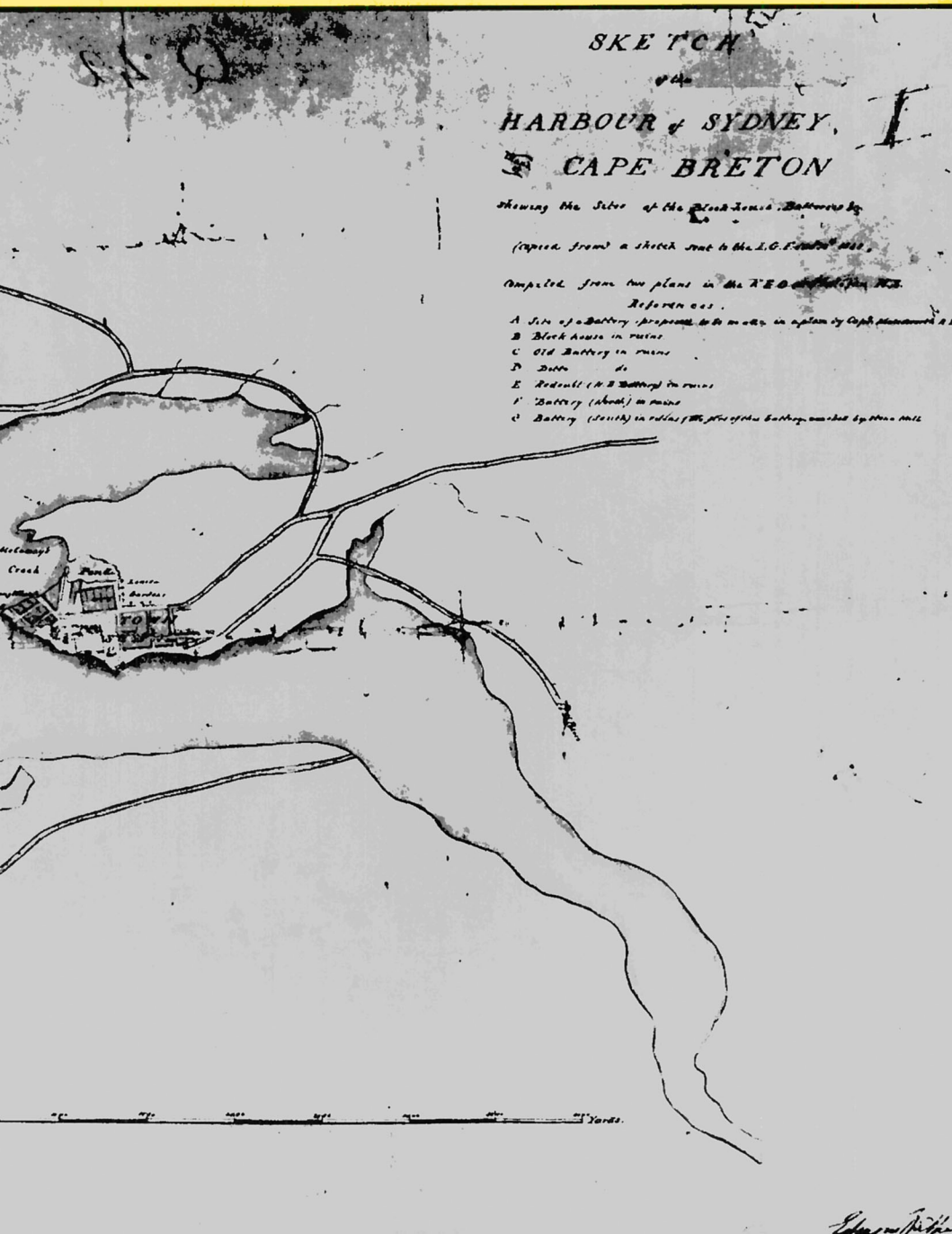
Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 15, Number 1, 1995



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Cover Illustration:

Sketch of the Harbour of Sydney, Island of Cape Breton shewing the Sites of the Block-house, Batteries &c....1848. Royal Engineers Office fonds (S.4), Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

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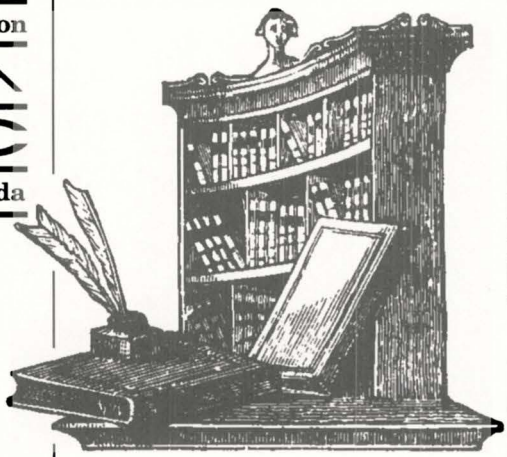

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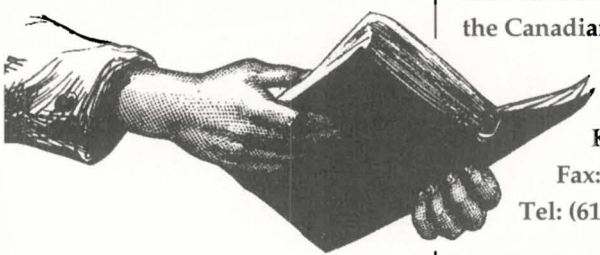

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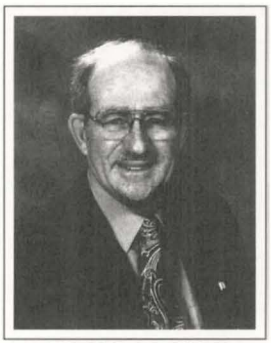

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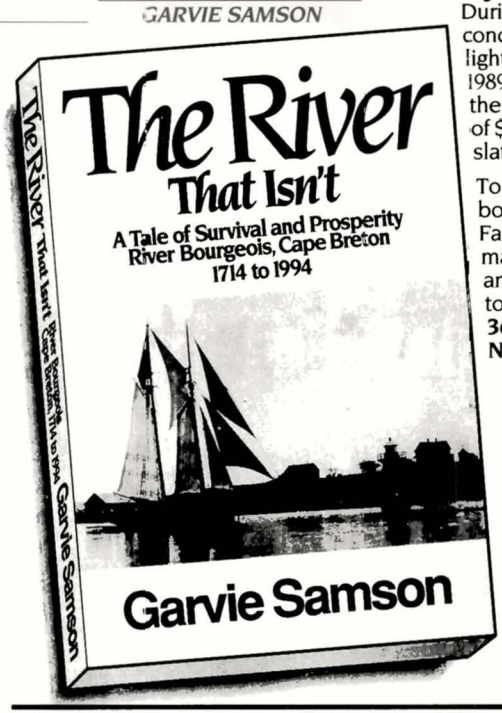

I am very pleased to announce that the long awaited History of River Bourgeois, Cape Breton, entitled, **The River that Isn't**, which includes many references to Arichat, Louisdale, St. Peter's and L'Ardoise, is now being printed.

This Pictorial History contains 16 Chapters, 250 pages, 125 photos and is filled with historical facts obtained from ten years of research and interviews with some two hundred residents.

Lighthouse Rebuilding Fund

During interviews, everyone expressed concern over the burning of the historic lighthouse, shown on Cover, in May of 1989. I have agreed to donate $1.00 from the sale of each book, up to a maximum of $500, towards its reconstruction, slated for 1995.

To purchase autographed copies of this book, which the famous author, Farley Mowat highly recommends, please mail cheque or money order, in the amount of $19.95, plus $2.00 for shipping, to; **GARVIE SAMSON, 36 LAWNSDALE DRIVE, DARTMOUTH, NOVA SCOTIA, B3A 2N4.**

Early Fortifications on Sydney Harbour

Brian Douglas Tennyson

Sydney Harbour is the finest on Cape Breton Island, being wide at its mouth and penetrating several miles inland to where the present-day community of Sydney sits at the mouth of Sydney River, formerly known as Spanish River. After its founding in 1785, Sydney quickly supplanted Louisbourg in importance, for several reasons. The great French fortress had been levelled, and the settlement at Sydney was deliberately chosen as the political and administrative centre of the new colony of Cape Breton; in addition, the growing importance of the nearby coal deposits contributed to the growth of settlement and shipping. Despite the fact that at least until the middle of the nineteenth century, the south-western Cape Breton coastal community of Arichat was a far more important shipping and fishing port, what military expenditures were made in Cape Breton after 1785 concentrated on Sydney harbour, for the above reasons.

Significant planning and expenditure on coastal defences in the Sydney area occurred in four distinct phases: in the 1790s during the Napoleonic conflict; in the 1860s during the American Civil War; and during both the First and Second World Wars. Overall, coastal defence policy for the province focused necessarily on Halifax, which was first an imperial and then a Canadian naval base, as well as the most important commercial port on the North Atlantic seaboard. It was, in other words, "a fortress of broad imperial strategic significance as opposed to stations of value mainly for local defence."[1] Sydney, however, had a special and indeed unique position in this scheme of things, for while the harbour itself was not deemed especially important, its possession of the only coal deposits on the Atlantic seaboard made it extremely important, increasingly so as steam power replaced sailing ships in the nineteenth century. This article proposes to look at the first phase of military development on Sydney harbour, from the beginnings of European rivalry in the New World, to the end of the 1850s.

Cape Breton Island is strategically located at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, guarding the entrance to the great river and the interior of eastern Canada, abutting the formerly rich fishing grounds of the Grand Banks, and

Brian Douglas Tennyson, Professor of History at the University College of Cape Breton in Sydney, NS, has written extensively on Cape Breton history. This article is adapted from the manuscript of a forthcoming book, being written in collaboration with Dr. Roger Sarty, on the history of Sydney Harbour coastal fortifications.

1 Roger Sarty, "Local boys and redcoats: the relations of the militia in Nova Scotia and the British garrison at Halifax, 1860–1906," unpublished MA research paper, 1976, p. iii; author's personal collection.

in a position to threaten Newfoundland and the eastern seaboard of the continent. Historically, it was also well placed to serve as a trading entrepôt between Europe, Canada, the American colonies and the West Indies. Because of its strategic location, the possession of Cape Breton was thought to be a matter of some significance during the eighteenth-century struggle between Great Britain and France for imperial supremacy. Hence the French determination to retain the island after 1713 when, by the Treaty of Utrecht, it ceded Acadia--encompassing mainland Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and much of northern Maine--and its settlements in Newfoundland to Britain.

Plaisance (Placentia) in Newfoundland had previously been the French military and fishing capital, but operations were now transferred to Isle Royale (Cape Breton). Small forts were built at Port Dauphin (St. Ann's) and Port Toulouse (St. Peters) and in 1719 the decision was made to build the great fortress at Louisbourg. Despite the fact that with more than 250 guns it was the most elaborate and at least theoretically the most powerful fortification in North America, Louisbourg fell to Anglo-American assaults in both 1745 and 1758. In the Treaty of Paris (1763) which ended the Seven Years War, the British decided to retain Cape Breton along with all other French possessions in North America except the islands of St-Pierre-et-Miquelon. Subsequently, the fortress was destroyed--partly because, having built a naval base at Halifax, the British did not need a second one, and partly because they did need to pacify the New Englanders, who feared that the French might retake Louisbourg in some future conflict.

The earliest mention of Sydney harbour in military history occurred in 1692 when an English naval squadron under Commodore Francis Williams was sent to destroy Plaisance. While it was bombarding that Newfoundland port, a French squadron under the command of Camille de Digoine, the Chevalier du Palais, was lying at anchor in the Baie des Espagnols (Sydney harbour), awaiting the return of a fast-sailing vessel which had been sent out to gain some intelligence of English naval movements. This vessel encountered a heavy westerly gale "of such long continuance that she was obliged to bear up for France"--a mishap which saved Williams's squadron from probable annihilation at the hands of du Palais.[2]

Four years later, in 1696, Governor Frontenac of New France sent a naval expedition to drive the English out of Newfoundland, then to attack either

2 Richard Brown, *A History of the Island of Cape Breton* (London, 1869), p. 127.

Boston or New York. Two warships, *L'Envieux*, commanded by Le Moyne d'Iberville, and *Profond*, commanded by Simon-Pierre Denys de Bonaventure, with two companies of soldiers, were sent from Quebec with instructions to call at Baie des Espagnols to collect fifty Mi'kmaq warriors for the assault on Newfoundland. Upon their arrival at Baie des Espagnols, however, d'Iberville received despatches sent overland by Joseph Robinau de Villebon, the governor of Acadia, urging him instead to proceed immediately to the mouth of the Saint John River, where three English ships were cruising.[3] While at Baie des Espagnols, d'Iberville allegedly encamped at what later became the site of the British garrison and is now known as Victoria Park.[4] He sailed for the Bay of Fundy on 4 July 1696, taking the Mi'kmaqs with him, and engaged the English vessels in a battle on 14 July; according to the author Charlevoix, the Mi'kmaqs "contributed much towards the victory."[5] D'Iberville returned them to Cape Breton--it is not clear where--*en route* to Plaisance in September, although at least three apparently elected to remain with the expedition.[6]

In 1711 the British government sent a fleet of fifteen ships under Admiral Hovenden Walker, accompanied by forty transports carrying 5,000 troops, to attack Quebec. Having stopped at Boston, the expedition did not reach the mouth of the St. Lawrence River until 22 August, when it foundered on rocks and shoals near the Egg Islands on the north shore, in a thick fog. Although the warships put about in time, eight transports were wrecked and 884 "brave fellows, who had passed scatheless through the sanguinary battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenarde, perished miserably on the desolate shores of the St. Lawrence."[7] Two days later the enterprise was abandoned and the fleet proceeded to Baie des Espagnols, where it arrived on 4 September and anchored in what later became known as Lloyd's Cove.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

4 Ian Macintyre, "Victoria Park and the army: the first two centuries," unpublished MS, 1984, p. 1; Beaton Institute of Cape Breton Studies, Sydney, NS.

5 Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France* (1744), quoted in Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 125.

6 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 126.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 136.

Walker's fleet, consisting altogether of forty-two ships, "was probably the largest naval armament ever assembled in Sydney harbour,"[8] at least until the wars of the twentieth century.

Walker's fleet had been instructed to attack Plaisance after taking Quebec but, having abandoned the attack on the latter, a council of war decided that the secondary objective was not practicable either, even though Plaisance was only 150 miles away and almost directly in the fleet's homeward path. Further, the combined force of fifteen warships mounting nearly 900 guns, supported by a land force of 4,000 men, was far superior to anything behind the defences of Plaisance. Walker, perhaps realizing that he would be the subject of much criticism upon his return home, apparently remarked that "it would be a pity such a squadron and such a body of land forces should leave America without doing something against the enemy in some part or other"; then,

> being informed by several officers who had been there, that a Cross was erected on the shore, with the names of the French Sea officers who had been there, which I looked upon as a claim of right they pretend to for the king their master, the island having always been in the times of peace used in common both by the English and the French, for lading coals, which are extraordinary good here, and taken out of the cliffs with iron crows only and no other labour, I thought it not amiss, therefore, to leave something of that kind to declare the Queen's right to the place; and having a board made by the carpenter and painted, I sent him ashore to fix it upon a tree, or in some convenient place where it might easily be seen.[9]

"This pompous and absurd 'monument'," as Brown describes it, claimed Cape Breton for Britain but was "most likely torn down by the first savage that passed that way, and the sole record of the Admiral's conquest of Cape Breton speedily obliterated."[10]

In any event, under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, France lost Acadia and Newfoundland but retained Cape Breton. As Britain now controlled the entire Atlantic seaboard of North America from Florida to Hudson Bay, it was hardly

8 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

9 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 138.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

surprising that France determined to build a fortress and naval base in its one remaining Atlantic coastal territory, in order to protect its commerce and fishery, as well as to guard the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which was the gateway to French Canada.

Consequently, the garrison and settlers at Plaisance were removed to Havre à l'Anglois (English Harbour), and two officers were commissioned to survey the coastline for a suitable site. According to Brown, it was "well known" that the harbour of Baie des Espagnols was the best on the island, "and most easy of access, being resorted to by navigators seeking shelter in stormy weather," but the entrance was too wide to be protected by the artillery then in use. The other harbours on the eastern coast of Isle Royale having sufficient depth of water to admit large vessels were St. Ann's and Havre à l'Anglois, both with narrow entrances capable of being defended against enemy ships. Eventually, the latter location was selected for the French base, presumably because of its proximity to the open ocean and because it never froze over in winter; the site was renamed Louisbourg.[11]

During the French régime, coal was mined at both Burnt Head (Port Morien) and Sydney Mines to supply fuel to Louisbourg. During their first occupation of Cape Breton in 1745–49, the British also worked the mines, shipping coal to both Louisbourg and Halifax. Fearing attack by French raiders or their Mi'kmaq allies, the British quickly built Fort William, consisting of a stockade with two wooden blockhouses, at Burnt Head and manned it with a lieutenant and fifty troops.[12] As coal was also mined at La Labrador (Little Bras d'Or), an officer with a few soldiers was stationed there as well, though no fort was built. These precautions were justified when in July 1748 a French raiding party attacked the settlements at L'Indienne (Lingan), near Burnt Head, and La Labrador, burnt the houses and some

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 147–8.

12 Peter Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg to Fortress Sydney: artillery and gunners on Cape Breton, 1743–1964," in Ken Donovan, ed., *Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial, 1785–1985* (Sydney, 1985), p. 131. Chirgwin claims that the first forts on Sydney harbour were built by the French at Chapel Point and Low Point in 1740, "just in time to be of assistance to the Navy who [*sic*] fought a battle, the first on record, close to the entrance of Sydney River, against the New England invaders in 1741"; see W.L. Chirgwin, "Harbor forts of 200 years ago recalled," in *Cape Breton Post* (Sydney; undated clipping, c. 1961). According to Brown, the ruins of this fort could still be seen in the 1860s; see Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 258n.

2,000 cords of firewood, and captured three small vessels. Twenty-four settlers from L'Indienne and two British soldiers from La Labrador were carried off to Canada, as well. No attempt was made upon either the fort or the mine at Burnt Head but, because of the capture of the three vessels, no coal could be shipped to Louisbourg for more than a month.[13]

Fort William did not survive much longer, however. Thomas Pichon visited the area in 1752 and reported that the mine at Burnt Head had caught fire "and entirely consumed the fort."[14] Apparently it was rebuilt, because in 1766 Governor Michael Francklin described it as "a picketed fort 100 feet square, with a blockhouse, barracks and stores for lodging the workmen, tools and provisions."[15] On the other side of the harbour, Samuel Holland, the British surveyor, noted in the same year "several Coal Veins, one of which the French formerly used...but the supporters of the Shafts are decayed & fallen in."[16] Mining in Cape Breton was forbidden by the British government after 1763, but with the outbreak of the War of the American Revolution, forty men belonging to Colonel Frances Legge's 46th Regiment were sent to Sydney Mines to dig coal in 1777.[17]

Defence was a problem, both because of the French fleet which patrolled off the islands of St-Pierre-et-Miquelon, and to a lesser extent because of the danger from American privateers. That the fear of attack was not unrealistic was illustrated on 21 July 1781, when a naval engagement took place between two French frigates and a British convoy *en route* to Spanish River.[18] According to Brown, the British squadron consisted of the *Charlestown*, a frigate of twenty-eight guns; the sloops *Allegiance* and *Vulture*, with sixteen guns each; the armed transport *Vernon* carrying troops

13 Brown, *Cape Breton*, pp. 258–59.

14 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 271.

15 Francklyn to Board of Trade, 30 Sept. 1766, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 364.

16 D.C. Harvey, ed., *Holland's Description of Cape Breton and Other Documents* (Halifax, 1935), reprinted in Brian Douglas Tennyson, ed., *Impressions of Cape Breton* (Sydney, 1986), p. 31.

17 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 380.

18 C. Bruce Fergusson, ed., *Uniacke's Sketches of Cape Breton and Other Papers Relating to Cape Breton Island* (Halifax, 1958), p. 28.

of the 70th Regiment going to work at the coalmines; and the cutter *Little Jack*, with six guns.[19] The convoy had nearly reached its destination that evening when it was discovered and chased by the French frigates, *L'Astrée* and *L'Hermione*, which were large ships, boasting forty-four guns each:

> Finding that the enemy's ships were fast overhauling him, Captain Evans *[Charlestown]*, having skilfully covered the merchant ships, to allow them to get into Spanish River in safety, formed his little squadron in line of battle and waited for the attack of the French frigates. The action commenced at 8 PM and was fought with little advantage to either side, until the *Little Jack*, having been separated from her consorts, was obliged to strike; but the others maintained an incessant and well-directed fire until dark, when the French ships sheered off, taking their prize with them. Captain Evans was unfortunately killed by a cannon-shot early in the action, when Mr Mackay, the officer next in rank on board the *Charlestown*, continued the action with great skill and bravery.... The night being luckily very dark, and the English ships greatly shattered in the unequal contest, Captain Phipps made sail with his little squadron to the eastward. At daylight next morning, the enemy's ships not being in sight, the English squadron bore up for Halifax, where it arrived in safety, but in a crippled condition.[20]

Samuel Holland had noted in 1766 that the peninsula separating the two branches of the Spanish River was "an advantageous situation for a Town; for which Reason, I have laid out Edward Town Lot there; & if thought proper to be fortified, there could not be a better Spot, as it is not commanded by any rising Ground."[21] When some of the Loyalist refugees fleeing the new republic came to Cape Breton, therefore, the imperial government made it a separate colony under Lieutenant-Governor J.F.W. DesBarres, who founded Sydney as its capital. Lieutenant-Colonel John Yorke arrived from Halifax in the spring of 1785, accompanied by six companies (300 men) of the 33rd Regiment, thus inaugurating Sydney's era as a garrison town, a status which lasted until the Crimean War in 1854.[22] At the mines, there was a battery comprising six old 4-pounders, although the troops manning it had been

19 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 383. Fergusson, *Uniacke's Sketches*, p. 28, says the convoy included sixteen vessels employed in the coal traffic.

20 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 383.

21 Harvey, *Holland's Description*, p. 31.

22 E.A. Cruikshank, "The military history of the island of Cape Breton, 1785–1815," unpublished MS, p. 5; Beaton Institute.

withdrawn in 1784.[23] The battery remained, however, "on the edge of the rock, above the Road," and Lieutenant William Booth observed the firing of a salute in August 1785: "Tho' these Guns were, seemingly, served by Coal-heavers, and Blacksmiths," he commented, "and fired with red-hot pokers, yet, the duty was well conducted."[24]

While the garrison at Sydney had been established both to protect the capital of the new colony and, more importantly, the nearby coalmines, its continued presence was hardly assured. As Anglo-French relations continued to deteriorate in the late 1780s, Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, the governor-general of British North America, advised the colonial governors that in the event of war all troops were to be withdrawn from outlying posts--such as Sydney--which were instead to mobilize their militia for local defence. In 1789, despite the objections of the Cape Breton government, the garrison at Sydney was indeed reduced to two companies (approximately 100 men) and even they were under orders to be ready to move on short notice.[25]

William Macarmick, who had succeeded DesBarres as lieutenant-governor in 1787, believed that the importance of Cape Breton's commercial and fishing interests dictated that more should be done to protect the island. Fearing, quite rightly, that war with France was imminent, he proposed to fortify Sydney and Mount Grenville (St. Peters):

> The fertility of the Soil is well known to both the French and to the Americans as well as the consequence it is of to the Trade and Fisheries of Great Britain and her Colonies; therefore it may be provident some preparation for its defence should be made even in time of Peace to prevent the alarm which the loss of an Island containing such advantages would occasion in Europe and the Exultation and spirit it would give the Enemy at the commencement of a War.[26]

In 1787 Macarmick advised Lord Sydney, the Secretary of State, that he was

23 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 404.

24 "Lieut W Booth's Description of Sydney, August 1785," in Fergusson, *Uniacke's Sketches*, p. 144.

25 Macintyre, "Victoria Park and the Army," p. 5.

26 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 8. The report of an agent who had been sent to ascertain the resources of St-Pierre confirmed Macarmick in his opinion that in the event of war, Cape Breton would be the first point of attack by the French; *ibid.*

establishing signal stations manned by the militia to give advance warning of any enemy vessels; a 1788 map shows that these outposts were located at Low Point, Sydney Mines and Point Edward. During the winter of 1787–88 a military road was also completed from Sydney to Bras d'Or, and another was begun to Mira Gut.[27] Macarmick also proposed to build defensive works near St. Peters. Unfortunately, his superiors in London "seemed to regard Cape Breton as indefensible and they were alarmed by the possible cost of his initiatives"; William Grenville, the Home Secretary, ordered him not to undertake any defensive works unless authorized to do so by the imperial government or Lord Dorchester--or until threatened by an immediate attack.[28]

Since the harbour still remained "totally destitute" of guns, arms and ammunition in 1790, Macarmick therefore devised numerous defensive schemes, believing that the only effective protection would be given by strong works at Sydney Point, Point Edward and at the north and south bars. As Moogk points out, "his judgment was vindicated by twentieth century military planners who placed guns at the bars and on Point Edward."[29] Meanwhile, optimistically awaiting the arrival of weapons and munitions, Macarmick armed two large boats with guns from the mines and stationed them at the mouth of the harbour to protect both the mines and shipping. Night watches, consisting of a corporal and four men each, were established in Sydney and at the mines under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William McKinnon, commanding officer of the renamed Eastern District of the militia.[30]

When war with France broke out in 1792, the garrison in Sydney was further reduced to an officer and twenty men[31]--despite the government's protest that many settlers were leaving for other colonies where they would be better protected, and that the defenceless state of the island would deter

27 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

28 Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg," p. 132.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 Mrs. Roderick Bain, *History of Sydney Mines* (n.p., 1951), p. 10.

the Jersey fishermen from coming as usual.[32] Sydney at this time had a population of only 121 people, 26 of whom were reported to be preparing to emigrate. The town consisted of some 85 houses, about a third of which were in ruins.[33] According to a contemporary visitor in 1788, Sydney was

> surrounded to the very sides of the buildings by an almost impenetrable wood. There is a narrow path from the barracks just to keep up a communication, and that's all the clear country I saw. The barracks are shamefully bad; the troops have cleared a good parade and made themselves as comfortable as their situation would allow. The officers had no rooms in the barracks, and were obliged to build huts and log-houses.[34]

Another military visitor a year later was even more damning:

> In Sydney itself there is not the smallest trace of Industry as the Inhabitants live by selling Rum to the Soldiers, and were they to be withdrawn (which God Almighty soon grant) it would be instantly deserted...I have passed a great part of my life in America and been in many unpleasant and disagreeable situations but I do declare without exaggeration that I think Sydney by far the worst.... The Barracks are very bad and in danger of falling down, but My Lord Dorchester's economy will not admit of their being repaired. Those for the few of the officers are so bad as not to be habitable in winter....[35]

Macarmick pleaded with Brigadier-General James Ogilvie, the commanding officer at Halifax, for some field pieces, light ordnance or even transport to enable him to retrieve a few dismounted guns from the ruins of Louisbourg. Ogilvie responded by sending 300 muskets with accoutrements for the militia and promising to send small iron guns at some future date.

Macarmick wanted to move some of the old guns from the cliffs at the mines to Sydney and even conceived a ruse, requesting permission to borrow at least one gun in order to fire a salute to HRH Prince Edward, the Duke of Kent, who was visiting the community; but he was obstructed by a military officer who argued that a civilian authority could not appropriate military

32 Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 8.

33 C.W. Vernon, *Cape Breton, Canada, at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1903), p. 59.

34 "Lieut William Dyott's Description of Sydney, 1788," in Fergusson, *Uniacke's Sketches*, p. 145.

35 "A Letter written at Sydney in 1789," in *ibid.*, p. 147.

property. Nonetheless, one gun was somehow moved to Sydney Point in 1793, where Macarmick built an earthwork battery which he diplomatically named Fort Ogilvie.[36] When a French privateer was subsequently reported to be in the area, several more guns were taken to arm the two gunboats; later, they were quietly placed in the empty embrasures of the sod batteries at Sydney Point. According to Moogk, even if Macarmick had been able to move all the cannon from the mines to Sydney, he would not have been satisfied, because "the lieutenant governor's ambition was to defend the town with 'guns of large Caliber' and the 4-pounders were not sufficient. He readily disposed of lesser weapons."[37]

Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, commanding officer of the Southern District of militia, was despatched to occupy a battery named Fort Dorchester on Mount Grenville at St. Peters, armed with eight 2-pounder guns purchased from a merchant on Cape Breton's western coast.[38] This square redoubt with fifteen embrasures, built by volunteers, was intended to divert attacks from Sydney, protect local fishermen and intimidate the Acadians of Isle Madame, whom Macarmick distrusted.[39] The arrival in 1793 of 360 exiled Acadians from Miquelon and the Magdalen Islands, who settled in various parts of Cape Breton but principally at Isle Madame and Little Bras d'Or, raised fears as well, even though they offered to take the oath of allegiance.[40]

When the arrival of several warships in July 1792 gave France temporary naval superiority in North American waters, the situation of outlying posts like Sydney became extremely precarious. The lieutenant-governor considered calling out at least part of the militia, but held off because it was the middle of the fishing season; a few men, however, were added to the crew of the *Lady Apsley* and as guards for the arms depot at Fort Dorchester.[41] By this time there were still only 133 men registered in the militia's Sydney district, distributed as follows: 41 at Sydney, 110 on the southwest branch of

36 Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg," p. 31.

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*, p. 133: eight 2-pounders were obtained from an island merchant. Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 8 says that nine small cannon were purchased from local merchants for the battery.

39 Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg," p. 133.

40 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 408.

Sydney harbour, 22 on the northwest branch, 22 on the southeast branch, and 33 at the mines. There were another 290 men registered in the militia at other locations throughout Cape Breton, making a total of 423 men out of a total male population of 611 between the ages of fourteen and sixty.[42] It was, as Brown observed,

> quite evident that, with such an inadequate force, even if mustered at one point, a successful resistance could not have been made against a single well-armed privateer; but it was hoped that an enemy might be deceived by the mere appearance of preparations for defence, and be deterred from making an attack.[43]

The danger posed by French privateers operating off the coasts of Cape Breton was a very real one. In September 1792 it was reported that a French frigate of the largest class was at Boston, while the French fleet lay at New York and many privateers were fitting out for some important expedition. On 17 September, great alarm was caused by another report that a French fleet consisting of five warships and several frigates, cruising near St-Pierre, had destroyed the fishery at Fortune Bay in Newfoundland and was *en route* to attack Sydney. Macarmick complained of the British squadron's unwillingness to detach a vessel to protect Cape Breton or to give assistance and support to the civil authorities. He quickly deployed the *Lady Apsley* to the Bras d'Or Lakes, in order to maintain open communication between the most populous parts of the island and to assist in the general scheme of defence.[44]

The contemplated attack on Sydney was frustrated by stormy weather and by a mutiny in the French fleet. The crew of the *Lady Apsley* nevertheless spent the winter advantageously, collecting materials for the construction of coastal batteries.[45] In March 1793, Ogilvie reported that the French fleet was

41 Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 9.

42 Brown, *Cape Breton*, pp. 406–7. The number for the Sydney District suggests a notable decline in population. Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 9, gives the figures as 12 officers and 140 other ranks in the Sydney District and 26 officers and 427 other ranks in the Arichat (formerly Mount Grenville) District.

43 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 407.

44 Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 9.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

again operating in force in American waters and that guns and ammunition would be sent for the defence of Sydney harbour. The government hoped, after an expedition led by Ogilvie seized St-Pierre-et-Miquelon, that cannon captured there--and possibly even a small detachment of troops--might be sent to Sydney.[46] Dorchester, however, dismissed Macarmick's appeals for further military aid in 1794, arguing that

> The King's ships upon the Stations of Newfoundland...will be strong enough to afford sufficient security to the Coast; and I am persuaded, that the Militia of the Island, through your zeal and exertions, are under such proper regulations and good discipline as to do credit to the trust reposed in them, and will enable you to repel piratical attempts, should any elude the vigilance of our navy.[47]

Unconvinced, Macarmick continued to do what he could to augment the meagre defences of Sydney harbour. In 1794 a magazine was constructed at South Bar by the crew of the *Lady Apsley*, and named Fort Prince Edward. This outpost, also known sometimes as Fort Gow or Fort Guion, was situated on a peninsula which Chirgwin claimed in 1961 "is completely washed away now."[48] Fort Prince Edward consisted of batteries for twenty pieces of artillery--mostly 12-pounders--a guardhouse and a magazine.[49] More significantly, during the winter of 1793–94 the crew of the *Lady Apsley*, assisted by others, constructed a guardhouse and magazine about midway between Chapel Point and Peck's Head, near Indian Cove on the north side of Sydney harbour.[50] In 1795 a detachment of fifty men from the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment arrived from Halifax to erect a battery of four guns upon the site, which was now named Fort Dundas.[51] Apparently the garrison also dug

46 Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg," p. 133.

47 Quoted in *ibid*, p. 133.

48 Chirgwin, "Harbour forts." He notes that the blockhouse was still standing in 1862, "long after the fort was out of commission. It was burned [at] the same time as Fort Dundas blockhouse in 1863 by the Royal Nova Scotia Engineers."

49 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 409. Brown also claims that the guardhouse at Fort Ogilvie was the old King's Store at Freshwater Creek, which Macarmick had dismantled and rebuilt at South Bar.

50 Bain, *Sydney Mines*, p. 21, says it was situated "between E.A. MacDonald's house and the harbour."

51 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 409. Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg," p. 409 and Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 9 both claim that the guns did not in fact arrive from Halifax until the summer of 1797, although Moogk suggests that these were additional to those already installed.

a tunnel from its quarters to the beach to protect the settlers in the event of an invasion. According to Chirgwin, this tunnel "was named the day tunnel and is known as such to this day. The entrance on the surface is filled in now for safety but the shore end for 20 feet into the cliff is still visible."[52]

As Moogk has observed, the so-called 'forts' that appear on late eighteenth-century maps of Cape Breton "give the illusion of substantial defences." In fact, only Forts Dundas and Dorchester were worthy of the name. The former was manned by a corporal's guard, the local miners being expected to provide a garrison in any emergency. Fort Prince Edward at South Bar was never more than a guardhouse and magazine. The Sydney garrison had two gun batteries of sod construction: the Salute Battery with four embrasures facing north on the point; and Fort Ogilvie, with six embrasures that faced Point Edward. "The sad truth," as Moogk observes, "was that these works designated for ten heavy guns were occupied by two or, at most, four small 4-pounders taken from Sydney Mines." In 1797 the government even sent two brass 3-pounders to Halifax, apparently hoping to obtain bigger guns in return; nevertheless, "The hopes, the entreaties, the gifts, the naming of fortifications after those who might help--all were in vain. The little capital would have only token protection."[53]

Macarmick having been granted leave in 1795, David Matthews, the attorney-general and senior councillor, administered the government until Ogilvie was sent from Halifax, no doubt partly to strengthen the defences but principally to put an end to the extraordinary political squabbling that was paralysing the government of the colony.[54] Matthews reported in August 1796 that all was quiet and that rumours of two French privateers being in the area were causing no uneasiness, because of the protection offered by Fort Dundas.[55] Ogilvie arrived in June 1798, bringing with him 150 men of the

52 Chirgwin, "Harbour forts": "When the fort was of no further use all the guns but two were broken up by a scrap dealer. The two remaining had fallen over the cliff to the shore. These were broken up by another junk dealer in 1904. The cemetery which is still visible was boarded around during World War II by the Militia as they used this area as a lookout base." Cf. Bain, *Sydney Mines*, p. 21.

53 Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg," p. 135.

54 Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 11, claims that Macarmick, who had been promoted to the rank of major-general, offered to raise a regiment for the defence of Cape Breton, but was declined.

55 Matthews to Duke of Portland, Aug. 1796, quoted in Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 410. Although Chirgwin, "Harbour forts," claimed that this blockhouse was burned down by military engineers sent from Halifax in 1863, Brown, writing in 1868–9, said it was still standing at that time.

Royal Nova Scotia Regiment who were subsequently relieved by other troops from the 7th Royal Fusiliers.[56] In view of the small number of troops at his disposal, Ogilvie proposed to reorganize the militia so that it could be called quickly into service. He could not have been encouraged by finding all the batteries in ruins, with the exception of the newly constructed blockhouse at Fort Dundas, which was in good repair.[57]

As events turned out Cape Breton was not attacked, although there was some privateering activity off its coasts. Nevertheless, because of the seemingly interminable Anglo-French war, small detachments of the Nova Scotia Fencibles and the 104th Regiment were stationed in Cape Breton during the next few years for the defence of Sydney harbour and the mines. With the signing of an armistice in 1802--which proved to be only temporary--the garrison at Fort Dundas was reduced to its lowest number: a sergeant and nine men of the Royal Artillery. The militia was never called out, nor, despite Ogilvie's intentions, does it appear that an effective organization was even attempted.[58]

In 1807 William Cox, an officer in the Royal Engineers posted at Sydney, reported on the state of the harbour defences. Fort Dundas was "the only Place on this Island where there is [*sic*] any Works of Defence under the Ordnance" and the blockhouse there was "very much out of Repair, particularly the Roof," as the result of a gale which had blown down "a heavy Flagstaff" and "carried away [a] great part of the Shingles, so that the Rain runs thro' the Whole Building." The battery's platform was "totally rotten" and the gun carriages were "unfit for service." The barbette was also "much injured, having been exposed for several years to Cattle." The armament consisted of three medium 12-pounders mounted on traversing carriages and one long 12-pounder on a ship carriage. The blockhouse mounted four iron 4-pounders "on very indifferente [*sic*] made Carriages. This is all the Force at the Mines." In short, Fort Dundas was in bad shape and if the military authorities wanted to bring it back to a serviceable state,

56 Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 9.

57 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 410.

58 Macintyre, "Victoria Park," p. 7. Cruikshank, "Military history," p. 12, notes, however, that the Scottish settlers provided a considerable number of recruits for the Glengarry Light Infantry serving in Canada.

> some careful Artificers should be sent from Halifax; as at this Season of the Year no People of this description can be obtained, all the Mechanics being Employed in their Harvest, were they to leave it they would ask Exorbitant Pay, as they would for Contracts. I take the Liberty of making mention of these Circumstances, being so well Acquainted with the Nature of the People and the manner in which they are situated, as well as from former Experience.[59]

Cox offered to undertake the work himself but, referring to "some unpleasant circumstances [that] attended my performance of this duty latterly," assured Captain Bennett, the commanding Royal Engineer, that "I therefore wish to Avoid any thing of the same kind in future." A month later he referred Bennett to "my friend, Captain Despard," adding that "I shall Consider myself happy in being reinstated to superintend the Ordnance Works here as Assistant Engineer, and will do all in my Power to give you every satisfaction."[60]

Apparently Cox was indeed reinstated, for a few months later he was predictably reporting to Captain Maclauchlan, Bennett's successor, that the necessary repairs "will far exceed the sum mentioned in your letter, as several years ago I had to advertise to get workmen to perform the work in question and could not get it done for less than upwards of Ninety pounds.... It inevitably at this time will even exceed that amount considerably."[61] Indeed, he thought Maclauchlan should "pay this Post a Visit, in order that you may be fully made Acquainted with the exact situation of the place, and the impossibility of getting any work done here without the Assistance of some Artificers, unless the most exorbitant pay is given." In the meantime, Cox would "take upon myself to have the Roof of the Blockhouse repaired, as the rain runs through the Building," but would await further instructions for the other work.

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59 Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], Royal Engineers Papers, Halifax, MG 12, RE 14, Cox to Captain Bennett, Commanding Royal Engineer, 24 June 1807. He did acknowledge the presence at Sydney, however, of "a Small Magazine, Also Two Brass Field Pieces, Six pounders, the Carriages of which are...Scarcely Serviceable." It is noteworthy that all references henceforth are simply to the blockhouse and/or battery at the mines, and not to Fort Dundas. For whatever reason, that name had been abandoned.

60 *Ibid.*, Cox to Bennett, 20 July 1807.

61 *Ibid.*, Cox to Maclauchlan, 12 Oct. 1807.

Evidently Maclauchlan ordered the work to go ahead, for almost a year later Cox reported that he had "finished all the Material Repairs of the Public Works," consisting of

> a Blockhouse, an Out Building for the Convenience of the Soldiers Cooking, and Battery at the Mines. Also a Magazine and Gun Shed at Sydney.
>
> The Blockhouse has undergone a thorough Repair as has the Battery, having laid New Platforms, Repaired the Traversing Carriages which were nearly useless, and had a New Fence made round the Blockhouse. The Magazine and Shed at Sydney I have had Repaired also the Fence of the Magazine.
>
> I have still in hand the Repair of the Cook Room & Out Building, the Expence of which will not Exceed Five Pounds, exclusive of any little allowance that may be thought proper to be allowed for my Attendance. The Cause of this Expence not being included in the present Statement is, my being aware that the General Accts of the Ordnance Department are expected to be made up about this time in each Year.
>
> The Guns are mounted and every thing in as good a State of Defence as the Nature of circumstances of the Place will admit....
>
> You will also have the Goodness to observe the Expense incurred is much within the Sum specified by the Board; upon your looking over the Inclosed Account I flatter my self they will not be considered as unreasonable; particularly when I remind you that many Years back I could not have had the same Work Performed for double the present Amount.[62]

By January 1809 he was able to report that "no material repairs" were required,

> except the picketing round the magazine which was contracted for and considered last fall amongst the Works completed, but the person that had been Employed left the place before the Work was done, and it being then so late in the Season as to prevent my Employing any other, No Expence has been incurred on that account.[63]

Pointing out that 550 muskets had arrived for the use of the Cape Breton militia but that there was "no place fit for their reception," Cox had secured the approval of Brigadier-General Nicholas Nepean (administrator of Cape Breton from 1807 to 1813), and "fitted up one of the vacant Barrack Rooms as an armory & have had them well cleaned and repaired and they are now in exceeding Good Order. The expence answered for this Service was paid by the Revenue of the Island."

62 *Ibid.*, Cox to Commanding Royal Engineer, 26 Sept. 1808.

63 *Ibid.*, Cox to Gustavus Nicolls, Commanding Royal Engineer, 8 Jan. 1809.

In the spring of 1809, the picketing around the magazine yard being "in such a state as to make it absolutely necessary to have it repaired without delay," Cox had it repaired, again with the approval of Nepean but without consulting Halifax: "This measure I was induced to do as the expence was trifling, making use of old Pickets." He also visited the blockhouse and battery at the mines and found

> some small repairs wanting also a Flagstaff is necessary as well as at Sydney both of which have been blown down [during?] some time, being rotten. If it meets your approbation they shall be Erected, and an Exact Estimate I will forward the first opportunity, the whole shall not exceed the Sum of £50, as mentioned by you.[64]

When Cox submitted his account for work done during the summer of 1809, he explained that

> what is called the Cook Room at the Coal Mines is a Room Consisting of Seven Births, and always been Occupied by a non Commissioned Officer and from 12 to 20 Men, but some time ago they were suddenly withdrawn in Consequence of which some mischief was done to the Building and every Pane of Glass broke which will account for the Glass mentioned in Bown's Bill. The greater part of the Rope purchased for Rigging the Signal Staff is in Store and will be appropriated for one to be erected at the Mines which is Certainly required and will be completed in course of 10 or 12 days.
>
> You will Observe I have attended to the extent of the small Pittance allowed for the defence of the Island by the Board of Ordnance.[65]

Colonel Gustavus Nicolls, commanding officer of the Royal Engineers in Halifax, evidently told Cox in December that repair work on the fortifications should be handed over to a civilian contractor, for in June 1810, some six months later, Cox assured him that he would "Comply with your directions to the best of my Power," but

> believe me, it is almost impossible to do Business here, in that regular and pleasant manner it may be performed in other Military Parts of the World, such as I have formerly had the happiness to serve in and I assure you was there any Person I could recommend to your Notice capable to carry on what little works

64 *Ibid.*, Cox to Nicolls, 6 June 1809.

65 *Ibid.*, Cox to Nicolls, 2 Oct. 1809.

> requisite to be done here, I would with Pleasure relinquish the Employment. I will do my utmost as I have above mentioned to follow all Orders you may think Proper to furnish me with.[66]

A report prepared by the Royal Engineers in 1810 referred to the Fort Dundas battery as "a Barbette Work" mounting four English 12-pounder iron guns on carriages and traversing platforms which were described as "serviceable." The blockhouse "[i]n the Rear of the Battery" mounted another four English 12-pounder iron guns, "which with their Carriages etc are in a good state and [there is] a sufficient proportion of ammunition in readiness for each piece. This Station being out of a probable line of Attack (except by a Privateer) it is not necessary to keep a large proportion of Ammunition there." A non-commissioned officer and six gunners were stationed "in charge of the Ordnance and Stores."[67] Elsewhere in Cape Breton, though the report did not specify where, there were two English light 6-pounder field artillery guns which "with their Carriages are Serviceable," as well as "a sufficient proportion of ammunition attached to the above pieces of ordnance." These guns were, presumably, either at Sydney or at Fort Grenville in St. Peters. During the course of 1810 the battery at Fort Dundas was improved from "serviceable" to "in good Order."[68] Sometime during the next six months, however, its ordnance was reduced to four English 4-pounder iron guns and there was no reference to troops being stationed there.[69]

In 1813 Brigadier-General Hugh Swayne became lieutenant-governor and, presumably because of the outbreak of war with the United States, "did all in his power with the limited means at his command to provide for the security of the island...by repairing the batteries on both shores of Sydney Harbour."[70]

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66 *Ibid.*, Cox to Nicolls, 6 June 1810.

67 PANS MG 12, RE 52, "Report of the State and Strength of the Forts and Batteries Etc Composing the Ordnance Establishment in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the Islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edwards" (Halifax, 1 Jan. 1810).

68 *Ibid.*, "Report of the State of the Forts Batteries Ordnance, Ammunition Etc composing the Ordnance Establishment in the Island of Cape Breton" (Halifax, 1 Jan. 1811).

69 *Ibid.*, 1 July 1811.

70 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 432.

This work was paid for, at least in part, with revenue collected by the government on the importation of spirits, leading inevitably to Moogk's wry comment that Cape Breton "faced the War of 1812 fortified with rum."[71] Swayne appealed to the governor-general, Sir John Sherbrooke, for assistance and accordingly, six 18-pounder guns and eight 6-pounders, "Complete with Ammunition and Stores," were sent to Cape Breton in the spring of 1813.[72] During the next six months, the magazine at Fort Dundas was repaired, new platforms were built, sliding carriages were constructed for the four 12-pounders, a small travelling magazine was made and the guns and carriages were painted. A non-commissioned officer and five gunners were posted at the battery and a company of the 104th Regiment was stationed at Sydney.[73]

Swayne claimed that the defences of the island had been so neglected by his predecessor that the crews of enemy privateers had actually landed and established coastal signal stations between Sydney harbour and Cape North, to the great injury of the Quebec trade.[74] He therefore asked Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, for an armed sloop and schooner to repel privateers, since Sydney was "as perfectly exposed from its situation that any Vessels of the Enemy might easily approach it."[75]

Swayne's pride was Fort Edward, an earthwork fortification with four bastions, built on the north-eastern tip of Point Edward. He referred to this new installation in November 1813 when he proudly informed the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst, that "we have fortified the Capital (Sydney) & River by a strong Redoubt & Batteries; the whole has been perfected without incurring the least Expence to Government."[76] Rather than garnering appreciation for his initiative, however, Swayne was reprimanded for "undertaking any Public Work however useful" without the express approval of His Majesty's Government. In Moogk's opinion,

71 Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg," p. 135.

72 PANS MG 12, RE 52, "Report of the State of the Forts Batteries Ordnance, Ammunition Etc composing the Ordnance Establishment in the Island of Cape Breton" (Halifax, 1 July 1813).

73 *Ibid.*, 1 Jan. 1813, 1 Jan. 1814. The Sydney garrison remained at this strength until its removal in 1853.

74 Swayne to Lord Bathurst, Jan. 1813, cited in Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 432.

75 Quoted in Moogk, "From Fortress Louisbourg," p. 135.

76 Quoted in *ibid.*

> the experience of Governors Macarmick and Swayne revealed more than the parsimony and caution of the British government; there was also a recurrent failure to provide for Cape Breton's defence in advance of need. This was to become a major theme of the island's military history after reunion with Nova Scotia in 1821.[77]

Swayne also reorganized the Cape Breton militia in 1814, a move which was to take effect "so soon as the Governor, Lieut Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, shall issue orders for that purpose."[78] Swayne's ordinance applied to all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, with certain exceptions. Anyone neglecting to report himself or avoiding enrolment could be fined the sum of ten shillings, while all persons exempted from drill had to pay annually the sum of twenty shillings. Three months were allowed for those enrolled to equip themselves with arms and ammunition, which were supplied by the imperial government and consisted of the old Queen Anne flintlock musket, gun or fusee (a light musket or firelock), plus twelve rounds of powder and ball. Regimental musters were to be held every six months and company officers were required to muster their men for instruction every three months, under a penalty of five pounds. Any person not appearing for drill was fined five shillings.

With the adoption of this ordinance, the militia of Cape Breton Island was reorganized into two regiments: the first or Northern Regiment, and the second or Southern Regiment, composed of two battalions each. The regular uniform for officers was a blue jacket, gold epaulets, black waist belts, sabre, grey overalls and a round hat with a feather. The rank and file wore costumes "of every imaginable style and description," and when an officer wished to address a man he called out to "the man with the plug hat" or "the man with the hay foot or straw foot," and so on.[79]

The first parade was held in August 1813 and was a festive occasion, with many people, including Mi'kmaqs, in attendance "in holiday spirits and dressed in their finest clothes." On the evening of Saturday, 12 August, a

77 *Ibid.*

78 PANS RG 11, Vol. 2, No. 343, *An Ordinance for the Establishment and Government of the Militia Forces, of the Island of Cape Breton* (1814).

79 "The sword and gun," in *The Morning Sun* (North Sydney), 1 Oct. 1892.

salute was fired by the mines artillery to honor the visiting commanding officer, Colonel Thomas Crawley. This salute was apparently mistaken by some militia members for an alarm and Sunday morning found the regiment under arms ready to defend the country. The *Morning Sun* drily observed that "the 1st and 2nd companies received through their colonel the approbation of the commander in chief for the zeal and diligence displayed by them on the occasion."[80] Two weeks later, on 24 August, the six guns were fired in earnest, in order "to test this ancient soldiery"; Crawley again praised "the alacrity, steadiness, and general good conduct of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 6th companies," which attributes he described as "highly meritorious and meets with the entire approbation of the commander-in-chief, who considers it a proof of what may be expected from them when they are called upon to defend any point which may be attacked."[81]

Sydney harbour was not attacked during the War of 1812, although there were numerous privateering incidents off the coasts of Nova Scotia. According to Brown, the only regular troops in the island--a company of the 104th Regiment, stationed at Sydney--were sometimes called upon to oppose the imaginary attacks of the dreaded privateers: "but, fortunately, there was no real cause for alarm, as neither the French nor the Americans visited Sydney."[82] With the end of the war, the imperial government sought to reduce military expenditures except for important strategic positions such as Halifax. In 1816 the wooden magazine at Sydney Mines was described as being "a good deal out of repair,"[83] while the ordnance at the battery consisted of four English 4-pounder iron guns, suggesting that the larger armament had been removed, although the non-commissioned officer and six gunners of the Royal Artillery remained on duty.[84] The next report, six months later, referred to four English 12-pounder guns at the battery,

80 *Ibid.* Six guns fired in quick succession was the alarm signal, upon hearing which all members of the militia in the immediate vicinity were to repair to their respective headquarters, armed and accoutred.

81 *Ibid.*

82 Brown, *Cape Breton*, p. 432.

83 PANS MG 12, RE 53, "Report of the State of the Forts & Batteries and Field Ordnance Etc Etc Etc composing the Ordnance Establishment in the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and their Dependencies" (Halifax, 1 Jan. 1816).

84 *Ibid.*, 1 July 1816.

suggesting that the July 1816 report was simply inaccurate. Referring to ordnance elsewhere in Cape Breton, a report in 1817 identified six 18-pounder and six 6-pounder guns, as well six 4-pounders; it also noted that the barracks at Sydney "have been lately burnt down."[85]

There were no further references to Sydney harbour fortifications until 1825, when an Ordnance Department report on the state of military fortifications in the Maritime region noted only "a very trifling Earthen Redoubt, and two Batteries, one for 4 Guns, and the other for 2," at Sydney. The blockhouse at the mines was "now dismantled." These were "all the Fortifications, and they are nearly in ruins. There are Wooden Barracks for 80 men and their Officers, at Sydney, in tolerable repair." This report also noted that with a total population of approximately 20,000 people, Cape Breton's militia was estimated at 3,000 men, which represented a considerable increase over the numbers available during the War of 1812. The explanation for this, of course, was the substantial Scottish immigration to Cape Breton that took place in the years immediately following the war. There were 440 muskets at Sydney in charge of Major C.E. Leonard, the former commanding officer of the militia, and another 225 firearms and bayonets in the possession of one of the militia battalions.[86]

As a result of this report, Colonel Nicolls, still commanding the Royal Engineers in Halifax, approved repairs to the magazine, including "New Gate Posts etc," at Sydney.[87] Two years later, this work had not been done, however, and was again included in the budget for repairs to military property in Sydney.[88] Samuel Rigby, the barrack-master, inspected the fortifications in April 1828 and after apologizing that his report "should have been transmitted ere this, but the snow and frost prevented me from making the necessary inspection of the Batteries until now," reported that the magazine was in good condition. The storehouse or gun shed was "in quite a delapidated state," but was not worth repairing, "being in the first instance but a temporary building." Two of the batteries "require facing but the

85 *Ibid.*, 1 Jan. 1817.

86 United Kingdom. Ordnance Department. *Report on Fortifications 1825*, pp. 132–3.

87 PANS MG 12, RE 34, Richard Creed (Clerk of Works) to Samuel Rigby, 24 May 1826.

88 *Ibid.*, Creed to Rigby, 19 Mar. 1828.

platforms will answer for another season." However, the four-gun battery, commonly called "the lower battery," required immediate repairs, as

> there is scarcely a vestige of the platforms remaining, the sleepers etc being in a complete state of decay. The most part of the Works require new facing, the moat round the battery requires to be cleaned and the outside of the work to be trimmed; it also requires to be enclosed, being exposed to the ravage of the Cattle....
>
> ...I have made a Calculation of the expense for the Completion of this battery including the fence, which amounts to £33.7.8¼, this exceeding the amount allowed by £13.17.8¼, consequently should deduct from the total the amount of Materials and Workmanship for the completion of the Fence, the moat round the Battery and facing at the Battery, which leaves the Sum of £21.16.5¼ for the Completion of the platforms, which Service is certainly the most essential.[89]

Whether these repairs were carried out is unclear as there are no further reports on the state of the fortifications until 1834, when the blockhouse at the mines was again described as "out of repair" and the battery "in ruins." There were four 12-pounder guns but they were dismounted. This report also noted that the Sydney batteries had 18-pounder guns (two dismounted) and six 6-pounder guns (one dismounted). The blockhouse was described as being "in tolerable repair." The report concluded--apparently referring to the entire Maritime region--by observing that "the platforms are all in a decayed and unserviceable state," with the exception of some at Halifax.[90] Lieutenant-Colonel H. Dundas, commanding the 83rd Regiment, inspected his troops at Sydney that same year and, while he thought that the unit was "in good order," the commanding officer's house, formerly the lieutenant-governor's residence, was "excessively out of repair, and in wet weather cannot be kept dry." The men were "in want of every Barrack Utensil" and there was no hospital for the garrison:

> The place made use of as such is a small room, marked off as an Orderly

89 *Ibid.*, Rigby to Nicolls, 18 Apr. 1828.

90 PANS MG 12, RE 53, "Return of the Defences in the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edwards Island" (Halifax, 13 Aug. 1834). Macintyre, "Victoria Park," p. 8, states that three buildings were constructed for the Sydney garrison in 1833 and remained in service until the outbreak of the First World War. He does not identify his source.

> Room, next to and in the same building as the Guard Room. It is not capable of containing more than three bedsteads, and the Asst Surgeon is of opinion that it will be too cold to occupy as a Hospital in winter, and that a Barrack room must be appropriated for that purpose.[91]

In April 1840 the General Mining Association appealed to the British government to provide protection for its coalmines on Sydney harbour. When there was no response, Samuel Cunard, the shipping magnate who also served as the GMA's agent in Halifax, followed up with an appeal to Lord John Russell, then Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, pointing out to him that the mines were "in a very exposed position" and that a privateer

> could, at any time, approach close to them and destroy the Works which would be very injurious to the Association and would deprive the Government of the Royalty that is paid on the Coal, and what may be considered of greater consequence at this time, it would stop the supply of Coal to Her Majesty's Steamers in the event of a War. A few Guns and a Small Breast Work would be a sufficient protection together with three or four Artillerymen to take charge of the Stores & Instruct the Miners, who would form a Sufficient force to repel any attack.[92]

Russell passed this letter along to the War Department for advice and the question ultimately found its way back to Halifax, referred to Lieutenant-Colonel Rice Jones, the commanding Royal Engineer in Nova Scotia. While Jones thought that "very extensive Lines or Breastworks would be requisite" to protect the mines effectively,

> an enemy might be prevented or at least deterred, from any sudden attack with an inferior Force, by reconstructing the Battery for 4 Guns, or Barbette, now in ruins, and repairing the old Blockhouse in its rear, which are well placed below the bar at the entrance of the Spanish River, and command the anchorage in front of the Mines. It would likewise be requisite to provide Barracks accommodation within the surrounding enclosure for a sufficient Detachment to Guard the Works, as that duty could not be undertaken by the Troops stationed in the Barracks at Sydney, about 8 Miles distant & on the opposite bank of the River, over which there is no bridge communication whatever.[93]

91 PANS MG 12, RE 47, Dundas to Brigade Major, 1 Oct. 1834.

92 PANS MG 12, RE 51, Cunard to Russell, 13 Mar. 1841. Cunard's letter was forwarded from London to the commanding Royal Engineer in Halifax for comment.

93 *Ibid.*, Jones to Capt O'Malaley, Assistant Military Secretary, 9 July 1841.

This advice did not lead to any action, for two years later Sydney's three batteries were described as "so much delapidated that they would require almost to be reconstructed to make them serviceable." One of them, "that nearest to the town for six 6 prs is in fact useless, from having had a steam mill constructed between it and the water whereby its range in the most essential direction is obstructed." As well, the battery's platforms and gun carriages were "fast decaying"; indeed, four of the five gun carriages were so unserviceable that the author recommended they "be broken up for the Iron Work."[94]

A sketch of Sydney harbour made by Edward Walker in 1848 shows the blockhouse and what is described as an "old battery" still in ruins. What is especially interesting about this map, however, is that it also shows at Chapel Point what is described as the "site of a Battery proposed to be made in a plan by Capt Molesworth, RE." This was the fortification that would eventually be built in the 1860s. Another old battery in ruins was located on the shore between Indian Head and Indian Cove.[95]

After Lieutenant B.W.A. Sleigh was posted to Sydney in 1846, he wrote a very favourable, albeit vague, description of the garrison grounds which were "prettily situated, with the river in the rear." The barracks was on the summit of a slight hill:

> This building has wings, in which the men are located, while the centre contains officers' quarters, the 'Mess House,' 'Orderly Room,' etc. On the right are the magazine, and the rear is flanked by stabling. On a line with my quarters, about a hundred yards off, is the guard-house and engine-house, while the barrack-gate, leading into the town, is in close contiguity. The barrack-field contains about five acres, enclosed by a high stockade, and four sentries, at the respective angles, keep watch and ward.[96]

Sleigh seems to have been painting a picturesque scene rather than reporting the actual situation, and of course it must be recognized that his published account in *Pine Forests and Hacmatack Clearings* was written for a general

94 PANS MG 12, RE 21, Commander of Royal Artillery, Halifax, to Director General of Artillery, 31 Aug. 1843.

95 PANS Map Collection, Edward Walker, "Sketch of the Harbour of Sydney," 30 Nov. 1848.

96 B.W.A. Sleigh, *Pine Forests and Hacmatack Clearings; or, Travel, Life and Adventure, in the British North American Provinces* (London, 1853), reprinted in Tennyson, *Impressions of Cape Breton*, pp. 128–9.

reading audience rather than the military authorities. Certainly, only three years later the commanding officer at Sydney was advising Lieutenant-Colonel Savage, the commanding Royal Engineer in Halifax, that he needed "a Shed or Storehouse at Sydney for the protection of the 6 Pr field guns & carriages, the latter having been rendered unserviceable by constant exposure to the weather." New carriages had in fact been approved, but the military authorities had sensibly ordered that they be retained at Halifax "till there is a Store to deposit them in. The most eligible situation appears to be to the Eastward of the Magazine."[97]

Part of the explanation for the imperial government's inaction may be found in an interesting document among the records of the Royal Engineers, dated 1847, which lists military installations throughout Nova Scotia. The Sydney Battery is included in a list of fortifications which the report notes "are under the control of the Ordnance and the expenses attending them paid by that Department"; while the "Coal Mines Battery and Blockhouse" are included in another list of fortifications which "were constructed at the expense of the Colony for the protection of the different Harbors along the coast. They are generally in a state of ruin.... There are however guns at many of them which are in charge of the Militia."[98] This does not, of course, explain why the imperial government did not better maintain the lesser fortifications that were under its control, such as those at Sydney. This neglect presumably reflected the determination of the military authorities at Halifax to concentrate their capital expenditures on the network of fortifications being built there, while coping with endemic limited budget allocations.

The situation did not improve in subsequent years. In 1853 Samuel Rigby, still the barrack-master at Sydney, reported that "the whole of the bottom part" of the commanding officer's residence was "in a state of decay" and "the Kitchen part of this Building (in which the Artillery are quartered) appears to be in a worse state." He could do nothing, however, because no provision had been made in his budget for repairs. "This being a very old Building, in my humble opinion, I do think that the Expence necessary to be

97 PANS MG 12, RE 32, William McLeod to Savage, 16 Aug. 1849.

98 *Ibid.*, Return of Military Works and Posts in the Province of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 29 Jan. 1847).

incurred to put it in a thorough repair would nearly build a new House, containing a Surgery-Hospital as well as a Room for the Artillery, all very much required."[99] Lieutenant-Colonel Savage apparently authorized Rigby to make repairs, despite the War Department's decision at about the same time to withdraw entirely the garrison from Sydney. Various repairs continued nevertheless, and it was not until June 1855 that Rigby was advised that any further work would need to be considered in light of the withdrawal.[100] As late as 1856, however, the barrack-master obtained an estimate "for the Pointing of the Barrack & Commisariat Store at Sydney."[101]

Also in 1856, the War Department decided to lease its lands around the harbour to local residents. One Douglas G. Rigby subsequently leased the land and blockhouse at the mines, a property of approximately two acres, for four shillings per acre annually, "until the said land Etc be required by the War Department, for the use of Her Majesty's Service."[102] Meanwhile, Colonel R.J. Stotherd, the new commanding Royal Engineer at Halifax, wanted to know "what had become of the two Guns removed from the Blockhouse grounds" at Sydney Mines. Samuel Rigby discovered that they had been taken "by the people at that place" to the mines, "where they are safe. I requested they might be returned to the place from whence they were taken which I was promised would be done."[103] The Point Edward site had already been encroached upon by one Donald McDonald and Rigby wrote to him accordingly, requesting that he "immediately remove his Fences or enter into an Agreement to pay the Sum of 10s per Acre Annually, during the period he may be permitted by the War Department to hold the land in question."[104] At the same time, Rigby "ascertained the Cost of a Boundary

99 PANS MG 12, RE 38, Rigby to Savage, 22 Apr. 1853.

100 *Ibid.*, Rigby to Savage, 11 Apr. 1853, 23 June 1854. Cf., RE 50, Stotherd to Rigby, 27 July 1854; RE 59, Stotherd to Rigby, 9 Sept. 1854; and RE 50, Stotherd to Rigby, 22 June 1855.

101 PANS MG 12, "C" Series, RG 8/1443/78, Rigby to Stotherd, 23 Aug. 1856.

102 PANS MG 12, RE 57, Douglas G. Rigby (Sydney) to War Department, 1 Sept. 1856. Cf. Samuel Rigby to Stotherd, 23 Aug. 1856.

103 PANS RG 8/1443/79, Samuel Rigby to Stotherd, 2 Sept. 1856.

104 Rigby to Stotherd, 23 Aug. 1856.

Stone, to be fixed on the Ordnance Grounds at Point Edward."[105] The barrack-master subsequently reported that the elusive McDonald was "working on the Rail road between Halifax and Windsor. I shall keep him in mind on his return home."[106] By the spring of 1857 McDonald had formally leased "a portion" of the Point Edward site, "say about One Acre, at the rate of One Shilling Sterling annually." McDonald was to place a proper boundary mark, "and to prevent any encroachment being made" on the land.[107]

Henry G. Bowles of Sydney, a former lieutenant-colonel in the British Foreign Legion, also applied in 1856 to lease the garrison grounds, proposing "to occupy the Barracks at this place, and to cultivate the land, both inside and outside the fence, which belongs to the Government," for an annual rent of £20.[108] When the lease agreement was drawn up, however, Bowles objected to its terms. The disagreement seems to have centered on which buildings Bowles could have the use of; he wanted them all, while Rigby argued that at least the ground floor of "the Barrack Store, which at present is occupied by Two brass six pounders with their Carriages Etc" and "Materials belonging to the Royal Engineer Department," the "Engine House, which contains the Fire Engine with Water Buckets etc...as well as the Powder Magazine" could not be spared. The remaining buildings--"viz Cooking House, Right and Left Wings Mens Barracks, Commg Officers Quarter, Guard House and Magazine Store House," also the two upper floors of the Barrack Store--were vacant.[109] The issue went all the way to London, where the Secretary of State gave permission in April 1857 to lease the entire

105 Rigby to Stotherd, 2 Sept. 1856.

106 *Ibid.*

107 PANS MG 12, RE 58, lease signed by Donald McDonald, 2 Mar. 1857.

108 *Ibid.*, Bowles to Stotherd, 13 Nov. 1856.

109 *Ibid.*, draft agreement signed by Stotherd, 26 Nov. 1856; Bowles to Stotherd, 1 Dec. 1856, telegram; Samuel Rigby to Stotherd, 2 Dec. 1856; Samuel Rigby to Herbert Pringle (storekeeper), Halifax, 19 Jan. 1857.

grounds at Sydney.[110] It was also decided, however, that tenders should be called for the lease, which was done, whereupon Bowles raised his offer to £25 per annum.[111] There is no evidence that anyone else submitted a tender and Bowles proceeded to occupy the property even though a formal lease agreement had not yet been signed and further haggling continued over its terms.

Bowles now did not want to include the commanding officer's quarters in the lease because the structure was "in so delapidated a state...particularly as he does not intend to use it."[112] In the end, Bowles abruptly announced that he was no longer interested in leasing the property, "in consequence of my having received intelligence which will cause me to proceed immediately to England."[113] Tenders were again called, with one change in the conditions--namely that "the Engine House and a store or shed will be reserved for the Fire Engine and Field Guns & Carriages."[114] Meanwhile, Rigby had shipped the two 6-pounder guns "with their appertenances [*sic*]" to headquarters in Halifax for storage. "Consequently," he advised Stotherd, "I imagine there will be no necessity for reserving the Apartment on the Ground Floor of the Barrack Store...it now being vacant, but it will be requisite to reserve the Fire Engine House."[115]

In fact, there seemed to be little demand whatever for the garrison grounds, a situation which presumably reflected the economic lassitude of the place; by June 1858 Stotherd was advertising a public auction of the lease,

110 *Ibid.*, T. Le Marchant (Military Secretary, Halifax) to Stotherd, 12 Mar. 1857; B. Hawes (War Office, London) to Major General Le Marchant, 11 Apr. 1857; Wilford Brett (Acting Assistant Military Secretary, Halifax) to Stotherd, 10 May 1857; "A report of Proceeds of the War Department Lands, brought to the Public Account, during the Year ending 31st March 1857, at Sydney, Cape Breton, Pursuant to the Honorable Boards General Order of 5th December 1848 by Samuel Rigby," dated 1 Apr. 1857, describes the land leased by Bowles as "at the Sydney Mines lot," but this appears to be an error.

111 PANS MG 12, RE 58.

112 *Ibid.*, Bowles to Stotherd, 1 Oct. 1857; Rigby to Stotherd, 7 Oct. 1857.

113 *Ibid.*, Bowles to Stotherd, 15 Oct. 1857.

114 *Ibid.*, Stotherd to Rigby, 25 Nov. 1857.

115 *Ibid.*, Rigby to Stotherd, 30 Nov. 1857.

the hay growing on the land to be auctioned separately. At the same time, the battery property at the mines, consisting of approximately 2.5 acres, was also to be leased by auction.[116] This suggests either that Douglas Rigby no longer wanted it or that the military establishment thought it could get more than what he was paying.

This prompted C.F. Leonard, commanding officer of the 1st Regiment, Cape Breton Militia, to point out that he had more than 600 muskets and artillery swords belonging to the militia stored in a coach-house loft, "adjoining an old building with a very unsafe chimney," on which the provincial government was paying rent. He suggested that the government rent the garrison storehouse and magazine for this purpose instead, as these facilities would be safer and more appropriate.[117] Accordingly, when Henry Ince, the land commissioner, held the public auction for the lease of the garrison lands at Sydney and Sydney Mines, he broke them up into separate lots. This resulted in his obtaining "£57.7 Currency per Ann" for the properties, as opposed to the £25 to £30 which he had anticipated if they had been leased as one unit. At the same time, Ince did not offer a lease for the lot containing the storehouse and magazine, pending a decision on Leonard's proposal. Ince also reported that "the Grass [i.e., hay] within the Barrack enclosure sold for £21.10 curr" and commended Rigby "for the care which he has taken of it."[118] Those who leased the lands were Edmund Outram, who obtained the barrack square with three buildings and the commissariat store; Charles Crewe Read, who obtained the guardhouse, engine-house and hospital; and Donald McLean (Lot No. 1), Philip Ormand (Lot No. 2), Donald Macqueen (Lot No. 3), Alexander McInnes (Lot No. 4), and W.G. Ouseley (Lot No. 5). Douglas Rigby won the lease for the land and blockhouse at the mines for £1 per annum, which was more than twice what he had paid in his initial agreement.[119]

116 *Ibid.*, Stotherd to Henry Ince (Land Commissioner), 18 June 1858.

117 *Ibid.*, Leonard to Ince, 19 July 1858.

118 *Ibid.*, Ince to Col. Fordyce (Quartermaster General), 26 July 1858. P.H. Clarke, the auctioneer, when forwarding his account to Stotherd, said that after deducting "the expences from the amount of the grass sold, the nett proceeds" amounted to £13.13.4, which was considerably less than the amount claimed by Ince; see *ibid.*, Clarke to Stotherd, 27 July 1858.

119 *Ibid.*, report, P.H. Clarke, Sydney, 22 July 1858.

The withdrawal of the Sydney garrison and the leasing of the various fortification sites around the harbour seemed to end an era in the military history of the region. British military strength was now to be concentrated on the fortress which guarded the naval base at Halifax, while outlying ports such as Sydney were to be left to their own devices. Ironically, however, the local military authorities had no sooner disposed of their lands on Sydney harbour than the War Office began to give serious consideration to building new fortifications. This may have reflected the fact that in 1858 the General Mining Association surrendered its monopoly on coalmining in Nova Scotia, an event which led immediately to an enormous expansion in the industry all around Sydney harbour. While it might make sense to concentrate military resources on Halifax, the growing importance of coal deposits in the Sydney area--particularly to the needs of an increasingly steam-powered Royal Navy--could not be ignored. Another factor was undoubtedly the coincidental deterioration in both the European situation and Anglo-American relations during the late 1850s. In any event, within three years of leasing its military properties on Sydney harbour for civilian uses, the War Department had decided on the necessity of "Construction of Works for the Defence of the Mines" in Cape Breton.[120]

120 PANS MG 12, "C" Series. RG 8/1436/162–2a. Col. R.J. Nelson to Colonel Chapman (Deputy Adjutant General), 24 July 1861.

A Dearth of Miracles: Governor John Parr and the Settling of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia

Neil MacKinnon

> The time called for a broad vision, and this man's was focussed on himself and his consequence and comfort; it called for a worker of miracles, and here was a maker of difficulties.[1]

Out of the War of the American Revolution were born two sets of myths: one associated with the republic, its heroes and martyrs, its struggles and triumphs; the other associated with those who had remained loyal to the crown and who had to flee that triumphant republic in great numbers. The Loyalists had been a foil for the new republic; with their defeat and dismissal their role in the story of that republic ended. To the Loyalists and their tradition, however, war's end was simply the end of the beginning. As important as the revolution to the Loyalist tradition was what followed: the uprooting and exodus, with the ensuing hardships and tragedies.

They came to British North America in such large numbers, in such a dramatically abrupt manner, that the history of the post-revolutionary decade tends to be a concentric one, all facets revolving around the nucleus of the Loyalist presence. The one constant in the Loyalist story was the dreadful hardships that they faced in their uprooting and exile; consequently those receiving them, those responsible for their settlement and survival, would be seen as at best ineffectual and at worst malicious elements in the Loyalist drama.

In Nova Scotia, judgement of the officials would be made even more severe by the nature of the migration: a sudden overwhelming flood of bitter humanity onto the shores of a small, poor and backward colony with a local officialdom too under-staffed and under-funded to handle such numbers and demands. Circumstances dictated hardship. The Loyalists in Nova Scotia, however, believed that the hardship was increased excessively by the incompetence and hostility of local officials. And John Parr, as governor of the colony, came to epitomize all that was wrong with the administration of their settlement, and much that was wrong with their early experience in Nova Scotia.

Born in Dublin in 1725, Parr spent most of his adult life as an officer in the British army, resigning after some thirty years of service to become major of the Tower of London in 1778. In July 1782, he left that position to accept

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1 Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1955), p. 34.

what he believed would be, in the autumn of his career, a finer, more lucrative and prestigious one as governor of Nova Scotia.[2] Shortly after his arrival in Halifax he wrote that "upon the whole my dear Grey your friend Parr is as happy and comfortably seated, as you could wish an old friend to be...."[3] In little more than a year, however, his small colony was to be inundated by some 35,000 desperate refugees from the American Revolution, and Parr himself saddled with the nightmare of responsibility, of conflicting demands, and of the potential for disaster that was part of the settling of these thousands.

Parr arrived in Halifax on 5 October 1782, delighted with the possibilities of his new appointment. He wrote his patron, Lord Shelburne, to describe his arrival and reception, thanking him for the sinecure. In the letter there was an air of smug delight at the material advantages of the situation, little mention of the difficulties of the province, and even less of his plans for its future.[4]

At this time the Loyalist problem seemed but a small cloud on his horizon. In an early letter to Sir Guy Carleton, busy in New York evacuating the Loyalists and British troops from America, Parr promised to give those refugees coming to Nova Scotia all the government assistance possible, and then proceeded to hedge on just what was possible.[5] Perhaps it was owing simply to his concern for their well being, but he obviously did not want the refugee problem thrust upon him in the autumn of his arrival. He was quick to inform Britain of the unprepared state of his province, deficient in necessary lumber and firewood, lacking soldiers for its protection, and with much of its land held by absentees in England.[6]

By the autumn Parr was nevertheless receiving detailed instructions from Britain concerning the distribution of land to the Loyalists. With the arrival of these directives, he and his officials began to feel the enormity of the Loyalist problem press upon them. There were Carleton's urgent reminders from the confusion of New York, there were the Loyalists already arrived in

2 Audet Collection, National Archives of Canada [hereafter NA], MG 30, D62, Vol. 24, 298–300.

3 Parr to Grey, 23 Oct. 1782, in Shelburne Papers, NA MG 23, A4, Vol. 96.

4 Parr to Shelburne, 29 Oct. 1782, in *ibid.*

5 Wright, *Loyalists*, p. 33.

6 Parr to Shelburne, 29 Oct. 1782, in Shelburne Papers.

the colony, and there were those refugees on their way. The officials within Nova Scotia were reacting accordingly, both taking what actions they could for the Loyalists, and trying to cover themselves for any lack of action. By January 1783, Parr was writing Britain about the refugees already present, and was beginning to feel, if only slightly at this stage, the squeeze between the Loyalists' demands and his fear of Britain's wrath at excessive generosity. The coming of the exiles *en masse* in the spring of 1783 set off a flurry of instructions from Whitehall to cover most possible contingencies and to supplement Parr's general instructions. With the advice and instructions, however, came the refugees, over 16,000 of them; plans and preparations had to give way to the actuality of settling, putting the new arrivals on their own land, and assuring them of survival.

Sir Guy Carleton, in the spring of 1783, had been advertising in New York for flour to be sent with the Loyalists to Nova Scotia;[7] Parr, by spring, although leery of Britain's reaction, was ordering sawmills in the province to deliver building material to Shelburne and the Bay of Fundy.[8] Meanwhile, Charles Morris, the provincial surveyor, was busy seeking knowledge of available land and a flexible estimate of the number of Loyalists expected. "The King has been graciously pleased," he wrote in October, "to order the Charges of Surveying for Loyalists to be paid but then the greatest frugality is to be observed."[9] For many of the refugees, a major grievance against Parr would be that survey work on the land had begun late and accomplished little. It was not until 21 April, for example, that he approved a plan for the new town at Port Roseway and that Benjamin Marston was appointed deputy surveyor in charge of the community. One of the major factors in this tardiness was Britain's failure to instruct and guide her governor. Parr w,as caught in the cross-fire of righteous Loyalist demands and growing British parsimony.

On 4 May 1783, over 3,000 refugees arrived at Port Roseway, and in the days following this initial fleet, they continued coming in steady numbers. Throughout the summer Loyalists were also being funnelled in large numbers into the lands surrounding the Bay of Fundy. The available acreage, which

7 Morris to Botsford, 8 Oct. 1783, in Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], RG 1, Vol. 394.

8 *London Chronicle*, 31 July–2 Aug. 1783, p. 115.

9 See, for example, Bulkeley to John Curry, 12 and 23 Apr. 1783, in PANS RG 1, Vol. 136.

had seemed vast in 1782, was filling up by the autumn of 1783. Since the pre-Loyalists had settled on the most arable and accessible tracts, and since other choice locales were held by those of influence, what remained were empty areas such as Digby, Shelburne and Guysborough.

All of these young communities in 1783 were displaying a combination of public promise and private despair. Prices were exorbitant; food and provisions were limited. Parr was not, however, oblivious of the misery of the refugees. He had written that "the distresses of many and indeed the far greater part of these unfortunate People are not to be describ'd, their suffering must continue for some time."[10] The unavoidable and frightening responsibility for their welfare belonged to Parr and his officials, and the primary task was to assure the survival of the Loyalists through the first winter, to see that they had sufficient provisions and shelter. The secondary but concomitant task was to give them 'roots' in the country, to get them onto their land and settled into their economy as quickly as possible, while provisions lasted and could cushion them. These were difficult tasks, made more difficult by the impatience of the Loyalists and the uncertain support of Britain.

Before his instructions arrived, Parr could move only in the direction he felt the home government would accept. With the clamour of the refugees about him, this often meant acting first and hoping for British approval later: "Government has not yet honored me with their commands, relative to this vast Emigration, I have hitherto acted in the dark, to the best of my abilitys; and flatter myself what has been done will be approved of, as they have proceeded from the best motives, humanity and justice."[11] When the refugees from South Carolina sought tools, Parr asked General Paterson to issue some from military stores, promising to return them on the arrival of those he expected from England, "in consequence of my Representation to the Secretary of State to that purpose."[12] In another instance the provincial secretary, defending the governor's difficult position, stressed that Parr was "very ready and willing to do any thing in his power for their comfort and satisfaction, and to provide for the Continuation of the allowance of Provisions."[13] Where it was within his power, Parr was all for speed, wishing

10 Parr to Shelburne, 9 July 1783, in *Report* of the Public Archives of Canada, 1921, App. E.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Parr to Paterson, 14 May 1783, in PANS RG 1, Vol. 136.

13 Bulkeley to James Peters, 22 May 1783, in *ibid.*

"all Expedition may be used in puting the People into Possession of Their Lotts."[14]

As summer turned to autumn, the emphasis switched from laying out the Loyalists' land to that of seeing them under cover. Writing to Lord North in October about the survey work accomplished, Parr again stressed the emergency, the numbers, and particularly the high costs in Nova Scotia, in order to explain the £3,000 incurred for salaries and equipment.[15] The matter of sheltering the refugees became imperative to the governor because of the harsh autumn in Nova Scotia that year, "for the oldest man in the Province does not remember such severe bad weather, as we have had for some time past."[16] In late November he was still considering it "a most unlucky Season, for those unfortunate People to come to this climate," and was still hoping that North would approve his moves to get the refugees safely under cover.[17]

Besides weather and limited supplies, surveyors and authorization, Parr also had the problem of Loyalist grievances and complaints. In a letter to London he explained that he was doing all that he could to alleviate their precarious situation, "notwithstanding it is impossible to please some of them, who are most unreasonable in their demands and expectations."[18] In February he was again writing London on the ingratitude of some, despite all that he had obtained for them "without having yet had sufficient Authority from home, and without which many must inevitably have perished."[19]

Although Parr did all in his power for the Loyalists, he was to remain acutely aware of the limitations of that power. Despite agreeing to the bills he had incurred and accepting their inevitability, Whitehall yet warned "that every possible degree of Oeconomy will be observed."[20] Parr was somehow

14 Morris to Botsford, n.d., in PANS RG 1, Vol. 394.

15 Parr to Secretary of State (North), 21 Oct. 1783, in Colonial Office Papers [hereafter CO], Series 217, Vol. 56, Doc. 110.

16 Parr to Shelburne, 25 Oct. 1783, in PAC *Report*, 1921, App. E.

17 Parr to North, 20 Nov. 1783, in CO 217, Vol. 56.

18 Parr to Nepean, 4 Oct. 1783, in NA MG 11, NS-A, Vol. 103.

19 Parr to Nepean, 28 Feb. 1784, in *ibid.*, Vol. 104.

20 Unsigned, Whitehall to Parr, 12 Mar. 1783, in CO 217, Vol. 56.

to please the Loyalists while managing not to displease Britain by spending money.

As the year turned, however, Parr's fears abated somewhat. The possibility of disaster and death, and his responsibility for them, receded. In a letter to North in February 1784, he expressed his relief that all but a few of the late Loyalists were then under cover and safe. The lack of disaster he attributed to both his liberties in supplying lumber, and the fortunate change in weather: "the openest and mildest Winter, ever known in this part of the World."[21]

With the coming of spring, the governor and surveyors worked frantically to get the Loyalists out of the crowded towns and onto their land in order to avoid the ire of both Britain and the refugees. Morris was instructing his surveyors to put the people where they wished as quickly as possible. As in 1783, the need for haste was tempered by the fear of cost. Parr felt the cold wrath of disapproval in the autumn of 1784, when Whitehall complained about the high cost of surveying for the Loyalists, and requested that the accounts be examined more carefully. Britain needed to say little more: "I have given the closest attention to oeconomy in every expense," wrote Parr, "and your Lordship may be assur'd that my attention to it, shall be unremitted."[22]

In February 1784, Parr wrote Whitehall on the need for more provisions, citing both the memorials he was receiving from the Loyalists and the fact that too few of them were yet on their lands to allow any imminent self-sufficiency. Shortly thereafter, he was again writing the Colonial Office to extend provisions: "as the allowance for some of them expires the beginning next May, great Misery will insue, should it not be continued."[23]

Without word from England and with the pressure of Loyalist hardships, Parr took what actions he could. Advertisements appeared in the *Gazette* for supplies to be sent to the Loyalist settlements. Parr was also admitting small craft from the revolted states, "with Provisions only...."[24] Although the action was slow, Britain did move to meet the pressing needs of the Loyalists; in the spring, Whitehall extended the period of provisions, at a two-thirds level,

21 Parr to North, 4 Feb. 1784, in CO 217, Vol. 59.

22 Parr to Sydney, 13 Aug. 1784, in CO 217, Vol. 56.

23 Parr to North, 2 Feb. 1784, in *ibid.*

24 Parr to Shelburne, 22 Mar. 1784, in PAC *Report*, 1921, App. E.

until May 1786 if necessary. It came at a good time, for "the magazines were nearly exhausted, and it was impossible to purchase in this Country a sufficiency to supply the multitude of unfortunate people who have as yet no means of subsistance but from the bounty of Government."[25] It was not until June, however, that Nova Scotia learned of this extension; and not until August that Parr could write of the "universal satisfaction" brought about by this action.[26]

By 1785, although there were still odd lots of Loyalists coming into the province, they were the exception. The change from the previous year was that these new arrivals were isolated, infrequent incidents. By November 1784, Parr had drastically reduced the distribution of lumber.[27] By May 1785, he was cutting back markedly on the number of deputy surveyors employed.[28] The phenomenon of Loyalist immigration had passed and Nova Scotia now turned from reception to assimilation.

The Loyalists, and John Parr, had survived. Yet there was no shared sigh of relief, no common feeling of a crisis met and overcome, for throughout these first years of settlement the relationship between refugee and governor was a brittle, often bitter one. It was almost inevitable that Parr would become a lightning rod for their frustration and anger. Many were miserable in this province of their exile, and he governed that province. Their misery was both real and intense, and Parr often appeared to do too little to alleviate that misery. In January 1784, he was forced to make a public admission of the bitter unrest caused by his settlement policies, noting in an official proclamation that "Discontent and Uneasiness have arisen in several of the New Settlements..." and promising to get the refugees on their land as quickly as possible.[29]

What the Loyalists considered as Parr's incompetence would alone have

25 Campbell to Haldimand, 16 July 1784, in Haldimand Papers, NA MG 21, Vol. B149.

26 Parr to Secretary of State, 10 Aug. 1784, in Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia*, III (Halifax, 1867), 33.

27 Parr to Sydney, 15 Nov. 1784, in CO 217, Vol. 56.

28 Circular letter of R. Bulkeley, 28 May 1785, in PANS RG 1, Vol. 137.

29 The *Nova-Scotia Gazette* [Halifax], 27 Jan. 1784.

assured hostility. But he was also the protégé of Lord Shelburne, blamed and hated by most refugees for the peace ending the war. The Loyalists also considered that part of the land destined for them had been granted away by Parr to the old inhabitants. In addition, they felt that he had sold out to the old Halifax establishment, who "by artifice and profound dissimulation acquired an influence over the governor and directed him to dispose of honours and emoluments according to their sovereign pleasures."[30] He had welcomed few Loyalists into the seats of political power. Consequently, one of their most cherished objectives was to secure the recall of John Parr, and to see the colonial government then purged and replaced by "honest Loyalists."[31]

This very antipathy could not help but shape Parr's attitude toward the Loyalists. Moreover, he was often confronted with the worst side of their character, and formed opinions accordingly. He had little respect for the people of Shelburne, and complained several times of the lack of educated, talented or well-bred inhabitants in that new community: "The generality of those who came here, were not much burthened with Loyalty, a spacious name which they made much use of."[32] At the very beginning of the settlement, he had complained that despite his efforts, the Loyalists refused to allow government sufficient time to plan and work for them, or even to receive instructions: "At Shelburne the Magistrates are divided among themselves, and also against the Surveyors, and the People are Inimical to the Magistrates."[33]

To Parr, nevertheless, not all of the Loyalists were bad, and he did try to make a distinction between the solid refugees sincere on settling and those causing trouble. He had written earlier to Lord Shelburne of having found "some honest Men" among the exiles: "I stood in great need of them."[34] He complained of them *en masse*, however, for not aiding in the surveying, unless paid for their activities: "I have to be sure a most troublesome, discontented, disappointed[,] over expecting Race of Mortals to deal with."[35]

30 Jacob Bailey to Thomas Brown, 31 Jan. 1784, in Rev. Jacob Bailey Papers, PANS MG 1, Vol. 91.

31 Rev. Charles Mongan to Edward Winslow, 23 Mar. 1784, in *The Winslow Papers*, ed. W.O. Raymond (Saint John, 1901), p. 172.

32 Parr to Shelburne, 9 Oct. 1789, in PAC *Report*, 1921, App. E.

33 Parr to "My Lord," 12 May 1784, in CO 217, Vol. 59.

34 Parr to Shelburne, 6 Oct. 1784, in PAC *Report*, 1921, App. E.

35 Parr to Nepean, 2 Sept. 1784, in CO 217, Vol. 59.

With such a governor holding such attitudes, with such a group of immigrants filled with such anger and resentment, the early years of settlement would inevitably be dominated by discord. Under these circumstances it would have been difficult for any governor to retain a sterling reputation. John Parr certainly did not. In the autumn of 1783, while the British still held New York, Carleton had deluged Parr with instructions, requests and admonitions concerning the difficulties that the refugees were already encountering with the province's officialdom--everything from the tardiness of land granting to the excessive customs-house fees; the Loyalists had not been slow in writing Carleton of their grievances concerning Nova Scotia. The British government had also been inundated with complaints against Parr, and its attitude, to some extent, was undoubtedly shaped by such correspondence. Consequently historians, long after these events, reading the massive and varied documentation on Loyalist complaints, along with Parr's reaction--from his initial complacency to his later and shrill self-defense--have judged him harshly.[36]

In a sense the governor was damned not only by the letters of Loyalists but also by his own pen. The oft-quoted letter of October 1782 is laden with complacent pleasure at the haven he had found for his twilight years; it is little more than a smug litany of his 'perks' as governor. This absorption with the fruits of his position continued in Parr's correspondence throughout the years of settlement, until one suspects that the Loyalists' coming was to be judged not solely as a crisis to be managed, but also as an opportunity to be exploited.

With the disbanding of the Nova Scotia Volunteers in 1783, Parr as colonel of the regiment wrote Whitehall seeking to be put on half-pay with the rest of the officers.[37] He wrote again in December, seeking to have the British government strike down the "obsolete Instruction" that prevented him from accepting money from the colonial assembly--specifically the £500 they had just voted him.[38] And, of course, every position created or filled to meet

36 See, e.g., Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, p. 34; Brian C. Cuthbertson, *The Loyalist Governor: A Biography of Sir John Wentworth* (Halifax, 1983), p. 39; J. Murray Beck, *Politics of Nova Scotia*, I (Tantallon, NS, 1985), 53; and Peter Burroughs, "Parr, John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IV (Toronto, 1979), 603–605.

37 Parr to Nepean, 25 Oct. 1783, in CO 217, Vol. 55.

38 *Ibid.*, 17 Dec. 1783, in CO 217, Vol. 54.

the needs of the Loyalists, every recommendation for extra or better land, became a source of patronage. Charles Morris, in recommending a man for appointment, revealingly stated to his correspondent that the candidate was "the only man I have as yet recommended to your particular attention without being ordered to do it."[39] The issue of fees was a factor of great importance to many officials, and the Loyalist land grants represented a unique opportunity. Although limited to only half-fees, the account submitted by Parr for the six-month period ending on 30 September 1784 came to £1,771.15s.6d. The governor then proceeded to argue for additional money from the fee schedule, to allow him to continue the lifestyle he was leading in the capital--a style which he maintained was dictated not necessarily by his tastes, but by the dignity of his office: "I live well, so as not to disgrace the recommendation of our friend the Marquis."[40]

There was, oddly enough, a certain timidity in Parr's early correspondence concerning the Loyalists, as he cast about, attempting to do what he could for them. With little detailed advice from Britain, and with great fear of precipitating anger from Whitehall by over bold moves, Parr seemed intent upon deflecting what responsibility he could on to others; and where he could not, delaying until he received concrete approval from overseas. Such concern sometimes led to delay and procrastination, where speed and decisiveness were instead demanded.

And yet his actions concerning the Loyalists were better than his words. Both on the Saint John River and at Shelburne, although attacked fiercely by leading Loyalists, his actions often prevented or limited the exploitation of the masses by the élite. Except on the issue of expense, his instructions to the surveyors stressed the need to accommodate the refugees as well as could be done expediently. When the military proposed laying aside great tracts of timber and land in Shelburne, Parr sided with the refugees, for the planned reservations "would deprive the Inhabitants there of the means of Erecting their Habitations, in time sufficient to Shelter them from the severity of the Approaching Season."[41] Alarmed by the steeply escalating wages resulting

39 Charles Morris to Major Studholme, 7 May 1785, in NA MG 23, A2, Vol. 8.

40 Parr to Nepean, 7 May 1785, in *ibid.*

41 For a summary of Parr's instructions to the surveyors, see Charles Morris to Brudenell, 14 Sept. 1785, in PANS RG 1, Vol. 395; Parr to Brig. Gen. Fox, 31 Oct. 1783, in *ibid.*

from the scarcity of skilled labour, Parr threatened that "all persons making Exorbitant demands of that Kind...will find themselves depriv'd of the Advantages which they would gain by a different behavior."[42]

Even his most severe critics found him caring. Thomas Barclay, dismissing Parr as a weak and credulous man, nevertheless described him in the same sentence as a kind one. Joseph Aplin, having found the governor too easily led from his own judgement, nevertheless balanced this criticism by describing him as "a man of real benevolent Heart."[43] When a widow in straitened circumstances, facing the curtailment of provisions, appealed to Parr, he ordered their continuation, "she appearing to me an Object deserving that Indulgence."[44] Wrote another Loyalist concerning the reception given him and his group, "Parr received us with great Politeness and Humanity; He has done all a good man could to accomodate our Situation, and I particularly felt his attentions."[45] Whether fighting with the military and the Loyalist élite to free more land for the refugees, arguing with the pre-Loyalists over the importation of American produce, ensuring that the hardships of particular cases were alleviated, or taking action to aid the Loyalists without British approval, Parr strove to do what he could for this high tide of refugees.

His was a very insecure position, particularly with the fall from grace of his patron, the hated Lord Shelburne. Disliked by many Loyalists as a protégé of the latter, actively plotted against by some leading refugees who hoped to replace him with one of their own, badgered by almost all who felt that he was moving too slowly to meet their pressing demands for land and provisions, Parr found his efficacy limited by the actions of a somewhat hypocritical home government. For most of the early deluge he had no specific instruction from England concerning the refugees, and within this vacuum he could be damned for either boldness or timidity. Parr tried to do

42 Bulkeley to Studholme, 7 Oct. 1783, in *ibid.*

43 Thomas Barclay to John Wentworth, 27 Nov. 1783, in Wentworth Papers, PANS MG 1, Vol. 939, Doc. 21; Joseph Aplin to Chief Justice Smith, 6 Mar. 1784, in NA MG 11, NS-A, Vol. 104.

44 Petition of Jane O'Brien to Parr, 14 Mar. 1785, in *ibid.*, Vol. 223.

45 Thomas Miller to Nepean, 17 Nov. 1784, in CO 217, Vol. 35.

all that was in his power for the Loyalist plight, "notwithstanding I am disagreeably circumstanced in not having any instructions from Government, to regulate my conduct to them."[46] Britain's instructions and advice, when received, contained the conflicting admonitions of providing for the refugees, all the while observing "the utmost care not to incur any expence which can possibly be avoided."[47] Parr, whose commission as governor was a vulnerable appointment on pleasure, not behaviour, must necessarily heed his masters.

Sometimes rigid and brusque, he was not one to win easy acceptance and affection from the public. His defensive assertiveness, stemming chiefly from his isolation and vulnerability, only served to alienate many. He had been complacent upon his arrival in Nova Scotia, before the Loyalist storm broke about him; but it should be noted that that complacency did not last. His actions often seemed timid, awaiting Britain's sanction, but it should be noted that he did take action, and spend money, before receiving official approval. He was apologetic about it, even craven, but he nevertheless did it. It should also be noted that Parr, elderly, often in poor health,[48] assuming a soft sinecure, found himself abruptly responsible for a massive, sometimes chaotic, relocation of people and, with too few competent men to assist him, with a begrudging Britain distributing its dole reluctantly, with an angry, hostile body of refugees to settle, met that responsibility.

Judging Parr's role and worth is made difficult by the fact that the period of the 1780s in Nova Scotia is identified with the story of the Loyalists, with their coming and settling, with their progress, problems and grievances. John Parr became a foil for the Loyalist saga. In this role his shortcomings were magnified and his strengths diminished, both by the Loyalists and by many who later wrote of them.

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46 Parr to North, 23 Aug. 1783, in CO 217, Vol. 56.

47 Parr to North, 20 Sept. 1783, in *ibid.*

48 On his health see, e.g., Joseph Peters to Samuel Peters, 25 Nov. 1785, in Rev. Samuel Peters Papers (mfm. at PANS).

"To be held in all honor": The Weldon Collection of China and the Construction of a Loyalist Myth

Claire Campbell

> History as pure history, a simple relation of facts, is apt to be cold and hard, but when we can see the personality of the writer behind it, there creeps in, as it were, life and love for the facts, and they become vital and living realities.[1]

Susannah Haliburton Weldon's collection of chinaware represents the culmination of one woman's efforts to express her conviction that the Maritime Loyalist heritage was indeed a reality. The Weldon Collection, currently held by the University of King's College in Halifax, Nova Scotia, is remarkable for the degree to which it became infused with her beliefs, understanding and perception of a Loyalist identity. The manuscript which accompanies the collection reconstructs that identity with unmistakable clarity, and communicates to the reader an image striking in its fundamentally mythological nature. Even a brief survey and analysis of the Weldon manuscript reveals the contours of a fully developed schemata for the Loyalist identity--the elements of which the collection was designed to present. Moreover, the representative features and motivations which Weldon attributed to the refugee ethos were also central to the Loyalist mythology which flourished in the late nineteenth century. In short, Weldon married a vision of Loyalism to a collection of material artifacts, and the result is profoundly intriguing.

Her manuscript creates a clear impression of the Loyalists as the pioneering founders of Maritime Canadian culture: broadly, they are depicted as primarily motivated by a staunch sense of loyalty to the British Empire, and marked by nobility of character as well as political and economic prosperity. Underlying this depiction is the tacit message of a cohesive, shared identity and outlook, which Weldon uses as the central unifying framework for her study. The collection itself is notable not for its historical accuracy, but for the consistency and intensity with which a Loyalist portrait is set forth and which further testify to the strength and clarity of Weldon's own perspective. Her unconventional means of presentation succeeds in conveying her idealized and conventional understanding of the collective Loyalist identity and mentality. Weldon's collection is significant, then, because of its ability to construct a cohesive and distinctive portrait of the Maritime Loyalist.

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1 F.W. Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789–1939* (Halifax, 1941), v.

To begin with, some factual information regarding the collection itself is necessary. The oldest extant collection of ceramics in Canada, it includes 363 pieces of English tableware and Chinese export pottery and porcelain, predominantly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Marie Elwood has concluded that the collection was assembled between 1860 and 1875, almost entirely by donation.[2] The manuscript identifies 133 separate families, residing in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and concentrated in the Saint John and Hants County regions respectively. Weldon presented the collection to the museum of King's College in Windsor, Nova Scotia on 18 May 1880, on "the ninety-seventh Anniversary of the Landing of the Loyalists in Saint John, N.B.," and in memory of her son, Haliburton, a graduate of the college.[3] The collection's value as material history will not be explored here; rather, it will be regarded as an expression of Weldon's own views and a means by which she was able to construct a collective and mythological image of the Loyalists.

A brief introduction to the collector herself is also necessary, yet extremely difficult to provide. Susannah Lucy Anne Haliburton was baptised in Windsor, Nova Scotia, 2 June 1817. The eldest of eleven children born to Thomas Chandler Haliburton and his first wife, Louisa Neville, she grew up in the family's Windsor home, 'Clifton.' As a young woman she showed some talent as an amateur artist and also developed an interest in local and family history. On 16 August 1848 she married John Wesley Weldon, a New Brunswick lawyer; their only child, Haliburton, was born the following year. The Weldons lived in Richibucto, Saint John and--after Weldon was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1865--Fredericton. Following his death in 1885, Susannah moved to Halifax, where she lived until her own demise, 11 September 1899.[4]

2 Marie Elwood, "The Weldon Collection: Specimens of China brought to the Colonies," in *Arts Atlantic*, 36 (Winter 1990), 44.

3 Susannah Weldon, *Specimens of China Brought to the Colonies by the Early Settlers, Particularly the Loyalists* (Fredericton, 1880), preface. Haliburton Weldon, a barrister, graduated from King's College in 1868 and died in 1873. Susannah's connection to King's was extensive: Haliburton family alumni included her father, as well as brothers Robert Grant and Arthur.

4 Marie Elwood, "Haliburton, Susannah Lucy Anne (Weldon)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII (Toronto, 1990), 403–404. John Wesley Weldon also served as a Member of the Legislative Assembly in New Brunswick and as Speaker of the House from 1843; Susannah was his second wife.

These few biographical details do little to explain the development of Susannah Weldon's perspective regarding the Loyalist identity. Instead, one is left to infer her position after assuming that her views were indeed expressed through her choices regarding the collection. As an amateur historian, Weldon's methodology and objectives were relatively unprofessional by today's academic standards. She did not set out to provide a comprehensive history of the Loyalist migration; as a result, there seems to have been no definitive method to her collecting, with the items instead acquired under the generic heading of 'Loyalist ownership.' The pieces she selected would, moreover, serve to confirm her own conception and understanding of the Loyalist identity; she was, in effect, reversing modern scholastic procedure by compiling evidence to support a preconceived thesis.

Furthermore, the scanty biographical information which is available strongly suggests a personal investment in the construction of a mythological Loyalist image. Unfortunately, Susannah Weldon seems to have been completely overshadowed in Canadian history by members of her family, particularly her father, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the prolific and outspoken author, judge and politician. Her husband's family also enjoyed a prominent place in nineteenth-century New Brunswick. The extensive general information otherwise available concerning the Haliburtons and the Weldons, however, does indicate a strong identification with the Loyalist legacy as perceived by Canadians in the late Victorian period. While it is impossible to examine here the nature and degree of influence that her family environment may have exerted on Weldon's ideological outlook, it is important to note that such an influence undoubtedly existed. For example, her father's support of Britain's class system and an imperialist policy has been well-documented,[5] and it is reasonable to assume that Susannah also shared his views concerning the Loyalists: "They consisted chiefly of the middle and upper classes in their own country, and were an intelligent, active and valuable body of men. No portion of the British possessions ever received such a noble acquisition."[6]

5 See, for example, Beckles Wilson, "T.C. Haliburton: A Pioneer in Imperialism," unpublished manuscript, n.d.; Public Archives of Nova Scotia, MG 1, Vol. 1693, No. 15.

6 T.C. Haliburton, *Rule and Misrule of the English in America* (New York, 1851); cited in J.M. Bumsted, *Understanding the Loyalists* (Sackville, 1986), p. 11.

As an adult, Susannah Weldon would also have been exposed to contemporary political sentiment during the era in which a romanticized Loyalist ideal was increasingly a part of the sociopolitical ideology of the élite. As a final observation concerning the potential influences on Weldon's historical perspective, it is interesting to note that her decision to use ceramics as a means of historical documentation may have been inspired by her stepmother, who was a well-known collector of English china.[7] While her personal contact with Sarah Haliburton was minimal, the example of collecting and the emphasis on ceramics as a mark of aristocratic status, would have been strong motivations when Weldon began assembling her own collection.

Finally, Weldon was in a uniquely advantageous position to undertake such a project: her own social prominence enabled her to solicit heirloom china from those members of the upper classes with whom she associated Loyalist ancestry. Her manuscript indicates that she was familiar with various important political figures of the day who claimed Loyalist descent and were actively creating a Loyalist mythology. As well, many of the donors were women who can be identified as daughters and granddaughters of the Loyalist generation, and whom Weldon no doubt encountered socially. More importantly, her personal relationship to the Loyalist mythology is clearly expressed in the character of her collection. Above all, Weldon had an intensely personal stake in establishing a flattering and idealized portrait of the Loyalists: as a member of the upper class in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia, she sought to locate her own family firmly within the increasingly popular Loyalist tradition.

Indeed, Murray Barkley has defined the very essence of an historical myth as "an instrument or means of self-identification, deriving its justification from an ideological reinterpretation of the past."[8] In Weldon's case, she had

7 Lady Charlotte Schreiber, *Journals* (London, 1911); cited in Marie Elwood, "The Weldon Collection: Specimens of China," in *Canadian Collector*, 18, 6 (1983), 53. Sarah Harriet (Owen) Williams marr. Thomas Chandler Haliburton in 1856, and they lived in England from that time. According to Schreiber (1834–1922), a prominent British artist and ceramics collector, the second Mrs. Haliburton had assembled "a very fine collection of old English China [*sic*]," which was later bequeathed to Susannah Weldon's brother, Lord (Arthur) Haliburton. For further background information see Elwood, "The Weldon Collection: Specimens of China," cont'd. in *Canadian Collector*, 18 (4), 18 (5) and 19 (1).

8 Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of a Historical Myth, 1825–1914," in *Acadiensis*, 4, 2 (1975), 5. Interestingly, Susannah's cousin Georgiana Haliburton had published a family genealogy in 1873; see Gordon Haliburton, "Family Influences on T.C. Haliburton in Windsor," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12, 1 (1992), 25.

extensive family connections in various localities with British or Loyalist associations--such as Halifax, Saint John and the Annapolis Valley--and with the sociopolitical élite which viewed a Loyalist heritage as a mark of political legitimacy and social standing. Consequently, the collection includes a number of pieces donated by the Haliburton and Weldon families, and her father is actually identified as "Judge Haliburton, Loyalist" (1:35).[9] Clearly, there is a need for further historical inquiry into Weldon's personal circumstances and outlook.

Before turning to an examination of Weldon's composite Loyalist, it is necessary to note certain historiographical issues which impede any scholarly study of the Weldon Collection. Given the vast amount of historical attention which has been devoted to Loyalism, it is surprising that Weldon remains difficult to assess because of a lack of related secondary literature. Marie Elwood remains the only scholar to have addressed the collection in any detail, and her concern is necessarily with the chinaware pieces as material artifacts, rather than with Weldon's depiction of the Loyalist ethos. Weldon has been, quite simply, omitted from the Loyalist landscape.

As a result, the existing analytical literature is of relatively little assistance in any independent study of her manuscript. More broadly, it is difficult to write on any aspect of Loyalist history without becoming entangled in the literary bog generated by two centuries of academic wrangling. The researcher is caught between the perpetuation of the myth in more popular literature and the reactionary criticism of the academics--or what Neil MacKinnon has referred to as the "excessive hagiography [of] the Canadian loyalist tradition" and the "fierce and somewhat fashionable assault" of modern scholarship.[10] It is this stagnant and ultimately self-defeating dichotomy, rather than an accurate documentation of the Loyalist experience, which has dominated the writings of historians. Finally, revisionist historians repeatedly encounter the problem that mythological accounts are a complex

9 Citations from Weldon's manuscript will follow her physical classification system, viz. (cabinet: item number). The King's College Library currently holds both Weldon's original manuscript and a copy of the printed version published to accompany the collection upon its donation to King's; the latter was reprinted in 1972.

10 Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783–1791* (Kingston and Montreal, 1986), x.

mix of fact and romantic embellishment, and cannot merely be dismissed outright. Such is the case with Weldon's manuscript and collection. As Elwood has observed, "the Weldon Collection does not provide information on a representative range of wares used in the region during the late 18th and early 19th century. It is a collection of survival pieces invested with some heirloom status by their owners."[11]

One might add that the collection as a whole was further invested with meaning by Weldon herself, since it is essentially emblematic of her concept that descent from the Loyalists was "an ancestry worthy to be held in all honor."[12] The pieces, and the stories which accompanied them, came to represent several distinct characteristics which she ascribed to the Loyalists in her attempt to define their collective identity and mentality. The more prominent of these characteristics, which will be briefly examined below, included a rightful territorial claim based on their settlement experience, a nobility of character, steadfast loyalty to the British Empire, wealth and prestige, and a recognized community identity. The objective of this article, given the constraints of space, will be only to summarize Weldon's construction, for to examine and then refute each of her assumptions would be an exercise too broad in dimension.

Firstly, Weldon juxtaposes a depiction of the Loyalists as pioneering early settlers against suggestions of a long-standing, almost native presence in the area. On the one hand, the collection is described as embodying "the recollections of the early settlers in these colonies."[13] For Weldon, however, these settlers were hardly to be thought of as conventional pioneers. The large number of decorative luxuries, such as Dresden figurines or a Japanese stand (2:92), suggest rather that the Loyalists were responsible for bringing 'civilization' and 'culture' into a rude and unsettled land. Writing less than a century after the migration, she nonetheless invests them as the colonial 'founders.'

Yet Weldon also injects a sense of permanence and establishment into her Loyalist construct. To obscure their reality as displaced refugees, she

11 Elwood, *Canadian Collector*, 18, 6 (1983), 20.

12 Weldon, preface.

13 *Ibid.*

repeatedly emphasizes their British associations, identifying their place of settlement in British North America and/or the area of residence for their descendants, while remaining largely silent on their former American connections and histories. Combined with frequent references to the long-standing ownership of various pieces of china, Weldon succeeds in depicting these families as the established and thus rightfully dominant population. For example, the collection includes "a valuable old Wedgwood Pitcher," belonging to a Colonel Bayard of the King's Orange Rangers, which "was given to a married daughter, and carried to New York. Sixty years afterwards it was brought back by a grand-daughter, from whom it was procured" (2:56). The implication is that the pitcher was wrongfully carried off to an alien location and later restored to Nova Scotia, the proper home of the Bayards.

Moreover, Weldon provides almost no hint of the devastating wartime losses that were incurred by these refugees. The phrase "fixed his residence," in the following example, would have us view Colonel Delancy's arrival in Nova Scotia as a simple real estate decision: "Colonel Delancy had large estates in New York, which were confiscated. He finally fixed his residence in Nova Scotia in 1794, was sworn a Member of Council and died at Annapolis about the year 1809. The family were among the most distinguished Loyalists who left New York" (2:109). In a rare brief mention of wartime violence, Jonathan Odell is praised as "the First Provincial Secretary [of New Brunswick]," but his sugar basin, it is quietly admitted, was "[t]he only piece of that China sett [*sic*] which was saved when the house was burned" (3:157).

Weldon's Loyalist construct dealt with families whose pre-migration affluence and standing helped assure their post-settlement permanence, thus contradicting the more typical pattern of migration and transience.[14] The successful settlement of the élite would, according to this somewhat simplistic argument, further enhance their status in the community as well as facilitate the accumulation of material wealth. From Weldon's perspective, the Loyalist presence in the colonial political establishment was easily explained by such a settlement history; it would thus be only natural and logical that Major John Ward, the "oldest merchant...in New Brunswick,"

14 Bumsted, *Understanding the Loyalists*, p. 31, has noted, e.g., that "there is little relationship between the names which appear on government land grants in the 1780s and the permanent population which resulted from the exodus."

was "called the Father of the City of Saint John" (1:13). This aspect of Weldon's characterization would subsequently appear in the mature mythology, in which the Loyalists became those who "had triumphed over nature...thus helping to lay the foundations of the Canadian nation."[15]

Another aspect of the Loyalist collectivity heavily emphasized by Weldon was their apparent wealth and economic prosperity. In light of her sources, this is hardly surprising. The vast majority of ceramics found in the collection belonged to members of the colonial élite, most often members of the judiciary, military and church hierarchy, who settled in what MacKinnon calls "pockets of gentility."[16] Joshua Temple de St. Croix, for example, was able to bring his tea service of Chinese export porcelain--with which, according to family tradition, he entertained the Duke of Kent in 1799--during the 1783 evacuation because he could travel in his own private vessel (3:166). His property of 1,500 acres in the Annapolis Valley, while completely unrepresentative of Loyalist land ownership as a whole,[17] is nevertheless indicative of the expectations of those families whom Weldon approached for ceramics. Only one brief entry runs counter to this pattern of obvious and excessive gentility, recording an "Old Saucer. Loyalist, evidently of 'very low degree'" (2:81)[18]. The ambiguity here is heightened by the quotation marks; one wonders if Weldon was incredulous that any Loyalist could indeed be of a sufficiently low social standing to possess a common, unremarkable saucer. At any rate, her manuscript clearly indicates that she identified Loyalist families as comprising the wealthy élite of British North America.

It is interesting to note, however, that Weldon appears less concerned with the financial health of her collection's previous owners than with their social and political standing in the community; she details their positions to such an

15 Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition," p. 44.

16 MacKinnon, *Unfriendly Soil*, p. 62. This term refers particularly to Halifax, Saint John and the Annapolis Valley.

17 A wealthy New York merchant family; their NS property was named 'Mount Pleasant'; see Elwood, *Canadian Collector*, 19, 1 (1984), 41. Of the thousands of grants made, only 110 immigrants "were considered of sufficient status to be eligible for the 1000 acres given to field officers or civilians of similar standing"; MacKinnon, *Unfriendly Soil*, p. 63.

18 As pointed out by Elwood, *Canadian Collector*, 18, 4 (1983), p. 26.

extent that her manuscript reads like a *Who's Who* of the Maritime region for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A characteristic entry accompanies a vase donated by the Rainsford family: "Rainsford, L. Filled the situation of Receiver General until his death in 1820. Had five sons holding Commissions in the British service" (3:209). Likewise, one finds a "Saucer given in tea sett [*sic*] to General Ruggles before the American Revolution by Lady Wentworth, wife of the Governor of Nova Scotia" (3:168). As we have seen, the interrelationship between economic standing, political influence and permanent residency would lend a valuable credibility to an image of the Loyalists as 'successful'--even if these families had most likely imported their 'success' from the Thirteen Colonies.

A favourable value judgment as imposed by Weldon seems inescapable, given the apparent success of the Loyalist generation, and the cumulative prestige and influence of their descendants, who continued to constitute the provincial élite. Imperial loyalties had seemingly been rewarded with material success, for "[p]rosperity was considered a sign of divine favour, and the ultimate justification of the Loyalist cause and vindication of its righteousness."[19] Consequently, Weldon could claim a moral legitimacy for her image of the Loyalists as the 'rightful' leaders of British North America.

Having restricted herself to the material possessions and personal histories of the wealthy and influential strata of colonial society, Weldon conveniently narrowed the Loyalist identity to what was indeed a fairly united élite devoted to upholding British imperial rule. Those Loyalists who could afford to bring heirloom china into exile would undoubtedly be both financially secure and more advantageously placed to enter offices of civil authority without delay. As a result, they would have less reason or need to question the British hegemony; as long as their status was maintained, the wealthy would have the least reason to criticize the government in London. They had, after all, benefitted from their British connections. The disproportionate attention paid to this élite by Weldon and other mythmakers would result in an inflationary distortion of the achievements and imperial loyalty of the Loyalist population.

As one might expect, the idea of collective and individual fealty to the Empire enjoys substantial attention in the manuscript. As in the mainstream

19 Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition," p. 44.

mythology, Weldon's image extols "loyalty to the British Crown and steadfast adherence to British constitutional principles [and] institutions of the unity of the British Empire."[20] The preface to the manuscript offers the clearest expression of this view, in which Weldon cites "a distinguished general officer [who] truly and beautifully remarked to the donor, that the self-denying devotion of those Loyalists in their attachment to their Sovereign, exceeded anything on record in the pages of History."[21]

The collection further proves that the Loyalist world was indeed a small and fraternal one; it includes the cream jug of James Creighton, who "provided all the iron work for the first ship built in New Brunswick. It [the vessel] was owned by Benedict Arnold and was called the St. George" (3:203). Moreover, Weldon's collection holds a number of interesting luxury items which originated in other, more exotic British colonies. Mr. Upham Weldon contributed a Kaffir snuff box from Natal (3:128); another striking example is a "Mummy taken from a tomb in Egypt, said to be of the age of Moses. Opened while Mr. and Mrs. Haliburton were on the spot" (3:165). In the best Loyalist tradition, Weldon was obliquely attempting to illustrate that "the rebellion had been a terrible mistake,"[22] leaving the reader to judge the cosmopolitan and material benefits of British imperial rule.

Significantly, this is yet another dimension in which the Loyalist experience is brought to bear directly on Weldon's contemporary society. Writing against the backdrop of an ascendant British imperialism in popular and political culture, her manuscript contains several references to territorial expansions and military victories of the nineteenth century, such as "the gallant defense of Kars" (3:210). Evidently, Weldon believed herself to be verifying the historical legitimacy of the Victorian Empire by documenting its roots in the North American settlement of "the leal [*sic*] and true subjects of the English Crown."[23]

20 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

21 Weldon, preface; even here, she does not articulate her own views of the Loyalists, but instead expresses them indirectly and discretely through the citation.

22 MacKinnon, *Unfriendly Soil*, xii.

23 Weldon, preface.

To this end, Weldon notes several families in which more than one generation became actively involved with British imperial expeditions, again implying the continuation of 'Loyalist' values through an identifiable genealogy descending to her own generation. For example, Weldon obtained an item from "Sir Archibald Campbell, Lt. Governor of N.B. At the taking of Ava, Burmah, Major General. Son killed at the storming of Sebastopol" (1:16). Here too we have evidence of familial interest motivating her construction of a mythological Loyalist image: by the time of her writing, her youngest brother, Arthur, had served with the British army in the Crimean War, as well as with the British colonial government in India.[24] Lastly, while it is most unlikely that Weldon regarded herself as a Canadian historian, as a writer in the post-Confederation era she would nevertheless have been aware of an increasingly prevalent nationalist consciousness which argued that the country now required a national history. Given the British, Anglo-Saxon cultural background of her own family and social circle, it is understandable that an attractive Loyalist heritage would figure largely in her presentation of the 'Canadian' identity.

In addition to being upstanding British citizens, from Weldon's perspective the Loyalists were distinguished by a remarkably aristocratic nobility of character. John Murray Bliss's dessert dish, the manuscript informs us, is but a modest tribute to a man who "commanded the respect and esteem of all who knew him" (3:169). The themes of principled loyalty and moral righteousness as preserved within an identifiable Loyalist genealogy are particularly evident in the story which accompanies General Sir Fenwick William's cup and saucer:

> The ancestor of Gen. Williams will always have honourable mention in History for his noble and courageous protection afforded to King Charles 2nd after the battle of Worcester...and though death was denounced to all who should conceal, and a large reward promised to any who should betray him, [he] nobly promised to shelter him, and placed him in safety.... In answer to the...request what the recompense should be, the modest sum of Forty Pounds was named, and this being made perpetual, the family still receives the pension (3:210).

The genteel virtue which characterizes Weldon's noble refugee was to become another widely popular element of the late Victorian mythology, in

24 In 1898, Arthur Haliburton became the first native-born Canadian to be appointed to the British House of Lords; see Allan E. Marble, *Nova Scotians at Home and Abroad* (Hantsport, 1989), p. 194.

which "the Loyalists were idealized as representing the highest quality of virtue, loyalty and perseverance."[25]

Weldon's manuscript suggests that such moral rectitude was particularly evident in a collective commitment to the Anglican faith. The Church of England is, significantly, the only denomination mentioned by her in connection with Loyalist culture, and several entries in her manuscript attempt to depict Loyalist descendants as faithful, generous supporters of the church. One donor left a figurine to Weldon, and "her small fortune to the Diocesan Church Society" (1:76); Lieutenant Governor Smythe of New Brunswick "was buried at his own request under Christ Church, an Act of Assembly having been passed for that purpose" (2:57). Weldon also obtained specimen chinaware from members of the Anglican clergy, including the Bishop of Fredericton and the family of "Reverend W. Bailey, Loyalist, first missionary of S.P.G., Annapolis. Chaplain of the troops" (3:137).

The manuscript even includes an important, if brief, anecdote concerning the Schurman family, who "were saved from taking passage to P.E. Island in a vessel that was wreck'd[,] by a remarkable dream" (1:39). Weldon's message implies that the Loyalists enjoyed the protection and support of divine providence, presumably as a mark of their high religious standing. Interestingly, Barkley has suggested that "the providential theory" in which the Loyalist mission was thought to have been given some sort of divine sanction, would become yet another vein of the popular mythology.[26] What is apparent from the manuscript, in short, is the strong element of Anglican identity which the reader then assumes is an commendably distinguishable trait of the Maritime Loyalist community.

Finally, the implied universality of the image constructed through the Weldon Collection warrants attention, for it appears to be the source of the signature cohesion and clarity of that portrait. The collection, and its essential message, are obviously rooted in Weldon's fundamental belief in the existence of a homogeneous, identifiable Loyalist identity. As a result, this premise pervades all aspects of the manuscript, providing a unifying theme

25 R.S. Allen, *Loyalist Literature: An Annotated Bibliographic Guide to the Writings on the Loyalists of the American Revolution*, Dundurn Canadian Historical Document Series, Publication no. 2 (Toronto, 1982), p. 50.

26 Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition," p. 20. Weldon may also have been influenced by Anglican clergy who were actively promoting public interest in the concept of a Loyalist myth during the 1870s and 1880s; see Barkley, p. 23.

which integrates the various characteristics already mentioned. Quite simply, her manuscript expresses her assumption that all Loyalists who "fixed their residence" in the Maritime region shared a sense of community based on a common identity. The manuscript concludes by summarizing the entire collection as "The History of a People Told in China."[27] The sense is thus one of inclusion and uniformity, rather than the reality of both the exclusivity of the élite and the incredible diversity of the Loyalist majority.

Somewhat ironically, it was in part their very status as a threatened minority--albeit a powerful one--that fostered Loyalism within the colonial élite: it could be argued that the rise of the Loyalist movement in late nineteenth-century Canada was largely a coalition of cultural minorities, with little in common except the belief that "There is no tyranny on airth [*sic*] equal to the tyranny of the majority."[28] The myth of Loyalist homogeneity has been completely refuted by later historians,[29] but the fact remains that for Weldon, as for other mythmakers of the late Victorian period, this archetypal and ideal Loyalist was an accurate historical representation.

It is interesting to speculate how Susannah Weldon's search for Loyalist connections may actually have encouraged their creation by people eager to be recorded "in the pages of History." Just as she herself sought to establish the Loyalist genealogy of her own family, so too her contemporaries, hoping to be identified with the fashionable Loyalist myth, may have inflated or exaggerated the purported origins of donated pieces. For instance, Weldon accepted "a toy sugar bowl, owned by Mrs. MacKay, Windsor; evidently belonged to her Loyalist ancestor" (1:50); to which Elwood adds the cautionary note that the amateur historian "accepted and transcribed the information given to her by the donors--even their inaccuracies."[30] Moreover, Weldon's most compelling tales, and those given in the greatest detail, are the accounts of Loyalist heroism as recounted by those in starring roles. The

27 Weldon, p. 16.

28 A saying attributed to "Sam Slick," created by T.C. Haliburton and cited in Wallace Brown and Hereward Senior, *Victorious in Defeat: The Loyalists in Canada* (Toronto, 1984), p. 208.

29 See, e.g., MacKinnon, *Unfriendly Soil*, p. 66; John Reid, *Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes* (Halifax, 1987), vi.

30 Elwood, *Canadian Collector*, p. 53.

longest entry in the manuscript concerns a son of the Rainsford family, Charles, who communicated directly with Weldon. She duly recorded his lengthy and dramatic tale: "[He] was a Lieut. in the 104th regiment on its march from Fredericton to Quebec in the winter of 1813. The account of this most heroic adventure was given by himself ten years ago...."(3:210). Merely by collecting her specimen chinaware, then, Weldon unknowingly contributed to the development and growth of the Loyalist mythology, by encouraging her donors to romanticize their own Loyalist roots and legacy.

A word against dismissing her contribution to Maritime history is perhaps called for. Weldon's efforts preserved a large number of extremely valuable ceramics as well as the unique oral histories which accompanied them. She was certainly aware of the historical value of the china: one item was readily estimated as "priceless, from its great rarity" (1:76). More importantly, Weldon's timing was critical, in two ways. She was conscious that the china was at risk for loss or destruction; several entries note that a particular piece was the last in the donor family's possession. In addition, with the deaths of many of the original Loyalist generation by the 1830s and 1840s, Weldon sought to record personal recollections still held by the next generation before they were either lost or seriously distorted by exaggeration. As a result, her records may provide more accurate historical information than subsequent histories published during the height of the Loyalist mythology.

Her historiographical methods were neither orthodox nor professional in the modern sense, but in some ways she foreshadowed the development of social history in the 1960s, particularly in her emphasis on the human aspect of historical events and material ownership. Furthermore, she does provide extensive information regarding an immigrant group who collectively wielded substantial influence over the political establishments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Concerning the disproportionate impact of the Loyalist élite, MacKinnon confirms that "numbers, however, did not necessarily represent influence," referring specifically to the large number of upper-class New Englanders who assumed positions of leadership in the colony.[31] Weldon's collection, therefore, may be viewed as a valuable historical document, and consequently should be the subject of future scholarship.

Further investigation is also required into the relationship between

31 MacKinnon, *Unfriendly Soil*, p. 61.

Weldon's work as a mythmaker and the conventional mythology which dominated Loyalist historiography and popular perceptions, dating from the early Victorian era. The extensive body of recent academic literature which discusses this myth indicates that Weldon's individual perspective is representative of the larger mythology, and certainly extensive parallels have been identified in this article. However, the full extent and context of what must have been a social, ideological and intellectual interaction of mythmakers is at this point unknown. How Weldon's particular understanding of the collective Loyalist identity may have been a product of her own experience with the forces shaping the centenary mythology is yet another intriguing question.

For the historian of Loyalism and the Loyalist mythology, the Weldon Collection raises far more questions than it answers. It illustrates how a group of Canadians in the nineteenth century sought to establish a collective identity through historical interpretation; in pursuit of a heritage, proponents of the Loyalist myth such as Susannah Weldon invested material artifacts with intangible ideals and values. The idealized image which emerged was to become one of the most popular and enduring in Canadian history. Thus, while she remains a largely unknown figure in our history, Weldon can be considered a 'success story' in that she achieved what she set out to accomplish. Her vision of the Loyalists is preserved in her collection. This image, moreover, retains its irresistible drawing power: even the contemporary dispassionate observer finds it difficult to maintain an academic distance but is instead drawn, as was Weldon herself, to the personal recollections of the Loyalist generation and the heroic romance of their stories. Her players become, again, "vital and living realities." The perpetuation of the Loyalist myth in Maritime culture continues.

A Halifax Sailor's Taste in Poetry: Charles J. Da Freytas's Log and Commonplace-book, 1841–1852

Anne L. Stainton

Forming the Questions

Something from the distant past always stirs wonder in a child. When I was ten or eleven years old, I found a little brown leather book among the mysteries and novels on the living-room shelves. I opened it and found handwriting of a sort I had never seen. It was pointed, looped, graceful and unimaginably neat.

The first words were "1841. Feb. 12th. Shipped and commenced to work on board brig 'Fanny,'...at £2 per month...signed Articles to go the voyage from hence to Kingston Jamaica, from thence to Cuba, from thence to Hamburg and from thence to Halifax or elsewhere...at 3 pm, wind from NW, got under weigh...." My eyes widened at the date; it was more than a hundred years old. As I read on I tumbled into a world of distant seas, tropic isles, barkentines, hurricanes, exotic cities, cargoes of tea and dye-wood, and "dodging till dawn." I wandered in a forest of masts, yards, bowsprits, stunsails, "goose wing'd main tops," and a dozen other sails.

Silently and guiltily I took the book upstairs to my room and hid it under the bed. At night I read on and on, drawn from Halifax to Brazil to Manila, from Cochin China to the Java Straits, to Egypt and on to England. I found poems, some of them stirring tales of shipwrecks and pirates; and some of them, to me, embarrassingly sentimental.

I hid it for weeks. No one missed it. Finally, unable to keep it to myself a moment longer, I showed it to my mother.

"That was my grandfather's," she said. "He gave it to me when I was around your age. Lovely handwriting."

"Can I keep it?" I held my breath. She said I could.

At the time I was sure that he was a sea-captain, and a very important one at that. I was also sure that he had personally written every single poem in the book. Then for many years I quite forgot its existence. On re-reading it as an adult I realized that the 'sea-captain' was an ordinary sailor, and a number of questions began to form in my mind. What was his life like? Where did he travel? Why did he stop? Why should a sailor write so well? What was his education? What formed his taste in poetry? What were its sources? Did he write any of it himself? As a sailor of his time, was he unusual? The following article is an attempt to address these questions.

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A Sailor's Log

The book in question is twenty centimetres (eight inches) tall and eleven centimetres (four-and-one-half inches) wide. The boards and the first and last pages are detached, the spine quite flaked away. It was never dignified with marbled endpapers, morocco labels or gilt edges; instead, a blank-book with lined pages, purchased about a hundred-and-sixty years ago for two shillings, it still bears its price marked in pencil. Most of the pages are covered with a raking copperplate hand in ink browned with age. There are almost no crossings out, but some irregularities, as though the words were written on an unsteady surface. Any self-respecting bookseller would sniff at it. And yet to anyone interested in the travels, the occupations, the reading habits and tastes of nineteenth-century merchant seamen, it is a treasure.

It belonged to a sailor of Portuguese-English parentage who sailed out of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the middle of the last century. He wrote his name as "Charles Da Freytas" or "DeFreitas." Inside the front cover he wrote his address--"164 Grafton St., Halifax"--along with the numbers of two precious portables: a watch and a railway ticket. Eighty pages of the book record his voyaging between 1841 and 1849. Following these are fifty-odd blank pages in which remain three pressed four-leaf clovers. To read the remainder of the book, one must turn it upside down and start at the other end. The second part is a fifty-four-page commonplace-book filled with poems, a few written by Da Freytas himself. His sources will be discussed later in this article.

For eight years he kept a painstaking, if laconic, record of position, course, wind and weather, land sighted, adjustments of sails and rigging. He noted cargoes as well--cassia, rosewood, iron, coffee, "4050 ardabs [*ardeb*: an Egyptian dry measure] of barley" in Alexandria, and more. He dated each page methodically, the year in the outside corner, the month and day in the margin. Seamen of all ranks kept notebooks, which tended to fall into two types, characterized as 'logs' and 'journals.'[1] 'Journals' were anecdotal, personal and often illustrated. This is definitely a 'log.'

During the years covered by the log, Da Freytas lived almost entirely on shipboard, stopping ashore only between voyages. These intervals were as short as a day or--if he was home in Halifax--as long as six months. Almost

1 Margaret S. Creighton, *Dogwatch and Liberty Days: Seafaring Life in the Nineteenth Century* (Salem, MA, 1982), p. 69.

nothing which happened on dry land seemed to him, apparently, to be worthy of inclusion in his book. Indeed, the only onshore incident he mentioned which was not related to seeking placement on a ship took place in Doctor's Cove, Barrington, on his way from Saint John, New Brunswick, to Halifax. "1845, Dec. 1. Went ashore to cut and haul wood. In the evening went to a juvenile sewing party." (One does rather wonder what a "juvenile sewing party" may have been.)

At the time of his first entry, Da Freytas was eighteen or nineteen years old.[2] Judging from his practiced use of nautical terms he was already an experienced seaman; he may have gone to sea at twelve or thirteen, like many lads of his time.[3] Among the ports he visited or passed in the years of this journal were Bombay, Calcutta, Cochin China, Manila, Pernambuco, Cienfuegos, Java, Bali, Liverpool, Cork, the Greek islands, Alexandria, New Orleans and Boston. He was in the adventurous minority; until the 1860s most sailing trade from British North American ports was local, and the larger proportion of non-local trade was limited to the United States or the United Kingdom.[4] He crossed the equator many times, usually writing simply "crossed the line." Only once, on 27 August 1842, did he mention the traditional masquerades and high jinks which initiated newcomers to deep-water sailing; the mention was brief indeed: "Neptune came on board as usual, fine fun shaving."

Unusual shipboard incidents, such as the capture of an eleven-foot shark near "the gut" (the Straits of Gibraltar), or the defection of crew members to British ships of the line in Hong Kong, were dealt with as briefly as possible. Here, for example, is the record of a tragedy:

> Oct. 3rd 1848. In Lat.22.56N Lon.45.8W fell in with the brigt 'Robert' of New York from Gambia. The Captain, first and second Mates had died with the fever consequently they had no navigator. At 9 1/2 a.m. lowered the boat.

2 The Dominion Census, Halifax, Ward 1, listed Da Freytas as 49 years old in 1871; 58 in 1881; and 70 in 1891.

3 See, e.g., Stanley C. Spicer, *Masters of Sail* (Halifax, 1968), p. 160; Benjamin Doane, *Following the Sea: A Young Sailor's Account of the Seafaring Life in the mid-1800's* (Halifax, 1987), p. 8; Alan Villiers, *The Way of a Ship* (New York, 1953), pp. 167–170; and Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Kingston and Montreal, 1989), *passim*.

4 Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, p. 20ff.; Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1982), introduction.

> When our Chief Mate boarded her the remains of the Captain (who had died a few hours before) was then committed to the deep by his orders. He then took charge. At 1 p.m. parted company with the 'Robert' she shaping her course for New York.

Again, on 16 August 1841, having just shipped aboard the brigantine *Sarah* under a Captain Davis at Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, Da Freytas wrote:

> At daylight got under weigh and sail'd for Sydney C.B. At 8:00 a.m. struck on the Brandy rock and stove in starboard bow, rigg'd both pumps but the water was soon up over the ballast and she became unmanageable. Oblig'd to stand in for wherever she would fetch. At 12 noon ran her in among the rocks in Logy bay and let go the anchor in 80 fathom water, got ashore in some fishing boats where we were kindly supplied with a supper and lodgings for the night. Aug. 17. At 7 a.m. after eating breakfast set off for St. John's when we arrived at 11 a.m. After getting dinner returned to Logy Bay with a car for what clothes we had saved. At 5 p.m. returned to St. John's where Mr. Findlay JP sent us to a boarding house until we should get a ship.

And on 26 January 1843, he wrote stoically, "sending down mizen top sailyard, the lift gave way while on the yard arm, which precipitated me down onto the deck and broke my left leg just above the ankle." The injury, which occurred coming into Whampoa, China, for a cargo of tea, received no further mention. (When I was a child I was very worried to read that he had fallen and broken his leg. I ran to my mother and showed her the place in the book. She nodded seriously, agreeing that it must have hurt a great deal. But she said she knew him when she was a little girl, and his leg was definitely all better by then.)

Da Freytas recorded the names and rigs of vessels sighted, 'spoken,' or boarded, and often their destinations, home ports, cargoes and masters' names, even when the excitement of the moment might justify an omission--as in "1848 August 8 at three a.m. in thick fog was run into by brig 'Haecla' of Copenhagen bound to Messina, carried away our jib booms, she carrying away her fore top gallant mast, stunsail booms, stunsails, etc." Settings and shakings out and takings in and reefings of fore-topmast stunsails, maintop gallants, studding sails, mizzen topsails or whatever were given equal billing with any and all such disasters.

The majority of new assignments were undertaken in Liverpool, England, where Da Freytas always stayed at the Seamen's Home.[5] He never failed to record the terms of each new contract, or 'Articles.' A typical agreement was one signed in Halifax on 23 September 1846, to sail "from hence to the Isle of France [Mauritius], from thence to any port or ports in India or China, from thence to the West Indies or back to Halifax voyage not to exceed 2 years at two pounds fifteen currency per month." Except for a small advance, sometimes in the form of a promissory note, wages were paid out at the shipping office upon return. If a sailor left the vessel at some intermediate point, he received no wages. It is said that some unscrupulous Bluenose captains would cut back rations or apply unreasonable discipline in order to pressure inexperienced sailors into jumping ship. The captain would then pocket the seaman's outgoing pay.[6] Da Freytas seems to have been too canny for such tactics; when the food was poor or scanty, he simply made a note of it. On 8 August 1843, for example, on a fifteen-month China voyage: "our allowance of bread which has been but 3/4 lb per day since April was reduced today to 1/2 lb and very bad at that." He waited it out, and on 20 August they "lowered the quarterboat and boarded the 'England' got 4 bags of bread from her."

Being a man of backbone and common sense, he sometimes declined to complete a voyage for his own reasons. On 23 October 1847, at the Liverpool Seamen's Home, he signed onto the steamship *Antelope* under a Captain O'Brien, bound for "Rio or any other ports in the Brazils, thence any discharging port in Europe, voyage not to exceed eighteen months at £2.10 per month." It may be significant that this was the first time this experienced

5 Seamen's (or Sailors') Homes were maintained worldwide by charitable organizations, often with religious connections. They provided a temperance alternative to the usual boarding houses where seamen were overcharged and fell prey to crimps [press gangs]. Sailors' homes were planned in Halifax, Quebec and St. John's in the 1840s; the Halifax home opened in 1862, St. John's in 1853; see Fingard, *Jack in Port,* chapter 5. The Boston Mariner's House was founded in 1845 by a group of women calling themselves the Seamen's Aid Society; it is listed in the *Boston Almanac* of 1847. From 13 to 23 Mar. 1849, Da Freytas stayed at another Sailor's Home listed in the same almanac as located at "99 Purchase St., kept by John O. Chaney." Purchase St. was convenient to the Fort Hill Wharf, where the Halifax packet docked. For the subject in general, see Montague Gore, *Sailors' Homes* (London, 1852).

6 John P. Parker, *Sails of the Maritimes* (Aylesbury, Bucks., 1960), p. 59; and Villiers, *Ship*, p. 177. This seems to be contradicted by Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, p. 196, where he gives a slightly lower average monthly wage for deserters. The first contract in Da Freytas's log may have been such a case. After completing a voyage to Kingston and Montego Bay, he went ashore to the Court House in Harbour Grace, NF, "to demand discharge, was refused it, refused to return to duty."

seaman had worked aboard a steamer. The *Antelope* sailed on 27 October, and a month later came to anchor at Bahia. On 28 November, Da Freytas wrote: "refused to proceed any further on the voyage on account of the leaky state of the ship." On the following day, for his stubbornness, he "was put in irons, and taken ashore to prison and there left." On 30 November he was released by the British consul, and immediately signed aboard a vessel he considered more seaworthy, the sailing barque *Jane* of London, carrying sugar, coffee and rosewood to Trieste.

The captain of the *Antelope* seems to have over-reacted. It is true that at a time when the average crew was a dozen for a brig or brigantine, fifteen for a barque, and eighteen for a ship,[7] the loss of any one crew member was significant. Yet the problem of desertion was always present, and the percentages were high. In the 1860s, able seamen (we can assume, from the expert notes in his log, that Da Freytas was in this group) deserted 22% as often as they had opportunities, the usual cause being economic: the quest for higher pay.[8] It was a free man's right to seek better employment.

A few months earlier in that same year the redoubtable Captain McKenzie[9] of the brig *William* out of Halifax had apparently imposed no obstacle to Da Freytas's leaving the ship in Calcutta, although the articles had read "to return to Halifax or West Indies." McKenzie may or may not have gained some advantage for himself, but things turned out well for Da Freytas, regardless; ten days later he found a position on the *Earl of Lonsdale*, up from £2.15 on the *William* to £4, with a £6 advance. It seems unlikely, however, that Da Freytas deserted with this in mind; high wages were seldom found in East Indian ports.[10]

7 D.M. Williams, "Crew Size in Transatlantic Trades," in *Working Men Who Got Wet* (St. John's, 1980), pp. 107–153.

8 Fingard, *Jack in Port*, pp. 68–74; and L.R. Fischer, "A Dereliction of Duty: The Problem of Desertion in Nineteenth Century Sailing Vessels," in *Working Men*, pp. 51–70. The raise would have to be substantial to offset the loss of back pay.

9 George McKenzie (1798–1876) of New Glasgow, NS, was a notable shipbuilder, navigator and leader of men; he scorned the use of tugs to sail up narrow rivers. He was also an MLA in the NS Legislature, 1855–63; see Spicer, *Masters of Sail*, pp. 44–46.

10 Fischer, "A Dereliction of Duty," p. 55.

In the case of the *Antelope*, the steamship probably was leaky, as Da Freytas claimed; he was certainly sea-wise enough to judge. A few years later, moreover, he could not have been put in irons for his refusal to proceed. In 1855 seamen were granted the legal right to leave a leaky vessel, and from 1864 onwards British magistrates would instruct marine engineers to survey those ships declared by crew members to be unseaworthy: "By 1872 the vast majority of 'Refusals to Proceed' were due to [the designation] 'vessel unseaworthy/leaky'."[11] One might have expected a young Haligonian in the exciting days of the first Cunarders to embrace eagerly the new steam technology, but this was Da Freytas's first and last voyage on such a newfangled contraption. Like his contemporary, Charles Dickens, who eloquently loathed his voyage on the Cunard flagship *Britannia* in 1842, able seaman Da Freytas was not prepared to see the Age of Sail give way to the Age of Steam.[12]

So far this small book has revealed little about its compiler, beyond neat handwriting, methodical habits, serious attention to seamanship, a sturdy concern for his own welfare, and the not unremarkable ability to sail all over the world without losing his notebook, his pen and--presumably--his watch and his railway ticket. A little more can be learned from notes contained on the inside covers, where Da Freytas kept track of expenses. He paid ten shillings to "the bumboat man in Calcutta," and "two and six to the bumboat man in Coringa [Madras]." (The bum-boat, dear reader, brings all manner of

11 Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, pp. 101, 171ff, and Table 18; Fingard, *Jack in Port*, pp. 157–160.

12 This particular *Antelope* cannot be found in *Lloyds' List*, so her later fate is unknown. Here is Dickens on the *Britannia*:

> Several berths are full of water, and the cabins all leaky.... All the stewards have fallen downstairs at various dinnertimes and go about in sticking-plasters.... The agitation of a steam-vessel on a bad winter's night in the wild Atlantic is impossible for the most vivid imagination to conceive...she is flung on her side with her masts dipping into the waves, springing up again she rolls over onto her other side, until a heavy sea strikes her with a sound of a hundred great guns, and hurls her back, she stops, staggers, shivers, as though stunned, and with a violent throbbing at her heart darts onward like a monster goaded to madness, to be beaten down, battered, and crushed, and leaped on by an angry sea; thunder, lightning, hail, and rain and wind are all in contention for mastery; every plank has its groan, every nail its shriek, and every drop of water in the great ocean its howling voice. Words cannot convey it.

Dickens booked his return on a sailing ship, and was entirely happy with her; see *American Notes* (New York, 1893 ed.), pp. 1–20, 190–197, *passim*.

fresh food and sundries, including writing paper, to ships standing offshore.[13]) Upon receiving two months' advance pay, to the lordly amount of £5.10s., our sailor immediately spent the ten shillings on washing, £1 on the same five days later, and then £2.6s. for watch repair. Clean clothes and a companionably ticking timepiece must have been sweet indeed after a long sea voyage. On 19 March 1847, in Coringa, Da Freytas also paid £1 for 2,000 cigars at four rupees per 1,000, presumably after another advance; this last may have been an investment in goods to sell at another port.

The last dated entry is for 1 April 1849. It lists the landmarks of homecoming: "the fog clearing away, got a sight of the land (the first since leaving Boston) about Cape La Have. At noon Cross Island bore NW. At 6 PM Sambro bore N 1/2 mile. At 11 PM made fast alongside of Brown's Wharf." Inside the back cover, in dark ink with an emphatic hand, the letters sprawling sideways across the precise little list of expenditures, are recorded some events which probably explain why his seagoing career ended here. "January 7th '52. Got spliced at St. Mary's by Father Tom." The newspaper, too, reported the marriage: "At St. Mary's Cathedral by the Rev. T.L. Donnelly, V.G., Mr. Charles Jos. Defreytas, to Miss Anne Elizabeth O'Donnell, both of the city."[14] The handwriting on the endpaper continues: "Dec. 31 at 9 1/4 a.m. a Son and Heir born to my Vast Estates. Jan. 4th Baptism at St. Mary's by Rev. Mr. Harrington. Sponsor James and Lydie Defreitas."

And so he went no more a-roving.

A Sailor's Commonplace-book

To read the commonplace-book is to become acquainted with quite another Charles Da Freytas. Here the writing is a smoother, more decorative copperplate hand with some calligraphic flourishes. When released from the demands and fatigues of the watch and the pitching of the vessel, the sailor is an even more accomplished penman. At the ends of the poems are little tailpieces in ink, resembling scrimshaw motifs: scrolls and acanthus leaves,

13 "A bumboat woman was I, and faithfully served the ships/ With apples and cakes, and beer, and halfpenny dips,/ And beef for the generous mess, where the officers dine at nights,/ And fine fresh peppermint drops for the rollicking midshipmites." W.S. Gilbert, *More "Bab" Ballads* (London, 1873), p. 163ff.

14 Courtesy of J.W. Hickey.

crossed Union Jacks, a flower, a sailboat, a four-leaf clover, a knotted rope. Sometimes they fit the verses: "and drink to the smuggler King" is followed by a cask of rum surmounted with flags; "The Mayflower" and "The Four-leaved Shamrock" are followed by very credible little botanical drawings.

The poems, running to about 1,500 lines on 54 pages, are flirtatious, sentimental, sad, full of nature and the pathetic fallacy, and thick with farewells, abandoned wives and children, and sailors' deaths. They can be roughly divided into three types: poems about courtship ("The Coquette," "The Girl with Laughing Eyes," etc.); poems about the natural world ("The Wildflower," "Sunset at Sea," etc.); and sea narratives and shanties ("The Child of a Tar," "The Rover's Bride," "Old Ironsides or the Death Defying Leap," and so on). Some give the authors' names at the bottom, and some are unattributed. Among the former are lyrics of Goldsmith, Byron, Eliza Cook, Mrs. Hemans, Luis Vaz de Camoëns, Pietro Metastasio, Park Benjamin, J.L. Bowman, John Brainard, Thomas Moore and G.P. Morris. Among the latter are a few which seem to be by our tar himself, and they are as sentimental as any. These are all written to or about his dear Annie; some, which refer to her as his wife, must have been written after 1852. A lengthy poetic soliloquy (see below) expresses his sense of indebtedness to her for all his happiness.

This part of the book poses a few questions. When did he ever find the time to write? While the other off-watch seamen were engaged in their tarry pastimes--singing to the accompaniment of the mandolin or accordion, playing euchre, casino, or low-jack, carving wood or whalebone[15]--was our Charles scribbling away like Gibbon? But where did he acquire his literary interests? How did one who went to sea so young develop a taste for Byron and Goldsmith? Was the answer in his schooling? What sort of education might a Halifax sailor have had?

In 1830 an English visitor wrote:

> Education in the elementary branches is more generally to be attained throughout Nova Scotia than might be expected in so young a country.... Halifax possesses a grammar-school, which is assisted by a yearly allowance from the public revenue, a large school on the national and one on the Lancastrian system, a school for the children of Roman Catholics, and several smaller private schools.[16]

15 Spicer, *Masters of Sail,* pp. 180–185; Creighton, *Dogwatch, passim.*

16 Captain William Moorsom, *Letters from Nova Scotia, Comprising Sketches of a Young Country* (London, 1830), pp. 140ff.

In 1842, however, a lengthy debate in the Legislature, on the allocation of funds for education, contradicted this visitor's enthusiasm. Members protested that

> the county was deficient in common schools...and was it just and fair, or consistent with common sense, to support academies and colleges, leaving the poor of the county without means of obtaining a common school education? ...Lawyers, doctors, and clergymen were absolutely necessary at times, but whenever there was a sufficient number to provide for the needs of the county it was time to think of educating the poor. As to lawyers and the other professional men, there were full enough at present, indeed the county was so overstocked that there was no necessity to add to the number until the Common schools were much better provided for and more abundant.[17]

It seems that although Da Freytas was not destined for the professions--and just as well, if the county was overstocked--his three R's were in very good trim. In that respect, perhaps he had an advantage; family tradition holds that his father, Manuel José Da Freytas, from Fayal in the Azores, was a language teacher in the Halifax schools and spoke several languages fluently.[18]

According to a study of literacy among seamen (defined as the ability to sign their name to the articles), "78% of sailors in Atlantic Canadian fleets could sign their name (15% with difficulty)."[19] Nova Scotians were considerably ahead; between 1863 and 1878 the rate was 84.3% for Nova Scotian seamen; 76.3% for New Brunswick; 72.5% for England and Wales; and 46.6% for Newfoundland. Evidently many educated young Haligonians went to sea; the literacy rate for men aged 20–30 years in the general population was only two percentage points higher. Another study gives the following literacy percentages for deck-hands (seamen, excluding officers) who would have been schooled between 1835 and 1839: Canadian, 54.5%; foreign, 51.7%.[20] Since the percentages increased year by year, probably in 1841 only about half of Da Freytas's peers could read and write. Able

17 *Acadian Recorder*, 19 Mar. 1842.

18 Information courtesy of Helen O. Anderson, Da Freytas's great-grandniece.

19 Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, pp. 158–63 and tables 15–17.

20 David Alexander, "Literacy among Canadian and Foreign Seamen, 1863–90," in *Working Men*, pp. 1–33. Further breakdowns for 1863–99 show NS deck-hands, at 77.7% literacy, to be ahead of the USA (60%), Great Britain (70%) and New Brunswick (61.2%). Da Freytas would have learned to read during the period 1827–1830.

seamen, by percentage, were the least literate members of the crews.

"The image of the seaman as a brutalized and impoverished victim prevents us from seeing the seaman as he often was--sitting on the deck in the early evening, if the weather were fair, reading a book."[21] Now we know that as an educated deck-hand Da Freytas was not unusual, but where did he keep his books? In the fo'c'sle's cramped quarters a sailor's possessions had to fit neatly in his sea-chest, and stay there. The average seaman carried no more than "clothes, soap, towels, writing materials, a few soft rags for bandages, a straw tick and quilt, a knife, fork, spoon and cup, and a metal dish."[22] Was there room for collected editions of various poets, or even for a small all-purpose anthology? Presumably not. Those sailors who did bring books brought seamanship manuals.[23] And shipboard lending libraries did not yet exist.[24]

The answer appears to be that a lover of poetry did not need books. All the poets mentioned above appeared often in the periodicals of the day, as both contributors and editors.[25] John Brainard ("If I could love I'd find me out a roguish, laughing eye") was editor of the *Hartford Mirror* in Connecticut. George P. Morris edited the *New York Mirror* from 1823 to 1842, and wrote popular songs; Da Freytas chose to include his "Oh Think of Me" and "Old Ironsides." Not to be confused with Oliver Wendell Holmes's poem of the same name, the latter is a harrowing account of a tough old sea-captain who rescued his small son from the topmost rigging of a schooner by threatening to shoot him if he didn't jump into the water.

Felicia Dorothea Hemans ("A Thought of Home at Sea," "How Can that

21 Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, p. 158.

22 Spicer, *Masters of Sail*, p. 182. For similar lists of the contents of actual sea-chests, see Fingard, *Jack in Port*, p. 78ff.

23 The contents of the sea-chest of one 21-year-old able seaman in 1866 included a Bible, a geography and ten seamanship books; see Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, p. 163.

24 Such as were provided by the Merchant Marine Library Association in the 1920s; see James C. Healey, *Foc's'le and Glory-hole: A Study of the Merchant Seaman and His Occupation* (New York, 1936), chapter xi.

25 With the exception of J.T.B. Wollaston ("I gave my love a flower to deck her auburn hair") and one Richardson ("Fair queen of my bosom"), neither of whom have been yet identified.

Love," and "Light and Dark") was undoubtedly the most widely-read popular poet of her time. By her death in 1835 she had published twenty-four volumes of verse, which went through many printings, both authorized and pirated, and which were looted wholesale for anthologies, magazines and newspapers. Da Freytas admired her work; in his emotional untitled soliloquy (see below) he mentioned "all the powers of rhetoric, the eloquence of a Cicero, or the poetry of a Hemans." He may even have seen her house, since it was in the same street as the Sailors' Home in Liverpool and was mentioned as a tourist site in Baedeker's guides as late as the 1920s.

Indeed, some of Da Freytas's authors appeared *only* in newspapers and magazines. Park Benjamin, for example ("Farewell! Thou hast broken the chain/ which the pow'r of thy beauty has made"), from 1835 onward edited *The New England Magazine*, *The American Monthly*, *The New Yorker* and *The New World*. According to the 1855 *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, "Mr. Benjamin's poems, lyrics, and occasional effusions are numerous, but have not been collected. They are to be found scattered over the entire periodical literature of the country for the last twenty years."[26] Indeed, his first book of collected poetry did not appear until 1948.[27]

Many of Da Freytas's selections were also song lyrics, the best known being Eliza Cook's "Old Arm Chair." Cook was a poet beloved in her day, although her work was not collected in book form until the 1870s. "The Old Arm Chair" was a universal favourite, with or without a credit to the author, both in periodicals and in sheet music. It first appeared in 1837 in the English periodical *Weekly Dispatches*, and then in *Eliza Cook's Journal for Family Reading*. Da Freytas copied it out twice, once in pencil and once in ink, but apparently, wherever he found it, he did not know it was by Cook. He did, however, put her name on another poem, "They tell us that the deep sea hath/ more dangers than the land."

Some of the songs in his commonplace-book ("A Soldier's Dream," "A Thought of Home at Sea," "A Four Leaved Shamrock," "The Old House at Home," and "The Old Arm Chair") are in the nineteenth-century sheet music collection of the Boston Public Library. The popularity of "The Old Arm Chair" as a parlour-song performed by Henry Russell suggests the possibility

26 Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, II (New York, 1855), 499.

27 *Poems of Park Benjamin*, ed. M. Hoovey (New York, 1948).

that Da Freytas might have heard it in concert and then written it down, without knowing the author's name. For a sailor in the 1840s, access to a parlour concert somehow seems unlikely, but he may have heard the songs in a less formal setting. We think of sailors at sea lustily giving out "Reuben Ranzo" or "Way-hey, blow the man down," instead of "Hark! 'Tis the vesper bell chiming along!" or "I'll seek a four-leafed clover in all the fairy dells." According to Eric Sager, however, "in the day watches most sailors did not sing shanties, which were usually sung only to accompany work. More often they sang ballads or love songs or popular songs."[28]

This still, of course, does not explain the purely literary verse in the collection (the sonnets of the early Portuguese poet Camoëns, for example). The most likely and easily available source was the newspapers. Even the most out-of-pocket sailor could always get his hands on the daily paper. A *New York Daily Tribune* was among the meager contents of a typical sea-chest exhibited at the Peabody-Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1982.[29] On shore, newspapers were available in the reading rooms of institutional sailors' homes. The Mariner's House run by the Seamen's Aid Society of Boston, for example, advertised that "Arrangements are made for the wants of the mind as well as the body. A pleasant and, in the winter, well-warmed reading-room is constantly kept open, furnished with the daily papers, and useful and entertaining books."[30]

Da Freytas's taste for the popular poets could easily be satisfied by an occasional glance at, say, the *Morning Herald* of Halifax, which published an average of two poems per issue. Another Halifax newspaper, the *Novascotian*, during the years 1834 and 1835 regularly placed one or two poems very conspicuously on the upper left corner of page one. It was the first thing one saw upon picking up the paper. Moreover, the 1834 index to

28 Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, p. 234. By coincidence the Boston Athenæum, a pleasantly stodgy institution, offered a delightful concert of Victorian parlour-songs the very week this page was being written. A buxom mezzo-soprano in a sequinned, high-necked gown, rendered "The Old Arm Chair" in a manner which would bring tears to the eyes of Ahab. Henry Russell's name was on the program, but not Eliza Cook's.

29 Creighton, *Dogwatch*, p. 6.

30 "In short, everything is arranged for the comfort and improvement of the sailors, and they cannot fail of being happy there, if they conduct themselves well. Seamen, will you come to the MARINER'S HOUSE and see what a pleasant, comfortable home is provided for you?" *Annual Report of the Seamen's Aid Society, 1859* (Boston), advertisement on back cover.

the *Colonial Herald*, also of Halifax,[31] lists numerous poems by Hemans, Benjamin, Cook and Thomas Moore--Moore's most recent compilation, *Irish Melodies*, to judge from booksellers' advertisements was locally very popular, perhaps at least in part because Moore had visited Nova Scotia in 1804. There were also sonnets by Camoëns, translated by Hemans. Although not so labeled, the two Camoëns sonnets in Da Freytas's notebook are likely, from their style, to be Hemans's translations.

Many of the poems in the *Colonial Herald* during 1834 were about the sea and seamen: Hemans's "Prayer at Sea after Victory," the anonymous "Loose Leaves of a Sailor's Notebook," "Homeward Bound," "A Sailor's Parting," and numerous pathetic tales of dying children and absent husbands, lovers, brothers and fathers. Did sailors, too, like to wipe away a tear now and then? Judging from the poems in Da Freytas's notebook, this sailor just *loved* to mop up a flood.

A Sailor's Courtship

The sailor's own poems, like those of many a published poet, were addressed to his sweetheart. Inspired by the muse of the occasion he wrote four birthday pieces, each in a different metre. Together, they tell a story. In "Fifth of September" (Annie's birthday), he states his wish to "place you in your proper sphere of life,/ a loving, virtuous, true, and tender wife." He concludes with "My heaven I'd find when in your company/ and never, never roam dear Anne from thee." On a lighter note: "All hail bright morn that ushers in/ The birthday of my Annie./ God grant that you may live to see/ Right happy years and many!" (Here one can see the influence of Robert Burns.) By noting her age, Da Freytas helps us to date his "Annie" poems: "Tis now just eighteen years since first/ She drew the breath of life./ Ere another year has passed away/ God grant she'll be my wife." Because of her extreme youth it seems unlikely that an epistolary courtship went on while he was at sea, so the "Annie" poems are likely to date from after 1849. Those which mention a hope of marriage, including the birthday ones, must have been written between 1849 and 1852. In true Victorian manner, even the most cheerful moment is never quite free of an awareness of death: "And when old age

31 Joanna Baillie Howe, *Index to the Colonial Herald New Series* (Halifax, 1834).

o'ertakes us both,/ A welcome we will give him,/ And cheerfully yield up this life/ In hopes to meet in heaven."

The course of true love, of course, does not always run smoothly. Five pages of *vers libre* in "Reminiscences" tell of a difficulty apparently experienced prior to meeting sweet Annie, and which almost decided the poet upon returning to the sealife again:

> Reflecting one night
> On the pains and toils deceits and bitter
> Disappointments encountered by those
> In search of what this world calls Pleasure:
> And in which I had fully shared:
> I resolved to give up the pursuit;
> And by a new course of life to atone
> For my indiscretions while a follower
> Of that Goddess. To do this effectually
> I had resolved, to quit my native land
> Forever: where my follies had bro't
> An odium on my name: And in some
> Remote country, where I should be unknown
> To establish a new character. Happiness
> I ne'er expected again to find; but
> Thoroughly disgusted with my former
> Mode of life, I wished at least, to be far
> Removed from scenes that would recall it
> But too vividly to my recollection.

Had he done the things that sailors usually do, those things that young men brought up by school-teacher fathers are inclined to believe they shouldn't? Ah, but wait...enter Annie:

> While thus awaiting a fitting opportunity
> To execute my plan, Chance or some higher power
> Introduced to my acquaintance, a being
> Who seemed destined purposely to thwart my
> Intentions. She was young, gay, giddy,
> Thoughtless, perhaps to a fault.
> Yet the eye of one accustomed to the study
> Of human nature might have perceived
> Beneath all this, qualities of a more sterling
> Value;...all this might have passed
> And been forgotten, or remembered but to
> Awake a smile at her fantastic tricks.
> But Fate, it seems, had willed it otherwise.
> I had travelled in my earlier days
> And in allusion to it one day

I stated my intention of again leaving
My home, to end my days in some distant Clime.
She asked me why I wished to go away:
--Oh how shall I recall that scene that first
Awoke in me feelings quite anew.
With a countenance radiant with
Affection,...she entreated me
To stay at home among my friends, and not
To wander forth again. Astonished to find
One so young, so fair, to express an interest
In my welfare, where I had concluded that
All had steeled their hearts against me,
I asked her reason,...her reply;
At once so expressive of her simplicity,
And benevolence, so won upon me,
That I could have pressed her to my bosom
And blessed her, for the first kind words
That were address'd to a heart chilled
By this world's coldness.

How is one to tell whether these are his own words, or those taken from some printed source, like most of the other selections in his commonplace-book? The accurate spelling and smooth hand suggest that it was not composed outright in the book. Does a sailor's literacy extend to familiarity with such words as "odium" and "obdurate?" Probably--especially at a time when Scott, Dickens and Trollope were regularly serialized in popular magazines. But back to the story...an evil influence intervenes:

We parted,
And 'ere we met again Envy with her
Serpent tongue had whispered a tale
Of my past follies, which soon reachd her ear.
Reckoning myself now lost in her estimation
I sought her presence to return an article
Entrusted to my care, at the same time
To acknowledge my error, my utter unworthiness,
To possess her esteem, to bid her farewell forever,
Then at once to hurry into exile, either to find
An early death 'mid the dangers of the ocean,
Or to win a new name in some new country.
But her friendship was not so lightly bestowed.
She replied that she accused me not, nor wished
To hear of my accusation by others, that she
yet saw qualities in me sufficient to be
Admired, and that she would still remain
My friend. I asked her then if I might dare

To hope for forgiveness for the past,--her answer--
Oh ye eternal powers of Love 'till then
To me unknown: how shall I describe the
Thrilling emotions that convulsed my soul.

Here seems a good place to drop the curtain for a few lines; suffice it to say that feelings elevated, intense and sublime rendered the writer "powerless, almost speechless." When we return to the happy pair, it is for a summation:

This [kiss] then and this alone was her answer.
But could, I ask, all the power of rhetoric,
The eloquence of a Cicero, or the poetry
Of a Hemans, could they, I ask, rival this
Simple, sincere impulse, of a pure and
Innocent heart. Yes, she had forgiven me.--
Nay more, by this simple act, she had acknowledged
her love for me, and won mine to all eternity.
And earnestly will I strive, dear girl, to prove
Myself worthy of that love. And should
My future life be blest with Happiness
'Tis to you alone that I will owe it.

If these lines are not Da Freytas's own, they were probably chosen because they paralleled a specific episode in his life. The next page of his commonplace-book contains a poem entitled "Lines Suggested by the Foregoing Aberration." Following a similar theme of past error, renunciation and trust, there is a familiar self-deprecatory tone to the title, and a home-made feel to the verses:

Oh why from thy home wouldst thou wander away,
The dangers and toils of the ocean to dare?
Be content, 'mid the scenes of thy childhood to stay,
With the friends of thy youth, who love thee so dear.

Thus spoke a fair maid.--Oh but little she knew
Of the pangs that assailed, the lone heart she addressed;
But her kind tones awoke a feeling quite new
In that heart, which so long was by sorrow oppressed.

How often a word kindly spoken will turn
The resolves of a heart long to anguish a prey
Or cause a new feeling to kindle and burn
In the bosom where sorrow had long held her sway.

Yet why waste a thought of that innocent heart
On one whom all others has learned to disdain?
Her answer--new hopes and new joys did impart
To that breast, long subject to sorrow and pain.

We parted, but envy in whispers had spread
A tale of past follies which soon reached her ear:
Now those hopes on which of late he had fed
Departed and left him a prey to despair.

Her presence he sought, resolved to declare
His unworthiness now, to possess her esteem;
And bid her adieu, then to exile repair
By a new course of life his name to redeem.

With a smile of forgiveness she kindly replied
That she gave no attention to charges like this.
That still on his honour she firmly relied,
And to seal her forgiveness she gave him a kiss!

What thrilling emotions now throb'd thro' my heart,
What transports of joy ran thro' every nerve;
'Twas Love, newly born, which new life did impart.
Love for Her whose love I will try to deserve.

The following lines, signed 'C.D.,' also seem likely to be Da Freytas's own, again inspired by the same incident:

On Reading that Letter

Now break my heart! for all is lost,/ She's bid adieu
to me forever.
Ah, 'tis a sad, sad thing indeed,/ For once united
hearts to sever.
Ah little did I understand/ The treasure I in her
possess'd.
We might have gone on hand in hand,/ If unkind words
had been suppress'd....
This must not be--I'll seek her out,/ And for
forgiveness humbly sue,
And e'en should I obtain it not/ To her memory I'll be
true.

We may never know whether Da Freytas wrote any of these selections himself. It is possible that a search of Halifax newspapers between the date of his home-coming in 1849 and his marriage in 1852 would yield these passages. Whatever the truth, his choice of poems nevertheless reveals the

man: he was peace-loving, wistful and fond of women. We do know that he continued to write poems to his Annie after their marriage. One of the pieces in his commonplace-book is a husbandly lament during her absence: "My home it is lonely, my beloved is not here./ The time it is weary and so long does appear./ For her speedy return I'll most earnestly pray,/ For nothing goes right while my Annie's away!" (This is not hard to believe, for they had twelve children.) He remained an earnest but not self-satisfied poet, writing: "indulgence, too for these poor rhymes I'll ask."

After he left the sea, Da Freytas took up the painter's trade. Family tradition claims that he lived out his declining years in the home of his daughter Margaret Catherine ("Maggie"), who after teaching school in Halifax married John Hickey, a cabinetmaker from Prince Edward Island; the family later emigrated to Boston. The notebook passed to Maggie's youngest daughter, Marion (1898–1978), who remembered him as a kindly white-haired gentleman who spent his days reading and keeping his attic room shipshape. Family tradition may be a little hazy; on this particular matter, official records do not support it. Charles Da Freytas's name cannot be found on any index of deaths or passenger lists in the Massachusetts State Archives. But at least five of his children arrived between 1865 and 1889.[32] On these passenger lists they all stated their intentions to take up residence in the United States.

Maggie's daughter Marion in turn gave the notebook to her daughter--who has written this, partly out of a desire to know what sailors were like in those long-ago days. Research has shown that Da Freytas was not unusual; the stereotypic image of the common seaman as slangy, uneducated and feckless has given way in more recent years to the picture of a literate, introspective breed of men. Da Freytas exemplified the best: he kept careful records,

32 Records can be found for the arrival in Boston of Maggie with two small children in 1885; of Charles in 1865; of Katie in 1882 and 1888; of Emanuel in 1881, 1883 and again in 1886; of James in 1879; of Frank in 1889; and of Charles again in 1887. Charles probably returned to Halifax, where he may be identified as the Charles De Freytas, tobacconist, listed in the 1891 Halifax census. Frank's and Charles's dates contain minor discrepancies. According to records cited by Helen Anderson, Frank should have been 22, not 17, in 1889; and Charles should have been 33, not 31, in 1887. The records also disagree with the logbook on the year, but not the month and day, of Charles Jr.'s birth.

Emanuel stayed in the US and married one Sally, who was known for her excellent fish chowder. Kathleen Elizabeth also stayed; she was Mrs. Anderson's mother. Maggie and her husband stayed, had four more children, moved to New York, found that "no Irish need apply," and changed their name from Hickey to Howard. Their two sons, determined not to change *their* name, left in high dudgeon for The Great War and eventually came back to Boston. But that is another story.

moved purposefully from one employer to another for economic reasons, sought employment at shipping offices rather than with independent agents and chose to stay in the safe, temperate Sailors' Homes when temporarily ashore. He read the papers most people read, and liked the poetry most people liked. And like the majority of deep-water men,[33] he eventually settled into family life and a peaceful trade on shore.

Acknowledgments

The author is indebted to John William Hickey of Oviedo, Florida, a great-great-grandson of Charles Da Freytas, for much of the genealogical data, and for providing contact with Mrs. Helen O. Anderson, Charles Da Freytas's great-grandniece, of Rochester, New Hampshire, who provided more. As a result of a trip to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, John Hickey successfully traced the Da Freytas line to the present generation, restoring communication between two long-separated branches of the sailor's descendants.

Thanks are due to Michael Dane and his wife Sue Drozda for collating a chaotic collection of xeroxed sheets and for reading and commenting on the manuscript. Thanks are also due to Marven E. Moore, Curator of the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, Halifax, NS, for answering my inquiry about the unpublished songs from Benjamin Doane's journal, cited in footnote 3 (although, as he pointed out, they are not in the same genre as Da Freytas's).

Newspapers cited are in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. Materials on Boston and Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century are from the collection of the Boston Athenaeum.

33 Spicer, *Masters of Sail*, p. 83.

Appendix 1: Genealogical Data

Charles Joseph Da Freytas's parents:

Manuel José DeFreytas/DeFreitas. Born on the island of Fayal, in the Azores. Married 11 Aug. 1821 at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Halifax, to Mary Ann Davis, born 1799 in Bristol, England, who died 6 Feb. 1871, a widow, in the home of her son Charles at 61 Wellington St., Halifax.

His sisters and brothers:

Lydia Ann, "eldest daughter of Manuel Defreytas, Esq." who married James Cragg (*Novascotian*, 25 July 1853); Mary Elizabeth, born Sept. 1830; Kate, born ca. 1840; James Defreitas, witness at Charles Jr.'s baptism in 1852.

His wife: Ann Elizabeth O'Donnell, born 1834/36, Nova Scotia.

Their children:

1. Charles, b. 31 Dec. 1852. In 1881 a painter; in 1891 a tobacconist, Halifax.
2. Mary Ellen, b. 31 Sept. 1853. Not listed on 1871 census.
3. Emanuel Gordon, b. 4 Dec. 1855. In 1881 a painter; in 1891 a printer.
4. Jacobus Ambres ("James"), b. 7 Dec. 1858. In 1881 a painter.
5. Margareta Catherine ("Maggie"), b. 13 Sept. 1859. In 1881 a teacher.
6. Maria Louisa, b. 3 Feb. 1861. Not listed on 1871 census.
7. Catherina Joanna ("Kate"), b. 5 Dec. 1862. In 1891 a printer.
8. Emanuel, b. 31 May 1864. Not listed on 1871 census. (This is the right birthdate for the Emanuel, printer, who emigrated to Boston.)
9. Ellenor Frances ("Ella"), b. 4 Dec. 1866. In 1891 a telephone operator.
10. Francis Edmond ("Frank"), b. 17 Dec. 1867. In 1891 a clerk.
11. Lydia Anne, b. 24 Nov. 1872. Not listed on 1881 census.
12. William Joseph, b. 15 Jan. 1875. Not listed on 1881 census.

Appendix 2: Tables

Table 1: A Sailor's Travels: 1841–49

Ships: Date and Port Signed Aboard	Departures	Arrivals
2/12/1841, Halifax, NS, brig *Fanny*, Wm. Ayles master, @ £2 per month.	2/20 Halifax	3/21 Kingston, Jamaica
	3/27 Kingston	3/31 Montego Bay
	4/20 Montego Bay	4/26 Trinidad de Cuba
	5/22 Trinidad de Cuba	7/1 Harbour Grace
8/14/41 Harbour Grace, Nf, brigt *Sarah*, Davis master, for Sydney, CB, @ £2.5s. per mo.	8/16 Harbour Grace	8/16 Stove in bow on Brandy Rock. Logy Bay. 8/17 St. John's
8/20/41 St. John's, barque *Creamore*, Thos. Shapley master, of Liverpool, @ £2.5s. sterling.	8/27 St. John's	10/2/41 Pernambuco, Brazils
	10/15 Pernambuco	10/16 Cabedelo, mouth of Paraiba River
	11/3 Paraiba for Liverpool	12/2 Tuscar Light 12/4 Liverpool, Queen's Dock. Paid at Job & Bros. office
12/14/41 Liverpool, barque *Sarah Trotman* of L'pool, Hugh Brown Master, for W. Indies, @ £2.10s.	12/19 Liverpool	1/17/42 Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes
	4/7 Barbadoes for Liverpool	5/10/42 Liverpool, Queen's Dock, paid at S.L. Trotman office, Sweeting St.

Ships: Date and Port Signed Aboard	Departures	Arrivals
6/12/42 L'pool, ship *Liverpool*, of L'pool, Rob't McDowell master, @ 35s., 2 mos. advance.	7/8 Liverpool, Brunswick Basin	11/10 Java (for provisions)
	11/12 Anger [Anjer] Town, Java	12/26 Hong Kong Bay
	1/21/43 Hong Kong	1/24/43 Whampoa [outer port for Canton, China]
	3/25 Whampoa, China	3/28 Hong Kong
	4/11 Macao	5/9 Java
	5/10 Java	7/16 St. Helena
	7/17 St. Helena	9/10 Cork, Cape Light
	1/10 sent to Liverpool by Cork pilot	9/16 Liverpool, Prince's Dock
10/12/43, L'pool, ship *Liverpool* again @ £2 per mo.	10/26 Liverpool	3/20/44 watered ship at Fort Utrecht [Bali?]
	3/22 Fort Utrecht	5/20 Hong Kong
	7/9 Hong Kong	7/23 Manila
	7/29 Manila	7/29 Cavite, Philippines
	8/6 Cavite	8/7 Manila
	8/14 Manila	8/15 Cavite
	10/31 Cavite	1/27/45 Jamestown, St. Helena, for provisions
	1/27 Jamestown	3/27 Cork Harbour
	3/27 sent from Cork to Liverpool	3/28 *Tuscar*, Bardsey, Holyhead; 4/3 Prince's Dock, Liverpool

Ships: Date and Port Signed Aboard	Departures	Arrivals
4/8/45 Liverpool, engaged passage with ship *Trenton* of Boston to Boston.	4/12 Liverpool	5/12 Boston
5/20 Boston, brig *Hiram* of Halifax, James master.	5/21 Boston	5/26 Halifax
	11/15 Halifax	11/15 "brought up at the 9 mile house" [inn, Bedford Basin, n. of Hfx.]
	11/16 "7 am sail'd again; 9 am hove to at Fultz's [Twelve Mile House, Sackville] for breakfast; 10 1/2 am bro't up at Hamilton's [Twelve Mile House, New Road, Lower Sackville] (being foundered in the feet)."	11/17 took passage in coach to Windsor, NS
	11/21 Windsor, in steamer *Herald*	11/22 Saint John, NB
11/22 Saint John, engaged passage in schooner *Scotia*, Crowell master.	11/24 Saint John	11/29 Doctor's Cove, Barrington, NS
	12/3 Doctor's Cove	12/8 Halifax, Market Wharf
12/29 Halifax, signed aboard brig *Velocity*, Anderson master, @ £3.5s.	12/31 Halifax	1/19/46 Kingston, Jamaica
	1/24 Kingston	1/29 Cienfuegos
	2/13 Cienfuegos	3/14 Halifax
9/23/46 Halifax, brig *William* of Hfx, George McKenzie master, @ £2.15s.	9/27 Halifax	1/7/47 Isle of France (Mauritius)

Ships: Date and Port Signed Aboard	Departures	Arrivals
	2/3 Isle of France	3/12 Gulf of Bengal, Coringa, off Jaggernaik Pooram[?]
	3/19 Coringa	3/24 Calcutta
4/15/47 Calcutta, Sailor's Home, barque *Earl of Lonsdale* of Whitehaven, John Pall master, @ £4. Given £6 advance.	4/22 Calcutta, dropped to Cooley Bazaar, towed out of river by steamer *Unicorn*	7/6 Table Bay anchorage.
	7/12 Table Bay	9/30 Liverpool, Prince's Dock, paid off at W & J Tivers office
10/23 Liverpool Sailor's Home, Steamship *Antelope* to Brazils, Capt. O'Brien, @ £2.10s.	10/27 Liverpool, Trafalgar Dock	11/27 Bahia. Left leaky ship 10/28 in irons, 11/29 in prison, 11/30 released by British Consul
12/1/47 Bahia, barque *Jane* of London, Capt. Dunn.	1/8/48 Bahia	2/28 passed Gibraltar; 3/14 Trieste, Italy
	4/15 Trieste	5/8 Volos [Greece]
	5/10 Volos	5/12 "The town of old Tricania [Trikeri] bearing E., made fast round part of ruins of old house near huts of some Greek fishermen."
	5/13 Tricania, "ruins"	5/21 "Alexandria harbour [Egypt], the palace bearing N."
	6/17 Alexandria	8/5 Gibraltar
	8/6 Gibraltar	8/25 Cork

Ships: Date and Port Signed Aboard	Departures	Arrivals
	9/1 Cork	9/6 Bristol
	9/12 Bristol on Great Western Railway	9/13 Liverpool, Victoria Dock
9/20/48 L'pool, Sailor's Home, ship *Dibdin*, Capt. Keene, to New Orleans	9/22 Liverpool	11/17 [New Orleans] Levee (stuck in mud; two steam tugs got her off)
11/24/48 New Orleans, ship *Venice* of Philadelphia, at $18 per month.	11/25 New Orleans	1/4/49 Liverpool, Waterloo Dock
	2/1–7 Liverpool	3/6 Newcastle [Delaware?] 3/8 Philadelphia
	3/12 6 am Philadelphia, on Camden Amboy train	3/12, 11 am, New York
	3/12 5 pm NY in steamer *State of Maine*	3/13 2 am Stonington [CT]
	3/13 about 2 am Stonington on train	3/15 6 am Boston, Sailor's Home
3/15/49 Took passage, packet schooner *Ware*.	3/23 Fort Hill Wharf, Boston	4/1 Halifax, Brown's Wharf

Table 2: Alphabetical Index of Ships Mentioned in the Log

Ship	Date	Where Sighted, Remarks
Agincourt, H.M. battleship of the line, flag of Thos. Cochran, RAB.	1/9/43	Hong Kong. Gordon McKay, seaman, left ship *Liverpool* to enter H.M. service on *Agincourt.*
Abina, ship, of London.	6/20/41	Lat 42N Lon 57.10W. "Out 48 days from Liverpool, bound to Quebec with passengers."
Albert, steam tug.	9/15/43	Liverpool.
Antelope, steamship, Capt. O'Brien.	10/23/47	Liverpool, Sailor's Home. Articles: Rio or any port in Brazils; Europe. No more than 18 mos. Left ship in Bahia Nov. 27 ("leaky").
Arethusa, barque, of Liverpool.	11/2/43	Near Tuscar. From Batavia for L'pool.
Arethusa, barque, of Maryport.	2/14/45	38 days from Liverpool for Rio de Janeiro. Boarded from ship *Liverpool.* "At 12 noon the wind being light got foul of Arethusa and carried away her mizen top gallant mast and sprung her main yard, and carried away our fore topmast studding sail boom."
Asia, barque, of London.	4/26/44 5/1/44	From Singapore for Hong Kong. Sighted 15 mi E. of Cape St. James, Cochin China.
Belleville, H.M. battleship of the line.	1/9/43	Hong Kong. Seamen Robt Kearne, James Bean left ship *Liverpool* to enter H.M. service on *Belleville.*
Bolina, brig, of Halifax.	1/16/46	Out 22 days from Hfx for Kingston. 3 of the hands sick; had lost 1 hand.

Ship	Date	Where Sighted, Remarks
Bremen, barque.	8/4/43	Heading south. Spoken from ship *Liverpool*, near lat 13.10N, on way from China to UK.
Castor, H.M.S.	7/1/44	Hong Kong. David Hill seaman left ship *Liverpool* to go on board *Castor*.
Creamore, barque, Thos. Shapley master, of Liverpool.	8/20/41 to 12/4/41	St. John's. Signed on, to Brazils for sugar, cotton, then Liverpool, Queen's Dock. Paid off at Job & Bros office.
Dibdin, ship, Capt. Keene.	9/20/48	Bristol to New Orleans, where it took 3 steam tugs (*Ocean*, *Persian*, *Panther*) to get her off a mud bank. (11/17/48)
Dumbarton Castle, barque.	8/13/47	Exchanged signals with *Earl of Lonsdale*, nr. Equator at Lon 20W. Bound Southward.
Earl of Lonsdale, barque, of Whitehaven, John Pall master.	4/15/47	Calcutta.
Eliza Ann, schooner, of Milford.	6/23/42	To Ancona [Adriatic coast of Italy] with iron. Boarded from aboard ship *Liverpool* (15 days out of Liverpool for China).
Ellen, brigt, of Halifax.	3/10/41	Lat—, Lon. 59W. Halifax to Jamaica. "2/10 in a heavy gale had been Dismasted, decks swept, crew all safe, bearing up for Antigua. Supplied a few days before by a Hull vessel."
England, ship, of Liverpool.	8/8/43, 8/18–21/43	113 days from Bombay for Marseilles. On 8/18 boarded, and provided 4 bags bread to ship *Liverpool*. "Parted company 8/21, Lat, 36.51N, Lon. 39.53W."

Ship	Date	Where Sighted, Remarks
Fanny, brig, Wm. Ayles master, to Kingston, Hamburg, Halifax.	2/12/41 to 7/21/41	Hfx to Kingston, Montego Bay, Trinidad de Cuba for molasses, Harbour Grace.
Francis Burns, barque, Greenock.	5/1/43	Went through Sam Gasper straits [north of Java] near Vansittart Shoal with ship *Liverpool* (out 20 days from Macao towards Cork).
General Brooks, brigt, of Salem.	5/17/41	Trinidad de Cuba. John Townsend, age 21 of Windsor, NS, died of fever aboard.
Gilbert Anderson, barque.	2/8/45	From China for London. Spoken from ship *Liverpool*, "crossing the line," Lon. 20W.
Gipsy, brig, of Providence.	6/14/41	Lat. 39N. Lon. 50 [51?]W. From Providence for Azores, out 5 days.
Gipsy, Cork pilot.	3/27/45	Cork.
Good Success, ship.	1/12/43	Hong Kong. Discharged cargo of cotton onto ship *Liverpool.*
Haecla, brig, of Copenhagen.	8/8/48	Bound for Messina. Ran into *Jane* 2 days out of Gibraltar in heavy fog. Damage to spars & rigging.
Harriet Jessey, ship.	9/27/47	3 days from Liverpool for Charlestown.
Herald, steamer.	11/21/45	From Windsor, NS, to Saint John, NB, 1 day.
Hiram, brig, of Halifax, Jones master.	5/20/45	Boston, signed aboard for Halifax. Arrived H'fax 5/26/45.
Israel, whaler of New Bedford.	7/13/43	From Madagascar. Spoken from ship *Liverpool.*
Ivanhoe, brig, American.	2/28/41	From New Orleans to Rio, out 16 days.

Ship	Date	Where Sighted, Remarks
Jane, barque, of London, Capt. Dunn.	12/1/47	Bahia. Loaded sugar, coffee, rosewood for Trieste. Barley in Alexandria. Voyage ended 8/8/47, Bristol.
John Graham, barque.	5/25/47	25 days from Bombay for London.
Lawrence, brigt, of Liverpool.	11/26/44	20 days from Manila for Liverpool.
Liverpool, ship, of Liverpool, Robt Mcdowell master. ("Paid off at Thomas Ripley's office back castle street.")	6/12/42 to 9/22/43 to 4/3/45	Liverpool. Articles: China or India; UK, not to exceed 2 yrs. Actual voyage: Hong Kong, Whampoa, L'pool, with cotton, 14,700 chests of tea. 2nd voyage: to Hong Kong, Manila, L'pool.
Madagascar, ship, of London.	1/26/47	70 days from Calcutta to London with troops.
Madrileno[?], brig.	8/20/44	Cavite, nr. Manila. Hauled alongside ship *Liverpool* and discharged 3,000 bags sugar and dye wood into her.
Madrass [*sic*], ship, of Hull.	5/6/44	From Bombay for China.
Marchioness of Douro, barque.	3/30/43	Hong Kong. Received chests of tea from ship *Liverpool*.
Martha, schooner, of Marblehead.	5/24/45	Spoken from brig *Hiram*, 3 days out of Boston for Halifax.
Mercury, barque, of Greenock.	11/14/44	9 days from Whampoa for London.
Neptune, brig, of Boston.	11/12/48	Passed *Dibdin*, near Santo Domingo.
Nestor, brig, of Liverpool.	8/21/47	From Liverpool for Demerara. Lat 23N lon 31.32W.
Old England, ship, of Liverpool.	10/31/44	Manila. Kept company with ship *Liverpool* until 11/19/44; met again 1/10/45.

Ship	Date	Where Sighted, Remarks
Persia, ship, of Greenock.	11/11/44	From China to London. Spoken from ship *Liverpool* 11 days out of Manila.
Persian, steam tug, of Union Co.	11/17/48	New Orleans.
Philomell, H.M. brig.	6/22/42	Out 4 days from Plymouth bound on a survey.
Phoenix, ship, Dutch.	9/9/47	Spoken from *Earl of Lonsdale.*
Princess Parella, ship, of Amsterdam.	10/20/43	For Batavia [Java]. Spoken from ship Liverpool 3 days from Cape Verdes.
Quito, whaling brig, of Sospitam[?].	4/15/48	Trieste. Sailed with *Jane* until 4/19/48.
Reliance, brig, of Liverpool.	10/3/48	From Gambia. "The Capt, 1st & 2nd mates had died of fever consequently they had no navigator, at 9½ am lowered the boat, when our chief mate boarded her the remains of the Capt. (who had died a few hrs before) was then committed to the deep by his orders, he then took charge, at 1 pm parted company with the Robert she shaping her course for New York."
Sappho, barque, of Greenock.	4/28/43	Out 4 months 23 days from London bound to China. Supplied with cask of water from ship *Liverpool.*
Sarah, brigt, Davis master.	8/14/41	Harbour Grace. Sailed 8/16 for Sydney, CB, stove in bow.

Ship	Date	Where Sighted, Remarks
Sarah Trotman, barque, of Liverpool, Hugh Brown master.	2/14/41 to 5/10/42	Liverpool, S.L. Trotman's office, Sweeting St. Articles: Barbadoes or any port in W. Indies; any port in UK, not to exceed 12 mos. Returned L'pool.
"A French Sashmarce"[?]	6/12/47	Lat 23 S lon 54E. Bound to Bourbon.
Saxonville, barque, of Boston.	8/21/47	21 days from Liverpool for Canton.
Scio, schooner, of Yarmouth.	7/24/48	37 days from L'pool for Constantinople.
Scorpion, brig.	9/28/47	143 days from Alexandria for Liverpool.
Scotia, schooner, of Halifax.	11/22/45	From St. John's to Hfx. Arr. 12/8.
Sealby Castle, ship, of Bombay.	7/13/47	From Bombay for London. Spoken from *Earl of Lonsdale* near Table Bay. Spoken again 9/6/47.
State of Maine, steamer.	3/12/49	New York to Stonington
Trenton, ship, of Boston.	4/8/45	Liverpool, engaged passage to Boston Arrived Boston 5/19/45.
Undaunted, barque, Greenock.	1/25/45	From Ichaboe[?]. Near St. Helena and Jamestown.
Unicorn, steamer.	4/25/47	Calcutta harbour. Towed ship *Earl of Lonsdale*.
Union, barque, Captain Todd, London.	2/24/45	90 days from Bombay for London, Lat 14N Lon 33.56W. Todd boarded ship *Liverpool*.
Vahalia, brig, of Ellsworth.	1/16/46	From Wilmington NC for Santiago de Cuba.
Velocity, brig, Anderson master.	12/29/45	Halifax. Articles to Jamaica, Cuba, Halifax.

Ship	Date	Where Sighted, Remarks
Venice, ship, of Philadelphia.	11/24/48	New Orleans for Liverpool with cotton. Arr. Liverpool 1/4/49; Philadelphia 3/8.
Ware, brig, of Halifax, Geo MacKenzie master.	9/23/46	Halifax. Articles to Isle of France, India or China, W. Indies, or H'fax, no more than 2 yrs. CDF left ship in Calcutta.

Samuel Vetch Bayard (1757–1832): Loyalist and Methodist

Peter J. Mitham

> In those days there warn't much travelling at anytime, and on Sunday nobody hardly travelled; for old Squire M'Monagle picked them up at Windsor on one side, and fined them, and old Colonel Wilmot picked 'em up at Aylesford on t'other side, and not only fined them, but made them attend church besides.[1]

So wrote Thomas Chandler Haliburton of the devout Colonel Wilmot, a fictional figure who bears a striking resemblance to Colonel Samuel Vetch Bayard of Wilmot, Nova Scotia. Well known for his dramatic conversion to Methodism in 1804, Bayard was a colourful character among the many Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia following the War of the American Revolution. Bishop Charles Inglis, H.R.H. Prince Edward, Duke of Kent and Governor John Wentworth numbered among his friends. Although Bayard's acceptance of Methodism estranged him from many in the upper echelons of colonial society, it also renewed his interest in public affairs. History chiefly remembers him as a Methodist rather than as a Loyalist, though in 1965 the Middleton and District Board of Trade erected a cairn to his memory and that of his fellow refugees.[2] The most complete account of Bayard's life is in T. Watson Smith's *History of the Methodist Church*, although the author's focus on Bayard's dramatic religious conversion obscures his pre-Methodist activities.[3] A definitive reconstruction of Bayard requires the integration of both identities.

Born in 1757 to William and Catherine (McEvers) Bayard of New York City, Samuel Vetch Bayard was one of at least five sons and four daughters.[4] Descended from French Huguenots who fled to Holland and later formed part

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1 Thomas Chandler Haliburton, "The Keeping-Room of an Inn, No. II: Seeing the Devil," in *The Old Judge or Life in a Colony*, ed. R.E. Watters (Toronto and Vancouver, 1968), p. 121.

2 *Outlook* [Middleton, NS], 10 June 1965, p. 1.

3 T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church Within the Territories Embraced in the Late Conference of Eastern British America*, I (Halifax, 1877).

4 Though the exact date of his birth is unknown, his being "in the 75th year of his age" when he died in May 1832, and twenty-six-years old at the close of the American Revolution, indicates that his birthday occurred sometime between 24 May and 24 October 1757. See *New Brunswick Courier* [Saint John], 2 June 1832, p. 3; W.A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897; repr. Belleville, 1972), p. 234; and Great Britain, Audit Office, Commission...enquiring into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists, Volume 12, Bundle 100: No. 124 [hereafter AO 12/...etc.].

of the wealthy merchant class of colonial New York, the Bayards were one of the better-connected families in colonial America. Samuel's great-great-grandfather, Nicholas Bayard, arrived in New Amsterdam in 1647 with his uncle, Peter Stuyvesant, the first Dutch governor of the colony, and the family subsequently became prominent in the political and mercantile life of New York.[5] When William Bayard assumed control of the family business in the mid-eighteenth century, he inherited such vast tracts of land throughout British North America that following the Revolution he could not render a full account of them to the Loyalist Claims Commission investigating refugee losses.[6] Although part of the property was the result of business dealings, the Bayards received other tracts by virtue of their importance in colonial social and mercantile circles.

One such tract was granted in 1765 to a consortium comprised of General Thomas Gage and nineteen others, including William Bayard, in the Hampstead area of Queens County, New Brunswick.[7] Like many others issued following the Proclamation of 1763, the grant sought to establish a British presence in the Saint John River Valley following the Seven Years' War. W.S. MacNutt has observed, however, that the monopolistic nature of such grants actually inhibited settlement, and the land became instead the object of speculation.[8] Bayard never cultivated his tract, and so lost its profit potential in the New Brunswick timber trade which developed at the end of the century. William also owned an estate in Greenwich Village, New York, another across the Hudson River on the island of Hoboken, New Jersey, and yet a third at Weehawken, Orange County, also in New Jersey. As a result of this privileged position, the Bayards felt a strong attachment to the British colonial administration, and in turn became the targets of rebel violence when the 'Troubles' began in 1774.

At the same time, however, William was not insensible to the concerns

5 Bernard Burke, *History of the Colonial Gentry*, ed. Askwith P. Burke, II (London, 1895; repr. London, 1970), 644.

6 AO 12/20:186.

7 Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, RS 686, Vol. A, p. 123, Land Grant to Thomas Gage and 19 others, 1765.

8 W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick, A History: 1784–1867* (Toronto, 1963), p. 5.

that moved the colonials to revolution. As a merchant, he had an interest in objecting to higher taxes and other measures that inhibited the trade and commercial freedom of the colonies. In 1770 he visited England as part of a delegation sent to grieve the Sugar Act, among others, and subsequently "Wrote that he was [presented?] to the King, who said a great many flattering [words?] to him, he told his Majesty, that he was one of [his] Majesty's best Subjects, but that no favours hi[s Majes]ty could confer on him, would bribe him to sel[l the] Interest of his Country."[9] Following the closure of the port of Boston in May 1774 as a consequence of colonial resistance to the tax on tea, Bayard joined New York's Committee of 51, formed from the increasingly radical Sons of Liberty organization. This committee sought to oppose a similar closure in New York, as it would have a devastating effect on commerce. The radical elements soon eclipsed the more conservative merchant membership, however, and finding his objections to the use of violence unheeded, Bayard resigned from the committee after a scant seven months.[10]

In June 1776, as each of the Thirteen Colonies separately declared support for independence from British rule, William Bayard found both his position and the safety of his family becoming increasingly perilous. Although the Bayards had removed to their Hoboken property upon the arrival of the Connecticut troops in New York on 4 February, William now fled to his estate in Orange County, where he could count on the sympathy of his tenants; left behind, his family took refuge in "a place called the English Neighbourhood," south of Hackensack near present-day Ridgefield, New Jersey, a locale where many Tory families hid prior to the British capture of New York in September 1776.[11] For some fourteen weeks William evaded the patriots, leaving the family in the care of his son Samuel, who made regular forays back to the Hoboken estate with the domestic servants to obtain supplies.[12]

9 Benjamin Roberts to William Johnson, 19 Feb. 1770, in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, ed. Alexander C. Flick, VII (Albany, 1931), 400.

10 AO 12/20:161.

11 AO 13/11:235.

12 AO 13/63:687.

At the end of June, or possibly just after the formal declaration of independence on 4 July 1776, young Samuel was captured by General William Alexander's men, who took him first to Bergen, then to Hackensack, where he remained a prisoner for eleven weeks.[13] A few days after General William Howe landed with the British army at New York, Samuel escaped to the city and rejoined his family aboard HMS *Phoenix*, where they had gone following the rebels' attempt to destroy New York by fire on 20 September 1776. "Soon after this," recalled Samuel, "when the Right Hon.[ble] Earl Percy was going with a part of the Army to retake a place called Paulus Hooke...your Memorialist thro his father procur'd...permission to serve as a volunteer."[14] He participated in the campaign at White Plains in October, and at the taking of Rhode Island in December. Returning from these adventures without a promotion, he next joined a regiment raised from among his father's tenants in Orange County, the newly-formed King's Orange Rangers commanded by his brother John. Commissioned as a captain, Samuel Bayard served with the regiment from 15 January 1777 until appointed Surveyor and Searcher of the Port of New York on 16 August of the same year.[15] Notably, he obtained the latter position through the influence of his father, one example of the paternal support he received throughout the revolution.[16]

Provided for by the income from both his government appointment and his military commission, Captain Bayard married his first wife, Catherine Van Horne, on 24 April 1778.[17] At the end of October he returned to his regiment when it embarked to reinforce the garrison at Halifax.[18] In August 1778 Edward Winslow had described the situation of the corps under Captain Bayard as "peculiarly alarming--Feuds & dissensions among the Officers--

13 AO 12/100:124.

14 AO 13/11:235–36.

15 AO 12/100:124; and Alexander Fraser, *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, 1904* (Toronto, 1905), p. 579.

16 AO 13/63:701. At the close of the conflict, William expressed an obligation to support his son's family, which included three children at the time; see AO 12/100:99, 124.

17 A.W.H. Eaton, *The History of Kings County, Nova Scotia* (Salem, 1910), p. 103.

18 W.O. Raymond, "Loyalists in Arms," in *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, 2, 5 (1904), 218.

Mutinies & Desertions among the men. Irregularities in Reports are becoming exceedingly frequent."[19] While these circumstances led him to suspect that the men lacked confidence in Bayard, and to doubt the latter's ability in commanding them, he nevertheless praised the corps for its smart appearance on the parade-ground: "On days of public parade," Winslow admitted, "there is not a provincial Corps in his Majesty's service more capable of distinguishing itself by a performance of military exercise & maneuvres [*sic*] than this--nor is there a better body of men."[20]

As a result of this expertise, the corps distinguished itself in Nova Scotia during the American Revolution, chiefly by extinguishing the desire to erect the liberty pole in the Annapolis Valley. In the openly rebellious colonies, such poles served both as rallying standards for the rebels and as gallows for the Tories. In Nova Scotia, colonists in many of the new settlements bore the suspicion of sympathizing with the Americans, since most were Planters from New England who had arrived following the deportation of the Acadians in 1755. Rather than plotting rebellion, however, many desired neutrality.[21] Nevertheless, incidents demanding the attention of the military authorities in Halifax occasionally took place; one of these involved Bayard and rebel sympathies in Cornwallis Township, some eighty miles northwest of Halifax. Commissioned as a major in the regiment on 9 February 1781,[22] Bayard took a detachment of the Orange Rangers to Cornwallis, where they awed the townsfolk into submission with a display of glittering weapons, flying colours and drums.[23] The men then returned to the Eastern Battery at Halifax, but excursions to Cornwallis remained a regular duty and may have influenced Bayard's subsequent decision to settle in the area following the Revolution.[24]

19 Edward Winslow to Lieut.-Col. Innes, 11 Aug. 1778, in *Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776–1826*, ed. W.O. Raymond (Saint John, 1901), p. 33.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

21 John Bartlet Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia: A Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years* (New York, 1937), pp. 308–09, 312–13.

22 AO 12/100:24.

23 Eaton, *Kings County*, p. 432; the incident is undated.

24 AO 13/63:689.

At the close of hostilities in 1783, the Orange Rangers were disbanded at Quaco, New Brunswick. Bayard submitted a petition for land there on behalf of the regiment,[25] but personally decided to recross the Bay of Fundy. He eventually settled at the foot of Wilmot Mountain in present-day Annapolis County, although the exact date of his arrival is unknown. The baptismal register of St. John's (Anglican) Church, Cornwallis, lists a son Stephen born in the area on 26 September 1786. The parish of St. John's extended to Wilmot at this time, and the incumbent was therefore also responsible for the latter settlement. The Cornwallis register specifically names Wilmot as the birthplace of another son, Robert, born 1 March 1788. Later that summer, Bishop Charles Inglis noted his regret at being unable to visit Bayard at the latter's Wilmot residence, indicating that the family was well established there by that date.[26] Nevertheless, Bayard did not officially obtain a land grant in the area until 1802; although Governor John Parr recommended him for land in Wilmot Township as early as 1785 and signed a warrant for 640 acres in 1786, Bayard apparently never received the appointed tract. In 1801, as he prepared to retire from military duties, he sought official title to his Wilmot estate, which was somewhat removed geographically from the land surveyed in 1786.[27]

Many of the new settlers found the frontier conditions at Wilmot--which had had few residents prior to the arrival of the Loyalists--unbearable. As a result, several families vacated the area after 1789. In April 1791, the rector of Cornwallis, Jonathan Wiswall, wrote to a friend that "This part of the Province is very thinly settled by persons of all discriptions [*sic*] in general extremely poor and scattered over the country in all directions."[28] Bayard's commitment to the development of Wilmot appears most notably in the leading role he took in the construction of Holy Trinity (Anglican) Church

25 Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], Land Papers, RG 20, Series A, Vol. 2 (1783), Major Bayard on behalf of the officers and men, King's Orange Rangers.

26 *Valley Mirror* (Middleton, NS), 10 Aug. 1983, p. 5A.

27 Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], RG 20, Series A, Vol. 22 (1791), William Brinley and 19 others; and PANS RG 1, Vol. 224, doc. 146, Samuel V. Bayard to Charles Morris, 4 Oct. 1801.

28 Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia 1783–1791* (Kingston & Montreal, 1986), pp. 151, 173.

after 1789.[29] Three years later his father, who had settled in Southampton, England, following the war, donated its bell, while his brother Stephen provided silver communion vessels that are still in use.[30] In his 1791 letter, Wiswall also lamented that many of the departing families had been integral to the support of the church;[31] the fact that Bayard remained and obtained both a bell and silver for the congregation emphasizes his intention to stay.

Bayard's wife Catherine seems to have had less affection for the pioneer life. The change of lifestyle from colonial New York to frontier Wilmot undoubtedly created marital difficulties. The Bayards maintained a residence in Halifax until 1795, and Catherine also preserved connections in New York City, as indicated by the burial of an infant son there in 1791.[32] Her visit to New York in that year is noteworthy because it coincides with a province-wide crop failure that greatly harmed the colonial economy.[33] Viewed in the light of Wiswall's observations, the Bayards likely found their desire to reside in Nova Scotia sorely tried. Yet Samuel evidently remained at Wilmot, while Catherine conceivably preferred the more comfortable life of Halifax and New York.

The absence of his wife allowed Samuel to cultivate a relationship with fellow Wilmot resident, Sarah Simmons. In 1793 the affair became generally known when both Sarah and Catherine bore daughters within two months of each other. On 25 July, Catherine Bayard gave birth in Halifax to Frances Wentworth, named for the governor's wife (thus indicating a fairly close friendship between the two women, and supporting the suggestion that Catherine spent a large part of her time in Halifax); the child died in infancy. On 14 September, Sarah Simmons also gave birth to a daughter, Ethelinda.[34] Following Frances's death, Catherine returned to New York and herself died

29 Brian Cuthbertson, *The First Bishop: A Biography of Charles Inglis* (Halifax, 1987), p. 127.

30 Eric MacDonald to the author, 13 Dec. 1993.

31 MacKinnon, *Unfriendly Soil*, p. 173.

32 Dorothy M. Goodday, "Notes on the Bayard Family," p. 3; author's collection.

33 MacKinnon, *Unfriendly Soil*, p. 156.

34 Eaton, *Kings County*, p. 104; Goodday, "Bayard Family," p. 3; and Wilmot Township Book, p. 26 (mfm. at PANS).

there, possibly in 1794. Samuel Bayard visited that city in the latter part of the year, as a surgeon's certificate testifies, and he may have been there on account of her demise.[35]

In 1795 Bayard sold the Halifax residence, his lack of use for the property increasing the likelihood that not only was it maintained solely for Catherine's convenience, but also that she had indeed died by this time.[36] The surviving daughters of this first marriage, Elizabeth and Catherine, eventually married in New York, where they likely had been living with their mother's family; in 1794 their brothers, William, Stephen and Robert, had entered the military alongside their father.[37] The unusual fact of Stephen and Robert's enlistment, aged eight and six respectively, suggests that Samuel wished to keep his sons under his care following their mother's death. Such an alternative was not possible with his daughters, aged fourteen and twelve in 1794; consequently, their relatives may have demanded custody with a view to obtaining decent marriages for them in New York.

On the other hand, Catherine Bayard may have lived until the turn of the century. Samuel Bayard and Sarah Simmons eventually were wed, but not until 1803;[38] in the meantime, they apparently lived together in a common-law relationship. Sarah bought some 675 acres from Samuel in 1796 as an independent landholder,[39] and the document authorizing Samuel's land grant in 1802 does not mention her.[40] Nevertheless, their three children, Ethelinda, Louisa and Maria were named in the grant, in addition to Samuel and Catherine's son Robert.

Early in 1793 France declared war on England, and in anticipation of hostilities in Nova Scotia the colonial authorities raised the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment to defend the colony against French attack. An area of particular concern was Annapolis, as the Bay of Fundy was in easy reach of

35 PANS RG 22, Vol. 29, Returns of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment, 1795–99.

36 *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (Halifax), 18 Aug. 1795, p. 3.

37 Goodday, "Bayard Family", p. 3; and PANS RG 22, Vol. 29.

38 PANS, Government Archives Division, Series 1253, Marriage Bonds, 9 July 1803.

39 Registry of Deeds, Annapolis Co., Vol. 1, p. 215.

40 PANS RG 20, Series A, Vol. 26 (1802), Samuel V. Bayard and others.

enemy warships from the French islands of St-Pierre et Miquelon.[41] From 1794 to 1802, Bayard served as lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, at the appointment of H.R.H. Prince Edward, Duke of Kent.[42] Yet apart from an excursion to Cape Breton in 1798,[43] Bayard does not appear to have been particularly active in his new posting. He was frequently listed in the regimental returns as absent; or when present, in sick quarters. A close friend of Prince Edward and of Governor Wentworth, he became one whom his friends invited to dine with their mistresses rather than with their mothers; drinking, dancing and gambling were favourite pursuits. A proud and haughty officer, Bayard's ongoing relationship with Sarah Simmons probably did little to enhance his reputation among the rank and file--or with the conservative establishment in Halifax.[44] Nevertheless, he maintained his several friendships with the leaders of colonial society, including Bishop Inglis. In token of his friendship with Prince Edward, Bayard received several gifts upon the latter's return to England, among them a china tea set now on display within the Weldon Collection at the University of King's College Library in Halifax.

The Royal Nova Scotia Regiment was disbanded in 1802 and Colonel Bayard, as he now preferred to be called, settled his claim for land as a Loyalist and retired with his rank on half-pay to an estate of 4,730 acres at Wilmot. His residence became a favourite resort for the wealthy and spirited members of Nova Scotian society.[45] Standing at the end of a long, tree-lined drive, the mansion was fronted by stone pillars, or colonnades. For Bayard's aristocratic friends, the property offered an Arcadian retreat among its oak, chestnut, elm, English poplar, lilac, hawthorn, apple and monkey-puzzle trees. In addition to a grain mill and the shops necessary to a large private

41 Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie*, III (Halifax, 1867), 109ff.

42 Returns of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment, 1 Jan. 1795; and Smith, *Methodist Church*, p. 387.

43 John Wentworth to Edward Winslow, 4 Apr. 1798, quoted in Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, p. 428.

44 Smith, *Methodist Church*, p. 387.

45 *Ibid.*

estate, such as a blacksmith's and a cooperage, Bayard owned herds of cattle that were routinely driven the seventy miles to Halifax for slaughter.[46]

Despite the decadent benevolence he displayed to his friends, Bayard sternly forbade the attendance of any of his family at the local Baptist and Methodist religious meetings which were enjoying great popularity at the time. Although his perspective was no doubt shaped by traditional Tory élite disdain for dissenters, religious duty was not a priority for Bayard, regardless of the denomination. His two youngest children were not baptised until 1804, at which time they were approximately three and one years of age respectively.[47] Nominally associated with the Anglican faith he had otherwise eschewed, Bayard refused to countenance the obnoxious enthusiasm displayed by the Methodists. In 1804, however, he experienced a conversion from apostasy that both awed the faithful and repulsed the Tory sensibilities of the colony.[48] Though prominent individuals such as Bishop Inglis had maintained their friendship with him throughout his years of dissipation, they now cast him out of their fellowship, making him a byword and a laughing-stock among themselves. With his renewed sense of morality, Bayard lost respect for keeping in the "low company" of Methodists. Indeed, the zeal and anti-formal fervour of the denomination made it appear "the half-way house to atheism" in the eyes of the Anglican élite.[49]

According to Smith's *History of the Methodist Church*, Bayard's new life came about when he attended the old Baptist church in Nictaux with the intent of intimidating Sarah from involving herself. Hearing an admonition on the evils of silver and gold, based on St. Peter's words in Acts 3:6--"Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk"--he listened and trembled. Returning home, Bayard studied his Bible in conjunction with Wesley's sermons, lent by a lawyer friend, and became convinced of the sinfulness of his own past behaviour. He immediately reformed his life, repaying with interest all whom he had wronged.[50]

46 Goodday Papers, author's collection.

47 St. John's (Anglican) Church, Cornwallis, NS; Trinity (Anglican) Church, Wilmot, NS.

48 William Black, 10 Oct. 1804, Halifax, letter published in *The Methodist Magazine*, 28, 4 (Apr. 1805), 188.

49 Joshua Marsden, *The Narrative of a Mission* (Plymouth-Dock, 1816; repr. East Ardsley, 1966), pp. 90–93.

50 Smith, *Methodist Church*, pp. 387–89.

Despite his valiant efforts, legend holds that Bayard failed to achieve restitution in at least one case. Having renounced gambling, he desired to return a large sum he had won from an acquaintance. Unfortunately, he was unable to find the person, and thus buried the money in the woods on his property until such time as he could accomplish his purpose. Oxen hauled a boulder from a nearby hill to mark the spot, but the man never appeared and so the treasure remained buried. As a result of this, Bayard reputedly haunts the area to this day, though the forest has since become a field. Yet for many years, lumbermen refused to linger in this wooded area.[51]

Bayard took a greater interest in public affairs following his conversion. It is a tribute to this renewed interest that the bridge across the Annapolis River on the road leading to his estate was known as the Bayard Bridge until early in the present century. In the autumn of 1993, the official renaming of this secondary road as the Bayard Road (off Highway 1 at Wilmot) restored the surname to the local geography.[52] Having set his spiritual paths straight, Bayard commenced building roads and bridges, agitating for new township divisions and serving the area as a magistrate. He pursued his responsibilities in the latter office with such zeal and justice that he became a terror to the least perpetrator of mischief, and a reliable defender of the righteous.[53] Haliburton's Colonel Wilmot, a model of religious propriety, appears to be a thinly-veiled representation of Colonel Bayard. One of the oldest residents of Wilmot at the time Haliburton would have known him, Bayard possessed a reputation as the embodiment of the community and its spirit, that well suited him for the mock appellation of "Colonel Wilmot." Both colonels--the real and the fictional--were magistrates and Colonel Wilmot testifies to the renown Bayard had garnered in the popular imagination.

In private life, Bayard proceeded to transform his estate from a resort of the wealthy to one of the pious. The testimony of various Methodist ministers welcomed into his home in the wake of the aristocrats, who now shunned it,

51 Interview with Anna Roch, 9 June 1993. The only printed reference is a clipping from the *Spectator* [Annapolis Royal, NS], "The Ghost of Col. Bayard Still Walks in the Woods," 24 Nov. 1949, p. 2, incorporating an interview with Dorothy M. [Bayard] Goodday. She may have heard it from Arthur Kelsall, whom she said knew a great deal about the Bayards.

52 *Mirror*, 27 Oct. 1993.

53 Smith, *Methodist Church*, p. 391; Calnek, *Annapolis County*, p. 234.

bears witness to the new order. He frequently organized and hosted revival and temperance meetings. To him, it was clear that his past ways were a model of debauchery that others should scorn, as did he himself. Smith even goes so far as to claim that Bayard's example contributed to the reform that occurred in the later life of Prince Edward.[54] One wonders what Bayard's father in England thought of his son's transformation. Samuel's own children accepted his new disposition, as his steadfast relationship with his son Robert, who remained an Anglican, affirms. Robert's evangelical faith may in fact owe much to his father's influence. Bayard's other children embraced Methodism. Among these was Samuel, Bayard's only son by his second wife; Samuel Jr. later worked with his half-brother Robert as a physician in Saint John, New Brunswick.[55]

Colonel Samuel Vetch Bayard died on 24 May 1832, after a brief illness, at his home in Wilmot; Sarah lived on until 18 September 1859.[56] Both are buried a short distance from where the Bayard mansion once stood; their gravestone remains today, surrounded by a white picket fence. Although many questions surround Samuel's life, not least the difficulties between himself and Catherine, familiarity with the experiences of other Loyalists helps to remedy the conundrums that remain. In Catherine, Samuel witnessed the disillusionment confronting many who arrived in Nova Scotia following the revolution, and who sought to return to more civilized surroundings when the Nova Scotian reality disappointed their expectations. Although the fertility of the Annapolis Valley rendered it less difficult to cultivate--the estate of General Timothy Ruggles, adjacent to the Bayard property, testified to the success possible[57]--Samuel's estrangement from Catherine indicates that their marriage could not meet the demands of frontier life. Likewise, Samuel's subsequent relationship with Sarah is typical of a society that

54 Smith, *Methodist Church*, p. 390.

55 T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church Within the Territories Embraced in the Late Conference of Eastern British America*, II (Halifax, 1890), 293–94.

56 *New Brunswick Courier* (Saint John), 2 June 1832, p. 3; and Bayard gravestone, Wilmot, NS. Although the gravestone gives Samuel's date of death as 28 May, the accounts in both the *Courier* and the *Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 128), give 24 May.

57 R.S. Longley, "An Annapolis County Loyalist," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 31 (1957), 92–93.

lacked many of the social institutions that normally contributed to urban respectability. Thomas Chandler Haliburton, for instance, noted that Wilmot lacked a resident Church of England clergyman as late as the 1820s,[58] a factor that contributed not only to laxity in social mores, but also to the local success of the Methodist movement. In the absence of any other significant religious influence, the enthusiasm which the Methodists inspired could not fail to take root.

Bayard's conversion is symptomatic of the transition from an aristocratic colonial society to a democratic one that sought political expression in the growing movement for responsible government.[59] Haliburton, as part of the pre-Loyalist élite supplanted upon the appointment of John Wentworth as governor in 1792, also found himself set against the establishment; indeed, Haliburton's father even possessed a sympathy with the plight of the Methodists and other religious dissenters in their conflicts with the government. Haliburton paid just tribute to Colonel Bayard in using him as the model for Colonel Wilmot, developing him as "*the true patriot*...who is neither a sycophant to the Government nor a tyrant to the people, but who will manfully oppose either when they are wrong."[60] Stanley McMullin cites this patriotism as the Toryism accompanying the political reforms of the 1830s.[61] Significantly, it also exemplifies the stance adopted by Bayard's father when presented to George III in 1770. Regardless of the years of petty dissipation that have been used to accentuate Bayard's subsequent conversion, his life in retrospect fully exemplifies the motto of his French Huguenot forebears: *Sans Peur et Sans Reproche*--"Without Fear and Without Reproach."

58 Thomas C. Haliburton, "Knowing the Soundings, or Polly Coffin's Sandhole," in *The Clockmaker; or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville*, III (London, 1843), 188.

59 Stanley E. McMullin, "In Search of the Tory Mind: Thomas Chandler Haliburton and Egerton Ryerson," in *The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium*, ed. Frank M. Tierney (Ottawa, 1985), p. 39.

60 Thomas C. Haliburton, *History of Nova-Scotia*, II (Halifax, 1829; repr. Belleville, 1973), 153.

61 McMullin, "The Tory Mind," pp. 38–42.

The Alexander McLeod Endowment: A Legacy Rediscovered at Dalhousie University

Michael C. Haynes

Nova Scotian universities are increasingly being forced to look for new sources of income as governments limit their funding of post-secondary education more every year. One area where additional money may be found is in the realm of private bequests; over the years thousands of individuals have donated money in this way to the various universities within Nova Scotia. They have done so for reasons ranging from the desire to support the institution at which they received their education, to a hope that they will be remembered by future generations for their success and their generosity. The question may, however, arise in the minds of potential donors as to how well their memory will be preserved once their cash is in institutional hands. At Dalhousie University, the administration can most easily answer this question by showing the Killam Library, and pointing out the annual observation of Munro Day.[1] But not everyone's donation will be of the magnitude of these two special cases. How might a somewhat modest contribution be remembered? Perhaps a more useful understanding of how well someone might be recalled for their generosity can be obtained through an examination of the second major endowment given to the struggling Dalhousie College of the late nineteenth century, the McLeod University Fund.

In 1883, Dalhousie College was a small, officially non-sectarian school located in Halifax, with only 21 faculty and 140 students.[2] Since its founding in 1818, it had always had money troubles, and its growth had been both modest and sporadic; between 1843 and 1863 the college often had to close its doors because it was unable to pay its bills. In 1863 the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces reorganized the college and provided the financial stability and administrative continuity that were previously lacking, yet Dalhousie remained a relatively poor institution. In 1879 its fortunes began to change. George Munro, a successful New York publisher originally

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1 Exclusively a Dalhousie holiday, the university closes on the first Friday in February each year to commemorate the massive bequests of George Munro. The principal university library was constructed with a large endowment from the estate of the prominent financier, Izaak Walton Killam.

2 Dalhousie University, *Calendar of Dalhousie College and University, 1884–5* (Halifax, 1884), pp. 16, 76–78.

born in Nova Scotia, gave the college the first of a number of endowments that, by 1884, were to exceed $300,000.[3] With this massive infusion of capital, Dalhousie became financially secure for the first time in its history, and was able to launch its first major expansion, opening a Faculty of Law in October 1883.[4]

A contemporary of George Munro was Alexander McLeod, a prominent Halifax businessman who ran a thriving wholesale grocery and wine importation complex in downtown Halifax. Born in Blackness, Linlithgow, Scotland on 19 January 1791, McLeod had come to Nova Scotia as a member of the Royal Artillery garrisoned at Annapolis Royal. Accepting his discharge in North America rather than return home, he moved to Halifax where he opened his business in 1819. His ventures did well and by the time of his death in 1883 his shops and storehouses occupied most of a block of busy downtown Hollis Street, next to the provincial legislature. He was an influential member of the North British Society in Halifax for more than fifty years, and was also active in the affairs of the Presbyterian Church.[5] His house on Morris Street, though modest by some standards, was considered well-appointed by his contemporaries, and it was often the scene of church-related meetings and social gatherings.

Although he had been married, McLeod had no children. When he drew up his will in 1881, he allocated approximately $200,000 to more than fifty different individuals and organizations; in many cases the bequests were as small as $100, but in the case of various Presbyterian charities, the sums rose to nearly $50,000.[6] His wife Anne had died on 2 July 1878,[7] and there was

3 D.C. Harvey, *An Introduction to the History of Dalhousie University* (Halifax, 1938), p. 109. Harvey provides a richly detailed account of Dalhousie's early history, from the struggle to found it as an open, non-sectarian institution, through its troubled first decades, until it finally achieved financial stability with the endowments of George Munro, Sir William Young and Alexander McLeod.

4 John Willis, *A History of Dalhousie Law School* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 19–20.

5 James S. MacDonald, *Annals of the North British Society: Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1768–1903* (Halifax, 1905), pp. 158–162.

6 Probate Court, Halifax Co., Will Books, Vol. 9, pp. 426–33.

7 *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 2 July 1878, p. 3.

apparently no one within her family--other than a nephew, Henry Kent of Maitland--with whom Alexander wished to share his wealth. Several relatives of McLeod's who had moved to Nova Scotia from Scotland, but who had remained in the Annapolis Royal area received scant mention in the will. However, several months later, still in 1881, Alexander sold a sizeable property on the Clementsport Road to William McLeod for only one dollar, so perhaps their share had been thus distributed in advance.[8] The will was a very comprehensive and detailed document, with evidence that McLeod knew precisely where every penny was going--a carefulness which his reputation as a frugal man suggested. Indeed, in a codicil added less than a month before his death, McLeod instructed his solicitor to withhold the sum designated to one particular individual until this man paid back to the estate every penny he had borrowed from McLeod over the past several years![9]

Most important to Dalhousie College, however, was the final section of the will, in which McLeod bequeathed all the residue of his estate remaining after specific disbursements to the establishment of a special university fund for the endowment of at least three professorial chairs. Almost certainly this provision was a consequence of McLeod's close association with the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces. After closing its own United Presbyterian College in Truro, this denomination had supported three professors at Dalhousie for a number of years, and it was while visiting the Reverend John Forrest, who was serving on Dalhousie's board of governors, that George Munro made the first of his endowments, a chair of Physics, in 1879. Munro's initial bequest was followed by a chair of History and Political Economy in 1880, a chair of English Literature and Rhetoric in 1882, a chair of Constitutional and International Law in 1883, and a chair of Metaphysics in 1884.[10] McLeod would certainly have known Forrest, and probably the college's president, the Reverend James Ross, as well. Perhaps their advice, or even just the recognition that followed Munro's donations, helped influence the specifications of McLeod's will.

Alexander McLeod died on 15 January 1883, and the terms of his testament were made public nine days later, on 24 January. He was rumoured

8 Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 79, p. 123.

9 Probate Court, Halifax Co., Vol. 9, p. 433.

10 Harvey, *History*, p. 101.

to have been one of the wealthiest men in Halifax for two generations, and newspaper accounts immediately after his death speculated that the value of his estate would exceed $800,000.[11] This figure was quickly adjusted downward as the true state of affairs became known, but even so the *Acadian Recorder* still confidently predicted that Dalhousie College would receive $70,000.[12] Initially the institution was enthusiastic about the legacy. A committee was quickly organized to work with the executors and liquidate the inheritance. Almost an entire page of the college's 1883–84 *Calendar* was committed to a verbatim transcript of the section of McLeod's will outlining the endowment.[13] McLeod had stipulated that several of the bequests be held for one year after his death before being discharged; accordingly, as soon as the estate was sufficiently settled, in April 1884, the board of governors elevated three of their full professors to memorial chairs: the McLeod Professor of Classics, the McLeod Professor of Modern Languages and the McLeod Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy. They also recommended that the Faculty of Law create a McLeod Professorship, although this seems never to have been acted upon.[14] Possibly, as the Board of Governors authorized a salary of only $1,000 for this chair, it was suspended in favour of Munro's grant of 1883, which specified a professorship in law with a salary of $2,400.

The McLeod Chair of Classics was initially awarded to John Johnson, M.A., who had been teaching at Dalhousie College since its reorganization in 1863.[15] He retained the honour until he was made professor emeritus in 1893. The McLeod Chair was then given the following year to Howard Murray, B.A., a Dalhousie graduate and recently hired instructor. He held it until his death in 1931; by this time he was chair of the Classics department as well as Ph.D. The McLeod professorship was next conferred upon Edward Wilber

11 *Acadian Recorder*, 16 Jan. 1883, p. 3.

12 *Ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1883, p. 3.

13 Dalhousie, *Calendar, 1883–4* (Halifax, 1883), p. 12.

14 Dalhousie University Archives [hereafter DUA], MS 1 1 A4, board of governors' minutes, p. 35.

15 Unless otherwise specified, the names and dates of appointments to the various McLeod chairs have been obtained from the appropriate Dalhousie University *Calendars* and confirmed in the minutes of the board of governors. Both can be found in the DUA.

Nichols concurrent with his appointment as head of the Classics department. He carried both honours until his death in 1940, at which time there was no other full professor of Classics at Dalhousie, since at least two younger faculty members had already left to join the military. The continuing demands of the war upon personnel prevented the board of governors from finding any suitable replacement for Dr. Nichols; the position of head of the Classics department remained vacant until 1945, when it was placed into the hands of Dr. Arthur Kent Griffin of the University of King's College. Dr. Griffin remained in charge for more than a decade, but as he already held the Carnegie Professor of Classics for King's, he was never awarded the McLeod Chair. Yet when the Classics department was rebuilt in 1960 and a Dalhousie professor, James A. Doull, placed at its head once more, the McLeod Chair was not awarded to him either. In fact, this professorship in Classics has not been bestowed since 1940, apparently having been forgotten in the disorder within the department during and after the war. The chair's availability was brought to the department's attention again in 1986, via a letter from the university administration which mentioned the vacancy; although the department briefly discussed awarding it to Dr. Rainer Friedrich, the department head, this was not done.[16] The McLeod Chair in Classics remains vacant today.

James Liechti, M.A., hired in 1866, had the distinction of being the highest paid of the first three McLeod professors, his salary of $1,500 per year being $50 higher than the others. He gave up the McLeod Professorship of Modern Languages in 1909 when he retired and was appointed professor emeritus. Howard Parker Jones, Ph.D., was awarded the McLeod Chair and a full professorship in 1910, and held both until his retirement in 1924. The chair remained vacant throughout 1925, there not being a full professor in the department at that time, and it was not filled until conferred as the McLeod Chair of French upon the promotion of François-René Gautheron in 1926. Dr. Gautheron had been acting head of the department of Modern Languages since Dr. Jones's retirement, and he carried both honours until his own retirement in 1942. When appointed Professor Emeritus in 1946, he continued to list the McLeod Chair as one of his distinctions. Dr. Gautheron maintained his association with the chair, as well as an office at the

16 Personal interviews with Dr. Rainer Friedrich, Apr. 1992.

university, until his death in January 1970 at age 93. Neither Germaine Lafeuille, when he was made Professor of Modern Languages in 1945, nor Paul Chavy, when he was promoted to full Professor of French in 1950, was ever awarded a McLeod professorship. Furthermore, a McLeod Chair in either French or Modern Languages has not been conferred subsequent to Dr. Gautheron, and today even the existence of this honour has been forgotten by the department.[17]

The third professorship created by the board of governors was originally presented as the McLeod Chair of Chemistry and Mineralogy. George Lawson, who had been one of the six original professors hired by Dalhousie in 1863, held this honour from its inception in 1884 until his death in 1895. His position, both as head of the department and as the McLeod Chair, was then filled by Ebenezer Mackay. Like Lawson, Mackay remained teaching until his death in 1920. At this time there was no other full professor of chemistry on staff at Dalhousie, and so the McLeod Chair remained vacant until Carleton Bell Nickerson, who had been teaching at the university since 1908, was raised to that status in 1926. When conferred on this occasion, the appointment was made as the McLeod Professor of Chemistry, the mineralogy association being permanently dropped. Nickerson died in 1940 while still an active member of the faculty and administration, holding the post of dean of arts and science. Once again there was no full professor available to be given the McLeod Chair, so it remained vacant until Carl Cowan Coffin was elevated to the position of head of the department in September 1942. At the same time, Coffin was made a full professor, appointed to the McLeod Chair and given a substantial pay raise. But when Viscount Bennett endowed a chair in Chemistry in 1944, Dr. Coffin took this as well, and from this point on was referred to in the university *Calendar* as the Harry Shirreff Professor of Chemical Research. It is unclear whether he held both honours simultaneously, or if he gave up the former award; but certainly no one else held the McLeod professorship during his life. When Dr. Coffin died in 1954, the new head of the Chemistry department, Walter Chute, chose to take only the Harry Shirreff Chair, and the McLeod Chair remained unclaimed.

By 1944, all three professorships were probably vacant and no new

17 Personal interview with Dr. Michael Bishop, Chair, Department of French, 20 Apr. 1992.

appointments were made to fill them in any faculty for nearly two decades. In 1963, however, the McLeod Chair of Chemistry was resurrected with the elevation of Douglas E. Ryan to a full professorship, although by now neither money nor other special status was associated with it. This surprising revival occurred only because the university administration was becoming concerned with their legal responsibilities toward several endowments, notably the Munro benefactions and the McLeod University Fund. In September 1962, President Alexander E. Kerr asked the university's solicitors for advice, and their reply, dated 22 January 1963, was "for there to be some designation that one or more of the Professorships in Classics, Chemistry or Modern Languages [was] receiving support from 'The McLeod University Fund'," even though the latter was "now completely inadequate for the endowment of three Chairs."[18]

The prevailing opinion held by the administration at that time appeared to be that if no money was associated with a named chair, it was valueless and not worth preserving. Accordingly, the board of governors--doubtless because of the recommendations from their lawyers--immediately afterward named Douglas Ryan the McLeod Professor of Chemistry, effective 1 September 1963. Similar appointments were made for the unoccupied Munro Chairs at this same meeting, reducing their number for the same monetary reasons, although they were designated active from 1 February 1963.[19] Dr. Ryan held the McLeod professorship for twenty-four years until his retirement in 1987. Once again the chair was allowed to remain vacant until October 1992, when it was conferred upon Donald R. Arnold, who had been teaching chemistry at Dalhousie since 1979 and was already a full professor before he was awarded the McLeod Chair. This time the stimulus to maintain the honour came from within the Chemistry department itself, and there is no evidence that the administration prompted action because of legal concerns.

18 No copy of Dr. Kerr's original letter can be found in his correspondence, DUA. However, a copy of the reply from the lawyers was included in a Jan. 1986 letter from Dr. Arnold Tingley, Dalhousie Registrar, to Dr. D. Betts, Dean of Arts and Science. Dr. Tingley was attempting to clarify the status of all named chairs at the university, and he included the lawyer's letter because, even though "The endowment is small,...in the opinion of McInnis [sic: McInnes], Cooper, & Robertson...a McLeod Chair should be continued." Portions of this letter were originally found in a file in the university's Business Office, but the complete text was located in the files of the Classics Department. The DUA now holds a copy of both Dr. Tingley's and the lawyer's letters.

19 DUA, MS 1 1 A16, board minutes, p. 181.

When Dr. Arnold attempted to discover the origins of the honour he had been offered, however, little information was readily available through departmental sources. In fact, no one there was certain who had held the chair previously, or how many McLeod professorships there had been, or even who Alexander McLeod was. What had happened to the memory of his bequest in the years since the appointment of the first professors?

By the end of 1885, all of the McLeod properties had been sold and the majority of claims against the estate settled.[20] Although in 1891 there would be at least one individual appeal against the will's conditions, and another action in 1907 in which the university's solicitors became involved, neither matter affected the McLeod Fund.[21] Dalhousie's total cash benefit reached nearly $65,000, well below the fabulous amount initially predicted; but considering that the college's entire income for the year 1885 was probably less than $10,000, this was still an extremely worthwhile sum.[22] As directed by the will, the money was put into long-term investments, with the interest used to pay the salaries of the endowed chairs.

The first available record of the principal, dated 5 December 1894, indicated that the fund was then valued at $62,500; this figure remained virtually unchanged for the next fifty-five years.[23] On 30 June 1949 the McLeod University Fund was still recorded as worth only $64,475.88. Even though the solicitors had stated as early as 1922 that the university was entitled to reinvest the endowment as it saw fit, the board of governors chose to leave the money where it had originally been placed by the executors. With the dividend income being entirely removed every year, the principal remained stagnant. But in 1950 the method of handling these endowments apparently changed, for the McLeod Fund, along with several other senior bequests, began to show an increase in book value, apparently from the movement of certain stocks within the portfolio. By 1960 it had reached a

20 DUA, MS 1 1 A4, board minutes, pp. 45, 65, 109.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 216; MS 1 1 A5, board minutes, p. 24.

22 DUA, MS 6, financial statements, no pagination. The earliest statement available, 1894, shows a total income that year of $11,174.62.

23 Unless otherwise stated, all figures have been obtained from Dalhousie University financial statements. From 1894–1972, these can be found in the DUA, MS 6. Access to statements after 1972, which are kept in the Business Office, was courtesy of Anne Hicks, Investment Manager.

value of $90,344.80. These augmentations stopped after only a decade, however, and by 1970 the principal was reduced again, to $87,047.72, because of administration charges against the fund. In 1972 the book value increased by $21,401.19, and in 1976 added another $10,947.97; but even though this increased the principal to more than $120,000, most of the years after 1960 showed no change, or a small decline, in the overall value of the McLeod Fund. The most dramatic fluctuations in the 110-year history of the bequest have occurred only since 1987, when the university transferred responsibility for all its endowment funds to a private firm. Their movement of the older stocks has produced huge capital gains in the fund's book value: $31,470.77 in 1988; $111,457.12 in 1989. As of 31 March 1992, the McLeod University Fund was valued at $282,519.63, the highest it has ever been.

The income from the McLeod University Fund has been a significant but fluctuating fraction of the university's operating budget for many years. As late as 1907 the $3,717.97 in interest that it provided was more than 10 per cent of Dalhousie's total annual revenue of $32,914.44. Tuition fees in that same year accounted for only $6,401.50. However, by the 1924–25 fiscal year, the fund provided only 1.28 per cent of the total income: $3,791.30 out of $296,172.46. The principal was still near its original level of $63,270.50 on 30 June 1925, but with the entire interest being removed every year the fund was losing ground to inflation, and steadily becoming less important to the operation of the university. By 1943–44, the McLeod University Fund accounted for less than one-half of 1 per cent of Dalhousie's operating revenue, or $2,702.93 out of $562,781.27, and the income it provided was barely enough to cover the wages of even one professor; when Dr. Coffin received his elevation to the chair in Chemistry in September 1942, it was at a salary of $3,800.[24] Even after 1944, when there were probably no McLeod professors, the fund continued to contribute to the salary account, delivering a total of $85,987.90 until 1963, when the chair in Chemistry was resurrected. Since then the income generated by the fund continues to be applied to the salaries' budget line within the university's accounts: $16,988.13 in 1991, but an ever smaller percentage of even one annual professorial income.

The declining importance of the McLeod Fund has been similarly reflected in university publications. When they were first established in 1884,

24 DUA, MS 1 1 A10, board minutes, 24 Apr. 1942, p. 2.

the McLeod professors were posted at the top of the faculty list, second only to the Very Reverend Principal Ross and the Reverend William Lyall, professor of Logic and Psychology. In addition, the story of McLeod's bequest was featured prominently in the history of Dalhousie, located at the front of the *Calendar*. By the end of the 1920s, however, the McLeod professors might be located anywhere within the faculty list, while other, more recently endowed chairs occupied the positions of prominence. In the history of Dalhousie found in these calendars, the details of Alexander McLeod's bequest now occupied a scant three lines. By 1944, the only McLeod chair still held, that of Chemistry, was not even mentioned in the calendar, and the bearer of this professorship was not acknowledged in this publication again until the title suddenly reappeared next to Douglas Ryan's name: once in the 1968–69 edition, then again in 1975–76. From this point on, it has been reported every year. In the historical sketch, however, the McLeod endowment was reduced to one of a long list of benefactions. Finally, in 1950–51, reference to McLeod's donation appeared for the last time in the history of the university published in the *Calendar*. From this point onward, information about the bequest has been available only in the university archives.

Dalhousie's response to the money it received from Alexander McLeod was originally both enthusiastic and appropriately grateful; the board of governors established the honorary chairs that McLeod had requested and they continued to maintain the professorships for decades after his fund was no longer able to sustain the respective salaries. But the administration annually removed every cent of income that the fund could provide, and as the principal became less important to the balance sheet, so their efforts to preserve McLeod's memory similarly waned. With the substantial staff disruptions that occurred during the Second World War, connections with pre-war traditions were lost in some departments. And in the flood of new people, fresh endowments and greater government funding that followed after 1945, the valueless honorifics of the McLeod professorships were in general quietly ignored.

Only the Chemistry department maintained its chair, and only then because the administration required at least nominal representation of the McLeod bequest in its faculty list in order to continue using the money associated with it. This professorship has survived until the present day, but no longer does its holder receive a special salary, and no longer is that person

automatically made head of the department. In 1995, no plaque commemorates Alexander McLeod's generosity, and no list of the scholars who occupied his special professorships is publicly displayed, except in the Chemistry department. Indeed, before this article, a complete catalogue of their names was not even available. For Dr. Arnold to discover the heritage of the honour that he had received, it was necessary for many hours of research to be undertaken in both the Dalhousie University Archives and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. The North British Society, in publishing a biographical sketch of Alexander McLeod, claimed that at Dalhousie University, "his generosity will long be remembered."[25] Instead memory, regrettably, appears to be indissolubly linked to present value.

Appendix A
Holders of the McLeod Chairs at Dalhousie University

McLeod Chair of Modern Languages

James Liechti	1884–1909
Howard Parker Jones	1910–1924
Vacant	1925

Changed to: McLeod Chair of French

François-René Gautheron	1926–1942
Vacant	1942–

McLeod Chair of Classics

John Johnson	1884–1893
Howard Murray	1894–1931
Edward Wilber Nichols	1932–1940
Vacant	1941–

25 MacDonald, *Annals of the North British Society*, p. 162.

McLeod Chair of Chemistry and Mineralogy

George Lawson	1884–1895
Ebenezer Mackay	1896–1920
Vacant	1921–1925

Changed to: McLeod Chair of Chemistry

Carleton Bell Nickerson	1926–1940
Vacant	1941
Carl Cowan Coffin	1942–1944
Vacant	1945–1962
Douglas E. Ryan	1963–1987
Vacant	1988–1991
Donald R. Arnold	1992–

Appendix B
Excerpt from Alexander McLeod's Will, 1881[26]

All the residue of my estate I give and bequeath to the Governors of Dalhousie College or University in the City of Halifax in trust that the same shall be invested and form a fund to be called the McLeod University Fund and the interest and income of which shall be applied to the endowment of three or more professional chairs in said College as they may deem proper but this bequest is made upon these conditions namely that if at any time the said College or University should cease to exist or be closed for two years or be made a sectarian College then and in any such case the said fund and all accumulations thereof shall go to the said Synod of the Maritime Provinces of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to be used for the purposes of higher education in connection with the said Synod and it is further stipulated that no part of this fund shall ever be used either by the said Governors of Dalhousie College or by the said Synod as a collateral security under any circumstances whatever.

26 Probate Court, Halifax Co., Vol. 9, p. 433.

The Sheet Harbour Loyalist Settlement of 1784 and Hiram's Lodge No. 8

Jackie Logan

In 1954, James E. Rutledge wrote a small book entitled *Sheet Harbour: A Local History*. His very competent and affectionate work on the old settlement was what prompted this article on the early community and the small Masonic lodge that operated there briefly, from 1784 to 1796.

Sheet Harbour presented many problems for the refugee settlers receiving land grants there in 1784. The nucleus of the community lay in a large section of land granted that year to a group of disbanded Loyalist soldiers. That land is now affectionately known as the 'Soldiers' Grant'; it was obvious, however, that these early settlers did not view their allotment with any similar affection. Rocky and wooded, the tract was difficult to settle and difficult to farm. Also, it was situated far enough back from the shoreline as to present serious land-clearing and transportation problems. As it turned out, very few of these pioneers settled on the Soldiers' Grant; in fact, less than half of them remained in Sheet Harbour after the first year.

Historians have estimated that close to fifty percent of the so-called 'Loyalist' settlers coming to the British colonies were disbanded soldiers.[1] This in itself suggests an immediate and potentially serious problem, for it is obvious that soldiers do not necessarily make good farmers or fishermen. Neil MacKinnon has pointed out that "Many were simply cursed with bad land and left soon after either seeing it or attempting to clear it. A large number of the disbanded soldiers lacked the diligence and commitment to clear the land no matter what its quality. Many were so destitute that they had little chance of starting or succeeding."[2] Many of those who came to Sheet Harbour, for example, finding the land difficult to work were instead content to sell and leave, being "neither trained for nor desirous of lives of scratch farming or inshore fishing."[3] Nonetheless, many settlers were forced to accept and adapt to the realities of Nova Scotia.

The Royal Garrison Battalion disbanded in Halifax in October 1783. They

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1 David J. Bercuson et al., *Colonies: Canada to 1867* (Toronto, 1992), p. 187.

2 Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia 1783–1791* (Kingston, 1986), p. 149.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

had been garrisoned at Bermuda previously; some of them had served in the Fraser's Highlanders and had seen action in the War of Independence.[4] Their first petition to the Nova Scotia governor-in-council was dated 1 April 1784, and requested that the detachment led by Lieutenant James Sutherland "be located at Sheet Harbor, where part of said Regiment are already located, being lands formerly granted to Andrew Watson, Esq." A second memorial, dated 1 August 1784, indicates that the government must have made provision for the disbanded detachment to settle accordingly, because it states clearly that the petitioners were: "by your Excellencies' Orders settled at Sheet Harbour the latter end of April last, on lands Called the Property of the late Jonathan Belcher Esqr. where they had their Town lotts regularly laid out 60 by 80 Feet...."[5]

Why these soldiers decided to take up land grants in Nova Scotia, instead of returning to Britain following the American Revolution, remains somewhat unclear. It was likely a result of population growth in Scotland, where there had been a continuous increase since the 1750s, resulting in congestion. As T.C. Smout has noted, "if land is short the holding may be too small to support a large family or to provide children with land of their own at an early age; if jobs are few there may again be difficulty in supporting a family or in finding employment for the children as young juveniles."[6] Additionally, the Highland Clearances resulted in scores of Scotsmen emigrating in the decades after 1750; many soldiers may have felt that there were few prospects for them should they return home.

On 27 September 1784, Governor John Parr granted 12,250 acres of escheated land at Sheet Harbour to the soldiers.[7] Unfortunately, it was not on

4 "The Highland Light Infantry, 1st Battalion," in *Records and Badges of the British Army* (2nd ed., London, 1900), p. 731: "The 71st (Highland) Regiment of Foot, or 'Fraser's Highlanders,' of 1774–84. This fine regiment, of two battalions, was raised by Lieutenant-General Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat,...which was formed at Glasgow, and saw much arduous service in America during the War of Independence. The Regiment served under Lord Cornwallis in the Carolinas and Virgina, and the greater part was included in the surrender at Yorktown, 17th Oct. 1781."

5 James Rutledge, *Sheet Harbour: A Local History* (Halifax, 1954), pp. 15–16.

6 T.C. Smout, *A History of The Scottish People: 1560–1830* (London, 1969), p. 248.

7 Rutledge, *Sheet Harbour*, p. 13; Thomas Watson lost his 20,000 acres by escheat order of 12 September 1784, in order to make way for the Soldiers' Grant.

either the Watson or Belcher lands as they had anticipated, and where they had spent months clearing, planting and laying out town lots. Instead, they were granted an undeveloped area and were forced to establish an isolated community where social amenities were lacking. They found no fertile land or cleared fields. Instead, it was rocky and sterile. In addition to these serious land deficiencies, Sheet Harbour itself was not an established seaport, there was no hinterland to feed into the settlement, and a road network linking the remote area to Halifax was non-existent.

The government made provisions available to the settlers for a period of eighteen months, a plan which was designed to assist them until they became self-sufficient. MacKinnon has also pointed out that in many instances before settlers were able to achieve this, their supplies had run out: "Facing the immediate future without the sustaining crutch of provisions was too much for these people, and soon after the cessation they gave up."[8] Even for those who remained in isolated communities like Sheet Harbour, life was a struggle for the first decade or more. They never knew what to expect. One of the founding settlers, lawyer Nicholas P. Olding, left just short of ten years later. He resettled his family in Merigomish, and after one year there was able to write that he had

> the pleasure to assure you my change of situation is truly pleasing, when at Sheet harbour the badness of the Land, the high price of Provisions and my Family encreasing altho' I confined myself to a close system of Aconomy yet I foresaw I could not stand it long--the uneasy sensations which arose in my bosom from the gloomy prospect before me for fear of the consequences that might result embittered every hour I tarried there but thanks be to God I did not give way to despair and when I last expected I found relief thro' the means of my worthy friend the Govornor who has done everything in his power to contribute to my happiness and since I have ben here my peace of mind has resumed it[s] former calmness--my prospect brightens on all sides and I feel a calm within which for a long time before I had been a stranger to. The Land here is exceeding good and produces fine crops.[9]

One thing the settlers at Sheet Harbour had in their favour was a sense of kinship. They had previously served together in the same battalion during

8 MacKinnon, *Unfriendly Soil*, p. 156.

9 N.P. Olding to J. Selby; Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], Masonic Collection, MG 20, Vol. 2001, No. 8, item 67.

wartime, which created a special bond. As well, a few of these soldiers were freemasons, and one of the first things they did upon arrival in their new community was request permission to set up a lodge in Sheet Harbour.[10] It can be seen as optimistic that they felt secure enough in the future of the settlement to want to do this, since such an initiative represented social responsibility as well as a commitment to the future. The importance of the lodge in the lives of the men who were its founding members was varied. On the one hand, it provided a sense of community and stability, but on the other, it did not at anytime have sufficient membership to undertake its work, so that it instead became a burden on the few.

The Masonic lodge served primarily as a source of solidarity for its members. It tended to incorporate people into networks, and to create new relationships having something of the force of kinship.[11] This linkage in turn induced loyalty and civility. The correspondence between Hiram's Lodge No. 8 and the Grand Lodge headquartered in Halifax demonstrates this kinship very precisely: the language, always respectful, expressed caring and concern for all brethren.[12]

Not only did the lodge generate a feeling of cohesiveness in the community, it also represented ties with the old country. In this case, the connection was with Scotland, for many of these disbanded soldiers were of a Highland regiment. Charity was an important part of masonic ideology, distributing relief to the deserving poor or a needy brother. Charity was extended to those brothers--and family members--who were registered, had paid the requisite membership fee, and had received a certificate: "No Brother without being recorded in the Grand Lodge Register is entitled to receive a Grand Lodge Certificate, or obtain any relief from the Grand Fund should he be so reduced as to require it...."[13] Certain members of Hiram's Lodge in Sheet Harbour were the recipients of such charity. In a way, the

10 Alexander Sutherland to Ancient Free Masons of Nova Scotia, 30 Sept. 1784, in *ibid.*, item 1.

11 Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood* (Princeton, 1989), p. 15.

12 Affiliated lodges were 'named' by the Provincial Grand Lodge; Hiram, an ancient name in Masonry, was an early King of Tyre and Grand Master of Masons.

13 John Selby (Grand Secretary) to Brother Allen, Master of Lodge No. 155 at Halifax, 25 Feb. 1793, in PANS MG 20, Vol. 2032, No. 1.

lodge functioned as a hedge against the uncertainties and insecurities of an unstable economy. The records of the Grand Lodge include letters and testimonials from members of the Sheet Harbour community who were associated with Hiram's Lodge. These letters give glimpses of what life in the settlement was like, and often of the dire circumstances that led to requests for assistance.

Letters and petitions asking for charity were forwarded to the Grand Lodge where an established committee, set up to administer the Charity Fund, dealt with the requests. A look at these petitions gives evidence of the miserable conditions experienced by many of the early settlers. One memorialist, James Logan, writing in October 1791, noted that "any relief that you may please to bestow on your poor Br. never so small shall be thankfuly and gratefully recd." He was a member of Hiram's Lodge and his "house unfortunately took fire, by which accident the same, furniture, bed and body cloaths and his all was consumed, save a wife and two helpless Children."[14] The Grand Lodge responded by voting relief of £2.10s.[15]

Another Sheet Harbour memorialist received assistance in the form of passage back to Scotland. A petition, dated September 1792 and requesting aid on John Biggery's behalf, noted that he was ill and "very desirous to try his native Air in the North of Scotland, or Lay his bones there...." The minute-book of the Grand Lodge shows that £3 was given as relief--enough to cover his passage home.[16]

The Masonic Order often covered the funeral expenses of a deceased brother, and as well they sometimes extended their charity to the widows of late brethren who subsequently found themselves in distressed situations and wrote asking for relief. For example, Dorothy Logan, the widow of a late member of Hiram's Lodge wrote to the Grand Lodge on 4 December 1812:

> That your Memorialist's Husband died two years ago, after a tedious illness of eighteen months...has left your Memorialist with nine children, six of which are put out, and the remainder are with your Memorialist.... Your Memorialist's said Husband was disabled from doing any work several years before he died

14 Memorial of Brother James Logan of Hiram's Lodge No. 8, Sheet Harbour, in PANS MG 20, Vol. 2001, No. 8, item 42.

15 Minute-Book, in PANS MG 20, Vol. 2133, p. 169.

16 Testimonial letter, Alexander Sutherland to the Grand Secretary, in PANS MG 20, Vol. 2001, No. 8, item 52.

> on account of a very sore leg. Last Spring your Memorialist lost a Cow and three calves by the Horn Distemper and what renders her case more calamitous, is the failure of her crop of Potatoes, and is truly in a suffering and distressing condition.[17]

Decisions regarding relief were dealt with quickly. The Grand Lodge did not hesitate to call emergency meetings of the Charity Fund committee in order to take immediate action to assist brethren and their families. At the meeting of 7 December 1812, the sum of £3 was voted for Mrs. Logan's relief.

The Grand Lodge did not turn its back on any member in good standing. When a brother found himself in financial trouble, he could rely on the lodge for assistance. John Stairs, a Halifax shipping merchant, often did business in Sheet Harbour, sometimes acting as a banker for members of the community by undertaking to handle business for them in Halifax. He was a Freemason as well and Hiram's Lodge occasionally entrusted him with dues to be paid to the Grand Lodge. Sometimes the payment was in fish, which was used as a barter commodity. However, Stairs at one point fell on hard times and was unable to make good on a commitment promised to two members of the Sheet Harbour lodge. He had received fish worth £2, but was unable to make the payment to the Grand Lodge. This matter went unresolved for some time, with correspondence between Halifax and Sheet Harbour. The Grand Lodge wrote in May 1792 that "Brother Stairs is not now able to pay anything for those Brethren who drew Orders on him some time ago--Should it so happen that he shall have ability in future time, I dare say his principles are good for the doing of it."[18] The Grand Lodge eventually waived the £2 owing from Sheet Harbour, but John Stairs's difficulties were serious. He unfortunately found himself in debtors' prison in Halifax, writing the Grand Lodge on 1 March 1792 as follows:

> Nothing but absolute want or necessity could, induce me, to write you, on a Business of this kind--I will thank you at the meeting of the T.W.G. [The Worshipful Grand] Lodge, to make known, my present situation and family's--assuring them that I have not a Dollar, in the world to subsist on--nothing but such a circumstance, would oblige me to make this application--and I hope it will be considered as such--at same time, the smallest Donation will be acceptable and be of the greatest service to me and family--I remain with assuring you, that I am R.W.B. [Right Worshipful Brother] yours in Distress....[19]

17 Memorial of Dorothy Logan, in *ibid.*, item 70.

18 Brother Peters to N.P. Olding, 4 May 1792, in PANS MG 20, Vol. 2120, No. 2.

19 John Stairs to Rt. W.B. Clarke, 1 Mar. 1792, in PANS MG 20, Vol. 2141, No. 2.

The financial foundation for the Charity Fund came from membership dues, so it was important that these were paid promptly. In a letter from the Grand Lodge Secretary, dated 16 March 1793 to Alexander Sutherland, Secretary to Hiram's Lodge No. 8, it was stressed how important these payments were to the welfare of the membership. The letter was prompted by the local lodge's inability to collect dues from certain members:

> as it is the indispensible duty of the Officers of every Lodge to see that their Dues are regularly Collected and if a Brother cannot afford to pay punctually one shilling per quarter (which is all that is required towards the Grand Fund) he can have no Claim for being considered as a Member of the Fraternity, and in fact ought not to be so considered for instead of being any advantage or assistance to, he will undeniably become a Burthen upon the Craft and therefore such dues they expect to be made good out of the private fund of the Lodge--In short, it would be a breach of Masonic faith for the Right Worsh. Grand Lodge to allow such Indulgences as every Lodge may as well as one, by the same parity of reason, require it, and the Grand fund of Charity would be reduced to a total state of Uncertainty, and most probably in a short time to little or nothing; and the principal design and Existence of a Grand Lodge would be rendered abortive--I say breach of masonic faith; for I look upon a Grand Lodge to be as Trustees or Guardians appointed for a distribution of a particular fund appropriated by the fraternity at large (and to which they have consented by a general Law to contribute equally their proportion) for the *Relief of Indigent Brethren as Exigencies may require* [author's italics].[20]

The payment of dues to the Grand Lodge, particularly on time, was a consuming issue for the small local lodge. Throughout the correspondence between the two organizations there are repeated references to the inability of the Sheet Harbour body to make remittance. Very often this was because of the shortage of cash, which was in turn dependant upon local industry.

On 3 August 1785, Nicholas P. Olding, master at Hiram's Lodge, wrote to the Grand Lodge in response to the latter body's request for payment: "with respect to the demand which the Rt. Worshipful Body has against us I beg leave to observe that prior to the receipt of yours we were preparing to render what is justly due and are now only prevented by the absence of some of our Brethen now called out by the Fishing Season...."[21] At this early date in the history of Sheet Harbour, fishing was an active part of the community. Fish

20 John Selby to Alexander Sutherland, Secretary to Lodge No. 8, 16 Mar. 1793, in PANS MG 20, Vol. 2031, No. 1.

21 PANS MG 20, Vol. 2001, No. 8, item 6.

served not only as subsistence, but as a commodity of exchange; certainly members of the Masonic lodge used it as such, as already noted above. In May 1790, the members expected to be able to meet their obligations, because "as the salmon fishing is now approaching, we propose in June clearing off our Dues."[22] Additionally, on 5 July 1791 the Grand Secretary in Halifax was advised by the Grand Treasurer that he had received "66 pickled salmon--48 on account dues from Hiram Lodge at Sheet Harbour--which sum you will please charge me with as Grand Treasurer and credit said lodge accordingly."[23] The value of the pickled salmon was £2.8s., as Olding stated in his letter to Brother Peters.[24] Fish was still being used as a vehicle of exchange in 1793 when Olding wrote to the Grand Treasurer asking to know the price of fish in Halifax, so as to be able to know "what to send."[25]

Olding, master of the lodge in December 1787, indicated that he wished to be released from his position because "I live near two miles on the other side of the Harbour and in the Winter bad weather is much against me."[26] This correspondence highlights other continuing problems related to the operation of Hiram's Lodge. The Grand Lodge Register Book indicated that there was a total of five members from 1784 to 1788. In the latter year seven additional members were added, but from 1789 until 1793 only four others were admitted.[27] Problems in meeting deadlines for payment of dues continued throughout the short life of this lodge. By the end of 1794 there were only three members left. Olding had left in 1793, Thomas Lydiard died in March 1794 and Alex Sutherland was ordered to military service in Annapolis Royal in October 1794. There were not enough members left to pay due respect to

22 *Ibid.*, item 36.

23 Schwarts to Brother Peters, in *ibid.*, item 40.

24 *Ibid.*, item 39.

25 *Ibid.*, item 63.

26 N.P. Olding to Grand Secretary, 12 Dec. 1787, in *ibid.*, item 13.

27 Register Book, PANS MG 20, Vol. 2146, p. 51, 18 Oct. 1784: N.P. Olding, James Sutherland, A. Sutherland, T. Lydiard (the only non-soldier member at this time), J. Logan; 12 Sept. 1788: N. Atwood, J. Shelcock, James Cook, John Biggery, James McGahey, Francis Glasson, N. Highland; 18 July 1789: Simon Rutledge; 7 Apr. 1792: T. Cooke; 28 Sept. 1792: A. Cuthbert; 1 July 1793: J. Winton.

the constitution of the lodge, and consequently the warrant was surrendered by James Sutherland in 1796.[28]

Despite the problems that these soldiers may have experienced in the operation of Hiram's Lodge, the unit was nevertheless an important part of life in the community. Records indicate that St. John's Day was organized and celebrated each summer and the monthly meetings ensured a kinship tie.[29] As soldiers, they had come together from Scotland, Ireland and England; they did not have quite the sense of community in terms of family, kinship ties and tradition that many other groups of Loyalists brought with them. Instead, their regiment was their community, and this was reinforced by settling as a group at Sheet Harbour. Further evidence of their evolving community was in the formation of a Masonic Lodge which, however brief its existence, nevertheless reinforced and strengthened emerging kinship and family ties in a remote area of Nova Scotia.

28 James Sutherland to Grand Lodge, 30 Aug. 1796, in PANS MG 20, Vol. 2001, No. 8, item 69.

29 St. John's Day, 24 June, was the anniversary of the inauguration in 1717 of the Mother Grand Lodge of the order, in London, England.

Attorney-General Uniacke's Advice to a Young Lawyer, 1798

The years 1797 through 1799 were decisive for Richard John Uniacke's public career in Nova Scotia. In 1797, after having served as solicitor-general for sixteen years and advocate-general for thirteen, and having once--nearly twice--been passed over for promotion in favour of American Loyalists, he finally became attorney-general. In 1798 he returned to the House of Assembly, after a voluntary absence of some five years, as member for Queens County. Then in 1799 he resumed the Speaker's chair, which he had previously occupied from 1789 to 1793. By the end of the century, moreover, his law practice was reputed to be the largest in the province.[1] Many a promising young lawyer-to-be passed through the office of "the Old Attorney General" as an articling clerk. One of them was Uniacke's own eldest son, Norman Fitzgerald; another was the Epitomist, Beamish Murdoch.[2]

Born in 1777, the first child of Richard John Uniacke by his first wife Martha Maria (née Delesdernier), Norman Fitzgerald spent his earliest years separated from his father by the breadth of the Atlantic Ocean.[3] While serving as deputy prothonotary of the Supreme Court in Cumberland County,[4] Richard John learned of his father Norman's death, and about 1778 he returned to Ireland. There Uniacke completed his legal apprenticeship, which had been interrupted by his emigrating to America in 1773, and was admitted an attorney of the Irish Court of Exchequer in 1779. Uniacke returned to Nova Scotia in the spring of 1781; was straight away admitted an

1 Brian Cuthbertson, *The Old Attorney General: A Biography of Richard John Uniacke* (Halifax, 1980), pp. 12, 33, 36–37, 44–45; "Uniacke and the Struggle for Patronage in Nova Scotia," in Cyril J. Byrne and Margaret Harry, eds. *Talamh An Eisc: Canadian and Irish Essays* (Halifax, 1986), pp. 148–65; "Uniacke, Richard John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* VI (1987), 789–92. The present transcription and commentary should be compared with Cuthbertson, "Fatherly Advice in Post-Loyalist Nova Scotia: Richard John Uniacke to his son Norman," in *Acadiensis,* 9, 2 (1980), [78]–91.

2 See Christine Veilleux, "Uniacke, Norman Fitzgerald," in *DCB*, VII (1988), 872; B. Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie*, II (Halifax, 1866), 585.

3 It is unreasonable to suppose, as does the *DCB* author (*supra* note 2), that Norman might have been born in Halifax. Though no record of Norman's baptism has been found, it is certain that he was born no later than July or August 1777, for his father was taken into captivity at Fort Cumberland in November 1776. Richard John Uniacke departed Nova Scotia sometime after August 1777, leaving his teenaged wife and infant son in the care of her parents, who were then living at Fort Lawrence. The date of Norman's admission to the bar--10 October 1798--provides a *terminus ante quem* for his twenty-first birthday; he died in Halifax on 11 December 1846, aged sixty-nine. (The Editor is grateful to Ernest Clarke for helping to establish the correct chronology.)

4 Delesdernier to Haldimand, undated [1778?]: Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS] RG 1, vol. 367½, doc. 51 [transcript].

attorney of the Supreme Court; and by the end of the year, thanks to the powerful patronage of fellow Munsterman, Chief Justice Bryan Finucane, was appointed solicitor-general. In 1783 Uniacke's former connection with the patriot cause helped secure his election to the House of Assembly as member for Sackville Township, which then was part of Nova Scotia. In 1784 Chief Justice Finucane was able to procure for him the unsalaried but lucrative fee-paying post of advocate-general (i.e., crown prosecutor) in the Vice-Admiralty Court, which was customarily held by the attorney-general. Uniacke's distinguished career as a public servant and politician in Nova Scotia was thus conspicuously launched before he was thirty.

Doubtless the members of the rising Uniacke family were reunited in Halifax, where Norman Fitzgerald was to spend the next seventeen years of his life. His father later claimed to have given him the best education available in Nova Scotia,[5] so in view of the fact that Solicitor-General Uniacke was one of the trustees of the grammar school which commenced in Halifax in 1789, it seems probable that Norman was classically educated there. In 1794 Norman entered his father's office as an articling clerk, or apprentice-at-law, filling the vacancy caused by George Pyke's admission to the bar. Norman, however, did not altogether measure up to his father's exacting standards. Writing to his former student, Pyke, in April 1797 the elder Uniacke stated, "Norman continues to supply y^{r} place in the office & I hope will succeed. Yet his attention to study is not equal to my sanguine wishes. If you write to him I pray you recommend diligence & application to him...."[6] Norman spent the minimum four years as an attorney's apprentice under his father's stern mastership, and in his twenty-first year was admitted an attorney of the Supreme Court.[7]

The view of the comparative merits of legal education in Nova Scotia and England which Uniacke desired to inculcate in his son, and which he may possibly also have held himself, is summed up in this admonition to Norman:

5 See manuscript document below, p. 1; and Uniacke to Castlereagh, 8 June 1807: CO class 217/vol. 81/fol. 329, Public Record Office [hereafter PRO].

6 D.G. Bell, "Richard John Uniacke's Advice to a Young Lawyer [George Pyke], 1797," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 8, 2 (1988), 136–42, to which the present work is intended as a companion piece.

7 Regulations governing entrance to the legal profession were made by the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia in 1799 and doubtless confirmed the status quo. There is no reason why they cannot be retrojected at least to the beginning of the Blowers chief justiceship in September 1797. See PANS RG 39, "J" series, vol. 144 (at 21 October 1799).

"You must commence to learn your profession as a lawyer as though you had yet learned nothing." Had Uniacke been called to the Irish bar, like his mentor Finucane, he would have had to keep terms at one of the Inns of Court in London. As that was not the case, however, his knowledge of them, and estimate of their importance to the formation of an office-holding career in the colonies, legal or otherwise, was based not on personal experience but on that of others. He knew them by reputation and hearsay. His obvious preference for Lincoln's Inn, moreover, may be explained by its being the oldest, largest and best known of the four Inns and its having a distinct Nova Scotian connection. Both the penultimate and previous chief justices of Nova Scotia--Jeremy Pemberton and Sir Thomas A.L. Strange--had been called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, and Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke was the third native Nova Scotian to be admitted there. His predecessors were Edward Brabazon Brenton, who was admitted in 1781,[8] and Thomas Cochran Jr., an exact contemporary of Norman's, who was admitted in 1797.[9] Norman, however, was the first native Nova Scotian to seek entry to an Inn *after* having been admitted to the bar of Nova Scotia, though--like Cochran--it was not his intention to return to Nova Scotia merely to practise law. Brenton was only admitted to the bar on returning from England in 1785, and Cochran neither studied nor practised law in Nova Scotia. Thomas Cochran was called to the English bar in 1801, and Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke followed him four years later. He presumably practised in London or on the circuit, while he and his father and their Irish relatives and patrons endeavoured to obtain for him an appropriate situation in Nova Scotia. However keen both Norman and his father were for him to return to his native province to assume the post of Secretary,[10] Norman eventually had to settle for the attorney-generalship of Lower Canada, which conveniently fell vacant in 1808 when the incumbent

8 Brenton became deputy judge advocate for Nova Scotia in 1793, and deputy judge advocate-general for all of British North America in 1799.

9 Cochran was appointed chief justice of Prince Edward Island in 1801. (Charles Mary Wentworth, the son of Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Wentworth, had been admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1795, but he was neither a native nor a resident of Nova Scotia.)

10 Uniacke to Castlereagh, 8 June 1807: CO 217/81/329; 22 March 1808: CO 217/84/154–55, PRO (mfm. at PANS). There was much justification for having the office filled by an English-educated lawyer, because at the time the secretary was also ex officio master of the rolls and deputized for the lieutenant-governor as judge in the Court of Chancery.

became chief justice of the province.[11]

Membership in one of the Inns of Court, more particularly if it led to a call to the English bar, did not so much add to the fund of legal knowledge of a young colonial lawyer, as augment his stature in the eyes of the omnipotent dispensers of patronage in Whitehall. Such was the rationale for Attorney-General Uniacke's sending his eldest son, already an attorney, to keep terms at Lincoln's Inn: not to make him a better lawyer, so that he could come home replete with pretensions but empty of prospects to practise law in Nova Scotia, but rather to make him a successful office-seeker who would go wherever preferment offered. Norman's desire to return to Nova Scotia did not blind him to the necessity of going elsewhere if nothing offered in his native province. To secure his eldest son's future, moreover, Uniacke was prepared to make pecuniary sacrifices. Brian Cuthbertson suggests that Norman's student years in London were financed by his father's investments in the privateering ventures of Liverpool merchants, such as Simeon Perkins,[12] who had been instrumental in Uniacke's return to the House of Assembly in the 1798 Queens County by-election. As Uniacke was neither a poor man nor a rich one, and already had a family of ten children to support, there is reason to believe that this was so.

Richard John Uniacke's letter to his son may be construed either as a farewell gift or as a rite of passage to mark Norman's coming of age. Father and son had been parted at the very beginning of Norman's life, and were now to be parted again as he entered man's estate. The letter itself, which was written just over three weeks before Norman's departure for Great Britain, forms part of the Uniacke family fonds at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.[13] The fifteen-page holograph is not an original, but a corrected draft unsigned and endorsed on the back in Uniacke's handwriting, "Novr. 1798 Copy of my letter to Norman." As the original is not known to have survived, in order to establish the text of the letter one must depend entirely on Uniacke's rough working copy, in which many words have been abbreviated,

11 The bars of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick supplied four attorneys-general of Quebec/Lower Canada: George Suckling, 1764–1766; James Monk, 1776–1789 and 1792–1794; Jonathan Sewell, 1794–1808; and Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, 1808–1825. Both Monk and Uniacke were also members of the English bar.

12 Cuthbertson, *Old Attorney General*, 33.

13 PANS MG 1, vol. 926, doc. 99.

crossed out or interlined. Uniacke also capitalized many words, and there is little paragraphing and no punctuation. In transcribing the document for publication, therefore, upper-case letters have been deleted, except where necessary, and punctuation added to clarify the syntax. Otherwise, no effort has been spared to make the transcription as faithful as possible to the highly idiosyncratic spelling and convoluted style of the original.

[1] Halifax 1st Novr. 1798

My Dr. Norman

I have set down to discharge one of the most serious duties wch. as a parent I can ever be called on to perform. I am now about to lay down for a beloved son just entering into the world such rules & instructions as will, if attended to, secure to him happiness & prosperity in this world & I trust & hope that situation in the world to come wch. all good Christians & good men live in the hope of enjoying.

You have grown up to mans estate under the watchfull eye & tender care of a father & mother who from your earliest infancy have never ceased to make you the subject of their most anxious solicitude. From those parents you are now about to separate for the first time & to enter upon a new & untried scene, one wch. will require your utmost fortitude, vigilant care & prudent self denial to pass through with either credit or profit, & yet upon the events of a few well spent years will all your future happiness depend. You are to assume a certain portion of the cares of life wch. will every year increase. This then to you is the most awfull period of your existance, as a very short time will shew you to the world in the character in wch. you will have to pass the residue of yr. life. Such then being your situation, it is impossible for you to feel what your father & mother feel for you or to comprehend the anxiety, hope & fear with wch. they will awaite every returning period that will bring them an acct. of your progress. No person but a fond parent can describe our feelings. Let your imagination be ever so fertile, it cannot paint to you our sensations. You have had the best education that this country afforded. You have grown up in the boosom of an affectionate family. Every care has been taken hitherto to prevent you from coming into contact with vice & you have been carefully admonished & on all occasions encouraged to pursue a virtuous, honourable & industrious life. & let it be for your encouragement when I say with much pleasure that I have sanguine hope that *[2]* you will live to make us happy by seeing you attain

that station wch. virtuous life & honest industry has a right to expect. Shd. the reverse take place, wch. God forbid, I cannot say how my resolution wd. enable me to sustain so severe a trial. But one thing I can with safety say: that your mother wd. soon sink under the burthen. Sure I am shd. such an event take place her days wd. be short, & in the catalogue of your misfortunes you wd. have to enumerate the dreadfull one of having broke your mothers heart & left a helpless family of brothers & sisters to mourn the loss of the tenderest of parents. Having said thus much to you, I hope it will be sufft. to awake in yr. minde a course of reflection wch. will constantly impell you to the pursuit of those duties the observance of wch. is so essential to your happyness.

And in the first place let me assure you that if you neglect your duty to God you will never perform any other duty well. Let no consideration shake your opinion on this subject. Never be either afraid or ashamed to acknowledge upon all occasions your veneration for the creator of the universe & place your first happiness in a religious & well spent life. On no acct. whatsoever neglect your religious duty. Observe the Sabath & fail in no instance to attend the parish Church during the time of publick worship. Fear not the jeer or the scoff of the irreligious & dissolute, who vainly wish to believe that there is no God & that an attention to religious duty shews a want of true spirit. Shun wretches of this kinde as you wd. the viper. Their very breath carries with it the seeds of contagion & their abode is the habitation of filth & corruption. The esteem of the virtuous & good is the reward wch. the upright & godly meet with in this life, wch. with the enjoyment of a calm & serene minde is a most ample compensation for the discharge of a duty every part of wch. is attended with pleasure & opens to the minde gradually scenes of future existance far beyond the present life. I wd. not have you either an enthusiast & last of all things a hypocrite, but I wd. have you a modest religious man neither boasting of your sanctity nor fearing with modest, decent & moderate expression to vindicate religion when attacked in your presence, contenting yourself with *[3]* the form of religion as by law established in England & Ireland or in Scotland.[14] Either system is good & marks the wisdom of the people who planned it.

Having said now what I hope will never be absent from your minde, let

14 I.e., episcopal like the Church of England and Church of Ireland, or presbyterian like the Church of Scotland. On Uniacke's presbyterianism see Cuthbertson, *Old Attorney General,* 79ff.

me add a few words respecting the profession you are in pursuit of. & rely upon what I say, that no man will ever be a good lawyer unless he is a good man. & of all the professions in life wch. a man undertakes there is no one wch. requires more circumspection of conduct than that of a lawyer. It is a profession of great trust & requires high sentiments both of honour & of honesty to rise to any degree of eminence in it. There are wretches many of whom no doubt you will see who disgrace the profession. Such characters you will always see loaded with contempt & wretchedness, serving merely as shades of ornament & honour to the honest lawyer, in whom alone honest men & even rogues confide. I need not tell you then to cultivate with the nicest care high sentiments of honour & uprightness. Let yr. word be sacred & let not the smallest shadow of doubt or suspicion attach to your character. You belong to an antient family with the different branches of wch. you will shortly be more intimately acquainted. Through the wreck of ages and the ruine of fortunes their honour has been sacred, & when you meet them you will finde them still cherishing the high sentiments wch. they have inherited from their ancestors. Not those sort of sentiments wch. the foolish part of the world stile honourable, that is, a disposition to maintain with the sword the external appearance of honourable life without the smallest pretension to even the shadow of the character. Believe me, he who lives an honourable life will never be under the necessity to draw his sword in support of his reputation. For tho' the fear of the sword may prevent a person from speaking, it never will from thinking.[15]

With these hints to you for the formation of your religious & moral character I shall stop & proceed to give you a few of my sentiments on another part of your duty, wch. is also essentially necessary to your happiness & well being. I mean your duty to your father & mother, & before I proceed further let me say to you that I now consider you of age & no longer to be

15 Cuthbertson (*ibid.*, 36) detects here a reminiscence of Uniacke's brawl with Solicitor-General Jonathan Sterns, which allegedly hastened the latter's premature death in May 1798. According to Loyalist tradition Sterns died "through injuries received from R.J. Uniacke, who knocked Mr. S. down *& knelt on his chest*, at the corner of Hollis & Sackville streets; the cause was a dispute in court" (PANS RG 1, vol. 525, p. 169 [marginalium]). If Uniacke bore a grudge against Sterns, then it might have originated as long ago as 1784, when Uniacke and his father-in-law, Delesdernier, were sued for £2,000 damages by their former business partner, John Moyes [Moyce], whose attorney Sterns was: PANS RG 39, "C" series [HX], box 33, file 98. *Moyes* v. *Delesdernier et al.* was an exceedingly bitter lawsuit, which not only led to a cross-action in Chancery by the defendants but also had not abated by 1788, when Jonathan Sterns was disbarred for his role in the Judges Affair.

guided as a child. *[4]* The character wch. hitherto I have assumed respecting you must from this day be at an end. That reserve between a father & son so essentially necessary to preserve the parents authority during childhood must end with manhood. From this day, therefore, a tender friendship accompanied with unbounded confidence must take place. You are no longer to look upon me as the severe censor always disposed to finde fault, very sparing of praise & making no allowance for the want of consideration or inattention in a young person. All this I have considered necessary that I may habituate you early to yield your will to the opinion of others who are better judges than yourself, but the necessity now no longer exists between us. I shall expect you on all occasions to unboosom yr. minde to me & let me know even your smallest wishes, not for the purpose of finding fault with them but to have it in my power on all occasions if able to forward your views & desires, if I approve of them. But if not able to accomplish your wishes, you shall always receive not a denial but such reason as will convince you that nothing but inability cd. prevent my complying with yr. desires. & on the contrary, shd. I disapprove I shall communicate my disapprobation to you in a way not to hurt your feelings but to convince your understanding of the propriety of my opinion, treating you on all occasions as a rational being bound to act only from reflection & conclude on nothing without mature consideration. I shall likewise expect in a most particular manner that shd. I recommend any thing to you wch. does not perfectly meet your approbation that you will no or acct. neglect to inform me of it, with your reasons wch. you will finde me disposed on every occasion to discuss with you with temper & moderation.

Having thus settled with you the terms of our future intercourse it is only fit that I give some few hints respecting your duty, it being the surest & safest principle you can rely on to believe that your father & mother are the truest & most affectionate friends you have on earth: that it is your duty to repose in them the most implicit confidence; that you on all occasions *[5]* make known to them your wishes & wants; & that your life & actions be so nicely regulated as never to cause them for a moment to think that you are either ungratefull or unmindfull of the care & attention that they have paid to you in all stages of yr. life. The only return you can ever make to us is by so acting & doing as to convince us that you preserve that most affectionate remembrance of us. Your actions must speak on this subject, for the appearance of a want of affection on yr. part wd. cause a wound in our mindes wch. could not be healed. You must therefore omit nothing on your

part to keep the opinion constantly alive in our mindes that we possess your gratefull affection. It is our part by kinde & friendly attention to the accomplishment of your desires, promotion of your interests & supply of yr. necessary wants to convince you how dear you are to us. It is your part by every attention in your power to make us sensible that we are not exerting ourselves in the care of an ungratefull person, a character wch. I consider as that of a complete vilian. For it has ever been a saying of mine (& I shall go to the grave with the sentiment), that if you shew me an ungratefull man you shew me a man who possesses no one virtue & whose vices do not admit of an increase. With these sentiments I leave you to judge what my opinion of an ungratefull child wd. be.

As it is your duty to possess for your parents an unbounded affection, so it is to extend the same sentiments to yr. brothers & sisters.[16] It is by these actions of the minde that the tender bond of family union is preserved & the rugged path of life smoothed. The sweetest enjoyments of a refined minde is drawn from the continual exchange of affectionate sentiment between near & dear relations. How pleasing is it to reflect that from a punctual discharge of our duty arises the most perfect happyness that the human minde is capable of enjoying, & how gratefull ought we to be to the author of our existence who has so wonderfully arranged our life that true happiness can only be attained by a strict conformity to natural duty & obligation. This interesting connection can only be preserved by a constant communication, because all those who are thus bound together share the happiness & sorrows of each other, & when separated the powerful ***[6]*** operation of these sentiments are more strongly felt. Situations of this kinde impose a new duty wch. consists in a constant communication to be kept up by the use of letters. This is a duty wch. I flatter myself I need not say you will finde to be a pleasing one. In me you will experience the most punctual correspondent. I shall omit no opportunity of writing to you in terms of the most friendly & unbounded confidence, & I shall expect on your part the most carefull attention to this part of your duty. Every month a mail for Nova Scotia is made up in London, besides the various opportunities of private conveyance. My correspondents in London will always inform you when opportunities of this description offer, no one of wch. must be omitted. For I leave you to judge with what

16 There were Mary (born 1782), Crofton (1783), Martha Maria (1785), Alicia (1787), Richard John (1789), Elizabeth (1791), Anne Margaret (1793), Eleanor Rebecca (1795) and Robert Fitzgerald (1797).

anxiety I shall now waite for arrivals, & shd. I not receive by each a letter from you you cannot well conceive what my sensations will be & how I shall be able to bear the disappointment. I hope I need say no more on this head. I think it wd. not give you pleasure to cause us pain. I therefore recommend to you to write part of your letters every day or two as occurrences happen or your thoughts or wants suggest the subject. Habituate yourself to this mode & then your letter writing will be easy & you will be always prepared as opportunity offers. Write to me with confidence on whatever subject occurs; write also to your mother, sister & brothers. These marks of attention to them on yr. part cannot be dispenced with.

There is another duty wch. must always be upermost in your thoughts, & that is the great exertion wch. we have undertaken to enable you to prosecute your studies & to fit yourself for a situation of life wch. opens a road for your attaining honourable independence. You will know what slender means I have for the support of myself & numerous family, a part of wch. must now be devoted to your separate use, wch. only can be done by our sacrificeing much not only of the enjoyments but also of the necessaries of life. This you see us with pleasure about *[7]* to undertake. We have therefore a just right to expect that you will on no acct. whatsoever expend a shilling wch. can possibly be avoided. With the utmost chearfulness will I sacrifice any comfort or convenience of mine to save what shall be necessary for your expences, but shd. you be guilty of any kinde of extravagance or expence not absolutely necessary to accomplish the objects you have in view, it wd. mark to me such a badness of disposition & selfishness of character that I shd. consider you unworthy of my attention & shd. withdraw from you the means of future profligacy. For you may rely upon it, I wd. not sacrafice one single shilling to support the idle extravagance of any child I have. Cd. I be weak enough to be guilty of such a folly it wd. not be in my power, for the duty I owe to yr. mother & brothers & sisters wd. make it impossible for me to be guilty of injustice to them in supporting an extravagant son at their expence. This then is a rule that I lay down for your invariable & constant attention, namely that the utmost frugality & care be observed by you in every shilling of your expences. & remember at the expenditure of every farthing that that farthing is furnished to you at a very dear rate of a family being deprived of a certain portion of the comforts & necessaries of life, the ease & happiness of wch. family ought to be much more in your contemplation than your own.

To shew you the confidence I place in your prudence & discretion you will see by the letter of credit wch. I shall give you that I have not limited your expences but have trusted to your honour & integrity to produce to me no expence wch. can possibly be avoided. You must constantly inform me from time to time what money you take up as also your probable wants for future expenditure, that I may have time to provide funds for the payment thereof. Let nothing come on me unexpected & of wch. I have not had previous information, least it may meet me unprovided & my credit suffer wch. I believe you wd. wish to avoide. I shall also expect to be informed by you from time to time how the money you take is expended, not that I wish to pry with a jealous eye into all your little expences or to have an acct. of rects. & expenditures exactly balanced to me--though for your own satisfaction you shd. keep such an acct.--but I only wish to receive from you from time to time such a genl. acct. of your disbursements as will give me a genl. idea of your present & future expence. This information is not required from you under an idea that you will make an improper use of the confidence I repose in you--believe me I have too high an *[8]* opinion of your honour & integrity to have a doubt on the subject, & I flatter myself every future year of my life will confirm me in that opinion.

It is my wish that you agree for your board & lodging by the week in some decent, orderly private family as convenient to the situation of your studies as you can. This will introduce a certain expence, but it is much better than to live at an uncertain expenditure. Besides it gives you a home from wch. you are not obliged daily to go out unless your business requires it. I by all means prefer for you a house in wch. nobody but yourself is entertained, for fear of your forming acquaintances with improper persons. Attend much to the character of the family & let the house be as private a one as you can get, yet such a one as is decent & in wch. you shd. not be ashamed to be entertained, for I by no means wish you to divest yourself of that decent pride wch. forms the contrast to meanness. You must consider that you go into a world where nothing will be done for you without money. You must pay for every thing, even the smallest service. You must therefore learn to do much for yourself. Your washing you will finde a heavy article; therefore you must be very carefull of your managemt. in that respect. Have no accts. kept agt. you by any person; pay for every thing as you want it & let your name appear in no persons books but the books of the house on wch. I have given you credit. On

no acct. whatsoever contract a debt; it is of all things to be avoided. The moment you become a debtor your independence is gone & you live but at the will of another. Had I a fortune you wd. finde that I shd. not confine you in your expences closer than what was necessary for the preservation of yr. health & morals. But as that is not the case, we must make the best shift we can, I by saving whatever I can for your support & you by habitual & carefull frugality--making by burthen in that respect as light as possible. I wd. not advise you to an act of meanness, but the way to avoide difficulties of that kinde is to keep out of the way of temptation & to be carefull with whom you associate. For if you keep company with expensive persons you will be obliged to contribute to the expence in spite of you. Therefore such persons company must be studiously avoided. In the care of your hair I wd. advise you to employ an hair dresser only occasionally. In that article you can save considerable expence by doing it yourself. So in the cleaning of your cloths & shoes. Black cloths I advise as yr. general dress. It is one of oeconomy, appertains to yr. profession & is as becoming as any other. All these things I point out to you to enable you to discharge the duty you owe yr. parents, & on the observance of which will depend their pleasure & *[9]* enjoyment & will be the means of lightening the burthen that necessarily they must bear on yr. acct. It wd. be impossible for me to point out to you every thing wch. if done wd. promote our enjoyment or diminish our expence. I can only give hints, but must trust entirely to your good sense, affection, honour & integrity, and shall proceed to give you a few hints of the dutys wch. you owe to yourself.

And in the first place let me recommend to you a strict attention to the preservation of yr. health & morals. This can only be done by the most scrupulous attention to avoide temptation of every kinde & to shun vice in whatever shape or form you meet it. The scenes wch. are now going to be viewed by you are surrounded by temptations of every kinde wch. the arts or contrivance of degraded men & women can possibly invent. Vice assumes every shape & form & the senses are tempted by every artifice to extravagance & pollution. On this score your trial will be a severe one & you can only expect to come off victorious by exerting a firm minde & virtuous fortitude. Avoide with the most carefull attention the misuse of wine. Many a virtuous young man has fallen a sacrifice to the consequences of one unguarded moment when the passions were inflamed & the senses laid asleep by wine. Indeed to the credit of the present day no person who pretends to the

character of a gentleman will presume the misuse wine. You are by birth well intitled to that character & I flatter myself will have spirit to support it. Think how precious a thing is good health, of wch. you now possess an abundant share & have fair prospect to live long to enjoy the fruits of a virtuous & well spent life. Never for an instant let it be absent from yr. minde that that health is for ever to be lost in one unguarded moment, & all the future enjoyments of life & virtuous happiness destroyed.[17] By a constant attention to prevent the progress of lothsome disease, I recommend to you by all means to spend as much of your leisure time as possible in the company of virtuous & modest women. Such company will elevate the sentiments of the minde & give a polish to the manners of a gentleman. It is impossible for you to pretend to the character of an accomplished man unless you have recd. a polish of this sort. But you must be very delicate & nice in your choice of company of this kinde, for of all the dreadfull snares that are laid for a young man there is not one so dangerous, so difficult, to avoide & so completely ruinous as the arts of a vicious & bad woman. The family you belong to entitles you to keep yourself pretty much to yourself untill you have an opportunity of seeing them & receiving their advice, wch. I intend shall be during the Long Vacation ***[10]*** next summer.[18] In the mean time your friends in Nova Scotia will have opened for you an acquaintance with good families & characters, wch. will furnish you with society more than sufft. for a young man whose time must be principally occupied in study & whose finances are contracted within a narrow compass.

I also recommend to you to cultivate an acquaintance with good persons of both sexes who are older than yourself & whose situations in life & characters are well established. In your choice of young company be very cautious. The rich will entice you into expence & when they see you ruined by vying with them will only laugh at your folly. The poor again will, if possible, live at yr. expence. Acquaintance for a variety of reasons with young persons must be formed with the utmost care & circumspection. Give

17 A transparent allusion to the peril of contracting venereal disease, which at the time was not only incurable but also untreatable.

18 The "Long Vacation" occurs between the end of Trinity Term (in July) and the beginning of Michaelmas (in October). On taking leave of his Irish relatives in January 1809, Norman was presented by his uncle Crofton with the Uniacke family bible: R.G. Fitzgerald-Uniacke, "Some Old County Cork Families. 1. --The Uniackes of Youghal," in *Journal* of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, III (1894), 234.

yr. friendship to no person untill you are well convinced he is worthy of it. A decent reserve in a young man is becoming & shews the appearance of character, whereas the person that is ready to be acquainted with every body never gets acquainted with any person whose company can be of any use to him. Confidence & easy manners are the necessary accompaniments of a well bred person. Impudence or awkward bashfullness shew a person to be bred either in low life or to have been secluded from society. That proper reserve so becoming in a young person requires nice discrimination to shew it in a proper point of view. Some persons use it so unbecomingly that instead of gaining credit for a virtue th[ey] receive contempt for a vice. It with such persons carries the appearance of pride. In others again it assumes the appearance of difidence, arising from the conscious want of capacity to address others with a becoming grace. Either appearance causes a prejudice agt. the person. You must therefore cultivate yr. manners & address so as not to have the appearance of pride or to want that confidence necessary to social intercourse, avoiding must carefully the appearance of self conceit or forward impudence. But let your reserve appear accompanied with such manners as to shew that it proceeds from a native dignity of character & a high & well cultivated minde. Treat all persons with respect, the rich as well as the poor, to whom on all occasions you must be complaisant. Never think that you can possibly be elevated by degrading another.

Shape your manners according to the best models ***[11]*** you meet of polished & virtuous life. Where ever you have opportunities of dining [*sic*?] with those in the higher situations of life, loose no opportunity of bringing your character into such a point of view as to be thought worthy of their notice. The best genl. rule to accomplish it is to behave to them with attention & respect, avoiding by all means either the appearance of intrusive forwardness or servile adulation; but with modest reserve seek for favourable opportunity to shew yr. character & understanding in that point of view wch. will set it off to the best advantage. He who talks much must talk a great deal of nonsence. Habituate yourself therefore to the use of chaste & correct language & never open your mouth to speak untill you have well thought of what you are to utter. Loose no opportunity to get introduced to the acquaintance of those who are in situations of life to be usefull to you on future occasions. Your relations in Ireland have it in their power to introduce you to the acquaintance of some of the first people in that kingdom.[19]

19 Among these were the Earl of Shannon, the Marquis of Waterford, Lord Longueville and the Earl of Kingston: Uniacke to Castlereagh, 22 March 1808: CO 217/84/154, PRO (mfm. at PANS).

This to a young man in yr. situation is an immence advantage & through them, if you appear deserving notice, you may be introduced to some of the first people in England.[20] The advantages wch. you are to derive from this prospect must depend wholly on yourself. Where you get liberty to visit you must preserve it by a continuance of respectfull attention. Have nothing to do or say respecting the differences of political opinions. It will be sufft. for you to confine yourself to express only yr. love & attachment to your country & your readiness by every means in your power to support it & the civil & religious system wch. is by law established. Whatever judgmt. you may form on political subjects, keep them to yourself. Shun the doctrines of the present day & let theoretical speculation in matters of government alone. Take things as you finde them & do not presume to think yourself wiser or better than those who went before you. Never close or commence the day witht. having by humble supplication sought the favour & protection of the Allmighty. Divide your time into proper portions, allotting for each it's proper occupation. Habituate yourself to an orderly system of this kinde, as from it you will derive the utmost benefit & advantage. Consult method, form & regularity in every thing you do & above all things never finish the day without reviewing in your minde seriously the manner in wch. you have been employed, & reform that part of your proceedings wch. on serious reflection you shall disaprove.

You must commence to learn yr. profession as a lawyer as though you had yet learned nothing. Advise with Mr. Park, to whom you will carry letters.[21] Capn. George no doubt will give you his friendly advise[22] & so will Messrs. Brickwoods & Daniel,[23] to whom you carry letters & who I have requested

20 It was probably Shannon's son and heir, Lord Boyle, who arranged an interview with the Earl of Camden, Secretary of State for the Colonies from May 1804 to July 1805. Camden, who had been viceroy of Ireland during the Great Rebellion of 1798, is said to have encouraged Norman's expectations: Uniacke to Castlereagh, 22 March 1808: CO 217/84/154–55, PRO (mfm. at PANS). Norman also got in to see the prime minister, William Pitt: Shannon to Castlereagh[?], 27 April 1808: CO 217/84/166–67.

21 James Alan Park (1763–1838), a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, was at that time recorder of Preston.

22 Rupert George, RN (1749–1823), scion of an old Anglo-Irish family in County Laois [Queen's], was married to a daughter of Thomas Cochran Sr., and from 1792 to 1794 had been naval commandant at Halifax. In 1798 he was chief commissioner of Transport Board and his younger brother, Denis ("Baron George"), a puisne baron [assistant judge] of the Irish Court of Exchequer, of which Uniacke was an attorney. In 1796 Captain George had tried unsuccessfully to obtain the post of secretary of Nova Scotia for his (half) brother-in-law, Thomas Cochran Jr.; in 1808, however, having more influence with the Earl of Castlereagh than Uniacke did, he was successful in obtaining it for his own eldest son, Samuel Hood.

23 This company was the banking establishment on which Uniacke gave Norman the letter of unlimited credit.

[12] to introduce you to their law friend,[24] who will advise you the proper course to commence yr. studies. Lincolns Inn I give the preference to your becoming a member of.[25] Advise me from time to time the sums of money that will be necessary to advance for your instruction: books &c. &c. &c., that I may be prepared. Consider well what a great deal depends on your application & diligence & what a dreadfull thing it wd. be if after so much expe[rie]nce & trouble no good was to come of it. Let nothing divert you from the diligence with wch. you will pursue yr. studies. Contemplate the numerous characters who in the profession have elevated themselves to the highest situation by diligence, industry & application. Let your minde be fired with a laudable ambition & act with a determined resolution to accomplish whatever you undertake. Diligence & application will overcome every difficulty. I think the practice you have already had in the business of an attorney will obtain you yr. four terms in an attorneys office.[26] With expe[rie]nce, in four or five years you will be obliged to shift for yourself. Be therefore well prepared for that awfull event. Meet it with courage & resolution & you will no doubt succeed. It is impossible for me to maintain you always. All that I can possibly do is to put you in the way of maintaining yourself. By the time yr. four or five years are passed, all my little savings annually will be called for by another brother & so on by another.[27] Therefore you see justice requires that you be prepared to do witht. my assistance. I cannot be guilty of injustice to my children. Every one has an equal claim on me & each in their turn must have the use of my little means for to fit them for usefull life. It is well if God shall see fit to spare me to make those savings for them wch. I am about to do for you, but if not, my child, think what an additional burthen will be thrown on you. For to them must you become a father & guardian & I flatter myself that shd. you be put

24 I.e., their solicitor, who would have been an attorney of one or more of the superior courts at Westminster Hall. His identity is not known.

25 Norman was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 28 January 1799.

26 As colonial attorneys had no automatic right of admission to the English superior courts of common law, perhaps Uniacke thought that his son's four-year clerkship and admission to the bar of Nova Scotia would recommend Norman as an articling clerk to an English attorney.

27 Both Crofton and James Boyle Uniacke (born 1800) followed Norman to Lincoln's Inn in 1819 and 1823, respectively. Richard John Uniacke Jr. had all his legal training in Nova Scotia.

to so severe a trial, you wd. meet it with fortitude & execute it with honour & affection. It will never be my lot to acquire fortune for my family to inherit.[28] The utmost that I can hope is by a diligent pursuit of my business to be able to spare annually as much as will support my children, each in their turn, untill they shall have had an opportunity to attain the knowledge of some profession or business *[13]* by wch. they may support themselves.

You see therefore what a strong claim there is for the exertion of diligence & application on your part. Pleasure & amusement must be far from your thoughts. The acquirement of knowledge & an ability to provide for yourself must occupy yr. whole thoughts & time. Let the thoughts of yr. friends frequently occupy yr. minde. Such a train of thinking will keep alive the various obligations you lie under to perform faithfully yr. several duties. I have wrote, my child, untill I am able to write no more. However, this is a sample of the lengthy correspondence you have to expect from me. You will never be absent from my thoughts & every opportunity will bring you a letter. Shd. you miss a single opportunity of writing to us think what a period of doubt, uncertainty & apprehension we shd. be left to labour through & I think you must have some little surprise that I so often have reference to your constant writing by every opportunity. It is not that I doubt yr. obedience to my desires, but it arrises from a fear that you may not consider the necessity of your attention in this respect in so serious a point of view as I consider it. Again therefore I repeat to you that a neglect of this sort on your part wd. fill my minde with great indignation, & it wd. require much time & attention on yr. part before I cd. bring myself to excuse such neglect. I can receive no excuse but the want of health, for no other excuse wd. be a good one to explain the cause of a seeming want of attention & regard on your part. Study then to let no vessell sail witht. bringing a letter from you. From this you may be assured none will sail witht. your hearing from us.

I will procure from Mr. Forsyth a credit for you in Scotland,[29] shd. any event happen to cause your want of pecuniary aide beyond the money you

28 By the time the War of 1812 in America and the Napoleonic Wars in Europe ended, Uniacke had amassed a fortune of £50,000, the principal source of it being the fees to which he was entitled as advocate-general of the Vice-Admiralty Court: Cuthbertson, *Old Attorney General,* 61–62.

29 See D.A. Sutherland, "Forsyth, William," in *DCB*, V (1983), 327–28. Sutherland describes Forsyth as the most notable Scottish entrepreneur who emigrated to post-revolutionary Nova Scotia. Forsyth's partners were based at Greenock, the port for Glasgow.

carry with you. On yr. arrival at Glasgow[30] I wd. have you inform yourself whether Dr. Brown be at his parish of Laughmaben.[31] This you will hear through Mr. Forsyth's House or otherwise by writing to him a line & receiving his answer, as it is my wish that you spend the principal part of the time you stay in Scotland in his company. It will be necessary that you be in London to commence Hillary Term,[32] Therefore you will have little time to spare. I wish you to see Edinburgh for a few days. You must before you part Mr Brenton fix with him the place & manner of your meeting again to pursue your journey to London.[33] It wd. be too great an undertaking for your alone. *[14]* Therefore you must be very cautious not to miss his company, as the benefit of it is the cause why you take so round about a course. Loose no time in your arrival in London to have yourself entered in the Inn to wch. you are to belong & commence your studies, for wch. purpose you must have yourself fixed in lodgings as soon as possible. As your board & lodging will be so large a part of your expence, it will require much attention to get it as cheap as possible. For your journey to London is not to be considered as one of pleasure; it is the very reverse. In the purchase of the books necessary for your use, much saving can be made either in cheap editions or the purchase of those wch. others have used. Let yr. board be agreed for by the week as all spare time I wish you to spend in Ireland, where you will live free of expence & my burthen be lightened. I shd. be glad that Dr. Brown wd. introduce you to some of his acquaintance in London, who I have no doubt are good people. Capn. George will favour you with his countenance & advice. Messrs. Brickwoods House, tho' I am not personally known to them, will advise & assist you on all occasions, & as it is from them you are to receive your

30 Norman was probably a passenger on the ship *Hunter,* which sailed from Halifax bound for Greenock on or about 13 November 1798.

31 The Reverend Andrew Brown had been Kirk minister at the Protestant Dissenting Church (St. Matthew's) in Halifax from 1787 to 1795. From 1795 to 1799 he was minister at Lochmaben, a royal burgh 14 km northeast of Dumfries.

32 The winter term in the universities and the lawcourts begins about the middle of January.

33 Edward Brabazon Brenton (*supra* note 8) advertised in the Halifax newspapers, beginning 29 October 1798, his intention "shortly to embark for England." A likely factor in his decision was that the general officer commanding the Nova Scotia military district, HRH Prince Edward Augustus, had gone thither about the middle of October. Brenton's junior, William Stewart Robertson, had been admitted to the bar the same day as Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke.

money I recommend to you to take their advice as to the expenditure.

And now, my dr. child, think that a few years will lay me in the dust & that in the fullness of time probably you may be called on to discharge for your children the duty I am now doing for you.[34] Then & not before can you possibly conceive what a parents hopes & fears are. Preserve my letters, for in years to come the contemplation of them when I am no more will give you a melancholy pleasure & consolation. The smallest line wch. my father wrote is viewed by me now with enthusiasm & respect. You I hope before long will have an opportunity to offer up your prayers at the tomb in wch. is deposited the remains of your ancestors. The character of your grandfather & grandmother you will be made acquainted with by the very many who will take a pleasure in that part of the world where they lived to remember their names & recapitulate their virtues.[35] Learn to imitate the character of your grandfather & to venerate the memory of parents who lived exemplary lives & ever had at heart the true interest of their children, & you will further learn to shun the rocks on wch. the fortunes of your own father ***[15]*** were shipwrecked. My sister[36] will point out to you the fair inheritance wch. was once destined for my use & will tell you with sorrow the melancholy tale of my youthfull folly: how by my want of attention to the duties wch. were pointed out to me I raised the indignation of a high spirited father & was severely punished for it.[37] This is a history wch. you will better learn from others than from me & let it be an example to you for the remainder of yr. life. I feel the justice of my fathers judgement & have full as much spirit as he had to resent the want of attention in a child. The want of the tenderest affection for my father through every moment of his life is, I thank God, what

34 Norman married in 1829 his maternal second cousin, Sophia Caroline Delesdernier (1806–1877), twenty-nine years his junior. There were no children of this May-December romance.

35 Norman [Fitzgerald?] Uniacke the Elder died in late 1776 or early 1777. His wife Alicia (née Purdon) survived him, but the year of her death is not known.

36 I.e., Mary: Mrs. Simon Dring.

37 Uniacke apparently crossed his father over his choice of profession and was disinherited as a result: Fitzgerald-Uniacke, "Uniackes of Youghal" [*supra* note 18], 248–49; *contra*, Cuthbertson, *Old Attorney General*, 3–4. Even in middle age--Uniacke was only a few days short of his forty-fifth birthday when he wrote to Norman--the memory of his estrangement from his father, which was unresolved at the latter's death, left him paralysed with guilt. The fact that Norman was about the same age as he himself had been at the time only made Uniacke's psychological burden heavier.

I have not to reproach myself for, but for the want of attention to his admonitions & will I was justly punished. Be therefore dutifull & circumspect in your conduct. By every act in your power preserve the affections of your parents & God will bless you for it. Think how soon a few short years will pass by & keep constantly in your view your joyfull meeting with me & your mother,[38] after having proved yourself worthy of our tender care & attention. Receive then, my dearest child, a fathers & a mothers blessing pronounced over you in the fullness of their parental love & regard. Learn to know & esteem its' value & take care to cause us no sorrow to accompany us to the peacefull grave. Our petitions shall be daily offered to heaven for your health & happiness.

And may the almighty God in whose presence our forefathers have ever sought[?] a blessing for their children be yr. guide & protector through life.

& may you ever remember your most affectionate father.

38 Norman never saw his mother again; she died in February 1803, aged forty. Father and son, however, were reunited in London towards the end of 1805. Uniacke obtained a six-month leave of absence from Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth--"[m]y private affairs requiring my presence in England & Ireland after an absence of so many years" (PANS RG 1, vol. 303, doc. 59)--and sailed for England on 11 November. Most pressing among his private concerns, no doubt, was Norman's future. The subject may have been raised during Uniacke's audience with Secretary of State the Earl of Castlereagh, to whom Lord Boyle had arranged his introduction: CO 217/81/329, PRO (mfm. at PANS).

Book Reviews

Allen B. Robertson

Atlantic Hearth: Early Homes and Families of Nova Scotia, by Mary Byers and Margaret McBurney. ISBN 0–8020–2935–3. University of Toronto Press, 1994. xxi + 364 pp., illustrated, paper, $24.95; cloth, $60.00.

Calculated Risk: Greed, Politics, and the Westray Tragedy, by Dean Jobb. ISBN 1–55109–070–8. Nimbus, Halifax, N.S., 1994. x + 310 pp., illustrated, cloth, $26.95.

The Churchills: Pioneers and Politicians: England-America-Canada, by Elizabeth Snell. ISBN 1–898386–05–6. Westcountry Books, Tiverton, Devon [England], 1994. vii + 228 pp., illustrated, cloth, $29.95.

Colchester Women: Biographical Sketches, by Colchester Women Committee of the Colchester Historical Society. Tribune Press for Colchester Historical Society, Sackville, N.B., 1994. 166 pp., illustrated, paper, $[].

Crime and Criminal Justice ['Essays in the History of Canadian Law,' Volume 5], edited by Jim Phillips, Tina Loo and Susan Lewthwaite. ISBN 0–8020–7587–8 pa. University of Toronto Press, 1994. xv + 583 pp., paper, $45.00; cloth, $70.00.

Ground Zero: A Reassessment of the 1917 Explosion in Halifax Harbour, co-edited by Alan Ruffman and Colin D. Howell. ISBN 1–55109–095–3. Nimbus and Gorsebrook Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, N.S., 1994. viii + 484 pp., illustrated, paper, $24.95.

Guide to British Naval Papers in North America, compiled by Roger Morriss with assistance of Peter Bursey. ISBN 0–7201–2162–0. Mansell for National Maritime Museum, London, 1994. xxii + 418 pp., cloth, $120.00 US.

Johnny Bluenose at the Polls: Epic Nova Scotian Election Battles 1758–1848, by Brian Cuthbertson. ISBN 0–88780–294–X. Formac, Halifax, N.S., 1994. viii + 344 pp., illustrated, paper, $19.95.

Landmarks: Historic Buildings of Nova Scotia, by Elizabeth Pacey, with photographs by Alvin Comiter. ISBN 1–55109–046–5. Nimbus, Halifax, N.S., 1994. 208 pp., illustrated, cloth, $35.00.

The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia, by Ian McKay. ISBN 0–7735–1248–9. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 1994. xvii + 371 pp., illustrated, paper, $19.95. [NB: see ***Appendix***.]

The Tancook Schooners: An Island and Its Boats, by Wayne M. O'Leary. ISBN 0–7735–1206–3. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 1994. xiv + 290 pp., illustrated, paper, $17.95.

Victorian Explorer: The African Diaries of Captain William G. Stairs 1887–1892, edited by Janina M. Konczacki. ISBN 1–55109–103–8. Nimbus, Halifax, N.S., 1994. xvi + 319 pp., illustrated, paper, $19.95.

Reconstructing the past is always a challenge replete with pitfalls. The reader hopes to find innovative approaches supported by thorough documentation and an accessible text. At a time when there is growing emphasis on utilitarian learning at the expense of 'literae humaniores' or cultural studies, it is a relief to note that not all books on Nova Scotia have fallen into the grip of Dickens's Mr. Gradgrind--in spite of our own economic 'Hard Times.'

Two books which address the architectural history of Nova Scotia have recently appeared. Mary Byers and Margaret McBurney, in *Atlantic Hearth*, take the reader on an extended tour of provincial private homes and public buildings. So do Elizabeth Pacey and photographer Alvin Comiter, in *Landmarks*. The results are in part complementary, and in part starkly contrasting. Pacey is acutely aware that what currently survives of Nova Scotia's built heritage has done so all too fortuitously. Government and private individuals have either had the gift of foresight, impelling them to preserve architectural gems of the past, such as St. Edward's Anglican Church in Clementsport (built 1797), or have forged ahead without aesthetic vision to demolish in order to 'create' yet more parking lots. In her role as a leading member of the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, Elizabeth Pacey has researched and written numerous works on architectural history in order to entertain (and especially) to inform the general public. *Landmarks* achieves

that goal admirably. Vignettes occurring within essays on period styles enhance the 'evidential historicity' of exemplary buildings. The duplex at 5476–5480 Clyde Street in Halifax is an 1859 structure antedating Canada's creation. Pacey relates how its solid construction reflected the economic and social background of its early mercantile owners. No extraneous material is allowed to distract the reader's from the description of home, business and people in this sketch, or indeed elsewhere in the book.

This coffee-table book is as remarkable for its monochrome photography as it is for its written text. Comiter's exclusion of colour permits one simultaneously to revisualize in natural light how, for example, the Acadia Ladies Seminary looks in 1994 by comparison with how it might have appeared over a century ago. The same may be said of the interior view of Simeon Perkins's house in Liverpool (plate 9). One almost expects to see the eighteenth-century merchant-politician and diarist walk into the room. The oversize pages further permit a scale from which to appreciate detail. Both Pacey and Comiter have successfully blended their respective talents to achieve the desideratum of Lady Morgan (p. 117): "Architecture is the printing press of all ages, and gives a history of the state of society in which the structure was created."

In *Atlantic Hearth* the reader finds more of a touristy companion guide to homes along the highways of Nova Scotia, than an architectural history. It is an armchair travelogue illustrated by buildings and biography, and to that extent it is successful. Byers and McBurney have written a popular history of Nova Scotia which can stimulate in the reader a thirst to learn more about a particular era or event. The description of Lunenburg town (Chapter 11) relates initial settlement construction (1753), spiritual needs (St. John's Anglican Church) and nineteenth-century prosperity to the simplicity or elaborate ornamentation of built heritage. This example well illustrates the general approach of the authors.

Byers and McBurney cultivate the atmosphere of a Baedeker guide or local history brochure. There is an impression that so much is condensed in a few pages as almost to distract one's attention from architecture. On the other hand, there will always be readers who demand saturated narratives. Despite praising *Atlantic Hearth* for its public education and entertainment value one is left with the annoying problem of photographic scale. The text takes precedence while visual aids appear as miniatures literally along the margins. The occasional use of full-page illustrations would have done much to correct

this particular flaw. The authors, however, cannot be praised too highly for the creative mix of contemporary photographs, archival still-life, water-colours and portraits, which range from the 1700s to the 1900s.

The political historiography of the province has been substantially augmented by the latest offering from the provincial Head of Heritage, Brian Cuthbertson. In a departure from his 1980s focus on historical biography (Richard John Uniacke, John Wentworth and Charles Inglis), Cuthbertson offers a collective behaviourial analysis of pre-Responsible Government politicians and voters. *Johnny Bluenose at the Polls* is Cuthbertson's attempt at 'Namierization': to uncover the background to party formation, the influence of ethnicity, class and religion in voting patterns and changes in regulating the electoral franchise and process. Sir Lewis Namier (1888–1960) was a renowned British historian who revolutionized parliamentary studies through his collective biographical inquiry into the origins of Georgian members of Parliament, home bases of support and interlocking parish, county and national interests. Cuthbertson's application of that method to Nova Scotia (1758–1848) offers the potential for radical re-evaluation of colonial politics. It is a natural progression from the earlier two-volume narrative history by political scientist J. Murray Beck (1985, 1988).

The reader is taken on the campaign trail through the province, which was still demarcated by distinct areas of ethnic or immigrant settlement. Connecticut Yankee descendants held sway in Kings County while the Gaelic was heard far and wide in what are now Colchester, Pictou and Antigonish counties. The Church of England and Toryism could be found in opposition to Methodist, Baptist or Presbyterian conservatives or grits. At this early period, indeed, neither the Tory nor the Grit camp could claim exclusive allegiance. Members of the House of Assembly voted by constituency or personal interest. Cuthbertson leads one through the generational changes as the concept of party solidarity evolved from factiousness. There was far more than meets the eye--as he carefully documents--to voting patterns in the Assembly. Behind the book itself lies an extensive, unpublished database which Cuthbertson compiled from original sources and other researchers' findings, and which he has donated to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

Cuthbertson had the means to present the best possible combination of archival research and bibliographic source materials. A check of cited published sources, however, reveals that is not the case. His coverage of the epic 1820s Shelburne Township election battles between the White and Barry

family factions omits reference to George Cox's "John Alexander Barry and His Times" (1949), Gene Morison's "The Brandy Election of 1830" (1954), Allen B. Robertson's "Charles Inglis and John Wesley" (*NSHR* 7, 1: June 1987) and *idem*, "John Wesley's Nova Scotia Businessmen: Halifax Methodist Merchants 1815–1855" (1990). The last work in particular stands in need of clarification with respect to sections in *Johnny Bluenose*. Granted that Cuthbertson undertook the challenge of a provincial survey, it may be said that his significant contribution to our knowledge of the structure of electoral politics in Nova Scotia is hampered by conspicuous omissions from the historiographical apparatus. Nonetheless, the work deserves a respectable place in the historiography of colonial politics.

More firmly embedded in the biographical framework is a set of journals finely edited by retired Mount Saint Vincent history professor Janina Konczacki. *Victorian Explorer* links Nova Scotia to the fascinating history of African exploration during the late nineteenth century. William Grant Stairs was a member of an old and respected Halifax mercantile family. His military engineering background eventually took him to the other side of the Atlantic for the Emin Pasha relief expedition (1887–89), which was headed by the African explorer, Henry Morton Stanley. This exploit was matched by the Katanga expedition, headed by William G. Stairs himself. Konczacki's perceptive biographical sketch of Stairs, combined with her editorial skills, make *Victorian Explorer* a significant accretion to the biobibliographic genre and to the continuing critical reappraisal of the Stanley myth. European reviewers already have praised her efforts highly.

Dr Konczacki is uniquely qualified to be the editor and advocate of William Grant Stairs's literary legacy. She lived, studied and taught for twenty years in Africa. Then from 1968 to 1994 she taught in the Department of History at Mount Saint Vincent as an adoptive Nova Scotian and Haligonian. The Stairs diaries were brought to her attention by the late Provincial Archivist, Phyllis Blakeley. Since then Konczacki has been pursuing her investigation of Nova Scotians who made significant contributions to African history, a link which she forges in *Victorian Explorer*. Any preconceived bias against British imperial expansion and colonial hegemony needs to be suspended so that one's historical horizons may be broadened. Any objectionable adjectives found in the diaries, which touch on race relations, must be seen in the context of another era which must not be praised or imitated in its socially unacceptable aspects. To close on a

more positive note, William Grant Stairs named a boat he used in Africa, *Bluenose*, thus conveying that famous sobriquet to the continent's interior.

Gender-oriented collective biography has marked the ambitious publication programme of the Colchester Historical Society. *Colchester Women*, which is the much-anticipated companion volume to *Colchester Men* (1993), follows the same format in its attempt to cover the widest possible range of social, ethnic and religious backgrounds. The Society is to be highly commended for reissuing their own county version of a biographical dictionary originally published in 1978.

Achievements by Colchester women in education, the arts, politics and religion are not confined to the late twentieth century. The first wave of foreign missionaries in the late Victorian era included Colchester women. Women who were beginning to graduate from university and teachers' colleges took their skills to countries where they could work under fewer social disabilities than confronted them in Canada. Matilda Faulkner (1840–1924), for example, who was a graduate of the Provincial Normal School, spent over fifty years in India with her husband, Baptist minister George Churchill. The first woman to graduate in medicine from Dalhousie University was Brookfield-born Annie Hamilton (1894). She took her considerable talents to serve as a medical missionary in China, where she died in 1941 at Shanghai. These are just two remarkable 'her stories' which come to light in *Colchester Women*, wherein the Colchester Historical Society has shown the value of collective biography to women's history.

Migrations, biography and family history are combined in Elizabeth Snell's *The Churchills*, which represents the fulfilment of the author's goal to publish an account which is partly genealogy and partly family reconstitution. Using late sixteenth-century records Snell traces the family from its origins in Dorset across the Atlantic to colonial America in the next century. She then follows it through to the 1760s migration of Churchills to Yarmouth Township in Nova Scotia. Snell pays due attention to such later notables as Yarmouth mariner "Rudder" Churchill, before carrying the line through to Hantsport and the rise of the Ezra Churchill dynasty. It was as shipbuilders, investors and merchants that Ezra Churchill and his sons played a considerable role in making that Hants County town one of the leading entrepôts during the 'Age of Sail.' One can say that Senator Ezra Churchill was to Hantsport in the 1850s what millionaire entrepreneur Roy A. Jodrey was to the town in the 1950s. Elizabeth Snell provides the first full-length

story of that transatlantic family's migrations and achievements, including overseas adventures during both World Wars.

The Churchills manifests both the virtues and the limitations of monographic family history. The Nova Scotian sections, in particular the Hantsport decades, receive the best narrative treatment. Here Snell was further assisted by the research files of her journalist mother, Elsie Tolson, and by access to personal and family archival fonds not available to outsiders. One could have wished for a more balanced overview of Hantsport life in the 1800s and 1900s, taking into account the other inhabitants of the town. The reader can be grateful, nevertheless, that Snell has now made public in print various letters and documents from private archives.

If the reader keeps in mind that this is a Churchillian monologue *à la* Martin Gilbert (the official biographer), then the sometimes exaggerated portrayal of the family's role in Nova Scotian affairs is seen in perspective. Certainly Snell cannot be faulted for lack of documentation, for the surfeit of which she receives great credit. The excessive use of one-sentence paragraphs distracts one's attention, however, and let the reader beware the purported kinship link with the late British prime minister, Sir Winston Churchill. As fascinating as the premise of blood relation may be, there are four centuries separating the putative common ancestors of Ezra of Hantsport and Sir Winston Churchill. This gratuitous subagenda tends to detract from the accomplishments of the Nova Scotian family and from the patriarch, Senator Churchill, who played a constructive role in the Confederation debate. It is perhaps worthwhile for the reader to compare Snell's article on the senator in *NSHR* 12, 1 (June 1992) with the pertinent chapter in her book. Finally, any family history always cries out for more detail. Ezra Churchill's great-grandson, Norman Winston Churchill, is described in the book merely as a King's College graduate who served overseas in World War I. More than that, however, Norman Churchill was in the Royal Flying Corps, then afterwards went on to join the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in which he rose to the rank of superintendent before returning to Windsor. Perhaps a straightforward Churchill genealogy would help redress such omissions.

Personal tragedy, literature and quantification analysis can be found in the long-awaited collection of papers from the "1917 Explosion" conference held at Saint Mary's University in December 1992, to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary. Editors Alan Ruffman and Colin Howell present in *Ground Zero* what constitutes the first comprehensive scholarly treatment of that

horrific event. The conference itself was designed to cover the impact of the disaster on both Halifax and Dartmouth, and to include discussion from the viewpoints of geoscience (e.g., Alan Ruffman, David Greenberg and Tad Murty, "The Tsunami from the Explosion in Halifax Harbour"), Canadian maritime law (Donald Kerr, "Another Calamity: The Litigation"), relief and medical aid (Suzanne Morton, "'Never Handmaidens': The Victorian Order of Nurses and the Massachusetts-Halifax Health Commission"; Allen B. Robertson, "After the Storm: The Church and Synagogue Response"), reconstruction (Ernest Clarke, "The Hydrostone Phoenix: Garden City Planning and the Reconstruction of Halifax, 1917–21"), literary treatments (Robert MacNeil, "Creating Fiction Out of Fact") and comparative perspectives (Joan M. Payzant, "The Dartmouth Side of the Explosion"). The potential reader should note that there are twenty-nine articles in all, of which the foregoing is only an arbitrary and highly selective listing. A wealth of new photographs, maps and architectural sketches make this book of essays a must for any Halifax and Dartmouth resident's private library, and is to be recommended to anyone with even a passing interest in or connection to that dreadful explosion which shattered Halifax and shocked the country.

There are many families and individuals for whom the Halifax Harbour Explosion is too personal an event to commit to history books. That fact must not be overlooked, though neither can scholars neglect to record the facts and attempt to understand their impact. Robert MacNeil's article is perhaps the best summing-up of *Ground Zero* and the efforts of its many contributors. Thousands continue to read Hugh MacLennan's *Barometer Rising*, and in the process they encounter historical reality mediated through fiction. MacNeil astutely makes the point that it is through recasting a disaster in creative literary form (whether poem, song or prose) that later generations can in some degree reimagine the life of 1917 Halifax, the diversity of livelihoods in the midst of wartime and how quickly the built landscape was obliterated. It takes a talented writer to evoke the emotions of the moment. People of today need objective research in order to escape the sentimentalized accounts, yet there remains a great need for the reinfusion of humaneness as a counterweight to anonymous statistics. For one passage of his book, *Burden of Desire*, which is set partly in Halifax, MacNeil acknowledges using a photograph of the mass funeral service outside the Chebucto Road School, where coffins filled the yard: "On each one was a small bunch of flowers, whatever the devastated city could find in mid-December. On each was a

plaque, recording where the body had been found, age, sex, haircolor, build, distinguishing marks and tattoos, clothing, contents of pockets, jewelry.... One mother had been found clasping a baby so closely they could not be separated: they were placed together in one coffin" (*Ground Zero*, 136). Powerful and moving in its stark description--this was the goal of *Ground Zero*'s editors and many authors: to inform without sensationalizing.

A much more recent disaster is chronicled in Dean Jobb's *Calculated Risk*. Jobb as an investigative reporter turns his skills to retracing the background to and aftermath of the Westray mine explosion which left twenty-six coalminers dead and a community in mourning. During the three years since that day in May 1992, Jobb has covered the Westray mining disaster both as news event and as human drama, including the protracted legal wrangles--'another disaster.' As neither the trial nor the public inquiry has been played out, *Calculated Risk* is an extended essay along the Westray paper trail.

Readers will recognize Jobb's name in connection with numerous books and articles on popular criminal justice history in Nova Scotia. Similarly, he comes to this contemporary event not as an historian but as a journalist and commentator. There is no bibliography nor any citations of sources. Only in the introduction are there references to a few standard history texts, media interviews and *Chronicle-Herald/Mail-Star* articles. A scholarly study must be deferred until all the documentation from court and commission is available. As to the book itself Jobb begins with narrating the explosion and rescue efforts and then proceeds to interviews with families concerned. To place a larger perspective on Westray, Jobb retraces the history of Pictou County coalmining and the sad saga of past mining explosion deaths. Late twentieth-century attempts to revive the coalmining industry came in the midst of conflicting interests: political one-upmanship, corporate profiteering, a need to restore economic viability to the region and the risks attendant on outside entrepreneurs undertaking any industrial initiative in Nova Scotia. Westray is a modern detective thriller where there may or may not be a prime suspect. Political sympathies and antipathies also manifest themselves in Jobb's *Calculated Risk*, the author of which himself is not immune to such influences.

Historical criminology from quite a different perspective informs the collection of articles found in *Crime and Criminal Justice*. This most recent addition to the series, 'Essays in the History of Canadian Law,' which continues to be sponsored by The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal

History, is a fascinating study ranging from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries and covering a very wide spectrum of topics. Contributions to the volume literally span the nation, beginning in British Columbia (co-editor Tina Loo, "The Road from Bute Inlet: Crime and Colonial Identity in British Columbia") and ending on the east coast (co-editor Jim Phillips, "Women, Crime, and Criminal Justice in Early Halifax, 1750–1800"). Whether one's scholarly interests pertain to women and law, prison reform, abortion law, social control or the sovereignty of First Nation's, *Crime and Criminal Justice* can address them.

The fourteen articles are introduced in a fine thematic essay by the editors, Susan Lewthwaite, Tina Loo and Jim Phillips. The essays themselves are more than legal texts and case studies. The contributors endeavour to place criminal justice history in its context of social relations (gender, class, hierarchy, ethnicity). At the same time, it must be acknowledged that unexamined assumptions underlie specific accounts, such as that of Constance Backhouse in "Prosecution of Abortions under Canadian Law, 1900–1950." This includes the 1943 Halifax County *Tudball* case, which certainly supports Backhouse's thesis that abortion is an assertion of women's right to reproductive self-control. Opposing views (including those held by women in the earlier part of the twentieth century as well as in the 1990s), however, are noted without conceding the possibility of their validity. The new orthodoxies on abortion and related reproductive issues dealt with in *Crime and Criminal Justice* are as rigid in their self-assuredness as the older orthodoxies and laws now subject to attack and scorn. If allowance is made for fashionable biases, however, there remains a wealth of material in the book which will certainly compel the reader's attention and no doubt give rise to considerable discussion.

It would, of course, be a mistake to assume that all bias is negative in value. Bias in favour of, or a vested interest in a subject can turn an otherwise clinical analysis into narrative filled with vitality. Wayne O'Leary makes no apologies for his personal connections to boat-builders and fishermen at Chester and adjacent islands, in *The Tancook Schooners: An Island and Its Boats*. The research, interpretive analysis, documentary photographs and architectural plans, not to mention the contextual socio-economic-historical setting, leave no room for an apology. O'Leary instead evokes nautical expertise, hard work and sea breezes.

Part of the fascination of coastal Lunenburg County is the realization that

master mariners and fishermen were descended from land-locked European immigrants, both German- and French-speaking, who founded Lunenburg Township in 1753. O'Leary notes that four principal Tancook schooner families came from both ancestral stocks: Mason (Masson), Langille, Heisler (Haussler) and Stevens (Steubing/Steebing). The predominantly Baptist religious affiliation of the Tancook Island residents, combined with occupational stability and continuity and cultural fusion, made for a very homogeneous society. O'Leary is careful to observe that this in no way impeded educational or technical development when it came to ship construction and design. The men who designed the vessels knew, through intimate personal knowledge of life at sea, just what the requirements should be for an efficient, seaworthy craft. The concentration on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century coastal schooners permits O'Leary to bypass the overexposed "Golden Age of Sail" in order to study the day-to-day working vessels of inshore fishermen. The research base and organization of *Tancook Schooners* is as well-crafted as the schooners themselves which provide its subject.

All credible interpretations of the past depend on locating the necessary documentation, whether that leads to a conservative or to a radical analysis. The National Maritime Museum in London has sponsored the efforts of Roger Morriss and Peter Bursey to prepare a researcher's guide to *British Naval Papers in North America.* Anyone with an interest in naval history (technology, warfare, organization, personnel) will profit from consulting this extensive inventory. Halifax as a prime naval base and dockyard is represented through the very valuable collection of records housed at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. The researcher now has the added advantage of knowing on this side of the Atlantic where other pertinent documents are located.

The book itself is quite accessibly organized in broad categories of documentary type (treaties, government records, fleet records, ship records, personal papers, artificial collections), all supported by a detailed index. It is possible, for example, to identify all the Halifax sources by searching under the place-name as locator. The descriptions of particular holdings are sufficiently detailed to permit the researcher to assess the potential value of their contents. With regard to individuals, one example will suffice: Sir Andrew Snape Hamond RN served as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia in 1781–82. A prospective biographer will learn that there are extensive

holdings of his papers in the United States at the University of Virginia Library, at Duke University in North Carolina and at the Boston Public Library. To expedite cross-reference, the section listing repositories in Canada and the United States indicates after the address of each institution those materials held there which are described in the book. While this inter-repository guide is not claimed by its compilers to be definitive, it is nonetheless a singular advance in the field of naval research and a most welcome addition to the corpus of standard historical reference sources. The work will serve as a database on which to begin to construct the definitive naval history of colonial Nova Scotia.

Appendix

Sic transit gloria mundi!--'Thus passeth away the glory of the world!' This admonition was repeated three times in former papal coronation processions to remind the newly-elected pontiff and all who witnessed his elevation that the pomp and wisdom of this world can quickly disappear. One's faith should be put in eternal truths. To build anything on the shifting sands of time is to risk a disastrous collapse. Scholars should be no less wary when undertaking to commit any research to publication. Academic historical monographs in particular are marked by transitory value. The next scholar who tackles a subject may well displace or relegate to minor status all preceding texts. Longevity of use and immortality on this earth are reserved to treatises which are both well-researched and well-organized. The careless scholar may nevertheless achieve long remembrance as a warning to others of how not to create. If the field ventured into is relatively unexplored, then the scholar faces perhaps even greater risks.

Ian McKay, Associate Professor of History at Queen's University in Kingston, has tackled a complex issue in his controversial book, *The Quest of the Folk*. Interwoven themes include an examination of folklore studies, the arts and crafts revival of the 1940s–50s, provincial tourism and the concept of Nova Scotian cultural identity. The result is a radical reappraisal of recent Nova Scotian history. McKay's innovative approach is welcome as a means of jarring preconceived notions of how Nova Scotians view themselves and how we wish outsiders (notably tourists) to see us.

The 1920s in Maritime Canada was a pandemic of economic decline, political marginalization (in the context of federal- provincial relations), and

a period in which business leaders and politicians wrestled with the problem of finding ways to revive regional pride. The 'Maritime Rights' movement was one attempt to reverse the general trend. It was during this decade that tourism began to be seen as one way of attracting a new infusion of economic hope, thus effectively turning tourism itself into an 'industry.' Anyone actively at work on developing sustainable concepts of identity was drawn upon to facilitate this investment scheme. Consequently, Helen Creighton's extensive ethnomusicological investigations, and later her folklore studies, fuelled into the great provincial government's public relations blitz, depicting quaint, rural folk as tonic for American tourists normally straitjacketed in overcrowded urban centres. The success of this marketing strategy culminated in the Department of Education workshops which Mary Black devised to promote cottage crafts *à la* William Morris (weaving, carving, etc.), in order to pander to urban markets both domestic and foreign. At the same time, Black sought to revive and encourage the exploration of traditional ethnic handcrafts.

Ian McKay characterizes this activity as the commodification of culture. Nova Scotians were 'sold' in official advertising as passive and contented farmers, fishers and woodsmen. In turn Nova Scotians were encouraged to produce goods and services corresponding to that vision, be they hooked rugs at Chéticamp, women's clubs and home-made quilts, woven place-mats, basketry, and even sanitized folk-songs. Sedate 'bed-and-breakfast' establishments and quaint tea-rooms fit this image. Hidden among the tourist souvenirs were plates with mayflower and tartan designs on china made in England, or (by the 1960s) keychains made in Taiwan. McKay's survey up to the 1990s allows the reader to follow the decline into crass fakery of those items which were supposed to remind visitors of a visit to the east coast.

Behind his analysis McKay charts a concerted effort on the part of government and capitalist entrepreneurs (as 'cultural producers') to chain Nova Scotians to rustic Arcadianism. Industrialization was obliterated from the landscape. Underdevelopment became a positive virtue which at the same time kept the people of the province in general from aspiring to improved economic status. This paradigm is rooted in the Marxist cultural criticism of Antonio Gramsci, complemented by reflections on the post-modern, deconstructionist cultural critic Michel Foucault, one of the most influential social theorists of the second half of the twentieth century. The resulting neo-Marxist dialectic argues Nova Scotians into positions or ideologies which

they never held, or would reject outright if confronted with them. The cultural hegemony of the middle class is attacked by McKay as falsifying the reality of identity. From that perspective he attacks Creighton and Black personally as conscious conspirators with government in the 'Big Lie' of the folk myth. The *deus ex machina* of conspiracy can be challenged by non-neo-Marxist historians, for the evidence is unconvincing.

Helen Creighton was indeed from an upper-middle-class family background, was not interested in certain manifestations of popular culture (radical labour anthems or scatological rhymes), and--in common with many Nova Scotians--was deeply suspicious of international communism and domestic socialism alike. It may even be conceded that she was eccentric to a degree. Yet she performed an inestimable service to the people of Nova Scotia by collecting songs and stories which survived almost exclusively in oral form. Moreover, her work included contributions which cut across the ethnocultural mosaic of Nova Scotia. It is her haut-bourgeois background alone which seems to be responsible for the crime of which Creighton stands condemned, as is Mary Black. It is curious indeed that two women acknowledged as pioneers in their respective fields in this province should now be discarded by a male scholar who acknowledges the popularity of *Bluenose Ghosts* then attacks it as propaganda.

McKay is unable or unwilling to accept the often dichotomous or multi-layered complex of socio-economic relationships in which Nova Scotians have lived. A dairy farmer is indeed in touch with nature when looking over his herd, yet can also attend to automated inventories--more likely kept by his partner-wife--on a personal computer. He can choose to provide entertainment with the fiddle for a ceilidh, which does not preclude ending the evening by watching a movie captured through his backyard satellite dish. McKay's either/or approach also ignores the fact that cottage crafts, where the creator sells her or his goods directly to the consumer, lead to self-empowerment through personal economic management and creative control.

In a broader context, folk songs, folk-tales, handcrafts and rural life were no mere retroactive inventions; they have existed here for generations. Where tourism homogenizes Nova Scotianness as a Celtic palimpsest overlaying Acadians, Mi'kmaq or other cultural groups, one may concede McKay's point that it weakens the fabric of cultural identity-in-diversity. Yet in his quest for the folk *myth*, McKay overlooks the cultural landscape of the urban environment. Uptown neighbourhoods can have their own ethnic flare and

vitality, either as islands of cultural persistence or as mixed communities, which results in a positive blend of diversity and uniformity. Quinpool Road in Halifax, for example, boasts restaurants which carry the diner through East Indian cuisine, Greek specialities, Chinese dim sum, Italian dishes and "down east" fish and chips. Behind the ethnocultural heritage of urban and rural Nova Scotia, moreover, lies the spiritual bond forged by religious institutions. Churches, synagogues and temples serve as conduits of sophisticated theological instruction, liturgical drama and folk celebrations, such as those which cluster around Christmas in its tongue-in-cheek, mock-Dickensian evocation. McKay, as a new-model dialectical materialist, ignores the role of religious imperatives as a communal factor in identity-formation. The reader will not find references to Moses Coady's cooperative Antigonish Movement, which sought to put economic control in the hands of primary producers.

It is to McKay's credit that he has utilized certain non-conventional types of sources as documentation. Writers of historical fiction (e.g., Thomas H. Raddall and Will R. Bird) are drawn upon as populist constructors of self-perception. More Nova Scotians will have read *An Earl Must Have a Wife* or *His Majesty's Yankees* than will pick up an academic historian's monograph or professional journal. In themselves these novels and related genres (including poetry) are historical artifacts. McKay, however, in keeping with his theme exploits these texts as further examples of commodification, and as artifices which reinforced the stereotype of rural folk as contented rustics or country bumpkins--so familiar from T.C. Haliburton's lacerating satires.

At the very outset of *The Quest of the Folk*, McKay employs visual imagery to show how plain language as a mode of normative discourse can colour our ideas of the past. A photograph (p. xii) titled, "A Simplé Life" [1890s], purportedly shows a fishing family at Mill Cove, Halifax County, an image which foreshadowed the construction of the rural folk myth. It is suggested (p. xiv) that, by replacing "A Simple Life" with "Starvation and Suffering through Capitalist Underdevelopment," the whole meaning of the picture is altered dramatically. McKay makes of that valid point the keystone of his revisionist reconstruction. McKay's being "from away" undermines his powers of interpretation at a crucial point, as an observant bluenose will readily grasp. The poor fisher family's 'house' is not a home but instead a wharf-side fish shack (cf. Elizabeth Bishop's timeless masterpiece, "At the Fishhouses"). No one actually *lived* in it. The two men and the woman indeed

are somewhat poorly attired, but no worker would wear her or his Sunday best into a workshed. This reviewer has spent many summers on the South Shore with relations who laboured in the fisheries. A fish shack or shanty is a workstation, not a home. McKay is right to point out that a careful analysis of the scope and content of photographs can enrich historical understanding of the past. A misidentified photograph, however, is dangerous documentation. *The Quest of the Folk*, for all its promising avenues of exploration, collapses under the weight of its own false or premature assumptions.

Book Notes

Barrington Township Records: Early Records of Marriages, Births and Deaths in Barrington, Nova Scotia from the year 1761, transcribed by Patricia A. Terry. ISBN 1–89669–00–1. Stoneycroft Publishing for Shelburne County Genealogical Society, Yarmouth, N.S., 1994. [v] + xxxvii + 155 pp., paper, $25.00. Available from Shelburne County Genealogical Society, Box 248, Shelburne, Nova Scotia BOT 1W0 + $2.00 postage.

This is a valuable addition to the corpus of printed primary sources for early township vital statistics records in New England Planter Nova Scotia. It is a transcription done from the original held by the Municipality of the District of Barrington. The provision of a name index is an exceptionally helpful finding aid. Nantucket and adjacent Massachusetts-area settlers fill the book's pages with surnames such as Nickerson, Covell, Doane and Smiths in profusion. Genealogists, historical geographers and colonial historians generally will all benefit from the greater accessibility of these vital records.

Nova Scotia Immigrants to 1867: Volume II: From Non-Nova Scotia Periodicals and from Published Diaries and Journals, compiled by Leonard H. Smith, Jr. and Norma H. Smith. ISBN 0–8063–0845–1. Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore MD, 1994. ix + 295 pp., cloth, $30.00 US.

This second volume from the collaboration of the Smiths serves as a useful surname guide based on widely divergent sources. Contrary to the title statement, several Nova Scotian books and articles were consulted, though these ultimately drew on records from outside the province. It is to the compilers' credit that each entry has a source identification. Some records indeed are difficult to locate unless one resides near a specialized archives or

family history centre. With the help of Leonard and Norma Smith, however, the researcher can now have these records readily to hand on the bookshelf. Where known the full name, age, origin, date of entry, spouse and children are recorded. If the reference to "pre-Loyalist" in the settlement sketch is replaced by the more acceptable "New England Planter" or "Planters," then this book can be recommended to the consideration of the serious genealogist.

Second to None: A History of Public Education in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, by Joan M. Payzant. ISBN 0–9696646–1–3. Dartmouth Historical Association for Dartmouth District School Board, Nova Scotia, 1991. ix + 211 pp., illustrated, paper, $20.00. [NB: orders can be sent to Dartmouth Historical Association, 37 Summit Street, Dartmouth, N.S. B2Y 2Z9 + $3.25 postage.]

This local institutional history, though four years old, is still available in print. The author is well-regarded as a careful researcher and creative writer, and the text is indeed both informative and well-organized. As a celebration of the centenary of the creation of provincial school boards, the work is admirable in its coverage. Well-chosen photographs of nineteenth- and twentieth-century school buildings, students and educators assist the reader in following the gradual development of uniform teaching standards and community awareness. *Second to None* could serve as a model for other school board histories, of which there are by no means enough to satisfy demand.

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