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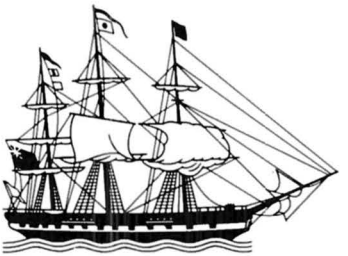

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EDITORIAL

Last year was the bicentenary of the arrival of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia; this year is the bicentenary of the death of Henry Alline, the New Light preacher; in 1985 the Huguenots will be celebrating the tercentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Special issues, similar to the Loyalist ones, are planned for both the Alline bicentenary and the Huguenot tercentenary.

In this spring issue, our lead article is by Esther Clark Wright, who by persistence and superb detective work, searched out the repository for the Sir Guy Carleton or Headquarters papers. Carleton was Commander-in-Chief in New York at the end of the American Revolutionary War. These papers had originally been deposited in the Royal Institution, London, were purchased by John D. Rockefeller, and were subsequently deposited in the archives of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia. Dr. Wright has used these papers for her article, "The Evacuation of the Loyalists from New York in 1783."

Our cover this issue is an appealing sketch of Liverpool done by J.E. Woolford, the talented artist who was commissioned by Lord Dalhousie, governor of Nova Scotia, 1816-1820, to compile a pictorial record of the latter's provincial tours as governor. These sketches were recently purchased by the Nova Scotia Museum from Dalhousie's descendants in Scotland.

The Liverpool watercolour, depicting a well-made wooden bridge across the Medway River, symbolizes that community as a major port for the export of large quantities of lumber, a role it has maintained since its founding in the early 1760s to the present day. Barbara Robertson's article, "Trees, Treaties and the Timing of Settlement," describes and compares the lumbering trade of many similar towns in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Historical societies and similar organizations are encouraged to buy blocks of fifty copies of the *Review* at $2.50 per copy for sale to their members, friends and visitors at $5.00 per copy, the profit accruing to the society.

Correspondence and submissions should be sent to myself or the literary editor, Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, c/o Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 6016 University Avenue, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 1W4.

This issue of the *Review* has been made possible by a grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness.

Brian Cuthbertson
Managing Editor

Contributors

ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT
is a name known to all those familiar with the historiography of the Maritime Provinces. Dr. Wright was born in Fredericton, New Brunswick, where she received her early education. Her studies were continued at Acadia University (Honours B.A., Economics), the University of Toronto, the University of Oxford and at Radcliffe-Harvard (Ph.D., Economic History). She has also been honoured with a D.Litt. from Acadia, an LL.D. from Dalhousie University, and with recent election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts.

Dr. Wright's particular interest has been in demographic history. Her published works, including *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (1955), *Saint John Ships and Their Builders* (1976), *Planters and Pioneers, Nova Scotia 1749 to 1775* (1978) and *The St. John River and its Tributaries* (1983) have been acclaimed as landmark studies of our regional history. It is a pleasure to welcome Dr. Wright to the pages of the *Review*.

JEAN PETLEY-JONES
was born in Kings Langley, Hertfordshire, England. Her education at the London School of Dramatic Art and at Pitman's College was interrupted by World War II, during which time she served as a member of the British Red Cross, Voluntary Aid Department, attached to the Royal Naval Hospital, Haslar, Gosport, Portsmouth. She and her husband presently reside at Parker Farm in Belleisle, Annapolis County, where they are actively involved with the Provincial Advisory Council on Heritage Property.

Mrs. Petley-Jones is a member of the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia and the Historic Restoration Society of Annapolis County. She has been published previously in the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, and for the past eighteen years has contributed to the *Atlantic Advocate*, the Halifax Herald Ltd. newspapers and the *Bridgewater Monitor*.

BARBARA R. ROBERTSON
was born in Seattle, Washington, although her family has been in Nova Scotia since 1786. She was educated in Shelburne, is a graduate of Acadia and Columbia universities, and is currently Co-ordinator of Travelling Exhibitions at the Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax.

In addition to serving as editor of *The Occasional* (a journal of Nova Scotian Museums), Miss Robertson has had articles published in, among others, the

Journal of Education, Professional Engineer and the *Shelburne Coast Guard*. She is also a noted photographer; her work has appeared in various exhibitions, and was included in Harry Bruce's *Nova Scotia* (1975). She is presently completing a manuscript on sawmills and sawmilling in Nova Scotia, to be published by the Nova Scotia Museum in 1985.

LEWIS J. POTEET
is a native of Watonga, Oklahoma, but presently lives in Montreal, where he is an associate professor of English at Concordia University. He holds a B.A. from Bethany Nazarene College (Oklahoma), an M.A. from the University of Oklahoma, and a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota.

Although he has written various articles on aspects of Victorian literature, Dr. Poteet will be most familiar to Nova Scotians as a folklorist and as the author of *The South Shore Phrase Book* (1983). He is a summer resident of Upper Port LaTour, and has spent many years observing the linguistic originality of the province's south coast.

EMMALEE M. HOPKINS
was born in Brantford, Ontario, and was educated in the Chatham area. She has worked as a secretary in Ontario, in Montevideo, Uruguay, and in Bridgewater, where an adult education course in creative writing sparked an interest in short stories and historical subjects.

Mrs. Hopkins has since been published in the *Bridgewater Bulletin* and the *Halifax Herald* newspapers. She resides in Green Bay, Lunenburg County, where she and her husband operate a cabin complex for tourists.

KATHLEEN ALLEN PARKMAN LAMB
is a native of Montague, P.E.I., but was educated in Massachusetts and now lives in Rockwood, Tennessee. Although she is involved with local historical organizations, Mrs. Lamb's first love is painting. She works in oils, watercolours and pastels, and has shown her work in both individual exhibitions and group shows. She was recently featured as artist of the month at the Dulin Gallery, Knoxville.

JOAN E. DAWSON
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 involve her deeply 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 the 350th anniversary of Razilly's arrival at Fort Point. This is her second contribution to the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*.

The Evacuation of the Loyalists from New York in 1783

Esther Clark Wright

A "very general Affliction" was produced among the Loyalists left in the Thirteen Colonies, when Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Robert Digby informed them of the proposal of independence which Mr. Grenville had been directed to make at Paris. Their consternation was conveyed in Sir Guy's report to Earl Shelburne on 17 August 1782.

> Some of those Gentlemen it is possible will endeavour secretly to Negotiate Reconciliation with the Ruling Powers, in order to Obtain the best Terms they can. But there are some who seem determined to Abide any Extremity rather than submit either to the Domination or Principles of their domestic Foes. The Passions of these I have endeavoured to moderate by turning their Views to other Settlements, if the most reasonable Expectations should fail them here.
>
> The like Effects among the Loyalists may be every where expected to prevail; the first natural Emotions of both parties on this Information being those of much Exultation on the one side and Grief on the other. But what Course the Passions of Men will ultimately take in this Country, where they have so free a Scope it is not easy to predict.[1]

The Associated Loyalists of the Province of Pennsylvania and Maryland and the Three Lower Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on the Delaware had aleady given notice, in a "Humble Address" dated 30 May 1782, that they would assist in restoring "the King's Authority in these Provinces and Counties, as repeatedly offered, to the last drop of their Blood," but if Great Britain, "from an Inglorious and dishonest despondency" should withdraw her "right and claim to the Sovereignty over these Colonies," they would consider themselves "as a deserted People, left in a State of Nature and Liberty to become the Subjects" of the local governments.[2]

Loyalists without the lines had some chance of making their peace with the American authorities, but those who had taken refuge within the British lines had little hope that such a solution would be possible for them. It was clear to the

1 Carleton Papers (hereafter CP) 5328. This article is based largely on the Carleton or Headquarters Papers, which were preserved by Sir Guy's secretary, deposited in the Royal Institution, London, calendared in four volumes by the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission, and finally bought on behalf of John D. Rockefeller for Colonial Williamsburg, in whose Archives they were deposited after being repaired and photostated by the New York Public Library. Incidentally, the printed volumes gave no idea of the amount of information concerning the Loyalists in the Carleton Papers, and it took many months to find out where the papers had gone.

2 CP 4693.

Loyalists in and around New York that the offer of independence would mean the withdrawal of the British forces from New York. That eventuality and its consequences had to be considered. When the British forces had been withdrawn from Boston, in March 1776, the troops and those who depended on them for protection had sailed for Halifax, and Halifax, not for the last time in its history, had not inclined its involuntary visitors to think well of Nova Scotia. Nevertheless, Nova Scotia offered one overwhelming advantage: it was the nearest British territory to New York. Canada was far away, unknown, and inhabited by French settlers, whose language, religion and customs were different from those of the majority of the Loyalists, and whose parent country had been an ally of the "revolting colonies." Florida, and the islands in the West Indies, other possible refuges, were also far away, unknown, and peopled with alien races. Their climatic difference, and the danger of tropical diseases, especially yellow fever, presented further obstacles. Nova Scotia, in spite of Halifax, might be the most advantageous destination, and surely on the long coast line of that colony, and in its interior valleys such as the Annapolis and the St. John, more favourable sites for settlement might be found.

At any rate, Sir Guy Carleton thought it well to send with Major General James Paterson, who was taking over command of the Halifax military district, a copy of the letter which he and Admiral Digby had sent to General Washington, and to include in his letter to the acting governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, this suggestion:

> It is difficult to foresee what precise events may follow the proposition made at Paris, but it seems ever certain that many Refugees will need & will have a just claim to establishments out of the thirteen Provinces; it will be therefore an act of necessary caution in you to reserve as much Land as possible in your Province to answer demands which are so likely to press, both on the generosity and good faith of the public.[3]

Meanwhile, Sir Guy's endeavours to "turn their Views to other settlements" were having effect on Long Island and the Jersey side at least. Meetings of refugees were held and agents were chosen "for the Loyalists who propose to settle in Nova Scotia as well those who go this Autumn as those who are to follow in the Spring." The Lloyd's Neck group elected as their agents, Benjamin Thompson of Rumford, Massachusetts, lieutenant colonel of the King's American Dragoons; Edward Winslow of Plymouth, Massachusetts, muster master general of the Provincial

3 CP 5447.

Forces; Sampson S. Blowers, attorney of Boston; Reverend John Sayre, formerly rector of Trinity Church, Fairfield, Connecticut; Captain John Moseley, shipbuilder; and Amos Botsford, Esquire, attorney of Newton, Connecticut. The refugees of Queen's County, Long Island, chose Joshua Chandler, Esquire, of New Haven, Connecticut, and Samuel Cummings, Esquire, of New Hampshire. The agents for the Bergen Loyalists were Dr. Samuel Seabury, formerly rector in Westchester, New York, chaplain of the King's American Regiment; Major Thomas Ward of Newark, New Jersey; Captain George Harding; Captain Frederick Hauser, a surveyor; William Harding of Ulster County, New York; and Joshua Pell of New York Province. Dr. Seabury was named president of the Board of Agents, and S.S. Blowers secretary. Articles of settlement in Nova Scotia were drawn up, and the Reverend Dr. Seabury and Lieutenant Colonel Thompson, "having been appointed by the Board of Agents to wait on his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, Commander in Chief, in behalf of the Loyalists desirous of emigrating to Nova Scotia," read the following rough proposals, as articles of supply for the settlers in Nova Scotia:

1st. That they be provided with proper vessels, and convoy, to carry them, their horses and cattle, as near as possible to the place appointed for their settlement.
2nd. That besides the provisions for the voyage, one year's provision be allowed them or money to purchase.
3rd. That some allowance of warm clothing be made in proportion to the wants of each family.
4th. That an allowance of medicines be granted, such as shall be thought necessary.
5th. That pairs of mill-stones, necessary iron works for the grist mills, and saws and other necessary articles for saw mills be granted them.
6th. That a quantity of nails and spikes, hoes and axes, spades and shovels, plough irons, and such other farming utensils as shall appear necessary, be provided for them, and also a proportion of window glass.
7th. That such a tract or tracts of land, free from disputed titles and as conveniently situated as may be, be granted, surveyed and divided at the public cost so as to afford from 300 to 600 acres of useful land to each family.
8th. That over and above 2,000 acres in every township be allowed for the support of a clergyman, and 1,000 acres for the support of a school, and that these lands be inalienable for ever.
9th. That a sufficient number of good muskets and cannon be allowed, with a proper quantity of powder and ball for their use, to enable them to defend

themselves against any hostile invasion; also a proportion of powder and lead for hunting.[4]

These articles of settlement were presented to the Loyalists by the agents, and papers were signed by those who were "willing to emigrate with our Families to Nova Scotia upon the foregoing Terms and Assurances," and approval was given to the appointment of the agents for each group. Lists were drawn up of those who were willing to go to Nova Scotia "this Fall." The Lloyd's Neck list, dated 20 September, contained the names of 36 individuals, with 85 dependants, although as it turned out, most of them actually sailed in the spring. From each group one agent was chosen to go to Nova Scotia with the fall fleet-- Amos Botsford from Lloyd's Neck, Samuel Cummings from Queen's County, and Frederick Hauser from Bergen-- and instructions were given them:

> That on their arrival in Nova Scotia they apply themselves to discover whether a Tract or Tracts of Land free from all disputed Titles, either with the Indians or former Grantees, can be found sufficient to accommodate the Loyalists and the Families who shall remove thither.
>
> They will examine the Soil, Timber, Game, Limestone, Rivers, Bays, Creeks, Harbors, Streams and Ponds of Water with Regard to Mills, Fishing, Trade, etc. They will examine the face of the Country whether it be hilly, stoney, sandy, clayey, etc.
>
> They will require what Lands in the Neighbourhood are granted and to whom; whether the grants be forfeited, or whether they may be purchased and at what Rate; and whether advantageous Terms may not be made with the present Proprietors.
>
> They will endeavour to ascertain as near as they can, what will be the Difficulties and Obstructions in forming new settlements, and what will be the probable advantages.
>
> That they keep a Journal of their proceedings and register their Observations, noting the Distances from the principle settlements already made, and from noted Rivers and Harbors, as well as the Obstructions in Travelling and Transporting.
>
> That such Lands as may be obtained, be distributed and divided among the proposed Adventurers, in as just and equitable a manner as the nature of the Case will admit of.

4 W.O. Raymond, *The River St. John, Its Physical Features, Legends and History from 1604 to 1784* (Saint John, 1910), p. 507.

> And that they make Reports of their proceedings from time to time as early as may be to the Secretary of the Agency at New York.[5]

On 29 September 1782, Sir Guy again wrote to Sir Andrew Hamond, enclosing lists of people desirous of emigrating to Nova Scotia; and he also expressed the hope that they would receive grants of land without having to pay fees, and made several recommendations for smoothing the way for the Loyalists and giving them aid.[6] Meanwhile, however, a new governor had been sent out to Nova Scotia, and word of the safe arrival of the Loyalists at Annapolis reached New York about the same time that a letter came from John Parr to notify Sir Guy Carleton of his appointment. On 8 October 1782, the new governor had written:

> Immediately on my arrival here Your excellency's letter of the 22d of last month, to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Andrew Hamond, related to the Refugees from the Revolted Colonies, was Communicated to me, and I am to assure you, Sir, that no assistance which can possibly be derived from this Government, shall be wanting to those who have made so great a Sacrifice to their Loyalty, and they shall receive every accommodation that I can afford them.
>
> At the same time Sir I must inform you, that it will only be in my power to provide them with Lands, and that there is not any House or Cover to put them under Shelter, this Town is already so crowded that a considerable Body of the Recruits for the Army are Hutted in the Woods for want of Houses to Convert into Barracks. And when I add the Scarcity and difficulty of providing fuel, and Lumber for building, which is still greater, the many inconveniences and great distress these people must suffer, if any of them come into this Province this Winter, will sufficiently appear unto your Excellency; and I am to add that what I have said of this Town may be applied to any other part of the Province. Therefore I hope Sir that no necessity will compel these people to further suffering and Calamities.[7]

To this unpromising missive, Sir Guy replied with congratulations to Parr on his appointment, and assurances that the people already gone to Nova Scotia were provided with a year's provisions, warm clothing, "and every necessary implement for covering themselves," and that he had received information that

5 CP 5760.

6 CP 5662.

7 CP 5827.

they were arrived safely at Annapolis Royal. "Their situation however Sir requires from us every attention we are capable of & I make no doubt your Excell[y] will furnish them with all the assistance in your power."[8] To Townsend, Sir Guy reported that the refugees had arrived in Nova Scotia, where they had been kindly received by the Governor," and that they had expressed "great satisfaction in the change & in the prospects which open before them." He noted that the Assemblies had taken alarm "at a measure, which while it affords a refuge & reward to men persecuted for their Loyalty & some compensation for their losses, promises at the same time a rapid increase of strength to a province which, should it become a frontier, will find men of distinguished valor to joyn in its defence if necessary."[9]

On 22 December, Sir Guy again wrote to the governor of Nova Scotia:

> Sir,
>
> The provision which it is necessary should be made for those Loyalists who have sacrificed their properties & exposed themselves to hazards of every kind in supporting the union of the empire, has influenced me to look for a resort, on the behalf of the many, in the province of Nova Scotia, and I have on a former occasion recommended this message to Sir Andrew Hamond. Agreeable to this general design of affording a place of refuge, together with recompense & favour for the fidelity of these brave men, I am to recommend to your protection Mr. Joseph Pynchon & Mr. James Doyle who are commissioned by up ward of 120 families & likely to be joined by many more, to survey Roseway Harbour & solicit a grant of the adjoining lands to be equitably distributed among them for the purpose of carrying on the fisheries, and establishing a commerce in that advantageous situation, which may be made as it appears easily defensible, and which they profess themselves ready and will probably be numerous enough, to defend. I am in hopes, Sir, that the post thus established by an industrious body of men, inured to hardships, accustomed to danger and acquainted with fisheries and trade, will bring a great accession of strength and wealth to the province and give it suddenly that importance which it is now of the highest consequence that it should obtain, as out of this province much future good may be expected to arise. I shall hope that no impediments will stand in their way, and that compensation from home will made in lieu of Quit Rent, fees & other emoluments, which such just and interesting purposes it may be found necessary at this period to decline. I entertain no doubt but that your feelings of humanity as well as views of public good, will

8 CP 6110.

9 CP 6176.

induce you to give the greatest consideration to this subject, and that approving, you will forward the execution by all the means placed within your power.[10]

This is only one of many letters which show the efforts of Sir Guy Carleton to smooth the way for the Loyalists going to Nova Scotia. It was not Sir Guy's fault that the Port Roseway (Shelburne) settlers were even louder in their complaints than the settlers on the north side of the Bay of Fundy.

Meanwhile, after arrival of the fall fleet at Annapolis on 19 October 1782, the three agents, Messrs. Botsford, Cummings and Hauser, had been carrying out their instructions to investigate the possibilities for settlements. On 14 January 1783, they wrote to the Board in New York that they had looked at the country from Annapolis to St. Mary's Bay, which they considered had very good soil and was favourable for the fisheries. They then went to the St. John River where, on account of the lateness of the season, they had to forsake the river and steer by compass through the woods. They went about 70 miles up stream to the Oromocto blockhouse. The St. John they thought "a fine river, equal in magnitude to the Connecticut or Hudson," the harbour very fine, and the reversing falls a unique and useful feature. They were much impressed by the crops grown on the intervals by the pre-Loyalist settlers. They also went up the Kennebecasis, where they thought titles to the land could be more quickly secured than on the main St. John River, where much of the land was under grant.[11]

This report must have been welcome to the Loyalists who were spending their last and most unhappy winter in New York and its environs. The favourable prospects for settlement in Nova Scotia, and the British naval victory in the West Indies, were the only encouraging features of their situation. They were surrounded by victorious enemies; they also knew that peace negotiations were being carried on in Paris, but for many months they did not know what the terms of the peace might be. They could only hope, and continue to make representations to the British authorities in New York and London, that the terms might be favourable to them. Although the articles of peace were signed on 10 November 1782, it was 31 December before copies of the articles were sent from Whitehall, and 19 March 1783 before they reached Sir Guy Carleton; then, apparently, it was necessary for him to send the copies to Congress for their signatures before he could make the terms public. It seems likely that Sir Guy had

10 CP 6168.

11 Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie*, Vol. III (Halifax, 1867), p. 13.

private advice regarding the terms of the peace, and that it was he who instigated the memorial from the commanding officers of thirteen of the provincial regiments, dated 14 March 1783, a few days before the receipt of the formal documents.

The officers begged leave to represent:

> That the offer of Independence to the American Colonies by Great Britain, and the probability that the present contest will terminate in the separation of the two Countries, has filled the minds of His Majesty's Provincial Troops with the most alarming apprehensions.
>
> . . . . That their detestation to that Republican System which the Leaders in the Rebellion are aiming to establish (the fatal effects of which are already felt), is unconquerable.
>
> That whatever Stipulation may be made at a Peace for the Restoration of the Property of the Loyalists, and permission for them to return home, yet, should the American Provinces be severed from the British Empire it will be utterly impossible for those who have served His Majesty in arms in this War to remain in the Country. The personal animosities that arose from civil Dissensions have been so heightened by the Blood that has been shed in the Contest, that the Parties can never be reconciled.
>
> That the officers of his Majesty's Provincial Forces have sacrificed not only their Property, but many of them very Lucrative professions, and all their expectations from their Rank and Connection in Civil Society.
>
> That numbers of them entered very young into the King's Service, and have grown up in the Army; and having no other profession and no Family Expectations or home to go to, (their Friends being all involved in the Common Ruin) they look forward to the day of their being disbanded with extreme solicitude.
>
> That many of them have wives (who born to the fairest expectations, and tenderly brought up) have been unaccustomed to want, and children for whose education and happiness they feel the most anxious concern.
>
> That many who have served His Majesty in the Provincial Troops in subordinate capacities during this War, have been respectable yeoman of good connections, and possessed of considerable property, which from principles of Loyalty and a sense of duty they quitted, and in the course of this contest have shewn a degree of patience, Fortitude and bravery almost without example.
>
> That there are still remaining in the Provincial Line a great number of men, who from wounds, and from Disorders contracted in service, are rendered totally unable to provide for their future subsistence, they therefore look up to that Government in whose service they have suffered with all the anxiety of Men who have no other hope left. Many of them have helpless families, who have seen better days.

That the Widows and Orphans of the Provincial Officers and Soldiers who have lost their lives in the King's service are many of them reduced to extreme poverty and distress, and have no prospect of relief but from the justice and humanity of the British Government.

These, Sir, are the Difficulties and the Apprehensions under which His Majesty's Provincial Troops now Labour, and to Your Excellency they look up for assistance.

Relying on the gracious promise of their Sovereign to support and protect them, and placing the fullest confidence in your Excellency's benevolent Interposition; and favourable representation of their faithful Services; they are inclined to ask

That Grants of land may be made to them in some of His Majesty's American Provinces and that they may be assisted in making Settlements in order that they and their Children may enjoy the benefits of the British Government.

That some permanent provision may be made for such of the non-commissioned Officers and private soldiers as have been disabled from wounds, and from Disorders contracted in His Majesty's Service. And for the Widows and Orphans of the deceased Officers and Soldiers.

That as a Reward for their faithful services, the Rank of the Officers may be permanent in America, and that they all may be intitled to Half-Pay upon the Reduction of their Regiments.

The Memorial was signed by:

B. Thompson Lt. Col.
Commandant Kings A. Drag.
Gab. D Veber Lt. Col.
Comg. PrWaAmRegt.
John Coffin Major
Kings A. Regt.
Thos. Menzies Major
American Legion
Ed Winslow
Muster-Master-General
of Provincial Forces
Gabriel F. Ludlow Coll.
2d Battn. Delancey's Brigade
Bev. Robinson Coll.
Loy Am^{n} Regt.
Stephen De Lancey Lt. Col.
1 Battn New Jersey Volrs.
J.H. Cruger Colo. 1st. Bat.
Br. Genl. DeLancey's
Abrm Vanbuskirk Lt. Col.
3d. Batt. Newjersey Volrrs.
Geo. Turnbull Lt. Col.
Comm^{n} N.Y.V.
Beverley Robinson Junr Lt. Col.
Loyal American Regt.
William Allen Lt. Col. Commdt
Pennsylvania Loyalists
James Chalmers Lt. Colo. Cmmdt
Maryland Loyalists
I. Allen Lt. Col.
Command^{t}, 2. Batt.
N.J. Volunteers [12]

12 CP 7127.

A copy of this memorial, along with a memorandum of the same date regarding the size of land grants to privates, sergeants and officers (the memorandum seems to be in Edward Winslow's handwriting), were included in a letter to Townsend from Sir Guy Carleton, along with suggestions, probably instigated by William Smith, former chief justice of New York, to persuade the home government of the desirability of preventing the growth of grievances in the provinces which remained in British possession.[13] This was not the last attempt of the kind, but in the meantime Sir Guy was confronted with the necessity of publishing the terms of the treaty, and getting the Loyalists on board transports and away.

The fifth, sixth and seventh articles were of particular concern to the Loyalists and the provincials.

Article 5th

It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend to the Legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the Restitution of all Estates, Rights and Properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British Subjects; and also of the Estates, Rights, and Properties of persons resident in Districts in the possession of His Majesty's arms, and who have not borne Arms against the said United States: and that Persons of any other description shall have free Liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve Months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their Estates, Rights and Properties as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a Reconsideration and Revision of all Acts or Laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said Laws or Acts perfectly consistent not only with Justice and Equity, but with that spirit of Conciliation, which on the return of the Blessings of Peace should universally prevail. And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States that the Estates, Rights and Properties of such last mentioned persons shall be restored to them; they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession the bona fide price, (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said Lands, Rights or Properties since the Confiscation.

And it is agreed that all persons who have any Interest in confiscated Lands, either by debts, Marriage Settlements or otherwise shall meet with no lawful Impediment in the prosecution of their just Rights.

Article 6th.

That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons, for or by Reason of the part which he

13 CP 7147.

or they may have taken in the present War, and that no damage either in his Person, Liberty or Property, and that those who may be in Confinement on such Charges, at the time of the Ratification of the Treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

Article 7th.

There shall be a firm and perpetual Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said States, and between the Subjects of the one and the Citizens of the other. Wherefore all Hostilities both by Sea and Land, shall then immediately cease: All Prisoners on both Sides shall be set at Liberty, and His Britannic Majesty shall with all convenient speed, & without causing any Destruction, or carrying any Negroes, or other Property of the American Inhabitants, withdraw all His Armies, Garrisons and Fleets from the said United States, and from every Port, Place and Harbour within the same; leaving in all Fortifications, the American Artillery that may be therein. And shall also order and cause all Archives, Records, Deeds and Papers Belonging to any of the said States, or their Citizens, which in the course of the War may have fallen into the hands of His Officers to be forthwith restored & delivered to the proper States and persons to whom they belong.[14]

To the plenipotentiary of Great Britain it may have seemed sufficient that Congress should "earnestly recommend to the Legislatures of the respective States" that they take measures to restore the property of the Loyalists, but the Loyalists had little hope that the intentions of Article 5 would be carried out. Those who had lived in America knew that the states paid attention to Congress only when they wished to heed the orders of that body. The earnest recommendations would be ignored and the phrases of Article 5 were mere expressions of pious hope which would never be fulfilled. The dismay of the loyal refugees was expressed in a letter from Sally Winslow to her cousin, Benjamin Marston, on 10 April 1783: "....our fate seems so decreed and we left to mourn out our days in wretchedness. No other resource [except] for millions to submit to the tyranny of exulting enemies or settle a new country." "The open enemys [*sic*] of Great Britain have gained their point," she wailed, "while their brave persevering Noble Friends...are left without friends, without fortune, without prospect of support."[15]

Sir Guy Carleton, meanwhile, was busy with urgent matters: the Port Roseway Associates were pressing him to issue the "necessary orders for the

14 CP 6291.

15 W.O. Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers* (Saint John, 1901), p. 79.

Conveniency of Embarkation and Settlement of Port Roseway." The superintendent of exports and imports also must be directed to grant to persons embarking for Nova Scotia "Permission for the Shipping of every Article they may find necessary to carry with them," and to give a "General Clearance conformable to the Enclosed Form as the enumerating of the Variety of Articles necessary for Family Uses, would give the Adventurers much Trouble, and perhaps bring them into difficulties should there be any Ommissions."[16]

On 12 April, Sir Guy reported to Townsend that about four or five thousand refugees who were going to Nova Scotia would embark the next day and sail in a few days for Port Roseway and St. John's River, and that probably more would follow. "A considerable increase of shipping will be necessary to accomplish the entire evacuation of this place in the course of the Summer as you will be more particularly informed by Rear Admiral Digby."[17] Tomorrow, the commander in chief said hopefully, the refugees would embark, but tomorrow and tomorrow passed, and new difficulties kept delaying the departure. An American agent was required to be present at all times to superintend all embarkations, but Congress had not as yet authorized "proper Persons," so that Captain Chads of the Royal Navy took it upon himself to request two gentlemen to act in the meantime.[18] On 15 April, the adjutant general, Oliver DeLancey, issued instructions that the "refugees, and all Masters of Vessels, will be attentive that no Person is permitted to embark as a Refugee, who has not resided Twelve Months within the British lines, without a special Passport from the Commandant." It will be noted later that this qualification had to be suspended. DeLancey also recommended to the refugees "to take Care that no Person of bad Character is suffered to embark with them."[19]

According to Walter Bates' *Narrative*, the Loyalist colonies at Huntington, Lloyd's Neck, Eaton's Neck and Oyster Bay were visited in April by Reverend John Sayre, and informed that those who were willing to go to Nova Scotia would be given two hundred acres of land for each family (a smaller amount than had been suggested in earlier documents), two years' provisions and free passage.

16 CP 7192, 7272.

17 CP 7400.

18 CP 7427.

19 *Ibid.*

Embarkation of the *Union*, the ship on which Bates sailed, began on 11 April, and went on for five days. On 26 April, he says, the fleet, upwards of 20 sail, left Sandy Hook. On that date, Sir Guy wrote to General Paterson that he enclosed "Embarkation Returns of the Troops and Refugees, going in the Fleet, to different parts of Nova Scotia, together with returns of Artillery, Ordnance Stores and provisions." He noted also that the King's American Dragoons (Benjamin Thompson's regiment), who were dismounted, had desired to be sent to St. John's River, Bay of Fundy, and were to proceed directly to that place, "where they are to encamp, and do duty for the present, but as the period of their stay there is uncertain, I would advise you not to withdraw the troops actually posted there." Many officers of the provincial regiments, Sir Guy added, had taken the opportunity of going to Nova Scotia, "to look for places for future settlements: as their situation claims our particular attention, I recommend them to you for every assistance in your power."[20]

The returns were likewise enclosed in a communication to Governor Parr, together with a "list of persons to whom I have granted Commissions, making together sixteen Companies of militia, the forms of such Commissions I likewise enclose, by which you will perceive they are only to be in force until your Excell[y] shall make further, or other, regulations concerning them." With regard to provisions, the suggestion was made that "as they ought to be made commensurate to the absolute necessities of the Settlers, it may become indispensable that they shou'd be further supplied in your province, according as their real wants and Exigencies may require and I shall give orders accordingly." Sir Guy again recommended the whole expedition to his Excellency's protection, and expressed his satisfaction that "we are able to give these deserving people some refuge, which I trust they will amply repay by that increase of wealth, and commerce and power which they may give in future to a greatly diminished Empire."[21]

The names of 20 of the vessels which left Sandy Hook on 26 April 1783 were preserved by the pilot who guided them into St. John Harbour, and the passenger list of the *Union* was also preserved.[22] Since the *Union* passengers were in charge of Flyer Dibblee, formerly attorney in Stamford, Connecticut, it is probable that he

20 CP 7558.

21 CP 7557.

22 War Office Records 60/27.

had one of the commissions to which Sir Guy referred. For later sailings, the captains, lieutenants, second lieutenants, with the numbers of individuals in their companies, are listed, but for the first fleet the details are very meagre. It seems probable that distressed Loyalists, who had been receiving allowance for their support, were encouraged or instructed to avail themselves of the opportunity of getting to Nova Scotia. Of the two lists of recipients of allowances, one arranged by colonies, 451 names, and one arranged more or less alphabetically, 275 names, some did not sail until later, but presumably most of them went in the first fleet.[23]

By the end of May, any hopes that the British sympathizers could be shipped to Nova Scotia, Britain or Canada, and New York evacuated early in the summer, were dissipated. With the declaration of peace, and the opening of the season for travelling by country roads, many who had taken refuge within the British lines attempted to return to their former homes. Some may have been welcomed by relatives and former friends and neighbours, but most met with an unpleasant or definitely hostile reception. The Freeholders and Inhabitants of Poughskeepie advertised that the Constitution of the State of New York, which is "just and liberal," would be exposed to danger "if those who have wrapt our cities in flames, and covered our land with blood; and whose principles are utterly repugnant to our free government; are suffered to return." The good people of Rimbouts precinct were even more vehement, on 27 May, against those "abandoned miscreants who deserted their country in its glorious struggle for Independence," who would never have their consent to live in the precinct: "and in case they are so hardy as to return, they shall not be permitted to continue longer than SEVEN DAYS." Moreover, they pledged themselves to discover Tory fugitives now in the precinct or returning later, and they would consider any person harbouring Tory fugitives as "enemies to the independence and peace of the States, and treat them accordingly."[24]

This attitude on the part of the Americans resulted not only in a very great increase in the number of Loyalists in the New York, Long Island and Bergen groups who asked to be sent to Nova Scotia, but also in an influx into New York of British sympathizers who had hitherto found refuge elsewhere than within the British lines. It became impossible to limit the evacuees to those who had been within the lines for at least a year, as the first embarkation orders had decreed. It also became impossible to limit the evacuees to those who were destitute, as seems

23 CP 9941, 8252, 8255.

24 CP 7796.

to have been the first intention. The army transports and victuallers and the navy victuallers available were found to be insufficient for the removal of the numbers, which seemed to increase rather than to diminish. Both in New York and in Nova Scotia, officials became more and more harried as the summer wore on, and as the thousands became tens of thousands.

Embarkation for the second fleet commenced on 25 May--again we are indebted to W.O. Raymond for preserving the account of Sarah Frost--but once more, delays occurred so that the fleet did not leave New York Harbour until 15 June. A newspaper advertisement of 7 June had said that the transports *Two Sisters, Hopewell, Symmetry, Generous Friends, Bridgewater, Thames, Amity's Production, Tartar, Duchess of Gordon, Littledale, William and Mary,* and *Free Briton,*

> which are to carry companies commanded by Sylvanus Whitney, Joseph Goreham, Henry Thomas, John Forrester, Thomas Elms, John Cock, Joseph Clarke, James Hoyt, Christopher Benson, Joseph Forrester, Thomas Welch, Oliver Bourdet, Asher Dunham, Abiathar Camp, Peter Berton, Richard Hill and Moses Pitcher, will certainly fall down on Monday morning (to Staten Island); it will therefore be absolutely necessary for the people who are appointed to go in these companies, to be all on board tomorrow evening.

Of the transports named, two, *Bridgewater* and *Thames*, are known to have also sailed with the first fleet. It is possible that other vessels were added to the fleet before it sailed (Sarah Frost mentions twelve of "our ships" being in sight, and there were only twelve named in the newspaper), and that the delay was caused by waiting for additional vessels from the first fleet.[25]

A "return of Persons who have applied to the Adjutant Gen[ls] Office since the 26th May to be removed from New York 17th June 1783" gives a total of 7656, divided as follows:

England	615
Ireland	160
Halifax	681
Scotland	19
Jamaica	93
Port Roseway	714
Annapolis Royal	342
River St. John	3656
Canada	1218

25 Raymond, *The River St. John*, p. 502. Colonial Office Records 5/100.

Island of St. John's	115
Fort Cumberland	19
Germany	8
West Florida	19

According to a return dated 17 June, less than half the number applying to go were embarked on the June fleet, 1654 for St. John River, 205 for Annapolis, 122 for Port Roseway, 491 for Fort Cumberland.[26]

A return of 8 July shows 1335 persons "actually Embarked" for Nova Scotia, as well as 516 for Canada, and three days later Captain Chads of the Royal Navy reported 20 vessels "Sailed for St. John River Nova Scotia wthRefugees and their Effects under the direction of Lt. Stupart agent." Since the tonnage of the July fleet was nearly double that of the June fleet, one would expect to find about 4000 passengers in the July fleet, three times the number given in the 8 July return, so it is not clear whether the return of passengers embarked and of vessels sailing referred to the same event.

The month of July was enlivened by a request from 55 gentlemen who wished large grants in Nova Scotia, and by a counter petition from over six hundred refugees who resented the request of the 55, pointing out that the "Persons concerned (several of whom are said to be going to Britain) are most of them in easy circumstances and with some Exceptions were distinguished by the repeated favors of Government than by either the greatness of their sufferings or the importance of their Services." The six hundred are evidence that there were still many Loyalists to be evacuated.[27]

An embarkation return of 5 August showed 669 Loyalists and 295 negroes going to St. John River and Annapolis Royal, 173 Loyalists and 420 negroes to Port Roseway, 54 Loyalists and four negroes to Halifax. At some time during July, the memorial of John Smith, merchant "and Agent of upwards of five hundred Persons, Consisting of Men, Women and Children, who are now bound with him for their Loyalty to Nova Scotia" was delivered to Sir Guy, together with a copy of the return which had been deposited with the adjutant general's office. Many of his group, Smith pointed out, "now Residents in this City [New York] and Nassau Island are obliged to give up their Possessions or in other Words to leave them in the Power of this new fangled Government that is shortly to take place." They had heard that there were disputes (some of them had signed the

26 War Office Records 60/25 to 30. Admiralty Papers 40/9, 36, 9430, 10381.

27 Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Moncton, 1955), p. 215.

petition against the 55) and that grants had not been obtained. They desired to settle by themselves "at or as near the River St. Johns as conveniently may be." John Smith's list named 142 men (practically all of whom can be traced in New Brunswick), and a total of 554 persons. 240 of them were included in Company No. 40 on the numbered list of companies for the St. John River; some sailed on the *Eagle*, a schooner, John Gardner, master, which had cleared for Nova Scotia 29 July and had evidently returned to take another load in August; others sailed on the *Cyrus*, John Wardill, master, which mustered its passengers on 21 August and reached the St. John River on 14 September. Companies 41 to 46, consisting of 566 persons, were reported as sailing on 26 August.[28]

On 19 August, Brook Watson, commissary general, had sent a note to Major Mackenzie, adjutant general:

> Sir,
>
> I beg you to represent to the Commander in Chief, that great numbers of Respectable Loyal Families, driven from their homes for the part they have taken during the late War, and now claiming the assistance of Government to move them to their intended Asylum in Nova Scotia, are in want of Vessels to carry them, and they are not to be had unless His Excellency will be pleased to Authorize me to hire them on the usual Terms and Conditions, to be discharged in this Country, and which will be attended with much less expense than should they be hired by the Navy to be Discharg'd in England according to their Custom.[29]

Apparently Brook Watson's suggestion was approved, and the refugees embarked on numerous schooners and sloops, as well as occasional brigs and ships, which were cleared with family effects from the port of New York for Nova Scotia, from the latter end of August until the end of November. There is, therefore, no further mention of a fleet sailing, except for the one which carried the officers and men of the provincial regiments and their dependants.

During August, Sir Guy Carleton recieved by the June packet the final orders for the evacuation of New York, and on the 17th he wrote to His Excellency Elias Boudinot Esq., president of the Congress, that he would make every effort to accelerate the total evacuation, but, as he had already written to General Washington, to Governor Clinton, and to the late Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Livingston, there were impediments which tended to retard the evacuation:

28 *Collections* of the New Brunswick Historical Society, Vol. II, p. 277.

29 CP 8755.

> The violence of the Americans, which broke out soon after the cessation of hostilities, encreased the number of their Countrymen who looked to me for escape from threatened destruction, but these terrors have of late been so considerably augmented that almost all within these lines conceive the safety, both of their property and their lives, depend upon their being removed by me; which renders it impossible to say when the evacuation can be completed.
>
> Whether they may have just ground to assert, that there is either no government within your Limits for common protection or that it secretly favors the Committees, in the Sovereignty they assume, and are actually exercising, I shall not pretend to determine; but as the daily Gazettes and publications furnish reported proofs, not only of a disregard of the articles of peace, but of barbarous menaces from Committees formed in various towns, cities & districts, & even at Philadelphia, the very place which the Congress had chosen for their residence, I should shew an indifference to the feelings of humanity as well as to the honor & interest of the nation I serve, to leave any of the Loyalists that are desirous to quit the Country, a prey to the violence they conceive they have so much cause to apprehend.[30]

On 17 and 18 August, orders were issued for the disbanding of the British American or provincial regiments, which brought forth on the 19th a letter of protest from G.G. Ludlow,colonel of the Loyal American Regiment, lamenting that at the end of six years' services "they should be disbanded without any positive subsistence for the officers or a provision for the Men equal to that of the American Loyalists in general." It was so late in the season that their allotments of land could not be pointed out in time to erect "a sufficient covering for the Winter," and half the provisions allowed by government would be expended before they could attempt to improve their lands. It was therefore hoped that the pay of the different corps might be continued until there was a decisive answer to their request for half pay and permanent pay in America, that they should receive a year's provisions from 1 May, and that tools and implements of husbandry should be furnished.[31]

"We shall all soon be with you--everybody, all the World moves on to Nova Scotia," Joshua Upham wrote to Edward Winslow from New York on 31 August.[32] The commander in chief wrote, with less exuberance, to Winslow's superior, General Fox, on the following day:

30 CP 8740.

31 CP 8754.

> The several Corps should be discharged as contiguous as possible to the Land on which they are to settle, for which purpose you will communicate with the Governor, and press him not only to determine the spots for each Corps, but that he will also expedite as much as possible the location of lands for the Refugees on the River St. John, which I am concerned to hear has been much delayed... .The British American Troops from this place will be sent to the River St. John as soon as possible.[33]

Likewise on 22 August, Sir Guy wrote to Governor Parr:

> By the June Packet, lately arrived, I have received the King's Commands to disband forthwith, in Nova Scotia, all the British American Corps and some of the British.
>
> The King's orders specify, that the British American Corps are to be disbanded at Halifax, but as that would be attended with many inconveniences and the lands appropriated for them are on the River St. John's, as I learn by a letter from Mr. Bulkeley to Major Barclay, dated the 2d. instant, I have directed those corps to be sent there, and I request your Excellency will lose no time in allotting to the respective Corps the land for each; and on this occasion I am of opinion the provincial troops should be considered as Refugees, with respect to the numbr of acres allotted to each man; many of them certainly have equal Pretensions on account of the property they may have been obliged to abandon in consequence of their Loyalty. Their having taken up arms and served during the war, I consider as an additional merit, and must therefore again recommend them in the warmest manner to your protection and favor.
>
> Another class of People, belonging to the civil Departments, and at present employed with this army, consisting of civil officers, Artificers, and Labourers, armed Boatmen and seafaring people, who from their occupations cannot all be spared from hence 'till the final Evacuation, I beg leave also to recommend for a reservation of lands in your province; they will send forward some of their number as Agents, to chuse a proper situation for building a town, and I have no doubt they will meet with all the Encouragement from your Excellency, so useful a body of men are entitled to expect.
>
> Besides all those above mentioned, there will be a large embarkation of Inhabitants, consisting of Merchants, Farmers and Mechanics, and many persons of large property, amounting to several thousands, who from their sufferings and

32 Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, p. 124.

33 CP 8779.

the additional strength and wealth the province will derive from their settling in it, deserve every encouragement and assistance.[34]

Through September and October, and into November, the evacuation of the various groups mentioned in Sir Guy's letter continued. Companies 47 to 50, 384 persons, embarked for the St. John River on 9 September, and several companies for Annapolis and Port Roseway on the same day, probably in the nineteen vessels which cleared for Nova Scotia on 10 and 11 September. The transports were being held for the British and British American regiments, which were supposed to sail on 3 September, but did not get away until the 15th. Their embarkation return was set down:

British	Co's.	Total Effectiveness			Officers
		S	D	R&F	
3d Battalion 60th.	10	30	22	209	15
4th. Battalion 60th.	10	30	22	152	15
British Legion (Cavalry)	6	12	6	128	23
Queen's Rangers	16	32	11	241	41
King's American Regiment	10	20	10	208	22
Detachment Garrison Battalion		1		8	3
British American					
New York Volunteers	9	15	2	55	25
British Legion, Infantry	4	5		26	8
Loyal American	10	24	4	89	30
1 Skinners	10	18	5	152	26
2 Skinners	9	21	6	100	27
3 Skinners	9	27	9	175	29
1 DeLanceys	10	18	1	94	25
2 DeLanceys	9	25	2	105	26
Prince of Wales' American Vol.	10	25	7	113	29
Maryland Loyalists	6	11	2	57	13
Pennsylvania Loyalists	1	2		33	13
American Legion	3	7	4	44	12
Guides and Pioneers	7	14	2	118	18 [35]

Since the 60th and the British Legion, which accounted for 703 of the total 2957, were sent to Halifax, the returns would indicate that 2254 sailed for the St.

34 CP 8783.

35 Colonial Office Records 5/111, f. 149.

36 CP 9305.

John River. The final returns from the commissary general's office gave 1826 as the number of the British American troops gone to the St. John River, plus 1700 women, 355 children over 10, 341 children under 10, and 311 servants, a total of 3396 for the British American regiments and their dependants. The instructions to Lieutenant Colonel Richard Hewlett of DeLancey's, who was placed in charge of the troops for the passage, mentioned also a detachment of the North Carolina Volunteers, who do not appear in the above return.

On 6 October 1783, Sir Guy was able to report that the British American regiments had sailed for Nova Scotia and England. "Transports are allotted for and will soon sail with the British Regiments destined for Nova Scotia and such discharged British soldiers as are desirous of settling in that Province." He was happy to report that almost all the Loyalists who expected assistance from government in removing from New York had gone, and ships were preparing for those who still remained.[36]

Ward Chipman, who had been deputy muster master general of provincials, wrote to his former chief and friend, Edward Winslow, on 29 November 1783.

> I have been a witness to the mortifying scene of giving up the City of New York to the American Troops. About 12 o'clock on Tuesday the 25th. inst. all our Troops were paraded on the wide ground before the Provost, where they remained till the Americans about 1 o'clock marched in thro' Queen-Street and Wall-Street to the Broad-way, when they wheeled to the hay-wharf and embarked immediately and fell down to Staten Island. I walked out and saw the American Troops under General Knox march in, and was one of the last on shore in the City: it really occasioned most painful sensations and I tho't Sir Guy, who was upon parade, looked unusually dejected.[37]

Sir Guy's job was done. It says much for his identification of himself with his country that he showed dejection: he could have been pardoned for showing relief that the sorry task of clearing up messes made by others was over. With everything against him--the situation, the temper of the times, the administrative awkwardness of the age--he had brought to a remarkably successful conclusion the first important evacuation of political refugees in modern times.

37 Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, p. 152.

The Belleisle Marsh and a Cavalcade of History

Jean Petley-Jones

Many people in North America at the present time are earnestly seeking to establish their family links with the past, and an interest in "roots" is shared by people of both sexes and all age groups. This interest appears to be a contemporary phenomenon, probably caused by the removal of so many people to large cities where, over a period of many years, they lose touch with their families and with the homes in which their families have been established for many generations.

Some people whose research leads them to Nova Scotia find that they are unbelievably fortunate in locating archival material and church records, as guideposts to their past. In some cases, however, tangible objects from the past remain, in the form of houses in which their progenitors lived, and from which their immediate ancestors set out to find fame and fortune.

Among the first homes built in Nova Scotia there were many losses caused by such factors as forest fires, grass fires, using wood as fuel in fireplaces, and faulty stove pipes. Nevertheless, a surprisingly large proportion of what is now known as the "built environment" survives in this province. Confederation, contrary to the expectations of many people, did not bring prosperity, but without a doubt the lack of funds led to the survival of many historic homes. Through the years it has been cheaper to repair and "fix up," rather than build a new house.

During the past century there have been few large-scale rebuilding schemes, except in Halifax, and as a consequence, Nova Scotia has a superb collection of historic houses with a wide variety of architectural types. The Annapolis Valley has the finest collection of New England style architecture outside New England, and there are also elegant Georgian public buildings in the English manner. In Lunenburg County the historic houses have overtones of German and Swiss architecture, while stone-masons from Scotland have left their traditions in the stone houses of Pictou and Cape Breton.

One area of the province in which it is easy to trace the ebb and flow of history by studying "sticks and stones" is throughout the Annapolis Valley. The Indians were the first settlers, but they were nomadic in their habits and established no permanent residence. Nicholas Denys, who sailed with Razilly when he took formal possession of Port Royal for the French in 1632, and who later became a trader in Acadia, Cape Breton and Quebec, wrote of the Micmacs that "After they had lived for some time in one place, which they have beaten for game all around their camp, they go and camp fifteen or twenty leagues away. Then the women and girls must carry the wigwam, dishes, bags, skins, robes and everything they

can take, for the men and boys carry nothing."[1] The Micmacs made extensive use of canoes for transportation, and the Annapolis River was an important route throughout this period of history.

Permanent French settlement of the Annapolis Valley began during the 1630s. The valley soil is rich and fertile, and the Acadians soon dyked the abundant marshlands as protection from the high tides of the Annapolis Basin. About seven miles east from the present town of Annapolis Royal, between the North Mountain and the bank of the Annapolis River, is an area that has been known as the Belleisle Marsh since 1667, when Le Sieur de Belleisle was sent to take control of Port Royal after the Treaty of Breda,[2] and the marsh became part of his seigneury. Although originally settled by Acadian French, the area passed frequently between French and English control until 1710 when Colonel Francis Nicholson defeated the French at Port Royal and finally secured Nova Scotia as a colony of Great Britain.

The sites of the homes of the early settlers are clearly marked on George Mitchell's map of the Annapolis River, dated 1733.[3] There were many Acadian dwellings on the edge of the marsh; traces of these early French foundations remain, and the Nova Scotia Museum did an archaeological study on one of them in 1972.[4] There is a distinct possibility that some Acadian foundations were later incorporated into homes built after 1760 by the British and New England settlers, and after 1782 by the Loyalists. It is also possible that Acadian dwellings, or parts of them, were incorporated into these later homes and since some of the British soldiers from Fort Anne married Acadian girls and settled in the district, it would seem highly unlikely that all houses in the area were burned by the British after the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755.

In 1758 Governor Charles Lawrence issued his proclamation offering Nova Scotian lands vacated by the Acadians, to Protestant settlers from the New England colonies. In 1765 a land grant was signed by Governor Montague Wilmot of Nova Scotia, and Secretary Richard Bulkeley, awarding land in the

1 Nicholas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, ed. W.F. Ganong (Toronto, 1908), p. 405.

2 C. Bruce Fergusson, ed., *Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1967), p. 53.

3 A.W. Savary, *History of the County of Annapolis, Supplement* (Toronto, 1913), p. 34.

4 Brian Preston, "Excavations at Site Be De-2, Belleisle, Annapolis County" (Nova Scotia Museum, 1972).

Township of Granville to a group of New England settlers, including a man named Abijah Parker.[5] This man was from Groton, Connecticut, a descendant of Deacon Thomas Parker, who had sailed from London, England, in 1635, and had then settled in Reading, Massachusetts.[6]

Abijah Parker's allotment extended from the Bay of Fundy to the bank of the Annapolis River and comprised two five hundred acre shares, including fine timber lands on the North Mountain. His farming and lumbering activities must have flourished, as according to the census of 1770, the number of persons resident on his property was ten, including four men, four boys, one woman and one girl. They were all Protestants and "Americans," as opposed to the other possible categories listed on the form, which were "English, Scots, Irish, German, Acadian and other foreigners."

Abijah had situated his new home beside a brook, and according to family tradition the house was on the foundation of an Acadian farm home, positioned on a grassy knoll overlooking the Belleisle marsh. Today there are upright willow trees beside the brook and on the property line, possibly the descendants of "French willows," found so often throughout the Annapolis Valley. Half of the original home still exists on the property, and at a later date was incorporated into the present house as a summer kitchen, attached to the back of the structure, but standing on its own foundation. There is a possibility that this building is of Acadian construction; it is pegged together with wooden pegs and the underside of the roof is badly scorched, as if it had been on fire at some time. The barn is joined to the summer kitchen in the New England manner.

Abijah died in 1780, and the property was inherited by his son Obadiah. Parker tradition states that Obadiah was sent back to Boston to learn the building trade, and that when he returned he commenced in 1791 to build a brick house on the property in Belleisle.[7] There is a theory that the house was built in a spirit of family rivalry, to prove that Abijah's family had prospered in spite of moving to the "new frontier" of Nova Scotia. There is no doubt that skilled Loyalist craftsmen assisted with the building of this home, since the quality of

5 Copy of land grant and plan, RG20, Series A1, Drawer E-20. Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Also, family information from Mrs. Peggy (Parker) Flaa, Calgary, Alberta.

6 Interview with Miss Florence Ludy, Vermont, a descendant of Deacon Thomas Parker, Belleisle, August 1979. Also, Augustus G. Parker, *Parkers in America, 1630-1910* (n.p., 1911).

7 W.A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897, reprinted Belleville, Ontario, 1972), p. 560.

workmanship, carpentry work, plastering, etc., is far higher in the brick house than in the frame summer kitchen of 1765.

Obadiah Parker's house is one of the earliest brick dwellings to be built in Nova Scotia, and is of an unusual double brick construction, with walls sixteen inches thick. Near the house, and at soil depth of about two feet, is a clay level, of a type excellent for the construction of bricks; consequently, it was relatively easy for Obadiah and his workers to obtain their building material on the site. However, the construction of this brick house was a truly remarkable example of the old-fashioned protestant work ethic, especially when it is understood that the project took place over a period of years. Following the work habits of brick-layers at that time, only a limited number of brick courses could be laid each year, due to "weak lime mortar."[8] Also, work on the house proceeded in conjunction with the necessity of Obadiah's earning a living for a number of dependents from the proceeds of farming and lumbering.

The measurements of the house are 37 feet three inches by 26 feet ten inches, and it is a one-and-a-half-storey dwelling in the New England Cape Cod style, small dormer windows at the front and back being later additions. The seven by six inch beams carrying the second floor are spaced, centre to centre, twenty inches apart, and are 26 feet in length. The strength of the structure, which has no bearing walls internally, leads the present owner to surmise that originally a two-and-a-half storied house, similar to the near-by Belleisle Farm, had been planned, but the family grew tired of waiting for their new home, and tired of making bricks. The date "1796" is incised on a brick above a window on the west side of the house, and "1797" is incised on another brick on the north-west corner of the dwelling. The later date is assumed by the descendants of Obadiah to be the approximate date of completion.

The lumber used in the construction of the house was undoubtedly cut on the property, black spruce for the beams, pine for the window panellings, frames and doors, yellow birch for the thresholds, and black spruce for the floors.[9] The floor boards vary in width from eleven inches to 23 inches. A surprising amount of

8 Research on eighteenth-century brick construction was carried out in Williamsburg, Virginia, by Evan Petley-Jones in 1973. Local clay would have been used and the bricks would have been formed by hand in wooden moulds, then fired on the site in a "beehive" kiln, using local hard wood as fuel. Wastage from this type of firing was normally 25 per cent. At Petley-Jones' request, Mr. John Bryan, the well-known Granville Ferry potter, experimented with clay from the Parker Farm, and found it an excellent material for making bricks, or pottery.

9 Interview with Mr. Harold Miles, Belleisle, 1978, a retired woodsman and timber cruiser.

original plaster has survived, and a great deal of trim, including some early "plastered in" chair rails (at a later date carpenters applied wooden chair rails to the surface of the already plastered wall). Many of the original hand-forged, Suffolk pattern, thumb latches and wrought iron hinges are still in place on the doors. On the back doorway of the summer kitchen is a Connecticut type "Indian door," with double planking.[10]

In 1782 the population of the town of Annapolis Royal was estimated to be 120 persons.[11] During the next few years a total of about five thousand people arrived at the town wharf, and took up at least temporary residence. The influx of Loyalists, and members of the British Army, with their families, was overwhelming to the established local residents.

> There were 137 Loyalists listed in the official Muster Roll of June, 1784, as settled in Granville, with their families and slaves making 399 souls. Some of these men had as many as six slaves and some of the slaves were under ten years of age. No grants could be given in Granville Township as all the lots had already been granted. Many of the old inhabitants, though, sold their fish or basin lots in Lower Granville to the new arrivals. Not half of these men stayed here. The Loyalists during the early years after their arrival were a roving lot, many made only a temporary stop, and others came here later from Clements, Digby, Annapolis and Shelburne.[12]

Included among the Loyalist new-comers were several graduates of Harvard University, also many skilled tradesmen, silversmiths, cabinet-makers, carpenters and joiners, plasterers, etc. Their arrival certainly spurred immediate action with regard to the improvement of roads, education, farming and the building of churches and houses. There was a certain amount of resentment among the earlier settlers concerning the almost complete takeover of local authority by the Loyalists, but this feeling gradually eroded with the passage of time. Among the Loyalists who settled in the township were men named St. Croix, Gesner,

10 Double planked doors (vertical on the outside, horizontal inside), hung with heavy wrought-iron hinges, were used by the early New England settlers as a protection against both the weather and possible Indian attack; the tomahawks would not penetrate the double planking. There are two of these doors still in position at Parker Farm, and a similar door on the north side of the Belleisle Farm.

11 Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis*, p. 169.

12 Elizabeth Ruggles Coward, *Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, Its History to 1900* (Kentville, 1955), p. 30.

Ruggles, Willet, Bogart, Mills, Seabury, Millidge, Thorne, James, Quereau, Mussels, Delap and Robblee.[13]

There were divergent views among the new-comers with regard to conditions in their adopted Nova Scotian home. One letter was written from Granville in 1786 by Jeremiah Smith, and was addressed to his brother in Ayrshire, Scotland; the letter was found in Scotland in 1876. After living in Annapolis and Granville, Smith had moved to Clements, but was still highly critical of the climate, crops and "musquatoes."[14] Another letter was written by the famous Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles, a Loyalist who sacrificed a great deal for his pro-British views; his wife never consented to join him in Nova Scotia and his family remained divided in their loyalties. General Ruggles wrote from Annapolis in 1783 to his friend Edward Winslow Sr. in New York. Ruggles was waiting for his grant in Wilmot, where he settled a few months later. In the letter he described the country, elaborating on the vegetables, fish, indian corn, wheat, barley, oats and flax that were being produced locally, as well as the available timber, listing white spruce, red spruce, black spruce, fir and hemlock, rock maple, yellow and black birch, beech, white oak and some red oak. He also noted the excellent quality of the apples, cider, and even the walnuts, and continued:

> Upon the whole I think the climate good and the soil capable of becoming the granary of any part of the Continent to the east ward of New York. . . . As fine a country as I ever saw in my life, capable of vast improvement, replete with natural advantages and nothing wanting but numbers of industrious inhabitants to make a most flourishing Province.[15]

The present day inhabitants of Nova Scotia can only hope that some day General Ruggles' faith in his new home will be fully vindicated.

As if to emphasize his high opinion of Granville township, Ruggles invested in the area by purchasing for his son, Timothy Jr., the Belleisle Farm.[16] This farm was regarded as one of the three finest farm properties in the area at that time, the

13 Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis*, p. 214.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 211.

15 Coward, *Bridgetown*, p. 31.

16 The Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, *Seasoned Timbers: A Sampling of Historic Buildings Unique to Western Nova Scotia*, Vol. I (Halifax, 1972), p. 86.

others being the Bell Farm and the Mount Pleasant Farm, both situated near the present town of Bridgetown.

In November 1772 Colonel Christopher Prince had advertised the Belleisle Farm for sale as "containing 1000 acres, 150 under improvement with two dwelling houses and one barn." 170 tons of English and salt hay could be cut and "it was allowed to be the best farm for stock in the county."[17] The Belleisle Farm's two-and-a-half-storied house is still standing, and with five upper windows regularly spaced and a centre front door with side lights, it resembles a typical New England colonial home. The house is regarded locally as the oldest in the district, but it is possible that later alterations were made to the original frame dwelling.

By the late 1700s, settlement patterns had been largely determined in the Belleisle area. It developed as a Planter and Loyalist community, deeply rooted in the New England traditions of work, religion and stability. Few founding families left the township, and today their descendants are still living in the houses their ancestors built, and worshipping in the churches their forbears helped to construct. Both the Anglican church in Granville Centre and the "old" Methodist church in Upper Granville were built in 1792, and both are still in regular use by their congregations.

During this period the Parkers remained in firm possession of their home and property, living quietly among their neighbours, who were also friends and relatives. The "old brick house" was renovated and restored about 1830, but few structural changes were made. The end chimneys were removed and two central chimneys were built for the use of "modern" stoves, while large Georgian-style windows were introduced at the front of the house. In 1837, Charles W. Parker built a charming, frame Cape Cod-style farm house a short distance north of the brick house. This home was later the birthplace of the late Harry Gordon Parker (1878-1968), a sheriff of Annapolis County, and his brother, the late Judge Eugene Troop Parker (1886-1977), who subsequently lived in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.

In 1882, W.D. Almon Parker decided to sell the farm house and half the land belonging to the Parker Farm, to his friend and neighbour, Herbert Bent. Parker's descendants believed that one of his main reasons for selling was the fact that he was six feet two inches in height, and was heartily tired of banging his head on the low ceilings upstairs, and the low door frames of his ancestral home. The "new"

17 Coward, *Bridgetown*, p. 27.

Victorian-style home he built on the opposite side of the road has high ceilings and large door frames, and we presume that he lived there happily thereafter, and never again bruised his head; the house remained in the possession of his descendants until 1976.[18]

Members of the Bent family farmed the Parker Farm until 1939, raising cattle, pigs, hay and fodder, and marketing apples, pears, plums and about three hundred bushels of potatoes a year. In common with their neighbours, some lumbering was carried out on North Mountain.[19]

In 1939, Fred Parker and his wife, Mildred Wheelock, purchased the property, and continued to farm in the same manner as previously. After the death of Fred Parker, the house was inherited by his niece, the late Mrs. Annie Chipman Robinson. The house and remaining land were sold by her in 1972 to Commander Evan Petley-Jones, R.C.N. (Ret'd). Since that date, the house has been carefully restored, retaining as much of the original building material as possible. An application has been made to the Provincial Registry of Heritage Property to register Parker Farm as a unique example of a brick, eighteenth-century Planter farm house. The house is already on the Canadian Inventory of Historical Buildings.

The "old brick house" remains the ancestral hearth of the Parker family in Canada, and they are proud of their home. The house must be one of the best-documented residences in the province, since several descendants of the Parkers have provided genealogies, and have requested that these be kept in the house for the use of Parker visitors. Other descendants have provided family details and photographs of family portraits. During the past ten years, Parker descendants have arrived from New England, Chicago, Montana, Calgary and Ontario, in addition to some native Nova Scotians. The opportunity to view this tangible link with their ancestors and their past history obviously gives them great pleasure.

A cavalcade of history has passed this site on the marsh, both on the river and on the road. Those passing have included Indians, French, Acadians, Planters, Blacks, Loyalists and other assorted settlers from the British Isles. They have numbered members of different regiments of the British army, the Annapolis County militia, the armed forces of two World Wars, refugees from Hitler's Germany, and most recently, refugees from Viet Nam. Hopefully, at some time all

18 Interview with the late Mrs. Annie Chipman Robinson, Belleisle, 1973.

19 Interview with Mr. Ernest Bent, Belleisle, 1982.

of them have gained a measure of peace and tranquillity in this beautiful valley. The obligation of this, and of succeeding generations of Nova Scotians, should be to preserve the natural beauty of their scenic environment and the tangible legacy of their historic churches and homes for the edification and enjoyment of future generations.

Trees, Treaties and the Timing of Settlement: A Comparison of the Lumber Industry in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1784-1867

Barbara R. Robertson

The lumber industry in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick during the period from 1784 to 1867 was influenced by certain common forces, yet the trade had a marked difference on the economy of the two provinces. New Brunswick became almost solely dependent on lumbering while the Nova Scotian economy was more diversified. In New Brunswick the trade in wood permeated the social, political and economic life. One estimate of this involvement during the Napoleonic Wars has about one-quarter of the population "engaged or interested in the production of wood,"[1] while another assessment holds that "seventeen-twentieths of the New Brunswick population were dependent on the timber trade for their maintenance."[2] In Nova Scotia, the lumber industry was important and for some years dominated the economy in certain areas, notably Pictou County, but the province as a whole did not become reliant on this one staple product.

The material recorded here represents the marshalling of many scattered and diverse sources, in order to give a general comparative view of the lumber trade in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for a period of about eighty years, overlapping the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The purpose of this record is to provide a background for studying and understanding the material history of lumbering and related industries such as shipbuilding. This background includes a look at geography, both physical and social; government policies and regulations with respect to timber reserves, bounties, crown lands and preferential tariffs; lumber contractors and timber merchants; products and markets; and other facets of the lumbering industry which affected the lives of the people.

It is inappropriate to talk about an Atlantic Provinces lumbering industry, for the area was not, and is not now, a political unit. Several colonies, at times as many as five, made up this part of present-day Canada. In addition, the forest itself is different. Newfoundland is included in the boreal forest region; Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island are each in the Acadian forest region, while a portion of northern New Brunswick is included in the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence

1 Bryan Latham, *Timber, Its Development and Distribution: A Historical Survey* (London, 1957), p. 134.

2 W.S. MacNutt, "The Politics of the Timber Trade In Colonial New Brunswick, 1825-1840," *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces*, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Toronto, 1971), p. 122.

region.[3] It is possible to compare the industry in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but just as the timber industry in Quebec and in Ontario differed from that of British Columbia, so the lumber industries of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick differed from each other and from all the rest.

The period from 1784 to 1867 has been chosen for discussion. The first date, 1784, marks the division of old Nova Scotia into three colonies: Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island and New Brunswick. The last-named was established as a separate province. At the same time there was a sudden overall increase in population because of the arrival of the Loyalists. Some review of the period prior to 1784 will be necessary for an understanding of the topic. The second date, 1867, coincides with the final end of timber preferences and with the beginning of new alignments because of Confederation.

Differences in geography, settlement patterns, the timing of settlement, and Crown lands policies help to explain the variation in the development and relative importance of the lumber industry in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick.

The trade in lumber was influenced by the local mix of geography, people and provincial policies, but in each province the industry was also affected by North American pressures and British policy. The economic value of the colonial forests was affected by British trade and emigration regulations and by naval requirements. Investment capital came from both British and American sources. Trading alliances and wars -- the Napoleonic Wars, various boundary disputes, the War of 1812, the Reciprocity Treaty and the American Civil War -- all influenced the value of timber in the two maritime colonies. In addition, monopolies acquired by Quebec timber merchants affected the masting trade of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Many of these external pressures were shared by both provinces but in New Brunswick, because of the local differences outlined, an export-based lumber industry developed, giving that province a significantly different economic structure.

In each case, the crucial underlying factors which led to differences were people (the timing of settlement, the size of the population, the political and technical expertise of the lumber traders) and geography (the soils, climate and the forest types they sustained, transportation routes and settlement patterns).

An interpretation of terms may be appropriate here. The words "timber," "lumber" and "wood" will be used interchangeably. The term "lumber industry" was used in North America and the term "timber trade" was used by the British to

3 Canada. Dept. of the Environment, Forestry Service, *Canada's Eight Forest Regions* (Ottawa, 1974), Cat. No. F025-8/1973, *passim*.

describe the same activity. The expression "square timber" refers to a tree trunk which has been squared along its length, ususally by hewing with an axe. A standard size "deal" is nine inches wide, twelve feet long, sawn to a thickness of three inches, and can later be resawn into other dimensions.

Although Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are both known as maritime provinces, a study of the maps of these areas will indicate a number of different geographical features. Nova Scotia has a land-link to New Brunswick and all of Canada west from there, but it is almost an island and has a long and much indented coastline. In areas of the coastline where timber was available, it could easily be reached and was soon gone. Nova Scotia has many rivers but they are narrow and short in length. Except for a few rivers navigable for brief distances, and the expanse of inland water with outlets to the sea provided by the Bras d'Or Lakes, easy access into the interior of the province was not possible. The LaHave River is navigable to Bridgewater, the Annapolis River was navigable to Bridgetown, the Avon River could accommodate vessels beyond Windsor, and the St. Mary's could carry water traffic a few miles inland; all these rivers fostered lumbering and shipbuilding at various times. Lumber for export was manufactured on the Mersey and Medway rivers as early as the 1760s by Simeon Perkins and other settlers from New England, while the Sissiboo, Jordan, Tusket, Stewiacke, River Phillip and Bear River, to name a few, early supported lumbering activities. Much of the lumbering on these small rivers was conducted on a correspondingly small scale with many participants.[4]

In contrast, New Brunswick is more of a continental land mass, bordered by Quebec and Maine. The river system facilitated communication and timber making. Many New Brunswick rivers are large, particularly the St. John and the Miramichi. The St. John was early used for lumbering operations and along with the Miramichi and the St. Croix River became an area of large scale lumbering activities. Many river mouth towns and cities such as Saint John, Chatham, Newcastle and St. Stephen grew in response to the stimulus of the lumber industry. The St. John flows deep into Maine and the St. Croix forms part of the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. Since this boundary was in dispute from 1783, and was not finally settled until 1842, and since much lumber was harvested in the disputed territories of the border, many clashes occurred between the lumbermen of Maine and those of New Brunswick. Not only did

4 A.A. Lomas, "The Industrial Development of Nova Scotia, 1830-1845" (Master's thesis, Dalhousie University, 1950), *passim*.

clashes occur, but many working arrangements to ease the movement of lumber were also developed between Maine and New Brunswick residents.

New Brunswick has a larger land area (17,863,040 acres) than Nova Scotia (13,483,520 acres). Originally both areas were heavily forested, and as late as 1930 over 89 per cent of New Brunswick and 72 per cent of Nova Scotia were classified as forested.[5] Both areas support a mixed forest with softwoods predominating. Probably New Brunswick initially had more white pine than Nova Scotia; many sources list the red spruce as the characteristic tree of the latter province. Much of Nova Scotia's forested area was cleared long before that of New Brunswick.

The dates of settlement and population size indicate why this was so. The first permanent settlers arrived in Nova Scotia in 1632 and began lumbering on the LaHave River. The population by 1748 was 11,300; in 1767 it was 9,600; in 1786 it had risen to 30,000. By contrast, in 1748 New Brunswick had a population of 400; by 1767 the figure was only 1050; but by 1786 it was nearly twelve times greater -- 12,150 after the arrival of the Loyalists.[6]

New Brunswick was almost completely unsettled until 1784, ten years after British policy gave impetus to the masting trade. This trade became the first commercial activity of the new settlers. The forest wealth of New Brunswick built its towns and established a group of capitalists "who ran it until late in the nineteenth century and established the shipbuilding industry."[7] From the beginning of settlement New Brunswick was dependent on her forests.

Nova Scotia, too, produced masts and square timber for export, but because this province had been settled and cleared earlier, less timber was available. Much of the easily accessible forest had been cut down for local needs -- shelter, fuel and shipbuilding. The fish trade and shipbuilding enterprises were mutually supportive. Fishing provided food for local use and for trade. The fishing activity needed vessels. Fish, as well as many other commodities, needed barrels. The forests provided the wood for lumber, shipbuilding and barrel-making. Fish, lumber and barrels could then be traded for other items. Vessels were needed for

5 C.H. Jones, "The Lumber Industry in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia" (Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1930), pp. 20, 23, 40.

6 J. Brian Bird, "Settlement Patterns In Maritime Canada, 1687-1786," *Geographical Review*, 45, no. 3 (July 1955), 394, 399, 403.

7 A.R.M. Lower, *Great Britain's Woodyard, British America and the Timber Trade, 1763-1867* (Montreal, 1973), p. 43.

trading activities; some were also built for export. The utilization of the forest resource was soon balanced in Nova Scotia by the evolution of a diversified economy. As early as 1749, Halifax was founded and became commercially viable as a military and naval base and the centre of government. This expanded both the markets and the items of trade. A further and major diversification in the colonial economy came in the 1820s, with establishment of a provincial coal mining industry.

During the eighty-year period considered here, and prior to this time, the easiest communication among the various parts of Nova Scotia and between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was by sea. Though both provinces were included in British North America after 1783, the forest wilderness and the winter freezing of the St. Lawrence River prevented easy communication with the Canadas. These barriers were not fully overcome until 1876 with the building of the Intercolonial Railway. Before this, sea and river travel provided close contact with New England, and even the West Indies were more accessible than the Canadas. The trade in fish, lumber, rum and molasses was long a link for Nova Scotia with these islands to the south.

Geography and population influenced lumbering, as did the policy decisions of the British government. In the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth, Britain's policies for her colonial forests were based on the needs of the British navy for masts, timber and other naval stores. Some of these policies interfered with colonial lumber activities; some gave impetus to the trade. Whenever European conflicts endandgered or cut off her supply of wood from the Baltic countries, Britain looked to her North American colonies instead.

The British government gave bounties to encourage the preparation of naval stores -- masts, yards, spars, pitch, tar and turpentine. The colonists accepted £1,471,719 in bounty money in the seventy years from 1706 to 1776.[8] That money probably went mainly to the Thirteen Colonies. However, the men of Nova Scotia received bounties of various types, too. With the influx of refugees after the American Revolution, the building of sawmills was encouraged. Bounties of £20 per mill were paid to the owners of 22 sawmills built in several areas of Nova Scotia during 1786 and 1787. Ninety other sawmills were already in

8 Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *Forests and Sea Power, The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 418.

operation before 1786, so the manufacture of lumber was being encouraged to meet the needs of the incoming Loyalists.[9]

Encouragement to lumbering was only given, however, when the result would be favourable to the British government. Early in the nineteenth century, Parliament passed a succession of acts reserving colonial white pine trees as a supply of masts for the British navy. The Act of 1721 was the most stringent, as it reserved all white pines regardless of size. The final edict was the Act of 1729, a repetition of the 1721 statute, but with stronger legal "teeth." The Act of 1721 was extended to include Nova Scotia, an area then consisting of both peninsular and mainland Nova Scotia (modern New Brunswick), but not Cape Breton Island, which remained a French possession.

The Acts of 1721 and 1729 must have had little relevance for the Acadians, Micmacs and other peoples who made up the permanent population of the area until 1749. It is conceivable that the inhabitants were unaware of the legislation and in any case, their lumbering activities were probably minimal. Although it is known that the Acadians had sawmills as early as the 1680s, their exports of lumber were meagre. "A major reason may be that timber for masts...was not plentiful near Acadian settlements and it was masts above all which interested the French before 1710 and the British afterwards."[10] However, masts were being cut in Nova Scotia before the founding of Halifax. In 1734, Governor Lawrence Armstrong at Annapolis issued an order for cutting timber because of "an immediate demand in the King's navy for timber of specified dimensions." The order authorized contractors "to cut and sell the requisite timber wherever it may be found on either side of 'this river,' unless the inhabitants on whose ground it is found are willing to sell it at a fair price."[11]

It was of greater final significance to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick that white pine trees reserved for the British navy and marked by the "Broad Arrow" under the authority of the Surveyor General of the King's Woods, became a source of annoyance to the inhabitants of the Thirteen Colonies.

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9 RG1, Vol. 223, Doc. 157, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [herafter PANS]. C. Bruce Fergusson, *Lumbering In Nova Scotia: 1632-1953* (Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests, Education and Information Division, 1967), p. 11.

10 Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, 1968), pp. 177, 248-249.

11 Archibald M. MacMechan, ed., *A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia 1713-1741* (Halifax, 1900), p. 199.

The restrictions of the Act of 1729 have been cited as one of the many causative factors in the American Revolution.[12] In 1760, following a change in the population of Nova Scotia and in anticipation of an increase in the number of settlers from New England, Governor Charles Lawrence found it necessary to issue a proclamation restating the terms of the Act of 1729. The Act remained in effect until 1811 and the restrictions were written into land grants issued to Loyalists and disbanded soldiers in the 1780s.[13] A typical land grant read in part "...Three thousand nine hundred and thirty acres, according to the annexed Plan...together with all Woods, Underwoods, Timber and Timber Trees...SAVING and reserving NEVERTHELESS...all white Pine Trees if any shall be found growing thereon... ."[14]

In New England, the position of Surveyor General of the King's Woods was first filled in 1685 and continued with various appointees until the naming of John Wentworth to that post in 1766, when he was also appointed governor of New Hampshire. Wentworth continued in both positions until 1775. A Loyalist, he eventually fled to England and in 1783 was appointed Surveyor General of the King's Woods for Nova Scotia. In 1784, he named Benjamin Marston as his deputy in New Brunswick.

Except for the years 1705 to 1718, the job of Surveyor General of the King's Woods in New England had been a part-time occupation, the post being combined at various times with the duties of a customs officer, a timber merchant, a governorship or even with duties which kept the incumbent continuously occupied in England. In Nova Scotia, with Wentworth's appointment in 1783, the position became a full-time one. The Surveyor General, with the help of his deputies, surveyed the King's woods in the areas under his jurisdiction and marked standing white pine trees, selected for masts, with the "Broad Arrow," the

12 Albion, *Forests and Sea Power*, pp. 251-266.

13 RG1, Vol. 165, p. 28, PANS. The details of the numerous acts passed to ensure a timber supply for the British Navy, the appointments and changing duties of successive Surveyors General of the King's Woods and their achievements and failures in carrying out and enforcing the "Broad Arrow policy" are thoroughly discussed elsewhere. See Albion, *Forests and Sea Power*, particularly Chap. VI, pp. 231-280; also Joseph J. Malone, *Pine Trees and Politics: The Naval Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England, 1691-1775* (Seattle, 1964). For a discussion of the masting trade, with the only known illustrations of this trade, see Samuel F. Manning, *New England Masts and the King's Broad Arrow* (Kennebunk, Maine, 1979).

Stuart Trueman, *An Intimate History of New Brunswick* (Toronto, 1970), p. 120.

14 Land grant to John Robertson and 21 others, Queens County, 1786. RG20, Series A, Vol. 18, PANS.

sign of naval property: three cuts made with a hatchet in the bark of the tree, the three cuts coming together to form an arrow-shape with the tip pointing upwards.

Writing in his diary on 14 March 1888, E.D. Davison Sr. of Bridgewater, recalled seeing three and four-foot diameter white pines cut in Queens County, Nova Scotia, during 1836 and 1837. He believed them to be the last of those marked by the Surveyor General's "engineers" near Wentworth's Brook, Port Medway River. "The finest ones were Lot No. 45 at the foot of Poltis Falls." He remembered standing and without moving, counting from two to twenty white pine giants, "and often a lovely clump of red oak amongst them." He grieved that their like would never be seen again and that boards cut from them received such a pittance of a price in the 1830s compared to their worth, had they been available, fifty years later, when spruce lumber was selling for a "far better price" than that received for the magnificent pines of the pre-settlement forest.[15]

In addition to reserving individual pine trees, the British government began setting aside large tracts of ungranted land as timber reserves for naval use. In 1774, vast forested areas in Nova Scotia (including sections which would later form part of New Brunswick) were designated as reserves: Shediac, the Miramichi area, the upper St. John River and areas on the Stewiacke and LaHave rivers.[16] Following the recommendations of Charles Morris, Surveyor General of Land in Nova Scotia, the whole of Cape Breton Island, by then part of Nova Scotia, was also set aside as a timber reserve in 1774. New instructions were issued to Governor Francis Legge the following year, advising him "to ignore previous instructions in regard to the disposal of Crown Lands...and timber reservations...and to grant lands freely to refugees from the American colonies."[17] These emergency regulations did not apply to Cape Breton, so it remained, for the time being, a timber reserve.[18]

These timber reserves gave impetus to the masting industry. One of the first contractors for masts was William Davidson, who went to the upper St. John

15 Davison Family papers. MG1, Vol. 255, PANS.

16 Albion, *Forests and Sea Power*, pp. 350-351.

17 Fergusson, *Lumbering in Nova Scotia*, pp. 10, 11.

18 For a discussion of land grants in Cape Breton after 1784, see E.H. Cameron, "Imperial Policy in Cape Breton, 1784-1795," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society [hereafter *Collections*], XXXI (1957), 38-63.

River in 1779 with a contract to supply the Halifax dockyard; his first cargo of masts arrived in Halifax in 1780.[19] By 1782, Davidson supplied not only enough masts for Halifax, but a surplus for the English dockyards, as well. In 1787, 200 masts were shipped from New Brunswick to England and the province dominated the masting trade until 1804. By the time the New Brunswick trade had been stifled by Quebec's monopoly to supply masts to the British navy, circumstances connected with the Napoleonic Wars instead launched New Brunswick into the square timber trade.[20]

A timber shortage during the wars with the French Republic (1793-1815) forced Britain to obtain her wood supplies from British North America. Increasingly high duties on Baltic timber, accompanied by the admittance of British North American timber duty free, made the lumber industry boom in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Canadas. As the timber reserves had sparked the export of masts, so the preferences gave momentum to the trade in square timber. Nova Scotia exported more fir and pine timber than did New Brunswick until 1805 and more than the Canadas until 1808. After 1805, New Brunswick's exports far exceeded those of Nova Scotia. Canadian exports of square timber surpassed New Brunswick only in the year 1812.[21]

As might be expected, many timber merchants arrived in the provinces from Britain during this period when Baltic supplies were unavailable. One such investor was attracted to Pictou in 1803. He was James Milnes, a merchant of Kingston-upon-Hull, England, who for the previous fifteen years had been engaged in the importation and manufacture of timber in Great Britain. He acquired 5000 acres on the "River Tony," built an establishment valued at £10,000 for the production of timber, and began exporting to Britain.[22]

After the Battle of Waterloo put an end to hostilities, the colonial timber preferences caused years of agitation. British merchants sought to have the duties

19 Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914) XIII, p. 139; XIV, p. 599.

20 Albion, *Forests and Sea Power*, pp. 292, 348-349, 353.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 422.

22 James Milnes' memorial, petition, affidavit and license to occupy land on the "River Tony," 1804, 1806, 1809. RG1, Vol. 61, Docs. 52, 53, 54, 60, PANS. It appears that Milnes exported at least twenty cargoes of lumber of 250-800 tons each in 1804-1805. He received a license of occupation but no title to the land. In 1814 his widow, Margaret Milnes, petitioned from Pictou "to be granted a part of the 5000 acres ordered to be reserved for her late husband." RG5, Series P. Vol. 226, Doc. 142, PANS.

on colonial and foreign timber equalized. The merchants of British North America argued to have the preferences retained; they became a powerful voice and colonialism was never quite the same again in the lumbering business. The complete abolishment of British preferences to British North American timber was successfully delayed until 1866.[23] This was 51 years after the Napoleonic Wars ended, and long after measures designed to hasten the move from mercantilism to free trade had been passed. The credit for the imposition of the timber preferences and for their retention long after the time of emergency, has been given to the lumber barons of the Ottawa.[24] The demands of these Upper Canadian merchants must, however, have been echoed by a myriad of lesser lobbyists, as witness the petition of Pictou timber merchants in 1821:

> ...from the encouragement which Great Britain afforded to this branch of Commerce, your petitioners were induced to fund their capital in engagements and contracts for furnishing for His Majesty's use and the British Market those supplies of lumber which could not be obtained from a different quarter. ...His Majesty's government proposes to impose a duty on timber imported from this and the neighbouring provinces, or so far to diminish the duties on foreign timber as to deprive these colonies of all hope of competition.[25]

Various other Nova Scotian merchants also petitioned in 1821 for a continuation of the preferences. Alexander McNab and 37 others interested in the local timber trade prepared a strongly worded and comprehensive petition which stressed the exchange of colonial timber for British goods and mentioned the effects on fishing, shipping and emigration if the preferences were removed:

> ...besides the advantages arising from the exportation of Timber from this province afforded to the importers of British manufactures by enabling them to make remittance to the Mother Country; greatly facilitates the importation of Salt at low rates, and other articles necessary for the Fisheries...creates a demand for the other products of the Country ...consumed in manufacture of the timber...turns the tide of Emigration to this quarter...by which the settlement...of the province is...greatly benefitted... .

23 Lower, *Great Britain's Woodyard*, p. 128.

24 Albion, *Forests and Sea Power*, p. 355.

25 Petition of John Patterson and 149 others, 1821. RG5, Series P, Vol. 120, PANS.

They went on to say that any changes in the preferential treatment for timber would tend to "most severely injure if not altogether annihilate the Trade of those Colonies, and of the entire disemployment of 1500 Sails of British Ships and 17,000 British Seaman... ."[26] These kinds of arguments were apparently irresistible--the preferences, though altered at various times, remained for another 45 years.

In New Brunswick, the precarious dependence on a one-staple economy, coupled with provincial policies related to Crown lands, attracted many investors. The lumber industry promised fortune as well as bankruptcy. Local investors included merchants, legislators, farmers and lawyers; much American capital was also invested in timber land and timber making in the 1830s when the trade in spruce deals developed. This trade was accompanied by the building of hundreds of sawmills in New Brunswick to manufacture the deals, which were then exported to both United States and British markets.[27] British investors were there too, as well as Nova Scotian, and they were on hand as early as 1812.

"The early trade on the Miramichi...was largely controlled by Halifax and Scottish houses."[28] Behind this mild statement lies the intense and violent rivalry of the firms of Joseph Cunard and Alexander Rankine. They held monopolies on large tracts of timberland and were able to manufacture lumber to the exacting specifications of the British market, both in quality and quantity; so great was their control over the trade that smaller independent operators could not compete and the "middlemen who did business with the timber-gangs were in the camp" of either Cunard or Rankine. Their rivalry, accompanied by "collisions" in the woods, although it originated in trade, enmeshed politics and religion as well.[29]

Joseph Cunard of Halifax, the younger brother of Samuel Cunard, began his enterprise at Chatham in 1820 and by 1830 had a monopoly on a vast area of timberland. He had been "granted reserved rights to all the timber above the falls of the northwest Miramichi," and by 1832 his holdings had been extended to include more land and to be in effect for ten years. Such favours, granted to

26 Petition of Alexander McNab and 37 others, 1821. RG5, Series P, Vol. 120, Doc. 31, PANS.

27 MacNutt, "Politics of the Timber Trade," p. 124; and Shortt and Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces*, XIV, p. 603.

28 Shortt and Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces*, XIII, p. 194.

29 MacNutt, "Politics of the Timber Trade," p. 124.

Cunard by the unpopular Commissioner of Crown Lands, Thomas Baillie, met with swift opposition from independent operators and merchants, many of whom had seats in the provincial legislature. The ultimate effect was that Cunard lost his monopoly in 1833, but was able to continue lumbering activities until 1848 when, because of adverse economic conditions in the province, his firm went bankrupt.[30]

Cunard's arch-rival on the Miramichi was Alexander Rankine, a member of the Glasgow firm of Allan Gilmour, which under various names had establishments at Newcastle, Dalhousie, Campbellton and Saint John, as well as in Quebec and Montreal. Rankine's lumbering operations began on the Miramichi in 1821 during the Napoleonic Wars. The firm annually imported £100,000 worth of British goods and exported an equivalent value in timber.[31] When opposition to monopolies scored in the 1830s, Alexander Rankine abandoned the favours granted to him by Thomas Baillie, "appeared as the champion of the independent men," and was able to entrench his business position by threatening to withdraw his firm and capital investments from the province.[32]

The inter-relationships in New Brunswick among lumbering, Crown lands and politics have been well documented.[33] The granting of licenses to cut timber on Crown lands, and later the sale of Crown lands, not only encouraged monopolies but also provided a revenue for the government of New Brunswick. When in 1837, the Legislature took over control of Crown lands from the Executive Council and the Commissioner of Crown Lands, the surplus revenue amounted to £153,700.[34] Since many of the legislative seats were held or controlled by merchants and others interested in lumbering, given the preponderance of the industry in the economy, it can be understood why the power of this group continued to develop.

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30 Trueman, *An Intimate History*, pp. 116, 118. MacNutt, "Politics of the Timber Trade," pp. 133, 136.

31 Lower, *Great Britain's Woodyard*, p. 146. Latham, *Timber*, p. 136.

32 MacNutt, "Politics of the Timber Trade," pp. 123, 134.

33 MacNutt, "Politics of the Timber Trade," pp. 122-140, and W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick, A History: 1784-1867* (Toronto, 1963), pp. 225-253.

34 MacNutt, "Politics of the Timber Trade," p. 139.

In Nova Scotia, by contrast, outright granting of land continued until 1900.[35] This resulted in alienation of land, forested as well as agricultural, from the Crown. Most of the timber holdings were vested in thousands of small grants, leading to small-scale timber operations and a lack of monopolies. Many small-scale operations still exist (53 per cent of forested land privately owned is in holdings of less than one thousand acres), and Nova Scotia in 1980 was credited with a model program for small woodlot owners.[36] The provincial policy of granting land meant also that no large source of revenue from Crown lands was available to the government. The effects of these early differences in land policy were evident many years later. In 1932, for example, 16.6 per cent of forest land in Nova Scotia belonged to the Crown; in New Brunswick, the Crown controlled 55.2 per cent.[37]

An almost constant seesaw of treaties and trading opportunities existed for both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia from 1784 to 1866. By 1850, forest products accounted for two-thirds to four-fifths of the export trade of New Brunswick and for one-sixth of the export trade of Nova Scotia.[38] Over the years, the forest products going to Britain from both colonies were masts, spars, square timber, boards, planks, deals and ships. Nova Scotian deals went exclusively to Britain; those from New Brunswick found markets in both Britain and the United States. Nova Scotia built some wooden vessels for export to Britain in the years before 1840, but subsequently, most ships were built for the colony's own mercantile trade.[39] New Brunswick continued to build vessels for export and this trade was given a boost during the American Civil War, when American shipyards were building warships for conflict rather than merchantmen for export. This increased the demand for New Brunswick built vessels in the British market to meet the needs of a rapid expansion in world trade.

Although Nova Scotia exported forest products to Britain, as well as laths and firewood to the United States, provincial markets remained predominately in the

35 F.E. Fernow, *Forest Conditions of Nova Scotia* (Ottawa, 1912), p. 36.

36 Nova Scotia, Department of Lands and Forests, *Forest Times*, 2, no. 5 (September 1980), 1.

37 Stanley Alexander Saunders, *The Economic Welfare of the Maritime Provinces* (Wolfville, 1932), p. 16.

38 S.A. Saunders, "The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Treaty," *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces*, ed. G.W. Rawlyk (Toronto, 1971), p. 163.

39 Frederick William Wallace, *Wooden Ships and Iron Men* (London, 1925), pp. 20-60. S.A. Saunders, "The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Treaty," pp. 177-178.

West Indies. This Caribbean trade required mixed cargoes, which New Brunswick did not have, but which could be supplied by Nova Scotia; the general cargoes always included lumber.[40] Before the American Revolution, New England dominated trade with the British West Indies, but when New England no longer had access to these markets, they were quickly supplied instead by transplanted New Englanders in Nova Scotia, who had already been interested in them. One such pre-Loyalist settler in Nova Scotia had been Simeon Perkins of Liverpool. A cargo he shipped to the West Indies in 1792 well illustrates the mixed goods required and the types of containers used for shipping. The bill of lading included 68 barrels of herring and other fish, five barrels of fish oil, seventeen hogsheads of codfish and pollock, 1053 feet of merchantable boards and 20,000 shingles.[41] Nova Scotia's trade with the West Indies flourished again from 1807 to 1811 and during the War of 1812, when United States access to the area was closed. Petitions and memorials from Halifax merchants were frequent, regarding the necessity of continuing to keep the United States out of the West Indies trade.[42]

After 1815, in particular, immigration and the timber trade had close associations. Changes in land use, a population increase, unemployment, and crop failures in Great Britain and Ireland, were factors which stimulated a large scale emigration of Scots and Irish to America. Between 1815 and 1851, 59,000, mostly Scots and Irish, emigrated to Nova Scotia. In 1847 alone, a peak emigration year, 18,000 arrived in New Brunswick.[43] Especially in that province, immigrants soon found employment as lumberers. Even before they left home, some became a cog in the timber trade because many of them arrived in timber ships. Timber out to Britain and passengers back in the same vessels became a profitable business. The state of many vessels and of their passengers was abominable.[44] The voyage of ten to twelve weeks across the ocean in cramped quarters might end not only in illness, but in shipwreck as well. Many passengers arrived destitute and ill from

40 C.G. Hawkins, "The Origins of the Nova Scotian Lumber Trade," *Public Affairs*, IX, 2 (winter 1946), 109.

41 Bill of lading, 11 October 1792, for the schooner *Charlotte*, William Godfrey, master, for sundries shipped by Simeon Perkins, Liverpool, to the West India Islands. Vertical Manuscript File: Simeon Perkins, PANS.

42 G.F. Butler, "The Early Organization and Influence of Halifax Merchants," *Collections*, XXV (1942), 1-16.

43 Mrs. R.G. Flewelling, "Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1839-1851," *Collections*, XXVIII (1949), 75-78. Helen I. Cowan, *British Immigration Before Confederation* (Ottawa, 1968), p. 20.

44 Lower, *Great Britain's Woodyard*, pp. 241-244.

smallpox, typhus and dysentery. Their arrival caused hardship to kinfolk already here and by whom they were received; those who had no kin became an expense on local governments.

Although their departure from Britain was planned, their arrival in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was usually unplanned and chaotic. Sydney, one of the Nova Scotian ports receiving settlers from Scotland in the 1840s, had no plans for the reception of immigrants, no buildings to shelter them on their arrival, and no money forthcoming from the Assembly to help alleviate the situation.[45] After 1840, new passenger laws helped improve conditions for many, and in all years, hundreds were probably safely and quietly transported. The vessels which brought epidemics and other disasters were those highlighted in the newspapers, but nevertheless, emigration was definitely a hazardous undertaking for most.

Land companies were also involved in the widespread emigration to British North America. One such concern was the New Brunswick and Nova Scotian Land Company, which purchased 500,000 New Brunswick acres in 1834. Thomas Baillie, Commissioner of Crown Lands, was prominent in this company and a group of London merchants were among the shareholders.[46] The first settlement which resulted was named Stanley, in honour of the helpful British Under Secretary for the Colonies.

In New Brunswick, many settlers who arrived after 1815 found employment in the woods and, even before this time, settlers were involved in the lumber industry either as labourers or entrepreneurs. New Brunswick settlement patterns followed the large rivers, which gave access to the timber, power to run the sawmills and transportation for the logs and lumber. If you were amongst the group of late-arriving settlers in the Miramichi area, you would find that "all the good lots fronting the main river had been pre-empted" by immigrants who had arrived earlier. Thus, when the Irish arrived, they settled on the banks of the Barnaby, a tributary of the Miramichi.[47]

Lumbering and shipbuilding at various times encouraged settlers in Nova Scotia to settle along rivers such as the West River of Pictou, the St. Mary's River around Sherbrooke, the Roseway and Jordan rivers near Shelburne, the two rivers

45 Flewelling, "Immigration and Emigration," pp. 85-86.

46 MacNutt, *New Brunswick, A History*, p. 231.

47 John J. Mannion, *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 20-21, 29.

at Sheet Harbour and the Tusket River near Yarmouth. But the earliest settlements, those of the Acadians, were on the marshlands. Other early Nova Scotian settlements tended to be chosen for their harbours, in order to exploit the fishery, for defence, or to service surrounding agricultural lands -- Halifax, Lunenburg, Digby, Annapolis and Canso, to name a few. The marshlands, resettled by New Englanders following the expulsion of the Acadians, and the port communities each supported life-styles different from the timber rivers of New Brunswick.

Settlement patterns were both the cause and the result of ways to make a living. The effects of work in the woods had been reported or dramatized by local writers as early as 1821.[48] As in Thomas McCulloch's *The Stepsure Letters*, "those who cleared land, developed their farms and lived on them were [considered] the real producers; those who tried to make quicker incomes by trading"[49] or working in the woods were criticized. Many reports stressed the neglect of agriculture.[50] Heavy drinking and dissipation were reported by moralists of the period, who concentrated on the intemperance of the lumbermen, but glossed over the 35 to 40 per cent interest charged by the merchants for outfitting them on credit by a system of "open accounts."[51] The detrimental effects of lumbering on the moral and physical well-being of the lumbermen and the lure of quick money from "a stick of timber" have been detailed by many writers.[52]

"Excessive drinking became a serious social problem in Nova Scotia after 1794." Since "every 'class of society' habitually used rum" and any wedding, funeral, barn raising or similar occasion was "used as an excuse for consumption," many individual families, especially the wives, were exposed to extra hardship and

48 Graeme Wynn, " 'Deplorably Dark and Demoralized Lumberers'? Rhetoric and Reality in Early Nineteenth-Century New Brunswick," *Journal of Forest History*, 24, no. 4 (October 1980), 182, quoting from Thomas McCulloch, *The Stepsure Letters* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1960).

49 Thomas McCulloch, *The Stepsure Letters*, introduction by H. Northrup Frye (Toronto, 1960), pp. iii-v.

50 A.R.M. Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1936), pp. 31-37.

51 Samuel Delbert Clark, *The Social Development of Canada, An Introductory Study with Select Documents* (Toronto, 1942), p. 154. MacNutt, "Politics of the Timber Trade," p. 125.

52 See for example, S.D. Clark, *Social Development of Canada*, p. 111; Alexander Munro, *New Brunswick with a Brief Outline of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island* (Halifax, 1855), p. 313.

poverty.[53] Although lumbering and heavy drinking were often equated, it would seem that the excess use of rum was a universal problem and not necessarily work-related in either province.

The West Indies trade -- fish and lumber for rum, sugar and molasses -- made the abundance of rum possible. The annual export of timber from Pictou between 1800 and 1820 was £100,000 yearly. One Pictou merchant in the early 1800s, "in one season imported 300 to 400 puncheons of rum, nearly all of which was consumed in the timber trade around Pictou Harbour."[54]

The merchants made credit available to lumber makers in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A "creidt peonage" developed in which "capitalists" advanced credit to timbermakers, credit in the form of supplies and equipment. This credit often "equalled" the value of the timber obtained by the season's end.[55] Those engaged in the lumber trade, who neglected their farms and formed the habit of buying on credit, sometimes lost everything. A recently published analysis by Graeme Wynn suggests that the reported demoralizing effects of lumbering were more rhetoric than reality and grew out of the prevailing ethic of "hard work and self-denial" and the myth of agriculture as the only truly respectable occupation by which man could be "independent, religious, honest and morally righteous."[56] Social problems related to drinking and credit existed, but comments about the lack of moral virtues in lumbermen may have been greatly distorted and need to be considered in context.

One material effect of the different Crown lands policies in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was the resulting small-scale lumbering activities with many participants, found in Nova Scotia, in contrast to the monopolies of the large scale enterprises of Cunard and Rankine in New Brunswick. Some perception of the difference in the scale of operations in the two provinces can be had by comparing census figures for 1881. The record for New Brunswick totals 478 lumber mills employing 7,494 men, or an average of more than fifteen employees per mill. Recorded for Nova Scotia are more than double the number of lumber mills -- 1190 -- but employed in them are fewer men -- 4,435 -- an average of less than

53 D. Campbell and R.A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Toronto, 1974), p. 43.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

55 Lower, *Great Britain's Woodyard*, p. 167.

56 Graeme Wynn, "Rhetoric and Reality," pp. 168-187.

four per mill. Ten years before, in the census of 1871, 1144 sawmills were reported for Nova Scotia and 68 per cent of them produced less than 100,000 board feet in a year. Most of these were operated by one or two men for three to six months of the year.

There were some big mills, such as the two operated in 1871 by E.D. Davison and Sons of Bridgewater, which employed 114 men and produced 7,800,000 board feet of lumber in that year. Only the mills of S.P. Benjamin and Company, also at that time on the LaHave River, and those of William Chisholm and Company at Sheet Harbour, rivalled in size E.D. Davison and Sons. The Benjamin mills had a production of 5,500,000 board feet and 60 employees; Chisholm had 90 employees and produced 5,000,000 board feet. These "big" producers made up only four per cent of the Nova Scotian mills recorded in 1871. The bulk of the lumber production continued to be small scale.

The material history of the lumbering industry provides many facets for study -- the organization of work in the woods; the production of barrels and the apprenticeship of coopers; the specialist jobs in the sawmills, such as that of the sawyer; the production of tools for lumbering and shipbuilding; changes in blockmaking from manual to mechanized to meet the increasing needs of shipbuilding; the development of foundries and the diversity of their products manufactured to meet the needs of the lumber industry, of shipbuilding and of shipping; each provides topics for investigation. The £20 bounty given to encourage the building of mills in Nova Scotia was intended to pay for the iron work needed. What did the blacksmith provide for a price of £20? How did he fashion the iron work and where did he get his materials? In what ways did lumbering act as a crucible for the development of related industries and how were these changes reflected in the material possessions available to the homemakers of Saint John or of Liverpool?

It is interesting to compare Pictou County of the period up to 1820 with the same county after that time. Up to 1820, Pictou County was like New Brunswick; it revolved around the lumber industry. The local moralists, like those in New Brunswick, wrote scathingly of work in the woods. County timber makers became indebted to Pictou merchants through credit systems similar to those available to New Brunswick residents. The lumber trade in Pictou County had many participants, however, as Nova Scotian policies regarding Crown lands did not lead to monopoly control. After 1820, the economy of Pictou County became more diversified, as throughout Nova Scotia in general. Agricultural methods improved; the production of oats was encouraged; and government bounties assisted the building of oatmills and kilns. Coal mining began on a large

scale on the East River and shifted the economic centre of the area of New Glasgow, where shipbuilding, railroading and manufacturing began to develop. By the 1850s, Pictou town also had its foundry, its specialists in the shipbuilding trades -- blockmakers, sailmakers, shipwrights -- its woodworking factories and its long-established Academy.

In New Brunswick, during the period from 1784 to 1867, the timber trade and the shipbuilding related to it were all-important. In contrast, Nova Scotia depended on a variety of activities for her revenue. She lived by means of the sea -- fishing, the naval establishment and shipbuilding for the carrying trade. Her livelihood came from the earth as well -- from mining, agriculture and lumbering. Even though British needs and British decisions provided a framework within which the lumbering industry in both provinces could develop, the end result was different. The critical factors were the timing of settlement and the difference in geographical features. These two, in conjunction with a marked difference in the disposal of Crown lands, made New Brunswick the "lumberman's province."[57]

57 For a recently published book discussing lumbering in New Brunswick, see Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto, 1981).

Elizabethan English on Nova Scotia's South Shore

Lewis J. Poteet

A popular generalization about the language spoken on Nova Scotia's South Shore and elsewhere in the Maritimes is that it is somehow old, the implication being that an early dialect of English was separated from the mainstream of the language and here preserved. A similar assertion is often made about the varieties of French used among Acadians in Clare, or on the Iles de la Madeleine, or in the novels of Antoinine Maillet.

For ten years now I have been compiling a small dictionary of South Shore phrases and expressions, and as I sought to establish the etymologies of these colloquialisms, I naturally looked for evidence bearing on this assertion. A colleague who did all his graduate work in linguistics was scornful: "It's simply not true," he said; "the language of North America is fairly uniform and homogeneous in its changes across the continent."

In fact, among the linguists opinion is divided. T.K. Pratt, the linguistic geographer of Prince Edward Island, considers the question in an essay "Island English: The Case of the Disappearing Dialect" (to be published in a forthcoming volume of essays, *Prince Edward Island in Transition*):

> It would be a pleasant fillip to the Island sense of heritage to discover that there have been many words coined here in days gone by, and many others preserved here that have died out elsewhere. Unfortunately this is not the case. Prince Edward Island has been too long a part of the mainstream of Maritime and Canadian life for many words to be thus isolated. However there appear to be some.

Rex Wilson, the scholar in charge of the Maritime Dialect Survey, is less equivocal: "We must not expect to find 'pure Elizabethan English' in even the most conservative, remote speech area of this continent."[1] On the other hand, Henry Alexander, the first linguist to attempt a systematic survey of Nova Scotian speech, wrote: "Glib statements about the uniform pattern of North American life are not supported by an examination of the speech of this continent. The amount of variation between different communities and even between different individuals in each community is astonishing."[2] Further, he found that "many

1 "The Geography of Language," *69th. Yearbook* of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago, 1970), p. 77.

2 "Linguistic Geography," *Queen's Quarterly*, 47 (1940), 47.

interesting survivals of older English usage...can be detected."[3] Nova Scotian speech, he wrote, "is probably less uniform, less influenced by the general North American type, than other parts of Canada."[4] He further argued that it "ought to show great variety, because of the varied strains in the population of the Province."[5]

My own work, in fact, has isolated a number of words and phrases spoken by people now living on the South Shore and used in much the same sense as in Renaissance or earlier colloquial English. The expressions are fairly common, having to do with a wide range of ordinary human activities and objects, from fishing to little girls' clothing. Moreover, some typical metaphorical formations and certain verb forms are either distinctly Elizabethan in shape, or suggestive of original versions of more familiar clichéd expressions.

First, here are eight "Elizabethan" items:

ABOARD or BOARD -- to "go aboard of" someone is to be aggressively angry with him. "I'll fly aboard o'ye and dance a jig on yer palate" is an elaborate Cape Sable Island use of this phrase. Ruth C. Lewis, in "Why Did You Say That?"[6] an essay on the antiquity of Barrington English, defines it as "scolding" and cites its use in nineteenth-century New England and in Shakespeare: "for I will board her, though she chide as loud as thunder" (*The Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii, 95-96).[7] In the lines from Shakespeare, I suspect a multiple pun on the word, with sexual connotations, but the meaning is the same. In Blanche, Shelburne County, a man said to me, "I gave the dog a bone, and in a couple of seconds she was going aboard of that," thus using it to mean any vigorous, aggressive behavior. This expression has, of course, had wide nautical use for a long time, in the phrase "to go aboard" a ship, but its old meaning seems to derive from the pirate or man-of-war crew's "boarding" an attacked vessel.

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3 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

4 "Charting Canadian Speech," *Journal of Education* (N.S.), 10 (1939), 457.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Ruth C. Lewis, "Why Did You Say That?" *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, X (December 1980), 273.

7 References to the plays of Shakespeare in this article will be made within parentheses in the text and are to the edition by G.B. Harrison (New York, 1948).

FORELAYING -- expecting, preparing for, way-laying. "I'll be forelaying for you" is a common usage on Cape Sable Island. The *Oxford English Dictionary* calls these meanings (which it dates from 1548 and 1605) obsolete, but in the South Shore usage the meaning is the same as it was in F. Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1619): "Privy snares my foes forelay" (II, 361).[8]

HOVE -- to tarry, stay, or dwell in a place. "I hove to" or "I hove up" means "I stopped," and is used both on land and at sea. The *Oxford English Dictionary* reveals that the source of this word and meaning is not "heave" as might be expected, but an old word much closer to the modern "hover"; in 1220, "hove" meant "to remain in a suspended or floating condition, as a boat in water, to lie at anchor," although this was superseded in general usage by the word "hover" by the sixteenth century. A line from Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* illustrates its old use: "A little bote lay hoving her before" (III, vii, 27).

PLEASANCE -- a small rose-garden. The novelist Thomas Raddall, planting a few rosebushes in his Liverpool yard during the 1940s, was greeted by his neighbour with, "I see ye're making a pleasance."[9] The *Oxford English Dictionary* finds its first use in 1585, with the meaning "a pleasure-ground,...secluded part of a garden." T. Washington, translating Nicolay's *Voyages* in 1585, uses it: "diuers gardens and pleasances, planted with orange trees" (IV, xxiii, 139).

ROUT or ROTE -- the noise of the waves on the shore, used to determine position in the fog. Helen Creighton, in *A Life in Folklore*, reports the conversation of a fisherman from Cape Sable Island: "I'm listening for the *rote*. The surf breaks with a different sound all along the shore."[10] Originally from the Old Norse *rauta* ("to roar"), in Chaucer's time this word was used of the sea, winds, thunder -- "to roar, make a loud noise." In *Troilus and Criseyde*, for example, "the sterne wind so loude gan to route / That no wight other noyse mighte here" (III, 107, 743-4). The most striking set of Elizabethan usage similar to the modern Cape Island use occurs, however, in Samuel Purchas' accounts of the Henry Hudson voyages in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). The word is used by Henry Hudson himself, by his

8 Citation in *Oxford English Dictionary*.

9 Personal interview, 14 July 1976.

10 Helen Creighton, *A Life in Folklore* (Toronto, 1975), p. 160.

mate Robert Iuet, and by Abacuk Pricket, one of the seamen who put Hudson adrift in a small boat. From Hudson's diary: "Wee heard a great *rutte* or noise with the Ice and Sea... . We heaved out our Boat, and rowed to towe out our Ship farther from the danger." And again, "at this time to windward we heard the *rutte* of Land." From Iuet's diary: "And at ten of the clock we heard a great *Rut*, like the *Rut* of the shoare." Finally, from Pricket's diary: "on which we fell in a fogge, hearing the *Rut* of the Sea ashoare, but saw not the Land, whereupon our Master came to an Anchor."[11]

SAVOURY MEAT -- Thomas Raddall says that someone in Liverpool used to go out to the horse-drawn meat cart and ask, "Do you have any savoury meat today?" This phrase is most familiar in that popular Elizabethan vernacular translation of the Bible, the King James Version, in the account of the tasks set by Isaac for Esau and Jacob, that they might gain his blessing, in Genesis 27: 3,4: "Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me some venison,/ And make me savoury meat, such as I love." The phrase, meaning treated and aged venison, occurs in this exact form no less than five times in the chapter. That this phrase is peculiarly Elizabethan is clear from a comparison with the more recent translations, where the original appears as "the kind of savoury I like" (Jerusalem), "a savoury dish of the kind that I like" (New English Bible), and "cook me some of that tasty food" (Good News Bible).

TIRE -- used in Blanche, to describe a cotton cover for a dress, worn by young girls to keep the dress clean. The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists this use as dating from 1425: "a pinafore or apron to protect a dress." Many examples occur in Shakespeare's plays and sonnets, with the word used to mean outer clothing of various kinds, including headdresses, costumes, and coverlets: "If I had such a tire, this face of mine/ were full as lovely as this of hers" (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV, iv, 190-191); "Then put my tires and mantles on him whilst / I wore his sword Philippan" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, II, v, 22-23); "And you in Grecian tires are painted new" (Sonnet 53, line 8).

TIBBS DAY, TIBBS EVE -- the day after Resurrection (Judgement day). "I'll pay you Tibbs day" is an expression sometimed heard in Chester. The exact antiquity

11 "Henry Hudson's Voyages," in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Book III, Chapter 14 (1625; reprinted in facsimile Ann Arbor, 1966), pp. 573, 587, 597.

of this phrase is hard to establish, but the name "Tibb" appears in the title of an early Renaissance play, "John-John, Tibb, his Wyf, and Sir John the Priest." C.L. Apperson, in *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, calls it "a day neither before nor after Christmas," and "the evening of Judgement Day" and therefore a euphemism for "never."[12] The 1811 *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* identifies it as Irish in origin.[13] I suspect it to be either a Renaissance or late medieval coinage, because of its slightly irreverent use of the Judgement Day concept, and for other reasons which I shall set forth in the last section of this study, on metaphor.

In addition to these old words and phrases with special meanings, I have discovered that in the experience of older people now living, certain archaic forms of Anglo-Saxon strong verbs are still used. A man on Blanche said, "I wed the garden" rather than "I weeded the garden"; a woman from Barrington remembers hearing her mother say, "When they passed they wove at us"; and the lighthouse keeper at the Half-Moons, describing an incident during duck-hunting, said, "I crupp him but he div" ("I crippled him but he dove or dived"). Each of these odd forms follows the sound changes recorded for the transition between Old and Middle English for a specific listed similar strong verb:[14]

Part of Speech	*South Shore word*	*OE/ME analogy*
Present Indicative Singular	wave (OE *wafian*)	shake (*scacan*)
Preterit Indicative Singular	wove	shook (*scoc*)
Present Indicative Singular	weed (OE *weod*)	creep (*creopan*)
Preterit Indicative Singular	wed	crep(t) (*creap*)
Present Indicative Singular	cripple (OE *crypel*)	creep (*creopan*)
Preterit Indicative Singular	crupp (*OED* lists Scots *crupp up*)	var. *crupe*
Present Indicative Singular	dive (OE *dyfan*)	bite (*biten*)
Preterit Indicative Singular	div	bit

12 C.L. Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (Toronto, 1929), p. 633.

13 *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1811; reprinted Northfield, Ill., 1971), n.p. Entry: "Tib of the Buttery."

14 Examples of Old English/Middle English strong verb forms are taken from Samuel Moore, *Historical Outlines of English Sounds and Inflections*, revised by Albert H. Marckwardt (Ann Arbor, 1964).

Though it is hard to say when the old inflections of the Anglo-Saxon strong verbs began to disappear in standard spoken usage, Morton Bloomfield and Leonard Newmark describe the process as a gradually increasing distinction between written and spoken English which lasted quite a long time:

> [After the Norman Conquest] the elaborate inflections of the OE standard began to break down; that is, they no longer appeared in writing. The scribes were almost all Frenchmen and cared little and knew nothing about "correct" OE... . The Norman Conquest destroyed the Anglo-Saxon scribal class, and with this destruction went the care for the preservation of outmoded forms... . Suddenly, OE became colloquial.[15]

Moreover, Bloomfield and Newmark offer a clue to the preservation of these forms in ordinary speech within isolated dialects: "Nonstandard dialects are not debased versions of a standard dialect, as many people think, but dialects which have not happened to gain prestige in the society. They often preserve forms and features of the language which have been lost in the evolution of the standard dialects."[16] And Harvard historian Louis Hartz explains the same phenomenon in more general terms: "When a part of a European nation is detached from the whole of it, and hurled outward onto new soil, it loses the stimulus toward change that the whole provides. It lapses into a kind of immobility."[17]

Finally, in certain ways of forming metaphorical expressions on the South Shore, I find evidence of the persistence of old language habits. One of the most popular forms of metaphor is the curse. On the South Shore, particularly around St. Margaret's Bay and Chester, I found in common use a number of sacrilegious curses of a particular virulence, curses which I associate with the elaborate sacrilegious imprecations of the Renaissance, as found in various period plays. "By the holy old twist" is one such, a reference, I take it, to the twisted body of Christ on the cross; "Dyin' holy dyin' " is another. While these exact curses do not occur in Shakespeare, "'sblood" and "'sbody" ("God's blood" and God's body") are good examples of the genre: in *Othello*, Iago opens the play with "'Sblood, but you will not hear me" (I, i, 4), and in *1 Henry IV* it occurs no less than eight times, the most elaborate of these to introduce Falstaff's memorable, "'Sblood, you starveling, you

15 Morton Bloomfield and Leonard Newmark, *A Linguistic Introduction to the History of English* (New York, 1964), pp. 177-178.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 188.

17 Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies* (New York, 1961), p. 3.

elf skin, you dried neat's tongue, you bull's pizzle, you stock-fish!" (II, iv, 270-272).

Moreover, in a number of other common metaphorical expressions in use on the South Shore, a more familiar clichéd old metaphor is illuminated by the freshness of the South Shore version, as if we were hearing the old original. "That dog can bark a blue breeze," says a woman from Liverpool; "That bolt'll hold till the last blue smoke," says the mechanic from Pubnico; "blue" in both expressions is comparable with "curse a blue streak," and seems to be associated with hell, anger and violence. "He's pulling my mouth," says a Cape Islander--"he's trying to get me to say something," and the expression recalls "He's pulling my leg" or "twisting my arm," both familiar but trite from long overuse in vague contexts.

While it may not be strictly true that on the South Shore, the people speak a sort of Elizabethan English, there must be a way to account for the particular flavour of the language and for the hard evidence I have found of the survival of old forms. The English Renaissance was characterized by an extraordinary inventiveness in language; in fact, most students of the history of ideas find its beginnings in the Middle Ages, in the openness of English to French loan-words, in the playfulness of Chaucer's language, and so on. This quality is to be found in modern Nova Scotian speech, with its lively oral tradition. We must, I think, push back the lines of boundary in our awareness of language, to see the language as an ocean, with tides, currents, shores, maybe even a *rout* of its own.

As I trust my annotated collection of words and expressions from St. Margaret's Bay to Pubnico, the *South Shore Phrase Book* (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot, 1983, second printing, 1984) shows, English on the South Shore of Nova Scotia mirrors the maritime/migration history of the area, adapting freely from North England roots, Cape Cod, northern and southern Loyalist strains, eighteenth-century German (in the Lunenburg area), and Irish. The surviving "Elizabethan" influence is found mainly in the Cape Sable Island/Barrington, Liverpool and Chester areas, but its style and spirit may be felt throughout.

Memories of Hillside Hall

Emmalee Hopkins

This story is dedicated to the late Hulda Eaton, who passed away in January 1984, at the age of 105 years. Mrs. Eaton managed the Hillside Hall Hotel, Halifax, from 1914 to 1938 with her husband, the late Frank G. Eaton. She was the former Hulda Romkey and was born at Crescent Beach, Lunenburg County. She was the sister of the late Gordon Romkey, Speaker of the House (1940-1953) and Member of the Legislative Assembly for Lunenburg for 25 years. Mrs. Eaton was a fine woman, whose secret of longevity was, perhaps, hard work, accomplished with a sincere love for people. She had a keen sense of humour, and although she was latterly hard of hearing, she was nevertheless able to describe, in vivid detail, many of her experiences as manageress of Hillside Hall.

This exclusive hotel was built as a private residence for T.C. Kinnear, a prominent Halifax West India merchant. It was then sold for $22,500 to Sir William Young, Premier of Nova Scotia (1854-1860) and subsequently Chief Justice until his death in 1887.[1] Young donated to the city of Halifax the Golden Gates at the main entrance of Point Pleasant Park, as well as the walls and railings surrounding the Grand Parade on Barrington Street; many of the statues in the Public Gardens are also from his spacious gardens at Hillside.

After the death of Sir William in 1887, the homestead was purchased for $6,600 by Mrs. S. Tupper. On 10 June 1889, she opened Hillside Hall to the public as a hotel.[2] The wooden-framed, white, four-storey building then contained sixty large rooms. On entering, the visitor would have been impressed with the spacious entry hall and tasteful furnishings. Off the hall were beautifully appointed ladies and gentlemen's sitting rooms and two parlours: a private one, and a larger one with a piano, for the exclusive use of boarders and guests. At the rear of the hall, the large dining room, 55 feet long by 35 feet wide, was artistically furnished with walnut tables, chairs and sideboards. Large mirrors and valuable paintings hung on the walls, and the tables were set with costly silver, glass and chinaware. The neat and clean kitchen, located near the dining room, was supplied with two large gas ranges. The bedrooms upstairs were so arranged that they could be made into suites of three; they were carpeted with Brussels rugs and furnished with superior marble-top suites, while works of art were hung on the walls. The upper floors offered a panoramic view of Halifax harbour, while a

1 *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 14 September 1888.

2 *Ibid.*, and *The Morning Herald* (Halifax), 10 June 1889.

beautiful park was located behind the house, where the guests could spend pleasant hours beneath shady trees among attractive flower beds.

By 1907, John Barnes was the proprietor, and three buildings had been added to the hotel property; the Alexandra and Hillcrest Apartments or suites, across the street, and Hillside Cottage, next door to Hillside Hall. These contained suites of rooms, including bathrooms, but the guests still ate their meals in the dining room at Hillside. The complex was considered a most desirable private hotel, with appointments superior and up-to-date. It was patronized by "the best people," who considered it a first-class genteel hotel. Electric bells and lighting were important features. Guests were charged $1.50 per night and $6.00 to $8.00 per week for lodging, depending on the size and location of the room.[3]

The Eatons took over the management in 1914, and according to Mrs. Eaton, Hillside Hall was at that time one of the most popular hotels in Halifax. During this period, the hotel was owned by three shareholders: Sir Joseph Chisholm, appointed Chief Justice in 1930; Mr. R.G. Baisley, manager of the West Indies Steamship Line; and Dr. G. Kirk, a consulting surgeon.

While the Eatons were managers, the staff consisted of the chief cook, who never wanted any interference in the kitchen; the pastry cook, who had an assistant; kitchen girls; six waitresses; three porters; housemaids; bellgirls, one of whom was always curious enough to tell Mrs. Eaton who was visiting whom; a working housekeeper; and a laundress. The head cook earned $70.00 per month, which was considered a generous wage in those days, and was more than the Lord Nelson Hotel paid at that time.

Mrs. Eaton once related an amusing tale concerning a porter:

> One evening around nine o'clock, he decided to steal a large roasted turkey from the ice-box in the kitchen, and to take it to his room in the staff quarters above the kitchen at the rear of the building. As the porter was proceeding quietly up the back stairs, I was coming down. He was so astonished at meeting me, that he dropped the turkey, wrapped in a towel, at my feet. I picked it up, and without a word, continued down the steps and deposited it back in the ice-box. The incident served as a warning and I never caught him stealing again.

Guests registered from far and near, and stayed for a day, a week, a month, or even a year. Some of the patrons were from England, and would arrive in Halifax by ship, remaining for the spring and summer months, then returning home in the fall. One "old boy," a wealthy doctor, even brought a man-servant along to

3 *The Halifax Herald*, 17 October 1907.

wait on him. One day, the doctor left a bottle of black ink on the windowsill in his room. The window was partly open, and the strong wind caught the lace curtain, which in turn hit the bottle, and the ink was splashed all over the curtain, wall and floor. Needless to say, the housekeeper was none too pleased.

Many important people were guests. The Hon. Fulton Logan, MLA, and Mrs. Logan, from Musquodoboit Harbour, occupied a suite in the Alexandra for two winters in 1920 and 1921, while the House of Assembly was in session. At that time, their daughter Grace, who was attending the Halifax Ladies' College, visited them on numerous occasions. Annie Donahoe, then the Provincial Librarian, frequently patronized the hotel, and Mrs. W.B. Ritchie was so pleased with the accommodations and social events that she remained at Hillside Hall for six years. The Very Rev. J.P. Derwent Llwyd, Dean of Nova Scotia and rector of the Cathedral Church of All Saints, was a dear friend and neighbour of the Eatons. He helped them solve many problems pertaining to the hotel, staff and guests, and his humourous personality often brightened a dull day.[4]

Influential ladies from Halifax hosted tea and bridge parties in the parlours at Hillside Hall, and they paid the staff for the food and their services. Oyster sandwiches were often served at these parties. One lady admired them so much that she asked Mrs. Eaton for the "delicious filling" recipe; she was perhaps surprised to discover that they were simply made of oysters, bread crumbs and white sauce, the last-mentioned purchased from McKenzie and Osborne Grocers, a firm which once stood at the corner of Morris and Barrington streets. Bridge games, with prizes, were played in the large parlour or drawing room. On special occasions, there were formal dances with orchestra music. Waiters from the Halifax Club then augmented the hotel employees in order to serve trays of food.

The ornate dining room was beautifully decorated at Easter, Thanksgiving and Christmas, when a full box of holly adorned the archway leading into the room. Gourmet foods, such as turtle soup and oyster cocktails, were included on the menu. Dinner consisted of six courses: soup or juice, appetizer, main course, dessert, beverage, and fruit. Mrs. Eaton rarely heard a complaint about the food, which meant that the cooks must have known how to prepare satisfying meals. The pastry cook and her assistant often worked overtime baking bread, biscuits, pies and cakes for elaborate dinners.

4 Dean Llwyd served as vicar of All Saints for 21 years, until his death in 1933. *The Halifax Mail*, 25 February 1933.

Mrs. Eaton vividly remembered the events of 6 December 1917, the day of the Halifax Explosion. There were 79 guests in the hotel when the *Mont Blanc* blew up at 9:06 a.m.; all escaped any ill effects, even though the dining room was a shambles, with glass scattered everywhere. Ashes and live coals were flung out of the fireplaces, but were extinguished in time to prevent fires. Indeed, the entire establishment had to be thoroughly cleaned of debris and broken glass.

The shock of the explosion swung the chef around in the kitchen and deposited him on a gas jet. With a loud yell -- and a hot seat -- he moved in a hurry. Mrs. Eaton also remembered the pastry cook, taking creamed toast to a guest at the time the explosion hit. Although the impact knocked her to the floor, she never dropped the meal.

Mrs. Eaton was the only hotel occupant injured by the blast. After splitting a door open with an axe, a porter and a bell girl found her unconscious on the floor of the downstairs parlour. She had been knocked down by the force of the explosion, and flying glass hit her head. She sustained a five-inch gash in the back of her head, but credited her bone hairpins with saving her life. However, her left eardrum was permanently damaged, and she eventually lost her hearing due to the injury.

Shortly afterwards that memorable morning, a couple of rather snobbish old ladies staying in the hotel asked Mr. Eaton to remove "the drunk" lying on the sidewalk in front of the building. When Mr. Eaton inspected the man, he found him dead; a priest was hastily summoned to administer last rites on the sidewalk. Other guests complained about the cold in their rooms; small wonder, because there wasn't a speck of window glass left in the building. These complainers also wanted to be served hot tea and biscuits. The staff were terrified and all wanted to leave, but Mrs. Eaton and "Father," as she called her husband, finally convinced them to stay, and go back to their stations.

The Eatons remained as managers until 1938. At the onset of World War II in 1939, the hotel was taken over by the Department of National Defence and was used as a barracks for the WRENS. After the war, Pascal Real Estate Company, Halifax, purchased the property and remodelled the building by converting it into apartments, which are still occupied as civic number 5252 South Street. Today, few Haligonians can recall the days when the Eatons managed Hillside Hall -- one of the city's finest private hotels.

"A Duke's Mixture": From Rudolph to Lamb

Kathleen Allen Parkman Lamb

My mother, Eileen Allen Parkman[7] (Florence Ackhurst[6], Maria Louisa Flowers[5], Rachel Morton[4], Maria Magdalena Foseler[3], Regina Rudolph[2], Jacob Rudolph[1]) always called her family "a duke's mixture." Gifted with patience, a love of family history, and a remarkable memory, she provided me, over the years, with countless family details -- all without error, and remembered from before her ninth birthday.

The eight generations from Rudolph to Lamb are a true blending of most of the great streams of European migration to North America over the last two centuries. The Rudolphs and Foselers came to Nova Scotia from what is now West Germany in the Foreign Protestant immigration of the early 1750s. The Mortons of Halifax may have been related to the New England family of that name, or they may have been employees of the British naval establishment, travelling where work was offered. The Flowers family was of British extraction, although it is possible that they, too, came via New England. William Ackhurst came to Nova Scotia with the British Army, and like so many others, elected to remain upon his discharge. The Allens left Ireland at the end of the Great Famine, although they personally did not suffer the poverty or hunger of many fellow countrymen. A link back to France came with their intermarriage with the Cassells, a family who left France for Ireland during the seventeenth century. Finally, the Parkmans came to Prince Edward Island in 1841 from Barnstaple, Devon, one of an immigrant group referred to as "The Devon Men."

Tyler Parkman was a dashing lieutenant stationed on McNab's Island in Halifax Harbour during World War I. He met Eileen Allen, who rightfully called herself "a true Haligonian," at a dance held at the Waegwoltic Club, on the shores of the North West Arm in Halifax -- a meeting place which was responsible for many wartime romances. As they say, "The rest was history..."

1. Jacob Rudolph[1] (b. 1700/10), his wife Regula Rachel (b. 1700/15), and their family were Foreign Protestant immigrants to Nova Scotia on the *Ann*, which sailed from Rotterdam, 5 July 1750. The ship's manifest listed the family as coming from Durlach, a town in Baden-Württemberg, West Germany, just east of Karlsruhe, and very near the Rhine River. Rudolph and his family, a group of eight, sailed in cabin eleven; six were charged for passage, the remaining two being infants. Rudolph was debited for five freights, amounting to £378, of which he paid £80.8s., leaving a balance of £297.12s. owing. Jacob Rudolph evidently died not long after his arrival, and his widow remarried, 13

December 1750, Nicholas Eigly or Eggli, a recently-widowed Swiss who had also sailed on the *Ann*, in cabin ten, next to the Rudolphs. Regula Rachel had one child by Eigly before her death at Lunenburg, N.S., where she was buried 10 December 1751.

Issue of Jacob and Regula Rachel Rudolph:

2.

1. Regula Regina Rachel (Regina), b. ca. 1730; d. 23 March 1804, Halifax; marr. 18 Sept. 1753, Lunenburg, Conrad **Foseler** (Faslar, Fausler, etc.).
2. Christiana, marr. 20 Dec. 1753, Lunenburg, George **Fredericks**. Issue.
3. Possibly Stephen, marr. 28 Nov. 1758, Maria _____ , a widow.
4. Possibly John, in the LaHave area with George Foseler, 1753/54.
5. Heinrich (Henry), marr. 22 July 1765, Halifax, Sarah **Palmer**, widow.

   Issue of Henry and Sarah Rudolph:

   a. David, bapt. 11 Jan. 1767, St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax.
   b. Job, b. 1779; d. 1790.
6. Christopher, d. 2 March 1751, Halifax.
7. Samuel, b. 1736; d. 22 Sept. 1826, Halifax; marr. 23 June 1763 or 1767, Halifax, Christina **Baker**; she d. 17 March 1799, Halifax. Samuel Rudolph was a Halifax merchant.

   Issue of Samuel and Christina Rudolph:

   a. David, bapt. 16 Oct. 1768, Halifax.
   b. Rachel, b. 1773; d. 4 Feb. 1850, North Sydney, N.S.; marr. 13 July 1791, Halifax, Isaac **Rigby**, carpenter; he d. 3 Jan. 1826, aged 62. Issue.

2. Regula Regina Rachel (Regina) Rudolph[2] (Jacob Rudolph[1]), b. ca. 1730; d. 23 March 1804, Halifax; marr. 18 Sept. 1753, Lunenburg, Conrad **Foseler**. Foseler was b. ca. 1729, and arrived in Halifax, a single man, 30 May 1752, on the vessel *Sally*; he was a carpenter from Württemberg, signed his own name as *Vosseller*, and paid for his one freight, £75.12s. There are records of many by his surname in the Württemberg area. Although he marr. Regina Rudolph in Lunenburg, they later lived in Halifax, and bought property on Upper Water Street across from H.M. Navy Yard, 25 May 1761 and 7 June 1763. Foseler was a deacon in the Dutch Church, and was interred in its cemetery, 17 April 1793, having died two days previously. It is possible that he may have had brothers,

possibly John, George and Frederick, in Nova Scotia by 1754.
Issue of Conrad and Regina Foseler:

3. 1. Maria Magdalena, bapt. 8 May 1755; marr., date unknown, _____ **Polegreen**. Issue. Marr. secondly, 5 July 1787, Halifax, John **Morton**. Issue.
2. Mary Elizabeth, b. ca. 1760; d. 23 Feb. 1814, Halifax; marr. 19 Jan. 1777, Lunenburg, John Valentine **West**. He was b. 1751 and d. 25 Aug. 1791, Halifax. Issue. She marr. secondly, 1 April 1795, Halifax, John **Werling**. He was b. 1753 and d. 25 Sept. 1817; employed as foreman of labourers, H.M. Careening Yard, Halifax. Issue.
3. Hannah Rachel, b. 3 April 1762, Halifax; d. Jan. 1848, Halifax; marr. 16 Jan. 1785, Halifax, John Wendel **West** Jr. Issue.
4. Dorothea, bapt. 15 Dec. 1764, Halifax. No further record.

3. Maria Magdalena Foseler[3] (Regina Foseler[2], Jacob Rudolph[1]), bapt. 8 May 1755, Lunenburg; marr., date unknown, _____ **Polegreen**; issue. Marr. secondly, 5 July 1787, St. Paul's, Halifax, John **Morton**, a carpenter and shipwright, probably at H.M. Naval Yard. Issue. The Mortons sold, 1804-1807, Maria Magdalena's share in her father's land, Upper Water Street, Halifax. John Morton d. sometime after 1807; his widow may have been the Mrs. Morton living on Dockyard Street, Halifax, 1834.
Issue of _____ and Maria Magdalena Polegreen:

1. George, b. 1786/87; d. 28 Sept. 1821, Halifax; marr. 13 Sept. 1808, Halifax, Sarah **Burgell**. He was a sailmaker on Water Street, Halifax. At his death, his widow went to court, asking for relief because she was destitute, having sold everything.
   Issue of George and Sarah Polegreen:
   a. Sarah, b. ca. 1809; marr. 22 July 1832, Halifax, Alexander **Smillie**.
   b. Thomas Andrew, b. 30 Nov. 1817; d. 30 June 1818; buried from St. George's Anglican, Halifax.
   c. James Tilton, b. 11 May 1819, Halifax; no further record.

Issue of John and Maria Magdalena Morton:

4. 1. Florence Rachel Elizabeth (Rachel), b. 2 March 1789; bapt. 22 March 1789, St. Paul's, Halifax; d. 30 Aug. 1884, Halifax; marr. 5 March 1808, St. Paul's, Halifax, George **Flowers**.

2. John Simon, b. 1793, Halifax; d. 10 April 1796, Halifax.
3. Mary Ann Jane, bapt. 17 Aug. 1798, St. Paul's, Halifax; no further record.

4. Florence Rachel Elizabeth (Rachel) Morton[4] (Maria Magdalena Foseler[3], Regina Foseler[2], Jacob Rudolph[1]), b. 2 March 1789; bapt. 22 March 1789, St. Paul's, Halifax; d. 30 Aug. 1884, Halifax; marr. 5 March 1808, St. Paul's, Halifax, George **Flowers**. He was b. 1785, Halifax, and d. 20 March 1867, Halifax. Both are interred in Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax. In 1834, George Flowers was possibly a partner in the firm of Flowers and Rhodes, Lower Water Street. By 1858, he was operating as George Flowers and Son, Noble's Wharf, and living at 5 Lower Water Street. Flowers was an artificer and designer of sailing equipment; he employed about fifteen people making code flags, national flags, life preservers, sails and other canvas articles. Rachel Flowers was baptized into the Granville Street Baptist Church, 1829, but there is no record of her husband ever becoming a member. After the death of her husband, Rachel lived with her son, Henry, at 20 Birmingham Street, and at 8 Mitchell Street, where she died.

Issue of George and Rachel Flowers:

1. Mary Ann Jane, b. 1809, Halifax; d. 18 Nov. 1827, Halifax; buried in St. George's Cemetery.
2. Charlotte, b. 1811, Halifax; d. 1839, Philadelphia, Pa.; marr., 1828-1836, J. **Room**. Issue.
3. Rachel E., b. 1815, Halifax; d. 15 July 1885, Halifax, unmarried.

5.

4. Maria Louisa, b. 25 Jan. 1818, Halifax; d. 1900, Halifax; marr. 5 Nov. 1837, Granville St. Baptist, Halifax, William John **Ackhurst**.
5. John B., b. March 1820, Halifax; d. 1915, Brockton, Mass.; interred at Central Cemetery, East Bridgewater, Mass.; marr. 20 Sept. 1846, Halifax, Mary Ann **Richardson**, daughter of Robert and Susannah (Ormon) Richardson. She was b. 13 May 1821 and d. 25 Jan. 1897, Brockton, Mass.

   Issue of John B. and Susannah Flowers:

   a. Elizabeth, b. 1849; d. 31 Dec. 1875, Halifax. Unmarried.
   b. John M., b. 1852; d. 24 Dec. 1874, Halifax. Unmarried.
   c. Robert M., b. 1855; d. 18 Aug. 1855, Halifax.
   d. George, b. 9 Oct. 1860, Halifax; d. 16 March 1907, Brockton, Mass.; marr. Hattie _____ .

e. Frank, b. Dec. 1875; d. 1944; marr. 1906, New York City, Betsy Temple **Hall**, daughter of George Millard and Adelaide (Walker) Hall, Melrose, Mass. Frank Flowers received the Navy Cross in World War I, also served in the Navy during World War II, and was the chief steward on the *Leviathan*. Issue.

f. others, many of whom died of scarlet fever.

6. George Andrew, b. 1824; d. 27 June 1853, Halifax.

7. Henry, b. 15 June 1827; d. 3 Dec. 1915, Halifax; marr. 25 Oct. 1860, Dartmouth, N.S., Susan Janet **MacInnes**, daughter of Donald MacInnes. She was b. 24 Nov. 1839, Sheet Harbour, N.S., and d. 24 Aug. 1922, Halifax. Henry Flowers was in partnership with his father; he also was a lieutenant in the Halifax Coast Brigade Artillery during the 1870s. Henry and Susan Flowers were members of Granville Street Baptist Church.

Issue of Henry and Susan Flowers:

a. William, b. 12 June 1861; d. 24 July 1861.

b. Ella, b. 17 July 1862; d. 2 Aug. 1953. Unmarried.

c. Harriet Louise, b. 4 Sept. 1864; d. 15 June 1931; unmarried. She taught at Tower Road School, Halifax.

d. George, b. 12 Jan. 1866; d. 12 Jan. 1866, Halifax.

e. Henry Jr., b. 24 Aug. 1867; d. 30 Dec. 1928, Halifax; marr. 1 Aug. 1895, Halifax, Annie Belle **MacDonald**, daughter of Donald and Alexandrina (Bayer) MacDonald, Lower Meagher's Grant, N.S. She was b. 9 Aug. 1867, Fall River, Halifax County, and d. 3 Dec. 1966, Halifax; interred in Camp Hill Cemetery. Henry Flowers Jr. was a lieutenant colonel in World War I. He operated a flour and feed brokerage business in Halifax under the name of H. Flowers and Son. Henry and Annie Belle were members of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Halifax. Issue.

f. Edith Mary, b. 6 Sept. 1869; d. 3 Sept. 1962; unmarried. Teacher and principal, Tower Road School, Halifax.

g. Ralph Messenger, b. 26 Aug. 1871; d. 22 Aug. 1872, Halifax.

h. Mable Elizabeth (Bessie), b. 11 Sept. 1873; d. 8 Feb. 1877, Halifax.

i. William Ackhurst, b. 21 Oct. 1875; d. 29 April 1939, Halifax; marr. Aug. 1912, Jessie Vroom **MacDougald**. She was b. 1879

and d. 28 Aug. 1956. They lived in Shediac, N.B. He is interred in Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax. d.s.p.

j. Herbert, b. 5 Aug. 1881; d. 8 Aug. 1881, Halifax.

8. a girl, possibly Florence, b. 1824-1832, Halifax; a daughter is known to have marr. a **Richardson**, and gone to the United States; some descendants are thought to be in Halifax.
9. a girl, possibly Margaret.
10. Mary A., b. 1831; d. after 1871, Halifax; no futher record.
11. William Caldwell, b. 15 Oct. 1832, Halifax; d. 22 Oct. 1904, Cambridge, Mass.; interred at Mount Auburn Cemetery; marr. 7 Aug. 1862, Windsor, N.S., Leocardia F. **Bragg**, daughter of Franklin L. and Elizabeth Bragg. She was b. Jan. 1845 and d. 29 April 1923, Cambridge, Mass. William Flowers studied medicine under a well known Halifax doctor, Dr. Parker, and later graduated in the class of 1860, Harvard University Medical School. He enrolled as a contract surgeon in the U.S. Army, 31 Aug. 1863, and served in Lincoln Hospital, Washington, D.C.; Lovell General Hospital, Rhode Island; Fort Calvary, Texas; Monk's Corner, South Carolina; and the Augusta, Georgia, Arsenal. He terminated his contract in Oct. 1873 and set up practice in Cambridge, Mass., where he was a well known surgeon for over ten years. He was forced to retire because of a lingering illness which had made him totally blind.
Issue of Dr. William and Leocardia Flowers:

a. Ida A., b. 25 April 1864, Rhode Island; d. 12 Nov. 1952, unmarried. She was a well known Republican Party worker and was in charge of the proofreading department of Wright and Porter in Boston. She was interred in Mount Auburn Cemetery.

b. Gertrude A., b. March 1867, New York; d. 7 June 1947; marr. Joseph **Vian**, sometime after 1904. She was interred in Mount Auburn Cemetery. d.s.p.

5. Maria Louisa Flowers[5] (Rachel Morton[4], Maria Magdalena Foseler[3], Regina Rudolph[2], Jacob Rudolph[1]), b. 25 Jan. 1818, Halifax; d. 1900, Halifax; marr. 5 Nov. 1837, Granville Street Baptist, Halifax, William John **Ackhurst**. He was b. 12 Jan. 1812, Rochester, Kent, England, and d. 2 July 1887, Halifax; he was interred in Camp Hill Cemetery. Being a poor boy, he worked the coal barges to London, then joined the British Army in the bugle corps as a cornetist in the 66th. Rifle Brigade. He was

discharged in Halifax ca. 1833, and worked initially for E.G.H. Greenwood, who had befriended him, then for the B. Weir Co. In 1848 he formed his own company of auctioneers, and was located in Mott's Building, at the corner of Hollis and Duke streets, Halifax. He then became a commission merchant and had offices on Collins' Wharf, then on Pickford and Black's Wharf. His firm was known as "William Ackhurst Co., Auctioneer, Broker and Commission Merchant and Wholesale Provision Dealer." Probably in 1854, he travelled to England, with a letter of credit/introduction signed by many local merchants, and dated 13 Feb. 1854. He served as alderman for ward three on the Halifax City Council, and also as a justice of the peace, chairman of the Board of Works, and chairman of the Garden Commission. In the last named capacity, he worked hard in the creation of the Halifax Public Gardens (he always said that he loved flowers, for he had married one). Ackhurst also served as commissioner and chairman of the School Board in Halifax, and as chairman of the firewardens (who honoured him by flying their flags at half mast on the day of his funeral). Ackhurst was an original member of the Harmonic Society, formed in 1842, and helped found the Philharmonic Society, later serving as its president. He was a noted cornetist, and leader of the Granville Street Baptist choir for 53 years; he also served as a church deacon. His home was at 57 Victoria Road, Halifax.

Issue of William and Maria Louisa Ackhurst:

1. Elizabeth (Bess), b. 30 April 1838, Halifax; d. 8 July 1883, Halifax; interred in Camp Hill Cemetery; marr. 18 Sept. 1866, Halifax, Mark Arthur **Buckley**, widower, son of Phillip and Sarah Buckley. He was b. 20 Jan. 1836, Radcliffe, Lancashire, England, and d. 6 Oct. 1900, Santa Cruz, California. Buckley owned a stationery and book binding store in Halifax. He sold a half interest to T.C. Allen [q.v.], and then when he moved to California, he sold the rest to him, and it became the T.C. Allen Co. Issue.
2. George, b. 1840, Halifax; d. 1934, Halifax; marr. 12 July 1866, Liverpool, N.S., Ellen Reese **Morse**, daughter of Judge Charles and Margaret Morse. George Ackhurst was a broker and merchant in Halifax, with offices on Central Wharf. He lived at 44 Inglis Street, then at 320 Morris Street. George and Ellen Ackhurst belonged to the Anglican Church.

   Issue of George and Ellen Ackhurst:

a. Margaret Lucilla, b. May 1867, Halifax; d. 1951/52, New Hartford, New York. She was a nun in the order of the Sisters of St. Margaret, and served in Anglican/Episcopalian schools in Montreal and Boston, as well as mother superior in Philadelphia, Pa. Unmarried.
b. Maria Louisa Isabell, b. May 1870, Halifax; d. 1950s, Halifax. She stayed at home and cared for her invalid mother. Unmarried.
c. Mabel Livingstone, b. 22 Nov. 1872, Halifax; d. 1954, Winchester, Mass.; marr. 18 Nov. 1908, Halifax, Charles Frederick Blackburn Lovett **Smith**, son of Commodore William Henry and Marion Beches (Thomas) Smith. He was b. 16 March 1879, Birkenhead, England, and d. 12 June 1930, Boston, Mass. Smith was a graduate of Dalhousie University, a Mason, and ran a wool and investment business in Boston. Issue.
d. William Charles Morse, b. 1873, Halifax; d., date unknown, Halifax. He was a well known commercial traveller. Unmarried.
e. Hardy W., b. 1875, Halifax; d. 1958, Halifax. A veteran of the Boer War, he tuned, sold and repaired pianos in Boston, but died in the Veterans' Hospital, Halifax. Unmarried.
f. Violet K., b. 1878, Halifax; d., date unknown, Montclair, New Jersey. She was a nurse in the Episcopal Home, Beacon Hill, Boston, and in other localities. Unmarried.
g. George, b. 1880; d. 13 Sept. 1888, Halifax.
h. Helen, b. 1882/85, Halifax; marr., date unknown, Arthur **Henderson** and lived in Liverpool, N.S. d.s.p.
i. Gladys, b. 1886, Halifax; marr. 2 Sept. 1908, Halifax, William Henry **Sterns**, son of Robie Sewell and Mary H. Sterns. He was b. 1871. She was educated in piano in Boston, and they lived in Liverpool, N.S. Issue.
j. Ernest Victor, b. 29 Dec. 1890, Halifax; marr., further details unknown. He was a graduate of Dalhousie University with a B.A. and L.LB., and later moved to Vancouver, B.C. d.s.p.

3. William John Jr., b. 12 Jan. 1842, Halifax; d. 27 April 1924, Halifax; marr. 29 July 1869, Halifax, Mary Kate **Cutlip**, daughter of George and Harriet Cutlip. She was b. 8 May 1845 and d. 10 Nov. 1940. In

1876 he was a bookkeeper with R.I. Hart Co., living at 7 Dundonald Street. Later, he worked as an accountant, and lived at 47 Victoria Road and 316 Morris Street. He was a member of Granville Street Baptist Church.

Issue of William John and Mary Kate Ackhurst:

a. Charles William, b. 11 Dec. 1870, Halifax; d. 6 Feb. 1941, Halifax; marr. 15 Sept. 1897, Manchester, N.H., Isabel Ryle **Blackadar**, daughter of Hugh and Sophie (Coleman) Blackadar. She was b. 1867, and d. 18 July 1952, Halifax. He was a widely recognized authority in the fish and salt industries, and was the managing director of the A.N. Whitman Co. He also served as the chief commissioner of the N.S. Liquor Commission, chairman of the Halifax School Commission, and alderman, and vice-chairman of the Halifax Relief Commission. He was also a member of the 63rd. Halifax Rifles. They lived at 29 Vernon Street, Halifax. Issue.

b. Minna Louise, b. 21 April 1872, Halifax; d. 7 Oct. 1966, Halifax. Taught school in Halifax. Unmarried.

c. Clarice Adele, b. 9 Feb. 1874, Halifax. She worked for the T.C. Allen Co., Halifax, then moved to Toronto. Unmarried.

d. Marion Cecile, b. 26 July 1877, Halifax; marr. 12 Nov. 1906, Halifax, Norman Leroi **Crosby**, son of Harris and Jane Crosby. She worked in the office of the T.C. Allen Co. He was a civil engineer. They later moved to Toronto. d.s.p.

e. John Stanley, b. 6 Jan. 1880, Halifax; d. 28 May 1977, Halifax; marr. 13 May 1914, Amherst, N.S., Nettie Archibald **Hall**, daughter of Edmund and Isadora (Henley) Hall. John was a lamplighter in Halifax as a young boy. He later became apparatus manager for Canadian General Electric, and mechanical equipment representative for Canadian Allis Chalmers. Issue.

f. Harry Clifford, b. 4 Sept. 1881, Halifax; d. 3 April 1903, Halifax. Unmarried.

g. Bessie Evelyn, b. 30 April 1885, Halifax; d. 19 Dec. 1978, Halifax. Unmarried.

4. John, b. 1843, Halifax; d. 23 Dec. 1870, Halifax; marr. 23 Nov. 1870, Halifax; Elizabeth Gordon **Scott**. She was b. 1849 and d. 14 May 1875, Halifax. He was burnt to death when the Christmas

tree candles caught the tree on fire, one month after their wedding. He was buried from 50 Queen Street, Halifax, 25 Dec. 1870.

5. Charlotte, b. 1846, Halifax; marr. 19 Oct. 1876, Halifax, Charles F. **Hall**, son of David and Louisa Hall. He was born in 1844. Issue.
6. Charles, b. 1848, Halifax; d. 28 July 1870, Halifax. d.s.p.
7. Henry; no further record.
8. Ann Maria, b. 1851/52, Halifax; d. 31 Aug. 1922, Halifax. She kept a boarding house with her sister Emily for many years. Unmarried.
9. Emily Flowers, b. 1854, Halifax; d. 14 Feb. 1921, Halifax. She was crippled and led the life of an invalid. Unmarried.
10. Arthur J., b. 1856, Halifax; d. 1887-1890, Halifax. He worked for the William Ackhurst Co. as a bookkeeper. Unmarried.

6. 11. Florence F. Nightingale, b. 14 May 1860, Halifax; d. 6 April 1902, Halifax; marr. 14 May 1879, Halifax, Thomas Cassells **Allen**.

6. Florence Ackhurst[6] (Maria Louisa Flowers[5], Rachel Morton[4], Maria Magdalena Foseler[3], Regina Rudolph[2], Jacob Rudolph[1]), b. 14 May 1860, Halifax; d. 6 April 1902, Halifax; marr. 14 May 1879, Halifax, Thomas Cassells **Allen**. He was b. 22 April 1851, Newtownhamilton, County Armagh, Northern Ireland; he d. 26 Oct. 1898, Halifax. "T.C." Allen graduated from the "Cassells School," owned by his uncle, Mark Cassells Jr., in County Armagh. About 1865, "T.C." emigrated to Mulmur, Ontario, with his siblings. He became a stationer, bookbinder and publisher of schoolbooks. On returning from a trip to Europe, he met William Ackhurst, who was to play a very important part in his life. When the boat arrived in Halifax, "T.C." was too ill to travel to his own home in Ontario, and Ackhurst invited him to his home to recuperate. While a guest there, he met his bride-to-be. He bought a half interest in Mark Buckley's business (see above), and when Buckley moved to California, he bought him out to form the T.C. Allen Co. on Granville Street. Allen served as an alderman and was a 32nd. degree Mason. The family were devout members of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. At the time of his death, they lived at 27 Inglis Street. Subsequently they removed to Toronto for a time, but by 1902 had returned to Halifax and were living at 13 Victoria Road. When the children were orphaned that year, the girls went to live at Mount St. Vincent Academy. A nephew, William Thomas Allen, took over the business.

Issue of Thomas Cassells and Florence Allen:

1. Thomas Cassells Jr., b. 20 Nov. 1879; d. 12 May 1913, New York City. He was a stationery and book salesman in Halifax and Toronto. When he died in New York, it was ironic that his brother was also in the city, playing hockey, and unaware of Thomas Jr.'s presence there as well.
2. Ann Maria, b. 20 March 1881, Halifax; d. 1885, Halifax; interred in Camp Hill Cemetery.
3. Gerald Buckley, b. 2 May 1883, Halifax; d. 20 Sept. 1963, Greenwich, Conn.; marr. Greenwich, Alicia **McGuire**. She died, aged 25; issue. Marr. secondly, Irene **Kellough** of Ontario, by whom there was no issue. Gerald Allen was a professional hockey player in Canada, and a well known light heavyweight boxer. He later managed the Dodge-Plymouth agency in Greenwich.
4. Florence Elizabeth, b. 19 March 1885, Halifax; d. 1 May 1961, Halifax; marr. 21 Dec. 1909, Halifax, Russell Yates **Finley**, son of Jeremiah and Betsy Ann (Stuart) Finley. He was b. 20 June 1880, Linden, N.S. Florence was a graduate of Mount Saint Vincent Academy, Halifax. Issue.
5. Kathleen Emma, b. 7 Jan. 1889, Halifax; d. 27 March 1975, New York City, of leukemia. Unmarried. Kathleen Allen was the first graduate of Mount Saint Vincent Academy to receive a university degree. She was a graduate of Dalhousie University, Halifax (B.A. 1913) and Simmons College, Boston (M.A. 1916). She then became a consultant for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, and the author of *First Standards for Homemaker – Home Health Care* for the U.S. government. She later worked with Cancer Care Inc. in New York, and as hospital co-ordinator for the National Symposium for Catastrophic Illnesses.
6. Leanora Merrill, b. 26 June 1891, Halifax; d. 12 Aug. 1973, Andover, Mass.; marr. 26 June 1918, Melrose, Mass., Walter Bradford **Copeland**. He was b. 25 Dec. 1878, and d. 29 May 1951, Melrose. She was a graduate of Mount Saint Vincent Academy, and of the Melrose Hospital School of Nursing, where she spent fifty years in service, latterly as head nurse. Issue.
7. 7. Eileen Mildred M. Donovan, b. 7 Jan. 1893, Halifax; d. 16 Oct. 1979, Rockwood, Tenn.; marr. 7 June 1915, Halifax, Thomas Tyler Louis (Tyler) **Parkman**, son of Edward E. and Mary (Livingstone) Parkman.

7. Eileen Mildred Allen[7] (Florence Ackhurst[6], Maria Louisa Flowers[5], Rachel Morton[4], Maria Magdalena Foseler[3], Regina Rudolph[2], Jacob Rudolph[1]), b. 7 Jan. 1893, Halifax; d. 16 Oct. 1979, Rockwood, Tenn.; marr. 7 June 1915, Halifax, Thomas Tyler Louis (Tyler) **Parkman**, son of Edward E. and Mary (Livingstone) Parkman. Tyler Parkman was b. 5 Jan. 1894, Montague, P.E.I. and d. 4 Sept. 1946, New Glasgow, N.S. He served as a lieutenant during World War I, was a Mason, and was a partner in the Parkman, Wasgatt, Co., Boston. Eileen was a graduate of Mount Saint Vincent Academy, and the family historian.
   Issue of Thomas and Eileen Parkman:
   1. Eileen Mary, b. 3 Dec. 1916, Halifax; d. 3 Dec. 1966, Marblehead, Mass.; marr. 1935, Hamilton, New York, Edward Tarbell **Sanger**. Divorced, with issue. She marr. secondly, Richard **Yardley**, by whom she had no issue.
      Issue of Edward and Eileen Sanger:
      a. Betsy Newhall, b. 13 July 1942, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; marr. Steven **Wales**. Divorced, no issue. Marr. secondly, Kenneth Allen **Alsup**. Issue. She is a graduate of Endicott Junior College, Beverly, Mass.
      b. Jonathan Tarbell, b. 2 Dec. 1945, Bryn Mawr, Pa. Marr. Marsha Ann **Freeto**; divorced, no issue. Marr. secondly, Susan Marie **Haggard**; divorced, no issue. Marr. thirdly, Elizabeth Jean **Greeley**; issue. He is an interstate mail truck driver and served in the U.S. Army in Viet Nam.
   2. Florence Patricia Allen, b. 29 Nov. 1919, Montague, P.E.I.; marr. 31 July 1939, Melrose, Mass., Edward Robinson **Goodwin**, son of Richard Robert and Bertha (Douglas) Goodwin. He was b. 25 Sept. 1915 and d. 4 Sept. 1974. Divorced, with issue. Florence marr. secondly, William Randolph **Jacobs**, by whom she had no issue. She is a retired housemother to the State of New Jersey retarded children.
      Issue of Edward and Florence Goodwin:
      a. Diane Parkman, b. 17 Aug. 1940, Wolfboro, N.H.; marr. 10 Sept. 1961, Haddonfield, N.J., Robert Turner **Myers**, son of Robert Hobson and Catherine (Turner) Myers. Divorced, with issue. She marr. secondly, Leon **Ettinger**; no issue. She runs a bookkeeping service in Toronto, Ont.

b. Leslie Douglas, b. 10 June 1942, Salem, Mass.; marr. 18 Nov. 1960, Kenneth Charles **Hutchins**. Divorced, with issue. She is a graduate of the University of Maryland, B.S., and is an operating room nurse.

c. Merrill Lee, b. 26 April 1945, Melrose, Mass.; marr. 20 Aug. 1966, Collingswood, N.J., John Eric **Pavlov**, son of Joseph and Isabelle (Johnson) Pavlov. He was b. 9 April 1945, Camden, N.J. She is an x-ray technician. Issue.

8. 3. Kathleen Allen, b. 19 June 1922, Montague, P.E.I.; marr. 10 May 1941, Marblehead, Mass., Ben Jackson **Lamb** Jr., son of Ben Jackson and Emma (Millican) Lamb.

8. Kathleen Allen Parkman[8] (Eileen Mildred Allen[7], Florence Ackhurst[6], Maria Louisa Flowers[5], Rachel Morton[4], Maria Magdalena Foseler[3], Regina Rudolph[2], Jacob Rudolph[1]), b. 19 June 1922, Montague, P.E.I.; marr. 10 May 1941, Marblehead, Mass., Ben Jackson **Lamb** Jr., son of Ben Jackson and Emma (Millican) Lamb. He was b. 16 Oct. 1917, Rockwood, Tenn., and is a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and of the Harvard Business School. He served as a lieutenant during World War II and in the Korean War, and is chairman, B.J. Lamb, Inc., in Tenn. Kathleen is an artist and the compiler of this genealogy.

Issue of Ben and Kathleen Lamb:

1. Ben Jackson III, b. 19 Jan. 1942, Bridgeport, Conn.; marr. Cheryl Calleen **Thomas**. Divorced, no issue. He is a graduate of the Georgia Institute of Technology, with a B.S. in electrical engineering, and of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, with an M.S. in industrial management. He is currently senior electronic engineer with the Power Systems and Instrumentation Section, Space Systems Division, Naval Research Laboratory, Washington, D.C.

2. Peter Allen, b. 25 March 1949, Rockwood, Tenn.; marr. Victoria Lee **Bennett**. Divorced, no issue. Marr. secondly, 28 Oct. 1979, Loudon, Tenn., Marian Leigh **Alexander**, daughter of Marion Earl and Rhea (Ghormley) Alexander. She was b. 23 Oct. 1954, Knoxville, Tenn. He was in the U.S. Army, and holds a B.S. in forestry, 1975, from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. He is currently president of the B.J. Lamb, Inc.

3. Nancy Ruth, b. 9 Oct. 1952, Rockwood, Tenn.; marr. 20 Nov. 1976, Rockwood, Curtis John **Budny**, son of John Joseph and Anita (Savage) Budny. He was b. 25 Nov. 1941, East Chicago, Indiana. Nancy holds a B.S., business administration in transportation, from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.
Issue of Curtis and Nancy Budny:
a. Kathleen Avery, b. 13 May 1981, Falls Church, Va.

Select Bibliography

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Information received through correspondence with the following individuals is also gratefully acknowledged: Harry Flowers; Nora Flowers; Ella Gregoire; Dorothy Bell Blackadar Kirk; John Stanley Ackhurst; William Hall Ackhurst; George Smith; Edith Buckley; Dorothy Wetmore Gerrity; Rose Sterns; Florence Allen Finley; Mrs. James (Jane Cassells) Allen of Northern Ireland; Gwenn Cassells of Newry, Northern Ireland; Winfred Allen of Newtownhamilton, Northern Ireland; Meta Jane Cassells McKenzie of Oxnard, California; Edward E. Parkman; Jennie Lucy; Graham Allen; and Eileen Allen Parkman.

The following basic sources were checked at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia:

MG4. St. George's Anglican/Old Dutch Church, Halifax.
St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax.
St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Halifax.
Granville Street Baptist, Halifax.
Zion Lutheran, Lunenburg.
Passenger Lists for *Ann* and *Sally*.
Victualling Lists, Halifax and Lunenburg.
Allotment List, Lunenburg.
Return of Divisions, Lunenburg.
Cattle Expedition Records, Lunenburg.

Registry of Town Lots, Lunenburg.
Livestock Distribution Lists, Lunenburg.
MG5. St. George's Anglican/Old Dutch Church Cemetery, Halifax.
Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax.
RG12. Census Returns, 1838, 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881, Halifax.
RG32. Marriage Registrations, Halifax County.
RG35A. Assessment Rolls, Halifax.
RG47. Registry of Deeds, Halifax County.
Acadian Recorder (Halifax). Files.
Christian Messenger (Halifax). Files.
Halifax Herald. Files.
Halifax City Directories.

Among sources consulted elsewhere were: Presbyterian Church records, Newtownhamilton, Northern Ireland; cemeteries at Oak Grove, Rockwood, Tenn., and Lower Montague, P.E.I.; files of the *Boston Globe*, *Boston Evening Transcript*, *Harvard Magazine*, *New York Times*, and the *Star* (Winchester, Mass.).

Due to space considerations, this genealogy could not be published in its entirety. Any comments, queries, corrections or additions should be addressed to:

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Voyage from LaHave: A Journal of Summer, 1684

Joan Dawson

On Wednesday, 19 July 1684, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, two vessels set out from the port of LaHave on a voyage along the coast of Acadia. They were to travel, more less together, as far as Port Royal. One of them crossed the Bay of Fundy to the St. John River, then returned by way of Port Royal and Port LaTour to LaHave, and thence to Canso, where it anchored on Wednesday, 13 September.

An account of this two-month-long journey is to be found in the first part of a manuscript recently acquired by the Killam Library of Dalhousie University.[1] It consists of the journal of a passenger on one of the vessels, illustrated with numerous sketch-maps or elevations of the coastline and islands as he observed them. Much of the account reads like a ship's log, recording technical details of navigation: the courses set, distances travelled and depths sounded. Tides and currents, rocks and other hazards to navigation are carefully observed. A record is kept of the winds and the weather, which seem to have been more than usually unpleasant for the time of year, with fog, calms and storms all delaying the vessel's progress. A description of the appearance of the coastline, in a number of cases with reference to the trees which are in evidence, augments the sketches, which are themselves annotated. As well as navigational and geographical details, the manuscript includes references to people, and to some of the events of the voyage, including a record of ships sighted, sometimes illustrated with marginal silhouette sketches.

The anonymous author of the journal was travelling on a barque called *La Marianne*, a small vessel of some 20 tons belonging to the newly-appointed lieutenant for the King in Acadia, Bergier.[2] Bergier himself was sailing on the accompanying vessel, the *St. Louis*, the chief ship of the *Compagnie de la Pêche Sédentaire de l'Acadie*. The main purpose of the journey is never made by clear by the author; his chief personal interest seems to be the sketching and description of the coastline, but apparently there was other business to be done.

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1 Cartographic Journal of the Coast of Acadia, 1684. Acadian Manuscripts Collection, Special Collections, Dalhousie University Library. Courtesy, Special Collections, Dalhousie University Library. This acquisition has been made possible by a contribution from the Government of Canada under the terms of the Cultural Property Export and Import Act.

The second part of the manuscript consists of an inventory for outfitting a ship.

2 A merchant from La Rochelle.

The party had been at LaHave, according to this account, since Thursday, 13 July. LaHave itself was at this period a relatively small community, most of the original settlers having been transferred to Port Royal by Charles de Menou before 1640. In the 1680s, the population subsisted chiefly by fur-trading and by fishing.[3]

It was, presumably, his fishing interests which had taken Bergier to LaHave. His company had been granted the concession for inshore fishing along the coasts of Acadia. The French claimed exclusive rights to this fishery, and were at this period involved in a dispute with the New England fishermen, who were constantly poaching in the area. Moreover, as governor of Acadia, Michel Leneuf de la Vallière had been making a profit from selling licences to the New Englanders, and encouraging them to fish in Acadian waters. This, of course, had given rise to disputes between Bergier and La Vallière, and had led Bergier to seek support from the French King.

On 3 March 1684, Bergier obtained official permission to seize and confiscate foreign vessels found fishing off the Acadian coast, and also received an extension of his fishing concession. On 14 April, Louis XIV appointed him "lieutenant for us in the government of the country and coasts of Acadia." At the same time, an order was issued to La Vallière to stop hindering the Bergier company by granting fishing rights to foreigners.[4] Bergier's commission was registered by his request at La Rochelle, on 10 May 1684, and the *St. Louis* sailed for Acadia the following day.[5]

At LaHave on 15 July of that year, Bergier, armed with both his commission and a copy of the order to La Vallière, drew up formal requests that these documents be registered at Port Royal, the capital of the colony.[6] Four days later, on board the *St. Louis*, he set sail for Port Royal. Accompanying him, on *La Marianne*, were the author of the journal, which begins at this point, and "Monsieur Challe." This was Robert Challe, a Frenchman of wide interests who held shares in the *Compagnie de la Pêche Sédentaire*. He had travelled with Bergier to

3 Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia* (Madison, 1968), p. 154.

4 RG1, Vol. 2, No. 24, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS]. Original documents are in C11D, Vol. 1, 1684, Archives des Colonies, Paris.

5 J. Delafosse, "La Rochelle et le Canada au 17e siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, IV, 4 (March 1951), 505.

6 RG1, Vol. 2, No. 24, PANS.

Amsterdam in 1682 for the purchase of the *St. Louis*, and to Montreal later that year.[7] He was in Acadia and Quebec in the summer of 1683, and had returned to Acadia in the summer of 1684. He seems to have acted as an assistant to Bergier, and was responsible for the sales of fish in Lisbon and Cadiz at the end of the two seasons.[8] As for his activities on this particular voyage, we are told simply that he was "entrusted by...Sieur Bergier with some orders which concern him."[9]

The captain of *La Marianne* was Abraham Boudrot, son of Michel Boudrot, lieutenant-general of Port Royal. The pilot was Guillaume Heurtin, probably the veteran sea captain of that name who had made several crossings of the Atlantic in the 1650s and 1660s.[10] He was later to command the ship *L'Écueil* on which Challe made a voyage to the Orient in 1690. At that time he was described by Challe as an old sailor whom he had known for a long time, having been with him in Canada.[11] The rest of the crew consisted of Jean de Callais, Jean Lestidou, Jacques Petitpas, son of the *greffier* of Port Royal, and a boy named Julien. According to a marginal note, Petitpas travelled only as far as Port Royal; but the note itself is crossed through.

The following extracts from the journal represent some of the more interesting portions of the narrative. Much of the original is taken up with technical detail; and the considerable periods of time when the vessel was in harbour are completely unaccounted for. The extracts consist of a few typical descriptive passages, and accounts of the chief incidents on the journey; intervening passages are summarized briefly.

Heading towards Port LaTour *en route* for Port Royal, and

> having the wind south-south-west, and steering south-east, then west-south west, and south-west once we were a little off-shore, with the wind slight, calm and variable, we found ourselves the next day at noon opposite Port Mouton, a league from land, and by our knowledge eight leagues from our point of departure.

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7 Robert Challe, *Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales (1690-1691)*, ed. F. Deloffre and Melâhat Menemencioglu (Paris, 1979), p. 19.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

9 The translation of the text of the journal is that of the author of this article. Punctuation has been modernized.

10 Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, III: La seigneurie des Cent-Associés, 1627-1663* (Montreal, 1979), I, 94; and Delafosse, "La Rochelle et le Canada," 495.

11 Challe, *Journal d'un voyage*, p. 59.

This was written at noon on Thursday, 10 July; shortly afterwards the fog came down, and the *St. Louis* was lost from sight.

By Friday at noon, with alternating calm and slight winds, they had made nine leagues more. That morning, as the fog lifted, they had seen a large ship to west-south-west, which they took to be the *St. Louis*, and at the same time a smaller vessel with two sails; marginal sketches show their hull shape and relative sizes. That same evening they observed the *St. Louis* entering the port of Cape Negro.

> From Friday noon to Saturday noon, we had calm, [then] a light, variable wind. And it freshened a little in the East from 5 o'clock in the evening until 10 o'clock. As [there was] also some very thick fog, then calm again and from time to time a little breeze, the fog continuing still, we estimated by conjecture that the course had taken us 4 degrees west-south-west, and we had sailed 10 leagues.
>
> At about 10 o'clock in the evening of this day, the fog lifted and there was fine moonlight.

On Sunday, 23 July they passed the Ile des Tangueux (Gannet Island) and the Ile des Mauves (Gull Island). Both of these rocky islands are sketched, and the birds which inhabit them are described. On the landward side, we have both a sketch and a description from the Tusket Islands to Cape Fourchu:

> This part of the coast appears wooded, and the base of the cliffs whitish; there is a beach at Cape Fourchu suitable for drying fish, according to the report we received. It is scarcely used, since the fishermen do not go into these waters because of the strong currents there. However, the fish is fairly abundant in this area for drying.

The description follows the coast, past Long Island and into the Bay of Fundy, where on Monday morning,

> As we were near Cape St. Mary, a league offshore, our topsail was furled and the mainsail brailed and we sailed west with the foresail until at 7.30 this morning, the weather having become fine, all our sails were set to carry us on course. And at 9 o'clock the fog came down again, obliging us to furl our topsail once more, and fix our two lower sails, making north-west to increase our distance from land, as we thought we were close because of the currents and by the sounding which gave 40 fathoms. However, the said land did not appear to us in the interval of fine weather; estimating that we were at that time 3½ leagues offshore, and that this could be due to some remnant of fog which covered it, we calculated that the course had taken us north-north-west and we had sailed $14^{1}/_{3}$ leagues.

They sailed on through the fog, turning westward once more on hearing the sound of waves breaking on shoals; when the fog lifted the next day (Tuesday),

they found that the current had carried them to the island of Grand Manan, which the author was able to sketch and describe before the fog came down again.

> From Tuesday noon till Wednesday noon we had a good breeze until 10 in the evening, then variable, and this morning calm, with fog still continuing. We sailed north-north-east, and east-north-east, and north-east, the course having taken us north-east an estimated 4°30′ further north, but the currents carried us sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other, and we found by calculation that we had sailed $17^{2}/_{3}$ leagues. However, we did not think we were more than 12 leagues away from our location of yesterday at noon. The ebb-tide being against us, we anchored in 30 fathoms of water, red muddy bottom, no wind.

And there they stayed for two days, because of contrary winds and continuing fog. When it lifted on Friday, they found themselves a league off Point Lepreau, and headed once more for Port Royal.

> On Saturday July 29 we arrived outside Port Royal where we dropped anchor opposite the windmill and between [*sic*] the fort in three fathoms at low water; it was at eleven in the morning; the lines are straining a little because of the swirling of the tides.

The author describes the approaches to Port Royal, with sketches, and in some detail, and makes special mention of the height of the tides; in a marginal note he tells us that the magnetic variation here is only one quarter. But neither Port Royal itself nor the upper part of the river is described nor illustrated, nor is any account given of the time spent there.

The narrative begins again the following week:

> On Friday, August 4 we lifted anchor, being in front of Port Royal, after having spent six days there; and at 6.30 in the morning, having prepared to sail, we fired a shot from our small cannon as a signal of our departure, and we then went down to the mouth of the Port Royal river with a north-east wind. There we had to anchor at 11 o'clock that day, contrary winds making it impossible to leave.
>
> We left at Port Royal Mr. de la Vallière,[12] who had arrived with his ship on Wednesday evening, the second of this month, together with a ketch carrying the children of the Sieur de St. Aubin,[13] who live at Passamaquoddy on the St. Croix river. Sieur de la Vallière having fired five gun-shots on arriving, and passing in

12 Michel Leneuf de La Vallière.

13 Jean Serreau de St. Aubin, seigneur of Passamaquoddy in the 1680s. His daughter, Geneviève, aged about seventeen in 1684, later married Jacques Petitpas who sailed on this voyage.

front of us as we lay aground, we saluted him with a cannon-shot which he then acknowledged with another shot.

Bad weather caused *La Marianne* to remain in the river mouth until Sunday, 6 August, when she set course for the St. John River.

They had not travelled far before noticing,

> on the port side, two ships anchored a cannon's shot away from us; and a rowing boat with two men aboard in the direction of the land. They hailed us, and a moment later, the fog having come down again, we could no longer see the said ships. But we heard shots fired, which were apparently intended to make us go to them; so we were obliged to furl our topsail to wait for the said boat which came alongside immediately. And on our asking what they wanted, they replied that it was Mr. Nelson from Boston[14] who wished to speak with us, being anchored, as I said, a cannon's shot away. At that, we sent on board a member of our crew, because of sundry assurances that it was the same Nelson, to see if this was true. And on his return, our messenger confirmed that it was true, by a note which he brought from him to M. Challe, asking him to go aboard his ship, which he did in the same boat. Meanwhile, we tacked about while awaiting his return, and fired some shots to make ourselves heard. When he was back on board, we continued our course for the said St. John river; it was about noon.

St. Aubin's ketch left at about the same time, but they lost sight of it in the fog. St. Aubin himself is reported to have spoken to Nelson just before Challe did so.[15]

With no further comment on these encounters, our author returned to the business of sketching and describing the route, which took *La Marianne* into the St. John River on Monday, 7 August. The approaches are sketched in some detail, with soundings, and the positions of the two forts at the mouth of the river are indicated. However, we learn nothing of the events of the next ten days, and the St. John River itself is neither sketched nor described.

On Thursday, 17 August, they left the St. John River, heading for Cape Sable and Canso. They ran into a storm only two leagues out; by noon they were on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, off the "pointe de Lantien fiacre,"[16] two leagues beyond the entrance to Port Royal. They decided to put into Port Royal again, to

14 John Nelson, a Boston merchant who acted as agent for La Vallière, selling fishing licences to New Englanders.

15 Presumably St. Aubin had already been at Port Royal before the arrival of his family.

16 On Digby Neck. Probably the correct form was *L'anse St. Fiacre*, used later by Cadillac. See William Inglis Morse, *Acadiensia Nova, 1598-1779* (London, 1935), p. 137.

shelter and repair their sails. Friday found them anchored "in front of the house of Abraham Boudrot who commands this ship." That same day "we saw arriving the barque of Mr. de St. Castin[17] named *L'Espérance*, [with] captain Lewis, an Englishman."

It was not until late on Thursday, 24 August, that they lifted anchor and headed for the river mouth once more. Early the next morning they anchored again, waiting for a good wind to gain the open sea. During the day they fired three cannon-shots and five musket salutes in honour of the *St. Louis*. Apparently this was their last contact with Bergier. Finally on Saturday, 26 August, they sailed out into the Bay of Fundy. "It is incredible how difficult it is to sail in this bay, because of the contrary winds, the speed of the currents and the continual fog," observes the author. St. Castin's vessel left at the same time, according to a marginal note, now under the command of Michel Boudrot, brother of the captain of *La Marianne*.

Delayed by calms, contrary winds and currents, they made slow progress, reaching the "Petit Passage" between Long Island and Brier Island the next day. Fog and variable winds continued to hamper their progress, until Thursday when the fog cleared as they passed the Seal Islands, which the author sketched. Later that day he sketched the islands off Cape Sable, and Cape Sable Island. A marginal note describes the sighting of two sailing vessels which looked like ketches, and the *Espérance*, which they had lost sight of on Monday in the fog. Later, they sighted twelve more ketches, one showing an English flag, not far from *La Marianne*. But because of the weather, the latter headed towards Port LaTour and Cape Negro. As they approached Cape Negro, the author having made more sketch-maps, the weather deteriorated and they made for Port LaTour as fast as possible.

> The night being dark, we dropped our anchor, which then dragged continually, the bottom being hard sand; and having lifted it, we tacked about for two hours in search of a better bottom, which was impossible. And being afraid of going onto the rocks which are in that bay, we dropped anchor in ten fathoms on a rocky bottom to wait for daylight.

At dawn on 1 September, they proceeded towards the harbour, and anchored there at 7.30 a.m.; bad weather kept them there until Monday, 4 September.

One incident enlivened their enforced stay at Port LaTour:

17 Jean Vincent l'Abbadie de St. Castin, of Pentaguet (Castine).

> Yesterday, Sunday the third of the present month, having risen we noticed that our boat was not on board; which caused us to send for the crew to see what the reason was. The sailor named Jean de Callais appeared to be missing, which made it necessary for us to visit his bunk. It was discovered that he had taken his blanket and his clothes away, with a gun from the ship, and was thus proved to have deserted; he also took the boat from on board.

We are not told whether either man or boat was replaced; no more is said about the episode.

After leaving Port LaTour, the author sketched the coast, from a distance of 1½ leagues offshore, from Cape Negro to the Ile aux Hérons (now Ragged Island),[18] and from there to Port à Hource (Port Hebert). On Tuesday, 5 September, they were off Port Rossignol (Liverpool) at 6.00 a.m., and sailed close in to shore by Port Maltois (Port Medway), arriving that afternoon at their destination. This destination is, for some reason, named as Port LaTour; clearly, both from the sketch-maps and from the written account, this is an error for LaHave.

> At three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, we entered Port LaTour [i.e. LaHave] to put ashore Sr. Prévost,[19] who travelled with us from Port Royal. And also, to enable me by the same means to go to Merligueche[20] to visit the oak woods which are there, which I was unable to do last time we put in there with the *St. Louis* where M. Bergier was, we dropped anchor immediately.

A detailed sketch-map of the mouth of the LaHave and the LaHave Islands follows. But this was not the only object of the visit: there were the oak woods to be inspected.[21] *La Marianne* remained at LaHave for two more days; our author tells us that he travelled overland to Merligueche Bay, "which appeared to me, last

18 For identification of these place names, see C.-J. d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable de l'an mil au traité de Paris [1763]* (Eunice, La., 1981), III, 1458; and J.C. Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Saint John, 1934), pp. 225-228.

19 Unidentified. There was at LaHave in 1686, according to De Meulle's census, a Jacques Provost, who may be the same person.

20 Lunenburg.

21 See also Nicholas Denys, *Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America*, trans. and ed. by W.F. Ganong (Toronto, 1908), p. 150: "In these places all the woods are nothing but oaks."

Wednesday when I went there by making portages,[22] in the present form." A note explains that the map itself is simplified, leaving out many of the small islands and giving only such information as would be required "to approach the bay if need be," and that the author had also seen Chedabouctou (Mahone) Bay,[23] a quarter league further along the coast.

La Marianne left LaHave at two o'clock in the morning of Friday, 8 September, the author's business being apparently completed. No further landing was made until they came to Canso. They passed what is described here as *la baie de Chedabouctou*, clearly Mahone Bay, and crossed St. Margaret's Bay to Passepeq (Prospect), where they anchored overnight in the lee of a large island. Leaving again on Saturday morning, they rounded Cap Sesambre (Sambro Head) and passed by Chebouctou (Halifax), and Maganchis (Three Fathom Harbour) to Cap Thiodor (Jeddore).[24] That afternoon they again lost sight of St. Castin's ship, which had, presumably, accompanied them from Port Royal.

Sailing through the night of Saturday to Sunday, they came to the Bay of Islands, where they ran into a storm which forced them off course. The storm lasted through Monday, and on Tuesday morning when it abated they found themselves back again near Jeddore. By noon they had made the Isles aux Anglois (Gerard and Phoenix Islands),[25] and by six o'clock, St. Mary's River; all this section of the coast is sketched in some detail. Wednesday morning found them off the Macosdome River (Country Harbour), sailing towards Martignan (Whitehaven).[26] The author completed his sketches of the coastline, and at four in the afternoon they entered the harbour at Canso. A marginal note tells us that St. Castin's vessel did not arrive there until the next day.

This account raises a number of questions about the author and his purpose in undertaking the journey. Who was he? How did he come to be at LaHave in the summer of 1684, and what was he doing sailing round the coast of Acadia? What

22 He uses the Indian word *oniguins* for portages. This term is also used, and explained, by Denys, *Coasts of North America*, p. 119.

23 This name seems to have been applied both to Mahone Bay and to the present Chedabucto Bay.

24 Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 225-228, identifies the more obscure place names.

25 Identified by d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, IV, 1610.

26 Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 225-228.

was his relationship to the other *dramatis personae*? Is his silence about the political events which form the background of his voyage a matter of discretion or ignorance?

The reason for the journey, as far as his companions were concerned, was clearly to establish Bergier's authority. The documents which he prepared at LaHave were indeed registered at Port Royal by Michel Boudrot, Philippe Muis D'Entremont and Claude Petitpas, on 20 July.[27] On 8 August, La Vallière also had a commission registered at Port Royal, though we do not know its precise terms.[28] Presumably he, too, was attempting to justify his activities.

Since, according to the journal, La Vallière arrived at Port Royal on 2 August, and since we know that Bergier was still in the area on 24 August, it is very likely that the two rivals met during this period. What is certain is that, at the end of July and the beginning of August 1684, the *St. Louis* arrested eight English vessels which were fishing and trading in the area. Bergier confiscated their cargoes of fish and furs, and eventually took their captains back to France, where they were brought before the Office of the Admiralty at La Rochelle. But our author seems to know -- or care to record -- nothing of these events.[29]

Clearly, there were assembled at Port Royal at this time some of the most prominent people in Acadian history of the period, representing various political and commercial interests. They included Bergier himself, his assistant Robert Challe, and his rival La Vallière; Messieurs de St. Aubin and de St. Castin, in charge of strategic settlements on the far side of the Bay of Fundy; and John Nelson of Boston, whose business interests allied him with La Vallière, and who took little account of the disputes between France and England. It seems almost impossible that this gathering should have been accidental, nor that some kind of confrontation could have been avoided. Nevertheless, the journal is completely lacking in information on these matters. Its author does not seem to share Bergier's commercial interests, nor to be involved in the struggle for political domination of the colony. His rôle seems to be simply that of a casual observer.

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27 RG1, Vol. 2, No. 24, PANS. On 20 July, according to the journal, the *St. Louis* was off Port Mouton in the fog; the documents must have been sent ahead by Bergier.

28 *Ibid.* This collection of documents includes the record of the registration of the commission, but not its form. In 1678, La Vallière recieved a commission from Frontenac as governor of Acadia; a copy in RG1, Vol. 2, No. 13, PANS, includes a note that this commission had not been registered.

29 An account of these events is found in RG2, Vol. 1, No. 29, PANS.

What, then, was his business in Acadia? Implicit in the nature of the journal is an interest in navigation around the coast, recorded both by verbal description and by means of maps. Explicit is the desire to inspect the oak woods of Merligueche; being unable to do so during his first visit to LaHave while Bergier was there, he makes a point of stopping there on the return voyage.

What is the significance of these oak woods? Our author clearly knew about their existence, and his visit to them is the only detail we are given about his activities while *La Marianne* was in port. The area was one where, in the 1630s, Nicolas Denys had established a lumbering operation which had, for a short period, been successful, and about which he wrote in his account of North America.[30] Denys' establishment was on a stream running into the east side of the LaHave, either at Ritcey's Cove or Park's Creek. Ganong considers the former more likely;[31] the portage from there to Merligueche Bay (the part now known as Rose Bay) would be a short one. An established portage route also existed from early times from the upper part of Park's Creek,[32] at a point still known as Indian Path. This area seems to have been the site of Denys' second lumber camp.[33] It appears most likely that our author had read Denys' book[34] and that his particular interest in the area stemmed from Denys' account of its commercial potential.

The first clue as to the author's identity is provided by William Inglis Morse in his *Acadiensia Nova*.[35] Morse tells us that, in 1684,

> Sieur Lalanne, 'écrivain' or clerk in the Department of Marine, was ordered to Acadie...to visit 'the woods, forts, harbours, rivers, anchorages,' and to learn 'the nature, quality and quantity of timber that could be drawn thence to be used in building the King's ships.

30 Denys, *Coasts of North America*, p. 150.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 150 n.

32 Marked on Bellin's 1744 map of LaHave as the "river where there is a portage which leads to Merligueche."

33 Denys, *Coasts of North America*, p. 154.

34 His use of the Indian word *oniguins* for portages may also derive from Denys' account.

35 Morse, *Acadiensia Nova*, II, 55.

Lalanne's report was duly submitted, accompanied by a map of Acadia in three sections, of which Morse reproduces two in his book.[36] In his report, Lalanne stated that

> He was first of all at LaHave, Port Royal and the St. John river, whence he returned to Port LaTour, Merligueche, Canso, Fronsac Passage [i.e. Canso Strait], Chedabucto Bay and river, and many other places...as can be seen from the map which he made, where he marked no place which he had not visited.[37]

This itinerary clearly parallels that described in the journal, though the latter account breaks off at the arrival in Canso and does not describe the presumably subsequent exploration of Chedabucto Bay and the Strait of Canso.

Comparison of the sketches in the journal with Lalanne's map shows further similarities. Although the complete map is much less detailed than the sketches, the same places are named, and their relative locations are identical. Both the journal and the map share the feature, noted by C.J. d'Entremont,[38] of locating the Rivière des Jardins (Jordan river) at what is now Green Harbour, while other cartographers (De Meulle, 1686, and Bellin, 1744) place it at the present site of Port Joli. The journal speaks of, and illustrates, a place described as *Lantien Fiacre*, otherwise known as L'anse St. Fiacre;[39] the same feature is found on the Lalanne map. Soundings correspond for the most part, though the smaller-scale maps often give fewer of them than the sketch-maps. Only at Port LaTour, and within the river mouth at Port Royal, are soundings given which are not found in the journal. The St. John River, and the upper portion of the river at Port Royal, not presented at all in the journal, appear on the general maps. But the time spent in these ports is unaccounted for in the journal, and details of the rivers, as well as the soundings, may well have been recorded in some separate notes.

Similarities are to be seen in the style of mapping, with an elevated coastline rather than a simple contour line, in both cases. The style of compass rose varies among the sketch-maps in the journal, but in one case is identical with the design used on the Lalanne maps, having a fleur-de-lys representing North, and three

36 *Ibid.*, Appendix B, B1.

37 C11D, Vol. 3 (1696), f. 227, Archives des Colonies.

38 d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, III, 1458, 1459.

39 See footnote 16.

small circles for the eastern point. The unusual spelling of Port à Hource is common to both the journal and Lalanne's map, instead of the more conventional Port à Ours.[40] All these points of relationship suggest that Lalanne's maps may have been based on the sketches illustrating the journal.

What other evidence have we that the Lalanne maps stem from this particular voyage? Some corroboration comes from the presence on board *La Marianne* of Robert Challe, *écrivain du Roi*. Writing several years later, Challe spoke of sites in Acadia suitable for building forts, and listed the St. John River, Port Royal, LaHave, Canso and Chedabucto, all of which were, indeed, visited on this voyage.[41] Challe himself submitted a report on Acadia to Seignelay at the Department of the Marine in 1684.[42] In another book, *Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, Challe included a number of reminiscences about his journeys in New France in connection with Bergier's fishing enterprise. In one of these passages, in which he criticised the conduct of many officers in the colonies, he recalled his experience with "a Gascon officer named Lalanne. He treated me harshly. I arranged to find myself alone with him in Canada. He dared not put his hand to his sword: I delighted in his cowardice."[43] The story continues, but it suffices that it has been established that Challe and Lalanne had met in New France; whether their quarrel dated from his voyage, or from a subsequent encounter, is not made clear.

The *St. Louis* returned to La Rochelle on 21 October 1684.[44] Lalanne's report was written in November, at Rochefort, not far from that port.[45] It dealt in some detail with the types of timber available in Acadia, of which Lalanne stated that he brought back samples, although he concluded that it was not particularly suitable for ship-building. However, he spoke of the climate as "good and temperate" -- this despite his stormy voyage -- and recommended the area for fishing and colonisation.

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40 d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, III, 1457, 1458.

41 Robert Challe, *Mémoires*, ed. A. Augustin-Thierry (Paris, 1931), p. 25.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 262. Possibly that in C11D, Vol. 1, No. 167, Archives des Colonies.

43 Challe, *Journal d'un voyage*, p. 216.

44 RG1, Vol. 2, No. 24, PANS.

45 C11D, Vol. 3 (1696), f. 227-230, Archives des Colonies.

There seems to be little doubt that the anonymous author of the journal was, in fact, Lalanne, employee of the Department of the Marine. His presence at LaHave with Bergier and Challe is consistent with his having crossed from France with them on the *St. Louis* earlier that summer. His evident familiarity with the technical details of navigation is appropriate for a man in the service of the Marine, and his interest in Merligueche and its oak forests matches Lalanne's mission to assess the timber resources of the colony. The lack of interest evinced in the activities of Bergier and Challe stems from the fact that Lalanne's business had no connection with the fishing industry of Acadia, and possibly from an already-existing coolness between himself and Challe. The gaps in the journal during periods in port would be accounted for by the time taken up with investigations of the woods; the results presumably took the form of notes which were incorporated in the report on the subject. If those notes included sketch-maps, then they, in combination with the material of the journal, would have provided ample data for the three maps with which Lalanne illustrated his report, in which, he said, "he has not marked any place which he has not visited." The journal which we have been studying appears to be a record of the gathering of material for these maps. Three hundred years later, it is still of timely interest.

The Atlantic Canada Workshop 1985

Call For Papers

The next meeting of the Atlantic Canada Workshop is scheduled for Sydney, Cape Breton, 25-28 September 1985. The Sixth Atlantic Canada Workshop will be jointly sponsored by the University College of Cape Breton and Fortress Louisbourg National Historic Park through their Louisbourg Institute. The Workshop is an interdisciplinary group of scholars with an interest in Atlantic Canada. Previous conferences have provided occasions for historians, geographers, sociologists, archaeologists, anthropologists, economists, folklorists, museum curators and archivists to engage in discussion and exchange.

Prospective contributors to plenary sessions or workshops should send proposals for papers and a copy of their curriculum vitae, by 1 October 1984, to: Kenneth Donovan, Historian, Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park, P.O. Box 160, Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, B0A 1M0.

A Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir,

I would like to add a few comments of my own to your recent review of Peter L. McCreath and John Leefe, *A History of Early Nova Scotia* (Tantallon, 1982) (*Nova Scotia Historical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1983, p. 114). Let me clarify at the outset that my remarks deal only with their material on Louisbourg (Chapters 10, 11 and 12).

In general, I found the Louisbourg chapters to be poorly researched and poorly written. Not only are there several errors in fact, generally concerning dates, but also the authors frequently use colloquial expressions which I hope would never appear in a book that might be adopted as a school text. Three examples should suffice: "got in on the action" (p. 134); "to scrape a little off the top for themselves" (p. 135); and "high-tailed it for Louisbourg" (p. 168).

Style aside, the authors show almost no understanding of the historical context of the period about which they are writing. An explanation of France's colonial system and policies, and where Louisbourg fit them, is conspicuous by its absence. There is no discussion of the demographics or social structure of Louisbourg or of its three religious orders, and precious little on the Isle Royale economy. Almost the only indication one is given of social life in the town is that everyone was always intoxicated. There was a problem with alcohol, admittedly, but to take it to the lengths they do is unbelievably naive and absurd. They write: "In fact, drunkeness became a greater problem in Louisbourg than in any city in Europe." I would love to see the data base for that statement.

For me, the most disturbing aspect of these chapters on Louisbourg is the off-hand racist statements the authors make about the French. Witness:

-- However, he carried with him the French tendency to hesitate, not to perform the daring (p. 142).

-- ...DuQuesnel, true to French form, felt the risk was too great (p. 143).

-- But the French, true to form, would not be drawn into a battle they could avoid (p. 158).

By way of contrast, when the British are shown to delay or hesitate, it is because "other priorities had to be considered."

In other areas, the authors demonstrate no understanding whatsoever about siege warfare or construction and budget realities in the eighteenth century. But enough is enough.

In closing, I would like to urge you to ask for more critical comments by your book reviewers. I certainly do not mean attack for the sake of attack, but well thought out criticisms that look closely at the contents of the book.

Sincerely yours,
A.J.B. Johnston,
Fortress of Louisbourg
National Historic Park.

Book Reviews

The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America, 1770-1815, by J.M. Bumstead. ISBN 0-88755-127-0. Edinburgh University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 1982. 305 pages, hardcover, $25.00.

This is a scholarly work, well written and deeply researched -- if we are to accept the innumerable "references," appendices and bibliographies which the author claims as authority for his thesis.

I use this word in no derogatory sense: I cannot regard Professor Bumstead's contribution to those already available and treating with the Clearances, as a book, but rather as a thesis requiring the reader to check repeatedly the plethora of references with the identifications at the end of the volume. This makes for wearisome reading and, in my case, I confess to having taken the simpler way of ignoring everything except the text.

But given that these references may help the student of Scottish history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to log the books, documents, passenger manifests, jurisdictions and legislations which marked this unhappy period, I hope I will not offend if I equate the merit of this work with the words of the professor who wrote at the end of a graduation thesis by a student: "A well researched and clearly set out example of the problem. It does not, however, offer much original thought on the subject under review."

Of course, there were two main emigrations from the Highlands and, to a lesser extent, from the Lowlands of Scotland. This is not in dispute and one wonders why Professor Bumstead should be at such pains to prove a point which is known to every Scot who has or had his roots in the country since the '45.

I regard the author's tendency to play down the evictions as part of the "Highland mythology" -- as though it were a sort of emotional tradition to be treated with skepticism -- as somewhat naive.

My forebears owned Knoydart. In 1853, the estate was sold to meet some of the massive debt incurred by Colonel Alastair Ranaldson MacDonell, 15th. Chief of Glengarry. One of the conditions of the sale was the "removal" of all tenants and cottars. This was done. Similar wholesale forced removals occurred during the early clearances in the second half of the eighteenth century, hard on the heels of the brutal suppressions of the clan system, following the defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden, and conducted deliberately by the government in order to neutralize the authority of the chiefs and immobilize their armed forces.

Then followed the later migrations, as the author rightly states, consisting largely of the Scottish upper and middle classes. The chiefs were given a clear

choice: to side with the English Crown and endeavour to merge into English society, or to get out. Those who got out, many with their families and close relations, including my forebears, left their impoverished clansmen at the mercy of the new landlords, whomever they may have been. Small wonder that many of them followed their brethren overseas.

In virtually every case it was economic necessity that lay at the root of the problem. Evictions were all too customary, because the clansmen could not pay the factor, who could not pay the landlord. This is not Highland mythology, but plain fact.

Professor Bumstead's painstaking work should not be shrugged off as out of focus, but would that he had spent less time in libraries, museums, record offices and public archives, and had found time to seek out and talk with some of the thousand Scots in the United Kingdom, North America and the Antipodes, who are descendants of the people he chronicles. He never spoke to or wrote to me nor, to my knowledge, to any of my Clan, nor to any other Highlander about whose ancestors he writes with such assumed authority: more's the pity.

Donald MacDonell of Glengarry

Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics 1783-1786, by D.G. Bell. ISBN 0-9690215-8-5. New Ireland Press, Fredericton, 1983. 261 pages, softcover, $14.95. Available from the publisher, Box 905, Station A, Fredericton, N.B., E3B 5B4.

David Bell's *Early Saint John* is a continuation of the work done by Esther Clark Wright in her seminal *The Loyalist of New Brunswick*, published nearly thirty years ago. Her demographic study changed our perception of the Loyalists from being a "well-bred," educated colonial aristocracy whose members were synonymous with all that was good, noble and patriotic, to that of an ordinary people subjected to an extraordinary experience. What Bell does, is to put the Loyalists who came to Saint John under the historian's microscope, to a greater degree than Wright. He is able to do this because of his discovery, in the Public Record Office, London, of extensive ship passenger and victualling lists, previously unknown to North American researchers. This discovery he has combined with diligent research among other original sources, and with incisive analysis; careful, original and erudite scholarship is the hallmark of this study.

Early Saint John is divided into three parts. The first looks at the Loyalists in New York before analyzing the exodus, fleet by fleet, listing each transport ship and the numbers of Loyalists going to Saint John. In the second part, Bell comes to

his main thesis with his analysis of the origin of New Brunswick politics. Here he argues that the "gentlemen" Loyalists, such as Edward Winslow, using a willing Governor Thomas Carleton, were able to suppress dissent during the early years. Out-migration of a vigorous political element followed their persecution by the "most 'Gentlemenlike' Government of Earth" as "the tory tinge neutralized the liberal 'fragment' to become ideologically pure" (p. 134). The result was that a "sterile, uncreative pall" (p. 133) was cast over the future destiny of New Brunswick.

It is the third part, however, that will likely make *Early Saint John* a standard reference for Loyalist New Brunswick. In this section, Bell presents eight appendices, most with lengthy alphabetical lists of names -- a dream for demographers and genealogists alike. Appendix III, an "Alphabetized List of Refugee Loyalist Households; 1783-84" is based on data extracted from previously unknown passenger and victualling lists, and is arranged to give information on the head of the household, former trade, former home, and size of family at New York, on the transport ships, on arrival, and in Saint John in May and June 1784.

Some readers may find the second part somewhat heavy going and too complex a story, but by including the eight appendices, Bell has achieved a necessary balance that ensures *Early Saint John* will be not only widely read but also extensively used for many years ahead. B.C. Cuthbertson

Mining Photographs and Other Pictures 1948-1968: A Selection from the Negative Archives of Shedden Studio, Glace Bay, Cape Breton, photographs by Leslie Shedden, edited by Benjamin H.D. Buchloh and Robert Wilkie. ISBN 0-919616-25-9. The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, 1983. 280 pages, illustrated, 334 plates, softcover, $25.00.

This attractive volume is a worthwhile contribution to the study of the visual record of Atlantic Canada and its economic history, in this instance that of industrial Cape Breton. The book also provides the reader with a set of critical tools for the understanding of "picture books" and analyses "the relationship between photographic culture and economic life." Thus it must also be considered as a contribution to the reading and writing of photographic history.

The majority of the photographs in the book were the result of Leslie Shedden, owner of Shedden Studio, Glace Bay, being commissioned over a twenty-year period to provide public relations photographs for Dosco. Most of these display Dosco coal mining operations, in order to promote the development of their

mining machinery by showing it in use in the mines. These photographs dramatically portray the mechanization of the coal industry as pit ponies and the accompanying hand labour (which is, however, not shown) give way to underground diesel locomotives and mining machines. The Dosco photographs also include company social events, presentations to employees, and other images designed to promote the idea of a "Dosco family" where the interests of employer and employees coincide. The remainder of the photographs represent the ordinary operations of a commercial studio: weddings, graduations, school sports teams, advertising for local businesses and the like.

The halftone reproductions are of good quality and would appear to do justice to Leslie Shedden's photographs. The layout and design are particularly attractive and special mention should be made of the outstanding cover with its effective use of the photograph "Horses on Vacation." This photograph appears later in the book with the caption "No. 20 Colliery, 1952, 'Horses on Vacation'. The only time the pit ponies were brought to the surface was during the miners' three week vacation period... ." Unfortunately the caption does not indicate the location of the colliery, a problem common to many of the otherwise useful captions. This makes it difficult to locate the photographs, as Shedden photographed a number of Cape Breton collieries. Another problem, albeit a minor one, is the number of typographical errors, not all of which are listed in the errata at the end of the book.

Robert Wilkie's introduction and Don Macgillivray's essay, "Glace Bay: Images and Impressions," provide an historical and cultural context for the interpretation of Shedden's photographs. Macgillivray offers a lively analysis of the traditions and character of Cape Bretoners and the history of coal mining and labour relations in Cape Breton. Wilkie and Macgillivray make effective use of photographs in their analyses, successfully integrating photographs and text. These photographs are drawn not only from the Shedden archives but also from the archives of the Beaton Institute of the College of Cape Breton.

It is difficult to summarize in a few sentences the concerns addressed by Alan Sekula in the final essay, "Photography Between Labour and Capital." He first discusses the problems of interpreting historical photographs when they have been removed from their original context and assembled from archival sources in exhibitions and photographic books. He then goes on to analyse the social and economic role of photography, particularly industrial photography, in a modern capitalist society. He concludes by offering some approaches to the understanding of Leslie Shedden's photographs within the economic and social context of Cape Breton. Unfortunately, because of the difficulty of some of the language and concepts involved and an occasionally pedantic approach, the essay will be totally

understandable only to specialists in the field of photographic and art history. Sekula comments that "the actual experience of a coal mine is quite unlike anything that can be depicted in a still photograph," and that "Literary descriptions and miners' stories are frequently more revealing of claustrophobia, darkness and phenomenal duration than any photograph could be." Indeed, if the book had included some of the miners' stories, it would probably have a wider audience, especially among the people of Cape Breton whom the editors particularly hope to reach.

The policy of the Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design has been to publish artists' writings, "regardless of their relevance for the situation of the institution." I find it a pleasure to see them turn with such a degree of success to a subject of great relevance to their local community. Margaret Campbell

The Loyalist Guide: Nova Scotian Loyalists and their documents, Brian Cuthbertson, editor. ISBN 0-08871-044-5. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1984. 272 pages, softcover, $11.95.

The United Empire Loyalist bicentenary will long be remembered in Nova Scotia. Community events were held throughout the province, the United Empire Loyalist convention was held in Shelburne, and the exhibition "Unshaken Attachment" was displayed at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. One cannot forget the excitement generated when the Prince and Princess of Wales visited Nova Scotia as part of the celebration. Probably the most tangible result of the bicentennial is the Public Archives' publication, *The Loyalist Guide*, compiled by Jean Peterson, assisted by Lynn Murphy and Heather MacDonald, typed by Kandy Lewis, and under the editorial management of Brian Cuthbertson.

The publication contains a foreword by Mary Gillis, Chairman of the U.E.L. Bicentennial Association; an introduction regarding the Loyalist experience, by the editor; and an explanation of the guide. The book is divided into secondary (published) and primary (manuscript) sources, with each section sub-divided into such topics as politics and government, societies, architecture, religion, education, genealogy and biographies, to name only a few. Each of the more than fifteen hundred entries is annotated, thereby providing researchers with insight into that primary or secondary source. Genealogists and local historians are enthralled with *The Loyalist Guide* for two reasons: it is annotated and it cites the Archives' reference/call number for the document/publication. Researchers should be cautioned, however, that these references are to Archives' holdings only, and the

same call number will not necessarily be used in other libraries. The call numbers have also changed for many small items since the book was compiled. These items were transferred to the Archives' vertical file and researchers must check the card catalogue for the correct number before the item may be retrieved. Nevertheless, *The Loyalist Guide* is an invaluable source for genealogists, local historians, and researchers of the Loyalist era. It is a fine publication which should be in every school and public library, museum and historical society, and frequently used by all researchers of the Loyalist experience. The editor, compiler and assistants deserve praise for a job extremely well executed. Philip L. Hartling

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume V (1801-1820), edited by Francess G. Halpenny. ISBN 0-8020-3398-9. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1983. 1044 pages, indices, hardcover, $45.00.

Volume V, which contains the lives of persons who died between 1801 and 1820, is the eighth volume of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* to be published. Its immediate predecessor was Volume XI (1982), which covered the years 1881-1890. The next to be published will be Volume VIII (1851 to 1860).

It jars one's confidence to read in the Introduction (p.xi) that Nova Scotia received new inhabitants such as Bruin Romkes Comingo, "who mingled with long-time settlers" such as Jonathan Binney: the latter in fact arrived in Nova Scotia two years after the former. Such editorial licence apart, there are over one hundred biographies with a Nova Scotian connection, whose subjects are of widely varying interest and importance. The most accomplished and satisfying of them are by Professor Judith Fingard of Dalhousie University, on Bishop Charles Inglis and Governor John Wentworth. But even the Wentworth biography is flawed: the Loyalist governor left not one but at least two illegitimate sons (p. 848). The estate on Bedford Basin, moreover, was Wentworth's "suburban retreat," not his residence (p. 849). The so-called "Friar Lawrence's Cell" was torn down by Prince Edward, to whom Wentworth loaned the property, to make way for Prince's Lodge.

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia is well represented among the contributors by Phyllis R. Blakeley (*Francis Green, Sir Richard Hughes, Alexander McNutt*), B.C. Cuthbertson (*Moses Delesdernier*) and Allan C. Dunlop (*James Brenton, John Burbidge*); and by the late Archivist Emeritus, C. Bruce Fergusson (*Simeon Perkins*). The Assistant Provincial Archivist, Allan Dunlop, achieves a degree of ironic humour by implying that Justice James Brenton (p. 109) has no claim to be included in the *Dictionary* beyond his being related to persons more important

than himself. This brings into question the principle of selection of subjects for biographical treatment, which needs to be re-examined.

Jonathan Binney, Henry Duncan, William Forsyth, Samuel Hart, and Philip Marchington, men of similar mercantile pursuits, were all included; the omission of Thomas Cochran (died 26 August 1801), prominent merchant, Assemblyman and Councillor, is therefore to be regretted. Likewise to be regretted is the omission of Dr. John Halliburton (died 11 July 1801), prominent physician and office-holder. It was negligent to have included both William James Almon and Duncan Clark, but to have left out their friend and colleague, Halliburton, who was long-time Surgeon and Agent to H.M. Naval Hospital and a member of the Council.

In a reference work of such variety and magnitude it was almost inevitable that there would be errors and omissions. Donald F. Chard (p. 608) has confused Charles Morris II with Charles Morris III. The former was commissioned Surrogate General of Probates in 1777; his son and namesake succeeded him in that office in 1799. It was not Charles Morris II but Charles Morris III, moreover, who was commissioned Registrar of Wills and Probate in 1792. Charles Morris II is identified as a judge (p. 607), but no details of his service on the bench are given. In fact, there is no evidence that Charles Morris II ever was a judge; his father, Charles Morris I, had been appointed Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court in 1764 and was interregnal Chief Justice between Jonathan Belcher and Bryan Finucane. In the course of his biography of Henry Duncan (p. 281), R.J.B. Knight makes the extraordinary statement that Alexander Brymer (to be entered in Volume VI), a business associate of Duncan's, "is reputed to have made £250,000" out of his position as Deputy Paymaster of H.M. Forces. Brymer may well have amassed so large a fortune, but it was as the result of a thirty-year career in both New England and Nova Scotia as a merchant, shipowner and agent and overseas trader. The lesson here is that one should not compensate for the lack of adequate primary sources by drawing inferences from conventional secondary ones.

On a more positive note: the standard finding aids remain in place; they have been carefully executed and are very helpful, not least to the reviewer.

Barry Cahill

Joseph Howe: The Briton Becomes Canadian 1848-1873, Volume II, by J. Murray Beck. ISBN 0-7735-0388-9. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston and Montreal, 1983. 343 pages, illustrated, hardcover, $35.00.

This is the second and final volume of what is certainly going to be, for many years to come, the definitive biography of Joseph Howe. Still allowing Howe to

tell his own story, Beck takes us from Howe's frustrating days as the *de facto* premier of the first administration after responsible government, through his role in pacifying the "Antis" of Confederation, to his death less than a month after being sworn in as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.

Howe's restless nature and unrelenting drive lacked focus after responsible government was achieved. The pettiness, the sordid political invective, and the bitter sectarian feuding, all drove Howe to seek his destiny beyond Nova Scotia's shores. His requests for imperial office were eventually rewarded by appointment as Fisheries Commissioner, although his real ambition had been an undersecretaryship at the Colonial Office, or a colonial governorship.

The role of Fisheries Commissioner proved to be only "a sabbath's rest," and the remainder of the volume is taken up with the "crazy confederacy" and "pacifying the 'Antis'." Here the pace quickens for the reader, and there is a thrust to Beck's writing that has not been present in the earlier chapters. Indeed, perhaps the best chapters in the two volumes are these last ones.

It is difficult today to realize just how bitterly opposed Nova Scotians were to Confederation. As Beck makes clear, their antipathy was decided upon well before Howe entered the debate. He provided spirit and leadership to the "Antis," and without him they could not have made their case in London, where Howe, the master publicist, did better than expected to stop the passage of the British North America Act in 1867. He lost the battle because the British government had decided that Confederation was the key to the solution of its North American problems; because of the political skill of Sir John A. Macdonald; and because of a general indifference on the part of the British public.

Howe, the loyal Briton, could not forgive the last-mentioned slight; it turned him into a Canadian, and once a Canadian, he fought his last political battle -- to make Confederation acceptable to Nova Scotia, and to neutralize the "Antis." Although this achievement does not rank with the triumph of responsible government, it was nonetheless of considerable importance to the fledgling new Dominion.

The McGill-Queen's Press is to be congratulated for the fine production of these well-illustrated volumes. I found only one mistake in the two books: in Volume II, p. 219, Sir William Frederick Williams should read Sir William Fenwick Williams; that mention of Williams does not appear in the index.

B.C. Cuthbertson

Genealogical Research in Nova Scotia, by Terrence M. Punch. ISBN 0-919380-29-8. Petheric Press, Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, third edition, 1983. 136 pages, softcover, $7.95. Available from the publisher, P.O. Box 9301, Station A, Halifax, N.S., B3K 5N5.

Genealogical research in Nova Scotia has never been "easy." Only the novice or the opinionated would try to convince you otherwise. The difficulties encountered are perhaps directly proportional to two opposing factors -- a dearth of "official" vital statistics that horrifies most red-blooded Americans, and a plethora of new and interesting avenues of approach which promise a much richer family record than that offered by mere name-and-date studies.

That genealogical research is a growing and increasingly popular past-time is evidenced by the fact that this gold-mine volume is now in its third edition since 1978. It deals specifically and exclusively with Nova Scotia, provides a comprehensive survey of the available and worthwhile sources, and should be regarded as "gospel" for anyone approaching family research in this province. The author's professional credentials are impeccable. Equally important, he is in the forefront of those dedicated to improving the quality, accuracy and proper presentation of genealogical results.

It would be difficult indeed to find any unturned stone in this excellent handbook, which is divided into five chapters: how to get started; what published source materials are available; how to approach research at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia; how to approach other potential sources, such as churches, historical societies, the provincial court system, etc.; and how to compile and assess the final results. An index for surnames and one for subjects round out a superlative little volume.

Subtle improvements are evident in this revised edition: tighter editing; a new discussion of handwriting difficulties with special application to Lunenburg area research; new and/or altered addresses for further investigations; some reorganization of and elaboration on the previous survey of Public Archives sources, which because of their "official" nature are still often intimidating to the uninitiated; an expanded discussion of Acadian sources; some excellent comments on state-of-the-art genealogical methodology and standards; and, in general, an updating of new sources and directions since 1978.

The only possible addition that this reviewer could conjure up was admittedly petty and obscure. The early court records at the Public Archives (RG36-39), although generally unindexed, uneven, poorly organized and difficult to use, can often reveal the most intriguing details about long-forgotten ancestors.

The fact remains that this book is a necessity rather than a luxury. It should be required reading for anyone approaching family research in Nova Scotia, and even those contemplating the hiring of a professional genealogist to do the work for them would be well-advised to consult this survey first. Both the beginner and the advanced can do no better than to read this book and heed its advice.

L.K. Kernaghan

Presbyterian Missions to Trinidad and Puerto Rico: the Formative Years, 1868-1914, by Graeme S. Mount. ISBN 0-88999-187-1. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1983. 356 pages, softcover, $10.00. Available from the publisher, P.O. Box 425, Hantsport, N.S., B0P 1P0.

In his book, *Presbyterian Missions to Trinidad and Puerto Rico*, Dr. Mount sets out to reveal Presbyterian values, rather than Canadian or American values, "in a time when white men shamelessly professed imperialism."

The study provides a useful overview of two Presbyterian missions, one from Nova Scotia, the other from the United States, as they operated in Trinidad and Puerto Rico respectively, during their formative years. The study offers much well-researched data on each mission's origins, organizational structure, evangelical methods and approach to each would-be convert population.

Where it falls down, however, is in the author's inability to admit what would appear to be substantial evidence that the missions did, in fact, mirror the imperialistic age. Data is provided which shows John Morton and Kenneth Grant, Trinidad's fathering missionaries, as strong advocates of the indenture system, as well as keen supporters of Trinidad's ruling class. Other data illustrates their disrespect for the Hindu and Moslem cultures; and the statement is made that the Canadians clearly regarded the East Indian ministry as their subordinate. Instead of analyzing these and other findings within the context of the Canadian imperialistic age, Dr. Mount instead chooses, if anything, to excuse the missionaries for their imperialistic sentiments, at one point stating, "in any event, abuse of black men was not a serious matter to most white men anywhere at the turn of the century." Historians who have questioned the missionaries' motives and values (for example, the Reverend Idris Hamid) are presented by Dr. Mount as "critics."

Dr. Mount's inability to face the evidence of his own research is also apparent in his treatment of the woman's role within the missions. Suggestions are made that the Women's Foreign Missionary Societies in both the United States and Nova Scotia contributed a substantial portion, if not the lion's share, of the

missions' coffers; and even that the numbers of successful converts in Trinidad were perhaps more attributable to the efforts of the Bible women trained by the missionaries' wives and teachers, than to the male missionaries' efforts, as women could enter homes and preach God's word, when the same home would be closed to men. Dr. Mount also suggests that the Trinidad mission, in terms of providing education to girls and women, may well have been ahead ot its time -- and there we are left hanging. Were the missions unique in their treatment of women? In the incompleteness of the analysis, the reader is left frustrated.

A final point refers to the key difference between the two missions, which underlines to this reader the Canadian and American values inherent in the missionaries' approach to their work, rather than strictly Presbyterian values. The Puerto Rico mission, as Dr. Mount indicates, was "a microcosm of island society as a whole, with an appreciable discrepancy tending towards the white population." The Trinidad mission, on the other hand, was aimed entirely at an East Indian, non-Christian, population. These quite distinct populations, it would appear, would result in significant differences in evangelical methods, and in fact, did. Puerto Rico saw the emergence of an indigenous church years before Trinidad. By 1913, the Puerto Rico Presbytery included nine American and six Puerto Rican clergy. In contrast, by 1914 in Trinidad, there were only two ordained East Indian clergy, and their authority was limited to assisting the white missionaries.

In summary, while the study provides much useful data on the two missions, it fails in a number of instances to "go the next step" to provide the kind of analysis which all the evidence would appear to support. In addition, this reader finds that the missionary values operating in Trinidad and Puerto Rico did not stem from Presbyterian values *per se,* but rather were quite accurate reflections of white men living in an imperialist era.

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