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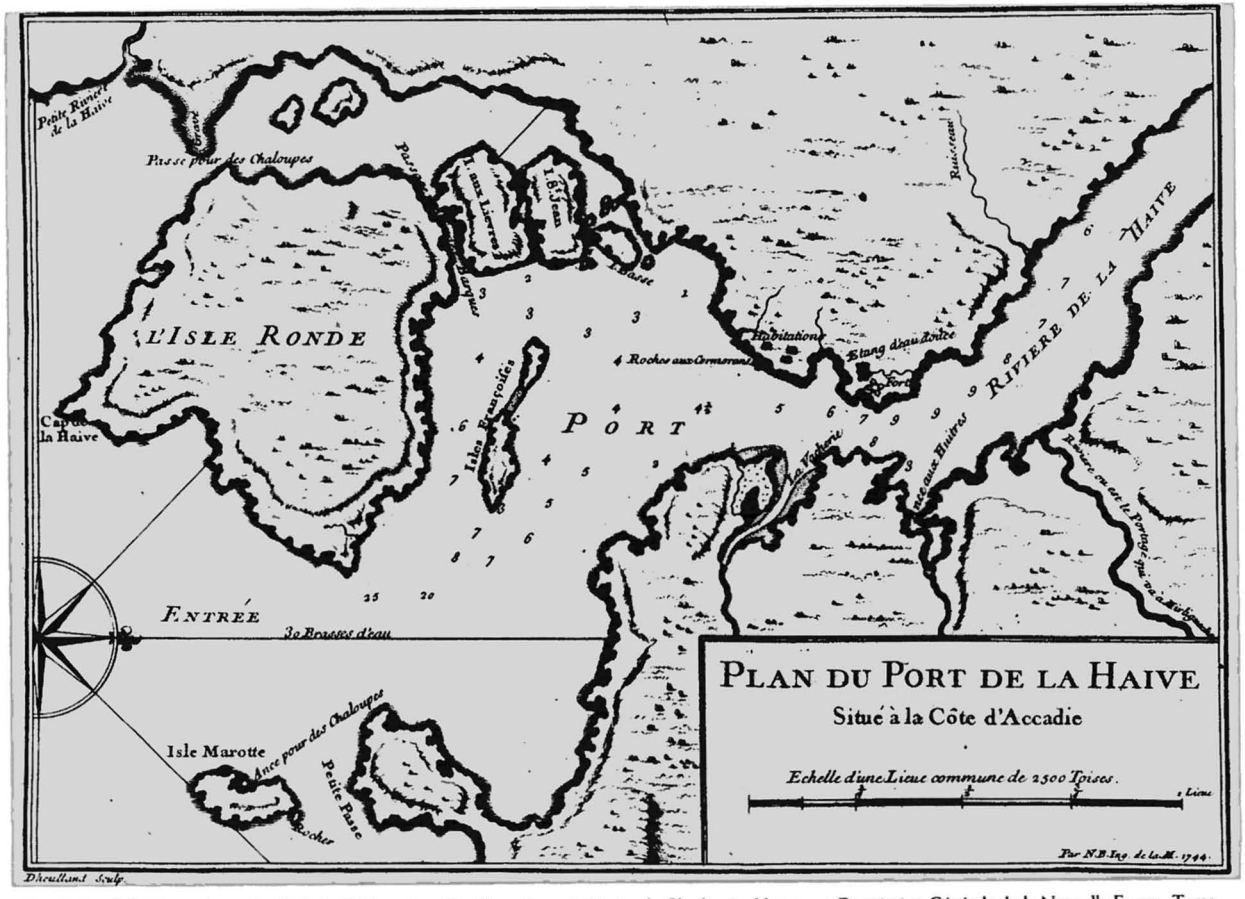

Plan du Port de la Haive, drawn by Nicholas Bellin, printed in Pierre-François Xavier de Charlevoix, Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France, Tome Quatrième.

EDITORIAL

The last issue of the *Review*, featuring the Fultz Corner Restoration Society and two articles about the family, was a great success. Nearly all the twelve hundred copies printed have been sold. In co-operation with the Lunenburg County Historical Society, we feature in this issue two articles about the French settlement at LaHave in the seventeenth century. The Shelburne County Historical Society is assisting in the preparation of articles for the spring 1983 issue. As part of the bicentenary celebrations of the arrival of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia, both the spring and autumn 1983 issues will be devoted to the Loyalists. The Nova Scotia Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness has agreed to support a policy of liberally assisting historical societies to purchase copies in bulk of the *Review* for re-sale at a profit to the purchasing society. This is a particularly advantageous arrangement for organizations whose geographic area is being featured in the *Review*, and the Fultz Corner Restoration Society has already taken advantage of this new policy.

The response to our request for articles about the Loyalists has been excellent, although we are still anxious to receive more submissions. Articles on other subjects are arriving regularly and 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, Nova Scotia, B3H 1W4.

The financial state of the *Review* remains precarious in these difficult economic times; if it were not for the very generous assistance of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness, the *Review* would have ceased publication last issue. We are most grateful to those of you who sent in the 1983 subscription renewal cards which were in each copy of the last issue. In this issue, we have eliminated the cards in favour of a tear-out page for renewals. If the *Review* is to continue through the coming year, those who have not yet renewed for 1983 should do so as soon as possible. This will allow us to determine our financial position early in the new year. Your support will help greatly in our survival -- and in the continuation of what we hope is "good reading"!

Brian Cuthbertson
Managing Editor

1SSN 0227-4752

Contributors

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is a Montreal native, currently residing in Halifax. She holds a B.A. with distinction from Mount St. Vincent University, where she was awarded the Sister Francis d'Assisi history prize upon graduation in 1982. She is presently a research assistant with the Sisters of Charity at the Mount St. Vincent Motherhouse.

Mrs. Watts' primary interest is in local history, and has resulted in two booklets, both published in 1979: *Beyond the North West Arm*, a history of the Williams Lake area, and *On the Road From Freshwater Bridge*, a history of the house at 5500 Inglis Street. She has also developed historical slide shows for presentation to local organizations. Her most recent endeavour was a history of pre-1900 cyclists in Nova Scotia, presented as a slide-talk at the Canadian Cycling Association Centennial Rally in British Columbia, July 1982.

PAULETTE M. CHIASSON
was born in Sydney, but moved at an early age to Antigonish, where she was educated. She holds a B.A. (First Class Honours) from St. Francis Xavier University, and an M.A. from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, where she was awarded the R. Samual McLoughlin Fellowship in 1976. Her master's thesis in literary history involved an examination of Nova Scotian travel literature from 1770 to 1860.

Formerly a manuscript editor with the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* in Toronto, she is now employed in the same capacity with the French counterpart, the *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, in Quebec City.

JAMES C. BRANDOW
is a native of Brooklyn, New York, where he still resides. His graduate studies in history were done at New York University, and in 1979 he was awarded the Treadwell Memorial Scholarship for study in Canterbury, England. He is presently a school teacher in New York City.

Mr. Brandow has done extensive editing of early passenger lists, census returns and parish registers, with particular emphasis on Barbadian genealogy. He is presently preparing Nathaniel Carrington's journal for publication in its entirety.

JAMES H. MORRISON
holds B.A. and B.Ed. degrees from Acadia University, and a Ph.D. from the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, where he studied on a Commonwealth

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Dr. Morrison has several published books and articles to his credit, and is keenly interested in African and ethnic studies. He is perhaps best known locally, however, for his endeavours in the field of oral history.

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was born in London, England. She is a graduate of St. Hilda's College, Oxford, with an M.A. in modern Languages, and also holds an M.L.S. from Dalhousie University. At present, she is a French instructor with the School of Journalism, King's College, Halifax.

Mrs. Dawson's varied interests in mediaeval history, archaeology, seventeenth century French language and literature and the Acadian dialect have combined fortuitously with her summer residency in Lunenburg County to deeply involve her in that area's early French history. She is a member of the research committee for the Lunenburg County Historical Society, and has written a booklet, *Isaac de Razilly, 1587-1635, Founder of LaHave*, published in conjunction with this year's 350th anniversary of Razilly's arrival at Fort Point.

MALCOLM MACLEOD
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Dr. MacLeod has previously been published in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, the *Dalhousie Review*, the *Canadian Historical Review* an the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*. His article carried in this issue previously appeared in the *Newfoundland Quarterly* (Spring 1981).

JOHN G. GIBSON
was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, but currently resides in Kingsville, Inverness County, where he is a writer on Gaelic topics for the *Scotia Sun* and other Antigonish-Inverness area newspapers.

Mr. Gibson was educated at the universities of Edinburgh and Toronto, specializing in social anthropology. He has worked as a schoolteacher, news editor and photographer, but is primarily interested in Gaelic research, including emigration, military history and musical traditions.

Nat Butler and Burns Pierce: Nova Scotian Heroes of the Cycle Tracks

Heather M. Watts

> Crouched low on my wheel, with hands firmly gripping the bars, I make every thrust of the pedals whirl me around faster. By the time the clanging bell and the frantic yells of the crowd annouce the last lap, I am just as wild as the most demonstrative onlooker. I know nothing but the spice of victory. I go around like a wooden animal in a carnival. My body swings in unison with my faithful steed. As I near the upward incline my torso and head bend toward the inside, and when I am at the summit of the rise my wheel and myself are at right-angles to the track. Instinctively my body swings back again as I dive down the bank toward the straight.[1]

Thus Nat Butler described the excitement and thrill experienced by the professional bicycle racer riding the wooden boards of a steeply-banked indoor track. This gruelling and dangerous sport was at its peak at the turn of the century, when a professional race on the eastern United States circuit could attract ten times the number of cheering spectators that might turn out for a baseball game.

Two of bicycle racing's top riders were Nat Butler of Halifax and Burns Pierce of East Sable River, both of whom left Nova Scotia as young men to seek their fortunes in the Boston area. Between 1893 and 1906, they rose from obscurity to the heights of American national and world competition, watched by the rather awed press of their home province. Today they are virtually forgotten and their achievements unrecognized.

Nat Butler, the best known of three cycling brothers, was always referred to in the local press as "a native Haligonian." He first appeared on the American racing scene in 1893 as the winner of the prestigious Linscoot road race, but was soon swept into the fast-paced professional life of the indoor velodromes. These oval tracks, short and steeply banked, were built by race promoters all through the eastern United States in the 1890s. Butler loved the dazzling lights and the echoing noise and excitement of the crowds as they cheered on their favourites, which, he claimed, made him ride much better on an indoor track: "The tumult goads me on until I fear nothing."[2] Indeed, physical courage was a necessity, as track racers used the steep banking to gain an advantage. The higher on the steep sides he climbed, the

1 Nat Butler, in an article written for a Boston newspaper, quoted by James McCullagh in *American Bicycle Racing* (Emmaus, Penna., 1976), p. 26.

2 *Ibid.*

swifter would be the racer's "drop" down to the straight, and the more chance he had of intimidating and perhaps out-distancing his opponent. One angle misjudged could mean disaster.

The use of a pacing bicycle was often permitted, particularly when a promoter felt it might help to achieve a new speed record, thus boosting the crowd-drawing potential of the race. The pacing machine, pedalled by two, four, five or even six men, one behind the other, kept a steady pace just inches ahead of the racer, acting as a wind shield and drawing him on to greater speeds. As the pacers tired in long races, a fresh team would ease out and pick up the rider, allowing the original pacers to head for the rest area — an intricate manoeuvre to accomplish without losing the pace. Pacing teams often developed a fan following of their own, and were described as "pulling" a rider to victory: when a new record was set, they expected to share in the prize money. Towards the end of the 1890s, motorized pacing machines were introduced, making changes unnecessary but adding considerably to the dangers involved for the cyclist. So closely did the racer follow his pacemaker that when an accident occured, it was almost impossible for him to avoid a collision in which the tangle of machines and moving mechanical parts often resulted in injury and sometimes death. Nat Butler, "King of the Motorpace Followers" to his adoring fans in Boston, was one of the lucky ones. Many other world and national champions met their deaths behind the motors, but Butler survived this period unscathed.

In the early years of the new century, Butler joined other top American racers in Paris, and although he had now been racing for more than twelve years and wasconsidered to be past his peak, his successes were phenomenal. In 1905 he broke all records at the Winter Velodrome in Paris, defeating the top French riders. Matched against Bobby Walthour, perhaps the greatest all-round rider America had produced, Butler defeated him in four out of seven contests. Walthour had an enormous European and American following (the well-known parlour song, "A Bicycle Built for Two," was based on his elopement), so Butler's victory made him a hero. He was invited to race in Germany and spent the summer of 1906 in Dresden and at Leipsig, where he won the coveted Golden Wheel race in May. By August he was back in France, where the inevitable caught up with him. Butler claimed that only his leather racing helmet saved him from death in a serious accident in Paris. His recovery was slow and he decided it was time to return to Boston and finally to "quit the game."[3]

3 The details of Nat Butler's racing successes are taken from the Power Scrapbooks in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, MG9, Vol. 111-114 and 116.

Burns Pierce's career almost exactly paralleled Butler's. Both men adopted the Boston area as their home, raced at the same tracks against the same opponents and retired within a year of each other. Pierce, billed during his racing career as the "Nova Scotia Fisherman" was, in fact, a carpenter. He moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1893 and found a job in nearby Linden. One afternoon he took the second-hand cushion-tyred bicycle on which he rode back and forth to work to a race at the local Linden Bicycle Club, and to his amazement and theirs, easily out-distanced the club members on their pneumatic-tyred racing machines. Club officials at once recognized Pierce's natural ability and offered him the coaching and encouragement he needed. Soon he was entered in amateur races throughout the area and victories came thick and fast.[4]

Prizes for amateur races in the early 1890s had been modest: medals, cups and trophies or cycling accessories. As race promoters sought to attract the most competitive racers and to add excitement to their contests, however, the prizes grew in value. It was not unusual for precious stones, pianos, and wagons or lots of land to be offered as prizes, while still technically keeping the race in the amateur category. Pierce in 1896, his last year as an amateur, set the world's record for the twenty-five mile distance and won a team of horses for his trouble.

During this period, the League of American Wheelmen, the governing body which controlled cycle racing, prohibited cash prizes for amateur competition and sought to uphold the ideal of the gentleman amateur. Once commercial promoters discovered the mass appeal of cycle racing there was an increasing struggle for control. In 1896, when the League removed its sanction from the questionable Class B or semi-professional races, hundreds of cyclists, including Pierce, turned professional, joining the newly-formed National Cycling Association, which quickly gained effective control of racing in the United States.[5]

His new status made no difference, as records continued to fall to the "Nova Scotia Fisherman": the North American one hundred mile crown in

4 The details of Burns Pierce's racing career were given to me by his son, Lewis Pierce of Berwick, during interviews in the spring of 1981, and taken from numerous unidentified newspaper clippings in Mr. Pierce's possession. Direct quotations are from an interview Burns Pierce gave to Alvin Savage of the *Halifax Herald* in 1942.

5 Robert Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle: Its Early Life and Times in America* (New York, 1972), p. 154.

1896 and 1899, American records at two, three, four and five mile distances, the American hour record and the half-mile record of the world.[6] Endurance tests seemed to fascinate him — Pierce rode the San Francisco twenty-four hour race without dismounting, covering an amazing four hundred and sixty-seven miles, a record that stood longer after his retirement.

Pierce's strength and staying power made him a natural for the six-day races, angonizing endurance marathons that were popular in the 1890s and afterwards. The inhuman spectacle of one man riding sometimes as long as twenty hours out of twenty-four for six days had been banned in several states by 1898, so that Pierce rode as part of a two-man team, in which twelve hours was the daily maximum allowed any one rider. The winner was the team that covered the most miles in the given time. The race started slowly with riders huddled together in a pack, as each team husbanded its strength. Spectators drifted in and out during the week, hoping to witness a "break" when one rider would streak away from the pack, pouring out every ounce of reserved strength in order to gain a lap or two on his competitors. Instantly the pack would wake from a dream-like state induced by weariness and the endless repetition of laps, and the "jam" would be on. Rested riders would tumble from their track-side bunks ready to relieve a tired team-mate as they struggled to prevent any one team from gaining an advantage. Feeling ran high. In one of Pierce's races a French rider, Aucoutrier, gave up the race at seven o'clock in the morning of the third day, saying he was completely exhausted. His partner, according to the newspaper, was heart-broken and said he would never forgive Aucoutrier for the disgrace he had brought upon them. Such weakness was not one of Pierce's characteristics.

His partner for many six-day races was fellow-Canadian Archie McEachern of Toronto and together they made a formidable team. Their miles and laps at hourly intervals would be recorded by the evening papers and betting was heavy among race fans. Supporters would sometimes assist their favourites in unauthorized ways. Pierce once described how he lost a race (by inches) because of stomach cramps induced by the food he had been handed as he passed the trackside cookstoves. "That was part of the luck," he said.

Archie McEachern met his death a few years later in a motorpace accident

6 Pierce's record times were 100 mi., 3 hr. 24 min. 5 sec.; 2 mi., 3 min. 9 sec.; 3 mi., 4 min. 46 sec.; 4 mi., 6 min. 23 sec.; 5 mi., 8 min. 2-2/5 sec.; 1 hr., 36 mi. 850 yd.; ½ mi., 37 sec.

at the Jersey City track, but Pierce, although he suffered several bad spills, escaped serious injury. The fall he remembered most vividly occurred on the steepest part of the bank, as he and his machine slid back down the full length of the slope on the rough boards. His trainer, "Mother" Webb, spent two hours extracting the resulting splinters.

Perhaps Pierce's greatest race was the world middle distance championship in 1898, which dethroned the reigning middle distance racer of the 1890s, Jimmie "Midget" Michael. The "Welsh Wonder," as he was called, weighed only one hundred pounds and had introduced paced racing to America, amazing the fans by proving that a man could not only ride faster than a trotting horse, but also could clock speeds as good as those of a steam train. The race between Pierce and Michael was watched by twenty thousand fans at Charles River Park in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Pierce completed the twenty miles in thirty-seven minutes, a time that remains respectable today. After the race, Pierce wrapped the prize of nine hundred dollars in an old shirt, and took the trolley home to his wife and son, his winnings under his arm.

Burns Pierce retired from racing in 1905 and brought his family home to Nova Scotia, where he lived for nearly forty more years. Bicycle racing had never achieved the following here that it did in larger centres, and gradually the truly great achievements of Pierce and Butler on the international scene faded from memory. In 1982, the one hundredth anniversary year of the Canadian Cycling Association, it seems appropriate to look once again at their careers, and to reinstate Nat Butler and Burns Pierce where they surely belong — in the forefront of Nova Scotia's sporting heroes.

As Others Saw Us: Nova Scotian Travel Literature from the 1770s to the 1860s

Paulette M. Chiasson

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, British and European citizens crossed the Atlantic to travel extensively throughout North America. Many of these travellers recorded their observations and impressions in letters, diaries, or journals, but some also chose to publish their comments on the New World, creating a rich legacy of travel literature that discusses various aspects of North American life. The travelogue was a popular form of literary expression during the period, providing both information and entertainment for those who could not undertake such a journey themselves. Social customs, politics, climate and resources were only a few of the topics that captured the traveller's interest and, occasionally, his imagination. Although the resulting accounts vary greatly in quality and accuracy, they often provide unique and sensitive insights into colonial society. They are also a valuable source of information which, unfortunately, has been little used by Maritime historians.

While Nova Scotia never featured as prominently in the travel literature as did the United States or the Canadas, it can claim both an interesting and extensive number of published accounts.[1] Works of travel and description have existed since the colony was first sighted by Europeans, but the number of accounts did not begin to increase significantly until the 1770s. Waning considerably during and immediately after the War of 1812, the numbers rose again during the 1820s and 1830s. With improvements in both oceanic and overland transportation, visitors and their accounts continued to multiply until the late 1860s.

Max Berger, an American historian commenting on the travel account, noted its value as a "source for data not elsewhere obtainable. Things too commonplace for a native to mention often appear sufficiently bizarre to the stranger to merit notation and investigation."[2] Viewing the colony from the perspective of a non-resident, travellers could, at times, be more perceptive than the native Nova Scotian.

Usually uninvolved in the controversies of the areas they visited, their accounts are also an excellent counterbalance to the biases and prejudices of

1 This article is based on the author's study of over 60 such accounts, "Travellers in Nova Scotia, 1770-1860," M.A. thesis, unpublished, Queen's University, 1981.

2 Max Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860* (New York, 1943), p. 6.

local sources. Travellers were particularly fascinated by the diversity of the colonial population. Their descriptions of Blacks, Micmacs, Acadians and other ethnic groups are a prominent feature of the accounts, providing unique documentation on the inarticulate portions of the population, who left few records of their life in the colony. While some accounts are superficial and lacking in insight, others are significant, not only for their lack of prejudice, but also for their analysis of racial relations and their forthright descriptions of social conditions in Nova Scotia at the time of their visit.

The European explorers of the seventeenth century had recorded their observations of North America's native population, arousing considerable interest in Indian customs and culture among their fellow countrymen. The emphasis travellers gave to their descriptions of the Micmacs of Nova Scotia from the 1770s to the 1860s changed in response to, or in anticipation of, the needs and interests of their readers. Thus, the main concern of John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, Yorkshire farmers who came to Nova Scotia in 1774 to verify the "rumour prevailing of the advantages that were to be made in Nova Scotia," was to stress that the Micmacs no longer posed a threat to settlement. They were a "friendly, harmless, well-behaved people."[3] The Yorkshire men also wrote of the Micmacs' ability to cope with the wilderness, their expertise in hunting, and in making canoes. Robinson and Rispin provided other details of Indian life which would be frequently repeated in subsequent accounts: their faithful adherence to Catholicism, their nomadic way of life, and their predilection for alcohol -- "to which the great decrease amongst them is principally owing."[4]

By the late 1820s, the largely favourable descriptions of the Micmac and his ability to survive the rigours of the North American climate were being supplanted by extensive criticism of Micmac lifestyle. The British traveller arrived in Nova Scotia expecting to encounter the noble savage untouched by European civilization. Instead he found a rootless, dispirited, and often pathetically disoriented Micmac. William Scarth Moorsom, a military engineer stationed in the colony during the 1820s, ventured an explanation

3 John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, *Journey through Nova Scotia, containing a particular account of the country and its inhabitants* (York, 1774; reprinted in Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Report*, 1945, pp. 27-57), pp 50-52.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

for some of these expectations, which when unrealized, led to such intense disappointment and harsh criticism:

> The lengthened descriptions we have read in the volumes of historians of these counties and the romantic narratives corroborating those descriptions, enduce an interst in the native children of the forest which survives the fall of all those expectations that must ensue upon a comparison with the present state of the Indian tribes generally and more especially of the tribe at present existing in this province.[5]

The influence of preconceived notions based on popular literary stereotypes cannot be overemphasized. The British reading public of the early nineteenth century had enjoyed the tales of the noble wilderness savage featured in James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826). The realization that Cooper's novel failed to portray accurately the North American native came to a shock to most travellers. As late as 1864, another military officer, Francis Duncan, demonstrated the extent of this influence when he wrote: "The want of feathers, the existence of trousers,...the keen and unromantic relish he had for the coin,and his unquenchable appetite for drink" were totally irreconcilable with the "brilliant being that the perusal of the 'Last of the Mohicans' [*sic*] had impressed upon my mind."[6]

The British traveller, with his concerns about elevating the standards of colonial society, and his constant emphasis on the necessity for industriousness and sobriety, had difficulty understanding the semi-nomadic Micmacs who refused to settle into proper homes and agricultural pursuits. Although he could still discern "faint traces of their former grandeur," Moorsom felt that gradual association with the white population had led to the development of a "meagre, squalid, dirty" people, clothed in rags and "half stupefied."[7]

Moorsom's contemporary, the anonymous author of *Letters from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*, had the same conception of the once noble savage, but despite his willingness to blame white society for much of the Micmac's

5 William Scarth Moorsom, *Letters from Nova Scotia; comprising sketches of a young country* (London, 1830), p. 108.

6 Francis Duncan, *Our garrisons in the west; or sketches in British North America* (London, 1864), p. 46.

7 Moorsom, p. 109.

circumstances, he described them as devoid of moral or cultural principles.[8] Many other travellers echoed this pessimism concerning the possibility of "civilizing" the Micmac. While they continued to praise the natives for their honesty, endurance, and religious devotion, doubts about their adaptability persisted.

To travellers coming from a British or European civilization that was developing a strong interest in theories of racial origin, folk culture and language during the mid-nineteenth century, the Micmac presented an interesting case study. Alfred de Gobineau, who would eventually gain international recognition as the author of *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1859), was particularly anxious to visit the Nova Scotian Micmacs. Because of his familiarity with the Orient, where he had served as a diplomat for his native France, and because of his interest in theories of racial origins, it was only natural that he would put forward his own theory that the Micmacs were not related to the North American Indians, but were half Eskimo and bore remarkable resemblances to the Ouzebeks, the Hazarehs, and the Turks of central Asia.[9]

Gobineau was also familiar with the romantic picture of the American Indian, and made comparisons between the idyllic heroism found in Cooper's novels and the realities of a people accepting poverty and misery with an air of resignation and defeat. Disease and alcohol had taken their toll by the 1860s and Gobineau predicted an eventual disappearance of the Micmac from Nova Scotia.[10] His racial theories are hardly within the mainsteam of travel literature, but while his ideas of origin and decline can be dismissed, his eye for detail and his keen powers of description in commenting on the Micmac encampments, the wigwams, and the young girls weaving baskets, should not be overlooked.[11]

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8 *Letters from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick illustrative of their moral, religious, and physical circumstances during the years 1826, 1827, and 1828* (Edinburgh, 1829), p. 92. This anonymous work was attributed by the *Novascotian* (Halifax), 15 Sept. 1830, to a Mr. Hunter, a minister who served as tutor to a Nova Scotian family during the late 1820s.

9 John Arthur de Gobineau, *Voyage à Terre-Neuve, suivi de la chasse au caribou* (Paris, 1861, reprinted Montreal, 1972), pp. 60-61.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

The only British traveller who came to know the Micmacs at all well was Campbell Hardy, a soldier and keen sportsman. His many hunting expeditions with native guides had provided him with an excellent opportunity to become acquainted with them, and as a result, he acquired a more sympathetic outlook than most other observers. The stranger, reasoned Hardy, formed his opinion, based on "what he has heard from unreasonable and prejudiced settlers," that the Micmac was a "lazy, ignorant, incorrigible being" who had kept aloof from non-Indian society and had proven incapable of education and civilization. Hardy boldly defended the native cause: "It is the white man who has kept aloof from the Indian, oppressed him, deprived him of his natural means of supporting existence," he wrote, explaining that the appropriation of Micmac lands had robbed the native of his traditional way of life.[12]

Hardy's description of the Micmac was probably the most sympathetic in all the travel literature concerning Nova Scotia. He was aware of the attitudes of white settlers, and rather than write a general criticism of the poverty and intemperance of the native people, his first-hand experiences led him to emphasize their potential and capabilities as individuals. He also pointed out that they were very much aware of the injustices committed against them:

> The Micmac Indian is in reality possessed of feelings as fine, and as acutely sensitive as our own race is capable of. The conciousness of the primary wrong to his race, of long-continued neglect and of tissues of violated promises, both personal and national is still vividly and constantly impressed upon his mind, and occupies his thoughts.[13]

The Black population of Nova Scotia figured less prominently than the Micmacs in most accounts of the colony. Unlike the native population, they had not been subjects of romantic novels, and visitors thus arrived with fewer preconceived notions. But the existence of slavery in the republic to the south was the topic of lively discussion in travel literature on the United States, and thus it is not surprising that many writers chose to describe the situation of those Blacks who had settled in Nova Scotia after the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

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12 Campbell Hardy, *Sporting adventures in the New World, or days and nights of moose-hunting in the pine forests of Acadia* (London, 1855), pp. 217-227.

13 *Ibid.*

On their way to other settlements in the colony, visitors passed through Black communities outside Halifax, where they saw small log huts surrounded by ragged, barefoot children. In the marketplace they encountered Blacks, some selling berries or handmade brooms and others engaged in "lowly occupations." Occasionally the authors would expound upon their own abolitionist sentiments, comparing the superiority of the Black's free existence in Brtish North America to his bondage in the southern United States.[14] Some, however, expressed reservations, suggesting that the Blacks should have been educated before being freed to live a life largely dependant on government aid.[15] For some, freedom was not the final solution.

Most of those who wrote of the Blacks, however, were sympathetic towards them and were aware that the attitude of the local population was a strong factor in explaining their economic and social condition. The author of *Letters from Nova Scotia* commented on the widespread prejudice he observed in the late 1820s, stating that

> The negroes in this country are a degraded race. They are not allowed to eat at the same table or drink out of the same vessel; to sit on the same seat in the church or meeting house, or to be taught in the same schools with white persons. They do not vote at elections, sit as jurors, or serve as militia men. Their whole treatment trains them to consider themselves as inferior beings; and in their conduct and deportment they manifest sufficient proof of their own entertainment of this opinion.[16]

John McGregor echoed similar thoughts when he attributed poverty among Blacks to"servitude and degredation having extinguished in them the spirit that endures present difficulties and privations, in order to attain future advantages," and to "a consciousness that they are a distinct but unimportant race, in a country where they feel that they must ever remain a separate people."[17] Both authors obviously felt that white society's attitude

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14 *Moorsom*, pp. 128-129.

15 *Letters from Nova Scotia*, pp. 116-119 and John McGregor, *Historical and descriptive sketches of the Maritime colonies of British North America* (London, 1828; reprinted New York, 1968), p. 126.

16 *Letters from Nova Scotia*, p. 118.

17 McGregor, p. 126.

towards Blacks had played a role in the formation of the Blacks' own opinion of themselves and in the establishment of the economic, social and educational disadvantages under which Blacks laboured.

Over twenty years later, J.F.W. Johnston would write that he had seen many "industrious owners of small farms" among the Blacks of the colony, and that he "was both surprised and pleased to see a perfectly black man sitting in the box as a juror."[18] Most travellers, however, chose to discuss the proverty, ignoring the attitudes and segregational practices that contributed significantly to the so-called "Black problem." The prejudices remained. Hugo Reid, a sometime resident of Nova Scotia, would find ample justification for his remark, made in 1861, that anti-Black prejudice in Nova Scotia was as strong as in the northern United States.[19]

The descriptions of the Acadian population found in many travel accounts were yet another example of interest in the varied composition of the colony's population. Remarks concerning poverty and lack of education were made once more, but travellers seemed to be more favourably disposed towards this ethnic group, for several reasons. One of the most influential factors was the publication of T.C. Haliburton's *History of Nova Scotia* (1829). The story of the 1755 deportation and subsequent re-settlement of the province by a simple, virtuous people who retained their language and traditions, no doubt helped to moderate opinions concerning the Acadians. Unfortunately, too many writers would later rely upon such sources as Haliburton to fill out their accounts, especially if they had not had the opportunity to visit any of the Acadian communities themselves.

There were, however, always a few travellers who relied upon their own narrative and descriptive talents, as well as on their personal experiences and observations. Two such authors, W.S. Moorsom and his contemporary, the anonymous author of *Letters from Nova Scotia*, recorded favourable impressions of the Acadians. They were largely influenced by their encounters with the Abbé Jean-Mande Sigogne, a French priest who had devoted his life to the Acadians of southwestern Nova Scotia. The "worthy curé of Montaigain [*sic*]," a cultured, educated man, did much to dispel Moorsom's theories about "dark scowling monks wrapt in bigotry and black

18 James Finlay Weir Johnston, *Notes on North America* (Edinburgh, 1851), p. 7.

19 Hugo Reid, *Sketches in North America, with some account of Congress and of the slavery question* (London, 1861), p. 291.

garments."[20] The charm and hospitality he demonstrated to English-speaking travellers no doubt aided in the creation of a favourable impression towards the Acadians, for whom he often acted as spokesman in both secular and religious matters. Sigogne complained to Moorsom of the indifference his parishioners demonstrated towards the education of their children. The military engineer provided what he believed was an explanation for this behaviour:

> Probably this apathy may be attributed to the same source as that which renders the people so peculiar compared with those around them. A feeling of isolated existence and separate interests, in the first instance, has been softened down into sacred reverence for the habits of their fathers. Possessed of few ideas beyond those relating to their immediate wants, they know not that active, perhaps I should say restless spirit of enterprise which urges forward the acquirement of more: they are satisfied with their condition as it is: a competence sufficient for their simple mode of life is easily obtained; and beyond this they do not make any further exertion.[21]

Both Moorsom and the author of *Letters from Nova Scotia* commented on the isolation of the Acadians and the few contacts they had with other Nova Scotians. They agreed that because "they marry among themselves, and do not associate greatly with those around them, they may be supposed to be almost what their fathers were in the days of Queen Anne."[22] The Acadians' retention of customs and lifestyle would continue to attract travellers who found them quaint and picturesque: "There is something about them which pleases a stranger."[23]

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, *Evangeline*, published in 1847, was another landmark influence on the travel literature of Nova Scotia. Visitors' familiarity with the poem is substantiated by the frequency with which they quoted its stanzas as they passed through Acadian communities. *Evangeline*'s romantic narrative prompted travellers to attempt, in prose rather than in poetry, to follow in the footsteps of Longfellow by describing

20 Moorsom, p. 258.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

22 *Letters from Nova Scotia*, p. 99.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

this "unfortunate people." Campbell Hardy, Francis Duncan and others made direct reference to Longfellow, describing the Acadians as guileless, scrupulous, peaceable, pious and frugal. According to Duncan, they still bore the traces of the tragedy of the deportation: "They always struck me as being a sad and subdued people, and if one could fancy a whole people *dazed* with some sorrow, as we so frequently see in an individual, such a people does this French Acadian tribe seem to be."[24]

Duncan went on to describe other aspects of Acadian life. He found that the people were "very much influenced by their priests," but was willing to condone this influence as long as it was not "turned to any evil political end." Of their domestic habits he was more critical, admitting that they were "not of the cleanest, and too many crowd under one roof, as among the French Canadians." However, he noted that "no impropriety of conduct, nor looseness of morals seems to result from their crowded homes and the necessary mixing of the sexes."[25] Here as in other accounts, the Acadians were stereotyped as pious and virtuous, isolated from the rest of Nova Scotia, and retaining ancient customs and traditions.

Perhaps the most unromantic accounts of the Acadians came from those who were least influenced by Longfellow's poetry. Two Frenchmen, Edmé-François Rameau de Saint-Père and Alfred de Gobineau, the latter as cited above, visited Nova Scotia during the 1860s. Rameau was interested in his country's colonization of North America. Already the author of one work on the subject, based on documents in the French archives, he visited Nova Scotia to gain first-hand information. Although the results of his observations would not become known until the publication of *Une colonie féodale en Amérique* (Paris, 1887-89), his notes provide an interesting contrast to the comments of other travellers.[26]

In order to accomplish his research, Rameau visited almost every Acadian settlement from Cheticamp to Pubnico. In each community he spoke to the oldest residents, collecting information on the history and origins of the

24 Duncan, pp. 114-115.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

26 Edmé-François Rameau de Saint-Père, "Notes de voyage de Rameau en Acadie, 1860," *La Société Historique Acadienne* (1971-73), *Cahiers*, 33, pp. 32-41; 32, pp. 85-87; 34, pp. 205-211; 37, pp. 303-306; 38, pp. 343-345.

inhabitants, as well as on the state of the settlements. He voiced concern, as other travellers had, over the lack of interest in education; with the exception of the village of Cheticamp, there seemed to be no schools in any of the other communities. In some areas, especially Tracadie, Havre Boucher and Eel Brook, he noted a growing trend among the inhabitants to speak English, and he feared that in these areas the use of French might be disappearing. In most communities, however, especially the most isolated ones, he claimed that French was well-spoken and that adherence to traditions remained strong.

As recent scholarship has pointed out, Rameau believed that the understanding of a society's history depended on a thorough analysis of its fundamental components -- family, religion and property.[27] Thus, concerned about the fate of Acadian society where English-speaking settlers were gradually encroaching, he would have preferred to see the Acadians completely faithful to their language, traditions, religion -- and above all, to the land. He also criticized the tendency he perceived among many to prefer a life of ease and comfort rather than one of hard work, and he applauded the efforts of some Acadians to increase their land holdings -- especially if it meant buying land from departing English settlers. While continuing to stress that emigration was not a problem -- it was only the young men who were leaving, not entire families -- Rameau noted that a lack of available land, and low wages in occupations other than agriculture, were responsible for the departure of Acadian youths for seasonal or permanent employment in other parts of the province.[28]

Rameau shared with his fellow countryman Gobineau a concern for the possible disappearance of an agricultural society based on traditional values. He criticized the Acadians' neighbours for their restlessness: "Ces Ecossais," he wrote, "sont peu attachés à leur terres, bien moins que les Irlandais, ils ne font que courir d'un endroit à un autre."[29] While Rameau was willing to believe that Acadians maintained their traditional values, Gobineau made no

27 Pierre and Louise Trepanier, "Rameau de Saint-Père et le métier d'historien," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, 33 (December 1979), pp. 31-35.

28 Rameau, 31, pp. 46-51.

29 Rameau, 31, pp. 38-39. "These Scots are not very attached to their land, much less than the Irish, they constantly wander from one place to another."

distinction when he criticized the entire province for its exploitative attitude towards its natural resources. There was, in his view, no sentimental attachment to the land anywhere; if Nova Scotians felt there was a larger profit to be made elsewhere, they moved on.[30]

Although they shared certain observations on Nova Scotian society, Gobineau and Rameau differed greatly over the future of the Acadians. Gobineau was a pessimist, Rameau an optimist. Where Gobineau saw the decline of a society, Rameau felt that there were still possibilities for its survival. Rameau found an Acadian population eager to maintain ties with France, Gobineau claimed that this was not so. The Acadians, instead of disappearing because of proverty and disease like the Micmacs, were being gradually and painlessly transformed into Englishmen, and according to Gobineau, they retained no more than a normal curiosity towards France: "On se tromperait gravement, si l'on donnait au souvenir qu'ils ont conservé de leur origine une portée quelconque."[31]

Such a difference of opinion is not unusual in travellers' accounts. It lies as much in the purpose of their writings and in their personalities and philosophies as it does in their actual observations. While Gobineau saw less of Acadian society than did his counterpart, visiting only the area around Sydney where Rameau had not been, he remained free of the nationalistic fervour which pervaded Rameau's outlook. Gobineau, on the other hand, was constrained by his own theories of racial and cultural survival, which held that cultural integration, in this case of the Acadians, was inevitable.[32].

Travellers were also able to perceive the Scots and Irish as distinct groups within the colony. McGregor found the Highland Scots in Cape Breton, many of whom were engaged in subsistance farming, to be "contented however to exist as their progenitors did....[and] careless of living in a more cleanly and respectable style."[33] W.S. Moorsom agreed, claiming that "they

30 Gobineau, p. 62.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 87. "We would be gravely mistaken if we attached the slightest significance to the recollections which they have retained of their origin."

32 Michael Biddiss, *Father of Racist Ideology, the social and political thought of Count Gobineau* (London, 1970), *passim*.

33 McGregor, p. 110.

are too easily satisfied with the bare existence that even indolence can procure in this country."[34] Both McGregor and Moorsom stressed, however, that with perserverance, industry and instruction, better conditions would prevail.

Visitors throughout the 1820s and 1830s noted that in areas settled by the Highland Scots, Gaelic was "the language of this part of the country -- I mean it is that tongue which you hear in every cottage, and that which strikes the ear on passing through the street of each little village."[35] The clerical author of *Letters from Nova Scotia,* in his eloquent plea for missionaries, churches and schools, noted that "only a small portion of them [the Scots] are able to profit, even from verbal communication except in the Gaelic language, and with respect to the simplest rudiments of education, most of them are ignorant."[36] In the 1850s and 1860s, another group of travellers, Isabella Lucy Bird, Francis Duncan, A.L. Spedon, and American humourist F.S. Cozzens, would still find Gaelic spoken throughout the colony and would meet Scots who spoke no English.[37]

The Irish were mentioned less frequently, but stereotypically, as the most turbulent group in Nova Scotian society. Duncan described tham as the "most prominent and unsettled element in the province," active and useful citizens, but "not the best stamp of men for settlers or labourers on a small scale." He acknowledged, however, that by the time of his writing (1864), the Irish were to be found "in every class and station" in society.[38]

The English origin of many of the colony's residents was most obvious in the capital, Halifax. This, combined with the presence of both the British military garrison and the legislature, helped to give the town the "decidedly British atmosphere" that was described in so many accounts. The travellers,

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34 Moorsom, p. 344.

35 *Ibid.,* p. 336.

36 *Letters from Nova Scotia,* p. 199.

37 Isabella Lucy Bird, *The Englishwoman in America* (London, 1856; reprinted Toronto, 1956), Andrew Learmont Spedon, *Rambles among the Blue-Noses, or reminiscences of a tour through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia during the summer of 1862* (Montreal, 1868); Frederick Swarthout Cozzens, *Acadia, or a month with the Blue Noses* (New York, 1859).

38 Duncan, pp. 85-86.

most of whom were from the upper and middle classes of their native land, were readily accepted by the Halifax elite, and the contacts they made in that society helped to reinforce their impression of the city. J.S. Buckingham, writer, lecturer and social reformer, recorded that "The general society of Halifax, of which we saw a great deal during our stay here -- having been invited out to parties almost every day -- appeared to be more like that of an English seaport town, than any we had met with since leaving home."[39]

Visitors offered various explanations for their conclusion that Halifax society and manners were "so thoroughly English." Moorsom, in the late 1820s, attributed the similarities in customs to the close personal ties that many of the inhabitants maintained with Britain, explaining that "at least one half the circle of society consists of those who are not natives [of Nova Scotia, i.e. of Britain], and the other half are immediate descendants of the same."[40] Buckingham, visiting ten years later, found an active reform party and felt that it provoked exaggerated declarations and professions of loyalty. According to him, the residents of Halifax were

> entirely British in their feelings, and loyal to a degree that reminds one of the reign of George the Third and the threatened invasion of England by Napoleon, when it was not enough to be loyal but everyone was expected to make profession of his being so, to prevent his being classed among the disaffected.[41]

Thirty years later, A.L. Spedon still found certain members of Halifax society rather pretentious, especially those with "claims to a boasted English ancestry."[42] A.G. Gilbert, who arrived in the city on the eve of Confederation, discovered that "one remarkable feature in Halifax" was the "decided British appearance, manner and language of its inhabitants."[43]

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39 James Silk Buckingham, *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the British provinces in North America, with a plan of national colonization* (London, 1843), p. 341.

40 Moorsom, p. 96 and on the same topic, see Buckingham, pp. 342-343.

41 Buckingham, p. 342.

42 Spedon, p. 134.

43 Alexander Glen Gilbert, *From Montreal to the Maritime Provinces and back* (n.p., 1867; reprinted Toronto, 1967), p. 50.

Although some of these comments were no doubt made in order to impress British readers, Gilbert, a reporter for the *Montreal Evening Telegraph*, had no such need to do so, nor did Spedon. Together with Moorsom, Buckingham and others, they documented what they had perceived as a distinctive feature of Halifax -- the strong British element in its society -- and the city continued to impress visitors as an English town.

Although most observers were fascinated by the diversity of ethnic groups in Nova Scotia, a few thought it still possible to describe a typicial inhabitant of the colony. Sir George Head, a military officer stationed in Halifax during the 1820s, attempted such a portrait:

> The Nova Scotia peasant, as to his general appearance, cast of countenance, and accent, so much resembles the inhabitant of the United States of America, that a stranger would not perceive the difference. They have the same tall bony athletic figure; the keen penetrating eye; they guess and they calculate, and adopt many of the same provincial phrases and expressions. They are a fine healthy hardy race of men, in point of stature certainly exceeding Englishmen.[44]

What Head actually had described was the Nova Scotian "Yankee," the descendant of emigrant settlers from New England. Although his observation was intended to apply only to a portion of the colony's population, this type of description became synonomous in numerous accounts with the designation "Nova Scotian." Found in literature dating from the late 1820s to the 1860s, the stereotype obviously owed a great deal to the writings of Haliburton, and especially to *The Clockmaker*. Judging from the frequency with which travellers referred both to the author and to his character, Sam Slick, the work had left a lasting impression on the minds of many British citizens. Authors of travel literature clearly expected their audiences to be familiar with Haliburton's finely-crafted satirical sketches of his fellow Bluenosers, who preferred to wile away their time and to blame everyone but themselves for their economic woes -- "all talk and no work." Sam Slick's Bluenoser was meant to portray one of several identifiable groups, although some of his characteristics -- especially his lack of enterprise -- were often extended to cover most of the colony's inhabitants.

The lack of an enterprising spirit and the fondness for amusement at the

44 Sir George Head, *Forest Scenes and incidents, in the wilds of North America, being a diary of a winter's route from Halifax to the Canadas* (London, 1829), pp. 23-24.

expense of hard work were charges that would continue to be levelled at Nova Scotians throughout the following decades. "The charge of idleness, whether truly or not I cannot say, is laid at the door of many Nova Scotian farmers. It is said that, if they would work harder they might realize a great deal more than they do, but their love of ease and gaiety prevents them," wrote A.W.H. Rose in 1849.[45] Other authors would make direct links between *The Clockmaker* and their own critique. I.L. Bird was "disappointed to find the description of the lassitude and want of enterprise of the Nova Scotians, given by Judge Haliburton, so painfully correct."[46] Although visitors continued to identify Nova Scotians in terms of this literary convention, the colony's population was, nevertheless, undeniably heterogenous.

According to Gerald Craig, travel accounts are a valuable source of information on the "distinctive characteristics of a somewhat heterogenous populaton not yet formed into a cohesive society."[47] This is certainly true of the travel literature on Nova Scotia, since the lack of homogeneity made it difficult for travellers to perceive any sense of unity in the colony. The American F.S. Cozzens summarized his impressions of Nova Scotia in the following manner: "I must confess to no small degree of surprise at the isolation of the people of these colonies; the divisions among them; the separate pursuits; prejudices; languages; they seem to have nothing in common; no aggregation of interests." This situation, claimed Cozzens, was "existence without a nationality; sectionalism without emulation; a mere exotic life with not a fibre rooted firmly in the soil." Furthermore, he noted as did many of his fellow travellers, that "the colonists are English, Irish, Scotch, French for generation after generation."[48]

These travel accounts, covering the period from the 1770s to the 1860s, describe a diverse and disunited population. Nevertheless, they are all -- including those which portray the Nova Scotian as a stereotype -- important

45 A.W.H. Rose, *The emigrant churchman in Canada, by a pioneer of the wilderness*, ed. by Henry Christmas (London, 1849), pp. 353-354.

46 Bird, p. 17.

47 Gerald Craig, ed., *Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791-1867* (Toronto, 1955), p. xiii.

48 Cozzens, p. 90.

to our understanding of the past, since they reveal the type of information being written and published about the province and its inhabitants. Their wide circulation ensured that the common description of backwardness, lassitude and want of enterprise continued to gain popular acceptance. But if the travellers'comments appear to have been censorious, their criticism was meant to be constructive. On the whole, Nova Scotians were judged to be like humans anywhere else, with strengths and weaknesses, virtues and failings. Despite their negative commentary, there was much that pleased the travellers. The accounts they left behind testify to a lively interest in Nova Scotia, a desire to see it prosper, and an enjoyment of their visit, however brief or lengthy it may have been.

While travel literature makes for interesting reading, it also provides unique insights into the colony's social history. Descriptions of the Blacks, Micmacs and other ethnic groups are prominent features of the accounts, providing documentation on portions of the population who left few other records behind, and at the same time commenting on the treatment these groups were receiving from their more articulate neighbours. The extant travel literature testifies to both the richness and variety of Nova Scotia's cultural heritage. It also serves as a reminder that during the first half of the nineteenth century, a period which has been described as the awakening of the colony's political and intellectual life, there were many in the province who did not share the same vision of what it meant to be a Nova Scotian.

The Journal of Nathaniel T.W. Carrington: A Barbados Planter's Visit to Nova Scotia in 1837

James C. Brandow

On the night of 13 June 1837, a Canadian brig, the *Emeline*, nineteen days out of Bridgetown, Barbados, cautiously bore off the coast of Nova Scotia, not far from the entrance to Halifax harbour. On board was Nathaniel T. W. Carrington (1801-55), a Barbadian sugar planter, his wife, Kitty (1815-83), and their son, Richard (1833-77). The purpose of the voyage and subsequent sojourn was the restoration of Mrs. Carrington's health. A change of climate and diet, it was hoped, would alleviate her stomach pains. Their destination was New York; however, since no vessel was sailing at that time for the United States, the Carringtons decided to travel with friends and visit Canada first. Before returning to Barbados eight months later, Nathaniel Carrington toured not only Nova Scotia but also Prince Edward Island, Boston and Philadelphia. In addition, for five months the Carringtons boarded at a farm in Newtown, Long Island (now part of the borough of Queens, New York City), and from there made numerous excursions to Manhattan. Nathaniel Carrington's experiences, what he saw and did as well as the people he met, were daily recorded in his journal — the only full-length travel account of Canada and the United States ever written by a Barbadian.

The following extracts are his impressions of Nova Scotia. Usually the entries were made at the end of the day, for Carrington's own amusement and to occupy his free time. He expected his children would someday read the work, but there is no evidence to suggest it was ever intended for publication. When Carrington's wife died, the manuscript passed into the hands of his son, Sir John Worrell Carrington, and then to his grandson, Vice Admiral John Walsh Carrington. It is now the proud possession of his great-grandson, Roger C. E. Carrington, a solicitor of Hampshire, England.

In transcribing the journal, great care has been taken to preserve the original form and style. English spellings, therefore, have been maintained; mis-spelled words, however, have been corrected. Finally, it should be noted that any word inserted in the text by the editor has been placed between brackets.

The Journal of Nathaniel T. W. Carrington

Wednesday, the 14th June:

Land in sight and very near. We could distinguish objects with the bare eyes and very perceptibly with a glass. The shore presented a bare, barren

aspect; strata of sand stand in blocks as if they had been prepared by masons. A pilot came on board at 11 o'clock and proved a smart fellow for business. Soon after 2 other blackguard Irishmen came as pilots and stood on board some time expecting drink. A great many fishing boats in sight. Made and passed the Sambro lighthouse on Sambro Island.[1] Wind very light going up channel to the harbour. Cast anchor at 1/2 past 4 o'clock. Dressed and went on shore; called on Messrs. Joseph Allison & Co.[2] to whom Mr. Packer[3] and myself had letters of introduction; found them very civil and obliging gentlemen. The younger man, Mr. David Allison,[4] took us to a boardinghouse and obtained lodgings for the whole party to lodge on shore that night. All passengers got on shore, took tea and went to our beds, not very comfortable ones, bugs being our near neighbours.[5] Bah! Nasty Fellows!!

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1 This lighthouse, a stone structure standing 82 feet high at the entrance to Halifax harbor, dates from 1759.

2 Joseph Allison & Co., established in 1824, was a prominent mercantile firm with offices on Water Street. For the relationship between Halifax and Barbados merchants, who exchanged flour, fish and lumber for rum, sugar and molasses, see G. F. Butler, "The Early Organization and Influence of Halifax Merchants," Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections* (hereafter N.S.H.S. *Collections*), XXV (1942), 1-16.

3 Reverend John Packer (1799-1861), a Barbadian, was a passenger on the *Emeline*. Ordained a priest in England in 1824, he became headmaster of the Central School in Bridgetown the following year. He promoted public education, believed slaves had as much capacity for learning as did other children and favored the abolition of slavery. From 1832 to 1837 he served as rector of St. Thomas Parish, Barbados. Because he suffered from asthma, he travelled in hopes of improving his health and, in 1837, settled on Prince Edward Island. *The Barbadian*, 8 July 1857 and 6 June 1861. See also J.A. Venn, ed., *Alumni Cantabrigienses, 1752-1900* (Cambridge, 1922-54), V, 2; and James A. Thome and J. Horace Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies* (New York, 1838), 70-1.

4 David Allison (1804-57), son of John and Nancy Whidden Allison of Horton, Nova Scotia, was a prosperous Halifax merchant and leading member of the business community. He was also a partner in the firm of Fairbanks & Allison. Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The History of Kings County, Nova Scotia* (Salem, Mass., 1910), 543; and Leonard Allison Morrison, *The History of the Alison or Allison Family in Europe and America* (Boston, 1893), 185.

5 Strangers in Halifax during the 1830s frequently complained about the lack of a decent hotel and it was said the city suffered a loss of revenue because many visitors went elsewhere seeking better accommodations (*Novascotian*, 19 November 1835). John James Audubon, the famour artist and scientist, arrived in Halifax on 24 October 1833: "The coach drew up to the house of Mr. Paul, the best hotel, where we with difficulty obtained one room with four beds for six persons. With a population of eighteen thousand souls and two thousand more of soldiers, Halifax has not one good hotel, and two very indifferent private boarding houses, where the attendance is miserable, and the table by no means good." As quoted in George Mullane, "Old Inns and Coffee Houses of Halifax, N. S.," N.S.H.S. *Collections*, XXII (1933), 15.

Thursday, 15th June:

Went to Messrs. Allison to request them to have our baggage landed. From thence went to the brig to have our trunks sent to the boardinghouse. Carmen employed to do it. Some difficulty arose in consequence to our remaining stores being many and some of Major Williams's articles not being entered at the Custom House in Barbados.[6] Wrote letters to our friends in Barbados to go by the brigantine on her return there.[7] Messrs. Allison had all our articles landed and saved us a deal of trouble. Many thanks to them for their kind intercession.

Friday, 16th:

All the passengers walked down to take leave of the captain, as he was about to sail.[8] Made him a present of half a barrel of sugar and barrel of eddoes.[9] This evening accompanied Mr. Packer to the Garrison to see the Artillery Hospital[10] [and] Sergeant Mr. Jones, who was for several years at Cotton Tower[11] in Barbados. Mr. P. had a letter to him and he received us all very kindly and politely; promised to give us any little information we required.

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6 Major George Williams (1780-1839) of Newtown, Long Island, New York, was the son of General Thomas and Elizabeth Hinds Williams of Welchman's Hall, St. Thomas Parish, Barbados. Carrington was twice related to him: the sister of Major Williams' great-grandfather, Elizabeth Williams Carrington, was Carrington's paternal grandmother; and Major Williams' sister, Elizabeth Williams Trotman, was the mother of Carrington's sister-in-law, Margaret Trotman Carrington. [E. M. Shilstone], "Williams of Welchman's Hall," *The Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, XXIX (May, 1962), 101-4.

7 The *Emeline* returned to Bridgetown on 28 July 1837 with a cargo of 80,000 feet of lumber and 20,000 shingles picked up at St. Andrew's, New Brunswick (*The Barbadian*, 2 August 1837). Built on the island of Grand Manan by Josias Winchester in 1835, this two-masted, square-rigged vessel of 133 tons was 67 feet long and 19 feet wide. Usually it carried a crew of six. Shipping Registers of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, 1835-39, Vol. 112, pp. 64, 155 and Vol. 113, p. 84, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

8 Captain Barney Murrell came from an old Yarmouth, Nova Scotia seafaring family. His father, Moses Murrell, was a shipowner and two of his brothers were masters of vessels. George S. Brown, "Yarmouth Genealogies," p. 56. Unpublished manuscript deposited in Yarmouth County Historical Society.

9 An eddo is the edible root or stem of a plant common to the West Indies.

10 The Artillery Hospital was built in 1794 as a townhouse for Prince Edward (1767-1820), later Duke of Kent, and was altered in 1806 to meet the needs of a hospital. It was destroyed by fire in 1866. Harry Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928* (Halifax, 1947), 31-2.

11 Cotton Tower, built in 1819 and standing 1,090 feet above sea level in St. Joseph's Parish, was a signal station manned by soldiers. Robert H. Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados* (London, 1848), 195.

Saturday, 17th June:

The humble Mr. Joseph Allison[12] called and politely took us to see the Province Building,[13] where the two Houses of Legislature meet and where the courts and all public offices are kept. There is a fine painting of Wm. the 4th here dressed in his admiral's uniform which he presented to the Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia himself some years since.[14] Visited the markets and saw great quantities of cod, salmon and haddock, all very cheap. Attended an invitation to tea with Mr. & Mrs. David Allison and found them very plain, kind and civil people.[15]

Sunday, 18th:

Attended divine worship at St. Paul's Church at 11, 3 & 7 o'clock. Mr. Packer preaching morning and night.[16] Mr. Allison kindly procured us his seats. The warden gave his public pew to the gentleman.

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12 Joseph Allison (1785-1839), wealthy merchant and banker, was the older brother of David Allison and principal partner in Allison & Co. He made his fortune by privateering during the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812. From 1813 to 1824 he was a partner in the firm of Collins & Allison and in 1825 became one of the original founders of the Halifax Banking Company. He served as a member of the Legislative Council, the infamous "Council of Twelve," from 1832 until his death. Stewart Wallace, ed., *The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1963), 10; Victor Ross, *A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce* (Toronto, 1920-34), I, 46, 84; Eaton, *History of Kings County*, 544; Morrison, *History of the Alison or Allison Family*, 188.

13 This fine example of Georgian architecture took eight years to construct, cost L52,000 and was opened in 1819. When Charles Dickens visited Halifax in 1842, he attended an opening session of the House and remarked "that it was like looking at Westminster through the wrong end of a telescope," prompting one historian to dub it, "The Senate of Lilliput!" Archibald MacMechan, *The Book of Ultima Thule* (Toronto, 1927), 147. For Dickens' comment, see his *American Notes for General Circulation* (New York, 1842), 12.

14 This portrait of William IV (1765-1837), the "Sailor Prince," was sent from England as a royal gift to the Legislature in 1833 and now hangs in the main hall of Province House. It was done by William Beechey (1753-1839) and is a copy of the original which hangs in the Admiralty Board Room, Trinity House, London. Three days after Carrington viewed the portrait, William IV died and was succeeded by his niece, Queen Victoria.

15 David Allison married Mary Ann, daughter of Rufus and Ann Prescott Fairbanks of Halifax. Eaton, *History of Kings County*, 543.

16 St. Paul's Anglican Church, sometimes referred to as the "Westminster Abbey of Canada," is Halifax's oldest surviving building. It was built in 1750 and served as the cathedral church of the diocese until 1864. Sunday evening services were introduced in 1835. Reginald V. Harris, *The Church of Saint Paul in Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1749-1949* (Toronto, 1949), 197.

Monday, 19th:

All of our party went over in the ferry steamboat to the Dartmouth Village[17] and went in 3 waggons to Mr. Jones's farm, 3 miles distant. It is a small, neat farm and his wife and two daughters who live on it, keep the house in apple pie order.[18] Marshall[19] fell in love with the 2nd, a fine, lovely girl. Partook of an excellent lunch and returned home to dinner.

Tuesday, the 20th:

My leg being much swollen and very painful, I kept my room this day and used a dressing Tommy Bowen prescribed for me.[20] We were told frost was on the ground this morning. Did not see it.

Wednesday, the 21st:

Leg still painful, kept to the house, my room being too solitary and confined. Visitors usually calling in on Mr. Packer and offering some attentions to himself and wife.[21]

17 The Halifax-Dartmouth ferry, established in 1752 and still in use, is the oldest salt water ferry in Canada.

18 According to the 1838 Census, the family of Sergeant Jones of Dartmouth consisted of one male above 14 (not head of family), one male under 14, three females above 14, and two females under 14: a total of eight. 1838 Census, Dartmouth, RGI, Vol. 448, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

19 Thomas Marshall, one of the passengers on the *Emeline*, was a planter from St. Thomas Parish, Barbados.

20 On the morning of 8 June, Carrington had "discovered symptoms of kernel in my left groin from a very small pimple on my leg near the instep." Later that same day, he complained of fever and ague, went to bed and for many days after, could not walk or stand on the leg. Evidently the infection from the pimple near the instep resulted in an inflammation of the lymphatic gland in the groin. Treatment would consist of opening and cleaning the pimple and bandaging the enlarged gland. If need be, a blister or counter-irritant could be applied to reduce the gland. William A. R. Thomson, ed., *Black's Medical Dictionary* (London, 1974), 376. Thomas Griffith Bowen, another passenger on the *Emeline*, died four years later at Maxwell's House in Barbados, the residence of Reverent Packer, "where he had gone to spend a short time for change of air." *The Barbadian*, 24 July 1841.

21 In 1832, Reverend Packer, then a widower, married Charlotte, daughter of Conrad and Rachell Burchell Pile of Brighton Plantation, St. George's Parish, Barbados. *The Barbadian*, 19 December 1832.

Thursday, 22nd June:

Kept the house again. Visitors calling at all hours, rather annoying to a peevish man.

Friday, 23rd:

Kept to the house. Rainy, drizzling day.

Saturday, 24th:

Went as far as the Allisons' today on business and engaged my passage to Boston on board the packet ship, *Acadian*, $18 per head, Richard 1/2 price. Accommodations excellent. Everything found. Took tea with Mr. David Allison's family by invitation.

Sunday, 25th:

Attended the Presbyterian Church, St. Matthew's, with Mr. D. Allison and family at 11 & 3.[22] Prayers extempore, several Psalms and good sermons by 2 different clergymen of this persuasion.[23]

Monday, the 26th:

Visited Mr. Joseph Allison's family, at his particular request, on the Spring Garden Road. He has a neat house and tolerable garden.[24] His wife is

22 This church, also called "Mather's Church," on the corner of Hollis and Prince streets, was built about 1750 and destroyed by fire on New Year's Day, 1857. Walter C. Murray, "History of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, N. S.," N.S.H.S. *Collections*, XVI (1912), 151.

23 Reverend John Scott (1796-1864) served as rector of St. Matthew's from 1826 to 1863. *Ibid.*, 170. In 1836, Reverend James McKenzie MacIntosh (1801-56), formerly of St. James' Church, Charlottetown and later Professor of Mathematics at Dalhousie College, was appointed his assistant.

24 "Brookside," the resident of Joseph Allison, was situated at the corner of Spring Garden Road and South Park Street. It was built in 1818, converted in 1927 into a hotel, the Haliburton Inn, and demolished in 1939.

a fine, chatty woman.[25] Mr. & Mrs. Packer were to dine with the Revd. Uniacke[26] so they were sent home early and on the return of the carriage Mr. Allison took Kitty and myself [on] a long drive round the town, to the dock and navy yards and then to our lodgings. Very kind in a member of His Majesty's Council to us humble unknown individuals.

Tuesday, the 27th:

Went to Messrs. Allison & Co.'s store to get Major Williams's goods shipped for New York. Called in at the Exchange lodgings[27] on Messrs. Taylor and Walcott.[28] Not at home. Fine day, warm day.

Wednesday, the 28th:

Showers in the night. Sheets wet and damp. Foggy, cold, unpleasant day.

Thursday, the 29th June:

At 7 o'clock this morning the 83rd Regiment embarked for Lower Canada to intimidate the disaffected inhabitants from riots and revolts

25 Joseph Allison married his cousin, Ann Elizabeth, widow of Richard O'Brien, and daughter of Charles and Hannah Whidden Prescott. They had six children. Eaton, *History of Kings County*, 544, 683; Morrison, *History of the Alison or Allison Family*, 188.

26 Reverend Robert Fitzgerald Uniacke (1797-1870) was the fourth son of Attorney General Richard John and Martha Maria (Delesdernier) Uniacke of Halifax. Ordained in London in 1822, he returned to Halifax in 1825 as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and served as rector of St. George's Church, the "Round Church," from 1825 until his death. He gained much respect for his work among the poor, was frequently in conflict with the bishop because of his evangelical fervor or low church inclination, and had a great influence on the development of the Anglican church in Nova Scotia. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IX, 801.

27 Located on Market Square, Water Street, near the Dartmouth ferry dock, the Exchange Coffee House was the political, business and social center of Halifax. Public meetings and auctions were held at the Exchange and "everyone" - merchants, public officials and visitors - would meet there to gossip and discuss trade and politics. Mullane, "Old Inns and Coffee Houses of Halifax, N. S.," 17.

28 John Taylor, a highly respected young man from a prominent Barbados family, was travelling with his friend, Edward Brace Walcott. They arrived in Halifax on the *Robert Noble* and after a visit of six weeks, sailed on the brig *Elizabeth* for Texas. *Acadian Telegraph*, 30 June and 18 August 1837.

against the government by their presence.[29] Dined with Naboth Boyce[30] on roasted yams, eddoes and cod fish. The dinner at most did not cost more than $1/2 and it was enough to have served 10 persons. Was very hungry and dined very heartily. We attended lecture by Revd. Mr. Packer in the evening at the National School House.[31] About 400 persons present, an unusual number.[32]

Friday, 30th June:

Dry, clear day. My leg, thank God, is nearly well. Kitty, Richard, Tommy Bowen and myself walked to the western part of the town in the evening by the Government House[33] and the Bishop's Palace.[34] The residences in this part of the town are large, neat dwellings and have some trees about them

29 The 83rd Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dundas (1801-76), sailed for Quebec on His Majesty's ships *Vestal* and *Champion*. *The Yarmouth Herald and Western Advertiser*, 7 July 1837. The Rebellion of 1837 in Lower Canada, led by Louis-Joseph Papineau and other French Canadians, attempted to force the English governor to accede to the demands of the predominantly French assembly. Those demands included legislative control over executive departments and the election of executive officials, but it was feared these reforms would lead to independence and were rejected. When the governor acted without consent of the assembly, protests and riots broke out in March, 1837.

30 Naboth Greaves Boyce, a planter from St. Thomas Parish, Barbados, and later member of the House of Assembly, was a fellow passenger on the *Emeline*. The Prince Edward Island Association promoted immigration to that island and a number of Barbadians settled there in the 1830s. The Boyce and Farnum families accompanied the Packers, but all returned to Barbados after only one winter. *The Barbadian*, 20 May 1837; 1 August and 7 November 1838.

31 Built in 1817 and opened in 1818, this building on Argyle Street served as the Nova Scotia College of Art until recently. It is now a restaurant.

32 An excellent preacher, some of Reverend Packer's discourses and sermons were published under the title *Warnings and Consolations* (London and Bridgetown, 1857).

33 The residence of the lieutenant governors of Nova Scotia since it was first occuped in 1805. The occupant in 1837 was General Sir Colin Campbell (1776-1847), lieutenant governor from 1834 to 1840. He was an aide to Wellington at Waterloo, lieutenant governor of Portsmouth from 1828 to 1833, and governor of Ceylon from 1840 until his death. *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 802-03.

34 This "Palace" (as bishops' residences were then called) was a simple, wooden cottage on Pleasant (now Barrington) Street. It was the residence of Bishop John Inglis (1777-1850), formerly rector of St. Paul's Church, who was consecrated bishop of Nova Scotia in 1825. Rev. Charles H. Mockridge, *The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland* (London and Toronto, 1896), 43-9.

but astonishing to say the natives are far, very far behind the people of the United States in the cultivation of fruit and flowers. There are no peaches or strawberries, no asparagus and but few apples and those of an inferior kind. The city is crowded with dirty boys, large dogs and pretty, very pretty girls. The latter can vie with the natives of any place in the world and not be outdone in beauty.

Saturday, 1st July:

This was the day appointed for us to leave Halifax for Boston in the *Acadian* packet but as the captain had had her painted during the week, I got Mr. Joseph Alison to go with me to inspect her and see if it was possible we could go, even if the time of sailing was delayed a day or two later. We found that the cabin had been painted 2 days previous and that it would be impossible to go in her this trip, particularly as my wife's and Richard's health were delicate. Told the captain we should decline going this trip.[35] As I should have 3 weeks to spare before another opportunity occurred, I made up in my mind to visit Prince Edward Island in company with Mr.Packer and accordingly took a seat on the coach for Monday morning. In the evening we took tea with Mr. Joseph Allison's family at his residence on the Spring Garden Road.

Sunday, 2nd:

Attended divine services at St. Paul's Church at 11, 3 & 7 o'clock. The archdeacon[36] preached in the morning, Mr. Uniacke in the afternoon and Mr. Packer in the evening. My leg is now completely well, thanks be to Almighty God for his goodnesss to me in this and all cases.

Monday, the 3rd July:

At 6 o'clock this morning we took leave of our snoring wives and passed over to Dartmouth in an oar boat to meet the stage for Pictou on our way to

35 Captain Lane, an American, was master of the *Acadian*.

36 Reverend Robert Willis (1785-1865), rector of St. Paul's from 1825 until his death, was appointed archdeacon of Nova Scotia in 1834. David Russell Jack, "Memorials of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, N. S.," *Acadiensis*, V (January, 1905), 57, 59; Mockridge, *Bishops of the Church of England*, 44.

Prince Edward Island. At first it was pleasing to us to see the large tall trees that had been burned in order to destroy them and prepare the land for cultivation. Some are standing, others have decayed and fallen, by which means we could more readily ascertain their heights and size. I conclude that many are 40-50 to 60 feet without a limb and several feet after the limbs do appear, with immense large bodies. For miles and miles round this system has been adopted to clear the land, with little or no attempt at cultivation and when there is an attempt it is in the most slovenly way possible. We passed miles at times without meeting with a single habitation and yet this destroying system has been pursued. The inhabitants are a lazy, indifferent set of farmers.[37] The land on the sides of the road appears very fine and is abundantly watered. In fact, it seems that the people have no idea how to pass off the water and on that account give it up as waste and suffer it to get covered in a second growth of trees. Many of them, in some places, would square 5 or 6 inches, while the old trees are lying on the ground as thick as when they were first fallen, one on the other. The fences are of the worst kind. In many instances and by far the greatest part, they are only the large logs, 10 to 12 feet long, rolled and piled up as a fence. If the timber destroyed by fire and the ax (and which must eventually decay without being put to any manner of use) could be made available, I conclude Barbados could not consume it in 50 years no matter what they built or how they used it.[38] Some parts of the Province are very stony and would not do for cultivation; in fact, all more or less have stone but in some places they are small pebbles and would assist in putting [up] good fences. An anecdote was told us of an Englishman who had come to Halifax as the Collector of Customs and had brought a black servant from the West Indies, his last place of residence; he purchased some land and offered Quashy an acre to cultivate for himself. His reply was, "Massa, you must given me 2 acres, one won't do." "How so,

37 Many contemporary writers were critical of Nova Scotia's timber industry because of its negative effects on the development of an agricultural economy and, more important, on the habits of the people. Only a small percentage of the total acreage was devoted to farming and, it was believed, quick profits from lumbering were "luring the people from more useful occupations, breaking the constitutions, and injuring the morals of the populations ..." Joseph Howe (ed. by M. G. Parks), *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1973), 176.

38 By the end of the seventeenth century, almost all of the Barbados (only 166 square miles) was under cultivation and no forests, to speak of, were available to meet the island's needs. In 1836, Barbados imported 7,196,189 feet of lumber and 7,037,462 shingles. Thome and Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies*, 118.

one is as much as you can find time to cultivate?" "Yes, Massa, but I must have one acre to put the stones that come off the other, else I have none to plant." On this road we passed the locks that had been built to unite lakes and rivers through this country by a canal and thereby have a water communication from the Bay of Fundy to Dartmouth, a distance of several hundred miles. I understand £60,000 has been already expended and the work is not half completed, consequently what is done is now fast going to decay, as several years have elapsed since their funds failed. £80,000 to £90,000 are yet required.[39] The lakes are long and narrow, affording plenty of fish and if the canal could be finished, would raise the value of property for miles around 3 or 400 percent immediately. But as it is, property is not considered to be worth more than 20/ an acre, having a good portion *of land cleared* and forest wood not more than half that sum. Oh! Nova Scotians, Nova Scotians, you have great advantages offered you by nature and you have shut your eyes and refused to see them. Jonathan[40] with far less advantages is worth a thousand where you are worth a hundred dollars. You should visit them and take a lesson. Be not too proud to learn of your neighbour because he has a different government.[41] Breakfasted at Schultz's, pretty good fare for 1/9, very high charge though; 16 miles from Dartmouth.[42] Dined at Hill's on a rascally cooked dinner of salmon & veal, 1/9.[43] Lodged at Dobson's in Truro; good beds and supper, 2/6. Truro is a neat village occupying a large space as each house has a vegetable garden, etc., attached to it. The roads are generally very rough and uneven, no care having been taken at first to avoid the hills which frequently occur and are very

39 Construction of the Shubenacadie Canal was begun in 1826 at an estimated expense of £35,000. Many times that amount were required to finish it, and when it was completed in 1861, the railroad had already made it obsolete. For a brief account of this fiasco, see Barbara Grantmyre, "The Canal that Bisected Nova Scotia," *Canadian Geographical Journal*, LXXXVIII (January, 1974), 20-7.

40 Carrington occasionally used this epithet when referring to Americans or the American nation. It was a sobriquet then in vogue on both sides of the Atlantic and was applied as a collective nickname.

41 The hostility of Nova Scotians for Americans was well known and dated back to the American Revolution.

42 Schultz's Inn was on the eastern side of Shubenacadie Grand Lake at what is now the village of Grand Lake. Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles*, 124.

43 Hill's Inn was about 18 miles from Truro at the site of the present village of Stewiacke. *Ibid.*, 125.

steep.[44] They are endeavouring to obviate this difficulty by cutting roads through the valleys.

Tuesday, 4th July:

Breakfasted at Thompson's for 1/6 on the best meal we had met with on the road. We quitted Dobson's at 6 A.M. All along the road the same annoyance to us existed as to the destruction of forests and non-cultivation. The fire and ax had preceeded us all the way and, in some instances, for miles round as far as we could see. Arrived at Pictou and put up at the Royal Oak Tavern in consequence of the best recommended tavern being full.[45] The dinner was good but we were greatly annoyed by noisy Yankee captains celebrating one of their weddings of the day before and their anniversary of Independence. There was such a constant smell of strong drink in the house and such a number of idlers always trippling in, that our situation was not a very enviable one. Mr. & Mrs. Edward Allison and his sister accompanied us as fellow passengers and proved very pleasant companions.[46] He had a great knowledge of localities, etc., and gave us all the information we required as strangers. We had wished to visit the coal mines in the neighbourhood and will do so as we have two spare days on our hands. They are not far from Pictou and a steamer runs there daily two or three times.[47]

Wednesday, 5th July:

Much rain during the night; foggy, wet, dirty day. No such thing as going out. The smell of strong liquor in the rooms on the first floor was overpowering and continued so from morning to night. Our mug cups in the

44 The road from Dartmouth to Pictou via Truro was called the "Eastern Road" and was one of only two roads in the entire province able to support a heavy stagecoach drawn by four horses. *Ibid.*, 14; see also R. D. Evans, "Stage Coaches in Nova Scotia, 1815 to 1867," N.S.H.S. *Collections*, XXIV (1938), 107-34.

45 When the Royal Oak Inn was advertised for rent the following year, it was described as a "large and commodious stone house" with stables and outhouses. *Novascotian*, 11 October 1838.

46 Edward Allison (1803-1876), owner of a Halifax dry goods store, was the son of Joseph and Alice Harding Allison of Horton, and a cousin of Joseph and David Allison, the merchants. He was born in Cornwallis, resided in Halifax until ca. 1853, and then moved to Saint John, New Brunswick. He married Catherine Henry. Eaton, *History of Kings County*, 545; Morrison, *History of the Alison or Allison Family*, 194.

47 The Albion coal mines, near New Glasgow. George Patterson, *A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia* (Montreal, 1877), 406.

rooms at night had the smell of gin which was no pleasant thing in the morning to clean our mouths. The men at Pictou are the dirtiest, laziest and most drunken set in the Province.[48] They are constantly to be seen loitering in the streets, apparently with no manner of employment. The children, boys and girls, are bare-footed running about the streets. In the evening we took a short walk out above the town and had a good view of the neighbouring country as far as the fogs would admit. The land about here seems to be the best in the Province, not having so many stones as that near Halifax and other parts of the Province.

Thursday, 6th July:

Rain again this night, not able to move about. Lazy vagabonds loitering about the streets all day. Royal Oak no desirable tavern for genteel people, being infested with idlers calling for drink. After tea this evening went on board the steamboat to lodge and start at 4 o'clock in the morning for Charlotte Town, Prince Edward Island.

[Carrington spent the next twelve days touring Prince Edward Island. His visit is printed in *The Island Magazine*, 11 (Spring-Summer, 1982), 9-15.]

Tuesday, 18th:

Landed at Pictou in the evening, engaged our passage in the coach for Halifax to quit on the following morning and put up for the night at the Royal Oak Hotel. More quiet than last time of our being there. Saw Murray,our fellow passenger from Barbados, who went off to bring his father and mother to see us from their farm 10 miles out of town.[49]

48 Pictou was widely known for its excessive drinking, and Reverend Packer later recalled "a little town in Nova Scotia at which I stopped a few days....I experienced more interruption in three quarters of an hour which I spent at an Inn there, from the noisy mirth of people who had been drinking...than I did in any other place I stopped except one, and that was a sea-port frequented by the worst from among all nations." *The Barbadian*, 15 June 1839. It should be noted, however, that Reverend Packer also served as the first chairman of the Barbados Temperance Society. *Ibid.*, 10 January 1835.

49 Murray was a steerage passenger on the *Emeline*. Since such travellers paid the lowest fares and received the worst accommodations, he was not considered, according to contemporary social distinctions, to be of equal rank in society with Carrington and Reverend Packer.

Wednesday, 19th July:

Started at quarter past 6 o'clock for Halifax. Walcott and a captain in the army and Mr. Greader from Jamaica (an unfortunate man approaching to lunacy), our fellow passengers. Saw more and more on the road to confirm our opinion of the laziness of the settlers. Murray with his father and mother met us on the road to clear up, as he said, an impression that his wife was a black or coloured woman which Mr. P. endeavoured to do by saying she was as fair as either of us (meaning himself, Walcott and myself) West Indians, which the old lady seemed to doubt much. Some ignorant persons have concluded that the inhabitants of the West Indian island are all black and, no doubt, some evil disposed persons had impressed it upon Mrs. Murray that her son had married such a one. Dined at Truro on a poor, paltry dinner of "Staggering Bob" (veal),as the captain called it, and lodged at Hill's Tavern on the road. On the road we could not help admiring the great abundance of wild strawberries that are to be found in every partial clearance in the Province. Wherever the coach stopped we took advantage and picked them. They are smaller and rather more acid than cultivated ones.

Thursday, 20th:

Being far in the Province now the atmosphere put on its accustomed gloomy appearance and about noon began to drip heavily, which it did for the remainder of the day with little intermission. The captain chose the company of the coachman after the first morning's ride in preference to ours. The sight of a clergyman no doubt alarmed him and perseveringly he rode into town through the rain. When we had opportunity, we admired the tall standing forest, some trees upwards of 100 feet high. Landed in Halifax about 1/2 past 4 and were soon in the embraces of our wives. Visited the Farnums who had arrived in our absence and heard all the news from Barbados since we quitted.[50]

Friday, 21st July:

The *Cordelia* packet of Boston having arrived in my absence, I went to engage passage if she waited till next day, which the captain readily agreed to

50 On 18 June 1837 Philip Rudder Farnum (1766-1845), a planter from St. Thomas Parish, and his family sailed from Bridgetown for Halifax on the brig *Acadian*, Captain Wylie. *The Barbadian*, 21 June 1937.

do as it was a foggy, dirty day. Set about getting our clothes washed and taking leave of our friends preparatory to leaving Halifax.

Saturday, 22nd:

Mr. Packer, Walcott, Mr. David Allison, Marshall and Tommy Bowen accompanied us to the wharf to take leave of us perhaps forever. On board the *Cordelia*; at 1/4 past 10 A.M. quitted Halifax wharf under a fine, fresh breeze and soon overtook a small sail for Bermuda and another for Trinidad; at 1/2 past 1 o'clock were up with the Sambro lighthouse and at 5 o'clock were out of sight of land.[51] My stomach rather qualmish; wife and son sick and in berth. Fare thee well, Halifaxians, in all truth and probability we have parted forever in this world and I must in justice say you are the kindest people to strangers in the world. Fare thee well, beautiful girls, live, grow, get good and kind husbands.

51 According to the *Novascotian*, 26 July 1837, Captain T. J. Jones, an American, was in command of the brig *Cordelia* when it cleared Halifax harbor. Passengers included John Forster Alleyne (1804-84), a Barbados planter, Reverend Creighton, his wife and child, Messrs. Fraser, Morton, Bell, Greader, McPhee and 20 in steerage. A few months later the *Cordelia*, bound for Halifax, was wrecked off Cape Sable. *Ibid.*, 22 November 1837.

American Tourism in Nova Scotia, 1871-1940

James H. Morrison

> ... when they first started ... people come from the States they'd come by train to Annapolis or somewhere ... come 'n' b'God they'd stay a month ... get there 'n' they'd be happy as Hell, b'God they had an oil lamp 'n' a fireplace 'n' a building out back 'n' some feeding ... sit around there 'n' go fishing ... hire a guide for two dollars a day at that time 'n' a dollar for his canoe ... Up to Keji lodge ... they had a richer crowd up there ... they was judges 'n' doctors ... they'd hire a guide for all summer ... 'n' board the guide there, $3 a day ... good money for here ...[1]

During this past year, the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism has heavily promoted "Old Home Summer '82" in an effort to attract relatives, friends and tourists from across North America to this small boot-shaped province in Eastern Canada. Over a million tourists were welcomed here in 1980 and tourism is now recognized as Nova Scotia's leading resource industry. In a province of just over 800,000 people, tourism provides more than 24,000 jobs and contributes over $500 million annually to the provincial economy. The industry has certainly come a long way from the first organized American tour of 1871, the early efforts at tourist associations in 1897, and the unpaved, rock-strewn roads of the 1920s. Most areas of the province have been drastically affected either economically or culturally over the years by the growth of the trade. This article will attempt to place the industry in an historical perspective in Nova Scotia, as well as to examine a specific area in the province to assess the reaction to the flood tide of tourists between 1871 and 1940.

Tourism in Eastern Canada, more specifically the Maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, can be divided into three chronological periods. The first, that of the military tourist, began in the early nineteenth century and lasted until 1871, drawing its clientele almost exclusively from the officer class stationed in the various provincial urban centres. Beamish Murdock noted in his *History of Nova Scotia* that military officers preferred Halifax to other overseas postings due to the fact that "... the opportunity for sport with the gun and line, or excursions inland, increased their desire to revisit it."[2]

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1 Interview with George Minard, New Grafton, Queens County, 3 March 1977.

2 Beamish Murdock, A *History of Nova Scotia or Acadie* (Halifax, 1867), Vol. 3, p. 444.

The second stage covered a period of some seventy years from 1871 to 1940, and can generally be considered to be the "elite sport tourist" period; unlike the first stage, which consisted for the most part of British "tourists," this second period included mostly Americans. The difference in interest and attitude was striking, and can best be seen in the comments of an American who visited Halifax in 1889. He described the city as a "quaint, delightful, dirty old town," and it was his hope that "... it would be saved from the doubtful blessing of becoming a popular summer resort with summer hotels overrun by Americans."[3]

The invention of the automobile and the consequent mobility of those who could afford such vehicles dashed any hopes that Halifax or indeed Nova Scotia would be saved from such doubtful blessings. By the 1920s the Nova Scotia government was actively encouraging tourism and in 1924 the first Old Home Summer was held.The key to financial success in the industry was the automobile. In 1922, beween July and September, 2,000 tourist vehicles entered the province. The number of cars increased each year and despite a slight decline during the 1930s, by 1940, almost 50,000 cars entered the province.[4]

The third and final period has been one of drastic change. Since 1940 there has been a tourist explosion, due for the most part to economic boom times and the widespread use of the automobile. By 1969, 271,000 cars entered Nova Scotia, the majority of them for the purpose of tourism. The numbers of people engaged in "touring" had increased enormously and no longer included leisurely stops of one or two months in secluded tourist resorts. The clientele had also changed from a majority of Americans in the second period to a mix of Americans and Canadians.

Tourism has become a business encouraged by government, and the natural beauty of the eastern provinces has long been perceived as another of the region's exploitable resources. Seneca believed that men travelled because "... they are fickle, tire of soft living and always seek after some thing which eludes them;" all three tourist types — "military", "elite sport" and "mobile" — would no doubt agree with one or more of these postulates.[5]

3 Phyllis Blakeley, *Glimpses of Halifax* (Belleville, Ontario, 1972), p. 212.

4 Department of Tourism, Nova Scotia, *Annual Reports*, 1970, p. 27.

5 Lois Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (New York, 1976), p. 28.

With these three periods securely in place, we shall now proceed to the middle period, and more specifically, to the "elite sport tourists" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Nova Scotia. The commencement year for this period, 1871, has been chosen with some care, since an event which occurred in that year marked the beginning of large scale tourism in Nova Scotia. In July 1871, a large party of some 400 Americans travelled by railroad to Nova Scotia from Boston,[6] becoming the first tourist excursion to travel by rail to the province. By the next summer, rail service was extended to New York, and a 36-hour journey was all that was necessary to travel from the wilds of New York City to the civilized wilderness of Nova Scotia. The transport was available and the woodlands beckoned. All that was needed were some more customers.

Nova Scotia was fast becoming a favourite spot for professional sportsmen from New England. One of the most influential was Charles Hallock, the first editor of the popular American magazine *Forest and Stream*, begun in 1873. In that same year, Hallock published *The Fishing Tourist: Angler's Guide and Reference Book*, and in it he noted that Nova Scotia was unsurpassed as a game country.[7] His was the first of many travel accounts concerning the province. In the years that followed, a variety of writers from Albert Bigelow Paine to Zane Grey would acclaim the pleasures of the Nova Scotian wilds, and would encourage thousands of fellow Americans to follow the Atlantic seaboard north to the province.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the tourist trade steadily accelerated, and by 1911, railroad steamers from the United States to Nova Scotia were handling up to 1800 tourists per week. A rather optimistic story in the New Year's edition of the *Halifax Herald* stated that Nova Scotia might even expect 1,500,000 tourists in 1912[8]. Private and public interests were soon responding to such far-fetched possibilities. Already in 1897, the Nova Scotia Tourist Association had been established in Halifax with the stated purpose of bringing visitors to both the city and the province "... by making known the various attractions existing here."[9] Then in 1924, the

6 Marguerite Woodworth, *History of the Dominion Atlantic Railway* (Kentville, 1936), p. 80.

7 Charles Hallock, *The Fishing Tourist: Anglers' Guide and Reference Book* (New York, 1873), p. 114.

8 This was reported in *The Gold Hunter* (Caledonia), 12 January 1912, p. 3.

9 *Halifax Nova Scotia* (1903). A travel brochure issued by The Tourist Association.

provincial government entered the picture and a Tourist Investigation Committee was formed to encourage and develop future tourist business. One of its specific recommendations was that provincial hotels should be improved and enlarged accordingly; before the end of the decade, the two railroad companies operating in the province had become involved, and four major hotels were built along the railroad line from Yarmouth on the southern tip of Nova Scotia, where the American tourists arrived by boat from Boston or Maine, to Halifax.[10] A massive promotional campaign was also undertaken by the province, urging Americans to visit the "Land of Evangeline." This was perhaps one of the more successful advertising coups of the time, for what literate American had not read Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem detailing the Acadian expulsion and had imagined the mythical romantic figure seeking her lost lover. The advertisers had made the American school curriculum work to their advantage.

By whatever means, mythical or real, American tourists were being drawn to the province, and localities which had once been simple farming communities now became "picturesque rustic settlements sheltered among the green-robed senators of the mighty woodlands."[11] Given that this era was what American writer John Mitchell has called "... the gilded age of the field sports ...",[12] such communities could not help but be affected in many ways by the influx of visitors. They were, after all, on the front lines of the invasion.

Let us follow one of these incursions, the "Mooseland Trail," as it was described in a 1924 Nova Scotia gazeteer, and examine a specific area that interested tourists greatly.

> 70 miles ... Annapolis-Liverpool. This trail takes one across country from the Annapolis Valley to the South Shore, passing through some of the finest hunting and fishing lands in Nova Scotia ... Caledonia is the gateway to seven hundred and fifty square miles of sporting country, with over a hundred and thirty rivers, lakes and ponds including Lake Rosignol, Kejimkujik Lake, Kejimkujik River and Medway and Mersey Rivers, the former a famous salmon stream.[13]

10 These hotels were Lakeside Inn (Yarmouth), The Pines (Digby), Cornwallis Inn (Kentville), and Lord Nelson Hotel (Halifax).

11 R. R. McLeod, *Pinehurst or Glimpses of Nova Scotia Fairyland* (1908), p. 100.

12 John G. Mitchell, "Gentlemen Afield," *American Heritage*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (Oct./Nov. 1978), p. 100.

13 *Gazeteer and Road Map of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1924), p. 11.

For obvious reasons, these hinterlands of Queens and Annapolis Counties were considered by many to be the "paradise of sportmen" and were famous for moose hunting and trout fishing. Early sporting travellers like Hallock had noted the wealth of game in the area and consequently its sporting reputation led to the construction of hunting lodges like Milford House, Pinehurst and Kedge Makooge (Keji) Lodge. These establishments became a great source of pride for the local population, as they not only provided an income but also a feeling of involvement with that greater and opulent world beyond. The village inhabitants became increasingly committed to serving the tourist, and were employed as drivers, cooks, servants, guides, carriers, helpers and "go-fers." In such a service industry there was still room for the local farmer to market his produce, the housewife to sell her baked goods and handcrafts, and the craftsman to display his canoes, paddles or back packs. To better appreciate how local people reacted to the tourist, and how they perceived the impact on their community, perhaps it would be best to let them tell part of this story themselves in the following pages.

By the late 1890s, regular steamship service between Boston and Yarmouth had been established. Travellers who arrived in Yarmouth just off the boat in the early morning could then catch the "New Yorker" service of the Dominion Atlantic Railroad and travel on to any point between Yarmouth and Halifax. If the visitors wished to follow the "Mooseland Trail" as described above — and many did — they would stop at the town of Annapolis and wait for transportation to the interior. If it was 1920, it wasn't long in coming, and as likely as not it was Lauchlin (Locky) Freeman who pulled up to the station:

> I use to go back and forth between Keji and Annapolis ... I drove the truck five trips a week. The guests would come to the railroad station and I would have to help them get their baggage and their trunks and so on ... cause some would come to stay all summer ...[14]

After all, this was no passing visit, no momentary stay; tourists came for the duration and packed accordingly. Walter Sheffer explains:

> You'd be surprised the load of stuff people'd bring. They rode out here in a buckboard wagon from Annapolis ... the first people ... they would bring

14 Lauchlin Freeman, Kejimkujik Oral History (hereafter KOH), No. 80, Tape 42, Side 2, 6 July 1977. This tape is part of a collection held by Parks Canada.

> great big suitcases ... great big trunks ... some bringing three trunks of books ... and stayed the summer .... They would come in May and stay 'til the cold weather drove them out ...[15]

Once seated in the Ford half-ton or the buckboard, perhaps the most difficult part of the summer began — the thirty-mile trip to the holiday lodges. As the vehicle went deeper into the interior, the travellers were surrounded by the green impenetrable forest. Paine, in his colourful book *The Tent Dwellers*, described the view most vividly — albeit somewhat inaccurately:

> Bleak, unsightly, unproductive, mangled and distorted out of all shape and form of loveliness, yet with a fierce, wild fascination in it that amounts almost to beauty — that is the Nova Scotia woods.[16]

Many perhaps were more fascinated by the distorted road or lack thereof, over which they were travelling. Again Lauchin Freeman comments,

> Great big granite rocks on the road then — even then, 1920, there were rocks that high [4 feet] ... couldn't get around them. If you met a car you had to back up to a pull-off spot ... could get stuck in the grass if you weren't careful ...[17]

If the tourists survived this passage, they were soon safely ensconced in the accommodation of their choice, be it Kedge Makogee Lodge, Milford House, or Minard's Cabins, all of which were centered in the vast lakeland area of south-western Nova Scotia. In the months to come, they would fish, hunt, play lawn games, eat exceedingly well, be eaten in turn by the insect life, and enjoy the idle pleasures and comforts their wealth had brought them. Hunting and fishing guides were also available at very short notice from the lodge management, and to them it was never altogether clear as to why this rich crowd would want to spend $10 a week for board just to sit around an oil lamp in the wilds of Nova Scotia.[18]

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15 Walter Sheffer, KOH No. 15, Tape 7, Side 1, 2 March 1977.

16 Albert Bigelow Paine, *The Tent Dwellers* (New York, 1980), p. 33.

17. Freeman, *op. cit.*

18 John Leefe, James Morrison, Eric Mullen, Millie Evans, *Kejimkujik National Park: A Guide* (Halifax, 1981), p. 11.

Some regular visitors involved themselves directly with local life. Mrs. Maud Longmire, whose husband was a guide, was particularly impressed by the friendliness of certain tourists:

> Americans used to like going 'round house to house and get acquainted with all the people in the place ... . They'd sing in the church and come to our Sunday morning service ... . They used to put on big plays and cabarets ... raised money and sometimes raised money for the church ...[19]

Many would come back summer after summer and be well-known by the community. The arrival of these regulars was also of interst to the local press, in this case *The Gold Hunter*, which was published weekly in nearby Caledonia. The issue for 14 October 1921 noted that

> We were pleased to have a call from A. Byron McLeod and E. W. Preston on Monday. Mr. Preston is a member of the editorial staff of the *Boston Herald*, and has been enjoying a vacation at Pinehurst. He is greatly impressed with the country and hopes to come again next year.[20]

And again on 19 June 1931,

> We were pleased to have a call from Dr. Fridenberg on Wednesday. The doctor, and his wife, have been guests of the Rod & Gun Club, Kejimkujik, for eighteen consecutive years. He is so well pleased with this part of Nova Scotia, and our people, he would like to reside here permanently.[21]

The regulars and the famous were always of note. Mrs. Longmire tells of a visit by the "Floor-shams you know the shoe people" and also of a Lord "Tangy" who come from England to Keji complete with his manservant "... a real old Englishman but he was a good one."[22]

The presence of the famous invariably produced anecdotes and some of these tales bear re-telling. Maurice Scott recounts the story of one of the more famous tourists who visited Caledonia on a camping trip in the early part of the century.

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19 Maud Longmire, KOH No. 39, Tape 27, Side 1, 6 April 1977.

20 *The Gold Hunter*, 14 October 1921, p. 3.

21 *Ibid.*, 19 June 1931, p. 3.

22 Longmire, *op. cit.*

> ... had a few billionaires here ... big shots from New York, Boston, Cleveland, they used to come down here too, great place ... . John D. Rockefeller was up here twice, John junior the second John. He was over at Alton House. John D., went by the name John Davidson. There was an old guide with him. He was middle-aged. He looked like a big statesman. He was only a guide, see. He had a big handlebar. He used to be quite particular about his clothes ... . Anyway Byron Kempton ran this hotel and was over to the post office and the postmaster said, 'You've got a millionaire over there ...' He said, 'You know, I never seen a millionaire.' 'Well,' said Byron, 'come on over and see him.'
>
> So MacAdam the postmaster went over to the hotel and went in and set down. Saw them sittin' there with a big moustache, handsome man and sitting back. Watched him awhile then bye 'n' bye he got up and went upstairs. MacAdam came back home. The next day he was talking to Byron, 'You know there is something funny about a man with money like that, a millionaire,' he said. 'You know he don't look like anybody else. He looks different. Even the skin on this hands, on his face, his moustache, hair. He looks different than the kind of people we have around here.'
>
> Byron says, 'Sure!! ... . What do you mean about that moustache?' 'Well,' he says, 'he's got a big rolling moustache, you know.' Bryon says, 'That wasn't Rockefeller.' He says, 'It wasn't?' 'No! That was old John MacVicar Munroe. That's one of the guides.'[23]

One is rightly suspicious of such an anecdote. Did Rockefeller actually visit this distant and secluded part of Canada far from the hustle and bustle of his billions? *The Gold Hunter* of 27 October 1916 lays the matter to rest: "John D.Rockefeller Jr. moose hunting with John Truesdel as guide. His third trip. Returned to New York."[24] Although Rockefeller was in Caledonia, hunted there, and visited at least three times, the story is nevertheless not about him! It was in reality a comment on guides, and the man mistaken for Rockefeller, John McVicar Munroe, represented the typical guide in that area.

Guides were, in effect, the most important component of the tourist industry during this period, since it was their job to serve and satisfy every whim of the visitor. Paine succinctly described the enthusiasm and frustration of the beginner putting up with the hardships of the wilds:

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23 Maurice Scot, KOH No. 51, Tape 30, Side 2, 28 April 1977.

24 *The Gold Hunter*, 27 October 1916, p. 3.

"There were trout here and I could catch them. That was enough."[25] The skilled guide ensured that both the beginner and the more experienced regular got what they paid for, be it trout, deer, moose or photographs — all after a reasonable amount of suspense. The guides were experienced professionals who had to pack, lug, carry and cook. For example, Paine recounted the time when he had bedded down for the night and his guide brought him a drink of water: "I wasn't used to being waited on in that way, but it was pleasant."[26] Walter Sheffer, who guided for over forty years, remembers his experience:

> You have a packsack, tents, bedding, supplies and you had to know enough to put that pack up — once I was out seventeen days without coming out of the woods ... . They [the tourist] carried at least their personal things and sometimes they carried luggage besides. Sometimes maybe a man would want to carry a canoe ... [but I'd] set up camp, do the dishes ... anything and everything ... . People on such trips were on their best behaviour. I don't know what they was like when it came to doing business with them ... . They were probably shrewd as Hell.[27]

Often the guides became as famous as those they guided. Local stories abound of the strength, endurance and more frequently the tricks they played on each other and the visitors. One example of the latter was immortalized by the press. On 11 November 1928, the *Boston Herald* carried a photo page on a character it called "Another famous Will Rogers, one of the best known guides in Nova Scotia." Rogers was a guide at Kedge Makoogee Lodge, and beside the photograph of him was another of a somewhat shadowy "moose" frozen by a stationary camera and night flash. Joe Rogers, Will's nephew, tells the real story.

> I was in South Saskatchewan at the time. A sheep farmer came over and said, 'Joe, what's your father's name?' I said, 'Fred.' 'Oh, I thought it might have been your father. Three or four sheets in the paper about Canada's famous Will Rogers from Nova Scotia.' 'Oh, I have an uncle Will.'
>
> They pulled off the damndest stunts. It was in the summer time, no

25 Paine, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

27 Sheffer, *op. cit.*

> moose around. They told a great story in the paper of how they set the camera with a string across the moose's path and how the moose came and took his own picture .... Well Charles Minard had a great big moosehead in his cabin over there and came over across the lake and took it in the woods and his shoulders was hidden ... and that flash camera took the picture in the dark ya know ... and that's what the man got.[28]

These guides, quaint characters or not, did well financially for the summer and usually made much more than if they had stayed home on their farms or engaged in woods work at a dollar a day. The better guides were reimbursed handsomely for their efforts and sizeable tips were occasionally given. Again Maud Longmire:

> Tips were very important and after one two-week trip guides would often get $5.00 gold pieces from American tourists. I saved enough of them to buy a second-hand kitchen range stove, paid $20 for the stove and $5 for buckboard transport ... that stove was like gold to me.[29]

The communities as a whole benefitted as well, as Mrs. Longmire remembers:

> Milford House gave employment to most of the people around here ... a good many worked at the lodge itself and others worked in other ways for it ... a ready market for anything you have to sell ... most people's cash income came through the Milford House.[30]

Summer in central Nova Scotia brought the rich, the near-rich, or simply the famous to enjoy the "primitive" and serene beauty that this area had to offer. The bulk of these travellers were American, and generally it can be stated that it was not until the Second World War and after that the trend began to change, as more Canadians, and especially Nova Scotians, were participating fully in the "age of the automobile." Unfortunately, the guest registers for tourist accommodations on Kejimkujik Lake are not available. However, perhaps the Milford House statistics can serve equally well as an indication of the point of origin for tourists in this area, since both Milford House and Kedge Makoogee appealed to a similar clientele. In 1930, almost

28 Joe Rogers, KOH No. 16, Tape 8, Side 2, 2 March 1977.

29 Longmire, *op. cit.*

30 *Ibid.*

70 per cent of the guests at Milford House were from the United States. No doubt it was higher than this in the earlier decades. During the period from 1930 to 1940, the yearly percentage of Americans never went below 50 per cent.[31] Thus, within the period of this study, the American tourist accounted for the majority of visitors and an enormous influx of cash, not to speak of the less obvious importation of the fashions and tastes of American culture.

As Maud Longmire noted, the influx of tourists touched the community as a whole,for there was a constant demand by the sporting lodges for commodities which the locality had to offer — the farmers' products, the housewives' culinary talents, or the whole populations's knowledge of its own backyard. The community store benefitted, as did the local church, and the residual living memory of this period is very positive towards the tourists, for it is believed that they contributed much to the community's economic stability. At the same time, the lodges themselves were owned by "locals" and the income they gained stayed in the community. Thus the early tourist industry in this part of Nova Scotia distributed income directly and indirectly to a very large number of people in the rural area, with vitually no intermediary; it would, however, be virtually impossible to quantify the amounts.

Cultural influences are also difficult to measure, but a brief qualitative analysis is in order. American fashions and fads were evident in the local newspapers and were many times copied by the young, as each tried to outdo the other on the latest styles from Boston. The films and plays that were shown or performed tended to reflect an American influence, although again, to what extent this was due to the tourist trade is not clear.

Lois Turner and John Ash have noted in their study, *The Golden Hordes*, that the search for simplicity and the rustic ends in accelerated social change for the place visited: thus, "the pursuit of the exotic and diverse ends in

31 A study of when these tourist came would be of interest in itself. For example, in 1930, 68 per cent of the visitors to Milford House were from the United States; then the Depression hit. In 1931, 50 per cent were Americans; 1932 — 50 per cent; 1933 — 48 per cent; and 1934 — 51 per cent. Then came the recovery; 1935 — 57 per cent; 1936 — 51 per cent; 1937 — 64 per cent; 1938 — 62 per cent; and a high water mark of 68 per cent in 1939. Generally speaking, 50 per cent of the American tourists came from the states of New York and Massachusetts. By 1944 only 16 per cent of the tourists were from the United States, due no doubt to the disruption of World War II.

uniformity."[32] In the case of the area under study, this move to uniformity — if such can be said to exist — was more probably brought about by those inhabitants who migrated to more cosmopolitan American centres and who, like all good emigrants, proved their success by flaunting their urban acquisitions when they came home. The tourist trade may have encouraged this emigration, but it cannot be held accountable for the natural movement of a people escaping economic hard times in Eastern Canada. Perhaps this is why the area maintained its rustic nature and simplicity, for it was losing its younger and more adventurous population, to be replaced by summer transients from the United States.

Gone now is the era of oxcarts and Motel T Fords manoeuvering around granite rocks that blocked the road, and gone are the American tourists who stayed for three or four months at a time. The simpler, slower time is past, but the tourist industry lives on as one of the most underrated employers in the province. For over 100 years it has brought money, ideas, fashions, fads and excitement to the small communities of Nova Scotia and has distributed income more widely, more quickly and more equitably than if the inhabitants of these communities had owned shares in a tourist corporation. It provided and still provides to an economically depressed region of the nation what George Minard calls "... good money for here ..."[33]

32 Turner and Ash, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

33 George Minard, KOH No. 19, Tape 13, Side 1, 3 March 1977.

Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce, LaHave, Nova Scotia: 350 Years of History

Joan E. Dawson

Fort Point, at LaHave, Lunenburg County, lies just off Highway 331, about half a mile downstream from the LaHave ferry, and about ten miles from Bridgewater, on the west side of the river mouth. The site today consists of a grassy area jutting out into the river towards Kraut Point on the eastern side. On it stands a modern, automatic light, replacing an earlier lighthouse; the former lighthouse-keeper's dwelling, now a museum under the auspices of the Lunenburg County Historical Society; a cairn erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Branch of the Federal Government and maintained by Parks Canada; a reconstructed well, a flag pole and some picnic tables under venerable apple trees. Separating the Point from the highway are a pond, a cemetery and some houses. Were it not for signs on the highway, the passer-by might be quite unaware that this was the focal point of an area of considerable importance in Nova Scotian history.

Cape LaHave (then Cap LaHève) was the first place on mainland North America sighted by Champlain and de Monts on their pioneering voyage to Acadia in 1604. They named it after a cape near their point of departure from France. Until then, it had been known only to the Indians who had a summer camp in the area, and perhaps to occasional European fishermen working along the coast. Champlain mapped the harbour, but does not seem to have gone ashore. From that time onwards, ships travelling to and from Port Royal would sometimes stop at LaHave on the way; we know that Marc Lescarbot was among those whose journey was broken here, in 1607. In 1613 a missionary expedition under the auspices of Madame de Guercheville, led by René Le Coq de la Saussaie, paused at LaHave on the way to Port Royal. The Jesuit priests who formed part of this group said mass and set up a cross bearing the Marquise's coat of arms on an island in the river mouth. The cross itself has not survived, though the name Cross Island has; this seems to have been the earliest occasion when Europeans left any mark in the area.

In 1632 Port Royal, which had been occupied by a Scottish garrison, was restored to French control by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. An expedition financed by the Compagnie des Cent Associés and supported by Richelieu, left France in July of that year with the dual purpose of replacing the Scots with French soldiers, and of establishing a French civilian colony in Acadia. This expedition was led by Isaac de Razilly, Knight Commander of the Order of Malta, a distinguished naval veteran and an enthusiastic proponent of French colonial development; he was accompanied by his

cousin Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, his nephew, Claude de Razilly, and by Nicolas Denys, a native of Tours. On 8 September they disembarked at LaHave, which Razilly had selected as the centre of his colony.

The probable location of their landing, and the site of the fort which Razilly constructed, is now known as Fort Point. The fort itself was named Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce, to commemorate the day of the landing, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin. Construction of the fort and living quarters must have begun immediately, using bricks and other building supplies brought from France,but it was already late in the season and there was not time to make adequate preparation for winter. Of the two hundred men established at Fort Point, thirty-six died during the first winter, not for lack of proper nourishment, but because of inadequate shelter. By the following season this had been rectified,and Razilly wrote that during the winter of 1633-34 there had been no illness at all, and that the new colony was well-established.[1]

During the summer of 1633, more of the Company's ships crossed the Atlantic bringing men and supplies. One left Dieppe on 12 March, with four more promised as soon as weather permitted.[2] The building of the fort and dwellings was completed, and the occupants well provided for. Nicolas Denys, who realized the importance of commercial development, quickly established a fishery a little way along the coast at Port Rossignol (Liverpool), and a lumbering operation across the river from Fort Point, on the peninsula between the LaHave river and Mirligueche (Lunenburg) Bay. Denys' first cargo of fish was sold "to tolerably good advantage" in Brittany, so that he bought a larger ship and also arranged with Razilly to send lumber to France on the returning supply ships.[3]

Meanwhile, Razilly was working on the establishment of a permanent settlement. The two hundred men who had accompanied him to LaHave were not all intending to remain in Acadia. Most Frenchmen who crossed the Atlantic in the initial stages of colonization were *engagés*, men who

1 Razilly's correspondence with Lescarbot. Fonds français, Vol. 13423, f.350, Dept. des MSS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (hereafter Bib.Nat.).

2 *Gazette de Renaudot*, 1633, reprinted in *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXXV, No. 11 (Nov. 1929), 701-702.

3 Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, ed. W. F. Ganong (Toronto, 1908), pp. 142-143, 150.

signed on for a limited period of military service, or for specific tasks in clearing or construction. The majority of colonists came later, and it was for these people that Razilly planned an agricultural settlement at Petite Rivière, a few miles down the river. There land was cleared and houses were built, and by 1634 it is likely that the first farmers were established. Razilly's policy was to encourage married men to settle in the colony, since he considered bachelors to be mere "birds of passage"; he admitted, however, that being single himself (as a Knight of Malta he had taken a vow of celibacy), he had some difficulty in persuading married men to join him.[4] It is not known exactly when the first French women arrived at LaHave; the earliest existing list of immigrants is the passenger list for the *Saint-Jehan* which brought some men with their wives in April, 1636.[5] It is likely, however, that among the farmers established at Petite Rivière in Razilly's time were some married men, though no French children were born in Acadia before 1636.[6]

Razilly, writing to Lescarbot, mentioned the cattle, pigs, goats and poultry which had been brought from France to supply the needs of his colonists. Grapevines had been planted, and some wine was also made from local grapes, which Razilly described as "fit for the mass." Grain was grown successfully, as well as many varieties of vegetables. In addition to cultivated produce, the settlers made use of the natural resources of the area, particularly fruit and berries, and, of course, fish and game, which were plentiful. Supplemental provisions from France -- oil, vinegar, spices, rice, sugar and preserves -- ensured their well-being.[7]

The centre of the settlement was, naturally, Fort Point. There stood the fortress, with its battery of twenty-five cannons, Razilly's residence and other dwellings, a stone-built store-house, and of course the chapel. Razilly also spoke of a mill;[8] its location has not been established. Nicolas Denys described the site:

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4 Fonds français, Vol. 13423, f. 350, Dept. des MSS, Bib. Nat.

5 Reproduced and transcribed by Archange Godbout, "The Passenger List of the Ship *Saint-Jehan* and the Acadian Origins, "*French Canadian and Acadian Genealogical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Spring 1968), 59-66.

6 The first Acadian-born child was Mathieu Martin, later granted a concession in Cobequid in recognition of this distinction. *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 71.

7 Fonds français, Vol. 13423, f. 349, Dept. des MSS, Bib. Nat.

> The dwelling of Monsieur de Razilly was a league from the entrance [of the harbour] upon a little point which has on one side, the river, while on the other there are a pond and at the end there is not much land to cut through in order to enclose by water three or four arpents of land, where the fort was built.[9]

Among those accompanying the expedition were three Capuchin fathers. They looked after the spiritual well-being of the settlers, and also gave religious instruction to the Indians. They are thought to have established the first school in New France at LaHave. Razilly attributed to their good influence the peacefulness and good fellowship of his colony, where he said there had been no rebelliousness nor cause for punishment. He described the settlement as an earthly paradise[10] and his enthusiasm was matched by Nicolas Denys' reminiscences of life there in Razilly's day.[11] The contentment of the settlers, and the confidence which seems to have been established between the French and the Indians, augured well for the future.

Despite these attractive reports, the maintenance of the colony was a heavy financial burden on Razilly and his brother, Claude de Launay-Rasilly, to whom the settlement was formally granted in 1634 in recognition of Isaac's services to the Company. Claude and his associates were forced to form a private company to supplement the funds originally supplied by the Cent Associés. Razilly admitted to Lescarbot that the fur trade had brought him little profit, and that Denys had suffered a misfortune when his second ship was lost to the Portuguese, destroying his fishing business. In 1635, Razilly invited the Grand Master of the Order of Malta, whose interests included the maintenance of a naval base for the protection of shipping in the Mediterranean, to establish a base at LaHave; he hoped in this way to attract some of the resources of the Order to the area, but the invitation was declined.

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8 *Ibid.*, f. 350

9 Nicolas Denys, *op.cit.*, pp. 147-148.

10 Fonds français, Vol. 13423, f. 350, Dept. des MSS, Bib. Nat.

11 Nicolas Denys, *op.cit.*, pp. 153-154. He describes a social visit by Razilly to his own establishment.

Towards the end of 1635, while Nicolas Denys was in France recruiting settlers who were to sail for LaHave on the *Saint-Jehan* in April of the following year, Isaac de Razilly died, and the course of history for the settlement was drastically changed. Charles de Menou, acting for Claude de Launay-Rasilly, took over control of the colony. Within a few years he had transferred his headquarters to Port Royal, and had taken with him most of the LaHave settlers. Only a few, mostly those who had married Indian women, remained behind to man the fort and trading post. After such a promising beginning, Fort Point became almost deserted. The final blow came from Emmanuel LeBorgne, a merchant of La Rochelle, who had advanced considerable sums of money to Charles de Menou for outfitting ships bringing supplies to the colony. On Menou's death in 1650, LeBorgne set out to recover what he could from the surviving colonists, and in 1653 a band of his men descended on LaHave and set fire to all the buildings, destroying even the chapel.

The following year the English regained control of the French settlements in Acadia, including LaHave, where Thomas Temple's men reinforced the ruins of the fort with a wooden palisade. LeBorgne's son, Alexandre, in turn took back the fort, but was soon thrown out again by an English expedition. It was not until 1670, three years after the Treaty of Breda, by which Acadia was to be returned to France, that French control was actually restored.

For some twenty years, no French settlers had come to Acadia, while the original population which had been transferred from LaHave had become established, and multiplied, at Port Royal. When a census was taken in 1671,[12] Razilly's settlements were not listed, but there is no reason to suppose that there were no French families at LaHave at that time. Several families were recorded there in 1686,[13] and later censuses and other reports before 1750 spoke of a small, fluctuating population at both LaHave (the Fort Point area and Petite Rivière) and Merligueche, as well as a considerable Indian population.[14] Of the "French" families, some are thought to have

12 *Familles establies a l'Acadie*. MG 100, Vol. 100, No. 6, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS). Original in Archives des Colonies, Paris.

13 *Recensement fait par Monsieur De Meulles, Intendant de la Nouvelle France* ... MG1, Vol. 466, No. 12, Public Archives of Canada.

14 Summarized by Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, 1968), pp. 154-155.

been of mixed blood, and some were clearly stated to include Indian women.[15] They were sufficiently isolated from the main population that they depended to a large extent on trade with the English, who fished in adjacent waters and dried their catch along the shores. For much of the latter part of the seventeenth century, the New Englanders were involved in a dispute with the Compagnie de la Pêche Sédentaire d'Acadie, which had been granted a monopoly by the French king to fish off the Acadian coast, while at the same time the governor of Acadia was making money by selling fishing licences in Boston. All this made life at LaHave a little uncertain: at times when hostilities were aroused, the inhabitants were liable to be raided by the English, who sometimes prevented them from fishing; yet trade in furs with the ostensible enemy was their chief means of survival.

Numerous proposals were made during the latter part of the seventeenth century for the redevelopment of LaHave. They included recommendations by de Meulles, Gargas, Perrot and Villebon, for reconstruction of the fort and the settlement of a population which would develop the agricultural and commercial potential of the area. Since they all required financial backing, which was not forthcoming from the French Crown, none came to fruition.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw further attempts to exploit LaHave's commercial and strategic potential. Brouillan, governor of the colony from 1701 to 1704, used the port as a base for skirmishes against the English, and wanted to establish a fortification and fishing settlement there, using young Acadians from the rest of the colony. In 1704, Sieur Denys de Bonaventure (Nicolas Denys' grand-nephew) was granted land near LaHave, where he had also suggested rebuilding the fort, but was unable to protect the inhabitants from raids by New Englanders. In 1708 Governor Subercase in his turn proposed to develop LaHave as a chief port and centre for ship-building. One last proposal, dating from 1711, contained a detailed estimate of the cost of reconstructing the fort. Before any of these plans could be fulfilled, however, the Treaty of Utrecht had returned Acadia once more to English control.

Little is heard of LaHave and its inhabitants during the early years of the English régime. Probably their way of life was not vastly different and they continued their trading and fishing as before. In 1725, Guillaume Gaudet raised a band of Indians from the LaHave area to raid the English settlements

15 The 1686 census specifically mentions "Jeanne sauvagesse de nation" (Jeanne, of the savage — i.e. Indian - nation).

at Port Royal, now renamed Annapolis. Both blood ties and traditional friendship from the early days of colonization brought the Indians and French together against the common enemy. Accounts from the 1740s -- Beauharnois and Hocquart, 1745; LaLoutre, 1756; and finally Cornwallis, 1749 -- attest to a continuing group of French inhabitants at LaHave, Petite Rivière and Merligueche. But Cornwallis' observations were made on his way to Halifax to oversee the development of Nova Scotia as a viable British colony, and soon a new period of history was to begin for the area surrounding Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce.

With the settlement of Lunenburg by the "foreign Protestants" in 1753, the region had, for the first time in many years, new blood and new leadership. Blockhouses were built around the main settlement, the site of the earlier Merligueche; two of these were at Upper and Lower LaHave. In 1757 a militia officer was appointed to LaHave, and a road cut from Lunenburg to the settlement, which was apparently at that time confined to the eastern side of the river.

It was not long before the spread of population gave rise, in the 1760s, to the establishment of New Dublin township, extending along the entire western side of the navigable portion of the LaHave river. Although concessions in the area were granted initially to New Englanders (who made no attempt to settle them) and to some Irish, a mixed population soon became established, including English, Scottish, Irish and German settlers. Among the earliest of this wave was Mordow McCleod, who, in 1761, before the actual division of the township, was allowed to occupy land and a beach "about a mile from the old French fort" as a base for a fishery.[16]

It was in 1765 that Joseph Pernette received a formal grant of extensive lands on the western side of the river, with twelve 200-acre lots to be allocated to other settlers. By 1770, the population of New Dublin had risen to 154.[17] The centre of Joseph Pernette's establishment was at what is now West LaHave, where a lake, brook and cove still bear his name. Although there is no record of any re-population of Fort Point itself at this period, Pernette settled many families on his lands, and the 1791 assessment roll lists 126 adult males in the area.[18] Among them were the Getsons, who gave

16 Petition from Mordow McCleod, 17 November 1761. RG1, Vol 204, p. 23, PANS.

17. A return of the State of the Township of New Dublin, 1770. MG100, Vol. 195, No. 32, PANS.

18 Township of New Dublin Assessment Roll, 23 June 1792. MG100, Vol. 179, No. 26, PANS.

their name to a small cove just north of Fort Point, so it seems that the area may have been re-settled at about this time. According to a report written in 1795 by the Reverend James Monro, the people in the area made their living, as their Acadian predecessors had done, by farming and fishing.[19]

During the nineteenth century, the area around Fort Point shared in the commercial boom which the region as a whole enjoyed. Joseph Pernette had built the first saw-mill in the region; soon the general industrial expansion led to the establishment of others. Ship-building became an important part of the LaHave river economy, while agriculture and fishing were maintained, with the fish being dried on flakes in much the same way as in Acadian times. Throughout the nineteenth century, lumber, fertile soil and plentiful fish remained the essential ingredients of the economy. The centre of development inevitably shifted to Bridgewater, which became a focal point for transportation both by land and water.

The commercial activities of the LaHave area hardly impinged on the meadow which was the site of Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce. A Protestant cemetery alongside the old French burial ground, then as now, separated it from the centre of the community. In his *History of Lunenburg County* (1870), M. B. DesBrisay described it as follows:

> The ruins of the fort and of the chapel are distinctly visible. The outer bank of the point yet contains a portion of the wall built up by the French, and judging from what is left, it must have been a substantial piece of masonry. In the face of this wall, about ten feet from the top, was a circular aperture, walled round with stone, which the inhabitants, who saw it before it had fallen, suppose to have been a drain leading from the fort. The latter is described as having been about one hundred feet from high-water mark. A great part of the bank has since washed away, so that the lines of the works inside cannot now be accurately defined. One who has worked long in the vicinity says that a slope of land, part of the point, and on which several hundredweight of hay had been cut, has disappeared.
>
> It would seem, from the mounds still visible, that the fort must have been of large size, and that other buildings had been erected in its immediate neighbourhood -- perhaps the residences of the Governor and other officers of State. Inside the fort wall, on the side nearest the sea, were seen some years since the walls of the magazine. About ten feet from the south-west corner of

19 James Monro, "History and description and state of the Southern and Western Townships of Nova Scotia in 1795," PANS *Reports*, 1934, p. 35.

> the fort walls is a wall, two feet in diameter, very neatly made, walled with smooth stones, and evidently a work of great care. It has been partly filled up, but can be seen to a depth of several feet. All the work that has been exposed was of very superior quality.
>
> About three hundred yards distant from the fort walls, in a northerly direction, are the foundation walls of the chapel, seventy feet in length and twenty-three feet in width. There is a division wall crosswise, thirty feet distant from the western end, which was probably used to support a chancel arch. The enclosure nearest the river has been converted into a graveyard ...
>
> The stump of an old tree, called the "French appletree," stands a short distance from the chapel wall. It is about two feet in height, and the same in diameter .... Several apple and willow trees remain. The old French burial ground is in the neighbourhood of the chapel site, and although many were interred there, the stones are without inscriptions to show who lie beneath.[20]

Regardless of the accuracy of DesBrisay's interpretation of the visible features, it is clear that quite impressive remains were still extant during the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it is obvious that by his time, the site had already been eroded so that portions of the fort ruins had been lost.

Throughout the twentieth century, the site has attracted sporadic attention. In1902, Senator C. E. Church drew the consideration of his fellow-senators to the historic remains of the fort and the chapel. He told them:

> A portion of the masonry is still there, still more, the granite foundation of the old French chapel is still there. If you look at the inscriptions there you will find the names of the French people .... Here is a place where history should be retained.[21]

But history was being eroded at an alarming rate. In 1906, W. F. Ganong, editor of Nicolas Denys' description of Acadia, visited the site and noted that

> Of the fort nothing now remains except a portion of one landward wall standing near the edge of a bank of clay and gravel, which slopes down abruptly twenty feet to a rocky beach and is obviously rapidly washing away

20 Mather Byles DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, 2nd. ed. (Toronto, 1895), pp. 178-179.

21 C. E. Church, "Historic Sites in Canada (Extracts from a speech delivered by Senator Church in the Senate of Canada, 1902)," *Acadiensis*, III (1903), 99.

> ... . Near by a well, some stone heaps, and some other work, possibly a corner bastion, can be seen. Farther north are the rock foundations locally attributed to the chapel.[22]

The features described by DesBrisay, Church and Ganong have long since been lost: the fort to erosion, the chapel foundations to the local cemetery, whose guardians preferred smooth lawns to untidy historical ruins. No doubt some of the stones from both structures have, over the years, been re-used in other buildings; but they have not been located, and nothing now remains above ground of Razilly's establishment.

For many years, the convictions of men like Senator Church and, more recently, the Hon. Gordon Romkey, a former speaker of the Provincial Legislature, that both the physical site and the public awareness of the history of Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce were worth preserving, seemed to gather little public support. The federal government owned much of the site, on which it maintained a light and a house for the lightkeeper. In 1929, a cairn was erected by the federal Historic Sites and Monuments Branch commemorating Fort Saint-Marie-de-Grâce, but no steps were taken to protect the area.

It was not until the 1960s that a series of events took place which, although too late to redress much of the physical damage, proved to be a turning point in the history of Fort Point. With the replacement of the former light by a modern, automatic beacon, the lightkeeper's house became superfluous, and it, together with the adjacent land -- except for small areas around the light and the cairn, which were to remain federal property -- was offered for sale in 1964. It was at this point that public opinion began to be expressed in favour of developing the area as an historical site. The federal government was not prepared to undertake this responsibility, but it agreed in 1965 to transfer the property to the provincial government in order to retain the site in public ownership for historical purposes. It was originally under the control of the provincial Department of Lands and Forests, but it was felt that the Nova Scotia Museum would be better suited to administer the property; accordingly, in January 1971, the Minister of Lands and Forests transferred to the Department of Public Works any interest the former department had exercised in the administration and control of the Fort Point Lighthouse property.

22 Nicolas Denys, *op.cit.*, p. 148n.

Meanwhile, in June 1969, a group of local citizens had held an organizational meeting to appoint a board of directors for what was to become the Lunenburg County Historical Society. The Society's objects were defined as follows:

1. To gather, compile and preserve written and printed documents of historic value and interest.
2. To gather and record stories until now unwritten, which exist only in the memories of older people.
3. To gather as many family histories as possible.
4. To promote historic sites within the county by suitable replicas, advertizing, etc.
5. To work toward a library, and perhaps a musuem, which will house books, documents, artifacts, and photographs thus collected.
6. To cooperate with government and civic officials in celebrations of an historic nature.[23]

A research committee was formed to gather historical information about the region, and other committees were established to support various aspects of the Society's endeavours, including fund-raising. Co-operation in this initial period was generously given by the Nova Scotia Museum, the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia; all of these organizations provided speakers at monthly meetings, and gave valuable advice in initiating projects.

In October 1971, a major step forward for the Society was made possible by its being granted from the provincial government the use of the Fort Point lightkeeper's house for a museum. Planning for renovations began immediately. During the winter of 1971-72, a large exhibition room was created by the removal of a dividing wall; provincial funding covered the necessary alterations and repairs, and advice and assistance were given by the staff of the Nova Scotia Museum. Steps were also taken to negotiate the purchase of some small pieces of adjacent property, to protect and enlarge the area available to the public. On 7 September 1972, the culmination of months of hard work came with the museum's official opening, on the site now known once more as Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce.

During the ten years since then, the museum has developed considerably. The grounds have been much improved, an extra wing was added to the

23 Constitution and Bylaws of the Lunenburg County Historical Society, October 1969.

building in 1978-79, and the collection of books, documents and tapes has increased. For the first summer, the museum was manned on a voluntary basis by Society members; subsequently, student guides have been employed under government youth employment schemes. In November 1973, Nancye Creaser, who had worked enthusiastically from the outset towards the establishment of the museum, was officially named Honorary Curator, and has guided its subsequent progress.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, several unsuccessful attempts were made to secure public funding for shoreline protection. To date, nothing has been done by the provincial government -- the owners of the land -- to preserve it from further erosion. It is hoped that recent approaches to the Department of Government Services, made through the Nova Scotia Museum, will produce some results; clearly, this threat to the site will be a continuing concern for the Society.

During the summer of 1977, a team of archaeologists conducted excavations at Fort Point.[24] They re-established the location of a portion of the chapel foundations, explored the base of what appeared to be a palisade fence --possibly representing subsidiary fortification at the site -- and found a number of artifacts, including pottery and several fragments of clay pipes, from which occupation of the site during the period 1632-54 has been established. An underwater survey of part of the eroded area yielded no conclusive findings, due in part to poor conditions. It is hoped that further investigations both on land and under water may be possible in the future.

In 1980, fresh impetus was given to the Society's endeavours by the unexpected and welcome visit of Père Gilles de Rasilly, a decendant of Claude de Launay-Rasilly. On his return to France, he and his family forwarded to the museum many pictures and copies of documents which enabled major additions to be made to the permanent exhibition. At the same time, a donation from the Macdonald-Stewart Foundation provided for bilingual labelling in the Razilly room.

Contact with the de Razilly family sparked further enthusiasm over preparations for the the celebration, in the summer of 1982, of the 350th anniversary of the arrival at LaHave of Isaac and his companions. On 4

24 Funded by the Nova Scotia Department of Development, with assistance from the Nova Scotia Museum and St. Mary's University. Unpublished reports have been received from David J. Christianson for the land explorations, and Marc C. Lavoie for the underwater survey.

July,[25] a huge crowd consisting of local residents, Acadians from many different areas of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and visitors from many parts of Canada, joined with representatives of Church and State, and with four members of the de Razilly family and other French visitors, to participate in the festivities. In a happy spirit of co-operation, the French and English-speaking communities came together under sunny skies to share in a day of commemoration which began with a mass, continued with a concert featuring both local and Acadian performers, and culminated with a colourful re-enactment of the expedition's landing on the shore by Fort Point. Following messages of greeting, the day's activities closed with the dedication at the chapel site of a plaque to the memory of Isaac de Razilly, a ceremony conducted by members of the Order of Malta, of which he had been Knight Commander.

The Society's success in bringing together both local residents and Acadian descendants of the early settlers to celebrate the foundation of Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce has served to emphasize the importance of the site in Nova Scotia. The next task will be to work for the protection of the site itself, of which too much has already been lost to erosion. This may take considerable time and effort, but after 350 years, what remains is worth preserving.

25 The departure date of Razilly's fleet from Auray, Brittany, in 1632, which fell conveniently on a Sunday in 1982.

Helping, Unheeded: Newfoundland's Relief Effort and the Historiography of the Halifax Explosion, 1917

Malcolm MacLeod

Close and co-operative relations between Newfoundland and the Maritime provinces of Canada existed long before Confederation in 1949, although writings available on the history of the Maritimes often fail to make this clear. A case in point is the published accounts of the relief effort mounted by outside agencies to assist survivors of the great Halifax Explosion of December 1917. When that terrible blast three weeks before Christmas killed and crippled over 10,000 people, creating a legend it took Hiroshima to surpass, all the neighbours sent help, as well as some communities that were halfway around the globe. Many Newfoundlanders had reason -- friends or relatives residing in Halifax temporarily or permanently, business connections, etc. -- to be concerned with what had happened, and the island government's response to the emergency was both alert and generous. In the literature, however, amid plaudits justly heaped upon others who also assisted, the efforts of the Dominion next door have often been overlooked.

One of nine chapters in Michael J. Bird's *The Town that Died* is devoted to the theme of generous outsiders sending aid. Bird writes that the total value of all contributions came to just under $30,000,000, and lists many of the donors: Government of Canada, $19,000,000; Great Britain, $5,000,000; City of London, $600,000; Australia, $250,000; New Zealand, $50,000. The greatest praise is saved for the Americans. Assistance from the United States included two trainloads of supplies and personnel dispatched by the Red Cross (with a complete X-ray outfit and operator); $130,000 from distant Chicago; and from Massachusetts, one train of medical supplies, another with a complete 500-bed hospital and 100 hospital personnel, and two ships with extra nurses, drivers, and $150,000 worth of equipment including gasoline, clothing, food, ten trucks with "Massachusetts to Halifax" lettered on their sides, and 837 cases of glass with 25 glaziers to install it.[1]

Thomas Raddall's *Warden of the North* agrees on the total aid figure and identifies some additional contributors: British Red Cross, $125,000; Ontario, $100,000; British Columbia, the Royal Bank of Canada and the Dominion Iron & Steel Company, $50,000 each.[2] *Miracles and Mysteries*, by

1 Michael J. Bird, *The Town that Died: A Chronicle of the Halifax Disaster* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 145-148.

2 Thomas H. Raddall, *Halifax, Warden of the North* (Toronto, 1948), p. 255.

Mary Ann Monnon, credits medical assistance from Maine, Rhode Island, Montreal and Toronto.[3] Except for the illustrations, Joan Horwood's *The Great Halifax Explosion* is derivative; again, however, the pages on the relief effort thoroughly ignore Newfoundland[4]. *The Halifax Explosion*, by Graham Metson, presents evidence of monetary or practical help from many of the sources already cited, as well as from Alberta, Yale University, Jamaica, and especially all the neighbouring urban centres of the Maritimes: Kentville, Truro, Amherst, Moncton, New Glasgow, Sydney. He at least shows Newfoundland taking official notice of the tragedy, citing a cable sent by Prime Minister E. P. Morris to the premier of Nova Scotia: "In the unparalleled disaster which has overtaken Halifax you have my deepest sympathy. Halifax and Newfoundland have close ties knit in the centuries. We will all be with you in assisting in your common nation affliction."[5] It is only in a brief statement contained in S. H. Prince's *Disaster and Social Change*, however, that there is an unequivocal indication that Newfoundland too sent tangible aid.[6]

The major Newfoundland assistance in 1917 was a contribution of $50,000 to the relief fund, voted by the executive council four days after the explosion. The Legion of Frontiersmen -- composed of Newfoundland men who had been discharged from the forces, were still too young to serve, or who had been rejected for service[7] -- volunteered a body of 80 to 100 men to help with the clean-up and reconstruction in Halifax, if Canadian authorities would pay for their transport and keep. It is not clear whether this offer was accepted, especially since the Nova Scotian city, always full of troops, may have had sufficient manpower from nearer sources. Later, as deficiencies in the first flood of aid became clear, it developed that all the new windows shipped from Boston were not equal to the need of the shattered city, and Newfoundland then charitably sent forward 267 more

3 Mary Ann Monnon, *Miracles and Mysteries* (Windsor, N. S., 1977), p. 138.

4 Joan Horwood, *The Great Halifax Explosion* (St. John's, n.d.).

5 Graham Metson, *The Halifax Explosion* (Toronto, 1978), p. 85.

6 S. H. Prince, *Disaster and Social Change* (New York, 1920), p. 114.

7 The Legion of Frontiersmen was an Empre-wide organization, originally patterned after a Boer War commando unit. G. W. L. Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander* (London, 1964), I, pp. 97, 103.

boxes of glass -- a value of $1805 in addition to the original contribution.

The Newfoundland government also named the minister of militia, J. R. Bennett, to undertake a mission to Halifax in the days immediately following the blast. Bennett had three tasks: to co-ordinate relief to Newfoundlanders in Halifax who had been rendered homeless or destitute by the explosion; to channel information back to worried loved ones; and to assist in the repatriation of those who wished to come home. The budget for the mission was $5000. Bennett soon had an office operating in the City Club in downtown Halifax, which was also home to a dozen other *ad hoc* rescue organizations.

In that era, it was Newfoundland's south and west coasts -- from Fortune to Bonne Bay -- which had the closest cultural and commercial links with Nova Scotia. Requests for information on members of Newfoundland families missing in Halifax,which could not be satisfied through normal channels and thus were processed through the colonial secretary's office, originated from every other part of the island. Official inquiries forwarded from St. John's concerned some dozen people who had not been heard from -- housewives, mariners and Dalhousie students from Flower's Cove, Whiteway, Cupids, Burin, etc. The answers that came back, from Bennett's temporary bureau and other sources, reported all hands unscathed who could be located. Nor were there casualties among members of the Newfoundland Royal Navy Reserve stationed in Halifax. Among the most pathetic refugee groups was a little squad of Newfoundland pupils at the Halifax School for the Deaf and Dumb, rescued from the bloodied debris of an explosion everyone else had heard, and tenderly shepherded home by C. B. Blackie of St. John's for the carefully-accounted-for sum of $45.70.[8]

Reaction to the Halifax Explosion showed all the English-speaking rim of the North Atlantic to be one single, quite well-knit community, and revealed that international borders between Newfoundland and Canada, and Canada and the United States, did not seem to affect the flow of aid or sense of involvement. Newfoundland was not excluded from this community, despite the strange omission of the island from most published accounts of the relief effort. St. John's authorities did not come up with as much financial assistance as did Boston and New York, but they were drawing on a smaller population and a much weaker economy. Ontario,

8 All details of Newfoundland involvement are from series GN 2/5, file 337, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (hereafter PANL).

which gave only twice as much, was therefore not nearly so generous. The dispatch of Newfoundland's high-level embassy right into the ruins not only lifted some of the burden of rescue from others' shoulders, but was an interesting demonstration of Newfoundland's independence, maturity and sense of identity.

The smaller Dominion could not avoid close involvement in this horrible incident, because it occurred in what could almost be called Newfoundland's other capital. Halifax, major metropolis for the Maritime provinces, also included Newfoundland as part of its natural hinterland, to which special services were provided. Certain groups of Newfoundlanders gravitated naturally to Halifax — for example, college students seeking higher education, handicapped children needing special facilities, and even members of the naval reserve transferred to Halifax for home service.

Neither was it the first time that Canada and Newfoundland had been linked together in common sympathy confronting widespread tragedy and loss. In 1892, the year of the Great Fire in St. John's, provisions and tents for the victims were "immediately sent from the naval and military stores at Halifax."[9] Again in 1914, when 252 men from the sealing vessels *Southern Cross* and *Newfoundland* perished, Canadian contributions to a relief fund for stricken families were headed by a $25,000 gift from Ottawa.[10] In 1917, as prelude to assistance for Halifax, a government cable to the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia on the day of the explosion reminded him that Newfoundlanders remembered "when in 1892 our own city was laid in ashes, the prompt and practical assistance extended by the people of Halifax."[11] Newfoundland was glad to be able to repay these debts of gratitude in 1917. It is indeed unfortunate that the gesture has gone largely unremarked until now, the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Halifax Explosion.

9 Newfoundland Royal Commission (Amulree) *Report* (London, 1933), p. 23.

10 See Malcolm MacLeod, "Disaster documents 1914: the official Canadian response to Newfoundland's sealing tragedies," *Newfoundland Quarterly* (Fall 1981), pp. 11-12.

11 Series GN 2/5, file 337, PANL.

Piper John MacKay and Roderick McLennan: A Tale of Two Immigrants and Their Incomplete Genealogy

John G. Gibson

In 1805, a man named John MacKay left his native Scotland to settle in Nova Scotia. He was the last of the hereditary pipers to the MacKenzies of Gairloch,in Ross-shire, and was a grandson of the famed Blind Piper, Iain Dall MacAoidh. In 1812, Roderick McLennan, a great-grandson of the Blind Piper, also came -- by accident and under an assumed name -- to settle in Nova Scotia. For the rest of their lives, the uncle and nephew lived in close geographical proximity, neither publicly acknowledging the other's presence. Also, such was the state of affairs in Scotland for most of the nineteenth century, that little thought was given there to keeping track of either man, or of their respective families. The probable reasons for the prolonged silence between the two, and the importance of their relationship to the musical tradition of Scotland, form the main themes of this article.

It was common during the eighteenth century for Gaelic chiefs, Catholic, Episcopal and Presbyterian, to retain a piper or pipers. In many cases, the job was hereditary, as might be a number of others, such as smith, armourer, *seannachaidh* (genealogist/historian/story-teller), herbalist and bannerman. Thus the MacKays were pipers to the Episcopal and later Presbyterian MacKenzies of Gairloch, the MacCrimmons were pipers to the Presbyterian MacLeods of Dunvegan, while among the Catholic clans, MacDonald of Clanranald and Chisholm of Strathglass also kept pipers.

Like the MacCrimmons of Skye and Glenelg, and other important piping families, the Gairloch MacKays appear to have belonged to the "tacksman" class, holding land from the chief in return for music. All the MacKay pipers in Gairloch held land from the MacKenzies on the south shore of Loch Maree, in one of three farmable straths there. Any wealth they may have accumulated during the days of Gaelic political power most likely came from renting portions of the holding to tenants.

Iain Dall MacAoidh, Blind John MacKay (ca. 1656-ca. 1754), the famous Blind Piper, was the second, best-remembered and most important of the four hereditary pipers to the MacKenzie lairds of Gairloch. Iain Dall, immediately recognizable to any piping enthusiast by his nickname *am piobaire dall* (the blind piper),[1] was the first of the hereditary MacKay pipers

1 Iain Dall went blind ca. age 7, as a result of small pox. John H. Dixon, *Gairloch* (Edinburgh, 1886), pp. 177-179.

to be born in Gairloch parish, at Talladale, so the story goes, on the south shore of Loch Maree. His father Ruairidh (Rory) (ca. 1592-ca. 1659), was a native of Sutherland. Iain Dall probably assisted his father, who was his first piping instructor, in the service of Alexander MacKenzie. He then progressed to become piper and family *bàrd* to Alexander's son, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie,[2] and to the latter's son, Sir Alexander MacKenzie.

Although oral tradition has left contradictions in the life of the Blind Piper, what is re-told of him, and what is still played of his brilliantly original music, emphasize for all Scottish-style pipers who play the *pìob mhór* (great pipe), or any other Gaelic bagpipe, many of the unanswered questions which haunt *pìobaireachd* (piping). Iain Dall's stature in the Gaelic music world was immense, and the stories of his skill as a piper are still repeated.[3] His compositions of *ceòl mór* (great music) and *ceòl beag* (little music) were not written down until after his lifetime, since he lived in a world untouched by literacy, either as a composing or transmitting tool. What is generally accepted as his music, however, is still published and played in the highest levels of competition.[4]

The prominence of the Blind Piper in the piping world is unchallenged. If anything, the influence of his and his family's style of piping may not yet be fully appreciated. Thus, any and all details concerning the MacKays of Gairloch assume great importance in evaluating the musical tradition of Scotland. Largely ignored in the mass of source materials currently available, however, are two manuscripts of Nova Scotian origin, both of which add greatly to the genealogical story of the Gairloch pipers.

The first, "Reminiscences of a Long Life," was written in New Glasgow, for the most part during 1868, by Squire John MacKay (ca. 1792-1884), son of the immigrant John MacKay, and thus a great-grandson of the Blind Piper. The story contains new genealogical information, details of family and local history, and important confirmation of facts long accepted from Scottish sources, but previously uncorroborated. Squire John MacKay of New

2 Sir Kenneth was a knight baronet of Nova Scotia, created by Queen Anne, 2 Feb. 1703. Alexander MacKenzie, "History of the MacKenzies," *Celtic Magazine*, IV (1879), p. 412.

3 Angus MacKay, ed., *A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd* (Aberdeen, 1838); Dr. Roderick Ross, ed., *Binneas is Boreraig* (1959), I; I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods: The History of a Clan, 1200-1959* (1959).

4 Several pieces of *ceòl mór* attributed to him have been published in a number of music books, including *Piobaireachd*, I (1925) to XIII (1980), published by *Commun na Piobaireachd* (The Pibroch Society). About a quarter of his output has either not been identified as his, or has been lost.

Glasgow is the most intimate and authoritative source of facts concerning the piper MacKays of Gairloch.[5]

The second document is "The story of Alexander McLennan (MacKay) as told by his grand-daughter, Annie MacKay."[6] In it is the simple claim of a man named Alexander MacKay, for descent from the Blind Piper through a forgotten grand-daughter. The "Story" is one of a man who escaped impressed service in the British navy, and who came to Pictou in 1812. His life was one of excitement and danger from 1803 until at least the end of the War of 1812, but it is nevertheless his claim of descent which is central to this article. This claim has no foundation if one reads the standard Scottish texts available concerning the Gairloch MacKays, since -- although the possibility is not excluded -- nowhere is there to be found any mention that Angus MacKay, son of the Blind Piper, had a daughter.[7] Alexander MacKay's "Story" claims that he did, and Squire John's "Reminiscences" clearly state that the Squire's father had a sister, thus adding further credibility to the contention.

In the aftermath of the events of 1745, Scotland went through a massive social and economic upheaval. The procrustean methods sporadically applied to bring the land into economic use, if not cultivation, coupled with

5 "Reminiscences of a Long Life" was written in Jan. 1868, except for the final paragraph, added in July 1873. The manuscript was read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society on 2 May 1913 by Rev. Allan Pollok, D.D., formerly minister at St. Andrew's, Squire John's New Glasgow church. It is quoted here with the permission of Dr. A. E. Marble, president of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society. The manuscript is presently held as MG20, Vol. 674, No. 7, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS). Squire John demands close attention as chronicler of his family and times, since he is a generation nearer the Blind Piper than is his nephew, Iain Buidhe Tàillear (MacLean), the usually recognized Scottish source of family history.

6 The original manuscript was recently found in an old trunk and is now held by Sandy MacKay, Haliburton/West River Road, Pictou County. The author has examined both it and a transcript previously provided by Helen (MacKay) Blakelock, Oakville, Ontario, niece of the author, Annie MacKay.

7 Details of the MacKay pipers of Gairloch may be found in the following: MacKay, *Collection;* MacKenzie, ed., *Sàr Obair nam Bàrd Gaëlach* (1863); Alexander MacKenzie, "The Editor in Canada," *Celtic Magazine,* V (1879); Dixon, *Gairloch;* and Osgood Hanbury MacKenzie, *A Hundred Years in the Highlands.* Angus MacKay, editor of *Collection,* was possibly the most influential person in literate classical piping. Because his father, John MacKay, had studied piping under the Cairloch MacKays (although of no relation to them), Angus is regarded as an authority on the family's piping history.

In 1977, Mrs. Blakelock presented the claim of descent, for verification, to Alec MacRae of Bruar Falls, Blair Atholl, a recognized Scottish authority on the Gairloch MacKays. He discouraged her claim, on the grounds that none of the accepted Scottish sources included the pertinent grand-daughter. Presumably MacRae had not seen, or had discounted, Squire John's "Reminiscences," which were reputably published in the Scottish weekly, *Oban Times,* in 1935.

the Napoleonic Wars, which consumed countless Gaels, directly or indirectly forced a massive wave of emigration from ca. 1770 to ca. 1840. From both the written records of visitors to the Highlands during this period, and from local Nova Scotian histories, it is obvious that pipers were plentiful. Scores emigrated. For the most part they were men who, for one reason or another, had failed to make the top rank of piping. They left Scotland sometimes under duress, frequently under delusions, and almost always out of some economic need.

At the professional level of piping, the death of Gaelic political power after '45 had its most notable effect on *ceòl mór* or classical piping. It was a world in transition. The chiefs were still landlords, and were still fluently bilingual in both English and Gaelic, but they were trimmed of power over their tenants -- other than to raise the rents. More often than not, the chiefs were in financial difficulties, and ill-will between the two classes was common. Thus, the pipers' most deeply Gaelic functions were changing quickly -- who was there left to praise? to lament? It is therefore not surprising that John MacKay, last of the hereditary pipers to the MacKenzies of Gairloch, and grandson of the Blind Piper, came out to Nova Scotia. Given the prevailing Scottish conditions, it might even seem unusual that he left his sailing so late.

In his "Reminiscences," Squire John gives no reason for his father's leaving Gairloch. No mention is made of rent increases, epidemics, crop failure or any other local hardship. The laird, Sir Hector MacKenzie, is never mentioned by name, but is also never given derogatory treatment -- although it is known that when John MacKay left in 1805, Sir Hector said that he never cared to hear pipe music again, and thus never retained another piper. Indeed the MacKay family apparently occupied a secure spot in Gairloch society. Squire John's father had attended school at Thurso and Inverary, and was what his son called an excellent "estempore" translator of English into Gaelic. He was a staunch Kirkman, the strict catechist of his own family, and the religious leader in his area, his house being the place of worship for some ten families who lived in his strath. According to Squire John, his family "although not wealthy ... were respectable and held a good position in the country of their nativity and enjoyed advantages not attained by many in those days in the Highlands of Scotland".[8]

8 MacKay, "Reminiscences," p. 1.

The family, for whatever reason, "shipped for America" in June 1805 on the *Sir Sydney Smith*, out of Stornoway. The Atlantic crossing was perilous, owing to the presence of a French fleet acting as a decoy to Admiral Nelson, as part of the naval cover for Napoleon's planned invasion of Britain. The MacKays must have been anxious to emigrate, since they could hardly have chosen a more dangerous time to leave. Squire John, a child of about eleven at the time, vividly remembered the emotions of a nation preparing for invasion: "Who can ever forget the grim enthusiasm that smouldered amongst us in those days; ever ready to burst into a fiery flame of patriotism."[9]

The *Sir Sydney Smith* landed its passengers, who with the exception of one family were all from Gairloch, at Pictou, Nova Scotia, nine weeks later. The immigrants initially camped a little westward of the present town, in a field owned by Squire Patterson. Subsequently the group split up in search of land. John MacKay brought his family, which included ten daughters -- three of them married -- and two sons, to the East River, where he settled into quiet obscurity.[10] In July 1811, he petitioned the government for a grant of Crown land at East River, indicating that he had purchased a holding there upon arrival;[11] thus he must have had some financial status, since he had also been able to pay the passage out for his large family. Apart from the 1811 signature, however, no other written evidence of John MacKay has survived; no will is recorded in Pictou and no death record has been found. Squire John has little further to say concerning his father, except to state clearly that "My grandfather, Angus MacKay, left two children, my father and a sister ... Both ... had some education."[12]

The "Reminiscences" proceed to tell of the early days in East River, when New Glasgow was a "perfect wilderness". There were "frolicks" and a general spirit of neighbourly co-operation, as well as clannishness and fighting along local lines. Squire John's own education was "very limited

9 *Ibid.* See also, Richard Glover, *Britain at Bay* (London, 1973), p. 80.

10 Another married daughter, Catherine (MacKay) MacLean, was reluctant to emigrate. She reputably had to hide on the eve of her father's departure from Gairloch, to avoid being taken; see Dixon, *Gairloch*, pp. 177-179.

11 John MacKay et al., 1811. RG20, Vol. 75, PANS. One son-in-law subsequently settled in Basin, two others probably near Churchville, and Squire John's elder brother, Angus, moved to Linacy.

12 MacKay, "Reminiscences," p. 1.

(confined to the English language)" and was obtained through various teachers and by access to the Rev. James MacGregor's library. Although he must have had a rich fund of piping tradition upon which to draw, Squire John gives no anecdotes of the Blind Piper, no references to the MacKay piping repertoire, and no discussion of the methods of teaching and musical transmission.

Nevertheless, both Squire John and his brother were proficient pipers. Angus, the elder, was presumably trained in Scotland, with a view to taking his father's place as Gairloch piper;[13] he continued to pipe in Nova Scotia, and also taught -- although not his own family, as far as can be determined. Squire John quit piping when he was eighteen,[14] but since he was the younger son, it can be assumed that he was being instructed by his father in Nova Scotia as late as the early years of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it is possible that John MacKay the father may have been the author of the tune "*Cumha Thighearna Ghearloch*" ("Lament for the Laird of Gairloch"), composed in the late 1820s to commemorate the death of Sir Hector MacKenzie in 1826. If so, this suggests some family communication between the new world and the old, and also establishes the "Lament" as the only published piece of *pìobaireachd* composed in Nova Scotia by an immigrant piper in the nineteenth century.[15]

Nowhere, either, does Squire John mention the near-by existence of his first cousin, Roderick McLennan, so that we must now turn to his "Story" in order to examine the events which brought him to Pictou County as well. His tale involves a change of name, so that the reader must be immediately informed that he was born Roderick McLennan, and became Alexander MacKay only in 1812.

McLennan was born ca. 1778, on the north side of Loch Ewe, in the parish of Gairloch. His father was Donald McLennan, his mother was Ann MacKay, and he emphasizes in his "Story" that she was a grand-daughter of the Blind Piper. McLennan left home ca. 1798, following the death of his

13 This opinion is held by one of Angus MacKay's great-grand-nephews, Lt.-Col. John MacKay Sinclair, who presently owns a pipe-chanter believed to have belonged to the Blind Piper.

14 Alexander MacKenzie noted that piping had died out in the Nova Scotian family by 1879; see *Celtic Magazine*, V (1879), p. 71. See also Hawkins, MacKenzie and MacQuarrie, *Gairloch, Pictou County, Nova Scotia* (1977), pp. 20-21.

15 The tune appears in MacKay, *Collection*, p. 110, credited to "Jno MacKay/The Family Piper."

mother and the re-marriage of his father. The next few years were spent as an itinerant drover and were culminated in the spring of 1803 by his spectacular rescue of six fishermen from the surf somewhere in the Gairloch littoral.

That same spring, several residents of the parish tried to persuade McLennan to join them in "going to America," but he preferred not to. Subsequently, he was employed on a sloop until the spring of 1804, when the vessel laid up at Greenock for repairs. There McLennan chose to ignore his captain's warning about roving press gangs looking for experienced seamen to man Royal naval vessels in combat against Napoleon. Through his own foolhardiness, he was plucked from Greenock quay on 9 May, and in due course found himself on board HMS *Le Tigre*, a former French vessel then captained by Benjamin Hallowell, a Boston Loyalist.[16] Impressment was legal, and McLennan was to serve for almost eight years, first as an ordinary, then as an able seaman, and lastly as a gunner. He was canny and temperate, took the opportunity to learn to read and write, and managed to save some £88 during his service.

McLennan was immediately caught up in the grand sweep of the Napoleonic era, sailing on *Le Tigre* throughout the Mediterranean, to Portugal, Spain, and perhaps as far as the West Indies. He was not present at Trafalgar, but was involved in the Egyptian campaign of 1807. There he was hit by a spent bullet in a minor combined army-navy engagement south of Alexandria, during what he claimed was the first time he had been on land since leaving Greenock quay. He was also one of a party sent to bury the British dead after the battle of El Hamet, and vividly remembered finding "all the bodies with their heads cut off."[17] In 1811, McLennan left *Le Tigre* for HMS *Elephant*. In February 1812, the *Elephant* was on North Sea duty and put into a Kentish port; seizing a long-awaited opportunity, McLennan jumped ship and deserted his naval career.

He immediately took the obvious precaution of changing his name "to that of his mother's people," and became Alexander MacKay.[18] He then fled

16 Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of the Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864), I, pp. 294-296.

17 The Turks had offered a bounty of 25 shillings per head for dead Englishmen; for further details, see John S. Keltie, ed., *A History of the Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans and Highland Regiments* (Edinburgh and London, 1875), II, No. 8, pp. 647-650.

18 Although he is known in his family as Alexander MacKay, earlier generations seem to have known him as "Rory" and "Old Rory."

to London, where he stayed indoors for three days to avoid a press then in progress, and next took a coach to Edinburgh and on to Greenock, where he took passage for Miramichi, New Brunswick, on the *Duchess of Kent*, which sailed on 28 March 1812.The vessel never reached Miramichi, for she went down in ice on 27 April, just north of the Magdalen Islands. MacKay fetched up in Pictou in early May.

By 1814, MacKay was working as business agent for Edward Mortimer, and it was during this period that he had an additional adventure, the sort of tale of which fireside stories are made, but which remains largely unremembered in Pictou County lore. In the spring of 1814, while the War of 1812 was still in progress, Mortimer was trading between Pictou and St. John's, Newfoundland, using a schooner captured from the Americans and purchased in Halifax. On a return voyage from St. John's, with MacKay on board, the vessel was captured and all hands were taken to Salem, Massachusetts, where they remained until the end of the war.[19] MacKay then returned to Pictou, where he continued to work for Mortimer until the latter's death in 1819. In March 1821 he married Helen Sutherland, second daughter of Angus Sutherland of Black Meadow, and the couple retired to a farm which MacKay had bought at Haliburton in 1816.[20] He lived there in quiet obscurity until his death on 7 June 1866, aged 88.

We now come to the puzzling silence which existed between the two families. Squire John MacKay and Alexander MacKay lived fairly near each other for 54 years, but neither publicly recognized their close kinship. Alexander MacKay's reticence is understandable. Impressment was legal, desertion was not. He had also jumped ship at a time when loyalty was running at high tide, and sympathy for deserters at a low ebb; for the remainder of his life in Nova Scotia, he presumably felt in danger of being exposed and charged with his past offence.

Furthermore, it is possible that while still in Scotland, he had never overly associated with his mother's family, even though they were within the same parish. The MacKays were a close-knit group, but rifts can occur. It is also possible that his family was oriented more towards the McLennans than the MacKays. Furthermore, from his "Story," we know that MacKay

19 Those aboard were David Fraser, captain; Hugh Fraser, mate; and Charles Gilmore, Alex McLeod and Ned McLeod, crew.

20 Pictou County, Registry of Deeds, vol. 6, p. 198. Marriage date given in original manuscript.

had been more or less on his own for long periods before leaving home permanently at about the age of twenty. In other words, he may never have had stong ties with the MacKay piping family. Perhaps he also never made himself known to his relatives in Nova Scotia either, although this seems somewhat unlikely, especially given the geographic proximity.

As for Squire John, besides the revealing fact dropped in his "Reminiscences," that his father had had a sister, the Squire was only in the habit of delving into genealogy to establish his own social position. The latter was worth protecting, and would perhaps have suffered with the inclusion of a naval deserter in the immediate family tree -- and neighbourhood. The Squire's obituary, carried in the *Eastern Chronicle*, 18 September 1884, noted that he had been a justice of the peace for some fifty years, as well as a member of the sessions court. He had been a teacher at McLennan's Mountain,[21] a stipendiary magistrate, a strong Kirkman and elder of St. Andrew's Church, and a keen student of public affairs. The title "Squire" was also appropriate and significant, since his will showed that he had land enough and disposed of it carefully.[22] For all this his writing leaves one with the feeling that Squire John had an air of assumed gentility. While he just may never have thought to include his near-by relative in his "Reminiscences," the omission may also have been deliberate.

After a silence of some 175 years, the bringing together of these two stories has led to an intriguing conclusion. Alexander MacKay's tale, little-known and unpublished, finds fortuitous confirmation in another overlooked document, Squire John MacKay's "Reminiscences," and in turn, both open an important door on the genealogical story of the famous hereditary pipers of Gairloch -- a door which leads to Nova Scotia, "home" to so many of Scotland's own.

The genealogy which follows has been compiled from a number of sources, including accepted Scottish studies of the Gairloch MacKays (cited in above footnotes), and information from both Squire John MacKay's "Reminiscences" and Alexander MacKay's "Story." Details pertaining to the more recent generations were provided to the author by Mrs. Helen (MacKay) Blakelock, Lt.-Col. John MacKay Sinclair, and various older Pictou County residents. Although more data is available for recent family

21 MacKay, "Reminiscences," p. 21, and George MacLaren, *The Pictou Book*, p. 172.

22 Pictou County, Probate Court, estate no. 1822.

members, particularly the Sinclair line, it was decided for the purposes of this study to focus the genealogy primarily on the connection between the two family branches and their common ancestor, Iain Dall MacKay, the Blind Piper.

Ruairidh MacAoidh (Rory MacKay) (ca. 1592-ca. 1689) was the first of the hereditary MacKay pipers to the MacKenzies of Gairloch. A native of MacKay country in Sutherland, Rory came with his brother Dòmhnul Mór (Big Donald) to Gairloch at an unknown date; both were pipers, but Donald subsequently returned north to Sutherland, while Rory remained in Gairloch.

Issue of Rory MacKay (wife unknown):

1. Iain Dall (Blind John), b. ca. 1656; d. ca. 1754; only child of Rory MacKay. The famed Blind Piper was second hereditary piper to the MacKenzies.

   Issue of Blind John MacKay (wife unknown) (possibly incomplete):

   (1) an unidentified daughter, marr. John Ross and had a daughter and a son, William Ross (d. 1790, aged 27, unm.); the latter was a noted *bàrd* and teacher at Badachro, Gairloch.

   (2) possibly a son John who, according to MacKay, *Collection*, pp. 12-13, emigrated to America, perhaps during the 1770s. The tantalizing possibility exists that he may have been the John MacKay, piper, who arrived on the *Hector*, 1773 (George Patterson, *History of the County of Pictou* (1877), p. 456). Unfortunately, he is just as likely to have been the John MacKay who enlisted in the British Legion, 13 August 1778, as a piper, and who died 24 December 1782 at Huntington, Long Island (Series C, British Military and Naval Records, Public Archives of Canada). The name is too common to draw final conclusions.

   (3) Angus, b. ca. 1725; marr. Mary, daughter of William Fraser of Gairloch. He was the third hereditary piper to the MacKenzies.

   Issue of Angus and Mary MacKay:

   (1a) John, b. ca. 1753; d. possibly ca. 1835, East River, Pictou County; marr., date unknown, a MacRae. Fourth and last hereditary piper to the MacKenzies, he emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1805 and settled at East River.

   Issue of John MacKay (order uncertain):

   (1b) Catherine, marr. a MacLean and remained in Gairloch. Issue included Iain Buidhe Tàillear (MacLean), a recognized source of family history in Scotland.

(2b) Jessie, marr. Donald Fraser; emigrated 1805 to East River, subsequently to Robertson's Lake (probably present-day Forbes' Lake, near Churchville).
(3b) Margaret, marr. Murdoch Fraser; emigrated 1805 to East River, subsequently to Robertson's Lake.
(4b) Mary, marr. Colin Fraser; emigrated 1805 to East River, subsequently to Basin.
(5b-10b) six other daughters, information incomplete.
(11b) Angus, probably b. 1780s, Gairloch; probably d. 21 May 1868, Settlement (Linacy Glen), Pictou County (PANS RG32, Vol. 65, sheet 51; no. 170); marr. ca. 1818, wife unknown.

Issue of Angus MacKay (wife unknown) (possibly incomplete):

(1c) John, b. 31 Jan. 1820, Linacy Glen; d. 1882 (his will is dated 6 April 1882, but the cemetery record states that he d. 1 Jan. 1882); marr., date unknown, Catherine Fraser, who d. 3 May 1909, aged 83.

Issue of John and Catherine MacKay:

(1d) Hugh W., d. 24 March 1873, aged 16.
(2d) Alexander, b. Linacy Glen, date unknown; d. 1927, Churchville; marr. firstly, Lavinia Baillie, who d. 2 May 1887, aged 39, and secondly, Jennie R. Silver of Windsor, Vermont. A carpenter, he neither spoke Gaelic nor played the pipes. He probably moved to Churchville after his first marriage. No known surviving issue by first wife.

Issue of Alexander and Jennie MacKay:

(1e) Silver, b. 1893.
(2e) Donald, b. 1896.
(3e) Lelia, b. 1899.
(4e) Maxwell Colin, b. 1901, twin.
(5e) Clara Gertrude, b. 1901, twin.
(6e) Salome Lavinia, possibly b. 1904.

(3d) Angus Colin, b. 1860, Linacy Glen; d. 1920, Linacy Glen; marr. Martha T.

Horne (1874-1914). Known in the family as "the apple man," he inherited the bulk of the Linacy property.
Issue of Angus and Martha MacKay:
(1e) Clifford, d.s.p.; moved west ca. 1928.
(2e) Arthur, b. ca. 1905, Linacy Glen; d. 1970, Dartmouth; marr. Rebecca Gormley. He and his brother Clifford were raised by their uncle Alexander after 1920.
Issue of Arthur and Rebecca MacKay (possibly incomplete):
(1f) Douglas, living in Dartmouth.

(4d) Annie, dates unknown; marr. a Ross. Issue.
(5d) Kate, dates unknown; marr. and lived in the U.S.
(6d) Salome, dates unknown; marr. and lived in the U.S.

(2c) Donald, dates unknown. Supposedly marr., with two children, one named Albert. Cemetery records for Linacy Glen include a Donald F. MacKay (1824-1869), wife Jessie McDonald (1825-1913) and a son David (1859-1873).

(12b)John (Squire John), b. 1790s, Gairloch, Scotland; d. 16 Sept. 1884; marr. Lilias MacKay. Emigrated to East River in 1805, later lived in New Glasgow.
Issue of John and Lilias MacKay (order uncertain):
(1c) John, b. 1821; d. 1892; marr. but d.s.p.
(2c) Alexander, b. 1826; d. 1889; unm.
(3c) James, b. 1829; d. 1864; unm.
(4c) Angus, b. 1844; d. 1869; unm.
(5c) Norman, b. 1846; d. 1929; marr. Jessie Hunter (1846-1924). He was the youngest son.
Issue of Norman and Jessie MacKay:
(1d) John, b. 1885, d. 1890.

(2d) Norma, b. 1899; d. 1968; marr. Donald C. Sinclair (1888-1962).
Issue: John MacKay, Norman Carmichael and Janet Ann.

(6c-12c) seven daughters.

(2a) a daughter, definitely cited as of Angus MacKay in Squire John's "Reminiscences," and implied by Alexander MacKay's "Story." The latter identifies her as Ann, birthdate unknown; d. ca. 1796; marr. Donald McLennan.
Issue of Donald and Ann McLennan:

(1b) Roderick, alias Alexander MacKay, b. ca. 1778, Loch Ewe, Gairloch, Scotland; d. 7 June 1866, aged 88, Haliburton, Pictou County; marr. March 1821, Helen Sutherland, second daughter of Angus Sutherland, Black Meadow, formerly head tenant in Balna-Pollok, near Dornoch. She d. 7 Aug. 1890, aged 87.
Issue of Alexander and Helen MacKay:

(1c) William, b. 1822; d. 1906, Haliburton; marr. Isabella Grant of Three Brooks.
Issue of William and Isabella MacKay:

(1d) Roderick; incapacitated at an early age.

(2d) Helen.

(3d) Alexander Doull, b. 1869, d. 1950; marr. Margaret Fraser, who d. 1929. Further details in Ronald MacKay, *A Brief Account of the Life and Work of Alexander Doull MacKay, 1869-1950*, held by Hector Trust, Pictou.
Issue of Alexander Doull and Margaret Mackay:

(1e) Isabel, b. 1917.

(2e) Ronald, b. 1919.

(3e) Helen, b. 1922; marr. name Blakelock.

(4e) Alastair; deceased. His son, Sandy, is the present owner of the Alexander MacKay property at

Haliburton, and of the original "Story" manuscript.

(4d) Isabel.

(5d) Mary.

(6d) Annie, b. 1879; d. 1938, unm. A graduate of Dalhousie and a teacher at the School for the Deaf in Halifax, she was the author of "The Story of Alexander McLennan ..."

(2c) Annie, b. 1824; d. 1845.

(3c) Bessie, b. 1826; d. 1827/28.

(4c) Donald, b. 1829; d. ca. 1836.

(5c) Catherine, b. 1831; d. 1915.

(6c) Alexander McLennan, b. 1834; d. 1905.

(7c) Angus, b. 1836; d. 1856.

(8c) Donald, b. 1839/40; d. 1860.

(9c) Mary, b. 1844; d. 1927.

(2b) John. Correspondence dated 23 June 1819, Mellin Udrigil, John MacLennan to "Dear Brother" Alexander MacKay, Pictou, Nova Scotia (letter presently held by Sandy MacKay, Haliburton). Meallan Udrigil is in the Gruinard section of Gairloch, Scotland.

(3b) Alexander. Correspondence dated 20 April 1833, Poolewe [Gairloch], John M'Grigor to Alexander MacLennan, Cape Breton (letter presently held by Sandy MacKay, Haliburton). Correspondence cites Alexander's brother John as presently being in Ardlair [north shore, Loch Maree, Gairloch]; also cites a brother Roderick [presumably Alexander MacKay of Pictou County].

LaHave in the Late Seventeenth Century: A Comparison of the 1686 and 1693 Census Returns

Joan E. Dawson

For a short period beginning in September, 1632, Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce at LaHave was the centre of French colonization in Acadia. Isaac de Razilly, assisted by Nicolas Denys and Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, established there a group of people recruited from France to populate the new colony. Of these, some were *engagés*, contracted for a limited period of service, but others, including forty settlers at Petite Rivière, were permanent immigrants. After Razilly's death in 1635, his successor, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, moved the majority of these settlers to Port Royal, where they formed the nucleus of the Acadian colony. For a number of years, control of LaHave changed hands according to the fortunes of war between the French and English, and sometimes between rival French factions. Nevertheless, after the Treaty of Breda restoring Acadia to France was implemented in 1670, there is evidence of a continuing civilian population both at LaHave, including Petite Rivière where the original agricultural settlement was established, and at Merligueche, on the far side of the river, now the Lunenburg area.

The French population was somewhat fluctuating, if the various censuses taken between 1686 and 1708 are to be believed. The former identifies 14 people at LaHave, including Petite Rivière, and five at Merligueche.[1] Gargas' census of 1687/88 gives the population of LaHave as 12 French and 48 Indians, and of Merligueche as 10 and 11 respectively, without naming them.[2] The 1693 census lists, and names, only six people at LaHave, and does not mention Merligueche.[3] Other period documents vary considerably, with the count in 1708, the last census of the French régime, totalling 42 identified inhabitants.[4] Yet late seventeenth-century LaHave was definitely a more permanent community than these lists might suggest.

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1 Recensement fait par Monsieur De Meulles ... au commencement de l'anneé 1686. MG1. Vol. 466, pp. 14-57, Public Archives of Canada. (Original: Archives des Colonies, Paris, G¹466, No. 12). Copy, with errors, in Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

2 Reproduced in William Inglis Morse, ed., *Acadiensia Nova, 1578-1779: New and Unpublished Documents and Other Data Relating to Acadia* (London, 1935), I, p. 144. Original at Dalhousie University, Halifax, N. S., Killam Library, Morse Catalogue, p. 95 No. 4.

3 1693 Recensement des habitants qui sont habitués ... MG 100, Vol. 100, No. 7, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS). (Original: Archives des Colonies, G¹466, No. 16).

4 Recensement genal fait au mois de Novembre mile Sept cent huit ... Ayer Ms 751, Newberry Library, Chicago.

The intendant, Jacques de Meulles, who compiled the 1686 census, may also have been the author of a contemporary description of the area. At Petite Rivière, the observer noted that the people lived "assez doucement, la pluspart songent peu à faire valoir leurs terres, ne s'attachant qu'à la traitte des peltries avec les sauvages, qu'ils échangent ensuite avec les Anglois qui les viennent voir tous les ans et leur apportent toutes leurs nécessités."[5] He deplored what he felt to be an easy existence of trading rather than working the land, and felt that the inhabitants had little attachment to their holdings and would,without the fur trade, easily go over to the English. The way of life in this area seems to have contrasted strongly with the settled agricultural habits of Acadians on the far side of the province, yet the LaHave-Merligueche community was tenacious and survived into the mid-1700s.[6]

De Meulles' 1686 census was a nominal one, listing the members of each household. A second nominal count was taken in 1693 and it lists what, at first glance, looks like a completely different group of people. Nevertheless, from information contained in other documents of the period, and from a comparison, where applicable, with the much larger census of 1708, it has been possible to establish a clearer picture of this apparently shifting, if not entirely shiftless, population.[7]

It should be noted initially that of the fifteen adults whose ages are given in the 1686 census, one is said to be aged 55, one 50, one 48, three 40, two 35, two 28, four 25 and one 18 — a statistically unlikely collection of ages ending in 0 (four entries), 5 (seven entries), or 8 (four entries). The same pattern can be seen, though less obviously with a smaller number of people, in the 1693 census, which lists two people aged 50, two aged 45, one 38 and one, possibly the informant, aged 17. Clearly, the recorders were dealing with estimated ages. Because of this feature, when comparing these lists with other records, and with each other, discrepancies of up to three years in people's ages have been ignored in establishing identities.

5 Harold Adams Innis, ed., *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1497-1783* (Toronto, 1925), p. 60. "... fairly easily, most of them think little of exploiting their land, devoting themselves only to trading with the Indians for furs, which they then exchange with the English who come to see them every year, bringing them all their necessities."

6 Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, 1968), p. 224.

7 Information for the years 1671, 1686, 1693 and 1708 is derived from the censuses for those years, unless otherwise stated.

The first household in the 1686 census consists of Jacques Provost (sometimes read as Pronost), aged 48, Jeanne Foveaux[8] his wife, 40, and Jacques Petit, *volontaire*, 28. The name Pronost occurs in the *Saint-Jehan* passenger list of 1636,[9] written rather ambiguously, but read by Godbout and others as Pronost, and apparently the same name as in this census. Jehan Pronost (or Provost) was a saltmaker who was among the earliest recruits for Acadia. He does not appear in any subsequent records; he may have returned to France, or died before the 1671 census,[10] which did not, in any case, list any LaHave inhabitants. It seems probable that Jacques, born ca. 1638, was the son of this Jehan, and an unknown mother.

Jacques and his wife, of whose family nothing is known, were, in 1686, the chief property-owners at LaHave, having two arpents of land under cultivation, and owning a pig. They also owned three guns; or, more probably, they may have owned two guns while Jacques Petit had the third. Moreover, the Provosts had the help of Jacques Petit and presumably, by local standards, they were fairly prosperous.

By 1693, the situation had changed somewhat. Jacques Provost is not listed; nevertheless, on the census roll appears "la femme a un nommé Provost": the wife, not the widow, of one named Provost. She appears to work no land, and to have eaten the pig; her age is given as 50. There is no reason to suppose that she is any other than the Jeanne Foveaux who was present in 1686. Jacques' absence may be explained by a hunting or fishing expedition, or it could represent a more permanent departure. Whatever the explanation, Madame Provost seems to have been on her own. But she was not friendless. No longer in the same household, but adjacent on the list and presumably a neighbour, is Jacques,still a *volontaire*, who is also reckoned to be ten years older than in 1686, and who still owns his gun. Undoubtedly this is the same Jacques Petit whom we found here previously.

An interesting side-light on this group comes from the 1708 census,

8 This is the form in which the name appears in the original manuscript. The PANS copy erroneously gives the name as *Foucaux*, a misreading of a somewhat ambiguous original. The 1708 census confirms the present reading.

9 Archange Godbout, "The Passenger List of the Ship *Saint-Jehan* and the Acadian Origins," *French Canadian and Acadian Genealogical Review*, I, 1 (Spring 1968), 60.

10 1671 Familles establies [sic] a l'Acadie. MG 100, Vol. 100, No. 6, PANS. (Original: Archives des Colonies, G¹466, No. 8).

which lists one Jean Petit as living at LaHave. His age is given as 58, making him some 8 to 11 years older than Jacques. His wife's name is given as Jeanne Fauveau; this must surely be the Jeanne (Foveaux) who had been previously married to Jacques Provost. Whether Jean was Jacques Petit's brother, or whether their identities have somehow become confused, cannot at this point be determined, but the wife's identity is clear.

Next on de Meulles' list is Jean Labat, "habitant de la petite Rivière de la haive." Labat is the only person in the 1686 and 1693 counts stated specifically to be living at Petite Rivière, although records throughout the period speak of a small population there. The note, "living at Petite Rivière," may apply no only to Labat, but also to those whose names follow his on the list.

Jean Labat, said to be 50 years old, appears to be the same Jean de Labatte, *dit* Marquis, who in 1671, at 33 years of age, was at Port Royal with his wife, Renée Gautrot, 19, a daughter of François Gautrot and Edmée LeJeune, and therefore a first cousin of Pierre and Martin LeJeune of LaHave (see below). In 1671, the Labattes owned 26 cattle, 15 sheep and 15 arpents of arable land, making theirs one of the largest holdings at Port Royal. By 1693, Jean was back at Port Royal, where his age was given as 60, and that of his wife as 40. She, for some reason, was named as Jeanne, but this was the name of a younger sister, and in other records Renée Gautrot is clearly identified as his wife.[11]

There remains the question of what Jean Labat was doing at Petite Rivière in 1686 without his wife. Her relationship with the LeJeunes links her with LaHave, but she is listed neither there nor at Port Royal. Labat seems to have been among those described as living by trading rather than agriculture -- a strange activity for a major land-holder at Port Royal. Whatever the explanation, 1693 found the couple reunited at the main settlement; Jean's stay at Petite Rivière had not led him to put down roots there.

The next entry on the census is Jean Vesin, aged 55. Nothing is known of his origin, and he was no longer at LaHave by 1693. He owned no land or livestock, was apparently without wife or children, and does not seem to have had any connection with other families in the area, nor to have left any trace of his presence.

There is considerably more documentation on the two LeJeune families

11 Milton P. Rieder, Jr. and Norma Gaudet Rieder, eds., *Acadian Church Records: Vol. 3, Port Royal 1702-1721* (Metairie, 1977) pp. 18, 27, 32. (Hereafter *Acadian Church Records III.*)

whose names follow. They are Pierre LeJeune, *dit* Briars, with his wife Marie Tibaudeau; and Martin LeJeune, his wife Jeanne (an Indian woman), and their two children. Pierre and Martin seem both to have been the sons of another Pierre LeJeune, thought by Rameau de St.-Père to have come to Acadia in the mid-1630s with his parents and two sisters, among Razilly's early colonists.[12] The daughters married and settled in Port Royal, but their parents and brother are thought to have stayed at LaHave. Pierre Sr.'s wife, mother of Pierre and Martin, may have been an Indian from the area, since the LeJeunes are among the families considered by Rameau to have formed the group of *métis* there.[13] Pierre and Martin had a sister, Jeanne, who in 1693 lived at Port Royal married to one François Joseph, also perhaps a *métis*. Another Jeanne, known as Jeanne Briart, presumably of the same family, aged 62, was married to Jean Gaudet and living at LaHave in 1708. She may have been a younger sister, or half-sister, of the elder Pierre LeJeune.

Pierre LeJeune and his wife, aged 28 and 25 respectively, lived at LaHave in 1686. They worked one arpent of land, and owned no fewer than six guns. By 1693 they were at Port Royal, with three children, the eldest six years old, and owned 10 head of cattle, 15 sheep and seven pigs; they had eight arpents of arable land and their guns were reduced to two. The change in their economy suggests that Marie, daughter of Pierre Thibaudeau and Jeanne Terriot of Port Royal, had persuaded Pierre to adopt a more settled way of life. They stayed at Port Royal, where many of their children were born, until ca.1699, but when their youngest was born in 1704, they were back at Petite Rivière.[14] In 1708 they were included in the LaHave census, with four sons and four daughters; their eldest daughter, Marie, was also there, married to Joseph Boutin. They were a prolific family, and by the late eighteenth century the Expulsion had scattered them far and wide, from Miquelon to Louisiana, and even to Belle-Ile-en-Mer.[15]

Pierre's younger brother, Martin, appears next on the list, aged 25,

12 "Régistres des Acadiens de Belle-Ile-en-Mer: Remarques sur les mêmes régistres par M. E. Rameau," *Documents sur l'Acadie*, suppl. to *Le Canada Français*, III, 5 (Sept. 1890), 144-145.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

14 *Acadian Church Records III*, p. 18.

15 Bona Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens* (Montréal, 1978). The descent of both branches of the LeJeune family in the eighteenth century is traced. See especially IV, pp. 1415-1419.

married to "Jeanne, sauvagesse de nation." They had two children: Claude, whose age is not given here but from other records must have been about a year old, and an infant daughter, not named here, who appears elsewhere as Anne. They seem to have owned no livestock or guns, and farmed no land; presumably Martin made a living by the fur trade, or by fishing. It seems strange that he did not own a gun, while his brother had six; perhaps the two households pooled their resources, making Pierre not so much the owner as the guardian of the family arsenal.

Martin's first wife's name appears more fully elsewhere as Marie-Jeanne Kagijonias.[16] She died some time between the birth of their youngest child, Bernard, in 1693, and 1698, when Martin married for the second time. His second wife was Marie Gaudet, possibly also of mixed blood; Rameau sees the Gaudets as part of the LaHave *métis* group.[17] In 1708 the family still at LaHave consisted of Martin and Marie, with five sons and a daughter; and Martin's eldest daughter, Anne, married to René LaBauve, with their two children. There is no indication where the family was in 1693, the year of Bernard's birth, although Martin and Marie were at Port Maltois (Port Medway) in 1702 when their twin sons were born.[18] Martin's many descendants, like those of his brother, spread throughout Acadia, and after the Expulsion, as far as Louisiana.

The last household recorded at LaHave in 1686 is that of François Michel, whose age is given as 35. He lived there with his wife Magdelaine Germon, aged 40, and Charles Gourdeaux, 40, described as a *domestique*. It is difficult to imagine what use a couple with no children at home, no cultivated land and no livestock would have for a servant in those surroundings! The estimate of François' age as 35 seems to be more than normally inaccurate; he may have been closer to 45, as becomes apparent from later records.

In the LaHave census for 1693, we find no Michel, but instead one LaRuine, aged 50, with his wife Mad(elai)ne, aged 45. LaRuine was clearly not a farmer, so we must assume that it was fishing or the fur trade which brought him to LaHave. This couple can be identified through the Pisiguit

16 Arsenault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 663; and *Acadian Church Records III*, p. 58. The latter names her as Marie Kagigonias.

17 Rameau, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

18 *Acadian Church Records III*, p. 18.

records correlated by Bona Arsenault,[19] where we find a François Michel, *dit* LaRuine, whose son Paul was also known as LaRuine. These people are undoubtedly related to the François Michel at LaHave in 1686, who reappears as LaRuine in 1693. If further confirmation is needed to prove that Michel and LaRuine are one and the same man, it lies in the fact that the wife's name is Magdelaine in each entry. It is probable that François Michel, *dit* LaRuine, of Pisiguit was his son, and that Jacques Michel of Port Royal, who also had a son François, was his brother.

Of Magdelaine Germon, wife of François Michel or LaRuine, we know nothing. Since there are no records of other members of her family in Acadia at this time, she and Francois were probably married before emigrating. Nor does the servant, Charles Gourdeaux, appear to come of an Acadian family; he may have accompanied his employers from elsewhere. By 1693 he had left them and probably Acadia too, for nothing more is heard of him.

The 1686 census-taker next turned his attention to Merligueche, where the first household consisted of LaVerdure, aged 35, his wife and one child. With such scanty information, the identity of these people is not immediately apparent. LaVerdure was a name used by several Acadian families, either instead of or as well as their family name. These groups have been identified by Father C. J. d'Entremont in his study on the Melanson family,[20] and his findings can be used here to solve the identity of the LaVerdure family at Merligueche.

Pierre LaVerdure and his wife, Priscilla Melanson, had three sons, Pierre and Charles Melanson of Port Royal, who used their mother's name, and Jean, who was known as LaVerdure. Since both he and his parents moved to Boston ca.1670, there is no reason to connect them with LaHave. LaVerdure was also the surname of Germain Doucet, who may have come to LaHave among the earliest settlers, and who was master-at-arms to Charles de Menou d'Aulnay. It is likely that he spent some time at LaHave, and possibly fathered some *métis* children there, as postulated by Rameau de St.-Père.[21] There is no evidence, however, to link his descendents with the LaVerdure of the 1686 census.

19 Arsenault, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 1421.

20 C. J. d'Entremont, "New Findings on the Melansons," *French Canadian and Acadian Genealogical Review*, II, 4 (Winter 1969), 233-234.

21 Rameau, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

The entry instead refers to a member of a third LaVerdure group: Claude Guédry,who was also *dit* LaVerdure. Although listed as inhabitants of Port Royal in 1698,[22] the Guédry family's presence in Merligueche is well attested to in other records, including the 1705 baptism of Paul, son of Claude Guédry and Marguerite Petitpas, at which an older son, Jean-Baptiste, acted as sponsor for his brother.[23] Although recorded at Port Royal, this entry specifically located the family at Merligueche. Claude and his family are listed in the 1708 census at LaHave, and Claude's age is given as 60, a close enough approximation to LaVerdure's projected age to support the identification. The child mentioned in 1686 would, of course, be Jean-Baptiste, aged 24 by 1708.

The name LaVerdure does not seem to have survived long in Acadia; the family apparently preferred to be known as Guédry. It appears once more, in the 1714 census, where one "LaVerdure et sa femme" were living in an area known as La Cappe, near Port Royal.[24] Whether this was Claude and his wife again, or members of another family, is uncertain. But, interestingly, listed as fellow-inhabitants of La Cappe in 1714 were "Petitpas et sa femme," who were also with the LaVerdures at Merligueche in 1686.

Claude Guédry's wife, as noted above, was Marguerite Petitpas, and the second family at Merligueche in 1686 consisted of one Petitpas, aged 25, and his un-named wife, aged 18. Although "Petitpas" is not identified by his first name, his family name is at least one which can be traced in Acadian records. Claude Petitpas, born in 1624, was in Acadia by 1639, when he was present at the baptism of a daughter of Charles de Menou d'Aulnay.[25] He married, ca.1658, Catherine Bugaret,[26] daughter of Bernard, a passenger on the *Saint-Jehan*[27] who is known to have returned to LaHave in 1638 under contract to

22 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

23 *Acadian Church Records III*, p. 17.

24 "Documents sur l'Acadie," *Le Canada Français*, I, 4 (Oct. 1888), 165, reporduces this census.

25 Genevieve Massignon, "La seigneurie de Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, gouverneur de l'Acadie, 1635-1650," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, XVI, 4 (1963), 484 cites baptismal records in the Motin family's *Généalogie*.

26 She is listed as his wife in the censuses of 1671 and 1686, and *Acadian Church Records, III*, p. 131.

27 Godbout, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Nicolas Denys.[28] The Petitpas lived at Port Royal, where Claude was *greffier* (clerk) and had become fairly prosperous. They had a large family, of whom the four oldest sons were Bernard (b. 1659), Claude (b. 1663), Jean (b. 1664) and Jacques (b. 1665), all of whom were at Port Royal at the time of the 1671 census. By 1686, Claude and Jacques were still there; Bernard and Jean, however, are unaccounted for, and thus one of these is probably the Petitpas at Merligueche, their grandfather's old territory. The relationship by marriage between the families at Merligueche supports the probability that the two households at La Cappe nearly thirty years later were also members of the same families. The absence of records in the intervening period suggests that the census-takers ignored Merligueche and its inhabitants in both 1693 and 1708.

In 1693, only LaHave is listed in the census. Even there, the population had apparently dwindled to only four households: LaChapelle, aged 45, with the seventeen-year-old Marie Garost; LaRuine, 50, and Madelaine; Jacques, the *volontaire*, 38, and Provost's wife, 50. LaRuine and his wife have already been identified as François Michel and Magdelaine Germon. Jacques appears to be the same Jacques Petit of the previous census, and Madame Provost is no doubt the Jeanne Foveaux married to Jacques Provost seven years earlier. Jean Labat has returned to Port Royal and his wife; Pierre LeJeune and his family are also there. Martin LaJeune and his wife are not listed, although they will reappear later. Jean Vesin and Charles Gourdeaux have vanished permanently. No mention is made of Merligueche or its inhabitants.

We are left, then, with two otherwise unidentified newcomers. LaChapelle, a good deal older than his wife, does not appear to have been in Acadia seven years previously. Marie Garost may be tentatively identifiable, allowing for the instability of seventeenth century spelling. We may speculate, to start with, that since her age is not rounded out to a conventional figure like the others, it may be accurate. If so, she was born in 1676. There was a Garaut family in Acadia, of whose name Garost may be a variation, and they had a daughter, Marie, born in that year.[29] But that Marie was by 1695 married to Jérôme Darois;[30] either LaChapelle died shortly

28 Convention entre Nicolas Denys et Bernard Bugaret, pour coupe de bois à la Hève. Série E, minutes Teuleron: f. 73v., 15 Sept. 1637, Archives Départementales de la Charente-Maritime.

29 Arsenault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 551.

30 *Ibid.*, III, p. 1150. Darois' birth is given as ca.1670.

after the census, or there were two Maries, similar in name and age. We hear no more of LaChapelle, so the former is possible.

Who, then, was LaChapelle? He was much older than Jérôme Darois, so cannot be identified with him. One tantalizing piece of evidence exists, but it is by no means conclusive. Among the lists of *engagés* (not colonists, but men signing on for a limited period of service) we find this entry for 1643: "Jean Michel dit LaChapelle, natif de la Chapelle-Montligeon au pays de Perche, 3 ans ..."[31] Since, however, this contract was with Antoine Cheffault de la Regnardière, who had interests in the St. Lawrence area, this Jean Michel was clearly recruited for service in Canada, not Acadia.

One might, however, postulate a tenuous but possible connection between this recruit and the LaChapelle at LaHave in 1693. The latter was then aged 45, an approximation no doubt, but setting his birth in the late 1640s. Possibly Jean Michel *dit* LaChapelle stayed for more than the three years he had contracted for; he may have married, and settled in New France; he may have had a son, known as LaChapelle, whose pursuits took him to Acadia.

What of the Michels already known to have been in Acadia? There was Francois, *dit* LaRuine, who had settled at LaHave by 1686. There was Jacques, in Acadia since ca.1687, married at Port Royal, who appears to have been François' brother. François' wife, and their servant Charles Gourdeaux, seem to have come to Acadia with him, and not necessarily directly from France. It is possible that "LaChapelle" was in fact a third brother, and that he came to Acadia with Jacques to join François, who had already settled here. If so, then there would appear to have been three Michel brothers in Acadia by 1693: Jacques, married into a Port Royal family and living there, and François and the third brother living at LaHave.

It has now been possible to identify firmly four out of the six people listed in the 1693 census of LaHave as people known to have been there in 1686, as well as to make tentative identifications of the other couple, and to postulate their relationship with other Acadian families. Of the 1686 names not accounted for in 1693, most can be traced to some future location in Acadia, and some indeed are known to have returned later to LaHave, Merligueche, or Petite Rivière. Clearly, by 1686, the nucleus of the families which were to retain ties with the area during the rest of the French régime

31 G. Debien, "Engagés pour le Canada au XVII e siècle vus de La Rochelle," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, VI, 2 (1952), 228.

had been established. Despite the lower count in 1693, a greater degree of continuity existed than is immediately obvious, as well as a more stable pattern of family relationships than appears from a casual glance at the available census returns.

Recensement des habitans du Port la Haive & de Mirliguaiche. [1686]

	aages	Armes fusils	Terres labou rees arpens	Bestes a Cornes	Moutons
Jacques Provost	48 ans				
Jeanne foveaux sa femme	40				
et		3	2		
Jacques Petit				1 Cochon	
volontaire	28				
Jean Labat habitant de la petite Riviere de la haive	50				
Jean Vesin	55				
Pierre le Jeune dit Briars [Briart]	28	6	1		
Marie Tibaudeau sa femme	25				
Martin le Jeune	25				
Jeanne sa femme					
Sauvagesse de nation					
Enfans					
Claude					
et une fille					
françois Michel	35				
magdelaine Germon	40				
et					
Charles gourdeaux -					
domestique	40				
Mirliguaiche					
La Verdure	35				
Sa femme	25				
et un Enfant					
Petit Pas	25				
Sa femme	18				

1693 (Recensement des habitants qui sont habitués) A la heve

	aage	Bestiaux	fusil
La Chapelle ...	45		1
Marie Garost	17		
La Ruine	50		1
Mad ne ...	45		
Jaques ... volontaire	38		1

La femme a un nommé
Provost

(françois) De La heve [1708]

Pre. famille

Pierre Briart	55 ans
Marie Thibaudeau	46
Pierre son fils	19
Germain	15
Jean	11
Joseph	3
Jeanne	17
Margueritte	13
Anne	9
Catherine	17

2e. familles

Joseph boutin	32 ans
Marie Briart	22

3e. familles

Martin briart	45 ans
Marie Godet	28
Germain son fils	19
Bernard	15
Theodor	8
Paul	6
Martin	6
Claire sa fille	2

4e. familles

Jean Godet	58 ans
Jeanne briart	62
Catherine sa fille	23

5e. familles

René Labauve	30 ans
Anne briart	21
Pierre son fils	5
Marie Joseph	2

6e. familles

Jean Petit	58 ans
Jeanne fauveau	60
Antoine gourdon	13

7e familles

Claude guedry	60 ans
Marguerite petit pas	48
Charles son fils	21
Augustin	16
Claude	16
Joseph	10
Pierre	8
Paul	6
Marie sa fille	14
françoise	4

8e. familles

Jean baptiste guedry	24 ans
Madeleine mieusse	14

Book Reviews

Murray: The Martyred Admiral, by James M. Cameron. ISBN 0-88999-145-6. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1981. 343 pages, illustrated, softcover, $10.00. Available from the publisher, P.O. Box 425, Hantsport, N.S., B0P 1P0.

This is a book which needed to be written, to give the details of the VE-Day disturbances in Halifax on 7-8 May 1945, and the subsequent inquiry. The author has given an account of Rear Admiral Murray's long and distinguished naval career from 1911 to 1945. This includes a good description of the growth of the Royal Canadian Navy in the early stages of the 1939-45 War. In addition, it deals with the development of Canadian participation in, and eventual control of, the Battle of the Atlantic in the northwest Atlantic, from the establishment of the Newfoundland Escort Force in 1941 to the creation of the Commander-in-Chief, Canadian North West Atlantic, in 1943.

It is unfortunate that the author has mis-spelled *Niobe*. The continual references to *Naiobe* are irritating and quite unnecessary. On page 20, for "Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve," read "Royal Naval Canadian Volunteer Reserve." Perhaps it may be excused, but one lives "in" or "on board" a ship, not "on" a ship. Reference is made on page 39 to Captain Dobson of HMS *Colombo* and his award of the Victoria Cross. This was won by him in 1919. On page 40, the reference to "Grand Fleet" should read "Home Fleet." The four destroyers mentioned on page 59 sailed from Halifax in January 1941, bound for the Clyde. Your reviewer had the honour to command HMCS *St. Francis* on that occasion.

A good part of this book deals with the VE-Day disturbances and the subsequent inquiry. Chapter XIII, *Conclusions*, pretty well sums up the inquiry, which could hardly be called either fair or impartial. A number of important witnesses were not called, and one is left with the impression that the inquiry turned into a trial in which Rear Admiral Murray was the accused and without benefit of legal asistance. It would appear that the object of this sorry affair was to justify the hasty dismissal of Rear Admiral Murray by the government before any inquiry had been made into the circumstances of the disorders. Not only was justice not done, but also it was not seen to be done. Most of those involved in this inquiry are now dead, the disturbances took place 37 years ago, and the unhappy memories of 7-8 May 1945 grow dim. Time is a great healer, and this page in Canadian naval

history should now be closed, but the lessons learnt should not be forgotten.

Rear Admiral Leonard Warren Murray, C.B., C.B.E., served his sovereign and his country with great distinction in both peace and war. He was the only Canadian Commander-in-Chief of an operational command in the 1939-45 War, and the forces under his command played no small part in the defeat of his country's enemies. He is remembered with pride and affection by all those who had the honour to serve under him.

Rear Admiral H.F. Pullen

Open Gangway: An Account of the Halifax Riots, 1945, by Stanley R. Redman. ISBN 0-88999-150-2. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1981. 167 pages, softcover, $5.95.

Perhaps, as Admiral Pullen has suggested, the events of 7-8 May 1945 should now be relegated to the status of lessons bitterly learned and best forgotten. Nevertheless, for the present generation -- and those to come -- the story of the VE-Day disturbances presents valuable insight into Halifax's continuing history within the Canadian context. Growing up in the city barely ten years after the riots, I was only vaguely aware that they had occurred. My impression was that during the war, Haligonians had been regarded as aloof, and that as for VE-Day, some rather exaggerated hooliganism and petty vandalism had taken place. Not until reading Stanley Redman's *Open Gangway* did I understand the deep antipathy existing between many civilians and the armed forces, particularly the navy; nor did I appreciate the extent of what can best be described as mob revelry gone awry and unchecked.

Redman's study claims neither depth of vision nor psychological insight into men and mobs. As a serviceman and resident of Halifax during World War II, he offers merely a detailed look at the actual events of 7-8 May, plus the subsequent official inquiry. Presumably his account is based primarily on the evidence given during the latter, augmented by newspaper archives; since he does not include a bibliography, one cannot be certain how deeply he has researched. Other than to set the general scene, he presents little background information. It is also clear throughout the book that Redman has chosen his villain, Admiral Murray, with little difficulty, as well as the latter's "open gangway" policy -- unrestricted naval leave --as the *modus operandi*.

Nevertheless, the study is lucid, interesting and full of colour. The confusion and mis-management of 7-8 May are recounted in true Keystone

Cops fashion, and the obliqueness of much of the official inquiry shines clearly through. Redman's recounting of the press coverage and editorial bickering accorded the city and its sorry victory celebration is particularly interesting. One is left marvelling at the sensationalism of the '40s -- and then wondering, in the light of current east-west mud-slinging, whether times have really changed that much after all.

For those who lived through VE-Day in Halifax, *Open Gangway* will bring back a host of memories. For those who would like a factual account of the disturbances, Redman's book provides a good beginning. For those wishing an objective, analytical examination of the riots, the definitive study remains to be written -- as Redman is the first to agree -- perhaps by some dispassionate observer from another generation. LKK

Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland; Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, by John Reid. ISBN 0-8020-5508-7. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1981. 293 pages, hardcover, $35.00.

Contemporary historians have been rediscovering the significance to North American history of seventeenth century European colonization attempts; John Reid's *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland* is an examination of the colonizing attempts of the French, English and Scots in the northeastern region of the continent, an area which roughly included old Acadia and Maine down to Massachusetts. Reid traces why the European settlements in the region failed to become more than marginal colonies, in contrast to European settlements elsewhere on the continent. To do this he uses a comparative approach, arguing that the French, English and Scots shared common European conceptions of colonization in the region.

The realities of the region (its fragmented geography, physical environment, and the strength of the Indian presence) forced the first settlers to change their European concepts and become Euramericans. Reid calls this the process of reconceptualization — a process that the sponsors of settlement, whether government or commerical, had also to undergo to some degree. Nowhere was the clash between European concepts and American reality more pesistent and more striking than in the attempts to impose on the colonies rigid seigneurial and proprietorial forms of land ownership. During the seventeenth century, the colonies of the northeastern region never grew into vigorous and expanding communities. At the end of the century, war between France and England and between the English and the Indians nearly destroyed what small European presence had managed to take root. Marginality nearly turned into extinction.

In *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, Reid sets out to analyse, rather than to tell the story of settlement. His scholarship is of a high order and the book well merited the coveted Sainte-Marie Prize for History in 1976. A reader, however, who is not thoroughly familiar with the history of the northeastern region, will soon become lost in detail and confused by the numerous shifts in the chronology of events. The chapter entitled "Relationships with Native Peoples" is the best written and for me the most interesting. *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland* is certainly a seminal work of sound scholarship, but it is not written for the general reader. BCUC

Patents of Nova Scotia, Pre-Confederation, 1834 to 1869, by Gordon G. Phillips. Gordon Publications and Reproductions, Ottawa, 1980. 80 pages, softcover, $7.00. Available from Gordon Publications and Reproductions, 929 Alpine Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, K2B 5R9.

The author of this fascinating book is a classification examiner with the Canadian Patent Office. His interest in genealogy and antiques has led him to search out and catalogue all the patents issued by the Province of Nova Scotia prior to Confederation. The descriptions of the two hundred and thirty inventions, ranging from fog horns to fish traps and tooth pullers to camera tripods, are of interest in their own right, but by placing them in separate indexes under the invention, the inventor, and his place of residence, Gordon Phillips has made his book a useful source for genealogists and social historians, as well as to those tracing the history of technology in the province. Once a patent has been identified through this volume, it is possible in most cases to obtain photocopies of the original papers and drawings which often give useful additional information. A short introductory chapter describes Nova Scotia patent law from 1833, when the first act for providing patents was passed, to the new Canadian Patent Act of 1869. At that time all provincial records were delivered to the commissioner of the Canadian Patent Office, from whose files Mr. Phillips has recalled them. Here are the original patents for Abraham Gesner's various experiments in the extraction of "illuminating gases," and the many improvements to ship's working gear made during Nova Scotia's golden age of sail. Parts of the patent drawings are shown in some cases, but the size and quality of the reproduction makes them difficult to decipher in any detail. This should not detract from what will, I am sure, become a valuable reference book to Nova Scotian researchers. Heather Watts

Three Sisters: A Genealogical History of the Hunter, Dickey, and Lathrop Families, by O. Clyde Donaldson, 1980. 209 pages, hardbound, $20.00 per copy plus $1.50 for postage and handling. Available from Clyde Donaldson, 7 Interlachen Road, Hopkins, Minnesota, 55343, U.S.A.

Three Sisters is more than a genealogical study of the descendants of three sisters. Indeed, it is not only the story of Nettie, Elizabeth and Ella Weaver and their descendants, but it is also the history and genealogy of their antecedents and of their husbands, as well as the story of the westward migration of settlers from the Atlantic coast across the North American continent to Minnesota.

Elizabeth Weaver married John Hunter, Ella married T.A. Lathrop, and Nettie married Eleazer "Lee" Curtis Dickey. This book is of interest to Nova Scotians because of the information pertaining to the Dickey family, found on pages 44-50 and 144-178.

David Dickey probably emigrated from Londonderry, Ireland to Massachusetts about 1755, and within five years moved to Truro, Nova Scotia. His son David resided in the Musquodoboit Valley, as did his grandson, Samuel. It was his great-grandson, Miles MacInnis Dickey, who left his native Musquodoboit Valley and emigrated in 1854, first to Bristol County, Massachusetts, and later westward to Minnesota. His son Lee Dickey married Nettie Weaver, one of the three sisters.

Miles Dickey's family, however, was not the only Dickey family to immigrate to Minnesota. Not only did Miles' wife's parents, Alexander and Belle Dunbrack, accompany him, but they were following in the footsteps of Miles' younger brother Eleazer, who had moved to Minnesota in 1855. Within the next few years, they were joined by another brother, Ronald Byers Dickey and a brother-in-law, David Lydiard.

Three Sisters should be of interest to all genealogists researching the Dickey family; local historians conducting a study of Colchester County and the Musquodoboit Valley; and historians interested in emigration from Nova Scotia and the migration of people across North America in general.

Philip L. Hartling