonian Institution and Acadia University are now being rediscovered by latter-day religious historians, linguists and ethnographers.

In part, *To Be A Pilgrim* is a departure from the usual run of for Baptist Heritage volumes; like Grant Gordon's book on David George, it is a

biography rather than an annotated edition of original texts. The ultimate goal would of course be to reprint Rand's extensive diaries, written in several languages, so that they might stand beside those of Liverpool's New England Planter diarist, Simeon Perkins. In advance of that ultimate project, however, Lovesay has provided an introduction which is complete in itself. Micmac Missionary Society reports, newspaper accounts from the Baptist *Christian Messenger*, correspondence and Rand's own archival fonds all help to build up this account of his extraordinary life. *To Be A Pilgrim* illustrates that the Baptist Heritage Series is of interest to a much wider reading public than denominational Baptists. Certainly neither Rand the Baptist nor Rand the temporary convert to the Plymouth Brethren can be ignored in a comprehensive biographical study. Lovesay seeks to know the man through his faculty of intense spiritual introspection and his passionate sermons. Equally compelling is the detail provided on Silas Rand's involvement as missionary to the Micmac and as First Nation's philologist.

Just as Grant Gordon notes David George's failings, so too Dorothy Lovesay does not avoid treating Rand's controversies. Rand's defection from and subsequent readmission to the Hantsport Baptist Church at one remove seem the least of his entanglements. His sectarian clashes with Catholic clergy and laity over attempts to convert the Micmac did nothing to enhance his stature. What is surprising is Lovesay's failure to place Rand's comments in context rather than permitting statements of religious bigotry to stand unexplained or unchallenged.

Rand the Micmac missionary and linguist was also a student of hymnody and classical languages. The Latin hymns are underrated now that Latin is no longer the lingua franca of scholars or the liturgical tongue of the Latin Rite (Roman Catholic) Church. Through the hymns we are nevertheless permitted to see something of Rand as a creative artist. To her credit, Lovesay has not neglected this literary aspect of a very complex individual. One may therefore hope for an expanded study of S.T. Rand as a creative writer.

Silas Rand sojourned as a pilgrim in an imperfect world and his responses were at times no less fraught with anxiety than had been the freed Black refugee David George. A century later, a *mitteleuropaïsch* immigrant to Canada was also on his own pilgrimage of faith. Jarold K. Zeman as a scholar and historian has contributed to the developing Protestant historiography of Canada generally, as well as the Maritimes in particular. He has sought to interpret his Baptist faith in its Canadian context. This effort has led Zeman

to explore colonial Nova Scotia's religious heritage, notably the careers of Henry Alline and the founders of Acadia University, while his active promotion of documentary publishing, as a founding member of the Baptist Heritage Committee, has contributed significantly to academic scholarship. Zeman's career is to be seen from at least two perspectives, as must Silas Rand's: one as the religious seeker, the other as a Baptist intellectual.

The collection of Zeman's articles and addresses in *Open Doors: Canadian Baptists 1950-1990* reminds us that immigration to Nova Scotia by political refugees is a continuing process which entails a unique history for each immigrant. In the case of J. K. Zeman his adjustment and assimilation to Canada were found in seeking to understand the parameters of the evangelical tradition as it has existed in this country since the eighteenth century. Zeman's own Czechoslovak roots furnished him with both a Calvinist and a Roman Catholic heritage, and an appreciation of the profound influence which religion and religious tradition can have on secular culture.

To a certain extent, *Open Doors* is autobiography. The contents trace Zeman's childhood, education and immigration to Canada, his service among Czechoslovak Baptists in Toronto and what it means to be an immigrant. Other items permit the reader to consider the doctrinal or theological basis for Zeman's faith and the manner in which he believes it should be manifested. Reflections on the ecumenical movement in relation to the dialogue between Baptists and other denominations again take the reader beyond strictly Baptist concerns. As an educator of clergy and as an historian Zeman expresses his views through a selection of pertinent articles. His association with Acadia Divinity College (1968-1991) took him to the heartland of Baptist origins in Canada. As a result he has been particularly conscious of how historians can mould both an understanding of the past and redefine relationships in the future.

The appendices of popular and scholarly publications are an asset of *Open Doors* which permits any reader so inclined to study Zeman's career more in-depth. It will be obvious from a few selections that *Open Doors* is the expression of a convinced Baptist so do not look for an endorsement of other faith traditions. That stance however has been a part of our Nova Scotian history for generations in which diversity has generated a vibrant culture. Furthermore it should be noted that Jarold Zeman has inspired both Nova Scotia and non-Baptist historians to redefine the significance of Nova Scotia's complex religious matrix. The Heritage Series which he has so

avidly supported has led to valuable reappraisals of Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, Anglican, Quaker, and Presbyterian origins in pre-1867 Nova Scotia.

Another member of the Baptist Heritage Series editorial committee, George A. Rawlyk, inspired a contribution from Yarmouth County by his lament on the dearth of published documentary sources for that area. Gwen and Stuart Trask took up the challenge by editing *The Records of the Church of Jebogue in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1766-1851*. In the strict sense the Trasks have prepared a literal transcription rather than a critical edition since there is no supporting apparatus to identify individuals, cite publications or explain significant events. Nonetheless, the ready availability of these records in published form--the original is held by the Public Archives of Nova Scotia--is most welcome. Family historians will want to exploit the book for its lists of baptisms, membership rolls and other genealogical material. Yarmouth-area residents can read about the social and religious life of their community as it existed two centuries ago. As a source-book for eighteenth-century religious, social, gender relations, educational and intellectual history, *Records of the Church of Jebogue* will be zealously perused by scholars of colonial studies.

The Jebogue (Chebogue) congregation under Jonathan Scott was a Congregationalist church with a strong undercurrent of evangelical zeal. Subsequent clashes between Scott and the radical preacher Henry Alline left the mistaken impression that Scott's church had consisted of Old Light Congregationalists who split when some defected to follow Alline's teachings. This misconception was first challenged in Henry Scott Jr.'s edition of *The Journal of the Reverend Jonathan Scott* (1980), which can now be directly compared with the official Jebogue church entries. The Trasks have facilitated a reappraisal of the pre-1800 Jebogue church in conjunction with recent revisionist historiography.

Any apprehension that the Jebogue records make for dry reading quickly evaporates on just a brief look at the opening pages. Jonathan Scott had a fine descriptive style and a gift for narrating local history. Before setting down the church covenant, Scott provided a brief historical summary of Yarmouth's founding in 1759/60, and enumerated the first preachers in the area as well as original Congregational church members. The tribulations of early residents who faced church discipline document the means by which local societies regulated behaviour. The inclusion of letters of confession add evocative

personal touches which ameliorate the atmosphere of "institution." It would be accurate to describe the Jebogue Church records as the collective biography or corporate history of an extended family.

The reader should at all events not be put off by the style of writing in *Church of Jebogue*, since the meaning is readily grasped despite the alien eighteenth-century phraseology. Familiarity with the King James Version or the Book of Common Prayer (1660) will make the journey back 200 years less strange than may at first appear. The vocabulary and idiom of late eighteenth-century English-speaking Nova Scotians in the Planter townships blended New England dialect, Biblical imagery and late Elizabethan-early Jacobean vernacular English. It can truly be said that the Trasks, through *Church of Jebogue*, have let us "hear" eighteenth-century settlers "speak" for themselves.

Another mine of information for professional genealogists and historians alike is to be found in a book also devoted to an eighteenth-century subject. Theodore C. Holmes, *Loyalists to Canada: The 1783 Settlement of Quakers and Others At Passamaquoddy*, is a combined biographical dictionary, collection of manuscript documents and group portrait. Though the study centres on Passamaquoddy, in particular the Pennfield settlement, it brings in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotian families. The excellent index of names, moreover, provides a ready reference tool for consulting this fascinating history.

The compiler has produced a valuable contribution to Quaker Religious Society of Friends history in the Maritimes. Holmes was intrigued by the transformation of Quaker settlers into Loyalists of New Brunswick and the impact which this alteration had on communications with orthodox Quakers remaining in the newly-independent United States. Observations by travelling Friends and the evidence of Friends' Meeting records indicate that many of the Loyalist Quakers were cut off from regular Meetings for having borne arms during the Revolutionary conflict. This exclusion, however, did not automatically extend to wives and children. Where numbers permitted, indeed, exiled Quakers maintained the silent assemblies, speech and customs characteristic of their sect. Visitors such as Joseph Hoag in 1801-02 were able to report back to home meetings that Loyalist and Planter Quakers alike flocked to him in meetings throughout Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. With the aid of *Loyalists to Canada* students now can identify individuals and their households while attempting to reconstruct the life of colonial

Quaker society in the Maritimes. This is a welcome complement to Arthur Dorland's 1927 monograph, *History of the Society of Friends in Canada* and to such recent articles as Allen Robertson's "To Declare and Affirm: Quaker Contributions to Planter Nova Scotia" (in M. Conrad, ed., *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800* [1991]).

Theodore Holmes has scoured a wide range of sources to provide biographical material for these Quakers. Loyalist claims accounts from Audit Office records in the PRO can be detailed in noting an individual's services during the Revolution, hardships endured and property losses suffered. Samuel Moore of New Jersey, for example, fled to Nova Scotia as a loyal refugee and eventually settled in Annapolis County. There he was active in promoting Quaker meetings, offering his home for that purpose. Moore earned as his reward for not supporting the rebels the confiscation of his New Jersey farm (seventy-five acres), including buildings, livestock, farm implements and crops--all of which were sold off by American commissioners.

Although the circumstances of war had forced many Quakers to go behind British lines for refuge, they did not leave their religious convictions behind. The abolitionist movement was at work among the Pennfield settlers, for example, as witnessed by the leading declaration in their proprietor's agreement: "No slave master admitted." It has been argued elsewhere that the Quaker teaching on the inner light may have contributed as well to the reinforcement of New Light revivalism among Maritime Congregationalists and Baptists in the 1780s. In reference to the mundane world of farming and fishing, Holmes has included in *Loyalists to Canada* post-1800 census and assessment records for the descendants of Quaker families, so that one may see how those who decided to stay in New Brunswick fared. The obvious is often overlooked in this regard; the legacy of faith and tradition was matched by making a literal impress on the land through 'improvement,' such as agricultural pursuits and establishing homes or places of business.

The inclusion of numerous land grant maps and other graphic material enhances *Loyalists to Canada*. Land distribution and acreage data can be combined with the latter sources as provided in the text, in order to gauge the success of farming in certain communities. For example, the 1820 Pennfield evaluation includes names of assessed individuals, acres of cleared land and "Neat Stock" (oxen, horses, sheep, cattle) as well as any mills in operation

(pp. 244-45). It is this type of primary source material which increases the merit of Theodore Holmes's Passamaquoddy Quaker study.

Another publication which focuses on New Brunswick, yet contains pertinent material for Nova Scotian researchers, is the compilation by Diana Moore and Andrea Schwenke (under the direction of Ernest Forbes), *New Brunswick Schools: A Guide to Archival Sources*. It was the specific intention of the compilers to provide scholars with a finding aid for school records in order to encourage studies of the history of provincial education. It is noted in the introduction that, except for a mere handful of articles, little scholarly research has been done in this field, either for the 1800s or for 1900s. Widely--scattered repositories and the lack of an adequate guide had discouraged researchers. The new social history of New Brunswick will remain glaringly incomplete, unless--as observed by Moore, Schwenke and Forbes--attention is paid to who went to school, the education of First Nations children, Acadian schooling in relation to Acadian nationalism, and the role of Roman Catholic teaching orders in promoting basic literacy.

It should be pointed out that *New Brunswick Schools* includes elementary, secondary and some college-level archival sources. Information on Mount Allison University will attract Maritime historians and genealogists, since this was the premier higher educational institution for the region's Wesleyan Methodists, and later for the United Church of Canada's adherents. The thirteen pages devoted to Mount Allison Archives include a nineteenth-century schoolboy's letters, Board of Regents Minutes and the diary (1886) of Mount Allison Ladies' College student Laura Fullerton. Papers of Mount Allison graduates have found their way back to their alma mater. Israel Longworth, author of a local history of Colchester County, Nova Scotia, is represented by a small fonds which contains his 1864 address to the Wesleyan Academy.

All aspects of education are to be found in this thematic guide. Special education is not neglected. Readers will find relevant material on institutions devoted to teaching the visually- and hearing-impaired. Catholic education leads to investigation of women's religious orders as the instructors of generations of New Brunswick children, as well as the struggles of the orders to combat sectarian harassment from outside, and the discouragement of trying to teach children in economically depressed communities. Educational history, moreover, is as much a history of the teaching personnel as it is the study of curriculum, students and legislation.

It would have helped if the index to *New Brunswick Schools* were more usable. Material is referenced by name of archival repository; a check under "Halifax School for the Blind NEM-44," for example, will lead one to nothing unless the reader tries NBM-44 (New Brunswick Museum). This defect, and other inconsistencies, hamper the usefulness of an otherwise beneficial research tool. And when shall we see such a guide for Nova Scotia?

There comes a time when the reader's own experience and a newly-published history combine to impress one with how things have changed. Shirley Woods's *Cinders & Saltwater: The Story of Atlantic Canada's Railways* has caught the last of provincial rail travel, which the new generation just beginning school will know about only from the printed page (Via Rail's Halifax-Montréal run being the sole exception). Woods's book evokes both nostalgia for 'civilized' travel and the fascination which nineteenth-century Canadians had for railway technology.

It is true, as Woods states, that Atlantic Canada's railway history is to a great extent concerned with people: promoters, politicians, trainmen and construction engineers. These colourful individuals are highlighted by Woods's very readable prose. At the same time, the numerous photographs of rolling stock such as 'Samson', the 'Flying Bluenose' and DAR Rail-liner, are as visually captivating as depictions of Victorian architecture. Interior views of passenger coaches remind us that comfort, beauty and function could be combined to benefit travellers. Rapid transit and automobiles cannot match that older standard.

The nineteenth-century background to the railways is an amalgam of political motivation, profits and an obsession with progress through mechanization. Woods leads the reader through the labyrinth of negotiations and partnerships of the 1850s and 1860s, when the foundations of the major Atlantic Canadian railway lines were laid. The engineering difficulties encountered in railway construction (bridges, tunnels, river flood-plain trestles, etc.) are not neglected. Increased investment by Maritime businessmen by the 1870s, in terms of a reallocation of shipbuilding and shipping profits to land-based ventures does beg for discussion.

The author is concerned to provide the reader with a general overview of rail travel in Atlantic Canada. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia receive the principal treatment, though the balance is redressed for Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island in the post-1900 era. There is continual reference to

now abandoned lines, such as the Nova Scotia Central Railway, which once were the economic lifeline of many inland rural communities as well as coastal towns. Special events called for mass transit. Both World Wars greatly increased access by rail in order to ship troop, logistical support personnel and supplies. The Halifax Harbour Explosion of December 1917 resulted in the dispatch of relief trains bearing medical teams, food and clothing from all parts of the Maritimes and Boston. Nor should the reader overlook the 'silk trains' which transported Chinese workers from British Columbia to Halifax to serve in labour battalions overseas during the European War of 1914-1918. The closing section of *Cinders & Saltwater* brings the reader up to the 1990s, and reflects on national transportation policies. Federal government downgrading of services to the Maritimes led directly to rail-service cuts. Residents of the Annapolis Valley from Yarmouth to Windsor no longer have the option of travelling by rail. Even freight must go by road. Woods could have included material as well on postal services. Regular rail service and mail cars meant rapid delivery of first-class mail throughout the Maritimes. Now both services have faded into memories as remote as the old cinder-burning engines of the Victorian era.

From land to the sea comes a contribution by local historian James T. Bebb of Lockeport in his book, *Quest for the Phantom Fleet*. Ostensibly Bebb has used a cache of letters which provide accounts of the Lockeport Trading Company's activities shortly after the turn of the twentieth century. Combining photographs and other research, Bebb has instead created a story depicting late Victorian and early Edwardian Lockeport.

The letters themselves provide glimpses into profits and risks, and the far-flung interests of Nova Scotia's South Shore shipbuilders and fishermen. The first decade of the twentieth century was well after the halcyon "Golden Age of Sail." As a consequence, it is usually the period most neglected by historians in general. Bebb points out that men still went to sea, however, so that the skills of master boat-builders continued to be needed. Networks of apprentices, friends and relatives were equally important. Unlike the largely foreign crews used to man the last of the 'tall ships', coastal schooners recruited personnel at home. Both independence and plain-spokenness were bred in such an atmosphere.

Well-chosen photographs, lithographs and letterhead stationery add a good visual context to the letters. It is to be regretted, however, that Bebb does not mention where the original correspondence is now held, or whether it is

available for consultation. Students of the Maritimes fishing industry are always looking out for sources of this nature. Newspapers or official government records do not provide the day-to-day detail which good business records can provide for a particular company.

Bebb takes pains to sketch the background of shipping and shipbuilding expertise in the Lockeport area. As with Frederick W. Wallace seventy years ago, Bebb today provides insight into shipbuilding (from the keel up) as a distinctive enterprise, yet contrasts the differences of ca. 1905 construction. Not all shipbuilding investments were smooth sailing. The dispute over construction cost per ton, and commissions, sparked a testy correspondence between W. C. McKay & Son on one side and William McMillan on the other (1917). It is the frank nature of these letters, however, which enables one to step back into that now lost world.

Finally, Bebb's research does move a step toward "filling the gaps" between Liverpool-Shelburne-Yarmouth and Barrington, in focusing attention on the active seafaring and marine-based economies of smaller communities long neglected in favour of larger centres.

Railways and sailing vessels have traditionally evoked images of an heroic age, through dangers of the sea or feats of construction in laying tracks across difficult terrain. Coalmining and steel production evoke, by contrast, the heroic spirit of perseverance in the struggle for life itself. Early twentieth-century labour spokesmen in Nova Scotia rarely crossed the line from the rhetoric of workers' rights to poetic expression. One individual did achieve that feat while continuing to express himself in coloured journalistic prose. Dawn Fraser's biting poetry, his sharp wit and keen social-political insight are now once more accessible in an anthology entitled *Echoes from Labor's Wars*. Though the publisher's promotional commentary exaggerates as such material must, it is indeed true that *Labor's Wars* should be on Nova Scotia high school and college reading-lists.

The labour strife of 1920s industrial Cape Breton has been a delicate subject to handle. Radical socialists pushed for workers' basic rights (a living wage to ensure shelter and food) in the face of capitalist investors out-of-touch with the changing realities of the twentieth century. The fear of socialism and Bolshevism resulted in the censorship of public school educational texts, supposedly to avoid the promotion of particular ideologies. On the other hand, the labour history of Nova Scotia has been done a tremendous disservice. The verse and narrative of Dawn Fraser take the

reader instead to the heart of the matter, well past political ideologies. As a late Victorian (born in 1888 at Oxford, N.S.), Fraser inherited the folk ballad tradition which cast into verse contemporary news or satirized injustice. At New Glasgow he became the voice of miners, factory workers and struggling families, articulating their experience in an idiom they could understand.

David Frank and Don MacGillivray have provided an excellent introduction to *Labor's Wars*. Fraser's life as a jack-of-all trades and World War I veteran are related in an attempt to explain his poetic inspiration. The overview of Cape Breton labour and the social stress of industrialization provides crucial background. Indeed this introductory essay itself is equal in value to the collection of poetry, partial autobiography and stories by Fraser. In the 1990s, the frustration of labour in the face of economic manipulation by industry and government finds powerful resonance in Fraser's 1920s utterances.

Figures who have become familiar in recent labour history, such as J. B. McLachlan, were praised by Fraser for daring to tell the truth about social conditions in working-class Nova Scotia. Indeed the focus of recent labour historiography has been on such prominent individuals partly because of the availability of source materials. As working-class families tend to be submerged in generalized commentaries, the power of Fraser's verse lay in his ability to individualize suffering or defiance. Perhaps the best example of this approach is in Fraser's poem, "He Starved, He Starved, I Tell You," concerning Eddie Crimmins of Newfoundland who had come to the mines of Cape Breton (p. 3):

> And yet, he starved, he starved, I tell you,
> Back in nineteen twenty-four,
> And before he died he suffered
> As many have before.
> When the mines closed down that winter
> He had nothing left to eat,
> And he starved, he starved, I tell you,
> On your dirty, damned Street.

Echoes From Labor's Wars is a history of the working class for the edification of all Nova Scotians.

The four primary resource industries of the Maritimes--agriculture, fisheries, mining and forestry--have each involved individual entrepreneurship and collaboration between workers and capitalist investors.

The latter has given rise to new studies in socio-economic relationships which have refined historical understanding. A recent collection of essays, edited by Anders Sandberg, *Trouble in the Woods: Forest Policy and Social Conflict in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*, covers much of the past century. Large corporations, individual lumbermen, government policy and land use supply the principal subjects of the articles. Four authors concentrate on the New Brunswick forestry question, particularly as it affected the Acadian majority of the northern region. The remaining Nova Scotia-related essays deal with marketing, social issues and economic subservience. The broad spectrum of issues canvassed includes recent political policy-making as much as it does long-term natural resource development.

Marketing and economic dependence are the main thrusts of articles by Peter Clancy (Nova Scotia) and Bill Parenteau (New Brunswick) of which there are echoes in the contributions by Sandberg, Glyn Bissix, Serge Cété and Raymond Léger. Governments in both provinces were anxious to promote forestry; they were caught between the inevitably conflicting interests of small sawmillers or lumbermen and large investors (individual capitalists and corporations). The latter possessed greater manipulative influence over government officials, who in turn developed policy to suit the former. Smaller entrepreneurs argued against the long-term acquisition of Crown lands by vested interests from outside the region. Companies such as Bathurst Lumber, by monopolizing land-leases or holdings and fixing the local market price for timber, had a direct impact on regional underdevelopment. Local harvesters and labourers were trapped in an economic subservience where alternative livelihoods were not viable options. Cété is right to point out that non-resident landowners (from Québec or the United States) were interested solely in profits. Loss of resource development to outsiders put New Brunswick's many forestry regions in danger of becoming satrapies.

Anders Sandberg's "Forest Policy in Nova Scotia: The Big Lease, Cape Breton Island, 1899-1960" argues that government was indeed susceptible to corporate leverage in its desperation to encourage industry. Generous leasing terms (e.g., stumpage fees, export regulations, multi-year leases) were meant to entice developers to establish a viable and self-perpetuating forestry industry in the province. The 'Big Lease' of 1899 to an American consortium originally included requirements to build two sawmills and not to export unprocessed logs. Concessions in 1900, 1901 and 1904, however, resulted in

minimal processing (i.e., stripping bark from logs) and unhindered export to the consortium's principal mill in Maine. Subsequent lease-holding speculation during the premiership of Cape Breton Liberal, George Henry Murray, proceeded in tandem with company advice to employees to vote for "the 'proper' political party"; a large portion of the lease covered Premier Murray's own constituency in Victoria County. In the long-term, however, concessions and unhampered speculation crippled regional pulp and paper mill expansion, thus further aggravating regional underdevelopment.

Collectively, the articles which make up *Trouble in the Woods* offer insightful reappraisals of a vital primary resource industry. Forestry by its very nature demands the acquisition of extensive Crown lands to ensure long-term viable processing--whether of pulp and paper products or lumber for building. It is the radiating consequences of extra-territorial control which have made industrial corporate forestry a difficult partner. Given the concern expressed by Sandberg and his *New Maritimes* colleagues, it would have provided useful counterbalance to have had at least one essay devoted to regionally-owned and operated industries. R. A. Jodrey's pulp-processing plant at Hantsport is an example of one small 1920s industrial enterprise which proved to be remarkably viable. Harry Bruce's *R. A.: The Story of R. A. Jodrey, Entrepreneur* (1979) could serve as a possible starting-point from which to assess the impact on forestry which this Nova Scotian developer had on the Minas Basin region. One may argue contrariwise, however, that *Trouble in the Woods* had to be written first for the economic-historical context which it offers.

Local and external control of industry recurs repeatedly as a theme in *Trouble in the Woods*. It is also a predominant topic in a recent major contribution to eastern Canadian historiography, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation,* which represents the collective effort of thirteen scholars under the joint editorship of Ernest R. Forbes and Delphin A. Muise. Spanning the 1860s to the 1980s, *Atlantic Provinces* presents the reader with a host of challenges, individuals and organizations which made--and make--for an engrossing East Coast culture. Readers of the journal *Acadiensis* will be familiar with most of the contributors: Phillip Buckner, Judith Fingard, Larry McCann, Colin Howell, Ian McKay, David Frank, Carman Miller, James Hiller, Margaret Conrad, Della Stanley, John Reid and the editors themselves. Each individual has taken a specific decade, covered the broad subject-matter and added her or his own special research insights: the result is,

as the editors claim, "an integrated and original analysis of the region's social and cultural experience and the responses of the forces of modernization that have transformed virtually every aspect of daily life" (p. ix).

In order to emphasize that this is a history from the perspective of the East Coast, not just a trial of strength between the federal and four Atlantic provincial premiers, late twentieth-century social history is used to represent the majority of the population, that is, workers, housewives, small business-people and primary industry labourers, along with resident religious, intellectual and social leaders. Politics and the law are by no means ignored in *Atlantic Provinces*; these traditional subjects instead are seen more in the context of the surrounding sociocultural matrix.

The contributors have tried to strip away both nostalgic myth and *fin de siécle* anxiety in re-examining many of the topics. Repeatedly, the reader is invited to ponder whether or not the East Coast provinces have been made full partners in Confederation. Extra-regional control of Atlantic Canadian natural resources or primary industries have made for a continuing struggle to achieve full integration into "Canada." The geographic disunity of the region has resulted in dispersed economic development, without any one urban centre becoming the dominant East Coast metropolitan power. The vortex created by Toronto, Montréal and large cities in the eastern United States, moreover, has been exacerbated by provincial governments' need to attract outside investment in order to sponsor industry and facilitate job creation.

The editors use a fourfold organizational structure which accords well with actual developments in Atlantic Canada: consolidation and integration (1860s-1890s); expansion and industrialization (1890s-1920); regression and economic shrinkage (1920-1950); and the fight to regain regional control and vitality (1960-1980). It was within this overarching context that Maritimers either left the region for the 'Boston States' (McCann, "The 1890s: Fragmentation and the New Social Order"), or stayed to forge lives in an increasingly industrial, urban setting away from a traditionally rural mode of existence (Fingard, "The 1880s: Paradoxes of Progress"; Howell, "The 1900s: Industry, Urbanization, and Reform").

The marginalization of the Atlantic provinces in relationship to central Canada has been a difficult reality with which to come to terms. One can point to individual entrepreneurial success stories until one realizes that the bulk of profits derive from sales outside the region. Moreover, there have never been enough successful developers across Atlantic Canada to ensure

maximum employment and prosperity. This situation has led provincial politicians inevitably to resume the balancing act of encouraging local entrepreneurs, while also establishing Crown corporations and enticing outsiders to relocate to the region. (Miller, "The 1940s: War and Rehabilitation"; Conrad, "The 1950s: The Decade of Development"). Newfoundlanders came late to the Confederation scene, yet from 1867 to 1949 their province did not escape the problems of external economic control, lack of industrial diversification and mass exodus to the United States or central Canada (Hiller, "Newfoundland Confronts Canada, 1867-1949"). Since 1949, Newfoundland has marched with the Maritimes in the Confederation trek towards regional control and greater transfer payments.

As fresh as the essays in *Atlantic Provinces* have already proved to be, any survey history will manifest the inevitable gaps. Not all communities, social groups or individuals can be mentioned (even through extensive annotation). One will look in vain, for example, for any reference to the industrial-manufacturing centre of Hantsport (pulp and paper; moulded pulp products; lumber mill; fruit processing; gypsum exports; insurance headquarters), or to the two influential dynastic families founded by Ezra Churchill (nineteenth-century shipbuilder and politician) and Roy A. Jodrey (twentieth-century visionary industrialist). The latter is mentioned once by surname only and incorrectly spelled (p. 434). The Sobey-Jodrey-Irving-McCain axis would have made for interesting strategic comparisons.

Atlantic Provinces co-editors, Forbes and Muise, should indeed be praised for their excellent use of graphic materials such as interpretive maps, photographs and political cartoons. The last, especially those created by Bob Chambers, are often the best expression of the peoples' perception of current events. Chambers acquired--or was born with--a gift of sensitivity to the spirit of the times, so much so that it became a daily ritual in Nova Scotia for readers of the *Halifax Herald* newspapers to see what "Chambers has to say" as a mirror to their own thoughts. The astute deployment of such graphic evidence, and the gathering of scholars from differing historical ideological backgrounds has produced a landmark study in Atlantic Canadian "autobiography."

Another volume which is assured of an important rôle in Canadian historical scholarship also combines the insight of several leading scholars in their respective specialities, though on this occasion they are united in treating a single theme. *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in*

Canadian Society, 1750-1930 has been ably edited by Terrence Murphy (a Halifax native and Professor of Religious Studies at Memorial University) and Gerald Stortz (Associate Professor of History, St. Jerome's College, University of Waterloo). The volume is in response to criticism from Professor George Rawlyk on the dearth of scholarly analysis of Canadian Catholicism. The editors point out that Rawlyk's 1986 comment was particularly apt in reference to English-speaking Catholics, whereas French-Canadian Catholic scholarship has been near the forefront of contemporary religious history.

Collectively the articles attend to several crucial issues: French and English Catholic interrelations; ethnic diversity and divisiveness; interaction with the Protestant majority outside Québec; and the Vatican's response to North American Catholic needs. It is rightly pointed out in Murphy's "Introduction" that all was far from harmonious within the Canadian Catholic community. At the same time, to address the issue properly is to confront extremely disagreeable episodes in Canadian religious history. Virulent anti-Catholicism practically became institutionalized in the nineteenth century through the efforts of the Protestant Alliance, ethnic fears of southern and eastern European immigrants who happened to be Catholic, and repeated government action to strip Catholics of their rôle in education and health care. These issues came to flashpoint during decades when, especially through immigration, the Roman Catholic population experienced a dramatic increase (e.g., Nova Scotia in 1827 had 20,000 Catholics; by 1851 there were 70,000). The resulting stress on Canada's Catholics resulted in strongly ethnic dioceses, which simultaneously moved towards uniformity of practice under the centralizing efforts of the late nineteenth-century ultramontane papacy.

Specifically ethnic issues are the subjects of contributions by Robert Choquette, J.M. Bumsted, Gerald Stortz, Terrence Murphy and Mark McGowan. The Irish receive the greatest attention, for they constituted one of the most sizeable sources of Catholic immigration. The Scots, and post-1900 non-British Catholics, are considered in conjunction with cultural and linguistic needs. Institutional and popular religion come under the scrutiny of Luca Codignola, Brian Clarke and Murray Nicholson. Finally, J.R. Miller and Raymond Lahey address government and anti-Catholicism. The foregoing summary only very inadequately hints at the extensive research underlying the essays in *Creed and Culture*.

Murphy's study of colonial trusteeism in Halifax, St. John's and Saint John, where the leading Catholic laity acquired land for churches and hired

priests, forms an interesting contrast to Rome's encouragement of laity-led popular devotion as a means of encouraging both spiritual discipline and obedience to the papacy. On the one hand, Catholic laity behaved like Protestant vestrymen and later clashed with episcopal authority. Brian Clarke, in "The Parish and the Hearth: Women's Confraternities and the Devotional Revolution among the Irish Catholics of Toronto, 1850-85," shows the other end of the spectrum, where popular piety infused Catholic households with a continual awareness of active faith outside the eucharistic liturgy, and promoted regular attendance by men and women alike at Mass.

Current trends in Canadian Catholicism are more fully appreciated when the historical background, as sketched in *Creed and Culture,* is examined. By the same token, responses to Catholicism by non-Catholics today can be measured against historical, nineteenth-century anti-Roman literature and organizations. J.R. Miller's, "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: From the British Conquest to the Great War," is pertinent reading for anyone seeking to understand certain aspects of old or new anti-Catholicism, which, while echoing traditional Protestant xenophobia, has taken up agendas rooted in present-day political, social and ideological issues. In a recent interview, when asked whether there was an inherent bias against Christianity in the historical community, Professor Rawlyk answered with a resounding, "Yes!" He quickly honed his reply by the qualification that historians of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s often have so little appreciation for or understanding of the Canadian Christian tradition, that they cannot adequately comment on it. It may be said by way of corollary that academic historians who seek to bring such a rich, diverse history to public attention do so at the risk of their own tenured future, in the eyes of those who dance to a different tune. That observation brings us full circle to the need to learn inclusively about our heritage, without permitting doctrinaire secularism to prejudice our understanding of religious history.

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