

Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 2, Number 1, 1982



Fultz Corner, Sackville, Halifax County, 1871.
Photograph of watercolour.

*Mrs. Murray Ritchey,
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.*

Nova Scotia Historical Review

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Volume 2, Number 1, 1982

Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly / Review

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Available at \$2.00 each or \$3.00 for two.

from:

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

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Editorial Page

The historically interesting and picturesque cover of this issue shows the Fultz House (the house on the far right) in 1871; this house has been restored by the Fultz Corner Restoration Society. Robert Harvey, who is president of this Society, describes in his article in this issue on the Fultz family in Sackville the historical significance of the house and of Fultz's Inn (the three story building with the flag flying in front). A genealogy of the Fultz family follows Robert Harvey's article. The *Review* is delighted to assist the Fultz Corner Restoration Society and welcomes articles from similar societies.

The *Review* plans to devote most of the two 1983 issues to the Nova Scotian Loyalists who are celebrating their bicentenary next year. We are looking for general articles on the Loyalists, biographies of individual Loyalists and Loyalist family genealogies; suggestions for covers are most welcome. Manuscripts are to be sent to the literary editor, Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, c/o Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 6016 University Avenue, Halifax, N.S. B3H 1W4.

A number of readers have written requesting more copies of the last issue with the Tattrie family genealogy. This issue has been sold out for some time. However, the author, Gordon Haliburton, may in the future publish for general sale an enlarged genealogy of the Tattrie family.

After this issue the use of subscription renewal cards will be discontinued; a tear out page will be substituted. I hope this will prove more suitable and easier for subscribers.

This issue has been made possible by a very substantial and generous grant from the Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness. The Department is also assisting in promoting the *Review* to increase the number of subscribers.

Good Reading!

Brian Cuthbertson
Managing Editor

ISSN 0227-4752

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Contributors

Joan Elizabeth Kennedy

is a great-great-grand-daughter of her biographical subject, Jane Soley Hamilton. Miss Kennedy was born in Truro, raised in Great Village, and is a graduate of the Victoria General Hospital School of Nursing, Halifax, and of McGill University. Much of her nursing experience has been in the fields of obstetrics and neonatology, and she is presently a staff nurse with the neonatal unit of the Izaak Walton Killam Hospital for Children in Halifax.

Her index to Jane Hamilton's birth book previously appeared in the spring 1980 issue of the *Genealogical Newsletter*, published by the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society.

Robert Webb

is a native of Santa Monica, California, and was educated at the University of Oregon at Eugene, and at California State University at Northridge. He has worked in the United States and Canada as an aerial photographer, a free lance writer and an editor. Although he still retains residency in British Columbia, he is currently a research associate at the Kendall Whaling Museum in Sharon, Massachusetts.

A student of all aspects of maritime culture and history, Mr. Webb is particularly interested in North American sea shanties, and has been a folk song performer for some twenty years. He has been previously published in such publications as *American History Illustrated*, the *Canada Folk Bulletin* and *Guitar Player*.

Leone Banks Cousins

is a native of the Annapolis Valley. She was educated at the Provincial Normal College and also holds a B.A. from St. Mary's University. Mrs. Cousins has taught in England, at various Canadian Forces Bases in France and Germany, and for twenty years with the Halifax city school system. She is now retired in Kingston, and is working on a history of Wilmot township.

A member of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society and its Genealogical Committee, the Annapolis Valley Historical Society and the Canadian Authors' Association, Mrs. Cousins has done extensive research in local history and genealogy. Her work has been published in, among others, *Canada: An Historical Magazine*, *Civil War Times Illustrated*, *Bluenose* and various provincial newspapers.

Jean Petley-Jones

was born in Kings Langley, Hertfordshire, England. Her education at the London School of Dramatic Art and at Pitman's College was interrupted by World War II, during which time she served as a volunteer ambulance driver with the Royal Navy. She and her husband presently reside at Parker Farm in Belle Isle, Annapolis County, where they are actively involved with the Provincial Advisory Council on Heritage Property.

Mrs. Petley-Jones is a member of the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia and the Historic Restoration Society of Annapolis County. For the past seventeen years she has been a contributor to the *Atlantic Advocate*, the Halifax Herald Ltd. newspapers and the *Bridgetown Monitor*.

Judith Ann Evans

was born in Winnipeg, but was educated mainly in Dartmouth; she holds B.A. and B.Ed. degrees from Dalhousie University, an M.Ed. from Mount Saint Vincent University, and is currently a teacher with the Dartmouth city school system. Her historical interests centre on educational development in Nova Scotia, particularly through textbooks and school administrative records.

Robert Paton Harvey

is a native of East Chester, Lunenburg County, but was raised in Halifax. He holds B.A., B.Ed. and M.A. degrees from Dalhousie University, and is presently a history teacher and head of the social studies department at Sackville High School.

A keen supporter of local and provincial history, Mr. Harvey is the president of the Fultz Corner Restoration Society, a member of the Sackville Heritage Society, a councillor of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, a member of the Halifax County Heritage Advisory Committee and a past president of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax. He has been the recipient of various historical awards, including the Canadian Merit Award, 1978, and the Ted B. Blackburn Award of the Sackville Heritage Society, 1981. He has had articles published previously in the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, the *Journal of Education* and *Early Canadian Life*.

Lois Yorke Kernaghan

was born and raised in Halifax, graduating B.A. (First Class Honours) from Dalhousie University. She has worked at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia as a research assistant, and subsequently as microfilm archivist, but now combines raising a family with free lance research and editing. At present, she is literary editor of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*.

Mrs. Kernaghan is a regular contributor to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, and has also been published in *Acadiensis*, the *Canadian Genealogist* and the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*.

Terrence Michael Punch

is a native of Halifax, where he is a well-known historical educator at both the secondary and university levels of teaching. He holds B.A., B.Ed. and M.A. degrees from St. Mary's University, as well as an M.A. from Dalhousie.

Mr. Punch's involvement with various aspects of Nova Scotian history and genealogy is legion. He is vice-president of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, vice-president of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, a contributing editor of the *Canadian Genealogist*, a life fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and an officer of the Order of Merit of the Military and Hospitaller Society of St. Lazare.

Mr. Punch also pursues an active writing career. He has won first and second prizes for historic writing in the annual competitions of the Nova Scotia Writers' Federation, and has had articles published in many Canadian, American and overseas journals. His books include *Genealogical Research in Nova Scotia*, *Some Sons of Erin in Nova Scotia* and *Irish Halifax: The Immigrant Generation, 1815-1859*.

Advertisements

Mrs. Thelma Reid Lower is most interested in obtaining two copies of Volume 9, Number 2, June 1979 of the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*. In this issue is the first article she wrote on General John Reid, and this issue is out of print. She would be most obliged if anyone wishing to dispose of their copy would write to her at

4040 West 35th. Avenue,
Vancouver, British Columbia,
V6N 2P3.

Mr. Gordon A. Boyce wishes to obtain, in order to complete his collection, Volume 7, Number 3 and Volume 8, Numbers 2 and 3 of the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*. Anyone wishing to make these available is asked to contact him at

23 Stephen Cross Drive,
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia,
434-3835 or 426-5771.

Jane Soley Hamilton, Midwife

Joan E. Kennedy

When Elizabeth Jane Soley was born early in 1805, it is most unlikely that anyone thought her anything but another baby — except, of course, her parents. But this little girl, the daughter of William and Mary Soley of Lower Truro, was to live nearly a century and to become a local legend. And now, close to one hundred years after her death, her name still lives on.¹

We know little of Jane's early life. She grew up, as far as we know, in Lower Truro; in 1825 she married Robert Hamilton of Brookfield, Colchester County; and over the next sixteen years she gave birth to seven children, two of whom died in infancy.² Until then, there was nothing different about Jane and it was only when Baxter, the youngest, was nearly ten years old that her story really begins.

In July 1851, Jane was called upon to assist at a birth, where she delivered Elizabeth Hamilton (who was probably a relative) of a son. This started Jane on a career of midwifery that was to span the next forty-two years and was to bring seven hundred and seventy-six children into the world. Why did she, at the age of forty-six, start a completely new way of life? She must have had a natural talent for nursing, for in addition to delivering babies, she assisted her neighbours in times of illness. This ability appears to have been passed along, as her descendants include a fairly impressive number of nurses. Perhaps Jane was merely following custom and responding to a need — her neighbours asked for her and she went. Perhaps she was ahead of her time and wished to escape the monotony of housework to pursue her own career.

Pregnancy and childbirth in the nineteenth century were not what they are today. Then, there were no prenatal visits, no sterile delivery rooms. The baby was born at home, the birth assisted by a neighbouring woman. By the end of the century, the day of the midwife was declining (in many places they were forbidden to practise) as doctors began to invade this woman's domain. However, in rural Nova Scotia, the doctor often had to serve widely scattered communities, so midwifery survived in varying degrees well into the twentieth century. In the case of Jane Hamilton's work, there is no record of a

1 The author thanks Ross Graves for suggesting out-of-the-way sources and for providing encouragement.

2 Thomas Miller, *Historical and Genealogical Record of the First Settlers of Colchester County* (Halifax, 1873), pp. 357-358.

doctor ever being in attendance, but no doubt there were difficult cases where she sought the doctor's help if available.

In a small, tattered almanac,³ Jane listed every birth she attended, with the date, name of mother, and sex of child. After that first birth, nine months passed before another entry was made. In 1852, she delivered eight babies and her future as a midwife was assured. She averaged twenty entries annually over the next few years; her bonanza year was 1867, the year of Confederation, when she delivered thirty-two infants. There is no evidence that she was paid for any of her work, but one descendant remembers hearing that she received fifty cents a delivery when the family could afford it.⁴

A study of the book and of contemporary records indicates fairly clearly the area Jane served. She delivered many of the babies in Brookfield, where she lived, and also attended women in Hilden, Pleasant Valley, Alton, and even as far away as Middle Stewiacke.⁵ Many cases took her five miles from home, and occasionally she would go about ten miles, a fair distance on nineteenth century roads.

Jane is well-known to many of her present day descendants and numerous stories of her experiences have been passed down.⁶ She kept a horse in the barn to enable her to reach the side of a labouring woman in record time. She often saw bears in the woods, a sight that would deter many of us today. In winter, travel by horse was often impossible; many a summons came via the father-to-be, who escorted Jane along a path through the woods, and when the snow was deep and they came to a steep hill, it was common for the man to sit down and slide down the hill with Jane sitting on his coattails. One wonders if she missed some deliveries due to such travelling conditions.

Many midwives stayed in the home until the new mother was on her feet again, taking care of mother, new baby and family for one or two weeks.

3 This unidentified 1853 almanac is now in the possession of Murray Montena, Brookfield, great-great-grandson of Mrs. Hamilton.

4 Conversation with the late Cyril Kennedy, Truro, great-grandson of Mrs. Hamilton, August 1971.

5 Church's *Map of Colchester County*, 1874, by Ambrose Church, Lovell's *Province of Nova Scotia Directory* for 1871 and McAlpine's *Maritime Provinces Directory* 1870-71 were helpful aids in determining the boundaries of the area served by Jane Hamilton.

6 Several conversations with Mrs. Walter McCallum, Brookfield, 1975-1981.

Jane may have done so at times, but she could not have stayed with the new mother very long, since many of the deliveries were recorded only days apart, while on several occasions, there were two births on the same day. Thus, it seems as if Jane merely remained through the labor and delivery before returning home or moving on to the next case.

One wonders what Jane's husband, Squire Robert Hamilton, thought of her career and her lengthy absences from home. He was a justice of the peace and an elder of the Brookfield Presbyterian church. According to church records, he was excommunicated for non-attendance; when pressed to give his reasons, he said he was unhappy with the way matters were conducted, citing, for example, the fact that women were permitted to vote for elders. As he would not change his views, he was asked to leave the congregation — the only recorded instance of such an event in that church.⁷ This was in 1867, some years after Jane began her community work. Considering the above story, it is interesting to speculate on his relationship with his wife, who evidently enjoyed the freedom and challenge offered by her occupation.

Fortunately, this author was able to question someone who actually remembered Jane Hamilton; Mr. Suther Fisher, now deceased, was one hundred years old when interviewed in 1977.⁸ He remembered being about ten when his younger brother was born. He said his father brought Mrs. Hamilton to the house, where she stayed all night until the baby was born. He recalled her as a "little old wizened-up woman of about ninety pounds." Jane's birth register reveals the name of Mrs. Adams Fisher (Suther's mother), who gave birth to a son on 12 September 1887. In that year, Jane Hamilton would have been eighty-two years old, and to a ten-year-old boy would certainly appear to be "wizened-up."

For those concerned with the so-called "illegitimate" pregnancies of today, a glance through the birth records might reassure them that times have not deteriorated all that much. Babies were born to unwed mothers then, and Jane recorded them as such. In the beginning, she did not record the mother's first name, merely entering, "Miss Doe, a son," etc., but later entries give the first name of the mother as well. Knowing the attitudes of stern Presby-

7 Arthur J. Lindsay, *Knox Church, Brookfield, Nova Scotia: A History of the Congregation* (Brookfield, 1976), pp. 34-35.

8 Interview with the late Suther Fisher of Middle Stewiacke, Nova Scotia, September 1977.

terians toward such events in the nineteenth century, one can only hope Jane was compassionate when she assisted at those deliveries.

During her career in rural Colchester County, Jane delivered four sets of twins. In each case, there were older brothers and sisters, some of them born within two years of the new arrivals. Imagine the impact of not one, but two new babies, in a house with neither electricity nor running water! Sympathize for a moment with the poor mother who now has to find time and energy to breast feed two babies while washing, cooking, spinning, etc. for a husband and three or four or more young children.

Not all births were live ones, and yet most of the babies survived, for Jane recorded when a child was stillborn, and there are only four such entries. She did not mention the sex in these cases, writing only that the mother had been delivered of a stillborn child. One would expect more stillbirths, and perhaps Jane did not always attend these deliveries, especially if they were premature. For instance, the author's great-grandmother delivered all her children with the aid of Jane Hamilton, but family tradition says there was also a set of twins, stillborn, buried under twin elms on the home property, and they are not mentioned in Jane's record.

It sounds like a romantic existence, delivering babies, seeing them grow up, and delivering some of them of *their* babies. But Jane was middle-aged when she began her career, in her sixties at the height of it, and an old woman of eighty-eight when she retired. There must have been times when her fatigue was overwhelming. Although only the four stillbirths are recorded in Jane's record, and she is reported never to have lost a mother, there must have been many sad moments for her. All too often the new baby fell prey to one of the diseases so prevalent at the time. Graveyards with several small stones for one family are mute evidence of the epidemics and hardships of the times. Three children of Thomas and Mehitable Brenton died within six weeks of each other in the diphtheria epidemic of 1878-9. All were between the ages of four and ten and all had been delivered by Jane. Brookfield and Pleasant Valley cemeteries hold at least nineteen of Jane's babies, many of them only a few months old when they died. It is quite possible that she may have helped to nurse them when they were dying, surely an agonizing task. Scarlet fever, cholera, croup, dysentery, whooping cough — these were everyday events then. In addition to seeing many of her babies fall ill and die, Jane had her own share of tragedies. Two of her own children died young, as mentioned earlier; she lost her husband, her youngest son, and two of *his*

sons, all in a nine-year period. Trying times they were, but no different for Jane than for most of her contemporaries.

There are two entries in the almanac whose meanings may never be clear. One can only speculate on the actual circumstances. The two entries, with this author's attempt at reconstruction, follow; the reader may have a better solution.

First is an entry in very faded ink on the inside front cover of the almanac. Deciphered, it reads, "Mrs. Paul, Indian, of a son." There is nothing else, not even the year of birth. This placement of the name may be a form of discrimination, but if so, why record the delivery at all? It may simply be that Jane delivered this lady long before her career actually started and she made the entry as an afterthought.

The second entry in question is for 23 April 1863, which reads, "Hager Sarahs Made of a son." It is not punctuated, but possibly should read, "Hagar, Sarah's maid." Who Sarah was, and how her maid came to be called Hagar, we will never know, but the situation does have strong Biblical overtones. It would be fascinating to know if Sarah's husband was named Abraham.

By 1871, the writing in the book changes and the last entries for 1873 are barely readable. In 1874, the entries are in another handwriting that continues to the end of the record. Mrs. Walter McCallum of Brookfield believed this to be the handwriting of her grandmother, Mary Jane Kennedy, Jane Hamilton's daughter.⁹ It is more apt to have been written by her daughter-in-law, Ellen (Mrs. John Hamilton), or by Jane's son, Jim, both members of Jane's household, according to the census returns of 1871 and 1881. Why someone took over as record keeper for Jane is unknown. Her handwriting had become shaky but her skills could not have diminished, as she was still delivering twenty to thirty babies a year. It is possible her extra time was spent nursing an ailing husband, as Robert Hamilton died in January 1875. Undaunted, Jane delivered a baby just two weeks after his death.

By the time she was eighty years old, Jane's practice was falling off sharply, and several of her last patients were Hamiltons, probably relatives. It is fitting that her first and last cases were Hamilton women. In 1893, at the age

⁹ Interview with Winnifred Kennedy McCallum of Brookfield, 1980. Until her death in 1981 she was guardian of the original birth book and source of most anecdotal material. Without her help this story would not have been written.

of eighty-eight, Jane delivered Mrs. Sinclair Hamilton of a daughter. This little girl, Mabel, who sadly died about age four, was Jane's great-granddaughter. Surely this was an appropriate end to a long career.

Jane retired, finally, at the age of eighty-eight. She died in October 1897, aged ninety-two years and eight months. By then she was suffering the forgetfulness of old age, and often used to wander away from home. A member of the family would be dispatched to bring her back after she had had a bit of a ramble and showed signs of leaving the property. It is interesting to speculate that when she wandered off like that, she was in her own mind setting off once again to assist one of her neighbours in time of need.

Her death was recorded in four newspapers of the era.¹⁰ A rather lengthy obituary paid tribute to Jane, or "Aunt Jenny" as the community called her. Perhaps it is fitting to quote from it so that the last word may be said by her contemporaries who knew her so well.

This venerable lady was one of the best known and most respected women in the place Ever ready to respond to the call of duty, she faced the most inclement weather at all hours and braved dangers that well might have tried the courage of strong men wherever sickness and trouble were, she was ever ready to lend a helping hand and in her quiet, cheerful way, did all that lay in her power to soothe the suffering. Hers was a truly unselfish, Christian life, entirely devoted to the welfare of others.¹¹

10 *Colchester Sun* (Truro), 6 October 1897.

Novascotian and Weekly Chronicle (Halifax), 16 October 1897.

Presbyterian Witness (Halifax), 9 October 1897, p. 328.

Truro Daily News (Truro), 6 October 1897.

11 The obituary was found in an unidentified newspaper clipping in a scrapbook belonging to Mrs. Prudence Parker, North River, Colchester County, Nova Scotia. The scrapbook is still in her possession.

Record of Children Delivered by Jane Soley Hamilton, 1851-1893**1851**

1 July 22 Delivered Elizabeth Hamilton of a son

1852

2 April do Mrs. Organ of a daughter
 3 May 8 do Mrs. Brown of a daughter
 4 June 4 do Mrs. Charles Carter of a son
 5 June 18 do Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
 6 Sept. 29 do Mrs. George Whidden of a son
 7 October 20 do Mrs. William Hamilton of a daughter
 8 Dec. 26 do Mrs. John Dart of a son
 9 Dec. 30 do Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son

1853

10 Feb. 5 do Mrs. James Nelson of a son
 11 Feb. 27 do Mrs. James Hamilton of a daughter
 12 March do Mrs. Jacob Stevens of a son [Rupert]
 13 March 28 do Mrs. Peter B. Anderson of a son
 14 June 22 do Mrs. Robert Carter of a daughter
 15 July 19 do Mrs. Alex Nelson of a daughter
 16 July 29 do Mrs. E. C. Gorley [?] of a daughter
 17 July 30 do Mrs. David Maynard of a son
 18 December 27 do Mrs. Eph. Dickey of a son

1854

19 January 8 Mrs. Edward Burges of a son
 20 February 2 Mrs. George Carter 2ond [second] of a daughter
 21 March 19 Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son
 22 April 7 Mrs. John Carter of a son
 23 April 10 Mrs. James Stewart of a son
 24 April 26 Mrs. James Carter of a son
 25 May 7 Mrs. Archibald Hamilton of a daughter
 26 June 8 Mrs. Charles Carter of a daughter
 27 June 13 Mrs. William Burres of a daughter
 28 June 20 Mrs. John Brown of a son
 29 July 16 Mrs. Thomas Clark of daughter
 30 August 9 Mrs. Nath. Sibley of a daughter
 31 October 11 Mrs. Jane Anderson of a son
 32 October 17 Mrs. E. C. Gourley of a son
 33 October 22 Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
 34 October 31 Mrs. Robt. Johnson of a son
 35 November 29 Mrs. Eb. Fulton of a son
 36 December 7 Mrs. Joseph Marshall of a son
 37 December 13 Mrs. Charles Nelson of a son
 38 December 31 Mrs. John Johnson of a daughter

1855

39	March 24	Mrs. David Clark of a son
40	April 7	Mrs. Alex Stevens of a daughter
41	May 12	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a daughter
42	May 17	Mrs. Thomas Brenton of a daughter
43	May 31	Mrs. D. McPherson of a daughter
44	June 18	Mrs. Matthew Sanderson of a son
45	June 23	Mrs. George Taylor of a son
46	June 28	Mrs. David Maynard of a daughter
47	August 23	Mrs. Alex Yuill of a daughter
48	Sept. 10	Mrs. Wm. Dickey of daughter
49	Sept. 29	Mrs. John Carter Esq. of a son
50	November 21	Mrs. Charles Boomer of a son
51	December 9	Mrs. James Nelson of a son
52	December 16	Mrs. Thomas Roch of a son

1856

53	February 2	Mrs. William Hamilton of daughter
54	February 6	Mrs. Densmore of a son
55	March 4	Mrs. George Carter of a son
56	March 30	Mrs. John Brown of a daughter
57	April 21	Mrs. Francis Short of a son
58	July 30	Mrs. James J. Brenton of a son
59	August 2	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a daughter
60	August 3	Mrs. Edward Fisher of a daughter
61	August 25	Mrs. James Frame of a son
62	Sept. 18	Mrs. James Stewart of a daughter
63	October 10	Mrs. Charles Nelson of a daughter
64	October 13	Mrs. David Field of a daughter
65	December 12	Mrs. Daniel 2nd Moore of a daughter
66	December 29	Mrs. Joseph Marshall of a son

1857

67	January 20	Mrs. George Carter first of a son
68	February 28	Mrs. Alex Stephens of a daughter
69	March 29	Mrs. Robt. Johnson of a daughter
70	April 5	Mrs. Nat Sibley of a son
71	April 7	Mrs. James McKay of a daughter
72	April 9	Mrs. David Manard of a daughter
73	April 21	Mrs. Louisa Conley of a son
74	June 2	Mrs. Robt. Boomer of a stillborn child
75	July 1	Mrs. David Fisher of a son
76	July 7	Mrs. Daniel Moore 3 of a daughter
77	July 14	Mrs. Robert Densmore of daughter
78	July 27	Mrs. Matt Sanderson of a son
79	August 10	Mrs. William Hamilton of a daughter
80	August 13	Mrs. James Carter of daughter
81	Sept. 7	Mrs. Charles Boomer of a son
	Sept. 29	Mrs. Donald Scott of a daughter

83	October 17	Mrs. Thomas Brenton of a son
84	November 9	Nancy Hamilton of a son
85	November 16	Mrs. William Dickey of a daughter
86	November 21	Mrs. Samuel Ryan of a son
87	November 26	Mrs. Kenneth Brown of a son
88	December 31	Mrs. Hug Freazer of a son

1858

89	January 7	Mrs. Daniel McPherson of a son
90	February 8	Mrs. David Field of a son
91	February 24	Mrs. Jane Fisher of a son
92	April 29	Mrs. William McKay of a daughter
93	May 1	Mrs. Charles Nelson of a son
94	May 5	Mrs. Alfred Hamilton of a son
95	June 12	Mrs. William Carter of a daughter
96	June 13	Mrs. David Clark of a son
97	June 19	Mrs. Edward Fisher of a daughter
98	June 20	Mrs. Tonry of a daughter
99	July 17	Mrs. Omorson of a son
100	July 24	Mrs. James Nelson of a son
101	August 16	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son
102	August 22	Frances Short of a daughter
103	Sept. 12	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son
104	Sept. 22	Mrs. James J. Hamilton of a daughter
105	Sept. 30	Mrs. Alex Dart of a son
106	October 2	Mrs. James Densmore of a daughter
107	November 5	Mrs. Robert Moore of a son
108	November 9	Mrs. William Carter of a daughter
109	December 14	Mrs. James Stewart of a son
110	December 24	Mrs. John Sheen of a daughter

1859

111	January 2	Mrs. Charles Lockhart of a son
112	January 31	Mrs. George Carter 2ond of a daughter
113	March 16	Mrs. Robt. Johnson of a daughter
114	March 20	Mrs. Joseph Marshall of a son
115	March 21	Mrs. William Chisholm of a daughter
116	March 22	Mrs. John Brenton of a son
117	April 13	Mrs. Robt. Boomer of a son
118	April 19	Mrs. George Carter 3 of a daughter
119	May 13	Mrs. Charles Carter of a son
120	May 16	Mrs. Donal Scott of a son
121	June 8	Mrs. Robert Densmore of a daughter
122	July 5	Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
123	July 10	Mrs. McDonald of a son
124	July 19	Mrs. Shean of a daughter
125	July 19	Mrs. W. G. Hamilton of a daughter
126	July 27	Mrs. Doge of a son
127	August 8	Mrs. Madden of a son

128	August 23	Mrs. John Carter of a daughter
129	August 24	Mrs. James Brenton of a daughter
130	August 10	Mrs. Michael Fisher of a son
131	August 29	Mrs. John McClain of a son
132	Sept. 2	Mrs. William Akens of a son
133	Sept. 4	Mrs. Donald McPherson of a son
134	Sept.	Mrs. David Field of a son
135	October 3	Mrs. Thomas Brenton of a son
136	October 7	Mrs. George Reisse of a daughter
137	October 12	Mrs. James Ross of a son
138	October 27	Mrs. Robert Carter of a son
139	October 29	Mrs. A. Wyer of a son
140	December 10	Mrs. Charles Nelson of a daughter

1860

141	February 5	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son
142	February 15	Mrs. John Fulton of a daughter
143	February 17	Mrs. John Fisher of a daughter
144	February 29	Mrs. Alfred Hamilton of a daughter
145	March 9	Mrs. John Shean of a daughter
146	March 14	Mrs. Nat Sibley of a son
147	March 22	Mrs. Samuel Ryan of a daughter
148	April 12	Mrs. George Field of a son
149	April 12	Mrs. Adams of a son
150	May 11	Mrs. George Simpson of a son
151	June 11	Mrs. Charles Boomer of a son
152	June 16	Mrs. Henry Bogleman of a son
153	June 23	Mrs. William Carter of a daughter
154	July 28	Mrs. Alexander Dart of a daughter
155	July 29	Mrs. Thomas Clark of a son
156	October 13	Mrs. James Stewart of a daughter
157	November 1	Mrs. Kennedy Archibald of a son
158	November 2	Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
159	November 25	Mrs. Daniel Moore 3 of a son
160	November 27	Mrs. Nelson Dart of a daughter
161	December 7	Mrs. William Carter of a son
162	December 29	Mrs. Charles Lockhart of a daughter

1861

163	January 7	Mrs. James Rutherford of a son
164	January 24	Mrs. William Starrett of a son
165	do 24	Mrs. John Brenton of a son
166	February 10	Mrs. Robert Johnson of a daughter
167	February 20	Mrs. Samuel Carter of a son
168	February 25	Mrs. William Archibald of a son
169	March 4	Mrs. Hugh Fraser of a son
170	March 11	Mrs. John Johnson of a daughter
171	March 26	Mrs. Robt. Moore of a daughter
172	April 26	Mrs. James R. Weir of a son

173	May 7	Mrs. James Hamilton of a daughter
174	June 4	Mrs. James Ross of a son
175	June 13	Mrs. Donal Scott of a son
176	June 17	Mrs. Johnson Archibald of a son
177	June 20	Mrs. Joseph Marshall of a daughter
178	August 12	Mrs. Haws of a daughter
179	Sept. 19	Mrs. John Sutton of a son
180	October 1	Mrs. Charles Nelson of a son
181	October 23	Mrs. Jacob Harvie of a —
182	November 6	Mrs. Alex Boomer of a daughter
183	November 13	Mrs. Robt. Boomer of a son

1862

184	February 8	Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
185	February 19	Mrs. William Hamilton of a son
186	February 20	Mrs. James Densmore of a daughter
187	March 1	Mrs. James Millen of a son
188	March 18	Mrs. Alex Stevens of a daughter
189	April 12	Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
190	April 25	Mrs. William Carter of a daughter
191	June 25	Mrs. Edward Fisher of a son
192	June 26	Mrs. James Ross of a son
193	July 20	Mrs. Daniel Moor of a son
194	August 16	Mrs. Henry Bogelman of a son
195	Sept. 17	Mrs. George Johnson of a son
196	October 4	Mrs. Aix. Dart of a son
197	October 7	Mrs. Francis Short of a son
198	October 25	Miss Murry of a daughter
199	November 4	Mrs. Nat Sibly of a son
200	November 19	Mrs. Charles Moore of a son
201	November 24	Mrs. Thomas Brenton of a daughter
202	November 27	Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
203	December 10	Mrs. Nelson Dart of a daughter
204	December 23	Mrs. William Hamilton of a son
205	December 13	Mrs. John Johnson of a son

1863

206	January 2	Mrs. Hugh Gillis of a son
207	January 7	Mrs. Robert Johnson of a son
208	January 20	Mrs. Charles Boomer of a daughter
209	January 24	Mrs. James Stewart of a son
210	February 23	Mrs. Samuel Ryan of a son
211	April 4	Mrs. James J. Hamilton of a daughter
212	April 14	Mrs. Robert Carter 2nd of a son
213	April 23	Hager Sarahs Made of a son
214	June 25	Mrs. William Carter of a son
215	August 6	Mrs. Michael Fisher of a son
216	August 10	Mrs. Alex Boomer of a son
217	Sept. 1	Mrs. James McLellan of a son

218	Sept. 4	Mrs. Adams of a daughter
219	October 17	Mrs. John Brenton of a son
220	November 8	Mrs. James Ross of a daughter
221	November 9	Mrs. James Short of a daughter
222	November 22	Mrs. John Moorin of a daughter
223	December 13	Mrs. William Akins of a son

1864

224	January 24	Mrs. Jacob Harvie of a daughter
225	February 5	Miss Brannan of a son
226	February 13	Mrs. George Boomer of a son
227	February 16	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a son
228	March 18	Miss Caroline Moore of a son
229	April 5	Mrs. Parmenas Scott of a daughter
230	April 16	Mrs. Henry Bogelman of a son
231	April 26	Miss Agnes Brenton of a son
232	May 22	Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
233	May 27	Mrs. David Anthony of daughter
234	June 12	Mrs. Daniel 2nd Moore of a daughter
235	June 18	Mrs. Johnson Hill of a son
236	July 7	Mrs. Johnson Archibald of a son
237	July 11	Mrs. John Hamilton of a son
238	July 24	Mrs. Charles 2nd Moore of a son
239	July 28	Mrs. Robt. Brinton of a daughter
240	August 2	Mrs. Adam McCloud of daughter
241	Sept. 10	Mrs. George Carter 2nd of a daughter
242	Sept. 17	Mrs. Johnson Archibald 2nd of a son
243	October 2	Mrs. William Archibald of a son
244	October 24	Mrs. Samuel Kennedy of a son
245	October 28	Mrs. Charles Moore of a son
246	November 20	Mrs. Baxter Hamilton of a son
247	December 1	Mrs. Hugh Gillis of a daughter
248	December 15	Mrs. Edward Fisher of a son
249	December 20	Mrs. Charles Carter of a daughter
250	December 24	Mrs. Nelson Dart of a son
251	December 25	Mrs. W. S. Hamilton of a son
252	December 28	Mrs. John Stevens of a daughter

1865

253	February 2	Mrs. Alford Hamilton of a daughter
254	March 2	Mrs. George Carter 3 of a son
255	March 25	Mrs. John Carter of a daughter
256	March 26	Mrs. James Nelson of a daughter
257	April 10	Mrs. Thomas Brenton 2 of a son
258	April 14	Mrs. Alex Fisher of a daughter
259	May 1	Mrs. John Johnson of a son
260	May 4	Mrs. Donald McPharson of a son
261	May 14	Mrs. Frances Short of a son
262	May 16	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son

263	June 10	Mrs. Nat Sibly of a son
264	July 7	Mrs. Charles Boomer of a daughter
265	July 17	Mrs. Michael Fisher of a son
266	July 24	Mrs. Daniel Harvie of a daughter
267	August 7	Mrs. Robt. Carter of a son
268	August 10	Mrs. Steven Tonrey of a daughter
269	August 11	Mrs. James McLellan of a son
270	August 26	Mrs. James Densmore of a daughter
271	Sept. 13	Mrs. John Fisher of a son
272	October 5	Mrs. James Ross of a daughter
273	November 29	Mrs. George Dart of a son
274	December 15	Mrs. William Akins of a son

1866

275	January 30	Mrs. Robt. Brenton of a son
276	January 31	Mrs. Parmenas Scott of a daughter
277	February 6	Mrs. Jacob Harvie of a daughter
278	February 11	Mrs. James Scott of a daughter
279	February 19	Mrs. Johnson Archibald of a son 2nd
280	March 4	Mrs. Samuel Ryan of a daughter
281	March 10	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a daughter
282	June 16	Mrs. Joseph Marshall of a son and daughter
283)		
284	June 25	Mrs. George Boomer of a daughter
285	July 3	Mrs. James Kennedy of a son [Gordon]
286	July 20	Mrs. John K. Andrews of a daughter
287	July 26	Mrs. David Anthony of a daughter
288	August 2	Mrs. James J. Hamilton of a son
289	August 10	Mrs. Daniel Moore 4th of a daughter
290	August 16	Mrs. Alex Boomer of a son
291	September 11	Mrs. William Archibald of a daughter
292	September 11	Mrs. Baxter Hamilton of a son
293	October 12	Mrs. John Stevens of a son
294	October 19	Mrs. Thomas Brenton 2nd of a daughter
295	October 21	Mrs. David Carter of a daughter
296	November 14	Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
297	December 4	Mrs. William Fisher of a daughter
298	December 6	Mrs. Daniel Moore 3 of a son
299	December 10	Mrs. Samuel Carter of a son

1867

300	January 13	Mrs. John Bently of a daughter
301	January 25	Mrs. John Brinton of a daughter
302	January 29	Mrs. Timothy Hamilton of a son
303	February 2	Mrs. George Carter 2nd of a daughter
304	February 2	Miss Moore of a son Benoni
305	February 17	Mrs. W. Carter of a son
306	February 18	Mrs. George Dart of a daughter
307	February 19	Mrs. John Fisher of a daughter

308	February 25	Mrs. Leroy Fisher of a son
309	March 13	Mrs. Edward Fisher of a daughter
310	March 17	Mrs. Alfred Algee of a daughter
311	March 26	Miss Shields of a daughter
312	March 29	Mrs. W. S. Hamilton of a daughter
313	April 1	Mrs. Charles Moore of a daughter
314	April 1	Mrs. Charles Ryan of a son
315	May 2	Mrs. Robert Brenton of a son
316	May 13	Mrs. George Carter of a son [Daniel]
317	May 16	Mrs. Groto of a son
318	June 11	Mrs. Henry Field of a son
319	June 16	Mrs. James Ross of a son
320	July 4	Mrs. Samuel Kennedy of a son
321	July 24	Mrs. William Hamilton of a son
322	July 30	Mrs. David Dart of a son
323	August 3	Mrs. James Short of a daughter
324	August 22	Miss Cox of daughter
325	August 25	Mrs. Howard Nelson of a son [Milledge]
326	Sept. 9	Mrs. William Carter of a daughter
327	Sept. 27	Mrs. James McLellan of a daughter
328	November 3	Mrs. Charles Bryson of a son [Lewis]
329	November 18	Mrs. John Johnson of a daughter
330	December 3	Mrs. Robt. Boomer of a daughter
331	December 28	Mrs. Nat Sibley of a son

1868

332	January 1	Mrs. James Kelly of a son
333	January 17	Mrs. John Boomer of a daughter
334	January 23	Mrs. J. R. Tupper of a daughter
335	January 30	Mrs. Donald Scott of a daughter
336	February 9	Mrs. Daniel Harvie of a daughter
337	February 12	Mrs. Samuel Ryan of a daughter
338	March 11	Mrs. Jacob Harvie of a daughter
339	March 12	Eunis Hamilton of a daughter
340	March 28	Mrs. James Scott of a son
341	March 28	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a son
342	April 13	Mrs. Baxter Hamilton of a daughter
343	April 19	Mrs. John Brown of a son
344	April 28	Mrs. Parmenas Scott of a son
345	May 3	Mrs. Robt. Carter 2nd of a daughter
346	May 9	Mrs. James J. Prenton of a son
347	June 4	Mrs. Alex Fisher of a son
348	June 22	Mrs. Michael Fisher of a daughter
349	July 1	Mrs. Charles Moore 2nd of a son
350	July 3	Mrs. William Archibald of a son
351	July 8	Mrs. George Dart of a daughter
352	August 8	Mrs. Tomas Brenton of a daughter
353	August 11	Mrs. Alexander Dart of a son
354)	Oct. 9 & 10	Mrs. John Brenton of two sons
355)		

356	November 10	Mrs. John Stevens of a daughter
357	November 28	Mrs. William Fisher of a daughter
358	December 11	Miss Janetta Carter of a daughter
359	December 24	Mrs. John Fulton of a son

1869

360	January 11	Mrs. George Carter of a son
361	January 17	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son
362	January 18	Mrs. William F. Hamilton of a son
363	January 26	Mrs. Abram Newcom of a daughter
364	February 5	Mrs. George Boomer of a son
365	February 11	Mrs. James Ross of a daughter
366	February 28	Mrs. Edward Fisher of a son
367	March 15	Mrs. Johnston Hill of a daughter
368	April 2	Mrs. William S. Hamilton of a son
369	April 9	Mrs. John Fisher of a daughter
370	April 10	Mrs. Timothy Hamilton of a daughter
371	April 19	Mrs. William Hamilton of a daughter
372	June 18	Mrs. James Short of a son
373	June 19	Mrs. Charles Moore of a son
374	July 9	Mrs. William Carter of a son
375	August 16	Mrs. Daniel M. Johnson of a son
376	August 18	Mrs. John Brenton of a daughter
377	Sept. 22	Levy Fisher of a son
378	Sept. 26	Mrs. David Carter of a daughter
379	October 23	Mrs. Job Dart of a son
380	November 2	Mrs. Robt. Brinton of a daughter
381	December 19	Mrs. John Brown of a son
382	December 23	Mrs. Charles Bryson of a son [Rufus]
383	December 30	Mrs. James Kennedy of a son [Robert]

1870

384	January 2	Mrs. James Brenton of a son
385	January 12	Mrs. George Dart of a daughter
386	January 24	Mrs. Daniel 3 Moor of a son
387	March 16	Mrs. William Archibald of a daughter
388	March 19	Miss Emmaline Taylor of a daughter
389	March 24	Mrs. John Boomer of two sons
390		
391	April 6	Mrs. John Carter of a son
392	April 12	Mrs. Robert Carter of a daughter
393	April 18	Mrs. Horton Boomer of a son
394	April 23	Mrs. Samuel Kennedy of a daughter
395	April 29	Mrs. Thomas Brenton of a son
396	May 7	Mrs. George Carter of a son
397	May 13	Mrs. John Jonson of a daughter
398	May 22	Mrs. Charles Moore of a daughter and son
399		
400	May 30	Mrs. Jacob Harvey of a daughter

401	June 3	Mrs. James Scott of a daughter
402	August 12	Mrs. Howard Nelson of a daughter [Ann]
403	October 10	Mrs. John Brenton of a son
404	October 11	Mrs. Daniel Harvie of a daughter
405	October 16	Mrs. James Ross of a daughter
406	October 18	Mrs. Robert Brenton of a daughter
407	October 22	Mrs. J. K. Andrews of a son
408	October 26	Mrs. John Devon of a son
409	October 28	Miss Fisher of a son
410	November 4	Mrs. How. Rutherford of a son
411	November 8	Mrs. Robert Boomer of a son
412	November 11	Mrs. Enos Boomer of a daughter
413	November 29	Mrs. Parminas Scott of a daughter
414	December 24	Mrs. John Fisher of a daughter

1871

415	January 20	Mrs. Alex Fisher of a daughter
416	March 8	Mrs. John Brown of a daughter
417	March 27	Mrs. John Stevens of a son
418	April 14	Mrs. Johnston Hill of a son
419	June 3	Mrs. John Brenton of a daughter
420	June 14	Mrs. Henry Field of a daughter
421	August 19	Mrs. Charles Moor of a son
422	August 26	Mrs. George Carter of a daughter
423	August 28	Mrs. Timothy Hamilton of a daughter
424	August 29	Mrs. William Hamilton of a daughter
425	Sept. 7	Mrs. George Dart of a son
426	Sept. 25	Mrs. Alex Boomer of a daughter
427	Nov. 9	Mrs. Charles Bryson of a daughter [Hattie]
428	Nov. 10	Mrs. John Brenton of a son
429	Nov. 20	Miss Archibald of a daughter
430	December 11	Mrs. James Ross of a son
431	December 16	Mrs. Job Dart of a son
432	December 19	Mrs. Daniel Moor of a son
433	December 22	Mrs. James Taylor of a son
434	December 28	Mrs. George Marshall of a son

1872

435	January 1	Mrs. David Carter of a son
436	January 3	Mrs. Henry Carter of a son
437	January 29	Mrs. William Archibald of a son
438	February 27	Mrs. John Fulton of a son
439	March 4	Mrs. Isaac Boomer of a son
440	March 5	Mrs. Thomas Brenton of a son
441	March 31	Mrs. James Short of a son
442	April 7	Mrs. James Johnson of a son
443	April 13	Mrs. Thomas Scott of a son
444	May 9	Mrs. Fulton Fisher of a daughter
445	May 12	Mrs. Jacob Harvey of a son

446	July 3	Mrs. James Densmore of a son
447	July 25	Mrs. George Carter 2nd of a son
448	August 15	Mrs. Charles [Moor?] of a daughter
449	August 27	Mrs. Enos Boomer of a son
450	Sept. 4	Mrs. Howard Nelson of a son [Alec]
451	Sept. 4	Mrs. James Kennedy of a son [John Medford]
452	Sept. 9	Mrs. Cyrus Stevens of a son
453	Sept. 10	Mrs. David [Reid] of a son
454	October 13	Mrs. John Fisher of a son
455	October 20	Mrs. John Brown of a son
456	Nov. 15	Mrs. William Fisher of a daughter

1873

457	January 5	Mrs. John Brenton of a daughter
458	January 27	Mrs. John Stevens of a son
459	February 4	Mrs. John Hamilton of a daughter
460	February 5	Mrs. Robt. Johnson of a son
461	February 9	Mrs. John Boomer of a son
462	February 24	Mrs. Samuel Kennedy of a son
463	February 28	Mrs. Leander Kennedy of a son
464	March 12	Miss Field of a daughter
465	March 20	Mrs. James Scott of a son
466	March 25	Mrs. Thomas Bogle of a daughter
467	April 4	Mrs. George Carter of a son
468	April 12	Mrs. William Archibald of a daughter
469	April 13	Mrs. John Taylor of a son
470	April 21	Mrs. Robert Fulton of a son
471	May 20	Mrs. Howard Rutherford of a son
472	May 27	Mrs. Parr Brenton of a daughter
473	July 28	Mrs. Robert Brenton of a son
474	August 25	Mrs. J. Johnston of a son
475	Sept. 1	Mrs. Ed. Smith of a daughter
476	Sept. 14	Mrs. James Ross of a daughter
477	Sept. 17	Mrs. Enos Boomer of a son
478	October 10	Mrs. Daniel Harvie of a son
479	October 12	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son
480	October 15	Mrs. James Taylor of a daughter
481	October 18	Mrs. Thomas Dickey of a daughter
482	November 14	Mrs. William Manerd of a son
483	November 27	Mrs. Brenton of a daughter
484	November 28	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a daughter
485	December 7	Mrs. George Archibald of a daughter

1874

486	Jan 19	Mrs. John Brenton of a daughter
487	Feb. 8	Mrs. Alex Boomer of a son
488	Feb. 18	Mrs. James Stevens of a daughter
489	Feb. 22	Mrs. Cyrus Stevens of a daughter
490	March 13	Mrs. Thomas Brenton of a daughter

491	April 9	Mrs. John Fulton of a daughter
492	May 4	Mrs. James Graham of a son
493	May 18	Mrs. Joseph Fisher of a daughter
494	May 22	Mrs. Charles Marshall of a son
495	June 4	Mrs. Charles Moore [Daniel's son] of a son
496	July 22	Mrs. Albert Algee of a son
497	Aug. 19	Mrs. Howard Nelson of a daughter [Mary Davis]
498	August 23	Mrs. Timothy Hamilton of a daughter
499	Sept. 20	Mrs. Robert Carter of a daughter
500	Oct. 19	Mrs. George Carter 3rd of a son
501	Oct. 28	Mrs. James Boomer of a daughter
502	Nov. 11	Mrs. William Fisher of a son
503	Dec. 28	Mrs. Charles Moore of a son

1875

504	Jan.	Mrs. George Archibald of a daughter
505	Jan. 8	Mrs. John Brown of a son
506	Jan. 10	Mrs. James Scott of a son
507	Jan. 13	Mrs. Charles Kennedy of a daughter
508	Feb. 4	Mrs. William Archibald of a son
509	Feb. 7	Mrs. William Hamilton of a daughter
510	March 11	Mrs. John Stevens of a son
511	March 17	Mrs. George Dart of a son
512)	March 29	Mrs. Samuel Kennedy of twins - daughters
513)		
514	April 12	Mrs. Daniel Moore 3rd of a son
515	May 23	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a daughter
516	June 13	Mrs. James Densmore of a son
517	June 21	Mrs. James Taylor of a daughter
518	June 22	Mrs. Herbert Sanderson of a son
519	July 7	Mrs. William Brenton of a son
520	July 16	Mrs. Alexander Dart of a daughter
521	August 5	Mrs. Jacob Harvey of a son
522	August 6	Mrs. Mary Kennedy of a son [Austin]
523	August 28	Mrs. John Taylor of a daughter
524	Sept. 4	Mrs. Albert Algee of a daughter
525	Sept. 12	Mrs. Enos Boomer of a son
526	Oct. 1	Mrs. John Brenton of a daughter
527	Oct. 22	Mrs. Augustus Hamilton of a daughter
528	Nov. 29	Mrs. Jotham Nichols of a son
529	Dec. 1	Mrs. Rubert Kennedy of a son
530	Dec. 2	Mrs. Harris Whidden of a daughter
531	Dec. 9	Mrs. Henry Carter of a daughter
532	Dec. 12	Mrs. Leander Nelson of a son

1876

533	Jan. 27	Mrs. James Graham of a daughter
534	Jan. 30	Mrs. Frankford Davis of a son
535	Feb. 14	Mrs. Alexander Boomer of a son

536	Feb. 18	Mrs. George Archibald of a daughter
537	May 23	Mrs. Daniel Harvey of a daughter
538	June 17	Mrs. Theodore Carter of a son
539	June 23	Mrs. Cyrus Stevens of a son
540	June 25	Mrs. Henry Fields of a son
541	June 26	Mrs. Frank Carter of a son
542	Aug. 4	Mrs. R. J. Hill of a son
543	Aug. 18	Mrs. James Boomer of a daughter
544	Aug. 19	Mrs. David Carter of a daughter
545	Aug. 22	Mrs. Rupert Fulton of a son
546	Aug. 23	Miss Caroline Moore of a son
547	Sept. 12	Mrs. Ezra Stevens of a daughter
548	Oct. 16	Mrs. William Clark of a son
549	Dec. 8	Mrs. Howard Nelson of a daughter [Alice]
550	Dec. 9	Mrs. John Stevens of a daughter

1877

551	Jan. 14	Mrs. Charles Moore 2nd of a daughter
552	Feb. 8	Mrs. Leander Nelson of a son
553	Feb. 21	Mrs. Job Dart of a son
554	Feb. 25	Mrs. Finley McIntosh of a son
555	Feb. 26	Mrs. James J. Brenton of a son
556	Feb. 28	Mrs. Charles Moore 3rd of a son
557	March 2	Mrs. James Ross of a daughter
558	March 8	Mrs. William Fisher of a daughter
559	March 29	Mrs. William S. Hamilton of a son
560	April 17	Mrs. Albert Algee of a daughter
561	April 18	Mrs. Robert Carter of a son
562	April 26	Mrs. John Brown of a son
563	April 27	Mrs. Augustus Hamilton of a son
564	May 1	Mrs. William J. Hamilton of a daughter
565	May 12	Mrs. Daniel Moore of a son
566	May 21	Mrs. Henry Shafner of a son
567	June	Miss Esther Campbell of a daughter
568	June 10	Mrs. Theodore Carter of a daughter
569	June 10	Mrs. William Archibald of a son
570	July 15	Mrs. James Taylor of a son
571	August 16	Mrs. Aaron Boomer of a son
572	August 21	Mrs. Harris Whidden of a son
573	August 28	Mrs. Daniel K. Nichols of a son
574	Sept. 3	Mrs. Jacob Harvey of a daughter
575	Sept. 21	Mrs. George Archibald of a son
576	Dec. 15	Mrs. George Dart of a son
577	Dec. 30	Mrs. John Taylor of a daughter

1878

578	Jan. 18	Mrs. Frank Carter of a son
579		Mrs. John H. Brenton of a daughter
580	Feb.	Mrs. Herbert Sanderson of a daughter

581		Mrs. Enos Boomer of a daughter
582	March 1	Mrs. Aaron Hamilton of a daughter
583	March 4	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a daughter
584	March 5	Mrs. John Mc [?] of a daughter
585	March 6	Mrs. John Dennis of a son
586	April 17	Mrs. [?] Creelman of a son
587	April 21	Mrs. James Boomer of a son
588	May 2	Mrs. David Brennan of a son
589	May 7	Mrs. Jotham Nichols of a son
590	June 13	Mrs. Peter Stevens of a daughter
591	June 24	Mrs. George Ryan of a son
592	July 17	Mrs. Henry Carter of a daughter
593	July 26	Mrs. [?] Black of a son
594	Sept. 8	Mrs. Alexander Boomer of a son
595	Oct. 27	Mrs. Leander Nelson of a daughter
596	Nov. 5	Mrs. Judson Carter of a daughter
597	Dec. 15	Mrs. Daniel Harvey of a daughter
598	Dec. 24	Mrs. Melville Sanderson of a daughter
599	Dec. 26	Mrs. George Archibald of a son

1879

600	March 10	Mrs. Stewart Clark of a daughter
601	March 13	Mrs. Daniel K. Nichols of a daughter
602	March 28	Mrs. Harris Whidden of a daughter
603	April 11	Mrs. Herbert Sanderson of a son
604	April 14	Mrs. James McLellan of a son
605	April 15	Mrs. Daniel Moore "Major" [husband a militia major] of a daughter
606	May 1	Mrs. Charles Ryan of a son
607	May 13	Mrs. Charles Moore 3rd of a daughter
608	June 2	Mrs. John Brown of a daughter
609	June 6	Miss Adeline Carter of a daughter
610	July 17	Mrs. Henry Field of a daughter
611	Sept. 28	Mrs. Howard Nelson of a daughter [Cynthia]
612	Oct.	Mrs. Hiram H. Aikens of a son
613	Oct. 13	Mrs. Jacob Harvey of a son
614	Oct. 23	Mrs. William A. Hamilton of a son
615	Nov. 4	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a son
616	Nov. 10	Mrs. Donald Scott of a stillborn child
617	Nov. 29	Miss Ellison Clark of a daughter
618	Dec. 12	Mrs. James Taylor of a son
619	Dec. 17	Mrs. Aaron Hamilton of a daughter

1880

620	Jan. 15	Mrs. David Kennedy of a son
621	Jan. 23	Mrs. William Clark of a son
622	Jan. 24	Mrs. John McGuire of a son
623	Feb. 9	Mrs. Frank Carter of a daughter
624	April 27	Mrs. Aaron Boomer of a daughter
625	April 28	Mrs. John A. Brenton of a daughter

626	May 16	Mrs. David Brennan of a son
627	May 22	Mrs. George Dart of a daughter
628	May 27	Mrs. Kenneth Graham of a daughter
629	June 18	Mrs. James Ross of a son
630	June 28	Mrs. Peter Stevens of a daughter
631	July 2	Mrs. James Boomer of a son
632	August 18	Mrs. George Ryan of a son
633	August 19	Mrs. James McLellan of a son
634	August 24	Mrs. Herbert Sanderson of a daughter
635	Sept. 3	Mrs. Henry Dennis of a son
636	Sept. 12	Mrs. Henry Carter of a daughter
637	Sept. 13	Mrs. Charles Murray of a daughter
638	Sept. 26	Mrs. William Keefe of a son
639	Oct. 9	Mrs. Thomas Clark of a daughter
640	Dec. 1	Mrs. Stewart Clark of a son
641	Dec. 30	Miss Rachel Johnson of a son
642	Dec. 30	Mrs. W. A. Hamilton of a son

1881

643	Jan. 22	Mrs. Leander Nelson of a son
644	April 19	Mrs. John Brown of a daughter
645	May 3	Mrs. John J. Hamilton of a daughter
646	May 28	Mrs. William Fisher of a daughter
647	June 24	Mrs. Charles Moore 3rd of a son
648	August 12	Mrs. John H. Brenton of a daughter
649	Sept. 15	Mrs. Albert Burris of a son
650	Sept. 21	Mrs. Jas. Nelson of a son
651	Oct. 30	Mrs. Peter Stevens of a son
652	Oct. 31	Mrs. Charles Marshall of a daughter
653	Dec. 13	Mrs. William Clark of a daughter

1882

654	Jan. 6	Mrs. Aaron Boomer of a son
655	Jan. 22	Mrs. Edward Burris of a daughter
656	Feb. 18	Mrs. Howard Nelson of a daughter [Nellie]
657	March 23	Mrs. Adams Fisher of a son
658	April 2	Mrs. James Boomer of a son
659	April 21	Mrs. James McLellan of a daughter
660	? 8	Mrs. Melville Sibley of a daughter
661	July 5	Mrs. Suther Archibald of a son
662	Aug. 20	Mrs. Donald Scott of a daughter
663	? 25	Mrs. John Bailey of a daughter
664	? 26	Mrs. [?] Dodge of a daughter
665	Sept. 26	Mrs. Hugh Moore of a son
666	Oct. 18	Mrs. Marshall Boomer of a son

1883

667	Jan. 7	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a son
668	April 15	Mrs. David Kennedy of a son

669	April 15	Miss [?] Sanderson of a son
670	April 22	Mrs. Whidden Boomer of a son
671	June 26	Mrs. Adams Archibald of a son
672	July 8	Mrs. George Ryan of a son
673	July 20	Mrs. Leander Fisher of a daughter
674	July 30	Mrs. Peter Stevens of a daughter
675	August 9	Mrs. John J. Hamilton of a son
676	August 27	Mrs. David Carter of a daughter
677	Sept. 4	Mrs. John Brown of a son
678	Sept. 11	Mrs. George Densmore of a daughter
679	Oct. 11	Mrs. Samuel Marshall of a son
680	Dec. 26	Mrs. James McLellan of a son

1884

681	Jan. 20	Mrs. Melville Sibley of a daughter
682	March 30	Mrs. Henry Carter of a daughter
683	April 5	Mrs. Robert McKensie Graham of a son
684	June 29	Mrs. Robert Brenton of a son
685	July 10	Mrs. Henry Field of a daughter
686	July 31	Mrs. William Langille of a stillborn child
687	Aug. 3	Mrs. George Archibald of a daughter
688	Aug. 13	Mrs. Havelock Hamilton of a son
689	Sept. 5	Mrs. Matthew Carter of a son
690	Oct. 15	Mrs. Howard Nelson of a daughter [John] ¹
691	Oct. 21	Mrs. [?] Kemp of a son
692	Nov. 13	Mrs. Charles Whidden of a daughter
693	Dec. 20	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a son

1885

694	Jan. 1	Mrs. J. J. Hamilton of a son
695	Feb. 24	Mrs. George Ryan of a son
696	Feb. 26	Mrs. Albert Burris of a son
697	March 28	Mrs. David Kennedy of a daughter
698	April 6	Mrs. Aaron Boomer of a daughter
699	April 14	Mrs. [Breton ?] of a daughter
700	April 23	Mrs. Melville Sibley of a son
701	April 25	Mrs. Herbert Sanderson of a son
702	May 31	Mrs. Marshall Boomer of a son
703	July 6	Mrs. [?] Dodge of a daughter
704	July 19	Mrs. Everett Harvey of a daughter
705	Aug. 11	Mrs. Suther Nelson of a daughter
706	Aug. 12	Mrs. Matthew Langille of a daughter
707	Sept. 18	Mrs. George Densmore of a daughter
708	Oct. 21	Mrs. Whidden Boomer of a son
709	Oct. 27	Mrs. McLaughlen of a daughter

¹This child was actually a boy named John, and not a girl as entered by Mrs. Hamilton. Information supplied by family.

710	Nov. 5	Mrs. William Moore of a son
711	Nov. 9	Mrs. John A. Brenton of a daughter
712	Nov. 20	Mrs. Havelock Hamilton of a daughter

1886

713	Jan. 30	Mrs. [?] Brown of a son
714	March 19	Mrs. David Carter of a son
715	May 30	Mrs. Samuel Kennedy of a daughter
716	June 17	Mrs. James McLellan of a daughter
717	Aug. 27	Mrs. Thomas Boggs of a son
718	Sept. 7	Mrs. Donald Scott of a daughter
719	Oct. 18	Mrs. Suther Nelson of a son
720	Nov. 10	Mrs. Adams Archibald of a son
721	Nov. 19	Mrs. Albert Burris of a son
722	Dec. 2	Mrs. William Clark of a daughter

1887

723	Jan. 22	Mrs. William Moore of a son
724	March 21	Mrs. George Ryan of a son
725	April 30	Mrs. Enos Boomer of a son
726	May 7	Mrs. A. C. Kennedy of a daughter
727	May 22	Mrs. Melville Sibley of a daughter
728	August 16	Mrs. Isaac Dart of a daughter
729	August 27	Mrs. Daniel Cox of a son
730	Sept. 12	Mrs. Adams Fisher of a son
731	Sept. 24	Mrs. Alexander Clark of a daughter
732	Oct. 18	Mrs. David Brennan of a son
733	Nov. 3	Mrs. George Densmore of a daughter
734	Nov. 4	Mrs. George Taylor of a son
735	Nov. 28	Mrs. Hiram Brenton of a daughter
736	Dec. 18	Mrs. Kenny Graham of a son

1888

737	Feb. 17	Mrs. Charles Marshall of a daughter
738	Feb. 21	Mrs. William Russel of a daughter
739	March 26	Mrs. Charles Whidden of a son
740	June 7	Mrs. William Moore of a daughter
741	Aug. 3	Mrs. Samuel C. Kennedy of a son
742	Aug. 16	Mrs. Robert Benjamin of a daughter
743	Sept. 6	Mrs. James McLellan of a daughter
744	Sept. 29	Mrs. [?] Doyle of a son
745	Oct. 15	Mrs. J. J. Hamilton of a daughter
746	Oct. 29	Mrs. Robert H. Brenton of a son
747	Nov. 10	Mrs. Whidden Boomer of a son
748	Nov. 28	Mrs. [?] Stillings of a son
749	Dec. 23	Mrs. Albert Burris of a daughter
750	Dec. 27	Mrs. Melville Sibley of a daughter

1889

751	Jan. 13	Mrs. Burpee Stevens of a son
752	March 13	Mrs. William Russel of a son
753	March 20	Mrs. William Langille of a son
754	May 20	Mrs. Enos Boomer of a son
755	May 23	Mrs. Adams Archibald of a daughter
756	June 12	Mrs. Donald Scott of a daughter
757	July 15	Mrs. Peter Stevens of a son
758	August 3	Mrs. John Bell of a daughter
759	Oct. 13	Mrs. Charles Marshall of a son
760	Oct. 25	Mrs. William Clark of a daughter
761	Oct. 29	Mrs. Alexander Archibald of a daughter
762	Nov. 4	Mrs. Aaron Hamilton of a son

1890

763	Jan. 13	Mrs. W. H. Carter of a son
764	Jan. 19	Mrs. William Moore of a daughter
765	March 19	Mrs. Sinclair Hamilton of a son
766	July 12	Mrs. Melville Sibley of a son
767	July 14	Mrs. William Russell of a son
768	Nov. 29	Mrs. John Bell of a stillborn child

1891

769	March 15	Mrs. Claude Hamilton of a son
770	June 15	Mrs. Adams G. Archibald of a son
771	Aug. 12	Mrs. Sinclair Hamilton of a son

1892

772	April 23	Mrs. Henry Carter of a son
773	Oct. 19	Mrs. Melville Sibley of a daughter
774	Dec. 28	Mrs. John T. Bell of a son

1893

775	April 17	Mrs. Sinclair Hamilton of a daughter
776	?	Mrs. Paul, Indian, of a son

The Most Famous Rum-Runner of Them All

Robert Webb

Remember, yes, I remember well
The most famous rum-runner of them all. . .
She was the schooner from Lunenburg, *I'm Alone*
And in the Gulf of Mexico she went down
Under fire from a Yankee cutter
On the high seas, outside treaty water. . .¹

Snappish March winds puffed the gulf to a white froth, whipping alongside the graceful hull of the schooner as she forced her way southward under jibs andtrysail. Abaft the starboard quarter the American cutters maintained their long pursuit. Captain John Randell watched intensely for each flash from the near cutter's big gun, and with each smoky report a simultaneous crashing thunder aboard his own command — sails ripping, then bulwarks and deck splintering, and finally the explosions of water alongside as the Coast Guardsmen began the gutting. Then the deck was awash in white foam and Randell gave orders to abandon. He told his crew to hang onto anything afloat. As they paddled away, the schooner slipped, stern high, and was gone. . .

The shooting and the nearness of death felt old and familiar to Randell — he had come under fire in both the Boer War and in World War I. But this time he had placed himself on the wrong side of might and right. His unarmed vessel was laden with contraband liquor bound for Prohibition-dry American states, and his legal position was open to question. He never dared open fire with his only armament, a personal revolver, for he was outgunned, outmanned, and unprepared for warfare on the high seas.

The sinking of the schooner *I'm Alone* by officers and men of the United States Coast Guard would spark an international incident that many thought could lead to a new war between the United States and the British empire.

It was in nineteen hundred and twenty-nine
When the smugglin' of liquor was a profitable pastime.
Many a Maritimer didn't see why
He shouldn't turn a profit — Uncle Sam was dry. . .

¹ All song quotes from "The 'I'm Alone'" by Wade Hemsworth, published (lyrics and music) in *Canada Folk Bulletin*, I (1978), 14-17.

Prohibition laws weaved the web that eventually ensnared the *I'm Alone*. The United States "went dry" by constitutional amendment in 1919, and Canada followed suit, at the provincial level, in various years thereafter. Thus one province might prohibit the manufacture of alcohol while her neighbor permitted both manufacture and sale. Canadian distillers generally were allowed to continue the production of liquor for export to countries where imbibing broke no law, and inevitably, some part of this production found its way back to dry provinces and into the States — much of the latter aboard rum-running vessels.

Rabbit, a 13-foot rowboat, was probably the smallest such boat. Its owner regularly shipped liquor from "Rum Alley," the distillers' warehouse docks in Windsor, Ontario, with counterfeit export documents giving the destination as Cuba. Her run down to Havana consisted of a stealthy one-mile pull across the Detroit River to dry Michigan, where bootleggers would offload her cargo and provide her "captain" with forged Cuban receipts!²

The Coast Guard found itself woefully short of the manpower required to staunch the flow of "hootch" from Canada and elsewhere. In 1919, when the Volstead Act became the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the Guard's primary role and duty was that of protecting life and property at sea. Its anti-smuggling campaign was peripheral, at best. It came as a surprise to both lawmakers and Guardsmen that Prohibition, rather than curtailing liquor consumption, instead ushered in an age of joyous, clandestine boozing. Much like the marijuana situation forty years later, alcohol grew in popularity *because* it was illegal, and *per force*, desirable. The rum-runner and rum-drinker alike basked in the glorious aura of the anti-hero in a day when it had become a mark of success — "smart" — to be able to provide one's friends with a taste of "the real McCoy, just off the boat!"

That selfsame McCoy, a dashing, clever skipper known as "Bill," had become rum-running's first personality. Aboard his *Henry L. Marshall*, a Gloucester, Massachusetts schooner under nominal British registry, McCoy sailed into Savannah, Georgia in 1921 with fifteen hundred cases of liquor purchased in the Bahamas.³ He made a fabulous profit selling to all comers, and subsequently outfitted three more schooners, including the large and

2 Janice Patton, *The Sinking of the I'm Alone* (Toronto, 1973), p. 24.

3 Malcolm F. Willoughby, *Rum War at Sea* (Washington, D.C., 1964), p. 23.

beautiful *Tomoka*, from which he dispensed thousands of additional cases. Suddenly a flotilla of foreign-registered vessels hove to outside the three-mile territorial limit near major cities, selling liquor by the case to anyone who cared to come out in a boat with money in hand. So many of these floating distilleries arrived off Boston, New York, and elsewhere that people began talking openly about "Rum Row."

The high quality of McCoy's product added a new expression to the American lexicon — "the real McCoy" — which has ever after stood for the "real thing," the true stuff, *caveat emptor*. But McCoy's era of classy, scrupulous lawbreaking did not last very long. Crime syndicates soon developed in response to the quick and easy profits to be made, and they gradually but surely pushed the independent operators out of Rum Row. Cheaply made alcohol was cut and cut again to increase profits. Two-way ship-to-shore radio messages, encoded, helped smugglers contact buyers while evading the Coast Guard. Armed gangs of seagoing thugs began to make life dangerous; piracy and double-cross became the rule aboard the rum-runners. To make matters worse, the Coast Guard had responded by upgrading its patrol fleet and by relieving those few Guardsmen who had been persuaded to look the other way. McCoy and his favorite *Tomoka* became early victims of this escalation of hostilities, and on his release from the Atlanta Penitentiary in 1925 after nine months incarceration, he sold his last schooner, the *M. M. Gardner*, and wisely bowed out.⁴

The Coast Guard had wheedled from Congress sufficient funding to refit twenty worn-out Navy destroyers that had lain idle since the closing days of World War I.⁵ With these, plus ten more added later and a fleet of new small patrol boats, the Guard waded into battle. But their game plan was restricted from the start by tough legal requirements and controversial politics. Guardsmen were prevented from conducting random searches, restricted from searching vessels of foreign registry outside the three-mile U.S. territorial limit, and were expected to provide absolute proof of the location and cargoes of seized vessels to judges and juries who often leaned away from Prohibition. Meanwhile, rum rows flourished as tens of thousands of cases of

4 Willoughby, p. 18, and Thomas M. Coffey, *The Long Thirst: Prohibition in America: 1920-1933* (New York, 1975), pp. 99, 179.

5 Willoughby, pp. 48-49.

rum, whiskey, champagne and other liquors came ashore from the holds of a motley collection of steam yachts, colliers, trawlers, auxiliary sailors and true sailing vessels like the *I'm Alone*.

As rum-running grew into big business, Coast Guardsmen had begun to search and seize vessels as far as twelve miles to sea, under precedents established by a Congressional Act of 1790 and reaffirmed in the *Revised Statutes of 1799*.⁶ These provided that vessels would be subject to inspection for U.S. revenue and customs purposes to a distance of four leagues from the American coast. A league was legally defined as three miles. This ruling was further substantiated by the Tariff Act of 1922, which authorized enforcement officials to board to four leagues offshore, or even further out, provided a pursuit had begun inside jurisdictional waters, and that such pursuit had been continuously maintained — a "hot pursuit." None of these acts altered the basic legal territorial limit of three miles.

The government of Great Britain had quickly protested the detainment of British-registered rum-running vessels under these acts, since Prohibition stood as a criminal law and was, they claimed, enforceable only within the three-mile territorial boundaries as accepted by international convention. In an early case, *Arch v. U.S.*, Circuit Judge Foster upheld the right of search to a distance of twelve miles when he wrote:

Conceding that the criminal laws of the United States such as the National Prohibition Act are not effective more than three miles from shore, nevertheless, from the earliest times, the United States has claimed jurisdiction over the marginal sea to at least four leagues for the purpose of enforcing her Revenue and customs laws . . . Great Britain also claimed the same extent of territory by the Hovering Act of 1736, 9 Geo II, Cap. 35. . .⁷

Treaty negotiations had begun in 1922 with a discussion of the detainment of American vessels nominally in British registry to avoid prosecution. The U.S. government proposed an arrangement whereby authorities of each country might search vessels of the other's registry to a distance equivalent to one

6 *I Stat. at Large*, 2nd. sess., c. 35, p. 145, and *I Stat. at Large*, 3d. sess., 1799, c. 22, p. 627, respectively.

7 William E. Masterson, *Jurisdiction in Marginal Seas: with Special Reference to Smuggling* (New York, 1929), p. 237.

hour's steaming time from shore. Britons balked and negotiations were slowed, but an accord was eventually reached. On 5 May 1924, King George V signed the so-called "twelve-mile treaty," which affirmed the three-mile territorial limit, while providing that a vessel loaded with contraband could be searched and seized if found *in contact with any American craft so powered that it could reach the nearest American coast in one hour.*⁸ Similar treaties were signed with France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Panama and Holland.⁹ This new legislation required "mother ships" to stand well out to sea when served by 20 or 30-knot speedboats, and made *all* vessels subject to search to a distance of one hour's sailing — generally interpreted to mean twelve miles — from the American coast. On that windy morning in March 1929, the treaty would catch up with the *I'm Alone* and her crew.

The *I'm Alone* came off the ways at Smith and Rhuland's yard as a conventionally graceful two-masted schooner, 125 feet long, 91 tons net, a direct relative by accident of birth in Lunenburg, to that most perfect of all Canadian sailors, the *Bluenose*. But while the *Bluenose* plied the fishing trade, and off-season earned a spot on the reverse of the Canadian dime as the fastest Grand Banks schooner, the *I'm Alone* amassed its reputation among Coast Guardsmen who waited years to catch the vessel in U.S. territorial waters.

The construction of the *I'm Alone* followed time-tested plans that had proven themselves not only on the Grand Banks, but also in the shipment of cargoes more liquified than the cod, halibut, and other mixed species called "shack" that forever provided a livelihood for Maritimers. That her sole purpose in life was the running of illegal liquor was attested to by an American ship master named Watson Wagner, who admitted upon his arrest aboard the rum-runner *Mareuilendole* that the *I'm Alone* had been built for him.¹⁰ A newspaper article published shortly after the sinking claimed that an unnamed bootlegger in an American prison — perhaps Wagner — had

8 Discussion of the 1924 treaty provisions may be found in Masterson, p. 301 ff.

9 Charles Merz, *The Dry Decade* (Garden City, N.Y., 1932), p. 114.

10 Willoughby, p. 139.

ordered it constructed, and named it *I'm Alone* because he had broken from a gang and was operating alone.¹¹

Canadian writer-historian Farley Mowat has described the appeal of the Nova Scotia schooner to bootleggers:

The sight of these comparatively slow sailing ships, beating heavily homeward with their holds full of fish, was a familiar one all along the Atlantic coast. . . . The rum-runners had therefore decided that certain chosen schooners . . . were now to be purchased and refitted for a new "trade." False bottoms were to be rigged in their fish holds, and they were to be given powerful diesel engines. By day, or in clear weather when there were patrol boats or aircraft about, these innocent-looking vessels would mosey along under sail alone. But at night, or when they had thick weather to conceal them, they would proceed under the full power of their new engines.¹²

Whether built for fishing or smuggling, the *I'm Alone* soon joined the disreputable fleet working Rum Row, falling into bad company with other schooners engaged in the same trade — two, three and four-masted vessels with sparkling, notorious names like *Mistinguette*, *Over the Top*, *Kirk and Sweeney*, and the Lunenburger *Annie L. Spindler*. They sailed from foreign ports to the United States laden with alcoholic cargoes to be offloaded into the fast motorboats that raced furtively from shore to make their exchanges in international waters. They carried foreign registry, even though most of them were owned by Americans, because a foreign flag granted further immunity from search and seizure by U.S. Coast Guard and Customs agents.

The *I'm Alone* had been fitted with two hundred-horsepower engines, though the schooner's visual motive power came from canvas — mainsail, foresail, jib, jumbo jib, and the characteristic triangular staysail or "trysail" designed to stabilize the Nova Scotian schooner in a Grand Banks blow. From 1924 to 1928, the *I'm Alone* made a number of profitable trips, taking on cases of liquor in St. Pierre et Miquelon, just south of the Newfoundland coast, then sailing southward to meet contact boats whose crews she identi-

11 Unidentified newspaper article, 1929, in the archives of the Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic, Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.

12 Farley Mowat, *The Black Joke* (Toronto, 1962), p. 21.

fied by matching halves of torn dollar bills.¹³ The Coast Guard watched and waited, but the *I'm Alone* never strayed into U.S. territory where she would have forfeited her immunity as a British vessel.

In the late 1920s, the *I'm Alone* was owned by the I'm Alone Shipping Company of Lunenburg — ostensibly a Nova Scotian firm, but in fact a consortium of American bootleggers whose spokesman, "Big Jamie" Clark, was a known New York racketeer. Clark reportedly paid \$18,000 for the schooner.¹⁴ The new owners transferred the vessel to the less busy but very profitable Gulf Coast, there to move liquor from Nassau, Bahamas, and Belize, British Honduras, to a rendezvous off Louisiana.

Caribbean ports had boomed with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. Havana quickly became an open city where anything could be procured — an easy hundred-mile expatriation by boat or airplane for Americans who preferred their booze straight from the bottle. In the nearby Bahamas, Nassau's alcoholic "consumption" rose from 50,000 quarts imported in 1917 to a staggering ten *million* quarts just five years later!¹⁵ Once more, the Coast Guard was powerless to dam this river of liquor. They could only hope to slow the flow at the delivery end, along the length of slippery, swampy coastline from Florida to Texas.

The *I'm Alone* sailed to this venue in November 1928, with fourteen or fifteen hundred cases of assorted liquors obtained at St. Pierre et Miquelon. The pre-arranged rendezvous was a spot at sea, Lat. 91° W., Long 28° N., about twelve miles off shore, south of Trinity Shoal and between the Mississippi Delta and the Texas coast. There, a man in a fast cabin cruiser (some say it was "Big Jamie" himself) would match torn dollar bills and assume control of the cargo.

The schooner's captain was a wild Newfoundland,
A hard-drivin' man, name of John Thomas Randell,
A decorated veteran of the First World War
And a sea-goin' gentleman adventurer . . .

13 Willoughby, p. 128.

14 Patton, pp. 24, 26, and *The Literary Digest*, 6 April 1929.

15 Willoughby, p. 29.

The *I'm Alone*'s new skipper was a swaggering, cigar-smoker nicknamed Jack. Forty-nine years old, he was "hardboiled" and his stubbornness was well-known. He possessed a distinguished service record, which began in 1899 with his enlistment — in Sydney, Nova Scotia — in the Royal Canadian Field Artillery. He fought as a member of "Gatling Gun" Howard's crack Canadian Scouts in the Boer War, and as an officer of the Royal Naval Reserve in World War I. There, Randell's courageous battles against German submarines had won him the Distinguished Service Cross and the French *Croix de Guerre*. As commander of a British armed trawler disguised as a fisherman, he had captured a number of German cargo ships just outside the three-mile limit — and sometimes just *inside* the three-mile limit — at the mouth of Vest Fjord on the Norwegian coast, at a time when Germany had tacitly arranged to receive war material through that supposedly neutral country.¹⁶ Randell had thus obtained an invaluable wartime familiarity with laws involving territorial rights of nations in the open sea.

With this background, and a seabag which is said to have contained dress shirts, collars, a full suit of tails, a collapsible opera hat, and a Colt .45 single-action revolver,¹⁷ Randell sailed for the Gulf in the *I'm Alone*. His perturbation can only be imagined when, on arrival at rendezvous with his load of liquor, he discovered the Coast Guard's 100-foot patrol boat *Wolcott* on the spot. Recognizing the *I'm Alone* and certain of her mission, the cutter's captain began to trail behind, hoping to find sufficient cause to board and examine the heavily-laden schooner before she passed outside the twelve-mile limit.

In an effort to decoy *Wolcott* from the meeting ground, Randell sailed to the southeast. The patrol boat followed for more than twenty-four hours until, under cover of a dark night, Randell eluded his watchdog by dousing the *I'm Alone*'s running lights and doubling back until the schooner trailed dead astern of her chaperone. Stealthily, Randell dogged the Guardsman, matching each change of direction until the *Wolcott*'s powerful engines drew the cutter over the horizon. Randell then returned to rendezvous.¹⁸ After

16 Randell wrote detailed — and glorified — accounts of his exploits in his autobiography, Jack Randell, *I'm Alone*, as told to Meigs O. Frost (Indianapolis, 1930).

17 Patton, p. 26, and Randell, p. 293.

18 Randell, pp. 267-269.

forty-eight hours of waiting, no contact boat had appeared, and Randell disgustedly set sail for Belize, still fully loaded, to await further orders.

Randell received instructions by cable to return to the rendezvous, and there he successfully delivered twelve hundred cases to the motorboat, thus beginning a period of trans-shipments of liquor — six or seven trips from Belize to Trinity Shoal — without running afoul of the Coast Guard. But on 8 February 1929, the *I'm Alone* was contacted near the rendezvous by the patrol vessel *Dexter*, Captain Powell, whom Randell believed had been tipped by a bogus fishing boat that repeatedly crossed the *I'm Alone*'s track. It was a trick Randell knew all too well. "She thoroughly looked the part of a dirty, bedraggled fishing schooner," he wrote later. "But I had not forgotten the days in the World War when I had commanded a craft that looked like a dirty, bedraggled trawler . . . That trick of loafing around in disguise on the high seas was too old."¹⁹

At this first contact, *Dexter* bird-dogged the *I'm Alone* all night, playing her searchlights on the schooner. After a second day-night-day game of tag, Randell tried to decoy Powell with a lantern set adrift on a small buoy. He hoped Powell would mistake it for the *I'm Alone*'s now-extinguished stern lamp while the rum-runner escaped under full power in the dark. But Powell quickly exposed the ruse and relocated the schooner with his searchlight. The rest of that night Randell sailed in the eerie glow of incandescent light, and *Dexter* never fell off more than a few hundred yards.

At midnight the following night, Randell finally eluded the cutter, this time by dousing all lights and slipping off into the wind under power. Powell, believing the *I'm Alone* had gone off to leeward, searched a zigzag pattern but missed Randell, who was instead bearing off the other way. Randell's deft seamanship made Captain Powell and *Dexter* something of a laughingstock up and down the Gulf of Mexico. Powell reportedly vowed to have the *I'm Alone* next time they met, and many still believe that what followed was as much a result of this animosity between prideful sea captains as from any other cause.

Within four days after Randell had dodged the *Dexter*, the liquor had been safely transferred and the *I'm Alone* again bore south for Belize. There Randell overhauled his vessel and shipped a new cargo, which he later itemized as

19 Randell, p. 273.

twenty-five hundred cases of William Penn rye whiskey that cost eight dollars a case in Belize; three hundred cases of Johnny Walker Black Label Scotch whiskey costing eighteen dollars a case in Belize; one hundred ten-gallon demijohns of Carta d'Oro Bacardi rum, costing eight dollars a gallon at Belize; and two hundred cases of mixed champagnes and liqueurs that averaged twenty dollars a case in Belize.²⁰

Randell made a fast trip to the old rendezvous and then sailed west northwest and five miles north of the Trinity Shoal Light Buoy. He anchored there at 5 a.m. on 20 March 1929, intending to make some repairs to the engines under cover of darkness. At daybreak, Randell sighted the troublesome *Wolcott* again bearing down from the west. Boatswain Frank Paul, in *Wolcott*, adjudged the contact point to be 10.8 miles from shore.

Believing the *I'm Alone* to be less than twelve miles off, Boatswain Paul thus felt justified in subjecting the rum-runner to search, and so ordered his helmsman to close with the now underway schooner. After a full day's chase through international waters toward the Mexican coast, Paul finally drew close enough to hail Randell. Drawing his legal justification from the "hot pursuit" provision of the Tariff Act, he signalled the *I'm Alone* to heave to or be fired upon. Randell refused. What happened then is open to question. The Coast Guard afterward claimed that Paul had fired several blank rounds across the *I'm Alone*'s bow, but Randell said that no shots had yet been fired. Rather, he indicated that Boatswain Paul had brought the *Wolcott* up close to formally request permission to come aboard the *I'm Alone*. The Coast Guard crew brought the deck gun to bear on the schooner, so Randell reluctantly hove to and invited Paul to come aboard, unarmed. The two men held a long talk in Randell's cabin, where they disputed the contact position. Randell claimed later that the boatswain admitted to an imprecision in the reckoning — Randell estimated that the *I'm Alone* was thirteen-and-a-half nautical miles offshore, but Paul parried with the argument that the schooner was good for fourteen knots speed, and was thus still within the "one hour's sailing" provision of the law. Randell argued that his vessel could not top ten knots. Thus stalemated, Paul returned to the cutter and continued to trail the *I'm Alone*.²¹

20 Randell, p. 282.

21 Details of this meeting recorded in Randell, pp. 286-293.

Sometime later Paul again invited Randell to heave to, and again Randell refused, believing firmly in the safety of international waters. This time his stubbornness earned a blank shell, fired across the bow. When he persisted, Paul's crew fired live rounds which rent the schooner's sails and ensign. Machine gun fire added to the din and a splinter of wood or a bullet — perhaps an anti-riot wax point — grazed Randell's leg. The *Wolcott*'s crew continued to fire until their gun jammed. Unable now to stop the *I'm Alone*, Paul notified his commanding officer at the Coast Guard station at Pascagoula, Mississippi, who despatched the *Dexter* and *Dallas* to the scene.

The chase continued into the morning of 22 March, by which time the two vessels had travelled 220 miles south from the Mississippi Delta, to 25° 41' N. by 90° 45' W. By 8 a.m. a moderate gale had whipped the sea to froth, as the maligned Captain Powell joined the chase in the *Dexter*.

Now the *Dexter*'s captain was a very rough man;
He had sworn that he'd never lose the *I'm Alone* again.
He ran a string of signals, saying: How do you do?
Now you know that I'll fire if you don't heave-to!
Skipper John semaphored immediately:
I'm on the high seas and you have no jurisdiction over me.
So the *Dexter*'s captain
Sent several volleys through the *I'm Alone*'s riggin' . . .

When Randell ignored Powell's request to heave to, the *Dexter*'s crew opened fire on the schooner's rigging. Shells from the deck gun gradually moved down through sails and bulwarks and eventually punctured the hull. Rifle fire again riddled the British flag.

The bullets tore the booms and the sails and the lines —
They even tore a hole in the Red Ensign.
When Skipper John saw it, he was fit to be tied
At the disrespect shown to his national pride.
The crew said, 'Sir, don't you trouble your mind;
We'll all go down together with the old Red Ensign a-flyin'!'
So he signalled to the *Dexter*:
Shoot and be damned to you, for I'll not surrender! . . .

After some 30 rounds had been fired, Powell called to Randell through the megaphone, "Now will you heave to?" Randell reportedly shouted, "No,

damn you! You may sink me if you like but I will not surrender!"²² Powell opened fire again, and Randell stood aft with his men as the *Dexter*'s gun crew shot his ship from under him. Powell later claimed that the rough seas had prevented his boarding the *I'm Alone*, and he accused Randell of "waving a revolver in a threatening manner indicating that he would resist forcibly any attempt to board his vessel."²³ Before long, with the engine room flooding and the deck awash, Randell gave the order to abandon ship. The remains of splintered dories — the small deck boats — were launched, and Randell himself made his way aboard a floating cabin door while the *I'm Alone* settled bow down behind him. It was 9:05 a.m., just one hour after Powell had overhauled the *I'm Alone*.

The Coast Guard crews retrieved Randell and his men from the rough seas, but one, a French citizen named Leon Mainguy, came aboard the *Wolcott* lifeless. Prolonged artificial respiration failed to arouse him and he was pronounced dead. The two cutters meanwhile proceeded northward for New Orleans where the eight survivors, in leg irons, were turned over to Customs officials. Randell complained about the irons, saying he did not consider himself a prisoner of war. He exonerated the crew of the *Dexter*, understanding that they were under orders, but he called it "a most cowardly action to blow [the *I'm Alone*] to pieces with a gale of wind blowing and a heavy sea running, when any man but a strong swimmer would not be expected to live."²⁴

The *I'm Alone* affair quickly assumed major international proportions, involving Canada, where the schooner was ostensibly owned; Great Britain, which had negotiated the twelve-mile treaty and under whose ensign the *I'm Alone* sailed; and France, whose citizen had lost his life. A Canadian member of the House of Commons called the sinking an act of war if carried out under U.S. Government instructions, otherwise an act of piracy on the part of Boatswain Paul.²⁵

22 Randell, p. 300.

23 U.S. Department of State note to the Canadian minister in Washington, D.C., transmitted 28 March 1929. Quoted in J.-G. Castel, *International Law: Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied in Canada*, third edition (Toronto, 1976), p. 606.

24 Randell as quoted in *The Literary Digest*, 6 April 1929.

25 Willoughby, p. 129.

The aggressive news media admitted it was “serious business,”²⁶ and the New York *Telegram* intimated hostilities when it wrote, “We went to war with Great Britain once on that issue, and we entered the World War against Germany on that issue.”²⁷ The American periodical *Outlook & Independent* expressed editorial amazement, however, at the apparent disinterest with which Britain accepted news of the sinking. “Britannia,” the editors wrote, “does not view with complacency the sight of a British merchantman, unarmed, going down with its flag flying before the guns of another Nation on the watery highway of the world. And yet there is not the breath of the threat of hostilities.”²⁸ The editors ascribed the lack of British fervor to the fact that the *I'm Alone* had been an acknowledged lawbreaker, registered to a Canadian company. “The British government,” they continued, “doubtless is glad to have the opportunity of turning over an irritating problem to one of her dominions that claims the status and responsibilities of a nation.”²⁹ The editors of *Review of Reviews* declared amazement that the two governments “could find themselves in a deadlock over the rights and immunities of professional smugglers.”³⁰

And that's how it happened; there isn't much more
The *I'm Alone* became an international affair.
Skipper John and his seamen were all released
Because the U.S. government couldn't make a case . . .

On 26 March Randell and his men were released from jail on bail, and charges were eventually dropped, after several continuances, in the U.S. Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana at New Orleans. The international ramifications remained uncertain. The Coast Guard had justified its action under the so-called “hot pursuit” provision, whereby a challenged vessel might be followed into the open sea provided a “continuous” pursuit was maintained. Canadians argued that such action was justified only if

26 *The Literary Digest*, 6 April 1929.

27 *The Literary Digest*, 6 April 1929, quoted therein.

28 *Outlook and Independent*, 10 April 1929.

29 *Outlook and Independent*, 10 April 1929.

30 “The Case of a Bold Rum-Runner,” *The Review of Reviews*, 79 (1929), 27.

begun within the three-mile territorial limit, and not within the twelve-mile jurisdictional or treaty limit. Finally, the dispute over whether or not the *I'm Alone*'s destruction fell within the confines of law was submitted to arbitration by an international judicial commission.

The commissioners, the Right Hon. Lyman Poore Duff (Canada) and the Hon. Willis Van Devanter (United States) studied the issue for some time before concluding that the sinking was "not justified by anything in the Convention [of 1924 . . . and] could not be justified by any principle of international law."³¹ Their decision obligated the United States to issue a formal apology to His Majesty's government and to pay \$50,666.50 in damages. Of this amount, tendered in November 1935, the Canadian government received \$25,000. Amanda Mainguy and her three children received \$10,185 in compensation for her husband's death. Randell was awarded \$7906, and the remaining sum of \$7575.50 was divided among the other seven survivors — two of whom had died in the interim.³² The owners of the *I'm Alone* received no compensation, either for loss of the vessel or its boozy cargo. As for Captain Randell, he reportedly left the sea, his recklessness tempered by years of legal wrangling, and never assumed a command again.³³

The *I'm Alone* left a legacy of legal confusion and official frustration for government officials and Coast Guardsmen who were struggling to enforce an unpopular and unwieldy constitutional law. That it never would have happened — the rum-running or the gangsterism, the development of organized crime or the death of Leon Mainguy — is best summed up in the closing lines of Canadian balladeer Wade Hemsworth's song, "The 'I'm Alone'" :

That kind of violence is bound to happen
When a law like Prohibition sits up and begs to be broken.
And we still recall
The story of the *I'm Alone* and Skipper John Randell:
Oh, *I'm Alone*
A long way from Lunenburg she went down
Because skipper John Randell wouldn't heave-to
On the *I'm Alone*.

31 *Joint Final Report of the Commissioners* (Ottawa, 1935), quoted in Castel, p. 612. See also *American Journal of International Law* (1935), p. 326 ff.

32 Castel, p. 613.

33 Willoughby, p. 130, and Patton, p. 30.

Captain John Harris of Clements

Leone B. Cousins

Among the thousands of items in the Killam Library at Dalhousie University are a number of journals, fascinating records of life in days gone by. Of particular interest among these are the records of Captain John Harris of Clements, Annapolis County, master mariner, privateer, shipwright, progressive farmer and artificer, good citizen and neighbour, and loving husband and father. An orderly man, Captain Harris wrote each day in his journal, whether at sea or on his farm at Clements, faithfully recording his "occurrences — the events of his daily life between 1806 and 1823. During the long sea voyages which separated him from home and family, he also wrote hundreds of detailed letters to his wife Mary, although there was no certainty of her ever receiving them. Together, the journals and correspondence of Captain Harris provide a mirror to the past, reflecting a vivid picture of what it was to be a Nova Scotian 175 years ago.

Home for Captain Harris was at Upper Clements on the beautiful Annapolis Basin, where he lived with his wife and family on the property often referred to locally as the "Dugas meadow," since it had originally been "Lott 24" or the Dugas grant, the home of the Joseph Dugas family prior to the exile of the Acadians in 1755. A motel is located on the same site today. The old Harris cemetery is immediately west, lonely and neglected, in a tangle of weeds and underbrush; among those family members buried there is "Mary, wife of Captain John Harris, Died Nov. 29, 1853, ae. 79." She long survived her husband, who died of fever at Antigua in 1825.

The Harris family, one of the oldest in the county, had settled on a tract of land near the fort in Annapolis Royal sometime before 1755, as the founder, John Harris, witnessed the expulsion of the Acadians in that year. He was a member of the provincial assembly from 1765 to 1770 and a deputy land surveyor after the arrival of the Loyalists, as was his son, John Jr. The eldest son, Thomas, was adjutant of militia from 1776 to 1777. Henry, the third son, was one of the assessors for the capitation tax in Clements township, 1791. Thomas Harris married Elizabeth LeCain, and the old family Bible of his brother Henry includes these sad entries:

Thomas and Elizabeth Harris, married Jan. 2, 1775.

John Harris, born Sept. 18th, 1775, Monday morning 10 o'clock.

Thomas Harris Junior, born Aug. 16th, 1777, Saturday morning 6 o'clock.

Elizabeth Harris Departed this Life March 25th, 1778. Much lamented
By all that knew her — a Virtues wife and tender mother.
Thomas Harris went from Annapolis April 3rd 1779 to Sandy Cove
and never heard of him.¹

The two youngsters were thus orphaned, and following their Uncle Henry's marriage in 1780, were taken into his household and raised with his children on the old Dugas grant at Upper Clements. The names of Henry Harris and his brother John Harris Jr. appear in the list of taxpayers for Clements township in 1791, but Henry subsequently moved his family to the Bear River area, for which he received a bounty for clearing land in 1805. The Dugas grant, which was presumably the family homestead, appears to have been held for Captain John Harris, upon reaching his maturity.

The Harris children were no doubt enrolled at John MacNamara's grammar school, it being the only local academy at that time, and today, one of the historic buildings of Annapolis Royal. MacNamara had been raised and educated by the Rev. Jacob Bailey, chaplain at the fort, rector of the parish, and a Harvard graduate. Captain John Harris later named his fifth son "John MacNamara," doubtless in honour of his old mentor. That he had received a good education is clearly indicated by various entries in his journals, attesting to his familiarity with navigation, scientific principles and an appreciation of the classics.

In 1799, Captain Harris married Mary, born on 22 December 1776, daughter of Moses and Ann Shaw, early settlers in Granville township. The newly-weds settled on the old Dugas grant property, where they raised a family of seven sons and two daughters.² A prodigious worker, Captain Harris seems never to have had an idle hour. He worked the land, for this was a matter of basic survival — everyone had to raise food for the family, plus wool and flax for yarn and thread to make the necessary clothing. He cleared a few acres nearly every spring and sowed seed on the burnt land among the stumps. The

1 The author is indebted to Mrs. Peggy Armstrong, Annapolis Royal, for this data taken from the Harris family Bible, which remains privately held in the area. Mrs. Armstrong also provided information concerning the Dugas grant.

2 W. A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897), pp. 521-522. He claims that Thomas Sr. was married to Mary LeCain, which would seem to be incorrect, given the family Bible data. Calnek also states that Thomas Jr. died abroad, unmarried, which is likely, given that he is not mentioned in his brother's journals.

local dykes were repaired annually in the spring, when the tides were right. In the woods, logs were cut and hauled to the mill to be sawn, then hewn into timber for repairs and for building vessels. He planned for the future as well, with his sons in mind, setting out fifty young apple trees one spring, and planting saplings along the road on another occasion, "for the good of future generations." And at the end of a long day's work, Captain Harris found time to go to singing class!

An innovative man, he encouraged his older sons to set up a nursery. He himself grafted apple trees in the old French orchard on the property, while the boys grafted additional trees in "the old of the moon," and about eight days later, more in "the new of the moon," for the sake of experiment. During the long winters, Captain Harris worked in his shop, turning out such products as his first sleigh, a new stone drag, mended chairs and, during one winter, fourteen plows. On another occasion, he built a goose house and drafted plans for a boat. A conscientious parent, he commended his sons' similar efforts, and proudly noted in one journal entry that "Henry is shoemaking and can also make a plough. He made 7 plows and a pair of shoes in one week."

Captain Harris also took an active interest in the affairs of both his neighbourhood and the local township. He attended the court when it sat at Annapolis Royal and, on occasion, served on the coroner's jury. He helped to raise the church at Annapolis, as well as the local school in 1815. When the latter burned on 25 February 1821, he had a mason repair the kitchen chimney and hearth in his own home and noted in his journal for 31 May that "Mr. English commenced keeping school in our house this day, himself and his wife boarding with us — fitted the benches and tables in the school room." A caring friend and neighbour, he visited the sick during epidemics and even nursed ill neighbours in his own home. A particularly sad incident noted in his journal illustrates the compassionate nature of this remarkable man:

*Oct. 4, 1819 — Heard the news that Captain John Burkett, Jun.³ and two of his men were drowned Sat. Night going from Bear River off to the Schooner *Mary Elizabeth* lying off Bear River. Set off . . . to try to*

³ A long-time friend of Captain Harris. RG40, Vol. 4, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], Vice-Admiralty Court records, shows that Burkett had been master of the privateer *Matilda* in 1812; she took 12 vessels in three months.

find the Bodies . . . about 5 p.m. found the body of Captain John Burkett a little below half tide and near Van Blarcom's Point. Carried it to Purdy's house, then send for the Coroner and got a coffin made, and . . . I tarried with the corpse the night.

Oct. 5, 1819 — At 7 a.m. a Coroner's jury held on Body after which got it layed out and put it in the coffin and at 11 a.m. took the corpse on board Schooner, *Mary Elizabeth* and proceeded up the River and arrived at Annapolis at 2 p.m., landed it and carried it to Mrs. Burkett's house.

The land alone could not provide for the large families of the day, and many men consequently looked to the sea for additional profit. Some fished. The more affluent built a schooner and sent it off loaded with produce to the West Indies, to trade for the products of that clime. Some who, like Captain Harris, were fully qualified, went in command, often of their own vessels. Others signed on as crew, but all saw the sea trade as a means of augmenting their meagre profits from the land.

Captain Harris was one of the fortunate few to build and sail their own vessels. Living along the Annapolis Basin, the water was a natural highway, and most local families had at least a small boat to get to their fish lots, to Annapolis and Digby, or even as far as Saint John. Over the years, Captain Harris catered to the local trade by building several vessels on contract. He also built certain boats for his own use; one of these, the *Nelson*, was constructed ashore, then hauled on a sled, using ten yoke of oxen, to one of the numerous landing places along the river, where it was then launched.

Once it was known that a particular ship was sailing for the West Indies, local settlers would send aboard some of their produce or lumber, to be exchanged or traded for Caribbean products. The owner would then receive a commission. Under the captain's supervision, the vessel was loaded with cheeses, potatoes, apples, firkins of butter, dried cod, hogsheads of salt herring, boxes of smoked herring, pickled fish, shingles, deals, boards and oakum. After the cargo was stowed, live sheep, pigs and geese were loaded for food during the voyage. Captain Harris noted in his journal losing a sheep overboard on one voyage, while on another particularly rough trip, a pig and a goose died from being soaked with sea water. Captain Harris was very conscious of his precious cargo. Some items were perishable and he continually worried over their survival; during voyages he would repeatedly

examine and, if necessary, discard spoiled apples or potatoes, filling the barrel with good, and occasionally discarding a spoiled cheese overboard as well.

The return cargo might include, besides the staples of rum, salt, sugar, molasses, tea and coffee, such luxuries as *lignum vitae*, nails, peppercorns, groundnuts, limes, oranges, lemons, straw hats, candles, pipes, tobacco and cigars. Captain Harris would use his discretion in trading for these items, but on some voyages there were difficulties. Cargoes might spoil, or the West Indian markets might be already glutted with fish and timber. The trade pattern was also disrupted by the frequent wars, and by the action of privateers. All in all, the West Indies trade was a risky, protracted venture, and the captains, who usually embarked after spring planting, left in the hope that they would be back in time for Christmas.

Captain Harris was quite familiar with the vicissitudes of the sea career he had chosen. As early as 1806, he had been caught in the crossfires of the Napoleonic Wars. As master of the *Argo*, with a cargo of salt fish, cheeses, oakum, boards and deal, he had set sail in a convoy of thirteen vessels from Saint John on 28 June, bound for Antigua. The convoy was intended as protection against French privateers, but after forty days at sea, and when very near their destination, the fleet was intercepted by seventeen French ships.⁴ The *Argo* was stripped, set on fire, and her crew removed to the French vessels. A month later, Captain Harris was imprisoned in French Guiana, from where he wrote home to his wife:

*Sept. 16, 1806 — Cayenne Prison On the first day of August, being forty days after I left St. John, and 30 or 40 leagues from Barbadoes, our convoy was beaten off and we were taken by the French Privateer, *Victor*, of 32 guns and 160 men. We were 45 days on board the privateer at sea. Yesterday we were landed and put in prison, which we consider a hardship as it is always customary for the officers to have liberty of the town in all places. My situation is not agreeable, but it might be worse, although it is shocking to human nature to confine fellow mortals in this manner. We are 20 unfortunate officers looking out through the grates, like so many fowls in a coop, and no feeling man would even stow fowls so close. As to provisions we have plenty of*

4. *The Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 10 December 1960.

good bread and water, which I can live very well upon, but we are not in good courage . . . I can't write more particulars as I must get this letter off by stealth . . .

Oct. 10, 1806 — Thanks be to the Almighty that after various troubles, distresses and imprisonments I am still in health. I have been two months prisoner, sometimes confined shamefully in Cayenne gaol like a parcel of brutes. I was exchanged to the Island [Barbadoes] a few days ago, and without ship money or friend was like a miserable beggar not knowing where to lay my head or what to get to eat, but His kind Providence ordered it. The *Caledonia*⁵ arrived having been recaptured by H.M. Ship *Dart*, after having been in possession of the French for two months, after which I could get what I wanted having friends enough . . . I shall take passage on some American [vessel] to Boston or New York, and hope to be home by Christmas.⁶

Not all Captain Harris's "cruizes" were to the West Indies, however. Early in 1806, prior to the ill-fated voyage of the *Argo*, he had commanded the privateer *Rose*, owned and fitted out in Saint John; the trip had been a successful one, with twenty-five vessels pursued, twenty-one boarded, and five captured.⁷ In 1813, he embarked on another exciting voyage, in command of the sloop *Dart*, a privateer out of Saint John. When the United States declared war on Great Britain on 18 June 1812, the American government immediately issued letters of marque against all British ships, licensing their own vessels to board enemy craft and to seize both ship and cargo. This practice would, of course, be devastating to British vessels carrying goods, food, spars, ammunition and articles of war. Almost immediately, Britain felt the pinch, and the danger became evident right in Captain Harris's neighbourhood, when an American privateer entered the Annapolis Basin, and the captain and prize master were captured by the militia of the fort at Annapolis Royal. In retaliation for this and other similar acts of

⁵ Vice-Admiralty records show a vessel of this name licensed as a privateer, 623 tons, 14 guns and 40 men. RG40, Vol. 1, PANS.

⁶ Harris reached Saint John on board HMS *Susanna*, late 1806, in time for Christmas, as confirmed by an 1815 journal entry.

⁷ *Canadian Magazine*, September 1908.

aggression, the colonies were given authority to issue their own letters of marque against enemy shipping.

Captain Harris received his letter of marque from the vice-admiralty court at Halifax on 7 May 1813 for the sloop *Dart*, seventy-four tons, four guns and twenty-five men. The vessel was owned by Robert Shives, James Hay Jr. and James T. Hanford, all of Saint John. The log of the *Dart* is preserved today at the museum in Saint John but, as was his custom, Captain Harris kept a personal journal in which he recorded a day-by-day account of the life of a privateer.

Having signed on a crew and after having loaded supplies, provisions, guns and ammunition for a protracted stay at sea, Captain Harris set sail from Saint John on 22 May 1813. His journal for the voyage, reproduced below, forms the conclusion of this article on a remarkable, but representative Nova Scotian of his time.

May 22, 1813 — Boarded a schooner and a sloop from Boston bound for Portsmouth, but let them proceed. No cargo.

9 p.m. — Boarded Schooner *Becky* from Marblehead bound to Kennebeck put Captain Boardman and a man on board and let her proceed.

at 10½ — Boon Island light. Bore NW ½N.

at 2 a.m. — Several sails in sight in different directions.

at 5 a.m. — Boarded Sloop *Jane*, Joseph Grundel, Master, from Boston for Castine. Let her proceed.

at 7 a.m. — Boarded Sloop *Hannah*, James Smith, Master, from Boston for Sullivan, owner William Wooster. Let her proceed, having no cargo.

at 8 a.m. — Boon Island Lighthouse Cove, WNW 4 leagues.

at 10 a.m. — Boarded Sloop *Industry* of Boothbay, Thomas Alley, Master, bound for Boston laden with wood and bark, let her proceed.

at 11 a.m. — Boarded Sloop *Betsey* of Newburyport, Simson Sanport, Master, from Boston bound to Buckston, Penobscot, John Silver, owner.

Schooner *Stark*, Jonathan Bray, Master, from Boston to Deer Island, owned by Solomon Hutchins, Deer Island.

....

May 28, 1813 — Fell in with HMS *Rattler*, Captain Gordon. She

fired two shots in quick succession, one of which came into our larboard bow between wind and water. Came to anchor immediately and the *Rattler*'s boat boarded me. Went on board the *Rattler*. Captain Gordon sent his carpenter. Plugged and leaded the hole. At 4 returned on board and continued on our cruise.

....

June 2, 1813 — At 4 p.m. brought to and boarded and captured Schooner *Joanna*, Cap't. Newcombe from Boston bound to Eastport laden with fifteen hundred bushels of Corn. Put three hands on board and ordered her for St. John, N.B. Allowed the Master to go on shore in his boat, but he wished to continue in the Prize but made use of such threatening language that it was thought prudent to send him on shore.

....

June 4, 1813 — "GOD SAVE GREAT GEORGE OUR KING!" At 8 a.m. near Cape Ann, saw a suspicious sail appearing to be working within the salvages. Stood toward her, she having a Chebacco⁸ Boat with her which kept close by. Fearing we could not cut her off, tacked to the North in hopes to decoy her out. They tacked after us, but soon tacked again into Sandy Bay. We stood in after but too late to cut her off. 10 a.m. Inclinable to calm. Saw a large ship to southwestward of Cape Ann. A fishing boat spoke us and cautioned us from going round the Lights saying the ship we sighted was an English frigate and that the *Chesapeake* frigate was chased in or taken by the *Shannon*⁹ could not ascertain which not wishing him to come near us . . .

June 5, 1813 — Near Gloster point, 8 a.m., housed our guns and kept all our hands below lest the pilot boat schooner working along shore, should suspect us and escape into a harbour. Coming up with the chase, 11 a.m., brought her to, being off Salem Harbour near the Halfway Rock. Sent Mr. Ross and boat crew on board. Ordered him to

8 A fishing boat built chiefly at Essex, Massachusetts, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; no bowsprit, schooner-rigged, foremast set in bow. Cape Ann is near Gloucester, Massachusetts.

9 HMS *Shannon* captured the *Chesapeake* in a fight off Boston harbour, in which more than a hundred men were killed in eleven minutes; the *Chesapeake* was then brought into Halifax, 6 June.

make sail out of the Bay immediately, while I boarded and took in tow the Chebacco boat, and stood out again. The boat was called ye *Superb* of Portland, Lemuel Sawyer, Master. Cargo of salt, and the schooner proved to be the *Washington* of Portland for Boston, Elisha Sawyer, master and owner. Cargo of lumber. A beautiful pilot boat of 65 tons burthen, completely fitted, and I expect was intended for a privateer.

June 6, 1813 — 3 p.m., sent William Owen, 2nd. Lieut. and two men on board the *Washington*, and ordered her for St. John, N.B. . . . having previously put on board 1 swivel, two muskets, two cutlasses and sixty rounds. She being so fine a vessel and having a warlike appearance judged proper to arm her. Likewise put on board provisions & etc. At 8 a.m. tacked to S.W. . . . a number of Chebacco boats in sight being on the . . . Bank 5 leagues west of Cashes Ledge . . . 9 a.m., went on board a boat and got some fresh fish for which I gave them a bottle of Rum . . . Lat. 42° 54" [George's Bank].

June 7, 1813 — Light airs and hazy weather . . . 1 p.m., saw a sail to the westward. Made sail and gave chase immediately ascertained she was steering to the NNW. At 5, being about 1 league from her gave her two shots, when she brought too and showd American colours . . . At 6 brought too and sent the first Lieut. on board. She proved to be the ship *Cuba* of New York, 176 T., George Thomas, Master, from New Haven bound to Portland, laden with fifteen hundred bbls. and two hundred half bbls. flour. Shifted the prisoners, leaving the Master and a passenger on board. Gave Mr. Ross the charge of her with 7 of our men with him, and ordered him to proceed to St. John, N.B., and the *Dart* would convey him in . . .

June 8, 1813 — Under short sail keeping company with the *Cuba*. Employ'd sharpening cutlasses, cleaning arms, preparing swivel cartridges, & c.

June 9, 1813 — 2 a.m., lost sight of the *Cuba* . . . 4, being close in with the rocks came to anchor. Daylight still foggy . . . found the *Cuba* and ourselves at anchor near Musquash Head.¹⁰ 7, got the *Cuba* under weigh with light airs at NE. She got about one mile off when falling

10 A little west of Saint John harbour.

calm she drove in very near the head and let go anchor. Out boat and took our small cable and anchor to her assistance and succeeded in getting her off. Got our boat stove under bowsprit. 9 a.m., got under weigh and stood off after the ship . . . thick fog off Negro Head . . . took a pilot and sent him on board the *Cuba*. Near Partridge Island the *Washington* joined us. Moderate breeze and hazy. Passed Partridge Island . . . saluted the Fort,¹¹ discharged our small arms and prepared for coming to anchor.

June 10, 1813 — 2½ p.m., came to anchor in the Harbour of St. John with our prizes ship *Cuba* and Schooner *Washington* and moored them.

....
Monday, June 15, 1813 — Got part of our crew on board. Fill'd our water and got sundry stores on board. Got another pump made, our leak stop'd and preparing to sail again.

Tuesday, June 16, 1813 — Employ'd getting stores, &c, on board . . . also a 12 pounder canonade with materials thereto . . . got some carpenter's work done. 5 p.m., Mr. Ross, 1st. Lieut., Garret Tool and George Ernest deserted the vessel. Ship't Doane Snow, 2nd. Lieut., Mr. Vail, carpenter, and some other hands. 7 p.m., hove up, out sweeps and rowed out of the Harbour. 9, without the Island [Partridge]. Light airs inclinable to calm.

Wednesday, June 17, 1813 — Standing towards Annapolis Gut intending going there to get the vessel in order and the crew sober and some more officers. Saw the Fleet from Halifax to St. John off Point La-preau.¹² 5 p.m., got in Gut and at 6 went on shore at Digby and engaged Capt'n. Burnham as Prize Master. 7½, got on board. At midnight anchored two miles below Annapolis and went on shore.

Thursday, June 18, 1813 — First part calm and clear. Middle part fresh gale at S.W. Latter part heavy squalls with rain and variable, dark disagreeable night. This day employ'd fitting our canonade, pump, and

11 Fort Howe, at the entrance to Saint John harbour.

12 About 35 kilometres south of Saint John; location of the present nuclear power plant.

Boatswain and gang sent down our yards . . . swabbed the decks and otherwise cleaned the sloop.

Friday, June 19, 1813 — Shipt John Fowler, Prize Master, and John Ruggles, Lieut. of Marines & Surgeon. Prepared for sailing as soon as the tide would serve. This day contains but 12 hours.

Saturday, June 19, 1813 — 4 p.m., weigh'd and made sail and stood down Annapolis River. 7 p.m., out of Annapolis Gut. Spoke schooner *Fair Trader*, Captn Byrn. 9, light breeze and clear weather. Midnight same. 6 a.m., tacked ship to the westward at 8 a.m. saw Northernmost end of Grand Manan, NW x N, Dist. 5 leagues.

Sunday, June 20, 1813 — Fresh breeze and hazy weather, 7 a.m. light wind. Tacked to the North and West about 2 miles above Grand Passage,¹³ at 8 tacked ship to the Southward, the Eastward land of Grand Manan . . . saw a sail from the masthead at the SE'd. She made signals for His M. Ship, which we answer'd with our signal . . . at 9 her boat board'd us. Proved to be H.M. Ship *Rattler*. They informed us the *Liverpool Packet* was taken by the American privateer Schooner *Thomas*. Lat. 43° 45" N. At 10, stood to the West.

...

June 24, 1813 — Still heavy fog. Boatswain's gang making reef gear, gunners fitting and providing for the swivel. Lieut., Marines and men making pistol cartridges. At midnight light and thick fog. Vessel tumbling about very much. 8 a.m., heavy gloomy weather. Several sails of fishermen in sight to the NE. 9 a.m., sun made his appearance which gave us new life, having been five days and nights enveloped in the fogs so employ'd drying and cleaning after the fog. All well on board.

Friday, June 25, 1813 — 4½ p.m., captured sloop *Experiment*, Captn Boardman, from Boston bound to Portsmouth. Put Mr. Fowler, Prize Master, and two hands on board her and ordered her for St. John. Then gave chase to several more of the fleet. 7 p.m. (near Isle of Shoals) boarded Swedish ship *Westerwick* from Portsmouth bound to Cayenne. They reported the American Schooner *Thomas* sailed one

13 Also known as Manan Channel, between Grand Manan and the mainland.

hour before them on a cruize . . . that she carried in the Privateer *Liverpool Packet* of Liverpool.

Saturday, June 26, 1813 — Light wind and clear weather. Several coasters in sight. 3 p.m., stood clos in to the Northward past Boon Island. Being employed exercising our guns, the People on the Island were standing looking at us. Saw a Chebacco Boat speak to several vessels which we had boarded and then stand away for Portsmouth. Judged she went with intelligence to the U.S. Brig *Enterprise*, and therefore judged it most prudent for us to be off. At 8 a.m. clear and pleasant. p.m., all hands employ'd getting rigging, overhauling sails, cleaning vessel, preparing artillery. Several sails of fishermen in sight. Light wind and clear weather.

Sunday, June 27, 1813 — at 2 p.m. saw a sail off the weather beam. Gave chase at 3 p.m. . . . From 6 - 7 saw the land off Cape Ann and Salem to the northward of us. At sunset being about three miles to windward of us could count eight guns on the side. Somewhat suspected her to be an English Lettre of Marque. Came up with him on his starboard quarter, hailed and ordered him to bring too. Thinking they did not round too quick and judging they were preparing to fire into us, we gave them the bow gun. They brought too and we boarded them. She proved to be the *Union*, Capt. Paul Post, from Cadiz to Boston. Cargo Salt, fruit and block tin. Manned the ship with eight men. Mr. Snow as prise master. At which time Capt Post shewed me a license from H. Wellesley. Not being satisfied with it, considering the block tin as an article of War, detained and sent her on to St. John. Lat. 42° 37' N. 4 a.m., still in company with the Sloop *Union*. At 7 saw a Brig standing to the Westward. Boarded the *Union* ordered them to proceed and gave chase to the Brig. Coming up with her fast. Light wind.

Monday, June 28, 1813 — Fresh breeze, clear weather, all sails set. In chase of the Brig. Came on to blow fresh. She held us a taut chase, at 3½ p.m. gave over chase being within a few miles of Boston Light, and immediately gave chase to a Brig which came out from Salem. 5½ p.m. brought her too. Proved to be under Swedish colours. Captain Matheson. Let her proceed. Fresh breeze and thick fogg.

June 29, 1813 — Same weather. At 10 little calmer. Calm and hazy at midnight. Saw land to the SE'd the tide ebb running strong came to anchor at 14 p.m. Judge the land to be Cape St. Mary's. 4, bore East distance 1½ miles. Moderate breeze, clear weather. In the Petit Passage trying to get through.¹⁴

Wednesday, June 30, 1813 — Fresh breeze. Clear weather. Got through the Petit passage. All sails set to best advantage. Came to anchor in 8 fthms Partridge Isld. 5 a.m., went on board H.M. Ship *Rattler* from thence on board the *Union*, and from thence ashore. a.m., moderate breeze and clear, got *Dart* into Harbour and moor'd her. Thus ends the Cruize with the *Dart*. Jno Harris.

Left the *Dart* privateer about the 4th. or 5th. of July, 1813 and returned home to Annapolis. In the month of November went to St. John, settled with and rec'd my pay from the agents of the *Dart*, £500 . . .

14 On the Bay of Fundy coast, near the entrance to St. Mary's Bay, Nova Scotia. Petit Passage is between Long Island and the mainland of Digby Neck.

Western Pioneers from Halifax, 1883

Jean Petley-Jones

There is a small item in a British Columbia tourist magazine regarding the history of the Kettle River Valley in the interior of that province, which states that the earliest recorded visit to the area was in 1826, when the botanist explorer David Thompson is believed to have come as far as the forks of the Kettle River. The article then continues, "An early cowboy became the first person to take up land in the valley, and he was followed by R. R. Gilpin and W. S. Jones in 1883."¹ The arrival in the Kettle Valley of these two young men, former residents of Halifax, Nova Scotia, was brought about by the lack of job opportunities in their home province.

The Canadian confederation achieved in 1867 was not to the financial advantage of the residents of Nova Scotia, coming as it did when the success of steam-powered iron vessels had already caused the decline of wooden shipbuilding as a major industry. Before Confederation, Nova Scotia had relied heavily on trading with the United States and the Caribbean in a north/south pattern. The coming of Confederation brought restrictions on this foreign trade and led to a shifting of business to an east/west pattern instead. The new regulations and the changing economic forces at work brought an end to prosperity in many towns within the province, causing unemployment and creating a lack of opportunity for a rising generation of young Nova Scotians.

"Going down the road" became a catch-phrase of the 1970s, but the reality of leaving home to find a new life elsewhere is nothing new for Nova Scotians, many of whom were forced by economic necessity to leave the province a hundred years ago. Some went south to seek their fortunes in the industrial "Boston States." Others travelled by train to the Canadian west to help with the harvest, subsequently found a job, and remained on the prairies. Those with a more adventurous turn of mind joined the gold seekers in British Columbia, California and Alaska. These men met with varying degrees of success; a few became millionaires, but a far larger number, after working phenomenally hard and earning very little, decided to settle for any job they could find. Fortunately, the mining and lumbering camps of British Columbia were in need of men, and the expanding railway systems of the west were always short of labourers.

1 *North West Travel Guide: U.S.A. and Canada* (Montana, 1979), p. 75.

The prospect of land being available for lumbering, ranching and farming, in the beautiful but remote interior valleys of British Columbia, attracted the attention of some prospective settlers. Until the gold strikes of the 1860s, however, the possibilities for development that lay in these valleys were known to few people. The mountain ranges, running north and south, had made the valleys almost inaccessible to settlers coming west from the prairies or east from the Pacific coast, but when gold was discovered in the province, the interior was readily accessible to miners moving north from the California gold fields through Oregon and Washington.

Sir James Douglas, governor of the Crown colony of British Columbia, became anxious that this influx of American citizens, who were being supplied by mule trains moving north along the river valleys from Oregon, would lead to further territorial losses for British Columbia. Oregon had already been forfeited to the United States because many more American settlers than British had infiltrated the area. The presence of hundreds of American miners digging for gold and resisting all attempts to enforce the purchase of British prospecting licences — while they were undoubtedly shipping British Columbia's gold out of the colony by way of their mule trains — forced Douglas to authorize the building of a trail over the mountains from Hope, through Keremos and Osoyoos to Rock Creek. An energetic young man named Edgar Dewdney was placed in charge of the operation, and his labour force, which included many Chinese, forced the trail forward as fast as possible. The track crossed mountain ranges and passed through swamps, in many areas parallelling and passing "within a pistol shot" of the American border. When the Dewdney Trail was completed to Wild Horse Creek in the Kootenay Mountains in 1865, politicians and soldiers heaved a collective sigh of relief. The trail would ensure the opening of British Columbia to British settlement, and would make it possible for control of the gold fields to remain under the colonial government.²

News that land was available for settlement in the mountains of British Columbia filtered slowly eastward, and in 1883, two young men who lived in Halifax decided that they would risk the unknown, pool their resources, and seek their fortunes in western Canada. Their families had been friends for many years, but were not exactly overjoyed with the adventurers' decision.

2 "Sir James Douglas," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 238-249, and Public Archives of British Columbia source material.

William Salton Jones had been born at "Ashbourne," Dutch Village Road, Halifax County, in 1861.³ His home, now the club house of the Ashburn Golf and Country Club, had been purchased from Colonel William James Myers, after John Matthew Jones had married the colonel's daughter, Mary Barr Myers, in 1860. Willie's father was a lawyer, author and enthusiastic naturalist, a founding Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and a great friend of Andrew Downs, his neighbour who developed the first Canadian zoo. Willie was brought up to have a great interest in the natural sciences, and a love for the outdoor life. During the winter of 1871/72, he accompanied his father to Bermuda, where they visited John Matthew's grandmother, Mrs. Alice Salton, widow of Gilbert Salton, collector of H. M. Customs for Bermuda, 1816 to 1839. During this visit to her home, "The Hermitage," Collector's Hill, Smith's Parish, John Matthew Jones continued his research into the natural history of Bermuda, and Willie assisted. From 1874 to 1876, Willie and his two brothers were sent to the Reverend W. E. Wilson, rector of St. John's Anglican church in Sackville, Nova Scotia, to be educated and to live with the rector's family. An entry in John Matthew Jones's diary states that:

The cost was \$650 per annum for the 3 boys. The subjects taught were: Scripture History — Latin — Greek — French — Arithmetic euclid — Algebra — English literature — History — Geography — Composition. Music and drawing \$16 extra per annum. 4 weeks holiday at Christmas, 6 weeks at Mid summer.

Willie's great friend was Ranulph Robert Gilpin, more commonly known as "Ralph," born in 1862, the son of the Reverend Edwin Gilpin, dean of the Anglican cathedral in Halifax. The dean was a scholar and a very energetic man, who later combined his ecclesiastical duties with the position of principal of the Halifax Grammar School. Ralph's mother was a daughter of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the famous Nova Scotian judge and author. Ralph became very interested in farming and studied at the Guelph Agricultural College in Ontario — a background which would suit him admirably as a settler in the Canadian west.

³ The diaries and account books of John Matthew Jones, F.L.S., F.R.S.C. are currently held by Cdr. Evan Petley-Jones, Parker Farm, Belleisle, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. "Ashbourne" was the spelling used during the period of ownership by the Myers-Jones families.

Travelling to British Columbia in 1883 was not simple, since it was necessary either to go by ship around Cape Horn or to take a train across the United States — the Canadian Pacific Railway was not completed for another two years. Jones and Gilpin decided to take the American route, and then to visit Victoria and Vancouver before proceeding into the interior. In later years, they were very proud of the fact that they were among the few who had walked the length of the Dewdney Trail in order to reach Kettle Valley. The trail was very narrow, and could only accommodate a man or a single horse; pack trains of horses and mules were the common method of transporting goods. On arrival at their destination, near the present town of Grand Forks, they decided to take up adjacent sections of land near Lake Christina, in the locality now known as "Gilpin," on the banks of the Kettle River.

They immediately built two small log cabins, facing each other, with a roof joining the two, in order to keep the rain off; stores were kept in one, and they lived in the other. Willie's first letter home remains a family legend, as it was written on birch bark. To this day, no one knows if perhaps he was exercising his sense of humour, or emphasizing his hard-won pioneer status. The two young men worked very hard and prospered with their ranching efforts. Ralph insisted on raising pure-bred stock, which was very unusual in British Columbia in the early days, but he felt that he was vindicated, since he could always sell his cattle for ten dollars more than his neighbours were receiving for each head of their stock.⁴

During these early years in the Kettle Valley, life in the local small communities was extremely rough and tough. There were very few women in the area, and even fewer of a type similar to the mothers and sisters Willie and Ralph had left behind in Halifax. There was dissipation and debauchery at the local saloons, where the miners and lumbermen headed as soon as they came to town, and where they proceeded to spend every cent they had earned, before being forced to return to work in order to earn more money. It was a far cry from the Victorian respectability and social veneer of Halifax in the 1880s.⁵

4 Interview with Arthur Gilpin (son of Ralph Gilpin), Lake Christina, October 1979.

5 Interview with Hume Ritchie (member of the Grand Forks Historical Society), Grand Forks, October 1979.

In 1888, Ralph became a customs collector for the inland revenue department, at first for the port of Kettle River and later for the port of Grand Forks; when he retired in 1931, he had served the longest term of any customs officer in British Columbia, and probably in Canada.⁶ There are diary references to a letter sent by John Matthew Jones to Sir Charles Tupper, asking for a similar post for Willie, and for a short time he, too, was a customs collector at the United States border. However, Willie preferred an outdoor life and soon left the department. In later years he worked with a lumber company, and then with the railway.

Through all these changes, the ranch had remained in Ralph's possession and he had expanded his holdings, but in 1902, due to family responsibilities, he sold out and moved his family into the town of Grand Forks. In 1894, Ralph had married Rosa Ellen Wiseman of Grand Forks.⁷ He felt that he had been very fortunate, in that one cold winter night, a family had come through his customs post from the United States, and had introduced him to their shy daughter, sitting almost hidden under the furs in the sleigh. Ralph and Rosa later raised a family of two daughters and one son. Willie was not so fortunate, and remained a bachelor all his life.

Even after leaving the ranch, Ralph and Willie remained enthusiastic horsemen, but they rode "English style," using an English saddle, tweed jackets, breeches and boots, as worn in eastern Canada at that time, rather than the western saddle and outfits of the British Columbia cowboys. Mrs. Gilpin rode side saddle, and extremely well; her saddle is now preserved in the Pioneer Museum at Grand Forks. She enjoyed "riding the range" with her husband, and from the age of five months, their son Arthur rode with them, held securely on the front of his mother's saddle. When Arthur married, his mother advised his bride that "A woman's place is with her husband; the dishes and housework will keep — your marriage won't." It would seem to be good advice in any generation.⁸

Two of Willie's brothers followed in his footsteps and settled in the west. Arthur worked for the Hudson's Bay Company in Edmonton, and Charlie

6 *Nelson News* (Nelson), 26 February 1953 (obituary of Ralph Gilpin).

7 Interview with Charlotte Gilpin (daughter-in-law of Ralph Gilpin), Lake Christina, October 1979.

8 Interview with Ralph Gilpin, Lake Christina, October 1979.

went into business in San Diego, California in 1891. Willie never returned east, but on one occasion decided to visit his brother Charlie. The holiday was a great success, and Willie returned to Grand Forks with a souvenir that he showed his friends with great pride. He had sent his long underwear — probably Stanfield's and sent by his mother — to a Chinese laundry in Los Angeles, and it had been returned to him snow white — but shrunk to a size that would have fitted a three-year-old!

Jane Emily, Willie's young sister from Halifax, had married the Reverend Ralph Sadler, an Anglican minister, and before the First World War they were sent to a mission church at St. George, British Columbia. "Jennie" had colourful memories of their Indian parishioners, the magnificent scenery, life in a log cabin, black bears and berry picking, but due to the problems of communication and travel among the mountain ranges during the early years of this century, she never managed to arrange a meeting with her brother.⁹

During their years in the town of Grand Forks, the Gilpins were among the first to realize the vacation potential of beautiful Lake Christina, and they built a summer home under the big trees overlooking the shoreline. Willie also bought some property nearby, and subsequently retired to his cottage on the lakeshore. Willie's holding was sold after his death in 1950, but the Gilpin family still own their summer home; a treasured heirloom hanging on the wall is a Victorian water colour sketch of the Haliburton House in Windsor, Nova Scotia.

Every spring and fall, until extreme old age prevented their expeditions, Willie and Ralph climbed into a boat and went up the lake on a fishing or hunting trip. Their interest in the outdoor life had initially led them to British Columbia, and they enjoyed the mountains and lake until the end. When Ralph died in 1953 at the age of 91, the story of the two pioneers from Halifax had reached its conclusion. Willie's lateral descendants in Nova Scotia have inherited the tangible mementoes of his life, but the intangible legends of adventure, hard work and lifelong friendship are still equally treasured by his relatives today.

9 Jane Emily Sadler (née Jones), born Halifax 1875, died Bracebridge, Ontario, married Rev. Ralph Sadler, Fort George, British Columbia, 1914. They settled in Bracebridge after the First World War, where he founded the Anglican Order of the Fathers of St. John the Evangelist, donating the chapel, house and grounds upon his death in 1928. Family records.

Too Many Cooks Spoil the Broth: School Readers from a Century Ago

Judith Ann Evans

During the past decade, extensive psychological and educational research, plus the knowledge gained thereof, has prompted the development of various "new" reading programs, which embody many of the recently established scientific facts. At the same time, prominent educators have created considerable confusion in the field, by advocating the effectiveness of one reading program over another. According to the 1978 *Teaching Guide*, four methods of reading instruction are currently in use in Nova Scotia: language experience, language development, phonetic and linguistic.¹ In practice, one method or a combination of two, three or four methods are assumed to be followed in the classroom. Teachers of reading should be informed of the development of reading in the past in Nova Scotia, in order to appreciate these present programs, and to understand the conflicting historical trends which have contributed in part to their creation. Certainly through close examination of earlier trends in instruction, one can carefully scrutinize recent developments in reading theory and draw many parallels between the two periods, separated now by a century.

In Nova Scotia, during the years from 1850 to 1880, three methods of reading instruction were being used, each of which will be described more fully during this article: alphabetic, phonic, and look-and-say (or word). As in 1981, prominent educators of the time advocated the effectiveness of one method over another. Their opinions were based on practice, not scientific methodology, however, and were greatly influenced by the educational research of men like Horace Mann in Boston and Heinrich Pestalozzi, a native Swiss whose principles were common throughout Germany, France and England.

Prior to 1864, reading instruction in Nova Scotia was based on the general concept that "The essential qualities of good reading may all be classified under the three fold division of audibility, distinctness, and impressiveness."² Or, as another local commentator noted,

1 *Reading in the Elementary School: Responsibilities of Personnel in Teaching of Reading P — 12* (Halifax, 1978), pp. 17-24.

2 "Practice of Education: English Reading or Elocution," *Journal of Education*, I (1859), p. 133.

The first requisite in good reading is a clear and distinct articulation; and to acquire this, much time must be spent with the pupil. The reading lesson should be studied as regularly as other lessons, and the same care and attention bestowed upon it. In this way only can scholars become correct and fluent readers.³

To many Nova Scotian school inspectors, this "mechanical reading" was thus receiving the greatest attention during the years prior to 1864.

In the early 1850s, the alphabetic method, which stressed the mechanical ability to recognize and say letter names in order to recognize words, was common throughout Nova Scotia, although it soon came under attack. As early as 1851, the superintendent of education for the province, John William Dawson, had attributed the difficulty of teaching reading well, to an unskillful beginning: "A rooted distaste of learning is often acquired in the dull task of learning the alphabet, and its consequent abc and spellings." Furthermore, Dawson regarded the names of the letters as "useful only in oral spelling, and even in this they may be beneficially replaced by the sounds, breathing the consonants and sounding the vowels as they occur."⁴

By 1867, Dr. Alexander Forrester had also joined in on the general criticism of the alphabetic method:

No branch of a common school education has recently claimed a greater share of attention, or given rise to a wider diversity of opinion than the one on which we now enter. Nothing can exceed the absurdity of the old fashioned style of teaching the alphabet, a style, in many localities, still prevalent The teacher calls up a class of abecedarians, or, what is more common, a single child, and while he holds a book or card before him, with a pointer in hand, says *a*, the child echoes *a*; then *b*, and he echoes *b*; and so on, till the vertical row of lifeless and ill-favoured characters is completed, and then remands him to his seat, to sit still and look at vacancy. If the child is bright, the time which passes during this lesson is the only part of the day when he does not think. Not a single faculty of the mind is occupied, except that of imitating sounds; and even the number of these imitations amounts

3 Rev. James Christie, County of Cumberland, *Nova Scotia Education Reports* (1864), p. 53.

4 John William Dawson, "I. English Reading," *Journal of Education* (1851), p. 53.

only to twenty-six. A parrot, or an idiot, could do the same thing Six months are spent before the twenty-six letters are mastered, though the same child would learn the names of twenty-six playmates in one or two days.⁵

The seeds for change were thus planted in the minds of people in authority. Dawson, the first provincial superintendent of education, had visited Horace Mann in Boston in 1850, including also calls to the Normal School and the Model School, which had previously been established by the Boston Board of Education, during the period of Mann's secretaryship. He had been influenced greatly by the Pestalozzian trends evident in schools throughout Britain, Germany and France, which he had observed during a six-month trip through the continent and the British Isles, undertaken in the early 1840s. During Dawson's visit to Boston, one can just suppose that he too was introduced to Pestalozzi's analytical method, a process of proceeding from the simple to the complex, involving a break-down of every unit of instruction into its simplest elements. Thus, in reading, Pestalozzi introduced the "powers" or sounds of each letter; from these he composed syllables; syllables were used to form words; words made phrases and phrases were finally added together to build sentences — hence the phonic (also known earlier as phonetic) method.

As early as 1851, Dawson had advocated the word method, a precursor of the phonic method:

The forms of the letters and their powers, in easy and intelligible words, should be taught before teaching their names and order in the alphabet Each child should be furnished with a slate, and should be taught to copy letters from its book or from the black-board, or a copy painted on the wall The children should be taught to read short words, denoting common objects, and to recognize them in new situations, and afterwards to analyze them into the sounds represented by the letters.⁶

Further evidence of this trend in local thought can be found in an article which appeared in the 1866 *Journal of Education*:

5 Alexander Forrester, *Teacher's Text-Book* (Halifax, 1867), p. 332.

6 Dawson, "I. English Reading," p. 54.

And, *first* we have the "word and name," or "look and say" system, which teaches that complete words [*sic*], such as "I see a goat," "The maid milks a cow," "Tom is a boy," are to be taught to the child in the first instance . . . and until he has acquired a certain facility in reading. This system is advocated on the ground of its affording more interest to the pupil; and so exciting his powers to more rapid acquisition.⁷

Prior to 1864, three reading series were used throughout Nova Scotia: the *Chambers' Educational Course* books of the Scottish Book Association, the *Irish National Series*, and *Town's Interesting and Progressive Lessons*, published in Maine. The first two collections reflected the "old country" patriotism expressed by the educators and the students' parents, and all three series pointed to the non-availability of reading texts published within Nova Scotia. Each series was very popular. The *Town's* books, for example, stressed the principles of elocution, particularly articulation — including phonetic details of the English language, such as elementary sounds, substitutes, combinations, sub-vocals and aspirates, as well as accent, emphasis, inflection, circumflex and modulation. In addition, they reflected a very popular variation then in use of the alphabetic teaching method — that of spelling the word in order to read it, as well as drawing attention to the meanings of certain words which appeared in the text.

It has been said that the period from 1850 to 1880 in North American educational circles was characterized by "a search for more effective methods of teaching reading, since the national emphasis appeared to focus on promoting intelligent citizenship."⁸ The main pre-requisite for intelligent citizenship was literacy, the status of which in Nova Scotia was revealed in 1861 to be in a "deplorable state":

36,430 children between the ages of five and fifteen were unable to read, and above the ages of fifteen there were 45,039 making a total of 81,469 unable to read. Unable to write were 49,433 between the ages of five and fifteen, and 65,444 above fifteen, a total of 114,877 . . . Moreover, in 1863, there were 84,965 children between the ages of five

7 "On Teaching Reading," *Journal of Education* (1866), p. 9.

8 H. Alan Robinson, *Reading and Writing Instruction in the United States: Historical Trends* (Illinois, 1977), p. 47.

and fifteen, but only 33,652 of them were attending school. Thus, 51,313, about five-eighths of the total, were without the benefits of education.⁹

The year 1864 is significant as a point of transition in reading thought in Nova Scotia, because of the passage of the Free School Act, guaranteeing that "all common schools shall be free to all children residing in the section in which they are established."¹⁰ An unwritten corollary to this was a greater emphasis upon reading as a means of promoting intelligent citizenship.

With the adoption and liberal support of a system of Common Schools, based upon the principle that the state owes to each and all its citizens such an education as may enable him to read and understand the laws which he is required to obey,¹¹

greater demands were thus placed on the current methods of educating. As the period from 1850 to 1880 progressed, instead of teaching pupils to read rehearsed passages orally, greater emphasis was being placed on the comprehension of material read.

This was a necessity if the statistical information of 1861 was to be altered.¹² Although the philosophy still aimed at developing the student's ability to read rehearsed passages orally with careful attention paid to elocution, and still stressed the student's ability to spell the words which he read, it became equally important to develop the pupil's ability to give the meaning of every word in the passage, and furthermore, to comprehend and verbalize the "correct idea of its subject matter."¹³ These principles were of great importance to school inspectors during the 1870s and 1880s, and many of

9 C. Bruce Fergusson, "Inauguration of the Free School System in Nova Scotia," *Journal of Education* (1964), p. 21.

10 *Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia*, Third Series (Halifax, 1864).

11 Charles R. MacDonald, County of Victoria, *Nova Scotia Education Reports* (1867), p. 55.

12 *The Journal of Education*, September 1866, p. 1, reported that "Out of 284,092 persons in the Province over five years of age, 81,469 could not read a printed page, and 114,877 could not write their names."

13 D. M. Welton, Hants County, *Nova Scotia Education Reports* (1871), p. 17.

their annual reports reveal their frustration with teachers and students alike, who were falling short of the desired goals.

It is impossible to read with intelligence or expression when the sentiment is not understood. Such teachers know nothing, more than the ability to name the words; even in that they are too easily satisfied, and are often found repeating almost half the words before the child. Parents do much to encourage this evil. They judge of the child's progress by the book used, and praise or blame the teacher according or otherwise in passing to advanced books.¹⁴

The "lifeless monotony of almost inarticulate sounds," heard in Queens County schools by the inspector, Rev. D. O. Parker, was not an uncommon complaint throughout Nova Scotia in 1867. This statement prompted suggestions for classroom furnishings, such as charts of the elementary language sounds, as well as recommendations that each teacher should be required to make "distinct articulation."¹⁵ Dr. Alexander Forrester's 1867 publication, *Teacher's Text-Book*, strongly stated that good reading was closely related to good elocution, and set the general tone of prevalent reading theory in Nova Scotia. Elocution was a "term involving several elements, and to read so as to give proper expression to the sentiments conveyed required, 1.) Distinct articulation; 2.) Fluency of utterance; 3.) Correctness of pronunciation; 4.) Attention to time; 5.) Impression; 6.) Taste." English reading was "the gate of gates, the path of paths for the acquisition of all knowledge, the key for the unlocking of all the other storehouses, the foundation and the cornerstone of the whole scholastic structure." As such, Forrester stressed that proper reading instruction embraced both mechanical and intellectual comprehension.¹⁶

This emphasis placed on expressive oral reading and elocutionary ability was, of course, a continuation of the aims prevalent in the 1850s and 1860s. "Nevertheless, the introduction of some stress on meaning was prevalent both in the discussions of individual words and when pupils read passages,"¹⁷

14 Daniel McDonald, Pictou County, *ibid.* (1878), p. 50.

15 Rev. D. O. Parker, County of Queens, *ibid.*, (1867), p. 37.

16 Forrester, *Teacher's Text-Book*, pp. 331-332, 345.

17 Robinson, *Reading and Writing Instruction*, p. 48.

and was valid proof of a shift in educational theories. D. M. Welton, the inspector for Hants County, noted in 1871 that "no lesson given a child should be considered mastered until he shows himself able not only to read it, but also to spell and give the meaning of every word in it: to which might be added the giving in general terms some correct idea of its subject matter."¹⁸ This trend was echoed by Hinkle Condon, the inspector for Halifax County, who commented in 1874 that "Reading as a means of acquiring information and of attaining a ready address must always be a matter demanding very great attention."¹⁹

Dr. Alexander Forrester, Dr. Dawson's successor as superintendent, had criticized the alphabetic method in his 1867 book, favouring instead the phonic mode of instruction.²⁰ The Pestalozzian principles embodied in this latter method grew in popularity during the period between 1864 and 1880. The look-and-say, or word method, i.e., the knowledge of basic sight vocabulary gained from familiar concrete objects, appeared to be a necessary adjunct to the phonic method and therefore, in practice, teachers during these years were using one method and/or a combination of methods to achieve their goals. As today, teachers who use only one method of instruction limit the scope of development of their students' reading abilities.

With the passage of the Free School Act in 1864, great changes came about in the choice of reading texts to be used in the classroom. The *Nova Scotia Series* of readers was introduced, and since they were "arranged with a view to the phonic method of teaching,"²¹ they were regarded as embodying the latest educational theories and were "universally recognized and received as being far in advance of those previously in use."²² J. R. Miller, inspector for Halifax County in 1864, suggested that teachers would readily abandon the alphabetical method if they understood the value of the phonic mode, and further claimed that "the *Nova Scotia Series* is, *per se*, at least one

18 Welton, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

19 Hinkle Condon, Halifax County, *Nova Scotia Education Reports* (1874), p. 81.

20 Forrester, *Teacher's Text-Book*, pp. 332-333.

21 "On Teaching Reading." *op. cit.*, p. 9.

22 William Eaton, County of Kings, *Nova Scotia Education Reports* (1864), p. 40.

hundred per cent superior to those formerly in use,"²³ The transition was echoed by Rev. James Christie, inspector of Cumberland County, who stated, "In reading, the old *Irish* series is fast giving way to the *Nova Scotia Series*."²⁴ Recommended by the Council of Public Instruction²⁵ to allow for provincial uniformity, this new series was gradually introduced and accepted throughout the province, so that by 1870, the inspector for Inverness County could rightly claim that "The *Irish National Series* . . . and *Chambers' Educational Course* have become things of the past. The *Nova Scotia Series* is almost universally used."²⁶

Although well-received, a legitimate criticism of the new series was related to the classifying of grade levels according to the number of books in the collection, "teachers thinking there should be 'seven' [grades] because there are 'seven' progressive readers."²⁷ Furthermore, W. M. B. Lawson, inspector for Lunenburg County, stated that "In some small schools I frequently see all the seven Readers in daily use, and were they seventeen instead of seven, I believe that some teachers would have them all in daily use."²⁸ A natural consequence of too many reading classes, and of students being hurried from book to book, was the pupils' inability to read the "lower readers with understanding, facility and taste,"²⁹ according to F. W. George, Cumberland County inspector in 1868.

Unfortunately, criticism of the *Nova Scotia* series seems to have led rapidly to a confusing proliferation of new reading material. With the introduction of the *Royal Reader Series* as early as 1874, Hinkle Condon gave the following critique of the new collection:

23 J. R. Miller, County of Halifax, *ibid.*, p. 53.

24 Rev. James Christie, County of Cumberland, *ibid.*, p. 53.

25 The Council of Public Instruction was established in 1864 in accordance with the bill, "An Act for the better encouragement of Education." It was designed to act as an administrative and regulatory body for the new free school system. For further details, see C. Bruce Ferguson, "Inauguration of the Free School System in Nova Scotia," *op. cit.*, p. 23.

26 J. Y. Gunn, County of Inverness, *Nova Scotia Education Reports* (1870), p. 105.

27 Henry C. Upham, County of Colchester, *ibid.* (1867), p. 14.

28 W. M. B. Lawson, County of Lunenburg, *ibid.* (1870), p. 69.

29 F. W. George, County of Cumberland, *ibid.* (1868), p. 23.

The type is clean, the lessons strictly progressive, and the illustrations artistic . . . the meanings of difficult words are given with clearness and judgement [sic], and concretely, as is better for readers so young. The exercises for the slate in writing-script, and the selection of words, for careful pronunciation for the class, are admirable.³⁰

By 1876, the choice was becoming confusing, as A. S. Hunt, then superintendent, gave the following account of the readers in use:

The readers now prescribed are the *Academic Progressive* readers, in six books, the *Illustrated English* readers, and the *Royal* readers . . . All the above named books are valuable works and are rapidly taking the place of those hitherto used. The *Illustrated English* readers form an entirely new series, and are, in matter and arrangement, admirably suited to our Common Schools.³¹

By the following year, the *Maritime School Series* had arrived on the scene, and the Cape Breton County inspector, Alexander McKinnon, stated that the *Maritime* and *Royal Readers* were good school books and "a decided improvement on the old series; but the preference in this County is generally given to the *Maritime Readers*."³²

In response to this multiplicity of books, Daniel McDonald, the Pictou County inspector, reported that "classes are multiplied and the time frittered away needlessly."³³ In 1877, the Colchester County inspector, D. H. Smith, echoed the general consensus of opinion when he recommended that this new *Maritime* series be given preference. He based this recommendation on the fact that up to that time, Nova Scotia had depended upon foreign countries for school books (presumably with the exception of the *Nova Scotia series*); in Smith's opinion, the *Maritime* series, while "in no way inferior to those of other countries," had the added attraction of being "admirably suited to the interests of our Province."³⁴

30 Condon, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

31 A. S. Hunt, *Nova Scotia Education Reports* (1876), p. xii.

32 Alexander McKinnon, Cape Breton County, *ibid.* (1877), p. 15.

33 Daniel McDonald, Pictou County, *ibid.*, p. 32.

34 D. H. Smith, Colchester County, *ibid.*, p. 20.

After 1877, the recall of the *Academic* and *Illustrated* series allowed for the substitution of the *Maritime* series, to be used in conjunction with the *Royal Readers* and the *Nova Scotia* series. The *Academic* was regarded as "far superior to the *Nova Scotia* Readers," but nevertheless was criticized for containing inferior reading matter dealing with common information on common subjects carried to "absurd excess."³⁵

There was still considerable classroom confusion, however, and Colin Roscoe, the Kings County inspector, felt that it would be "an advantage to the schools, if the *best* were selected from the *three* [viz., the *Nova Scotia*, *Maritime* and *Royal*] series of Readers now prescribed, and the remaining *two* struck from the authorized list."³⁶ In Inverness County, John Y. Gunn suggested that the Council of Public Instruction sanction either the *Royal* or the *Maritime* series, and no other, "there being no material difference between them."³⁷ R. Benoit, the Richmond County inspector, preferred the *Maritime* series to the *Royal*, for two reasons: "1.) their cheapness, placing them within easier reach of the poor; 2.) the very valuable features of treating subjects connected with our history and geography and containing extracts from some of our own writers." In his 1878 report, Benoit further suggested that "the Council of Public Instruction be advised to choose that series which . . . is the best and most suitable to the wants of this Province, and recommend it, and it alone, for use in our schools."³⁸

Thus, by 1880, various trends were becoming increasingly evident in Nova Scotian schools, although the choice of textual materials was still confusing to all concerned. Regardless of the reader series chosen, no one method of instruction was specifically advocated; instead, it was recognized that the initial stages of reading, i.e. the mechanical assimilation of alphabetic and phonetic methods, had to be completed before proceeding to an understanding of the material read. In the long run, moreover, the onus for teaching students to read still rested on the shoulders of the individual teacher, and

35 Schoolmaster, "Reading Books," *Journal of Education* (1877), p. 2.

36 Colin Roscoe, Kings County, *Nova Scotia Education Reports* (1877), p. 58.

37 John Y. Gunn, Inverness County, *ibid.*, p. 60.

38 R. Benoit, Richmond County, *ibid.*, p. 67 and *ibid.* (1878), p. 57.

depended upon the method or combination of methods he or she chose to use.

The most serious problem remained the myriad of prescribed reading material, as children arrived at school bearing one of the many texts found on the list composed by the Council of Public Instruction. Despite the fact that by 1880 the choice had been effectively narrowed down to three series, a uniformity of texts was still needed. The district inspectors were vocal in their demands for a further reduction of the choices available, but for some unexplained reason, the Council of Public Instruction appeared reluctant to make a final decision. According to L. S. Morse, the inspector for Digby and Annapolis counties in 1881, "Much time is spent in *hearing* classes read and but little in *teaching* them *how to read* with due regard to punctuation, inflection, emphasis, and other essentials of elocution." Furthermore, many of the teachers lacked the "proper knowledge of this important subject."³⁹ The trend in the early 1880s was thus to stress the need for teachers to be better educated in the field of reading than had been the case previously. In other words, not texts, but teachers and the methods they employed to achieve the desired goals, required further attention. This focus on teacher education would subsequently lead to a more discriminating use of the prescribed texts — a focus which has grown in importance to the present.

39 L. S. Morse, Digby and Annapolis Counties, *ibid.* (1881), p. 22.

Where Currant Bushes Grew: An Introduction to the Sackville Fultzes

Robert Paton Harvey

To a great-great-grand daughter of the Fultz family in Nova Scotia, the original homestead in Sackville, Halifax County, was but a memory savoured in old age. It was "that old cellar . . . in what used to be the field," and completing the treasured childhood recollection was the fact that "my mother was born in that house . . . [and] along the line fence were currant bushes."¹ Such a personal reminiscence provides the ideal opening for a consideration of a family who took part in the founding of a Nova Scotian village two centuries ago, and whose heritage now is providing a community focus to those responsible for shaping that settlement's on-going history.

The family of Fultz (also spelt Fols, Foltz or Voltz) is German in origin, but the exact story of their roots, both European and North American, is somewhat obscure. One Johann Andreas Fultz is recorded among the passengers on board the vessel *Speedwell*, which reached the newly-founded town of Halifax in 1751.² It is generally believed that his disembarkation marks the genesis of the family in Nova Scotia. Johann Andreas Fultz, however, is quickly lost sight of in the official records; he does not appear to have taken part with his fellow Foreign Protestants in the founding of Lunenburg in 1753, nor does he appear in the lists of early Halifax settlers. He, or at least someone with the name Johann Fultz does, however, surface among the civilian population of Louisbourg, at the time of its fall in 1758.

Four of those "59 souls" who are recorded as "Protestant Germans"³ among the Louisbourg French were members of a Fultz family consisting of Johann (John), his wife Elizabeth, and two sons, Lorenz (Lawrence) and Antony (Anthony). Likely they lived along the Mira River near Rouillé in the "village des Allemands."⁴ These deserters from Nova Scotia evidently believed that they would be more at home under the French Roman Catholic

1 "Notes on Sackville," written by Margaret Ann Calkins (1878-1968) to Sadie Schultz Thomas, 1950s. Copy in possession of the author, through the courtesy of Marion Allen, Sackville, N.S.

2 Ship list, *Speedwell*. MG4, No. 83, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS).

3 Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961), p. 529.

4 Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1968), p. 293.

rule on Isle Royale than in a Nova Scotia which was being given not only a British, but also a Protestant foundation, after the founding of Halifax in 1749. Writing of this strange discovery at Louisbourg, one commentator has remarked, by way of explanation, that while most of the "foreign Protestants became loyal British citizens . . . several Germans, who had registered as Protestant emigrants, were actually Roman Catholic . . . most of [whom] grew discontented and deserted to the French Isle Royale."⁵ Having left their homeland to better themselves, and having assumed the guise of Protestants, in order to conform to one of the immigration requirements, these new arrivals were no doubt unhappy to see their Catholicism barely tolerated in the new world.

It is certain that the Johann Fultz found at Louisbourg was the father of Anthony, who was born on the French-held island in 1757 and who would later bring up a large and interesting family in Sackville. Anthony records as much, in an 1809 petition requesting land from the Crown.⁶ The question remains, however, as to whether or not his father was the same Johann Andreas Fultz who arrived on the *Speedwell*, presumably without any family. Commenting on this dilemma, Dr. Winthrop P. Bell, the authority on the subject of the Foreign Protestants, states only that the identification of the Fultz found at Louisbourg in 1758 with the man who came in the *Speedwell* in 1751 is "not certain [but] very probable."⁷ For the present, researchers will have to accept this as the most plausible conclusion.

The German origins of the family provide yet another mystery to prick the curiosity of the historian-as-detective. The *Speedwell*'s passenger list records the place of origin of Johann Andreas Fultz as Saxony, a large area now falling within East Germany — a rather general designation, perhaps meant to confuse, as we already know that the prospective emigrant Fultz had withheld the true nature of his religion until his arrival in the new world.

Family papers, which have been handed down with care for more than two centuries, are much more precise about the family's European origins. Yet they, too, while suggesting answers to some questions, open up new and

5 Steven G. Greiert, "The Earl of Halifax and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, 1749-1753," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, I (1981), p. 20.

6 Petition of Anthony Fultz, 21 February 1809. RG20, Series A, Vol. 21, PANS.

7 Bell's Register of Lunenburg County Settlers. MG1, Vol. 109, p. 140, PANS.

different queries. For example, an extract from a matrimonial register reveals that Johann Fultz was a resident, in 1750, of the village of Haslach, in the Bruscia valley of the Argentinensis district. He is listed as being a carpenter by trade. His mother, Mary Magdeline Grober, was still alive, while his late father's name was Peter. The other partner in this marriage, which was solemnized on 6 February 1750, was Ephrosina Schären. Her birthplace and the community in which she grew up with her parents, Anthony Schären and Elizabeth Schaphalta, was Margdorf in the Episcopacy of Constance. Ephrosina had been born on 27 October 1714 and would, therefore, be some five years older than the Johann Andreas Fultz of the *Speedwell*, who gave his age as thirty-two in 1751.⁸

Locating these Latinized place names, which give such precise origins to the Fultz family, has defeated more than one family researcher. However, thanks to hard work and skillful intuition, some light has recently been shed on the information given in this document.⁹ Ephrosina Schären's birthplace can be traced fairly readily to somewhere just north of Lake Constance, which now forms part of the German-Swiss border. Argentinensis most likely refers to the city of Strasbourg, which is now in eastern France, near the Rhine River, in the Alsace-Lorraine district. Some twenty miles west of the city today is found a Bruche River, with an appropriate valley by the same name; nearby are not one, but two Haslach villages. In one of these, Nieder-Haslach, is the church of St. Florent, which provides yet another tantalizing clue to solving the family mystery, since Johann and Ephrosina Fultz, according to the family papers, had a son named Florent baptized prior to emigrating. Thus, the Fultz family had, in reality, its origins in an area of Europe far removed from the duchy of Saxony, which Johann claimed to be his homeland.

These entries, however, by no means provide a conclusive solution to the family mystery. Once in Nova Scotia, Elizabeth appears as Johann's wife, and there is no mention of any son named Florent; indeed, Johann Andreas Fultz is listed on the *Speedwell*'s passenger list as bringing no dependents. The most plausible scenario is that Elizabeth was a second wife, Ephrosina

8 Fultz family papers. Originals now held by family descendants in Williamsburg, Virginia; copies provided to the author through the courtesy of Professor E. Eleanor Calkins.

9 The hard work and intuition are gratefully ascribed to Terrence Punch, whose findings were put down in a letter to the author, 7 December 1981.

having died soon after the birth of Florent. Furthermore, Elizabeth presumably cannot be Ephrosina by a different name, either, as she would have been too old to have borne Johann the children he fathered in Nova Scotia as late as 1778. Did Florent die too? It remains an unanswered question. The parish register extract from which most of the above has been deduced was dated 30 April 1775, four years after the Johann Fultz of the *Speedwell* stepped ashore in Halifax. Was it requested and sent to Louisbourg as documentation necessary to legitimize Johann Fultz's arrival at the French fortress? Was it required to facilitate his second marriage? Did Ephrosina finally emigrate to join her husband, bringing with her proof of their marriage, only to die shortly after her arrival? One must be content with the knowledge that, although the details unravelled so far are contradictory, the existence of these documents among the family papers reveals far more about these immigrants than does the passenger list of the *Speedwell*. Also, the careful preservation of these documents by the family suggests that the Johann Fultz found at Louisbourg and the Johann Fultz of Haslach must be indeed one and the same individual, regardless of the confusion over his wives.

From Alsace to Sackville was a long migration. An ocean, the Seven Years' War and several geographic dislocations separated the Fultz family from their homeland, and finally brought them to settle in a small valley which, in their time, was a day's journey northwest of Halifax. Sackville had a military founding in 1749, just two months after the initial settlement of Halifax. Prior to that time, the area had been well-known to Indians and Acadians alike, who passed along the river valley on their way to and from the coast. From the shores of Bedford Basin, where European fishermen dried their catches, ran an Acadian path overland to Minas Basin. This track probably dated from the 1600s and was certainly well-known in 1711, when the French had surveyed the area, looking for a replacement location for Port Royal, which they had lost to the British the preceding year. The valley was thus a strategic focal point in any military defence of the colony.

Therefore, as attention was being paid to securing the new town of Halifax on the great harbour of Chebucto, Governor Edward Cornwallis directed that "another company I shall send to the head of the bay [Bedford Basin] where the road to Minas begins."¹⁰ In September 1749, a small barracks and

10 Thomas B. Akins, *History of Halifax* (Belleville, Ontario, 1973), p. 268.

palisade were constructed, under the watchful eye of Captain John Gorham, by a party of about fifty of his famous Rangers. Fort Sackville, named in honour of Lionel Cranfield Sackville, then Duke of Dorset and Lord President of Council, stood on high ground near the mouth of the Sackville River, guarding both the river and the path to Minas. It thus formed a strategic point in the line of communication and defence linking Halifax with the Acadian communities of the Annapolis Valley.

The Acadian path was soon cleared to form a rough road to Minas, emerging at Piziquid, now Windsor.¹¹ The original route, part of which survives today in the community as the Old Sackville Road, was sighted in the English fashion, from hilltop to hilltop — a construction method which provided beautiful vistas, but proved to be gruelling for travellers. In the heyday of the stage coach, the road was altered to avoid the hills and hence, by the 1830s, the way through Sackville took the low ground, to the regret of some like Joe Howe who, commenting on the Sackville valley in the course of his rambles, noted that

When you think of the pleasant views that you might have had from the tops of the hills, you are inclined to regret the alteration — but so it is, utility and uniformity will triumph over nature and the picturesque must suffer from the change.¹²

A community of farmers and lumbermen gradually developed in the area, finding the close proximity to Halifax invaluable for marketing their products. Settlement was initially along the Sackville and Little Sackville rivers; these waterways, now generally disregarded and too often looked upon as nuisances, were vital to the early settlers, since besides fish and transportation, they provided energy for early mills and for industries of many types. The first land grants were made in the 1750s and one of the largest, consisting of some eight thousand acres, went to Colonel Joseph Scott. Near the fort, before 1770, he built what is now the oldest house in the area, a graceful,

11 It is possible that Johann Fultz travelled over this path in his desertion to Louisbourg, and that this was perhaps his first view of his future home. Bell notes that the route of the deserters frequently took them to Minas, thence by boat to Cobéquid and overland to Fort Gaspereau, the French fort at Baie Verte, and then on to Louisbourg.

12 M. G. Parks, ed., *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1973), p. 62.

gambrel-roofed structure called Fort Sackville House. Settlement was slow, however, and an early observer coming from Windsor revealed that Sackville and its fort had prospered little in their first decade:

We marched Early this Morning Bad Traveling we marched over Large Boggs High Hills Rocky & uneven Ground but the Soyl appears to be Good itt abounds with Burch & Hemlock we Travel 12 miles & come to a Small Fort Situated att the Hed of a Fine Large Bason called Hallifax Bason the Fort is called Fort Sackville it Contains Near an Acre of Ground it is Built with Pickquits it is 4 squared But one Canon & a Few Swivel Guns No Blockhouse & In my opinion may be Easely Taken.¹³

It was at this time that Johann Fultz came to the "High Hills Rocky & uneven Ground." His grant of five hundred acres was registered on 17 December 1773, although it had been received earlier that year.¹⁴ The grant was to a long, narrow lot which ran from the Windsor Road to Beaver Pond in present-day Windsor Junction. Nine years later, in consideration of "love, goodwill and affection," he deeded one hundred acres of this land to his son Anthony.¹⁵ In this manner, and through later grants and purchases, Johann's children and grandchildren would spread out through the valley and along the main road.¹⁶

At his death in 1801, Johann Fultz left a will bequeathing his land and his worldly goods to his youngest son — clues to his life and his living of it. Attesting to his simple life, the first Fultz left such items as a cart, a pair of wheels, two chairs, one harrow, axes, shovels and "likewise all my working

13 "The Diary of John Thomas," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1878-1884* (Belleville, Ontario, 1976), p. 138.

14 Grant to John Fultz, 1773. RG20, Series A, Book 10, p. 204, PANS.

15 Deed, not found in the Registry of Deeds records for Halifax County. MG100, Vol. 22, No. 6, PANS.

16 In 1816, William Fultz Jr., George, John W., Anthony and Daniel Fultz shared a grant of 1350 acres in north Beaver Bank near the Hants/Halifax county line. Also in that year, the heirs of Michael Fultz and Anthony Fultz shared a grant of 600 acres in Hants County near the Beaver Bank and Rawdon road. RG20, Series A, Book G, pp. 9, 43.

tools."¹⁷ From this and later legal documents, we gain a feeling for the man and his family. He and they were, for the most part, simple hard-working people, who could do things with their hands. While they often listed themselves as farmers, they were, in truth, craftsmen, tradesmen and artisans. There were blacksmiths, wheelwrights and ironworkers in the family, while others were carriage-makers, carpenters and cabinet-makers. They carried on a number of livelihoods and contributed much to their community's life.

Two items of personal property not mentioned in Johann's will, but well-known to all his children and grandchildren who passed through the old family home on the Windsor Road, had already been given to the elder Fultz's oldest surviving son, Anthony. These were a large grandfather clock and a very small but precious item which sat proudly on top of the clock — a crucifix, carved from bone, in a tin case with a glass front.¹⁸ We can imagine the generations of Fultz children who eyed the latter with wonder, and the countless times the well-loved family story of "the old crucifix" was told by mothers and grandmothers to impromptu assemblies of family children.

As the story goes, the crucifix was carved by an Acadian who, with others, had attempted to avoid the expulsion in 1755 by hiding out in the local woods, until being rounded up by the British. Awaiting deportation, they had been held in a building known as the "old red house," which apparently was opposite the Fultz property. Johann's wife took pity on the Catholic Acadian prisoners, particularly since they shared with her family a common religious bond and, as well, had suffered as a result of their adherence to the Church of Rome. From time to time, Frau Fultz could be seen bustling across the road, carrying generous samples of her cooking to the unfortunate French prisoners. In gratitude, one of the incarcerated Acadians fashioned the treasured crucifix from bones picked up around the prison yard, and presented it to his benefactress. The existence of the "old red house" is unknown in Sackville today, but Acadians were indeed interned in the Halifax area and eventually offered land in 1764¹⁹ — all of which may point to

17 Probate Court, Halifax County, Vol. 3, p. 232.

18 Robert DeBlois Calkins, "The Story of an Old Crucifix," written 1931 and preserved among the Fultz family papers. The two heirlooms, at one time separated by family bequests and migrations, have been reunited in recent years in Virginia.

19 Clark, *Acadia*, p. 365.

the Fultz family being in the Sackville district a decade or more before the formal granting of land to them in 1773.

In the early nineteenth century, the family nucleus was to shift slightly along the Windsor Road, coming to focus on one of the most important intersections in all of colonial Nova Scotia — the crossroad where the main road from Halifax divided into the branch to Windsor and, via the Cobequid Road, the fork to Truro and beyond. Even today, Fultz Corner, as it is yet known in the community, is not far from the meeting-place of the modern highways to Windsor and Truro. Perhaps it was with a plan in mind that the first acquisition of land was made in that spot in 1812, for during the next fifty years, the Fultz family would, through purchase, gain ownership of all land at this strategic intersection.

In 1812, Anthony Fultz acquired a parcel of land abutting the crossroad and consisting of about one hundred and fifty acres, purchased from the Reverend Benjamin Gerrish Gray.²⁰ The latter, who owned considerable property in and around Halifax, had first come to Sackville in 1797 as King's chaplain to the Jamaican Maroons, who had been settled there on a thousand acre farm called Boydville.²¹ He returned there in 1807 as the first rector of the Church of England parish of St. John the Evangelist.

As early as 1814, William Fultz, son of Anthony and grandson of Johann, was operating the famous Fultz's Twelve Mile House, which apparently was on the crossroad property, facing the Cobequid Road at a short distance from the route to Windsor. While it was one of many inns along the road, none was more renowned in Sackville, nor of such long memory. Senior residents of the community today can recall where the old foundation rested in later years. Part of a lane which provided a short cut to the Windsor Road is still in use but, for the most part, all trace of the once-proud edifice is now gone. It was a two-and-a-half story wooden building, of which the most memorable feature was a commodious ball-room forty feet long and twenty-five feet wide.²² This room in the nineteenth century was the site of many gay and spirited occasions, since the inn seemed to be a good distance from

20 Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Vol. 40, p. 14.

21 John N. Grant, "The Origins of Maroon Hill," *Sackville Heritage Society Newsletter*, I (1980), p. 4.

22 *Report of the Provincial Museum and Science Library, 1931-1932* (Halifax, 1933), p. 51.

Halifax for sleighing parties in winter, or a brief vacation in summer. As well, there was the regular stage coach traffic which began in 1816 and the endless stream of travellers thus passing to and from the capital. Farmers bringing their produce to the Halifax markets also supplied a steady flow of customers and helped to guarantee the success of the inn.

One of the earliest references to the Twelve Mile House by a patron appears in the journals of the Earl of Dalhousie, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia from 1816 to 1820. He made no fewer than five references to the inn. Sometimes he stopped just for a meal; on other occasions he stayed for several days. On one outing, his wife passed by as part of a party of thirteen sleighs, in the course of a thirty mile ride. On his final visit to Fultz's, near his departure from the colony, he did some shooting and found a woodcock's nest with four eggs. He was intrigued with the specimen and recorded that "I have got one to add to my little collection of stuffed birds which I have been endeavouring to gather for the museum of the College at Edinburgh."²³ Is there yet a Sackville woodcock in Scotland?

Regular stage coach service on the so-called "Great Roads" began in 1816 with Isaiah Smith's line to Windsor and Ezra Witter's to Pictou. The coaches were, in reality, mail carriers with room for passengers. The Windsor line was the busiest. Later, at the end of the 1820s, larger companies such as the Western Stage Coach Company and the Eastern Stage Coach Company came into service, using four-in-hand coaches which reduced travel time. The larger coaches had two seats facing each other inside and could accommodate from six to eight travellers. Sometimes they sported a roof seat behind the coachman, and this was the favourite spot for the young newspaperman Joe Howe, as he enjoyed the views of his beloved Nova Scotia.²⁴

The Western Stage left Halifax at 5:00 a.m. and made Fultz's Twelve Mile House at about 6:30 a.m., stopping only to pick up passengers. The Eastern Stage left Halifax an hour later and stopped at Fultz's for breakfast and passengers at about 8:00 a.m. At least one traveller felt the breakfast at Fultz's worthy of note:

There is not much to be seen till you reach an excellent Inn, kept by one Fultz — about a dozen miles from town. Here everything was so

23 Marjory Whitelaw, ed., *The Dalhousie Journals* (Ottawa, 1978), p. 192.

24 Parks, *Rambles*, pp. 22-27.

trig, and we were served by such a little charmer, with so winning an air, that I (my appetite sharpened with my morning's ride) devoured and masticated with the zeal of an epicure. Fowls and potatoes, hot rolls, excellent tea and glorious cream, I proved myself for once a valiant soldier, and showed that I could play my part at a trencher, as well as before an entrenchment.²⁵

We can believe that Fultz was a household word to the farming families as well, who passed the inn on their way to market in Halifax. One farmer from Newport, Hants County, used "Fultz's" in a letter, as if it were a reference point known to all:

I was going to Halifax the 4th day of March and near to Mr. Fools the wagon wheels run over my leg and broke it above my nea and below it and smash my nee all to pieces. I was carried to Mr. Fultz and sent to Hallifax for Doctor Hume.²⁶

The inn flourished to mid-century, but then fell into disuse and became a private residence until, neglected and in a state of ruin, it burned on the night of 14 December 1890. An anonymous poem told of its decline and fall:

But the railroad came and the travellers found/
That the steam was the quicker way/
So the Twelve Mile House, for years/
Was fast falling into decay/ . . .
The brave old house stood fast/
But now 'tis gone — a link from the chain/
That binds the present to the past/ . . .²⁷

William Fultz, the innkeeper, had bought the corner lands from his father in 1818²⁸ and later, William's brother Anthony purchased the land stretching

25 Captain Fotheringay, "A Ride from Halifax to Windsor [1827]," *Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia*, 1958 (Halifax, 1959), p. 41.

26 Andrew Harvie to his nephew (likely William Dodge), 1828. Harvie family papers, in possession of the author.

27 *Daily Echo* (Halifax), 23 December 1890.

28 Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Vol. 44, p. 92.

from across the Windsor Road to the Sackville River.²⁹ The other corner property across the Cobequid Road from the inn was purchased in 1856 by William's son, William Beresford Fultz.³⁰ On January 1858, Bennett Daniel Fultz bought this last property from his cousin³¹ and soon built on it a small twenty-by-twenty foot house. It is this home, greatly altered and somewhat enlarged, that has become a heritage and community focus for Sackville today. In this dwelling he and his wife, Mary Robinson, would raise their family of eight children. Fultz Corner was complete.

The Fultz family and their place in Sackville's history are both in many ways typified by the evolution of this corner, and by the corresponding growth of Bennett and Mary's family. Bennett Fultz and his brother George operated a carriage shop on the property. Another brother, Connolly, a cabinet-maker, came to live close by. His house, though now moved some distance from the Cobequid Road, still stands. In it, in the early years of this century, his daughter Florence, known as Flossie, conducted a school around the dining room table, and there are still those in Sackville who received their first elementary education at "the corner." For a time, Bennett's father Anthony operated as a wheelwright across the Windsor Road and his home, now altered, stands as the first house on the Old Sackville Road. For many years the Bennett Fultz family also operated a post office in a corner of Mary's kitchen. Sons Francis and Thomas both followed their father Bennett into the carpenter's trade. Son Herman, on the corner diagonally across from his parents' home, carried on his trade as a blacksmith. In his shop he raised the craft to an art, and examples of his ironwork decorate Halifax churches, cemeteries, and at one time, could even be found in the old Green Lantern Restaurant; as well, he is credited with creating some iron gates for Dalhousie University. His work can still be found among the simple household articles retained by some of Sackville's older families. Regrettably,

29 *Ibid.*, Vol. 96, pp. 346, 347.

30 *Ibid.*, Vol 115, p. 345. William was likely named for Lieutenant-Colonel William Beresford of England, who owned the Sackville Estate, and who resided at Fort Sackville House from 1830 to 1837. See Elsie Tolson, *The Captain, the Colonel and Me* (Sackville, N.B., 1979), p. 118. Fultz purchased the land from George Lister, who had previously acquired it from Beresford.

31 *Ibid.*, Vol. 121, p. 10.

the remains of his shop, which in later years served as a storage shed, were torn down within the last few years, almost without notice.

"The corner" meant only one thing to Sackville folk in years gone by: it was the centre of activity and social life. Today it is slowly making a comeback in the hearts and minds of residents. The province of Nova Scotia had acquired the former Bennett Daniel Fultz property by the late 1970s, and in 1979 tenders were called to have the now empty house removed; much of the property had already been carved away as the old roads were widened and the corner enlarged. The house, in its very visible location, was a landmark to all, although few knew much about its story. Around the nucleus of the fledgling Sackville Heritage Society, public interest was generated to a sufficient level that before the end of the year, six Sackville associations had united to form the Fultz Corner Restoration Society. With the cooperation of provincial politicians, a lease was arranged with the government and the work of refurbishing the house and upgrading the property, consisting of nearly three acres, began.

A small collection of photographs and artifacts was assembled, and in July and August of 1981 a community museum operated, receiving some eleven hundred guests. The work continues and more and more events of a community nature take place, once more, at "the corner." Here in the home of a pioneering Sackville family gather the new pioneers to mix with the established families sharing a heritage and building a sense of belonging. In this way, a link from the chain that binds the present to the past is being reforged.

The Fultz Family of Sackville, Halifax County: A Case Study to 1881

Lois Y. Kernaghan and Terrence M. Punch

At first glance, a study of the Fultz family in Sackville would appear to present few genealogical difficulties. Descended from one immigrant progenitor, settled in a specific geographical area for some 210 years, predominantly Church of England in religious leaning, and traditionally a compact, cohesive family unit, the Fultz lineage would appear to be relatively uncomplicated and to be supported by a wealth of primary research material. Not so in actual fact.

The progenitor, Johann Andreas Fultz, was among the Foreign Protestants of 1751, but he was also one of the small group of pro-French Germans who quickly deserted to Louisbourg. Although re-settled in Lunenburg in 1758, Fultz soon brought his young family to the Halifax area, where several additional offspring were christened during the 1760s and 1770s. In 1773, Fultz was granted 500 acres of wilderness Crown land on the Windsor Road, where he subsequently settled with what was, by then, a large family.

These early migrations, coupled with diverse religious leanings and the relative isolation of the Windsor Road area, have made the first generations of the Fultz family extremely difficult to untangle. Although several of Johann Fultz's children were christened at St. Paul's Anglican church in Halifax, their baptisms there were no doubt token gestures. Early Roman Catholic registers for Halifax, which begin ca. 1800, reveal various Fultz entries, and there are strong indications that the family shifted with fluidity between the Church of England and Roman Catholicism.

The Windsor Road area, today the Sackville region, remained isolated and sparsely settled until well into the early 1800s. The vicinity does not appear to have been part of any circuit route serviced by the various Halifax churches. Although St. John's Anglican congregation was organized by 1807, its register entries are thin until the 1830s, and no other early community records exist. The first generations of the local founding families thus remain generally obscure, unless the householders dutifully made the long trek into Halifax and its churches.

The scattering of the Fultzes after 1850 completes the picture of inherent genealogical difficulties. The traditional family skills — those of wheelwright, carpenter and blacksmith — were in demand elsewhere, and the lure of better employment, both in Halifax and in “the Boston states,” led to a gradual fragmentation of the original cohesive family unit centred in Sackville. The 1881 census listed only four Fultz households remaining in the

Windsor Road district. By comparison, the 1879/80 Halifax city directory gave twelve Fultz entries, representing at least five families, plus some scattered individuals. The balance had tipped irrevocably.

The genealogy which follows does not claim total accuracy. Lack of pertinent records, and the early removal of certain Fultz groups from Sackville, have made various family branches virtually untraceable. 1881 has been chosen, with some exceptions, as the general cut-off date for the study, since no later census returns are yet available, and because family fragmentation after this date precludes a definitive lineage. In many instances, genealogical connections have been based on circumstantial evidence and educated conjecture, since corroborative evidence is lacking; the more contentious issues have been noted within the genealogy. Unless otherwise stated, the religious adherence of family members cited in the study is to be understood as to St. John's Anglican church, Sackville. A select bibliography of pertinent source materials is offered at the end of the study.

Johann Andreas (John) Fultz arrived in Halifax on the *Speedwell*, 1751, aged 32, bringing no apparent family. Although he was listed on the passenger list as a native of Saxony, recent research indicates that, in 1750 at least, he was a resident of the village of Haslach, a small community near Strasbourg, in Alsace-Lorraine. A carpenter, he was the son of Peter and Mary Magdeline (Grober) Fultz. On 6 February 1750, he married Ephrosina Schären, daughter of Anthony and Elizabeth (Schaphalta) Schären, residents of Margdorf, in the Episcopacy of Constance. A son, Florent, was born previous to emigration, although neither mother nor child accompanied Fultz on his voyage west; possibly they were both dead by early 1751. Soon after his arrival in Halifax, John Fultz deserted to Louisbourg, perhaps because he was, in reality, a Roman Catholic among a tide of Foreign Protestant immigrants. He remained in the Louisbourg area until the British captured the fortress in 1758; on 17 September of that year, he was victualled at Lunenburg with a wife Elizabeth and children Lorenz and Antony. It is possible that his wife was a French or Acadian Roman Catholic from the Louisbourg area. John Fultz's whereabouts after 1758 remain obscure, although it is evident that he was somewhere in the Halifax area, since several children were christened at St. Paul's Anglican church during the 1760s and 1770s. The family was possibly larger than the extant records indicate, and some offspring may have been baptized as Catholic. In 1773, Fultz received a government grant for lot number 4, a 500-acre tract on the northeast side of

the road from Fort Sackville to Windsor. His descendants have populated that general area ever since. Fultz died in 1801; his will, dated 14 May 1801, described him as a wheelwright and left all his real and personal property to the sole executor, his son John Nicholas. A codicil ordered John Nicholas to provide for his sister, Hannah Barbara. The will, proved 29 June 1801, named no other family members and it is likely that John Fultz's wife pre-deceased him. His real estate had dwindled to 150 acres, probably because he had previously conveyed various portions to certain other of his children.

Issue of John and Elizabeth Fultz:

1. Lorenz (Lawrence). Presumably born in Cape Breton ca. 1755. He died ca. 1783. An administrator's bond was issued by the court of probate, Halifax County, to John *Folbz*, Halifax, wheelwright, 23 April 1783. Presumably d.s.p.
2. Antony (Anthony), b. 1757, Cape Breton; d. 11 Oct. 1820, aged 63, Windsor Road; marr. 14 Nov. 1780, Eleanor *Schultz*. The surname entered in the marriage register was *Folk*. His wife was the daughter of Johann Friedrich Schultz; she was bapt. 26 Sept. 1762 at Lunenburg, and d. 24 Jan. 1839, aged 77, at Sackville. Although the marriage ceremony took place at St. Paul's Anglican, some of their offspring were baptized at St. Peter's Roman Catholic church, Halifax. Anthony Fultz farmed on 100 acres of land at Sackville, and held an additional 400 acres on the Beaver Bank Road; the former may have been conveyed to him by his father in 1782, while the latter was probably from an 1816 government grant. He was also a local wheelwright.

Issue of Anthony and Eleanor Fultz:

- (1) John Nicholas, bapt. 14 Aug. 1781, St. Paul's Anglican; the surname was entered as *Fulkz*. He is not listed in Anthony Fultz's family record, and presumably died young. Perhaps he was the unidentified Joseph *Fulk*, child, buried from St. Paul's 23 Sept. 1781.
- (2) William, b. 2 May 1785, bapt. 10 May 1785, St. Paul's Anglican. The entry reads "Anthony, son of William and Eleanor *Foltz*"; presumably the male Christian names were transposed in error. He marr. 1 Jan. 1814, Sarah *Mitchell*, St. John's Anglican, Sackville. The marriage bond cites him as "William Fultz Jr.", likely to differentiate him from his uncle, John William (William)

Fultz. As early as 1815, he ran a tavern/inn at the junction of the Windsor Road and the old Cobequid Road, in Sackville — the famed Twelve Mile House. He may still have been alive in 1859, at the time of his son William Beresford Fultz's death. His wife Sarah d. 18 Feb. 1869, aged 85.

Issue of William and Sarah Fultz (probably incomplete):

(1a) Thomas Mitchell, bapt. 16 April 1815, aged 1 mo., Sackville; d. 11 April 1847, Sackville, aged 32; marr. 6 Jan. 1838, Sackville, Catherine Rebecca (Catherine) **Marshall**. He was a blacksmith on the Windsor Road. Sometime after his death, his widow removed to Boston, presumably to join children living there; she d. 3 Aug. 1885, aged 72, and was returned to Sackville for burial.

Issue of Thomas and Catherine Fultz:

(1b) Sarah Ann, bapt. 23 Dec. 1838, Sackville.

(2b) John Frederick Granville, bapt. 15 March 1840, Sackville; bur. 4 June 1816, aged 76, Sackville. Latterly a resident of Halifax.

(3b) Mary Esther, bapt. 14 Feb. 1841, Sackville.

(4b) Elizabeth Amelia, bapt. 16 July 1843, Sackville.

(5b) Martha Isabella, bapt. 16 July 1843, Sackville; presumably a twin.

(6b) Louisa Wallace, bapt. 13 Feb. 1846, Sackville.

(7b) Lewis William, bapt. 13 Feb. 1846, Sackville; presumably a twin.

(2a) Elizabeth Ellen, bapt. 17 Nov. 1816, aged 5 weeks, Sackville.

(3a) Maria Arabella, b. 1 Nov. 1826; bapt. St. Paul's Anglican, and noted in the register as the "fifth child." Marr. 16 Jan. 1851, William H. **Lee**.

(4a) William Beresford, bapt. 9 Aug. 1829, Sackville; d. 13 Sept. 1859; marr., date unknown, his first cousin, Elizabeth Caroline (Eliza) **Fultz**, daughter of Anthony Fultz Jr. William Beresford Fultz was a lumberman and farmer in Lower Sackville, although he resided in the United States for a time during the 1850s. The newspaper death notice referred to him as the "only [surviving] son" of William Fultz,

Twelve Mile House. In 1871, his widow was keeping house for her widowed father and her brother, George Augustus Fultz; she was buried 13 Aug. 1884, Sackville.

Issue of William and Eliza Fultz:

- (1b) Anna, b. ca. 1855, U.S., according to 1871 census.
- (2b) Charles, b. ca. 1857, U.S., according to 1871 census.
- (3b) Henry Beresford (Harry), b. 15 May 1857, Sackville; d. 12 Jan. 1919, aged 61, Sackville; marr. 15 March 1899, Lower Sackville, in a Presbyterian ceremony, Frances Jane (**Robinson**) Fultz, daughter of Francis and Susanna (Oldmixon) Robinson and widow of his uncle, George Augustus Fultz. She d. 12 April 1935, aged 83. Harry Fultz was a Sackville area farmer.
- (4b) William Frederick, b. 6 May 1859, Sackville; bur. 9 Sept. 1860, Sackville, aged 1 yr. 4 mo.
- (3) Maryann Weston, b. 15 Feb. 1786. No further information.
- (4) Michael, b. 7 March 1787; d. 14 Dec. 1816, aged 29, and bur. 17 Dec. from St. Peter's Roman Catholic church; d.s.p.
- (5) George, b. 19 March 1788. No further information.
- (6) Christiana, b. 25 June 1789; marr. John Moore McCabe, marriage bond dated 4 Nov. 1806. Issue.
- (7) Catherine Weston, b. 23 May 1790. No further information.
- (8) Admin [?] Frederick, b. 21 Oct. 1791. No further information.
- (9) Anthony Jr., b. 8 Sept. 1793; d. 20 Dec. 1876, aged 84, Sackville; marr. 23 Oct. 1817, St. Paul's Anglican, Ann Eleanor (Ellen) **Fitzpatrick**. She was a native of Ireland and was bur. 18 May 1870, Sackville, aged 70. Anthony Jr. was a wheelwright, apparently residing on ten acres of land across the road from the Twelve Mile House.

Issue of Anthony Jr. and Ellen Fultz (incomplete):

- (1a) Rachel. Cited in father's will, 1874; said to have marr. and lived in the U.S.
- (2a) Elizabeth Caroline (Eliza), bur. 13 Aug. 1884, Sackville; her tombstone reads "1820-1884." Marr., date unknown, William Beresford **Fultz**, her first cousin, son of William and Sarah (Mitchell) Fultz. See above.

(3a) William James, d. May 1866, Lunenburg; described as "eldest son" of Anthony Fultz Jr. No further information.

(4a) Bennett Daniel, b. 2 April 1826; bapt. St. Paul's Anglican and noted in the register as the "fifth child"; d. 23 Jan. 1910, aged 84; marr. 3 Jan. 1862, Sackville, Mary Susan **Robinson**. She was the daughter of Francis and Susanna (Oldmixon) Robinson and the sister of Frances Jane (Robinson) Fultz (see above); she was b. 17 Sept. 1841 and d. 7 Sept. 1928. Bennett Fultz was a carpenter and wheelwright. His house is now the Fultz House Museum.

Issue of Bennett Daniel and Mary Susan Fultz:

(1b) Alexander Herman (Herman), b. 5 Aug. 1862, Sackville; d. ca. 1933, Sackville; marr., date unknown, **Laura Damon**. Lived in the U.S. for some years, but a resident of Sackville in 1911.

(2b) Winifred Oldmixon, b. 1864; d. 1952; marr. 21 Nov. 1883, aged 19, Sackville, to Frederick **Hiltz**, son of Henry and Amelia Hiltz, Sackville. Residing in Boston, 1911.

(3b) Francis Scott, b. 7 March 1867; d. 7 July 1945, aged 78, Halifax; marr., date unknown, Florence Emma **Preston**. Residing in the U.S., 1911; wife subsequently died in Winnipeg. Issue.

(4b) George William, b. 7 or 11 March 1869, Sackville; d. 11 May 1911, aged 41, Lower Sackville; marr. 17 Jan. 1907, Sackville, Florence Margaret **Fultz**, his first cousin, the daughter of John C. and Margaret (Lordly) Fultz. For four years previous to his death, George William Fultz had been an engineer on the Transcontinental Railway in northern New Brunswick. No surviving issue.

(5b) Mary Eleanor, b. 12 Oct. 1871, Sackville; marr. 1 Feb. 1904, Lower Sackville, Jeremiah **Nickerson**, son of George and Rebecca Nickerson, Pennant, Halifax County. The groom was at that time a resident of New York City. Still residing in New York, 1911.

(6b) Jane Emily, b. 1873; d. 1947. Residing in Montreal, 1911. Attended Truro Normal School, later retired to family home, the last Fultz to live there. Unmarried.

(7b) Annie Kathleen Gordon (Gordon), b. 26 Oct. 1876, Sackville; marr., date unknown, Lewis **Major**, son of Thomas and Harriet Major, Halifax. Marr. and residing in Bedford, 1911.

(8b) Thomas Edwin (Edward), d. 25 Oct. 1968; marr. 20 Feb. 1907, aged 27, Halifax, in a Baptist ceremony, Louise **Major**, daughter of Thomas and Harriet Major, Halifax. The groom was at that time a carpenter in Fairview, but was residing in Sackville, 1911.

(5a) George Augustus, d. 22 March 1895, aged 67; marr. 19 March 1890, aged 61, Sackville, Frances Jane **Robinson**, daughter of Thomas and Susan Robinson, Sackville. He was a wheelwright. His widow subsequently married George Augustus's nephew, Henry Beresford **Fultz** (see above).

(6a) John Connelly, bapt. 5 June 1831, Sackville; d. 26 Feb. 1921; marr. 31 Jan. 1860, Sackville, Margaret Gray **Lordly**. A native of St. Margaret's Bay, she d. 28 Aug. 1909, aged 76. John Connelly was a cabinet maker at Bridgewater, 1864-1869, and in the early 1870s, the family resided in Massachusetts. They later returned to Sackville, where John Connelly Fultz was a carpenter and millwright.
Issue of John Connelly and Margaret Fultz:

(1b) Walter **Lordly**, b. 17 Dec. 1860, Sackville.

(2b) Bessie A., d. 6 Dec. 1865, Sackville, aged 3, of meningitis.

(3b) Mary or May W., b. 17 Sept. 1864, Bridgewater; marr. 28 Dec. 1892, Sackville, in a Presbyterian ceremony, Louis N. **Thomas**, son of Benjamin and Emma Thomas, Sackville. The groom was at that time residing in Hammonds Plains.

(4b) Florence Margaret (Flossie), b. 1870, Woburn, Mass.; d. 1930, Sackville; marr. 17 Jan. 1907, Lower Sackville, George William **Fultz**, her first cousin, the

son of Bennett Daniel and Mary S. Fultz (see above). After his death, she marr. John **Flemming** (1868-1939).

(5b) Antoinette Eleanor (Eleanor), b. Woburn, Mass.; marr. 19 June 1905, Sackville, aged 32, William Charles **Henley**, son of James and Caroline Henley, Spry Bay, Halifax County. The groom was a merchant at Spry Bay.

(6b) probably a son, John Connelly Fultz, b. 8 Feb. 1868, Boutilier's Point, St. Margaret's Bay, illegitimate son of Catherine Boutilier. No further information.

(7a) Maria Reynolds, bapt. 21 July 1833, Sackville.

(8a) Emily Sophia, bapt. 4 Sept. 1836, Sackville; d. 24 March 1855, Sackville, aged 18. Cited in obituary as "youngest daughter" of Anthony Fultz Jr.

(9a) Robert Henry, bapt. 13 Oct. 1839, Sackville; bur. 26 Sept. 1841, Sackville, aged 3 years, 4 months.

(10a) Charles Lemuel, bapt. 4 April 1841, Sackville; bur. 21 Oct. 1857, Sackville, aged 16.

(10) Daniel, b. 28 Jan. 1796; d. 30 Dec. 1829, Sackville, aged 32. Presumably d.s.p.

(11) John, b. 18 July 1797; d. 10 Jan. 1834, aged 36, Sackville. Presumably d.s.p.

(12) James, b. 3 July 1799; bur. 7 July 1870, Sackville; marr. 30 Jan. 1826, St. Paul's Anglican, Catherine Elizabeth (Catherine) **Schwartz**, youngest daughter of Godfrey Schwartz. She d. 22 Nov. 1859, Sackville, aged 57, and James possibly remarried, 6 June 1866, St. George's Anglican, Christie **McInnis**, a Sackville widow. The 1871 census, however, in noting his death, cited him as widowed. James Fultz resided in Sackville, a labourer, farmer and lumberman.

Issue of James and Catherine Fultz:

(1a) John Godfrey, b. 12 Aug. 1826; bapt. St. Paul's Anglican and noted in the register as the "first child"; d. 14 May 1892, aged 66, Sackville; marr. 1 or 18 June 1856, Sackville, Elizabeth **Doull**. A native of Prince Edward Island, she d. 15 Sept. 1910, aged 74. John Godfrey Fultz was a farmer

and carpenter in Sackville, although he may have lived in Halifax for a time after his marriage.

Issue of John Godfrey and Elizabeth Fultz:

- (1b) Catherine Elizabeth, b. 1857; bapt. 27 Jan. 1858, St. George's Anglican; baptismal entry noted that her father was a Halifax truckman; d. 1935; marr. 13 Dec. 1885, Sackville, James **Hiltz** (1858-1935), son of Henry and Amelia Hiltz, Sackville. Catherine Elizabeth is not listed on the 1871 census, although on the 1881 count, she appears as a teacher residing in the John Godfrey Fultz household.
- (2b) Bennet D., b. 1859; d. 1942; buried in St. John's Anglican cemetery, Fairview; marr. 18 Nov. 1886, Halifax, aged 27, to Sarah J. **Collins** (1863-1931), daughter of William and Sarah Collins, Halifax. Bennet Fultz was a carpenter.

Issue of Bennet and Sarah Fultz:

- (1c) Arthur Godfrey, b. 15 March 1891; d. 10 April 1892, Sackville.
- (2c) Nellie Collins, b. 30 April 1893. Like her brother, bapt. at St. George's Anglican, Halifax.
- (3b) Mary Laura, b. 2 Aug. 1861, Sackville. Not listed on 1871 census.
- (4b) Howard Rennels (Reynolds?), b. 6 Nov. 1864, Sackville. Not definitely established as a son of John Godfrey and Elizabeth Fultz; not listed on 1871 census.
- (5b) Mary Jane, b. 10 or 27 Aug. 1866; marr. 16 [?] Dec. 1884, Sackville, William **Hiltz**, son of Henry and Amelia Hiltz, Sackville.
- (6b) Sophia Clarke, b. 8 Aug. 1868, Sackville.
- (7b) John Edward, b. 10 June 1869, Sackville.
- (8b) John, b. 22 June 1870, Sackville.
- (9b) David Andrew, b. 2 Oct. or 25 Nov. 1871, Sackville.
- (10b) Anna Blanche (also cited variously as Annie and Alice), b. 17 Nov. 1873, Sackville.

(11b) William F., aged 1 year on 1881 census; d. 3 Sept. 1903, aged 24.

(2a) an unidentified male, as indicated by the 1838 census.

(3a) Henry Howard Lloyd (Howard), bapt. 2 Oct. 1831, Sackville; d. 11 June 1873, Sackville, of consumption; marr. firstly, ca. 1857, Elizabeth Kellaher, who was bapt. 15 May 1836, aged 2 mo., St. Mary's Roman Catholic, Halifax, daughter of Maurice Kellaher, Hammond's Plains; after her death, he marr. secondly, 2 Nov. 1864, Bridgett Eagen (surname also cited variously as Hagen and Hogan), daughter of William (also cited as Peter) and Mary Eagen, Sackville, N.B. Howard Fultz was a Halifax cabman and later, carpenter; he presumably returned to Sackville before his death. His widow remarried, 29 June 1879, Sackville, Brenton L. McCabe, son of Daniel and Louisa McCabe, Sackville. Howard Fultz converted to Roman Catholicism in the early 1860s, and although his second marriage and his widow's subsequent remarriage were Anglican ceremonies, his children seem to have been raised as Roman Catholic.

Issue of Howard and Elizabeth Fultz:

(1b) James M., b. 7 June 1858; bapt. St. Mary's Roman Catholic.

(2b) Henry Albert, b. 1 Sept. 1860; bapt. St. Mary's Roman Catholic. A Henry A. Fultz was bur., Sackville, 6 June 1882, aged 27.

(3b) John Michael, b. 28 Sept. 1862; bapt. St. Mary's Roman Catholic.

Issue of Howard and Bridgett Fultz:

(4b) Joseph Howard (Joseph), b. 1 Oct. 1865; bapt. St. George's Anglican; marr. 17 June 1889, Halifax, Roman Catholic ceremony, Mary Brown, daughter of John and Mary Brown, Halifax. Joseph Fultz was a teamster, and later a fireman in Halifax, rising to the position of deputy chief of the Halifax Fire Department. In later years, he was gardener for the

Oland family and steward at the Civic Club. He was still alive in 1936.

Issue of Joseph and Mary Fultz (order uncertain):

- (1c) Annie, marr. 2 Feb. 1911, Halifax, aged 19, Roman Catholic ceremony, William **Cuvelier**, son of Laurence and Hannah Cuvelier, Halifax. Issue.
- (2c) John J., a plumber.
- (3c) James.
- (4c) Margaret.
- (5c) Martin.
- (5b) Anne, aged 4 on 1871 census.
- (6b) Frederick Lloyd (Frederick), b. 2 Oct. 1869; marr. 3 Oct. 1893, Sackville, Florrie **Major**, daughter of Thomas and Harriet Major, Halifax. Frederick Fultz was a Sackville farmer.

Issue of Frederick and Florrie Fultz:

- (1c) Stephen Louis (or Lloyd), b. 15 Oct. 1895; d. 11 May 1971; marr. Ann **Foley**. Stephen Fultz was an engineer and subsequently received an honorary doctorate degree in recognition of his work. Issue.
- (2c) Janet R., b. 21 June 1897; d. 23 Feb. 1898 at Everett, Mass.
- (3c) Harold M., b. July 1898; d. 19 Dec. 1898.
- (7b) Edgar Anthony, b. 15 Oct. 1871.
- (4a) Mary Anna Eustina (Mary Ann), bapt. 16 Nov. 1834, Sackville; marr. 12 Aug. 1854, Sackville, Edward **Fenerty**. Issue.
- (5a) Margaret Ellen, bapt. 28 May 1837, Sackville; marr. 1 April 1854, Sackville, Daniel Schwartz **McCabe**, son of Daniel McCabe and brother of Brenton L. McCabe, who subsequently marr. Bridgett Fultz (see above).
- (6a) Otto Oswald, bapt. 12 Aug. 1840; marr. 25 Oct. 1862, Halifax, Methodist ceremony, Caroline **Hartling**. She d. 29 Jan. 1869, Dartmouth, aged 29, in childbed. Otto Fultz

was a blacksmith; he also converted to Roman Catholicism.

Issue of Otto and Caroline Fultz (probably incomplete):

(1b) Caroline J., b. 29 Jan. 1869, Dartmouth.

(7a) Sarah Louisa, b. 9 June 1843, Sackville; possibly marr. 21 June 1866, St. George's Anglican, Archibald **Wambolt**.

(13) Bennett, b. 6 April 1802; bapt. 9 May 1802, aged 1 month, St. Peter's Roman Catholic, Halifax; d. 11 or 13 Sept. 1868, Sackville, aged 67, of paralysis; marr. 1 Aug. 1829, Sackville, Sarah **Brown**. She resided with her son, Deblois Fultz, after her husband's death, and d. 16 June 1885.

Issue of Bennett and Sarah Fultz:

(1a) William King Reynolds (Reynolds), b. 17 Oct. 1830, Sackville; d. 24 Nov. 1891, Halifax; marr., date unknown, Sarah Ann ___ (b. 1838; d. 24 April 1903, Kentville). His obituary noted that he had for over a generation been in charge of the Thompson Woodill victualling establishment, Hollis Street, Halifax; upon the owner's death, ca. 1887, Fultz became virtually the sole heir, being a nephew by marriage, and had reputably inherited some \$40,000. Fultz was a staunch Anglican. Issue: at least one daughter; further details unknown.

(2a) Margaret Eleanor (or Ellen), b. 26 July 1832, Sackville; marr. 16 Aug. 1859, Elias **Calkins** (1813-1901), a widower from West Cornwallis, Kings County. She was his third wife; there were five children from the marriage.

(3a) Emma Jane, b. 15 June 1834, Sackville; d. 11 Oct. 1837, Sackville.

(4a) Charles Edwin Palmer (Palmer), b. 19 Dec. 1836, Sackville; d. 1 Sept. 1869, Sackville, aged 32. d.s.p.

(5a) Robert Deblois (Deblois), b. 20 May 1839, Sackville; d. 27 March 1887, Sackville; marr., date unknown, Jane ___. No further information.

(6a) Mary Jane (Jane), b. 20 Jan. 1842; d. 12 Feb. 1912, Berwick, unmarried. Obituary cites her as "youngest daughter."

(7a) Eliza Ann, b. 9 Nov. 1848. Presumably d. young.

(14) Mary Ann, b. 17 June 1805; bapt. St. Peter's Roman Catholic; marr. 23 June 1829, Sackville, Patrick **Whiston**, of Halifax. Announcement cited her as "youngest daughter" of Anthony Fultz Sr.

3. Catherine Elizabeth, bapt. 3 June 1762, St. Paul's Anglican; surname entered as *Voltz*; d. Nov. 1850; marr. 26 Nov. 1781, St. Paul's Anglican, James **McCabe**, Pictou. She was deeded 50 acres of land on the Windsor Road, 1783, from her father John Fultz, presumably as a dowry; she and her husband sold the property to her brother Anthony in 1795, for £12. James and Catherine McCabe remained in Pictou. Issue.

4. Maria Elizabeth, bapt. 24 Oct. 1764, St. Paul's Anglican; surname entered as *Volz*. No further information.

5. Elizabeth Frances (Frances), bapt. 1 Feb. 1767, St. Paul's Anglican; surname entered as *Pulth*; marr. 28 Dec. 1784, St. George's Anglican, Christopher **Weston**.

6. John William (William or John W.), d. 6 July 1821, aged 47 or 48; bur. from St. Peter's Roman Catholic; marr., date unknown, Anna Barbara (Barbara) **Burns**. An obscure figure, William Fultz has not conclusively been proven a son of John and Elizabeth, although the identification seems likely — especially since William sold 100 acres of lot number 4, northeast side of the Windsor Road (i.e. part of the lot originally granted to John Fultz), to George Fultz, 1803. The tract was presumably devised to William by his father. William Fultz may have lived in Halifax after this sale, as did his children; the family was predominantly Roman Catholic.

Issue of William and Barbara Fultz (possibly incomplete):

(1) Jane, marr. 18 Dec. 1824, Halifax, John **Cunningham**. Cited in announcement as "eldest daughter of the late William Fultz."

(2) Michael George (Michael), bapt. 18 Sept. 1802, St. Peter's Roman Catholic, aged 6 weeks; d. 19 Dec. 1827, Sackville; bur. recorded at St. George's Anglican. Presumably d.s.p.

(3) William John (William), bapt. 1 Sept. 1804, St. Peter's Roman Catholic; d. 30 Dec. 1867, Halifax, aged 63, of dropsy; marr. 22 Feb. 1827, Charlotte **Moreland**. She d. 12 Sept. 1892, Halifax, aged 83. Both are buried in Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax. William Fultz was a local shipwright, although he is described variously as a carpenter and mechanic as well. This is an obscure

and confusing family, since a William Fultz also marr., according to the marriage bonds, 14 June 1828, at St. George's Anglican, one Charlotte **Debarron**, of Preston parish, Halifax County. The 1838 census for Halifax city, however, lists only one William Fultz household, presumably that of William and Charlotte (Moreland) Fultz.

Issue of William and Charlotte Fultz:

- (1a) Charlotte Ann, b. 16 July 1830.
- (2a) William Henry, b. 7 July 1833.
- (3a) James, b. 21 June 1836; d. 27 Dec. 1852, Boston.
- (4a) George, b. 17 June 1839; bapt. Roman Catholic, St. Mary's, early 1860s, when birthdate was entered as 17 June 1838; marr., date unknown, Ellen (or Helena) **Mahar**. George Fultz was a gas fitter and, by 1887, a liquor dealer in Halifax.

Issue of George and Ellen Fultz (possibly incomplete):

- (1b) Amelia Carlotta, b. 19 Dec. 1861; bapt. St. Mary's Roman Catholic. An Emma Fultz marr., 30 Jan. 1882, Halifax, Roman Catholic ceremony, John **White**, son of Stephen and Margaret White, Halifax; the bride gave as parents, George and *Alice* Fultz, plumber. Amelia and Emma were presumably the same person.
- (2b) Thomas William, b. 27 Aug. 1863; bapt. St. Mary's; marr., date unknown, Catherine _____. Issue of Thomas and Catherine Fultz (probably incomplete):
 - (1c) Ellen, marr. 6 June 1916, Halifax, Roman Catholic ceremony, Joseph **MacGillivray**, son of Colin and Sarah MacGillivray, Halifax.
- (3b) Albert Edward, b. 14 May 1865; bapt. St. Mary's; marr., date unknown, Elizabeth **Cooke**. Issue of Albert and Elizabeth Fultz (probably incomplete):
 - (1c) Edward B., b. 9 July 1893; bapt. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic, Halifax.
- (4b) Theresa Frances, b. 10 April 1867; bapt. St. Mary's. Listed as *Jessie* on 1871 census.

(5b) Sarah A., b. 27 Feb. 1870; bapt. St. Mary's. Listed as *Louisa* on 1871 census.

(6b) Ellen J., b. 1 May 1872; bapt. St. Mary's.

(7b) Alice, d. 29 Sept. 1874, aged 3 mo., of thrush.

(5a) Susan Jane, marr. 2 Nov. 1864, aged 22, Halifax, Anglican ceremony, **Edwin Coe**, son of William Coe, Northampton, England. Bride was a teacher, cited her father as a boat-builder; groom was a colour sergeant, 17th. regiment.

(6a) Edmund F. (also cited as Edward), bapt. 1 Feb. 1846, St. George's Anglican; bapt. Roman Catholic, St. Mary's, 4 Feb. 1868; d. by 1901; marr., date unknown, Catherine (Cassie) **Drohan**, b. ca. 1844, New Brunswick. Edmund Fultz was a Halifax salesman.

Issue of Edmund and Cassie Fultz (possibly incomplete):

(1b) John Edmund (also cited as John Edward), b. 9 March 1870; bapt. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic; d. 11 Sept. 1892, Halifax, of heart failure. Cited in obituary as "eldest son," and a jeweller at M.S. Brown and Co.

(2b) Minnie A., b. 15 April 1871.

(3b) William S., b. 29 March 1873.

(4b) Florence C., d. 10 Aug. 1876, aged 7 mo., of pneumonia.

(5b) Frederick.

(7a) Albert, d. 3 May 1899, Halifax, aged 50; marr. 5 June 1871, aged 22, Halifax, Methodist ceremony, Sarah M. **Young**, daughter of Samuel and Helen Young, Halifax. Albert Fultz was a Halifax gas fitter; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery.

Issue of Albert and Sarah Fultz:

(1b) William Albert, d. 9 Jan. 1896, aged 24. Cited on tombstone, Camp Hill, as "only son."

(8a) Arthur, bapt. 24 April 1853, St. George's Anglican; marr. 28 July 1873, Halifax, Roman Catholic ceremony, Catherine **Howley**, daughter of Martin and Bridget Howley. Arthur Fultz was a printer.

(9a) James R., bapt. 21 Sept. 1856, St. George's Anglican; marr.

15 June 1881, Halifax, Methodist ceremony, Mary **Shea**, daughter of William Shea, Prospect, Halifax County.

- (4) Johanna Anne, bapt. 29 July 1806, St. Peter's Roman Catholic.
- (5) Elizabeth Catherine, bapt. 19 Oct. 1808, St. Peter's.
- (6) Dorothy Ann, bapt. 4 June 1811, St. Peter's.
- (7) James, bapt. 17 Nov. 1816, aged 5 weeks, St. Peter's; entered as son of "William Foul and Margaret Borns."
- (8) Maria, marr. 1 Jan. 1842, St. Mary's Roman Catholic, Timothy **Lynch** of Woodstock, New Brunswick.

7. George Henry (bapt. George), bapt. 26 Oct. 1773, St. Paul's Anglican; bur. 29 Oct. 1848, Sackville, aged 80; marr., date unknown, Hannah **Burns** (also cited variously as Joanna Burns, Joanna Bond). She probably d. 2 June 1840, Sackville, aged 67, especially since she is not mentioned in George Henry's will, dated 11 Aug. 1845. Another obscure individual, George Fultz resided in Sackville.

Issue of George and Hannah Fultz:

- (1) John, d. 13 Aug. 1878, Sackville, aged 76; marr. 16 Oct. 1830, Sackville, Eleanor **Ansley**. She d. 19 May 1858, Sackville, aged 47, and he probably remarried, 8 Sept. 1860, Sackville, Maria **Lunn**. Both John and Maria are cited as Roman Catholic on the 1871 census.

Issue of John and Eleanor Fultz:

- (1a) John George Henry, bapt. 11 Sept. 1831, Sackville.
- (2a) David, bapt. 20 May 1833, Sackville.
- (3a) Harriet Elizabeth, bapt. 14 Nov. 1834, Sackville; marr. 12 Feb. 1853, Sackville, Joseph **Delorey**.
- (4a) Charles Christopher, bapt. 29 Sept. 1837, Sackville.
- (5a) Emma Barbara, bapt. 27 Oct. 1839, Sackville.
- (6a) Hannah Sophia, bapt. 22 May 1842, Sackville.

- (2) Eleanor, marr. 23 June 1828, Sackville, John **Mitchell**. She was cited in the announcement as "eldest daughter"; not listed in will of 1845.
- (3) Sarah (Sally), marr. 5 May 1822, Sackville, William **Davis** of Windsor and Sackville. Cited in announcement as "third daughter," but this seems unlikely unless there was an earlier-born sister, now unknown.

(4) Catharine, bapt. 21 July 1805, St. Peter's Roman Catholic; d. 15 Jan. 1884, Sackville; marr. June 1829, Sackville, John W. **Ellis**, who d. 7 Jan. 1872, aged 69. Issue.

(5) Frances Mary (More?) (Frances), bapt. 19 March 1807, St. Peter's; marr. 22 May 1830, Sackville, Alexander **Smith**.

(6) Susanna Eliza (Susan), bapt. 1 Feb. 1809, St. Peter's; marr. 11 July 1830, Sackville, Robert **Stewart**.

(7) Sophia, bapt. 10 or 13 July 1810, St. Peter's; marr. 30 Oct. 1830, Sackville, Thomas **Hiltz**. He was b. 5 Sept. 1803 and d. 18 Jan. 1892, Sackville. She is not mentioned in her father's will. Issue.

(8) David, bapt. 28 July 1812, St. Peter's; bur. 20 July 1813, Sackville, aged 13 months.

8. Johannes Nicholas (John Nicholas), bapt. 30 Sept. 1775, St. Paul's Anglican; bur. 20 [?] June 1816, from St. Peter's Roman Catholic; marr. 7 July 1801, St. Peter's, Catharine **Heffler**, daughter of John Heffler, Sackville. John Nicholas Fultz was a farmer in the Sackville area, but he and his family remain extremely obscure. His widow remarried, 25 Sept. 1827, David **Smith** of Ferguson's Cove, Halifax County.

Issue of John Nicholas and Catharine Fultz:

(1) Mary, bapt. 21 Oct. 1804, St. Peter's.

(2) George Charles (Charles), bapt. 25 June 1807, St. Peter's; d. 10 March 1826, drowned in fall from vessel in Bedford Basin.

(3) Anna Catherine, bapt. 10 March 1810, St. Peter's.

(4) at least two others by 1810, according to John Nicholas

(5) Fultz's petition for land, citing five offspring.

(6) Frederick Joseph (Joseph), bapt. 25 July 1812, St. Peter's; marr. 22 March 1837, St. Paul's Anglican, Isabella Ferguson **Bigsby**. Marriage bond cites him as a blacksmith.

(7) Anthony, b. 4 April 1816; bapt. St. Peter's. A John Anthony Fultz, shipwright, marr. Margaret **Brown**, 1 Aug. 1836, according to marriage bonds.

9. Hannah Barbara, bapt. 19 April 1778, St. Paul's Anglican; surname entered as *Foltz*. Cited in her father's will, 1801, and in her brother George Henry's will, 1845; presumably unmarried. Probably bur. 18 June 1849, Sackville, aged 78.

10. Frederick Jacob, bapt. 16 July 1780, St. Paul's Anglican. Entry reads "son of Frederick and Elizabeth Foul"; not definitely established as a son of John and Elizabeth Fultz. No further information.

APPENDIX

In compiling the preceding genealogy, various entries were located for individuals who could not be placed within the family proper. They are discussed briefly here, since they may be of interest to those researchers attempting further work with the Fultz lineage.

The most interesting unidentified group is the family of James W. and Margaret Fultz, of Sackville and Halifax. They had a son, James Boyle, baptized in Sackville, 22 August 1858, about whom nothing further is known. James W. Fultz was firstly a Sackville farmer, then a Halifax carpenter residing at 21 Gottingen St. in 1870/71 and at 47 Grafton St. in 1871/72. The latter address falls within ward three for the 1871 census, but the family is not to be found in that return. On 23 May 1872, a James Fultz of Halifax died, aged 44, of consumption; the death registration noted that he had been born in Halifax, although the newspaper obituary cited him as previously of Sackville. He left a widow and four children. A daughter Catherine married, aged 21, 27 January 1880, Halifax, in a Roman Catholic ceremony, John O'Malley, son of John and Susan O'Malley, Halifax. Another daughter, Emily, married 2 October 1883, Halifax, also in a Catholic ceremony, Silas Pace, son of John and Lucy Pace, Halifax. At present, the best tentative placement of James W. Fultz within the family is as the unidentified son of James and Catherine (Schwartz) Fultz, as indicated by the 1838 census.

A second unidentified Halifax family is that of John Fultz, shipwright, who died in September 1853, aged 49. Presumably he was the carpenter listed on the 1838 census, Halifax city, with a family of four — a wife, one male under six, one female under six, and a male between six and fourteen. Possibly he belongs to the family of William and Barbara (Burns) Fultz, or to that of John Nicholas and Catharine (Heffler) Fultz.

A William Jacob Fultz in Sackville remains somewhat of a mystery. A daughter, Eunice Ann, married 9 July 1848, Sackville, David Bennet Clark of St. George's parish, Halifax. She died 9 April 1863; the obituary noted that she was widowed by then, and that she was the second daughter of William Jacob. Perhaps she was a close relative of the also unidentified

Elisabeth Fultz who married, 13 June 1846, Sackville, Clement Hamilton. The best tentative placement of these women is as daughters of William and Sarah (Mitchell) Fultz, the innkeepers. The 1838 census indicates that this family was much larger than the records account for, and that it contained several unidentified girls. Although there is no knowledge of William Fultz the innkeeper going by the name of William Jacob Fultz, it is not impossible that that was his full given name.

Miscellaneous unidentified Fultzes in Sackville include David Fultz, buried 1 May 1833, aged 4 days; Mary, daughter of Maria Fultz, baptized 18 November 1858; and Annie E. Fultz, aged 33 (i.e., born ca. 1851), married 25 June 1884, Sackville, John R. Ellis, son of James W. and Catherine Ellis, Sackville. The last mentioned gave her father as William Fultz, carpenter, and her birthplace as Gabarus; she may possibly be Anna, daughter of William Beresford and Eliza (Fultz) Fultz, although the 1871 census indicates that that child was born ca. 1855 in the United States.

In Halifax, the only other unidentified Fultz is one Christiana Fultz, widow, aged 24, who married 31 May 1875, in an Anglican ceremony, Frederick Whitaker, son of Alfred and Eliza Whitaker of Hertfordshire, England. The groom was a private in the 60th. Rifles. The bride cited her parents as John and Catherine, but it is unclear whether Fultz was her maiden or married surname, and placement within the genealogy remains unclear.

Outside Halifax County, the surname Fultz is rarely encountered. The government indexes to birth and death registrations, 1864-1877, suggest a sizeable group in the Louisbourg area, but closer examination reveals the entries to be in error for the surname Tutty. The only *bona fide* Fultz family in Cape Breton would appear to be Joseph and Mary Fultz in Sydney Mines, whose son William, aged 22, married 13 November 1876, North Sydney, in a Roman Catholic ceremony, Catherine Cashen, daughter of Patrick and Catherine Cashen, Sydney Mines. The groom gave Sydney Mines as his birthplace and cited his father as a labourer.

A definite but obscure branch of the family also occurs in the Dover area of Guysborough County. The 1871 census for Cape Canso lists a John Fultz, aged 35, German; wife Adèle, 22, French; and children Mary, 2, and Jeffrey, born January 1871, all Roman Catholic. Additional children included Ellen, born 15 December 1872 and Charles U., born 30 October 1876. John Fultz was a fisherman; his wife was cited variously as Ellen Roache, Ellen Fashie and Adelaide Fultz, while their marriage was either 1866, Canso, or 27

January 1867. A daughter, Elizabeth, aged 22, married 10 January 1897, Canso, in a Roman Catholic ceremony, Charles Felix Grenon, son of Michael and Eliza Grenon; another daughter, Ellen, aged 21, married 30 January 1906, Canso, in a Roman Catholic ceremony, Robert Munro, son of John and Grace Munro. It is possible that the John Fultz in Dover was somehow related to a John W. Fultz who received a Crown grant in the Milford Haven/Tracadie area, 1818. The connection remains extremely tentative, however, since the grant papers are almost illegible, and the surname may instead be Fulton.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The assistance and advice of Robert Harvey, Allan Marble and William Murphy were much appreciated in preparing the above genealogy.

Extracts from the Fultz family papers, held privately by descendants in Williamsburg, Virginia, were made available by Robert Harvey and proved invaluable in tracing the lineage from Anthony Fultz Sr. Mr. Harvey also provided information on the family of Bennett and Mary Susan (Robinson) Fultz, obtained from Mrs. Mildred Ritcey.

Many miscellaneous details were obtained from newspaper items, Sackville area cemetery inscriptions, foreign correspondence, etc., all from the research files of Terrence Punch. Otherwise, the following basic sources were consulted at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia:

- MG1. Vol. 109. Bell's Register of Foreign Protestants.
- MG4. St. George's Anglican, Halifax; all registers, 1784-1830; baptisms, 1850-1865.
 - St. John's Anglican, Sackville; all available registers.
 - St. Joseph's Roman Catholic, Halifax; baptisms, 1869-1893.
 - St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax; all registers, 1749-1830.
 - St. Peter's/St. Mary's Roman Catholic, Halifax; all registers, 1800-1830; baptisms, 1845-1870.
- Only those Roman Catholic registers presently indexed have been consulted.
- MG5. Cemeteries, Halifax City/County.
- MG100. Vol. 22. Fultz file.

RG12. 1838 Census, Halifax City/County.
1871 Census, Halifax/Guysborough Counties.
1881 Census, Halifax County.

RG20. Series A. Land Grants.

RG32. Birth Registrations, Halifax/Guysborough/Lunenburg Counties.
Death Registrations, Halifax County.
Marriage Bonds.
Marriage Registrations, Halifax/Guysborough/Cape Breton Counties.

RG47. Registry of Deeds, Halifax/Guysborough Counties.

RG48. Probate Court, Halifax/Lunenburg Counties.

Acadian Recorder (Halifax). Files.

Novascotian (Halifax). Files.

Punch, Terrence M., and Holder, Jean M. *Nova Scotia Vital Statistics from Newspapers, 1769-1828*. 3 vols. Halifax: Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1978-1981.

List of Sydney Area Labourers, 1785 and 1786

The official papers of Colonel J. F. W. DesBarres, surveyor, cartographer, land owner and governor of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, provide a fascinating range of colonial documentation. Although sadly lacking in personal data, the collection includes material relating to land ownership and management in the Maritimes, the production of the *Atlantic Neptune* maps, bureaucratic "red tape" during the colonial era, the administration of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island during DesBarres' governorship — and a plethora of other topics.

Among the financial documents relating to the early management of Cape Breton are the following two accounts, kept by C. N. Roland, who was evidently a French or Swiss government contractor in the Sydney area. The names listed are interesting in that they reveal many of those individuals present in the community from its earliest days; certain of the surnames can still be found in Cape Breton.

The J. F. W. DesBarres collection is held by the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, who have kindly permitted the publication of the following extracts, taken from MG 23, F 1, series 5, vol. 6, pp. 1063-1070.

From the 3rd March 1785 to the 7th February 1786.

Amount of the advance made to the following Persons on account and agreed by them to be Deducted from their Wages as per Orders for them and receipts in my Hands. Viz.,

From the Work House, Point Edw ^d :£	£	s	d
Nathan Anderson	2	8	
Coll Cambell	4		
Isaac Colethorp	1	6	
Robert Hill	4		6
John Jones [?]		7	
Richard Mountin	3	15	
John Robinson	8	18	1
Woman Sinclair	5		
			Error in not charging Mr. Kay [?]
			£5

From the d^o Store:

Hennery Adam	6
Jean Charles Babin	9
Joseph Bartlett	4 2
John Blackie	2

Jean Frederic Dubois	7	6	6
Pierre Dubois	13	9	½
Barney Gorman		2	
Joseph Langlois	3	10	½
Jaques Mermaud	1	5	
Thomas Mitchel	4	19	2
Joseph Ristine	6	16	9

From the d^o Lime Kiln:

Patrick Bradley	3	10	4	
William Grigg	21	9	¼	from the 3 ^d March to the 31 st July '85,
				Food . . . £4.13.3½
				Clothing . . . £.17.
				From the 1 st August '85
				to the 7 th Feby. '86,
				Food . . . £7.11.2½
				Clothing . . . £8. 7.6½
				£21.9. ¾

Joseph Jefferson	2	2	
James Lindsey	1	18	9
John Steward	3	9	4 has not worked the [illegible]

From the d^o Saw Mill:

John Brown		15	
Donald Cameron	2		3
Kennet Cameron	4	1	10
Dennes Dennery	1	18	6
	116	2	5¾
Brought forwards	116	2	5¾

From the Work House Saw Mill:

Ewen [?]	1	8		
Charles Marc [Mac?] Greger	6	19	3	Error charged him: 6.19.3
				4.10.3
				2.7
John Hennery	4	15		
David James		17	6	
Francis Morgin	4	4		
Arthur Murphey	3	17	1	
Samson Newport	4	6	6	
Christophe Robar	1	11	6	
John Rigby	26	10		

From the Mines:

24 pr ^s Shoes	8	8	
Thomas Moxley	28	8	6

From the Sidney Town, etc.:

Nathan Alcocke	3	15	6
W ^m [Wm?] Angus		7	
John Bain		16	
Jacob Bear		7	
Mynard Bear		11	
Errod [?] Boyd	1	18	
Mr. W ^m [Wm.?] Brown		13	
Alexand ^r Campbell	3	19	10½
Patrick Calanane	4	13	
Alexand ^r Cantly	1	14	6
Denis Chuck		7	
Joseph Clarke	1	17	6
John Conway [?]		2	
Coppe		14	
John Davis	3	16	
Doligny	5	8	
Thomas David	3	14	9
W ^m Dunbar		2	
Francois Dunlap		11	Paid Mr. Perry
John Egan	2	12	1½
John Forest	4	19	9
James Frenton	1	10	6
James Gaye -	2	4	
Donald Marc [Mac?] Gilliaure [Gillivray?]		11	
	254	12	3¼
From the Other Syde	254	12	3¼
Gordon		7	
Donald Marc [Mac?] Greger	2	13	9
Mr. Robert Graham	2	13	
Christ. Gruntenmeyer		19	
Guyon		18	
his Son-in-Law Philipe		14	
Robert Marc [Mac?] Haye	4	9	
John Hamilton	8	8	
W ^m . Hamilton	2	4	1
John Healy	2	6	4½
Hope	2	15	7 has not worked the 14, 15, 16 [illegible]
Hugh Horra		9	
James Hutchison		12	
Mathus Jaise	3	11	6

Marc Jatair [MacIntyre?]	1	15	
Josse		4	due 4/
John Juttle [Tuttle?]		2	
Alexand'r King	3	2	1
John Kser		7	
Dennis Lawlor	1	18	
John Lerry	5	6	
Maddex	4		4 from the 3 ^d March to the 31 st July '85,
Mr. McMahon		2	
Kennet MaKensie	17	10	
Donald Marthinson	3		
James Menzie		6	
Thomas Miller	5		
Molinex	3	11	10½ from the 3 ^d March to the 31 st July '85,
Namard		1	
Edw ^d Pate	3	4	
John Patterson		2	
Georges Petrie	3	14	
Richard Pearty		7	
Pitt		7	
Frederic Reiner		2	
Gigh [Joseph?] Roddorhm	5	2	10½ from the 3 ^d March to the 31 st July '85,
Benjamin Rudge		14	
Martin Russel	2	1	
		8	
	335	3	

Brought forwards	335	3	
Peters Shea	4	2	
Shelton		2	
Shutz		4	
Sline		8	
W ^m Smith	1	4	
Georges Spartes		15	
Thomas Stevens	3	16	6
Philipes Sullivan	5	15	
John Sunderland	3	4	7
Swain	2		
John Tailor	1	10	
W ^m Terrance		4	
Terrance		7	His Excellency's Gardener
Thomas Whelton		2	
W ^m Weaver		2	
Frederic Welhouseen		18	
Richard Wight		2	
W ^m [Wm.?] Wood		2	
	£358	4	

From the 7th February to the 24th June 1786

Amount etc

[This list contains exactly the same names as the preceding one, with the exception of an additional roll added to the end, as follows. No location is specified.]

	£	s	d	
Robert Bird	2		2	
Martin Bouaers [Bowers?]	5			
Charles Boise		7		
Edw ^d Boisso		7		
Rob ^{er} McCoy		10		
John Clohan	2	12	9	Tools
Mickael Dyear	5			
W ^m Davidson	1	9		
John Davidson				Tools
Archibald Forest		14		
Edw ^d FitzGerald	1	5		
Georges Finn		14		
Archibald Gray		7		
Gregory Grant	3	6		
John Gardner		7		
W ^m Gray		7		

W ^m Grandry			Tools
Georges Hatchet		12	
Thomas Hog	2	4	
W ^m [Wm.?] Jack		7	
Richard Kaysey	2	10	
Thomas Killiy	3		
John Koy		7	
Lo____ton [?]			Nails and Provisions
W ^m Lionnard	1	15	
Donald Monal	2	6	
John Mouat			Tools
Jacob Murray	2	6	7½
John Murphy	3	7	
Jeremiak Murphy		7	
Adam Mour		14	
John Moorhead	2		
John Muggach		12	
Henry Neal		7	
Mathew O'Brien		7	
Francis Owen		12	
Albert Rose	1	10	7 Tools
Reach	1	4	
John Roy		7	
Henry Roberts		9	Tools
James Rea		5	
John Rayt		5	
Patrick Ratchfort		7	Tools
Samuel Smith	8	6	1
John Slane	1	8	3
W ^m [Wm.?] Thompson	4	6	Tools
Daniel Watson		13	
Smith Woodruff	3		

Book Reviews

The diary and related writings of the Reverend Joseph Dimock, edited by George E. Levy. ISBN 0-88999-104-9. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, 1979. 207 pages, softcover, \$6.95. *Repent and believe: the Baptist experience in Maritime Canada*, edited by Barry M. Moody. ISBN 0-88999-124-3. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, 1980. 217 pages, softcover, \$6.95. *The journal of the Reverend John Payzant*, edited by Brian C. Cuthbertson. ISBN 0-88999-143-X. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, 1981. 130 pages, softcover, \$5.95. These titles comprise volumes 1 to 3 of the Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada series, and are available from Lancelot Press Ltd., P.O. Box 425, Hantsport, Nova Scotia, B0P 1P0.

Publication of materials relating to Atlantic Baptist history commenced with Silas Rand's, "An Historical Sketch of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association, delivered at the Jubilee Celebration on Monday the 25th. June, 1849." One hundred and fifty years later, the Acadia Divinity College and the Baptist Historical Committee of the Atlantic United Baptist Convention, in co-operation with Lancelot Press, launched the Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada series. The purpose of this series is to make available a collection of primary sources and critical studies dealing with the development of the Baptist witness in the Atlantic provinces of Canada. Three volumes have been published to date.

First was the *Diary of Joseph Dimock*, which was edited by the late Dr. George E. Levy. Dimock (1768-1846), one of the original Baptist Fathers (a title given by revivalist Baptists to their ministers), was pastor of the Chester Baptist Church from 1793 until his death. This volume includes his personal diary from 1796 until 1846, sketches of the history of the Chester and Lunenburg (Northwest) Baptist Churches, and Dimock's record of marriages from 1793 to 1846.

The second volume of the series, *Repent and believe: the Baptist experience in Maritime Canada*, was edited by Dr. Barry M. Moody, assistant professor of history at Acadia University. It contains nine Atlantic region papers which were delivered at the International Symposium, Baptists in Canada, 1760-1980 (15-18 October 1979). Topics included in these papers are the transition from New Light to Baptist, discipline practice, African Baptist development, pragmatic church life, the founding of educational institutions, and the union of the Regular Baptists with the Free Baptists.

The journal of the Reverend John Payzant, edited by Dr. Brian Cuthbertson, public records archivist at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, was the third volume. Pastor of the Liverpool Congregationalist Church (now United) from 1792 to 1834, Payzant was the only major post-Alline revivalist preacher who did not become a Regular Baptist. His journal contains a description of revivalist religious life in Nova Scotia from 1760 until 1810. His memoir is thus a valuable description of Baptist origins by one who worked with them, but was not one of them.

The first critical edition of *The life and journal of the Rev. Henry Alline*, edited by Dr. Barry Moody and Rev. James Beverley, lecturer at the Atlantic Baptist College, will be published in 1983. Alline was the revivalist preacher who single-handedly initiated the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia.

Philip G. A. Allwood

Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America, edited by Beth Light and Alison Prentice. ISBN 919940-16-1. New Hogtown Press, Toronto, 1980. 245 pages, illustrated, softcover, \$9.95.

This is the first in a planned series of four volumes on Canadian women's history which will attempt to illustrate the conditions and concerns of women from childhood to old age, in private life and in public, during the early years of Canada's history. In this initial volume the editors focus on the period between 1713 and 1867, which was one of great upheaval. Wars, rebellions, epidemics, massive migrations and violent economic fluctuations were the order of the day, and these events often caused terrible hardship, for women in particular. As the editors demonstrate through their use of primary sources, women often displayed remarkable heroism and enterprise in battling these elements. Indeed, as Catherine Parr Traill remarks, it was amazing to witness women whose former habits of life had exempted them from any kind of laborious work, "perform tasks from which many men would have shrunk." These women were, as the editors point out, emigrants from the British Isles and the United States, colonists who settled in the British territory of North America, and who were mainly white and Protestant (French Canadian women are to be examined in a future volume). They were true "pioneers," and some even saw themselves as "gentlewomen."

The editors have utilized a wide variety of original documents for their sources, including letters and diaries of literate women, records of associations and institutions, school and court records, advertisements, and even sources from men, such as missionaries' papers and church and government records. These have been organized into three sections in the book, with introductions preceding each citation.

In Part I, selected passages illustrate the period of childhood and adolescence, from the point of view of both rural and urban women. Household servants, the education of girls, and female employment outside the household are but a few of the topics considered. Part II features the subjects of courtship and marriage and the work of wives, which included childbirth, motherhood, and contributions to the household economy. Also discussed are the themes of separation, widowhood and old age, which are brought out in several citations from marriage contracts and advertisements for wives, and widows as entrepreneurs. Finally, in Part III the editors consider the role of women in public life as defined by the law and public opinion. The extent to which women were perceived as occupying a separate sphere from men is documented by excerpts depicting women involved in religious and charitable associations, the legal rights of married women, and the question of the franchise.

While perusing these passages, one not only encounters the writings and thoughts of such notables as Anna Jameson, Susanna Moodie, Anne Langton and Letitia Creighton Youmans, but also the words of lesser-known women who were servants, farm workers, seamstresses and school teachers. Some readers might object to what appears to be an Upper Canadian bias in the choice of documents but, as the editors indicate, the relative richness of archival material concerning both Ontario and upper class women results in a greater concentration on these spheres. Nonetheless, one is pleased to note that there are numerous references to Nova Scotian women, such as Rebecca Byles, Eliza Ann Chipman, and Mary Eliza Herbert.

What emerges from *Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America* is a well-written and well-researched volume on Canadian history, as seen from the female point of view. The effect is to broaden our understanding of our past, and to lend a balance to previous interpretations of Canadian history as a male preserve. One looks forward to the publication of the remaining volumes in the proposed series, with the hope that they will equal the first in prodigious effort and research. Wendy L. Thorpe

Hot Tongue, Cold Shoulder, by Heather Davidson. Nova Scarcity Publishers, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, 1981. 114 pages, softcover, \$9.50.

A good word to describe this book is "charming." With its carefully-lettered title page and family tree, its handwritten text and delicate illustrations, this book is very pleasing to the eye. Heather Davidson has attempted to evoke the struggles and triumphs of one man and his family as they settle the half-tamed lands of the Minas Basin in the 1760s. In this she is quite successful. Peter Thallman is presented to us as a tolerant, introspective man, concerned about his neighbours and anxious to do well in his new homeland.

The book is subtitled *A Diary*, and it is not clearly labelled as fiction. This could be misleading to the casual reader, who might take all its comments as fact. Upon closer examination, however, it becomes apparent that this is not a diary of the 1760s. The language is modern. So, too, is Thallman's outlook on life as it appears through his written words. This is not a flaw; in fact, it makes his life and times more approachable to today's reader. However, one must beware of taking Thallman's comments on his society as true reflections of the attitudes and beliefs of the times in which he supposedly lived.

Davidson is comfortably vague about historical events which take place from the work's inception in the fall of 1759 to Thallman's death in 1768. This vagueness allows her to spend more time on Thallman's perception of everyday life in a new colony, with only passing comments on political and social events of the day. However, there are some glaring inaccuracies. For example, none of the New England Planters came overland to reach Nova Scotia. It would have been more appropriate to describe the sea voyage from Connecticut, especially since the travelling time by sea was comparatively short, and the impact of so sudden a transplant must have been great. Davidson could have used this point most effectively, given the diary form she has chosen to follow.

On the whole, however, *Hot Tongue, Cold Shoulder* is an entertaining piece of fiction. Jean Hancock's evocative illustrations are an attractive addition to a well-written text. We can look forward with pleasure to a sequel, sometime in the summer of 1982, in which Peter Thallman's wife Catherine, whose hot tongue and cold shoulder provided the title for the first book, gives us her side of the story. Mary Ellen Wright

Regional Patterns of Ethnicity in Nova Scotia: A Geographical Study, by Hugh Millward. International Educational Centre, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, 1981. 58 pages, softcover, \$4.50 at Saint Mary's University Bookstore.

Although many books have been written on sundry ethnic groups in Nova Scotia, this particular publication examines ethnicity in the province from a geographical viewpoint. Millward has divided his book into five chapters concerning the following: (1) purpose, data base, and methodology; (2) historical development of ethnic patterns, 1767-1971; (3) comparative analysis of 1971 patterns; (4) recent changes in the ethnic pattern; and (5) identifying Nova Scotia's ethnic regions. In the second chapter the author discusses the various ethnic groups who came to Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century, provides information extracted from the 1871 census, and indicates changes in ethnic diversity from 1871 to 1971.

Initially, Millward had hoped to divide the population into ten groups and to discuss their ethnic origins, mother tongues and birthplaces. The study was to have been based upon the following four factors: (1) that the group was listed in both the censuses of 1871 and 1971; (2) that the group was listed for ethnic origin, mother tongue, and birthplace for the census of 1971; (3) that the group has a distinct cultural identity; and (4) that the ethnic group was mentioned in most census divisions. Problems arose, however, because it was impossible to identify ten that met this criteria. As the author noted, it was possible for an American who was residing in Nova Scotia to list English as his mother tongue, German as his ethnic origin, and the United States as his place of birth. Similarly, all those of British origin do not speak English as their mother tongue, while many people of German or Black ethnic origin have English as their first language. Finally, it was decided that ten groups would be discussed under the three separate headings of ethnic origin, mother tongue, and birthplace.

In his analysis of the censuses, the author provides the reader with twenty-three maps, graphs and tables. The maps in particular are informative in that they show the ethnic diversity of Nova Scotia (by county and larger towns) in 1870-71 and 1971, as well as indicating mother tongue and birthplace diversity in 1971. One is also shown the relative concentration of people of German and Dutch, Black, and Indian extraction in 1971; of immigrants born in the British Isles and United States in 1971; and of persons whose mother tongue was French in 1976.

Although many studies of ethnic groups have been written from a socio-logical and anthropological point of view, Millward has provided another dimension with his analysis of their spatial patterns from the province's early settlement to the 1970s. With a bibliography and index to place names, this book is a valuable source for researchers conducting studies of Nova Scotia's ethnic composition. Philip L. Hartling

Halifax, photographs by Sherman Hines, introduction by John Godfrey. ISBN 0-920852-12-2. Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, 1981. 78 plates, hardbound, \$14.95.

Once again, Sherman Hines has presented us with examples of his talent as a photographer. Through a variety of lenses and vistas, we are shown a Halifax that is both familiar and revealing. The photographs depict many of Halifax's best-loved places — but with a few surprises. Not all the areas within the metropolitan region are represented, but the old city is here in all its old, new and renewed state. Restored historic properties and old houses are shown next to brand-new, modern office towers, side-by-side in a mix that is Halifax, summer, fall, winter and spring. Although most views portray the city in its best weather, a few snow storms are included. The first time I saw this work was in the middle of a Halifax January blizzard — what a wonderful time to be reminded of Historic Properties in July, with bright sun and the cheerfulness of meeting friends!

Physically, the book is well-bound and the paper used presents excellent reproductions of Hines' photographs. One criticism is that the photo captions are listed at the front of the book, with each picture being numbered to match. This is unfortunate for the reader, who must flip back and forth if he or she is not familiar with Halifax. For those who know their way around, however, this is not a problem, as most scenes are readily recognized. In all fairness to the publishers, too, this is a necessary layout device, due to the process used to produce this quality of work. The captions themselves serve quite adequately to inform the reader of some historical point, as well as to identify the subject.

The photographs are of a good size, with consideration given to the content and subject they capture. A mixture of artistic and documentary, they serve to show us areas we tend to take for granted and to bring us a new

appreciation by the use of fresh perspectives, coupled with Hines' camera expertise. Thus we are shown the harbour and the North West Arm, and depending upon the kind of vessel included in the photograph — sailboat, fishing vessel, cargo carrier, naval vessel — we are reminded that both locales may be a place of commerce, recreation or history.

Unfortunately, Hines has deigned not to include any pictures of the seat of provincial government — a sad lack, given Halifax's long tradition of administrative prominence. Neither have many photographs depicting interior scenes been included, but those that there are show Haligonians enjoying food and entertainment that competes with the best that the rest of the world has to offer — and I echo John Godfrey in lamenting that such a well-kept secret is out.

Hines has not used pictures of all Halifax's landmarks, nor has he shown us anything startling or unusual, but he has nevertheless captured this city at its most gracious beauty. A beauty fondly remembered in the depths of a winter storm captures indeed the essence of why this city is the chosen home of so many. Mary Margaret Whyte

