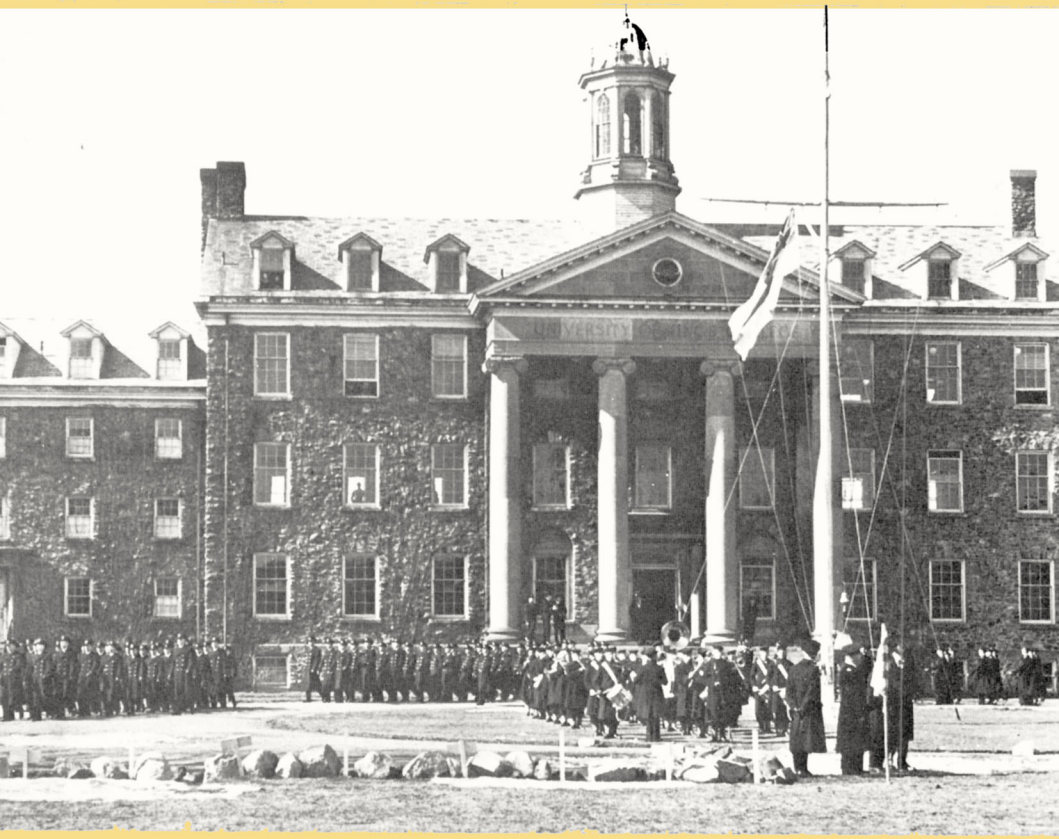
Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 5, Number 1, 1985



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Cover Photo:
Naval officers on parade
King's College quadrangle, *circa* 1942
Courtesy of the University of
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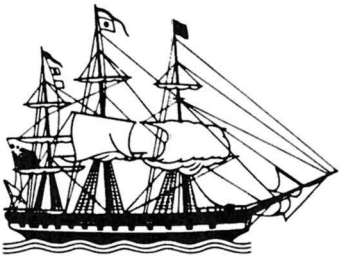

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Nova Scotia
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The Loyalist Governor

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by
Brian Cuthbertson

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Editorial

This year is the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Royal Canadian Navy. Halifax, the RCN and the Second World War are indissolubly linked together in the minds and hearts of Canadians, and even more so for the thousands of naval and merchant crews who bravely challenged and defeated the combined fury of the North Atlantic and the submarine. Tens of thousands more Canadian servicemen, destined for the battlegrounds of Europe, embarked from Halifax to be escorted in safety by the Corvette navy. To Halifax in 1945 and 1946 they returned victorious, many with brides from across the pond.

Today, it is almost impossible to recognize the Halifax of 1939-1945. There are still the famous and seemingly timeless landmarks -- the Sambro Lighthouse, Citadel Hill, St. Paul's and the remains of centuries of fortifications, but almost everything else is changed. In the first four articles of this issue, we revisit Halifax and Atlantic Canada during those war years. It is mostly a nostalgic return, in the finest sense of that much abused word: a wistful look at an earlier time which many of us still remember with humour and affection -- and sometimes with a sense of loss.

The articles on the Doucets of St. Mary's Bay, the siege of Annapolis Royal in 1744, and Governor Isaac de Razilly take us back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before even the founding of Halifax, when its Indian name was *Chebucto*, meaning "great long harbour." And the account of the Cumberland coal mines reminds us of the time when coal was king, not only in Cumberland County, but also in Nova Scotia as a whole.

Our next issue, coming out in December, will focus on Cape Breton's bicentenary, featuring articles to be presented at the DesBarres Conference in Sydney this spring. We are most anxious to have not only articles submitted for publication, but also theme ideas suggested for future issues. Please send all such submissions and suggestions to 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 generous grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness.

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Accounts and Subscriptions - Steven Crowell

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was born on a homestead in Moberly, British Columbia, and now lives in Salmon Arm, B.C. Mrs. Piersdorff has had a varied career across Canada as a telephone operator, a civilian fingerprint technician with the RCMP, and finally, as a registered nurse specializing in maternity, geriatric and psychiatric care.

She is now retired, except for health-care-oriented volunteer work, and is instead actively pursuing a writing career. To date, she has been published in the *British Columbia Historical News*, and a poem, "Mariposa, California," was included in the *World's Greatest Contemporary Poems* (1981).

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THOMAS G. LYNCH
was born in Halifax and currently resides in Dartmouth. He is a graduate of the DeVry Institute of Technology, Toronto, where he specialized in microminiature circuitry and electronics.

After serving in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Canadian Coast Guard, Mr. Lynch is now a free-lance journalist. He has published three books and numerous articles, all military oriented, and is a member of several shipping and naval research societies. He is presently the associate editor of *Canada's Navy* (Corvus Publishing, Calgary) and ship's historian for HMCS *Sackville*, Canadian Naval Corvette Trust.

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was born in Inverness, and was raised both there and at Meteghan River. He holds a B.A. from Université Sainte-Anne. Following graduate studies at Université d'Ottawa, Mr. Pothier was a research assistant at the Louisbourg Restoration Project. He is currently a curator at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa.

Mr. Pothier is the author of *Course à l'Accadie* (1982), reviewed in the June 1983 issue of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review.* The present article carried here derives from this work, which is a critical edition of the campaign journal kept by the French officer, Duvivier, concerning his ill-fated expedition to recapture Nova Scotia for France in 1744.

HOPE V. HARRISON
is a native of River Hebert, Cumberland County, and now resides in Maccan, where she actively pursues an interest in area history. Since 1973 she has been a feature writer for the Cumberland Publishing Company newspapers. Mrs. Harrison has also been published in the Fundy Group Publications in Yarmouth, and by *The United Church Observer.*

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JOAN 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, University of 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 Lunenburg County Historical Society, for which group she has written a commemorative booklet, *Isaac de Razilly, 1587-1635, Founder of LaHave*. Mrs. Dawson is a regular contributor to the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*.

"Anybody here from the West?"

Kay Piersdorff

Forty years have gone by since the end of World War II, and though I am now living in British Columbia, I find that memories of wartime in Halifax and Dartmouth when I was there as a young air force wife are still very strong. Perhaps my memories of that time are more vivid because they were coloured by the contrasts that I saw between east and west, between English and French, and between the different branches of the armed services. While these contrasts of the early 1940s were indeed obvious, they were not the violent differences we see today. Our country seems -- at least to this Westerner -- alienated and divided in many complex ways. The Canada I knew in the wartime years was more united and more confident; perhaps that was because we had a common enemy to fight.

Like the 1914-18 conflict, this too was the war that would end all wars, and it would be over in a few months. Meanwhile, it still needed men to fight. Canada's small army, navy, and infant air force had to hitch up their trousers and get busy. There was no time to waste.

There was time, for awhile at least, for men and women to choose which military service they wished to enter. How long such luxury of choice would last depended on how many volunteered, and how long the war dragged on. Howard and I were married in 1940, six months after the war began. We were both very patriotic, and we realized that he would soon be marching off to the beat of a distant drummer. The only question was which service had the best drummer. Friends already in the Naval Reserve tried to pursuade him to go with the navy -- get in early and get a commission. His two younger brothers chose the army, and his older brother joined the air force. Howard decided to go that route as well.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had a romantic ring to it. It was the fledgling service, without navy's seniority, or the boot-stomping authority of the army, and it had an "off-we-go-into-the-wild-blue-yonder" glamour. Even though Howard was destined to be a "chair-borne commando," he wanted to be in the air force. In December 1940, he signed on with the RCAF, and in January 1941, he left for Manning Depot in Toronto. I stayed tearfully behind in Edmonton, Alberta.

In March, Howard was posted to 118 Fighter Squadron, which was based at Rockcliffe, outside Ottawa. I joined him there in time for our first anniversary. In July, the squadron was posted to Halifax, pending embarkation overseas, and I made plans to return west at the end of the month. When the squadron was instead placed on reconnaissance duty at Eastern

Passage, outside Dartmouth, Howard wrote to tell me that I could join him. He said he would send me the travel warrant -- without which no serviceman's wife could go to her husband -- and the money for the ticket.

And so I waited, during those last few days of July, for the letter that would take me to Halifax. I came within a cat's whisker of never getting there at all, because my dear husband forgot my married name. On the last day of July I went down to my landlady's kitchen to get my expected letter. Mrs. Hopkins said there was nothing for me. My heart took a trip right down to my sandals. There had to be a letter.

"No," said Mrs. Hopkins, "no letter for you. Just this one for someone I've never heard of. I tried to catch the postman to give it back, but he was gone. I'll give it to him tomorrow."

She took a letter from the shelf and waved it in front of my eyes -- and I recognized Howard's writing! I asked her to let me see it, and there was my name right on the envelope -- or rather, my name before I was married.

"But that's me!" I exclaimed inelegantly: "Miss Katherine Hartley. That's my name!"

There was an ominous silence, broken only by the ticking clock over the stove. Then Mrs. Hopkins said, in a flat, cold voice, "Then you aren't married, after all."

Only by producing my marriage certificate could I persuade her that all was legal; she then consented to let me open the letter in her presence. Inside, along with the warrant, was a money order, and both were made out in my married name. The RCAF orderly room corporal was less excited about my going to Halifax than my husband was.

I raced to the railway station, got my ticket, and arranged for my trunk to be taken to the train. On 1 August, at 4:15 p.m., I was on my way to the Land of the Bluenose.

All I knew of Halifax at that time was that it was the capital city of Nova Scotia, where the United Empire Loyalists had fled from the United States, and where a munitions ship had blown up in the harbour the year that I was born. Almost all I heard for the first few days after I arrived in that city was what had happened during that dreadful explosion.

The first room we found was on Spring Garden Road, almost directly across from the Public Gardens. There I heard about the front door of the house being blown right to the top of the stairs, on that fateful 6 December 1917, coming to rest with nary a crack or a chip in the glass. I

heard, too, about the man who was blown right to the top of Fort Needham, also coming to rest safely, but suffering, along with the loss of his dignity, the loss of all his clothes except one shoe. And, of course, I heard about the anchor from the *Mont Blanc*. If memory serves me right, it was blown clear across the city and came to rest by the North West Arm, where it was left as a monument to some pretty fouled-up communications that led to one of the world's worst maritime disasters.

I had no idea what to expect from Halifax. In Ottawa, in spite of the fact that there was a war going on, there was a fair amount of normal activity, and quite a bit of social life. There was also a false air of expectancy that the war would be over soon; I imagine that was due to the "ivory-tower" mentality that still exists there. Halifax was very different.

Thronging with men and women from all three services, plus the coast guard, Halifax was a garrison city in a state of siege, and it was ill-equipped to handle the situation. Not surprisingly, Haligonians resented being invaded by the rest of Canada; they did not dislike the forces personnel, who had no choice in the matter, but they did resent the fact that so many wives, and often children, accompanied them. Since Halifax was rather far east -- as far as the rest of Canada was concerned -- great local emphasis was placed on the subtle differences between Maritimers and "Westerners."

After a week on Spring Garden Road, we found a boarding house on Henry Street, north of Camp Hill Hospital. Howard had to stay in barracks during the week, out at Eastern Passage, but he could be with me for the weekends. It was while I was at this boarding house that I was asked, one night at dinner, if I had read a letter that was being bandied about the city. There were looks of dark suspicion on the faces of my fellow boarders -- all native Maritimers, as they talked about what a scurrilous thing it was.

Fortunately, I had no idea what they were talking about, and said so. I was told that it had obviously been written by a Westerner -- a real Westerner, and not just someone from Quebec or Ontario (who were also Westerners as far as the Haligonians were concerned). Luckily for me, no one had a copy of it, and no one wanted to say exactly what was in it. If I had read it then, I'm sure I would have laughed, and in short order would have found myself out on the street with my few possessions scattered about my feet.

Much later, when we were living in Dartmouth, I finally read that letter. It was indeed a scurrilous thing, and I could understand why there was so much resentment about it. It was a criticism of Halifax, providing am-

ple justification for anger. It called the small streetcars "Toonerville Trolleys," and suggested that a prospective passenger take along Mothersills' Seasick Remedy and a saddle. Possibly it was the word "saddle"that convinced the Haligonians that a Westerner had penned such a dastardly diatribe.

The article went on to say something about the curtains in the houses on Lower Water Street having been washed in Bedford Basin, but I am not sure of the connection now. There were other less complimentary remarks. Looking back on it, from the perspective of a Westerner who had better manners than to criticize her hosts when in their home, the letter does not seem to have been wicked so much as in very poor taste. I have to admit that I laughed when I fianlly read it, but to a population pressed to the limit by the influx of all those "Westerners," that letter was bound to be inflammatory. Nobody had invited all those people from the rest of Canada to come to Halifax.

While we never took the time to try and understand why the people of Halifax and Dartmouth felt as they did about us, they showed equally little understanding of our situation. They couldn't, for example, see why a woman would follow her husband all the way to Halifax when she could be home, either working or just saving her money. They saw us living in unfamiliar surroundings, often very uncomfortable, and to them it didn't make sense that we should happily leave our families and home comforts for the wartime restrictions of a garrison city that had no time for anything but its war effort. One of my landladies once asked why I had come, and found her own answer when her young husband was taken into the army and posted to Gaspé. She packed up, closed her home, and followed him without a murmur -- to far less comfortable accommodations than we found when we moved.

There was, as there always is in wartime, some ethnic discrimination. Our surname is German, and we were asked to leave when one landlady questioned me concerning our national background. When I replied that we were Canadian, she said that she meant what *nationality* was our *name*. I had never thought about the connection between our name and the enemy, because Howard's father was a child of four when his family came to Canada. And there had been no questions raised when Howard volunteered for the air force. We moved, and when the next landlady asked me the

but it was not for the faint-hearted. We went only once, to see *The Forty-Ninth Parallel.*

The line-up that night was incredible. After two hours we finally reached the lobby. We were very tired by then, and were wondering if the movie was going to be worth the effort, when some homesick soul up in the front of the line called out, "Anybody here from the West?" Pandemonium broke out. From all corners of the lobby came answering cries as people shouted out the names of their hometowns. We happily yelled "Edmonton, Alberta," and revelled in the cheers that followed. We shed a lot of homesickness ourselves that night.

There are so many memories of Halifax and Dartmouth; possibly they have stayed with me longer because we lived there during such a time of stress: we were closer to the war there than in any other part of Canada. Some of my more vivid memories don't seem to have too much connection with the war itself, but they relate in a way to that time, and are of Halifax and Darmouth. Bear with me... .

There were loaves of bread floating on the harbour waters one chilly day when we crossed on the ferry, and on another day there were piles of bananas rotting on a wharf. The dealers in those commodities couldn't get their price, so they abandoned the precious food to the elements. At least some of the bananas were redeemed by hospitals and an orphanage, but the bread that had been cast upon the waters sank without a trace.

There were oxen-drawn wagons coming in on market days, with the little black girls, shining and excited, their hair in myriads of tiny ribbons, and the solemn black boys sitting beside their parents.

There were Salvation Army Santas, who took up positions on the ferries and caught us coming and going when we went to Halifax to do Christmas shopping.

There is the memory of the worrying Howard and I did, when it came close to mid-July 1942, and our first child was due to arrive. Would he time his arrival so that we could go across to the Halifax Infirmary and Dr. Brennan on the ferry, or would we have to take the water-taxi, or worse still, a taxi-cab all around Bedford Basin if he chose the middle of the night? Michael was thoughtful, as he always is, and we went in the morning. His birth, on 13 July 1942, was the very best result of our stay in Nova Scotia.

There is the memory of rain, as I have seldom seen it before or since -- almost a week of solid downpour that flooded Portland Street, where

we were living when Michael was born, and also flooded the Fairview Underpass, as it did every year according to the news reports. Pictures of submerged cars and of rowboats in the Underpass, and much controversy concerning who was responsible for doing something about this vital land route out of Halifax, inundated the news.

I remember the tantalizing smell of chocolate from the Moirs chocolate factory; I think it was on, or near Spring Garden Road. I didn't stay in that part of the city long enough to get "hooked" on chocolate then, but it was a lovely aroma.

More than anything, I remember the blackouts; they were the real thing. And I remember, too, the night they rained the leaflets down on Halifax and Dartmouth. I wonder how many of the people who were there in the fall of 1942 also remember the great mock air raid that took place then? Look back with me, as one who survived that raid -- as did everyone else, to the best of my knowledge!

As I have already noted, both cities were under siege, but not necessarily from our enemies across the sea. To use a naval expression -- and when thinking of Halifax, what other kind would do? -- both cities were "loaded to the gunwales." What had previously been a naval stronghold, well-regimented and regulated had now become a mixed blessing, where some people knew the rules and obeyed them, and some didn't. When all those service men and women rented all the available rooms, trouble was bound to develop. While few people really believed that there would ever be an actual air raid, the idea that one might be launched from offshore could not be discounted.

All those people in all those rooms were expected to observe proper blackout procedures. Occasionally there were lapses. Spotters who flew above the two cities reported numerous lights showing, and wardens on the ground were immediately dispatched to remedy the errors. Added to the problem of visible lights was another issue that could not be so readily solved. That was the Halifax City dump. Situated on what was possibly an underground coal seam, the refuse in the dump had been set afire at some earlier point, and the coal beneath it had been unwittingly ignited at the same time. While it was really only visible from the air, at times enough light was given off to silhouette the city lying between the dump and the harbour.

When these blackout difficulties were added to the authorities' invasion fears, which multiplied after the disaster at Dieppe, Civil Defence sounded the alarm, and thus was born, in the fall of 1942, the mock air raid.

Citizens were warned through the media that there was to be an imitation of a full air raid, on a given night, but with leaflets to be dropped instead of bombs. The leaflets were to advise people on how to behave during an actual air raid. Proper precautions were to be taken and every building was to be completely blacked out. Spotters would be in the sky, along with the fighters and bombers, and any infractions of blackout rules and procedures would be relayed to the corresponding warden of the area at fault. The offender would be dealt with severely.

Advice on what to do in the event of an actual air raid was plentiful. If there were shelters, they were few and far between, and citizens had to improvise. Doors were safer than windows to hide behind; sturdy tables were safer than beds to hide under; crouching beneath cellar stairs was infinitely preferable to going outside. So much was said in advance of the great air raid that when the night arrived, the citizens were "ready, aye ready, " as at last the sirens sounded their mournful wail, and the great mock air raid took off in a blaze of glory.

It was a magnificent display. Kitty Hawks shot across the canopy of the sky, dropping parachute flares to guide the big P.B.Y. bombers on their runs to the target. Large numbers of fighter planes zipped around, howling and skirling in their dodging manoeuvres as enormous searchlights tried to pin them in their beams. The bombers snarled and roared as they swept down on the fully-suspecting populace of that well-known "East Coast Port."

And where was the populace? Huddling against the door jambs? Cowering under sturdy tables? Crouched, shivering, beneath cellar stairs? Not on your hornpipe! We were outside, leaning on neighbour's fences, standing on streets and sidewalks, watching the leaflets fall, and hoping to catch one. How I wish I had one of them now! The people of Halifax and Dartmouth were enjoying the aerial acrobatics as the fighter planes sought to elude the probing searchlights, and there were cheers whenever the silvery planes managed to shoot out of the beams' persistent grasp. There were even cheers for the parachute flares that were faintly reminiscent of the pyrotechnics of almost-forgotten summer fairs. All in all, it was a great show, and it did a lot to relieve the monotony of a life without too many social amenities; a life where the bad news came far more often than did the good.

What the Civil Defence and military authorities thought about that night is better left to the imagination. The blackout itself was effective, but if a real raid had suddenly swept in from over the horizon, the results would

have been disastrous. Much of the population of Halifax and Dartmouth would have been wiped out, and with it, a vital link in the North Atlantic defence chain would have been severed. Somewhere along the line, however, in advertising the raid in an effort to emphasize the need for proper procedures, the higher media exposure changed the exercise from a portent of disaster into a Hollywood adventure.

How to explain the indifference of a war-conscious population? Possibly we thought that it was inconceivable for Germany to send a squadron of bombers across the ocean, and expect any of them to return; and while Japan had the kamikaze pilots, they were even farther away than Germany. Possibly, too, we felt secure, in a devil-may-care fashion, even in wartime Halifax. We all knew that submarines were lurking outside the harbour entrance, and we all feared for the convoys as they left port in the middle of the night. Who could miss their departure, with the "whoo-whoo" of the corvettes, the piping of the tugs, the deep whistles of the destroyers, and the even deeper voice of the luxury liner converted to a troop-ship, the *Queen Elizabeth*? Few people had any illusions that these boats would *not* be attacked. We knew that danger was ever present, but we chose to ignore the threat from the sea, and no one really expected an attack from the air. Besides, if we had stayed indoors, how could we have picked up the leaflets?

One thing the raid did accomplish: blackouts became vastly more satisfying to the authorities. However, the dump continued to light up the life of Halifax, and on many a clear night helped to illuminate the convoys coming into the harbour.

I was in Nova Scotia just over a year. In late October 1942, our absentee landlord, Sgt. "Irish" Stanley, wrote that he was being posted back to Eastern Passage, and that he and his wife would need their duplex. We had to move, and rooms for couples with babies were simply not available. In November, Michael and I left for my hometown of Jasper, Alberta. In 1943, Howard was posted back to RCAF headquarters in Ottawa. Michael and I joined him there in 1944.

We were still in Ottawa when V-E Day came, and we rejoiced that the war was almost over. We were also human enough to derive a small bit of pleasure from the news of what had happened in Halifax that night.

When we heard that the navy had broken its moorings, and had run rampant through the streets of that old city, tearing up the Public Gardens

and wreaking havoc in the shops, we knew a brief moment of vengeful gloating. It didn't last long. We truly regretted the damage done to the Public Gardens. We were even sorry to hear that some of the Halifax shopkeepers had learnt the hard way that their "fair-haired" navy boys were not angels, after all.

Looking back now, older and hopefully wiser, I find myself wondering what has happened to Canadians since those days. During our east coast posting, and indeed all through the war years, our national goals seemed somehow simpler and easier to achieve: to keep Canada safe and Britain free, to end the war, and to get back to our own way of life.

Now we are challenged -- and sometimes torn apart -- by separatism, bilingualism, regionalism, and all the other isms of modern politics and economics. Was life really that much simpler the night they rained the leaflets down on Halifax and Dartmouth? If it was, what other lessons can we learn about ourselves, just by casting back in time and memory? Perhaps in this year of recalling our wartime strengths and beliefs, we can somehow regain a measure of our lost direction as a nation -- a nation that once took pride in its achievements and in its excellent reputation.

"Sleepless and veiled am I": An East Coast Canadian Port Revisited

Jay White

War came quietly to Halifax. There was no marching band, no patriotic fanfare to compare with the spontaneous fervour of 1914. Instead, small groups gathered around the nearest radio, listening in dispassionate silence to the news flashes from Europe. When war was declared on Sunday morning, 10 September, a CBC disc jockey unceremoniously wedged the announcement between selections of "raucous swing music."[1]

It was not that Haligonians, or Canadians in general, were immune from the universal concern over the virulence of German fascism. But few at the time had forseen the consequences of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact of 23 August, or that the outcome of the Polish question would differ markedly from the lengthy chain of crises which had preceded it. In any event, these were European matters, far removed from the daily routine of a Canadian port city. It was as though a placid Venus were being threatened by a hostile Mars: certainly important in the larger scheme of things, yet hardly earth-shattering.

Halifax remained proud of its heritage as a British naval stronghold, but that role had ended over thirty years before, and the Canadian military presence in the intervening period -- except of course during the First World War -- was tenuous at best. An assessment of Canadian armed forces requirements in September 1936 concluded that Halifax was sufficiently prepared to "meet any anticipated threat by a hostile overseas Power against the Canadian Eastern seaboard," despite the acknowledged obsolescence of existing armament and the complete absence of anti-aircraft defences.[2] In the spring of 1939, the Honourable Ian Mackenzie, Minister of National Defence, stated in the House of Commons that "barracks, dockyards and other shore facilities of the naval forces were generally antiquated and inadequate... ."[3] At that time, indigenous military personnel in Halifax numbered about five hundred, scarcely an imposing force.[4] If war came, Haligo-

The author wishes to thank Dr. John Weaver for his comments on an earlier draft of this article.

1 *Maclean's*, 12 September 1959, p. 63.

2 James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: Appeasement and Rearmament* (Toronto, 1965), p. 221.

3 Quoted in C.P. Stacey, *The Military Problems of Canada* (Toronto, 1940), p. 97.

4 "Submission by the City of Halifax to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations" (Halifax, 1938), p. 7. RG 44, Box 14, No. 1, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

nians assumed that they would be involved in some significant way; but there was little indication of what form that participation would take.

While Hitler dominated newspaper headlines during the last days of peace, life for most Nova Scotians continued to unfold as usual. They flocked in record numbers to the annual Provincial Exhibition in Halifax's north end, off Windsor Street. Spectators gasped in wonder as Buddy Lumar's Death Dodgers, in a "heart-stopping display of reckless courage and iron nerve," showed how *not* to drive a car. Other diversions included a dozen or more vaudeville acts -- "the finest aggregation that time and money could find" -- and an exhibit of "marvels of modern industry," which included Archie the Robot -- "He talks, walks, speaks! Does everything but think!" -- and a new invention called television.[5]

But the big attraction, the event chosen to highlight the Exhibition's opening ceremonies, was the armed forces demonstration on the evening of 28 August. Billed as "something with a purpose and a moral which those lucky enough to see will never forget in a lifetime," the demonstration involved a mock attack on a tiny village "complete in detail," which had been erected inside the race-track oval at the Exhibition Grounds.

This was not the first time that the Exhibition had provided a forum for such a spectacle. Those a little long in the tooth could recall the summer of 1900, when the main attraction had been a re-creation of the battle of Paardeberg, in which some Nova Scotian veterans of the South African campaign had participated.[6] Of course, there was a war on then; the normal peacetime procedure for staging war games avoided urban areas entirely. Although organizers of the 1939 event issued a disclaimer disavowing any "desire to frighten the public," few witnesses failed to consider its ominous implications. The effect must have been unsettling, if not terrifying:

> Starting with the whine of air-raid sirens in warning of the approaching raiders, the display will follow through with the...roar of aircraft motors in the dark skies overhead, then the ear-splitting crash of bombs -- dozens of them -- as they burst around and in the model village in front of the Exhibition grandstand...

5 *Daily Star* (Halifax), 9 August 1939, p. 3.

6 Thomas H. Raddall, *Warden of the North* (London, 1950), p. 242.

> They will see anti-aircraft guns in action, military transport trucks rushing up reserves and ammunition, infantrymen...charging through billowing, choking clouds of poison gas,...right into the teeth of concentrated machine gun fire from the defending troops.
>
> So realistic will this display be...that the directors of the event have even arranged to have squads of screaming hysterical women fleeing from the dreadful attack of the sky raiders on their houses.[7]

For the next six years, the possibility of just such an attack from the air was to hang over the city like a gloomy fog. Conventional military wisdom held that future wars would likely include massive aerial bombardment of civilian populations. Newspapers in the 1930s had been filled with lurid accounts of Japanese air warfare in China, and the German Stuka dive-bombers in the Spanish Civil War.[8] Those who feared the worst anticipated an attack of lethal gas, which had been used with deadly effect not only in the Great War but also by Italian forces in their 1936 invasion of Ethiopia.[9]

In late August 1939 a nervous Halifax school board was given assurances that the "British Navy will protect Nova Scotians from any...attempted aerial gas attack... ."[10] Five days before the country declared war, Halifax experienced its first blackout. Householders were instructed to darken their windows with specially-made green "blackout curtains," which were soon available, for those who could afford them, at Eaton's. The drills continued through 1941 -- on the average, about one every two months -- but after Pearl Harbour the frequency jumped dramatically. Anyone who attended elementary school in Nova Scotia during the war can recall the civil defence instruction they received, including identification of friendly and enemy aircraft.

By the spring of 1942 a highly organized Civilian Emergency Committee had divided the Halifax peninsula into fourteen districts, each with its

7 *Daily Star*, 25 August 1939, p. 8.

8 Peter Calvocoressi and Guy Wint, *Total War* (London, 1972), p. 62.

9 Angus Calder, *The People's War* (London, 1969), p. 24.

10 *Daily Star*, 1 September 1939, p. 3.

own platoon of volunteers commanded by an air raid warden. In cooperation with the Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Order, this civil defence organization set up first aid posts, emergency hospitals, relief stations and temporary shelters.[11] Even the Boy Scouts were enlisted -- they sold sand (a precaution against incendiaries) at five cents a bag from a depot at the corner of Chebucto Road and Westmount Street.[12]

Beginning in June 1942, no fewer than seventeen "training practices" were carried out in the Halifax area to the end of 1944.[13] One such exercise on 3 August 1942 employed over two thousand civil defence volunteers in "an imaginary attack on Halifax...followed by calls for auxiliary firemen, decontamination squads, first-aid units, and rescue groups to deal with 'fires,' 'gas attacks,' 'casualties,' and persons 'trapped' in 'damaged' buildings."[14] By the middle of the month military authorities had issued orders that servicemen carry gas masks at all times.[15] Some measure of the general apprehension towards aerial attack was given by a Canadian Institute of Public Opinion poll published at this time. The survey showed that one Maritimer in three did not think an air raid in their region unlikely.[16]

For Haligonians, the memory of the 1917 Explosion did little to diminish these fears. On a number of occasions, the parallels were too close for comfort. A bomber crashed on take-off at the Shearwater RCAF base in October 1941, triggering a series of loud detonations that shook buildings and rattled nervous citizens.[17] On 10 April 1942, a British munitions ship caught fire near George's Island and burned for five hours until finally sunk by a Royal Canadian Navy minesweeper. And early on a November morning in 1943, another cargo vessel caught fire in Bedford Basin. This Ameri-

11 *Ibid.*, 11 March 1942, p. 4.

12 *Mail* (Halifax), 3 January 1942, p. 3.

13 RG 35-102 (36) c. 94, PANS.

14 *Daily Star*, 4 August 1942, p. 3.

15 MG 1, Vol. 489a, 19 August 1942, PANS.

16 *Herald* (Halifax), 8 August 1942, p. 3.

17 MG 1, Vol. 488, no. 2847.2, 3 October 1941, PANS.

can steamer, the twelve-thousand-ton *Volunteer*, was carrying a large quantity of flammable magnesium and over two thousand tons of light and heavy ammunition, as well as depth charges and dynamite. An RCN fire control party, while fending off the protestations of the ship's inebriated master and officers, coolly took control of the floating powder keg. Several tense hours later, two tugboats gingerly eased *Volunteer* into position on the southern tip of McNab's Island, where she was scuttled just off Mauger's Beach.[18]

There were other incidents of a similar nature, but for security reasons the full story was usually not revealed to the general public. Nevertheless, the local grapevine soon carried the news up and down the waterfront. With facts in short supply, the truth was embellished with generous amounts of fiction. The latest "buzz" -- as tales of unknown origin were called -- was often the hottest topic of conversation on the dance floor of the Silver Slipper, or over a quick meal at Norman's. When U-boats began operating off the eastern seaboard in early 1942, for example, speculation was rife that an air attack on Halifax might be launched from German surface vessels. With surprise attacks on Pearl Harbour in Hawaii and Clark Field in the Philippines still fresh, the most popular scenario envisioned a bombardment of the Dockyard and the oil refinery at Imperoyal, whereupon the Teutonic airmen would land in some remote area, destroy their aircraft, and march cheerfully into the nearest internment camp. Another rumour which recurred periodically alleged that various well-known fishermen or former rum-runners had been apprehended "with a schooner provisioning enemy subs off Newfoundland, and summarily shot by the RCN."[19] Not surprisingly, little evidence has yet surfaced to verify such unscrupulous enterprise, or its drastic consequences.

On the other hand, in these extraordinary times the truth itself sometimes assumed an unbelievable quality. Consider the case of the reincarnated seamen, for instance. In March 1942, immigration officials in Halifax were mystified by the application for Canadian citizenship of some fifty Chinese merchant sailors. Their ship torpedoed from under them two months before, the survivors argued that they had in fact perished, only

18 These two incidents are described in detail in Graham Metson, *An East Coast Port* (Toronto, 1981), pp. 104-106, 124-127.

19 MG 1, Vol. 488, no. 2921.1, 27 October 1942, PANS.

to be reborn when picked up and landed on Nova Scotian soil. The authorities remained unconvinced by this rather novel claim to immigrant status.[20]

These seafarers knew a good country when they saw it. Their desire to stay in Canada may very well have been influenced by the friendly atmosphere which greeted them at the brand new Allied Merchant Seamen's Club on Hollis Street, north of Morris. It had not always been so: at first, merchant seamen of all nations were shunned by the rest of the population. One horrified matron told of being approached by a diminutive mariner who, cap in hand, politely asked if he could spend the night with her, as he had not seen his wife in over a year.[21] Concerning their foreignness and unkempt appearance, little could be done; however, the lack of a uniform was compensated for in part by the distribution of lapel badges. These pins, labelled "MN" for Merchant Navy, properly identified merchant seamen as civilian workers who were undergoing the same risks as their uniformed counterparts, and for substantially less pay.

The opening in January 1942 of the Hollis Street hostel, operated by the Navy League, and the new Manning Pool on north Barrington, indicated official concern over sagging morale and inefficient marshalling of shipping resources.[22] The buildings were long overdue in a city where facilities were so scarce that merchant crews often stayed aboard their ships in Bedford Basin for weeks on end. Most simply could not afford to come ashore. During its second month of operation, the Allied Merchant Seamen's Club distributed free to more than fifteen hundred sailors, "over 1000 pairs of socks, some 100 sweaters, over 700 scarves, 800 pairs of mitts, 500 woolen caps, 142 overcoats, 250 sets of underwear, over 900 suits of pyjamas and miscellaneous articles of clothing." The hostel's director also reported that the sick bay was "crowded to capacity," and that volunteers were available to write letters "to loved ones for men who could not write themselves."[23]

20 *Ibid.*, Vol. 501, 16 March 1942, PANS.

21 I am indebted to Marjory Whitelaw for sharing this anecdote.

22 Further elaboration on this point may be found in Gilbert N. Tucker, *The Naval Service of Canada*, Vol. II (Ottawa, 1952), pp. 375-376. See also James White, "The Ajax Affair: Citizens and Sailors in Wartime Halifax, 1939-1945" unpublished MA thesis, Dalhousie University (1984), pp. 20-22.

23 *Daily Star*, 24 February 1942, p. 3.

Clearly, the conclusion may be drawn that a significant percentage of merchant seamen who visited Halifax at this time were virtually destitute, in poor health, and sometimes illiterate. With over a hundred ships in the harbour a common occurrence, this was relief work administered on a large scale.

No contingency plan for the use of Halifax as a convoy terminus seems to have existed before the war. The Royal Navy's America and West Indies Squadron was based at Hamilton, Bermuda, until the end of October 1939, and British transatlantic convoys were initially assembled at Kingston, Jamaica.[24] The first Halifax group departed on 16 September, and thereafter convoys comprising an average of fifty ships each left at the rate of one a week.[25] By the end of the war, nearly 18,000 vessels had sailed from the port under escort.[26] Many of that number were ocean liners laden with troops. Because of its ice-free harbour and superb railway and docking facilities, Halifax served as the major embarkation point for the half million Canadian servicemen and women who went overseas.[27]

At first, convoys suffered less from contact with U-boats than with each other. Ships unaccomstomed to navigation at close quarters frequently sustained damage from collision in heavy fog off Nova Scotia. Furthermore, many stubborn skippers preferred to sail independently rather than submit to the rigid control of convoy routing instructions.[28] Statistically, this was not a wise move: from the outbreak of war to the end of December 1939, forty-seven ships were lost on the North Atlantic run, but none were in an escorted convoy. The first casualty from a Halifax convoy to be sunk

24 Tucker, p. 109; Samuel E. Morison, *The Battle of the Atlantic: History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, Vol. I (Boston, 1947), p. 12.

25 Stephen W. Roskill, *The War at Sea*, 3 vols. (London, 1954-1961), II, 109.

26 Tucker, p. 120. This included 12,500 vessels in ocean convoys and 5,100 in coastal convoys. Many merchant ships sailed independently, of course, so the total number of arrivals and departures is much higher.

27 C.P. Stacey, "Halifax as an International Strategic Factor, 1749-1949," in Canadian Historical Association *Report* (1949), p. 54. Fast troopships often sailed without escort; the *Queen Elizabeth*, for example, made two solo transatlantic trips between Halifax and Great Britain in late 1942. See C.B.A. Behrens, *Merchant Shipping and the Demands of War* (London, 1955), p. 281.

28 *Morison*, p. 19.

by a U-boat was a straggler, on St. Valentine's Day, 1940.[29] After the capitulation of France in June, however, German submarines, their numbers growing steadily, extended their operations westward from French bases. The results were grim. Sinkings rapidly multiplied: in October 1940, for example, two Halifax convoys were decimated, losing a total of thirty-one ships.[30] Of the 75,000 Allied merchant vessels that crossed the Atlantic under escort during the Second World War, nearly six hundred did not reach their destination.[31] One in six began its journey at Halifax.

Providing convoys with escorts was a desperate business, at least until 1941 when the first corvettes were introduced.[32] Winston Churchill called them "Cheap and Nasties" -- "cheap to us, nasty to the U-boat" -- and it was an appropriate epithet, although the corvette was not known for pampering its crews either.[33] Equipment supply problems and relatively inexperienced crews notwithstanding,[34] this "patrol vessel, whaler type" design was much better suited for anti-submarine work than its predecessor, the armed merchant cruiser.

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29 *Ibid.*, p. 22; and Roskill, III, 479.

30 Martin Gilbert, *Finest Hour* (London, 1983), p. 855.

31 MG 1, Vol. 503, unidentified newspaper clipping quoting Admiralty statistics, 13 July 1945, PANS. For total Allied merchant shipping losses see Roskill, III, 479; also Liddell Hart, *History of the Second World War* (London, 1970), p. 411.

32 A concise account of Canadian naval operations in the Battle of the Atlantic is Chapter Four of W.A.B. Douglas and Brereton Greenhous, *Out of the Shadows: Canada in the Second World War* (Toronto, 1977).

33 Gilbert, p. 25. Churchill called for the development of an "anti-submarine" escort, based on "the greatest simplicity of armament and equipment," in mid-September 1939. According to G.N. Tucker, however, the Admiralty had already decided on a revised version of a World War One design by June 1939 (Tucker, pp. 31-32, cited in Douglas and Greenhous, p. 64). Since it seems unlikely that Churchill was unaware of this, the September memorandum may have reflected Churchillian reservations, and a hope that someone would come up with something better.

34 On corvettes, see K.R. Macpherson and J. Burgess, *The Ships of Canada's Naval Forces 1910-1981* (Toronto, 1981); K.R. Macpherson, *Canada's Fighting Ships* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 48-54; Alan Easton, *50 North* (Toronto, 1963), pp. 13-14; and James B. Lamb, *The Corvette Navy* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 1-5. For a description of shipboard life, see William H. Pugsley, *Sailor Remember* (Toronto, 1948), pp. 10-39. Naval construction in Canada to 1945 is covered in J.H.W. Knox, "An Engineer's Outline of RCN History: Part 1," in James A. Boutilier, ed., *The RCN in Retrospect, 1910-1968* (Vancouver, 1982), pp. 96-115. In the same volume, see Marc Milner's "RCN Participation in the Battle of the Atlantic" for a revisionist view of the Canadian contribution to anti-submarine warfare, pp. 158-174.

AMCs were passenger liners hastily converted for escort duty; when the war began, a total of forty-one were commissioned by the Royal Navy.[35] Chosen for their speed rather than their manoeuvrability, armed merchant cruisers were pitifully underarmed, with so poor a survival record that their British crews morbidly referred to them as "suicide ships."[36] During the so-called "phoney war" period, Royal Navy strength at Halifax was supplemented with AMCs; in January 1940, for example, the escort force consisted of six capital ships and four armed merchant cruisers. But soon the balance shifted markedly: by June four capital ships had been withdrawn and seven AMCs added.[37] The most famous, HMS *Jervis Bay*, was based at Halifax from mid-June 1940 until her ill-fated voyage in the fall of that year.[38]

The Royal Canadian Navy also fitted out three armed cruisers -- the *Prince Henry*, *Prince Robert* and *Prince David* -- formerly small luxury liners commissioned by Canadian National Steamships in 1930. The *Prince Henry*, under the name *North Star*, had been a regular visitor to Halifax after 1938, seeing commercial service for Clarke Steamships of Montreal. The conversion for war duty of the *Prince David* occupied the Halifax Shipyards for most of 1940; she would spend the next two years on the North Atlantic convoy route. The three Princes were the RCN's largest and most powerfully armed surface units until the cruiser *Uganda* was acquired from the Royal Navy in late 1944.[39]

The constant presence of liners without passengers was an ironic twist characteristic of many aspects of wartime Halifax. In the 1930s the Halifax Board of Trade and like-minded local businessmen had actively lobbied for a larger share of passenger liner traffic. Port development in the inter-

35 Behrens, p. 217.

36 MG 1, Vol. 489a, 4 May 1941, p. 4, PANS.

37 Roskill, I, 269-270.

38 This period also included a six-week refit in Saint John, New Brunswick. Source: Admiralty Log Books, Directorate of History, Department of National Defence, Ottawa. Certainly one of the most heroic naval engagements of the war, the best account of the *Jervis Bay*'s encounter with a German pocket battleship is George Pollock, *The Jervis Bay* (London, 1958), now out of print.

39 Fraser M. McKee, "Princes Three: Canada's Use of Armed Merchant Cruisers during World War II" in Boutilier, pp. 116-121.

war period had concentrated on improving facilities that would attract this type of business: the new Canadian National hotel and the Ocean Terminal expansion in the city's south end, for instance. Sir Alexander Gibb, the distinguished British engineer who authored a report for the federal government on Canadian ports in 1932, concluded that the "economic justification of Halifax is essentially as a passenger liner port."[40]

On 2 September 1939, the Halifax *Daily Star* nervously reported that the invasion of Poland had suddenly curtailed port traffic: two Cunard White Star liners, the *Georgic* and the *Franconia*, as well as the German liner *Columbus*, cancelled their scheduled stops.[41] In a manner unforeseen by Sir Alexander or anyone else, however, Halifax was soon handling a greater volume of traffic than ever before in its history. By a fortunate adherence in the twenties and thirties to expansion of waterfront facilities--even when the economic climate deemed such development inadvisable--the National Harbours Board had unknowingly prepared Halifax for the requirements of war. The same cannot be said of the Royal Canadian Navy, which spent much of the war years in an endless struggle to upgrade its shore facilities, often employing servicemen to do so, owing to the labour shortage.[42] There was something symbolic in the use of stone rubble from demolished nineteenth-century Dockyard barracks to build jetties for the corvettes, frigates and minesweepers now crowding the harbour.[43]

The windfall of war business was not unwelcome to a city which had languished in economic doldrums for over fifteen years. But it was prosperity of a fickle nature, difficult to sustain in the long term and subject to limitations imposed by wartime conditions. Thus, the decision in mid-1942 to permanently shut down the Acadia Sugar Refinery in Dartmouth was seen as a severe blow to the local economy, particularly with regard to older workers, who could not join the services or find work in war-related industry. "While war conditions have drawn into the vicinity a great influx

40 Sir Alexander Gibb, *Report. Dominion of Canada National Ports Survey 1931-1932* (Ottawa, 1932), p. 9. The Gibb Report's recommendations were influential in the creation of the National Harbours Board in 1935.

41 *Daily Star*, 2 September 1939, p. 3.

42 Tucker, p. 142.

43 Frank W. Doyle, "Halifax and War," in *The Canadian Banker* (1946), p. 136.

of new residents," observed the *Daily Star*, "this development is not a normal growth. It is the direct result of the war and will...bring in some cases at least, its own problems when peace comes... ."[44]

The greatest effect of the war on the city's economic structure was a dramatic upsurge in government service as opposed to business-related industry. From 1921 to 1951 the manufacturing labour force in Halifax rose "a mere 1.3% while the population...increased by 46.6%." Between 1931 and 1941, however, employees in government service occupations, including defence, increased from eight per cent to nearly twenty-four per cent of the working population. This trend was maintained through 1951, when it stood at twenty-five per cent. In the same twenty-year period, transportation, warehousing and communications sectors dropped from an aggregate high of eighteen per cent of the labour force to under eleven per cent.[45] The war, in short, seems to have re-established the military as a dominant factor in the local economy, a direction which ran counter to pre-war development strategy.

The war economy did offer unique, albeit fleeting, opportunities for exploiting the free enterprise system. The impermanence of wartime trade was illustrated by the report in January 1942 of "former fishermen...averaging $100 a week" in the operation of "some 200 water taxis," ferrying men and supplies in the harbour.[46] Among the more conventional occupations, the demand for workers exceeded the supply, especially during the first half of the war. In early 1942, the Halifax office of the Unemployment Insurance Commission announced that not a single claim had been filed for benefits in that year's first week of eligibility. The Commission placed close to four hundred women as "stenographers and domestics" during one week in January, and it was reported that "mechanics, boiler-makers, machinists, electricians, plumbers and janitors" were all in high demand.[47]

44 *Daily Star*, 3 August 1942, p. 17.

45 These figures are from Alasdair M. Sinclair, "The Economic Base of the Halifax Metropolitan Area," Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University (1961), pp. 16, 47. Statistics quoted do not include Dartmouth, which experienced very slight declines in these categories from 1941 to 1951 (p. 48).

46 MG 1, Vol. 486, 16 January 1942, PANS.

47 *Daily Star*, 2 February 1942, p. 3. A minor controversy flared in March 1943 when an investigation revealed that teenage boys were leaving school to work for sixty cents an hour on the waterfront, loading "TNT and other explosives..."; see MG 1, Vol. 484, 19 March 1943, PANS.

The Navy Dockyard and the Halifax Shipyards were the driving force behind the war boom. In addition to the above-mentioned occupations, shipyard workers included shipwrights, riggers (who installed cables and hawsers), joiners (carpentry and cabinetmaking), blacksmiths and coppersmiths, as well as workers in the mold loft (where wooden templates were made), and in the plate shop, where steel was sheared, flame-cut, punched, drilled, planed and riveted. Expert technicians were also required to install radar, wireless anti-submarine detection, degaussing (demagnetizing), and fire control systems.[48]

An order-in-council in April 1942 introduced a wage freeze for shipyard and dockyard workers: the highest-paid tradesmen on the waterfront were instrument repair specialists, who received an hourly wage of $1.25; the lowest-paid workers were female clerks, who earned just thirty cents an hour. Common labourers were paid forty-five cents an hour. The average wage for tradesmen was about seventy-five cents; apprentices received less than a third of that rate. In sum, total wages paid in 1945 had almost doubled over the 1939 figure of $27 million.[49]

The wartime influx of workers created a serious shortage of accommodation which Wartime Housing Limited, a federal agency, attempted to alleviate by sponsoring eighteen separate housing projects in the Halifax area.[50] By the summer of 1942, over three hundred homes had been built at Notting Park, one hundred and fifty at Eastern Passage, and another project was due to begin at Woodside.[51] In October, two hundred houses were under construction at Ardmore Park, although a shortage of skilled labour was hindering progress. Wartime Housing reportedly received applications from eleven hundred families for homes in the Ardmore project alone.[52] Eventually, more than fifteen hundred prefabricated dwellings were

48 "The Halship Saga," Halifax Shipyards Limited pamphlet (Halifax, 1946), PANS.

49 MG 2, Angus L. Macdonald papers, F883/9, PANS; Doyle, p. 136.

50 John I. McVittie, "A Redevelopment Study of Halifax, Nova Scotia," Supplementary Volume, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University (1957), p. 9.

51 *Daily Star*, 3 August 1942, p. 13.

52 MG 1, Vol. 491, 22 October 1942, PANS.

erected, including "274 units with permanent foundations...built in 1944-45 for veterans."[53]

The worst excesses of rent gouging and profiteering occurred in the first two years of war, before the Wartime Prices and Trade Board established rent controls and a ceiling on prices in late 1941. By 1944, statistics showed that the population of the city had stabilized at about 106,000,[54] relieving somewhat the pressing housing situation. But other factors prevented any moderation of wartime conditions. In July 1941, gasoline rationing was imposed, and "gasless Sunday" became a weekly nuisance. After Pearl Harbour, rubber was added to the list of endangered commodities, and many car owners were forced to put their vehicles on blocks because tires were simply unavailable.

Citizens devised some intriguing schemes to circumvent these restrictions. The Garden Taxi Company equipped one of its cars with wooden tires made of birch and "fastened to the rim by nuts and bolts." One observer commented that "the noise is something awful. You can tell the car is coming by the squeaks and groans." A company official claimed hopefully that the car handled "very well" and "steers better...than with rubber tires," his only complaint being that "on dry days you have to take them off several times and tighten them up again and put them back on. On a rainy day they're lovely."[55] Fortunately for patrons of public transportation -- many of whom already held the city's taxi service in low esteem -- there is no evidence that the scheme ever got past the experimental stage.

On another occasion the gasoline shortage brought forth the best conservationist instincts among a small but determined group of adventurers. In March 1942, the *Nueva Andalucia*, a tanker with a full cargo of aviation fuel, ran aground on Mars Rock near the mouth of Halifax harbour. The wreck burned fiercely for three weeks, after which anyone with a skiff and a little nerve was free to claim his share of the several hundred tons of kerosene still remaining in the hold. The bizarre salvage operation continued for months; and despite the valiant efforts of local police, a surreptitious black market in this high-octane product filled many a parched gas

53 McVittie, pp. 2, 9.

54 MG 1, Vol. 503, 11 October 1944, PANS.

55 *Herald*, 28 July 1942, p. 14.

tank for fifteen cents a gallon. One night the bonanza ended abruptly when "a boat blew up, putting two men into hospital with bad burns."[56]

Spirits of a different kind were the subject of a similar procedure when the old rum-runner *Cassandra* was belatedly hauled off Thrum Cap one day in December 1941: "next morning about 25 kegs of rum floated ashore in the vicinity. The Mounties got 15, but the rest got into the hands of city bootleggers just in time for Christmas... ." The precious cargo was rumoured to have sold for $125 a keg.[57]

Such incidents give evidence of a community adjusting gamely, if not always successfully, to extraordinary conditions. After forty years, however, there persists a much colder image of wartime Halifax. The dark side of the war effort has thus received the most attention: the profiteering, the housing shortage, and the shocking events which marred the V-E Day celebrations, for example. The consensus has been that Halifax was an unfriendly place during the war, insensitive to the needs of servicemen, and only too eager to capitalize on its strategic importance.[58] Seldom is a reference made to the complex network of voluntary organizations mobilized on a city-wide scale, in spite of government indecision and bureaucratic wrangling.[59] According to the standard interpretation, Halifax was just "too overworked, overcrowded and overanxious to put forward any real effort to leave a good impression with the transient soldiers, sailors and airmen."[60] This view is one-dimensional: it does not tell the whole story.

In truth, Haligonians were no less willing, on the whole, to undertake the responsibilities of war than anyone else. But the myth of a "garrison identity" has implied that Halifax should have adapted more readily to war-

56 MG 1, Vol. 489, no. 3271.10, 22 March 1942, PANS.

57 *Ibid.*, Vol. 489a, 10 January 1942.

58 First put forward in William Pugsley's *Saints, Devils and Ordinary Seamen* (Toronto, 1945), this argument has been supported more recently by James Lamb, except that the latter emphasizes the tension between the naval shore administration and restive corvette crews, rather than a strictly civilian/military animosity. See *Corvette Navy*, pp. 128-132.

59 Some aspects of entertainment and accommodation provided for naval service personnel in Halifax are discussed in White, "Ajax Affair."

60 Marcus Van Steen, "The New Halifax Faces Old Problems," in *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (September, 1955), p. 118.

time conditions, having undergone similar experiences in her past.[61] This criticism ignores the many unique aspects that nullified comparisons with previous wars -- the unforeseen growth of naval training, operational and administrative establishments in the city; the simultaneous expansion of an additional military service organization, the Royal Canadian Air Force, at Eastern Passage; the presence of hundreds of naval personnel from a half-dozen European occupied countries; the potential threat of aerial bombardment, against which the city's defences provided little comfort. For these and other reasons, Halifax was unprepared for the war in 1939. Even the convoy system, the chief carry-over from the First World War, would bear slight resemblance, either in magnitude or duration, to its earlier incarnation.[62] The central fact remembered by Haligonians about convoys was that without them, there would probably have been no 1917 Explosion.

A balanced assessment of the war's impact on the city, then, must weigh the negative against the positive. The paradoxes of hostility and hospitality, of poverty in the midst of prosperity, of unprecedented productivity in the face of terrible destruction, of the fear of defeat and the pursuit of victory -- all these things were embraced within the totality of the wartime experience. Describing any one factor in isolation from the others is no more desirable than painting a monochrome of a rainbow. Perhaps the time has come to redress this imbalance. In looking back on a remarkable period in its history, we at least owe Halifax the recognition that she was, in the words of an illustrious visitor in 1943, "something more than a shed on a wharf."[63]

61 Recent historical research on nineteenth century Halifax tends to cast the "garrison identity" thesis in a minor role. See D.A. Sutherland, *"Warden of the North* Revisited: A Re-examination of Thomas Raddall's Assessment of Nineteenth-Century Halifax," in *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, Series IV, Vol. XIX (1981), pp. 81-91.

62 Merchant ships began sailing in convoy from Halifax in August 1917. In the remaining fourteen months of war, fewer than five hundred were organized in this fashion. Stacey, "Strategic Factor," p. 53.

63 Raddall, p. 316.

A Saga of the *Caribou*

Howard K. Yorke

In the early morning hours of Wednesday, 14 October 1942, a German torpedo quickly ended the seventeen-year career of the Cabot Strait passenger ferry, the S.S. *Caribou*. It was one of the better known incidents involving civilian shipping in Canadian waters during World War II. I am not likely to forget it, because I am a survivor of the *Caribou*; many of my fellow-passengers were not so lucky.

How I came to be on the *Caribou* that fateful night requires a brief explanation. I was born and raised on a farm in the Parrsboro area of Nova Scotia, and as a youth joined the local branch of what was then the Canadian Bank of Commerce. During the course of my subsequent career, I was posted in 1940 to the bank's branch office in St. John's, Newfoundland, then a British crown colony.

Getting to St. John's from the mainland in those days was no mean feat. Air transportation was not in vogue at that time, and one was obliged to take the train to North Sydney, Nova Scotia, the overnight ferry across Cabot Strait to Port-aux-Basques, and then another train, the "Newfie Bullet," for a twenty-five-hour, 525-mile journey across the island.

The vessel used for the Cabot Strait crossing was the Newfoundland Government Railway's S.S. *Caribou*. She was 2200 tons and 265 feet long, carried a crew of 46, and had accommodations for about 175 passengers. By October 1942 I had made several trips on her; little did I think that my next crossing would end in disaster, and that I would be a part of it.

On Tuesday 13 October, I arrived in North Sydney around noon, ready to return to Newfoundland after my annual holiday on the mainland. Although the *Caribou* did not sail until late evening, I immediately went to purchase my ticket, and was shown my cabin for the crossing. War was raging at this time, and it was obvious that a great number of passengers were getting on the boat that night, among them many Newfoundland service personnel returning home on leave, as well as various American servicemen stationed on the island.

I did not board the *Caribou* until early evening, but mingled with the passengers until sailing time. I met a friend of mine who had arrived from Newfoundland just that morning and who reported the loss by enemy action, only the day before, of a large paper boat out of Corner Brook. This did not disturb me very much, as we were accustomed to seeing many war-damaged vessels in St. John's harbour, and as there was nothing personal in these situations, no one took an over-serious view of them.

When we were all on board the *Caribou* that night, we were called to attention and taken on a tour of the vessel, during which it was explained where to go and what to do should anything unusual happen on the crossing to Port-aux-Basques. I had never experienced this sort of concern in any previous crossing and it should have prepared me for what was to happen later.

It was also obvious when we boarded that the *Caribou* had taken on nearly 250 passengers, with no accommodations for many of them. In view of this situation, I was asked if I would mind sharing my cabin, and as I offered no objection, I was soon introduced to two gentlemen, complete strangers to me and to each other. One was a Mr. John Danson, a man in his early sixties, returning home to St. John's from a holiday in Toronto, and the other a Mr. Adam Sime of Toronto, a man in his fifties and an engineer with Imperial Oil. These two gentlemen had also been on the boat tour, and after a little discussion regarding this matter, it was decided that nothing could be done; we all agreed to take the risk and sail.

The *Caribou* got underway, the three of us soon retired, and I quickly went fast asleep. I heard nothing more until around 3:00 a.m., when there was a hell of a bang. I awoke with a start and felt the boat rise up, shudder noticeably, and then settle back down again. For an instant, I saw the two men in my cabin, and then the lights went out, leaving everything in complete darkness. What had happened was frightfully obvious.

Before I was out of bed, I heard one man go out the cabin door, with some passing remark which I did not grasp. He was never to be seen alive again; it was Adam Sime, and his body was picked up on the coast of Newfoundland the next day. The remaining man and I rushed to get dressed in the darkness. I found my shirt, got into it and my trousers and shoes, reached up and caught my coat and top coat, and left the cabin, but not before I had ascertained that my companion was John Danson.

With a few words of encouragement to him I left and went onto the upper deck where we had been instructed to go the night before, and where I expected to find the lifeboats -- only to find that they were gone, blown away when the torpedo hit. There were about a dozen people standing around in their night attire, looking at nothing in particular, too shocked or stunned to speak or move, but simply gazing at the spot where the lifeboats should have been.

Seeing no avenue of escape at this point, I crossed over to the other side of the deck to where there should have been two more lifeboats -- only to find them gone also, and much confusion remaining. These two boats had met a different fate: passengers had rushed to them in great numbers, and when lowered into the water the boats had capsized, throwing everyone into the ocean. Turmoil was running pretty high, and there was still no obvious channel of escape open to me.

I returned to my cabin to see how Mr. Danson was progressing, only to find him still dressing and searching around in the dark for his possessions. I told him of my discoveries on the upper deck and implored him to forget his possessions and get moving, as the boat was swiftly sinking. Danson did not seem to register any outward sign of concern, and reiterated that he had been to Toronto on a holiday and had made many purchases of gifts for family and friends, and had no intention of abandoning ship and leaving all behind. He insisted that I continue to look after myself and that he would be all right. Seeing that there was nothing I could do to make this man realize the urgency of the situation, I left and went back on deck.

I do not know whether I went fore or aft, but I had taken only a few steps when I heard a splash right at my elbow, and on looking over the side of the boat, I saw a life-raft right below me, still attached at the end of a long rope to the *Caribou*. On the raft were two crew members. I vaulted over the rail, hung down over the side of the boat, and practically fell onto the raft; the two crew members helped me on and I got little more than my feet wet. I had not got seated when I heard a commotion behind me, and on looking round, saw a lady coming down over the side of the vessel in the same manner that I had. We all assisted her in her final fall, and got her onto the raft without so much as getting her feet wet either. While we were getting her seated, someone cut us free from the *Caribou*, and we floated along on our own, behind the sinking vessel. We had no sooner drifted away than the *Caribou* gave a couple of lurches and mighty belches, then forever disappeared from view beneath the waves.

We continued to drift in the darkness, as we listened to the other survivors around us giving vent to their feelings in many heart-rending prayers , much hymn-singing, and plenty of strong cursing of the German people, particularly Hitler. It was a clear, calm night and sound carried freely over the water. Some forty years later, it is still a most vivid and disturbing memory.

The lady whom we had rescued soon broke under the strain and commenced a long period of intermittent weeping and sobbing, exclaiming over and over again, "Oh, my poor baby! Oh, my poor baby!" We all supposed she was referring to an infant, and were equally upset and in complete sympathy with her when, during a lull in her distress, I got up enough courage to ask her how old her baby was and how she had become separated from him -- only to be told that she was referring to her son, a boy of eighteen! We all breathed a sigh of relief at this information, as we felt that an eighteen-year-old could jolly well look after himself; and he did, and I used to see him now and again when the fishing schooner that he subsequently sailed on called into St. John's for supplies.

Later on during that long night, we got something of a fright when a light was seen up ahead. We feared it was the German submarine, which had perhaps surfaced and was waiting for us. There was nothing we could do to alter the drift of our raft, so we just had to wait and hope for the best. In due course we caught up to the light, only to find that it was a lone man, lying flat on a partially-submerged packing crate of some sort, and holding a flashlight. We easily transferred him onto our raft, and this gave us a total of five persons on board.

We did not become separated by any vast distance from the other survivors in similar circumstances, and accordingly, voices were heard all night long. With morning, a slight breeze came up, which increased the height of the waves, and whenever our raft reached the crest of a wave, we were given an opportunity to view our surroundings clearly. As we were the last to escape from the *Caribou*, we remained at the tail-end of a long windrow of lifeboats, rafts and great quantities of debris swept from the deck of the vessel when she went down. The scene was one of complete desolation and utter chaos; a very depressing sight indeed.

Around 8:00 a.m. a ship, a navy corvette, was seen on the horizon, and a great cheer went up from all the survivors. By 9:00 a.m. it had reached us at the end of the line. We were all taken on board, given dry clothes, handed mugs and mugs of strong black coffee, and put to bed. I was given a hammock and actually got a few hours' sleep, but woke up terribly ill from all the strong coffee and the events of the previous few hours; to this day I still cannot enjoy a cup of the stuff!

Later on and feeling better, I decided to make a trip around the ship to see if I could see anyone whom I had ever seen before; the first familiar

face I encountered was none other than my cabin mate, Mr. Danson. We were relieved to see each other, and immediately exchanged survival history. He told me that when he had finally gathered together all those family gifts and left our cabin, he was standing in water nearly up to his knees, and that when he got out onto the deck, the *Caribou* gave a couple of lurches and he was swept overboard. Fortunately, he was not sucked down with the boat but, as he had a well-filled suitcase under each arm, was buoyed up until he bumped into a raft or lifeboat and was rescued!

After this, Danson asked me, "Young man, what kind of clothes were you wearing when you came aboard the *Caribou* last night?" I replied, "A green, three-piece suit." "Well," said he, "I have your vest" -- and have it he did. In it were my pen and pencil set, keys, some folding money and a handful of loose change. He had been so engrossed in dressing and gathering up his many possessions that he had forgotten that he had put on his own vest -- and when he found mine in the dark he had put in on also! Although I lost everything else, I did escape with my full three-piece suit, and all my pocket valuables.

Our rescue ship landed us all in Sydney, from where we went our respective ways. After a couple of days spent with relatives in Glace Bay, I returned to North Sydney to catch the next available boat over to Port-aux-Basques and on to St. John's by train. After the events of early Wednesday morning, 14 October, I did not want to push my luck too far, but the crossing was uneventful. As a footnote to history, I remain a survivor of perhaps the most renowned civilian marine tragedy to occur in Canadian waters during World War II -- the sinking of the *Caribou*.

Editor's Note: Those interested in further details concerning the S.S. *Caribou* are referred to Harry Bruce, *Lifeline: The Story of the Atlantic Ferries and Coastal Boats* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977), pp. 47–57; and to Michael MacKenzie, *It Happened Yesterday* (Grand Falls, Nfld.: Robinson-Blackmore, 1973), pp. 64–68.

The *Caribou* was built in Rotterdam in 1925 for the Newfoundland Government Railway at a cost of $600,000. She had a top speed of 14.5 knots and was specifically designed for ice service in Cabot Strait. The North Sydney/Port-aux-Basques run took eight hours over 96 miles, and was a thrice-

weekly service. During the early war years, the *Caribou* carried many military passengers, and her crew were well aware of their dangerous situation, particularly as the war at sea encroached into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

On her final crossing, the *Caribou* carried 238 passengers and crew, including 117 servicemen. The torpedo tore through the vessel's starboard beam about 3:50 a.m., when the ferry was some 25 miles off the southwest tip of Newfoundland, and in the deepest part of the strait. The vessel sank within ten minutes.

Two of the ferry's lifeboats were destroyed by the hit; a third capsized, and a fourth sank when the sea cocks were left open. Some of the passengers who survived the actual sinking, died of exposure in the lifeboats or drowned in the open ocean. Of the 238 people aboard, 137 died, including 50 Canadian and British servicemen, eight American forces' personnel, 31 crewmembers, and 48 civilian men, women and children. Some survivors claimed that they saw the submarine surface to check its success; others said that forever afterwards, they would hear the screams of those drowning in the darkness.

Naval Footnotes: Gunshield Graffiti

Thomas G. Lynch

Unofficial badges, or what has come to be known as gunshield graffiti, were the products of those bleak, dark years of World War II, when everything appeared to be against the forces of the Allies. Great Britain and Europe -- outside the Soviet Union -- were either threatened by, or under the Iron Boot of two members of the Pact of Steel, Germany and Italy. In the Pacific, the third member, Japan, was rolling up the forces of the United States and the Commonwealth with seeming never-ending ease.

Upon the gray Atlantic, an ever-expanding Royal Canadian Navy was filling its ranks with part-time sailors of the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve (RCNVR), men who had short months before been shoe salesmen, stockbrokers, lawyers, labourers and students, many of them thousands of miles from the smell of salt water. However, they all had one thought now: to stop the Axis powers in their tracks, on the broad supply road that led to that lone bastion, Great Britain.

These men, who had been individuals a short time before, now became faceless members of a horde, dressed in navy blue, identified by a serial number only. They served in uniformly gray ships, indistinguishable from each other, except by another number painted on the vessel's side. Their accommodation was spartan by any standard and lacked any sort of mark that would make it a sea-going version of home.

By 1941, St. John's, Newfoundland was becoming a bustling naval base for both the Royal Navy and the RCN, supporting the many mid-ocean escort groups and disabled merchantmen. One of the recreation spaces devised by Captain Rollo Mainguy was the Sea-Going Officers' Mess, or the "Crow's Nest Club," as it would later become. It was located in a warehouse attic that belonged to the governor, Sir Leonard Outerbridge. A rickety set of stairs, which featured fifty-nine steps, served as the only entrance, and furnishings were cast-offs and make-dos in those early days. However, one of the requirements for admittance to the mess was that a copy of the ship's badge had to be presented, largely to help cover up the barren wood walls. Here was the spark that started it all.

Meanwhile, with hundreds of Emergency Program warships being launched or on the ways, Naval Service Headquarters was barely able to cope with naming the vessels, let alone devising proper heraldic badges. Furthermore, no one could forsee the war's outcome, or what the fleet of the future would entail. The problem was thrown back to the commanding officer of each ship, who was to devise the vessel's badge, have it approved

by the naval Port Captain, and then have it cast at the ship's expense. Of course, the resulting product would be unofficial, and thus not recognized by Ottawa.

Somewhere along the cluttered South Side jetties of St. John's in May 1941, a colourful badge appeared on the side of a four-inch gunshield. We do know that the first examples appeared on ships of Escort Group Five, the infamous "Barber Pole Brigade." From there, the designs spread like some colourful viral disease throughout the escort fleet. The progression from cast badge to artful styling on the ship's main armament was complete. Copies were painted on plywood or whatever else was available, and were presented to the "Crow's Nest Club," where some remain until this very day. Hence it can be seen that the beginnings of the Sea-Going Officers' Mess were subtly intertwined with those of gunship graffiti.

Graffiti leaned heavily upon the young RCNVR limited lifestyle; cartoon characters from the comic strips of hometown newspapers were heavily favoured, with variations on the ships's name being a close second. Some were tongue-in-cheek, sophisticated efforts; others were childish in their simplicity, but reflected the spirit and thoughts of both officers and crew. Some evolved over the years; others changed dramatically with a change in command; still others disappeared forever during refits and "paint-ship" evolutions.

By late 1943, the designs had reached and passed their zenith, and were rapidly disappearing, for a number of reasons. Foremost was an increased maturity of RCNVR personnel after three years of war. A new cynicism had entered the VR's personality: he was brutalized by the attitude ashore and the realities of a total war at sea. Another was the advent of illumination rocket rails on the sides of the main armament.

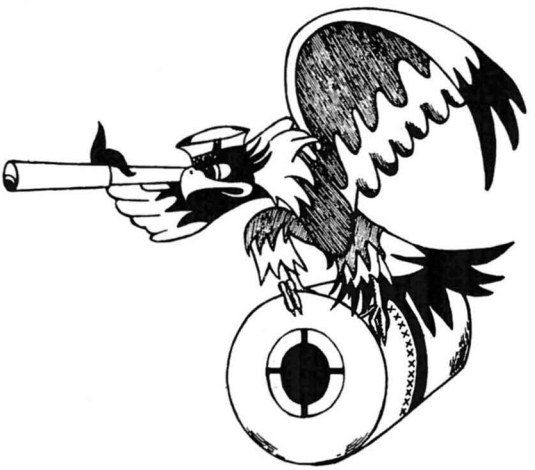
As a result, a trend to more formalized badges became evident during the dying days of World War II. These were devised and cast, usually by bribing a dockyard charge-hand with wardroom rum. The badges exhibited by today's Canadian Navy date from this period. Most were officially recognized by 1947–48, or as new ships were built. The unofficial graffiti of those few previous years was well on the way to being forgotten and lost -- part of the Navy's legacy gone forever. Only in one place did this wartime artwork linger on. This was in the revitalized "Crow's Nest Club" in St. John's, where the gifts of 1941–45 were once more brought to the light of day from diverse sources.

In 1982, the idea of putting together a collection of these unofficial badges took form, and in 1984, *Gunshield Graffiti* was released. Although incomplete, it represented the largest collection ever assembled in one publication, with the hope that it would encourage others to bring forward "lost" examples for preservation. In this it has been moderately successful.

Individualism never really dies, however. On the "fins" of the Oberon-class submarines of the First Submarine Squadron, contemporary cartoon characters have appeared. The most prevalent has been the irrepressible Garfield, shared by *Ojibwa* and the helicopter frigate, HMCS *Saguenay*. However standardized an environment, man's free spirit of individualism appears to cry out in such modern artwork, the lineal descendant of wartime gunshield graffiti.

H.M.C.S.

The first of two such pieces of artwork, this ferocious Model T was one of the best examples of creative artistry. (*Credit*: L.B. Jenson)



H.M.C.S. Halifax

This sea-going eagle graced the gunshield of HMCS *Halifax* from 1942 until war's end. Strangely enough, the first ship in the Canadian Patrol Frigate Program will revive this honoured name. (*Credit*: L.B. Jenson)

H.M.C.S. "Sackville"
– 1942 –

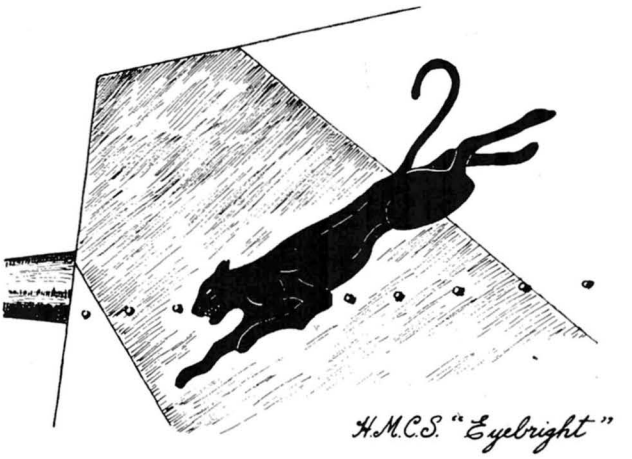
Dated in early 1942, this graffiti was a play upon HMCS *Sackville*'s name: sack full. *Sackville* would have no less than three examples. (*Credit*: L.B. Jenson)

H.M.C.S. "Dauphin"

The former occupation of HMCS *Dauphin's* commanding officer, Lieutenant Commander R.A.S. McNeil in the RCMP Marine Division inspired this example. (*Credit*: L.B. Jenson)

H.M.C.S. "Ungava"

Inspired by her name, HMCS *Ungava* reflected her northern clime in this artwork of 1944. (*Credit*: L.B. Jenson)



A counterpoint to her gentle namesake, HMCS *Eyebright* wore this magnificent panther nearly her whole war career. (*Credit*: L.B. Jenson)

The Doucets of Saint Mary's Bay: Community Leaders Amongst an Uprooted People

Neil J. Boucher

The area was "designed to be twelve miles as the crow flys front at coast" and was "to be called Clare."[1] That was how Lieutenant-Governor Michael Francklin of Nova Scotia described the land allotted at Saint Mary's Bay for the returning Acadians in his Warrant of Survey issued 1 July 1768. Accordingly, two months after the warrant was issued, the first Acadian family took up residence in Clare at *l'Anse-des-LeBlanc* (White's Cove) in the present parish of Saint Bernard. It was in September 1768 that Joseph Dugas, his wife Marie-Josephe (née Robichaud) and their two-year-old daughter Isabelle, planted the seed of what was to become the largest area of Acadian settlement in the province of Nova Scotia. Continuation of the new colony was guaranteed when, twenty days after their arrival, Madame Dugas gave birth to Joseph Jr., the first white baby born in the community.[2]

The following year more colonists joined the original Dugas family, and as the months went by and the news of available land filtered through the Maritimes and New England, still more dispossessed Acadians arrived on the shores of Saint Mary's Bay, seeking a final halt to many years of exile, of running and of hiding. As numbers grew, villages such as Church Point, Little Brook, Saulnierville and Meteghan were founded, until in 1800 the population "numbered 175 families or 1050 souls, and in 1828, had increased to 2038."[3]

These returning Acadians were unlike any other group of people to be found in the province. They were, as Joseph Howe noted, "a quiet and peaceful race, very industrious and very frugal...,"[4] but more than that they were a subdued people, having suffered the psychological effects of total

1 A reproduced copy of this warrant can be found at the Acadian Center, Université Saint-Anne.

2 According to Bona Arsenault in his *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens* (Montreal: Editions Leméac, 1978), she was the daughter of Prudent Robichaud, who would later become the founder of Meteghan, one of the largest Acadian villages along Saint Mary's Bay.

It is possible for us to know the exact date of arrival and birth of the first child in Clare thanks to the register kept by the Abbé Bailly de Messein, whose itinerant ministry took him to the Acadian outposts of the Maritime Provinces. A copy of the register may be found in the Archives of the Acadian Center, Université Sainte-Anne [hereafter AAC].

3 Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia* (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1973), II, 172.

4 Joseph Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia*, M.G. Parks, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 111. See also, Paulette M. Chiasson, "As Others Saw Us: Nova Scotian Travel Literature from the 1770s to the 1860s" in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, II, 2 (1982), 9–24.

uprootedness, of losing family members during their banishment, and of returning to a land that at the beginning denied them all political and educational rights. It is understandable why, in such a situation, the people would rally around themselves to "preserve their language and their customs with particular attachment." But, as Thomas Chandler Haliburton went on to note, total separation from the rest of Nova Scotia was impossible, as "their traffic naturally [led] them to an intercourse with the English."[5] If these Acadians were slowly to become part of the Nova Scotian "mosaic,"[6] and if they were to prove that they deserved the very rights enjoyed by the English-speaking majority, they would have to produce leaders within their own ranks who could take their place along with any Nova Scotian in a variety of fields, including the economic, political, educational -- and even the military -- arenas. The purpose of this article is to show how some members of one family played this role exceedingly well.

If we are to study how certain members of the Doucet family became prominent in the lives of these returnees, it would be fitting at this point to devote a few lines to the history of this family since its arrival in North America. This background outline will provide the reader with a means of better placing the people in their proper context.

Germain Doucet *dit* "Laverdure" was the first man in Acadia to carry that name. Of a Charente-Maritime origin, he could have arrived here as early as 1632 with the de Razilly expedition[7] or, as F.J. Melanson suggests, with the one hundred colonists that were sent for in 1633.[8] In any case it is certain that he was here by 1640, having brought with him recruits from France to serve in d'Aulnay's private army, in which he was commissioned a major. In that year his name appeared on a *procès verbal d'information* condemning Charles de LaTour for his actions against d'Aulnay.[9]

5 Haliburton, *Nova Scotia*, II, 173.

6 This term is used, given the fact that people of British, Irish, American, German and Scottish ancestry could be found in the province.

7 Father C. d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable de l'an Mil au Traité de Paris (1763)*, (Eunice, Louisiana: Hebert Publications, 1981), II, 269.

8 F.J. Melanson, *Genealogies of Certain Families of Plympton, N.S.* (Halifax: F.J. Melanson, 1983), p. i.

9 Placide Gaudet, "Généalogies," AAC. The original documents of Gaudet's genealogical work are in the microfilm collection of the Public Archives of Canada [hereafter PAC].

It is without doubt that Germain Doucet played a leading role in the affairs of the young colony. More than a major in d'Aulnay's army, Doucet was the lieutenant-governor's *homme de confiance* and tutor to his children. When Robert Sedgewick attacked and captured Port Royal in 1654, Doucet was commander of the fort and because of the terms of capitulation agreed upon, as a officer he had to leave Acadia and return to France. Although the terms of capitulation stipulated that inhabitants who did not wish to move away to French-controlled lands could stay on their farms and be permitted to exercise their religion, there seems to have been, even at that early date, a conscientious effort on the part of the Acadians to withdraw from the English.[10]

Pierre Doucet, son of Germain, was among those who left altogether. He was undoubtedly carrying some glimmer of hope that he would return, for he exiled himself to Quebec, not to the more distant motherland. This speculation is reinforced by his presence at Port Royal one year after the official transfer of Acadia back to France in 1670. The 1671 census listed him as a mason, aged fifty years, married to Henriette Poltret (a second wife), and having five children, seven head of cattle, six sheep, and four acres of land.[11] It is this Pierre Doucet who would be the ancestor of all those later carrying that surname in Nova Scotia -- and the first one with that name at Saint Mary's Bay would be his great-great-grandson, Amable.

Amable Doucet was born at Port Royal in 1737, the third child of Pierre Doucet and Marie-Joseph Robichaud.[12] His entire family fell victim to the deportation of 1755 and their destiny was to take them to Massachusetts. In 1760 they were "settled [?] and proportioned" to Marblehead, where "Amicable child of Peter Dosset and Mary Dosset" was listed as being age 23 and sick.[13] His affliction could not have been too serious, for it would not prevent his voyage home a few years after the termination of Anglo-French hostilities in 1763.

10 John Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the 17th Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 141.

11 "Archives des Colonies," Amérique du Nord -- Acadie, Recensements, PAC, Series G¹, Vol. 466-1.

12 Arsenault, *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens* II, 513.

13 Janet Jehn, *Acadian Exiles in the Colonies* (Covington, Kentucky: Janet Jehn, 1977), p. 81.

Of all the "host" colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, probably the most unwelcoming for the Acadians was Massachusetts. The old animosities of Puritanism versus Catholicism that had been so prevalent in the seventeenth century were, to a certain extent, still very much alive in the eighteenth century. Memories of French Catholic invasions from Quebec and of massacres such as the one at Deerfield, Connecticut, in 1704 only served to deepen the almost natural hatred that existed between New Englanders and those who spoke French and professed Roman Catholicism.

When the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, new hope struck the hearts of many Acadian exiles, for now it was possible to dream of a new beginning, and for some like Amable Doucet, that new beginning would be in the colony they had left behind. Life anew could not begin in exactly the same place, for during the interval between expulsion and return, a substantial number of New England Planters had made the former Acadian domains their own and for the most part, the returnees had no desire to settle amid an Anglo-Protestant population -- the New England experience had been sufficient.

Although not the first to take up permanent residence in Clare, Amable Doucet was nonetheless a pioneer of the settlement, having arrived at the beginning of the 1770s or maybe even earlier. He established himself at Major's Point, Belliveau's Cove, where he would occupy lot 22, a spread of 280 acres which he bought from Jean-Béloni LeBlanc, one of the 1771 grantees.[14]

Very little is known of Doucet's first wife, Marie Brossard, for neither Placide Gaudet nor Bona Arsenault even mentions her name in their records. Gaudet does cite one "Marie Brossard," daughter of Pierre and Marguerite Bourg, but her birthdate of 1718 makes her a very unlikely candidate for Amable's spouse.[15] The only concrete fact known about Marie (Brossard) Doucet is that the Abbé J.M. Bourg entered in his register, 14 October 1774, the baptism of Marie Doucet, born 19 January 1774, the legitimate daughter of Amable Doucet and Marie Brossard. But on the same day, the Abbé also entered the marriage of Amable Doucet and Marie Gaudet, daughter of Joseph and Gertrude LeBlanc.[16] The proper interpretation of this

14 The AAC holds the original of this 1771 grant.

15 Gaudet, "Généalogies," Roll I, AAC, from microfilm collection, PAC.

16 "Registre de Carleton" (1759–1795), copy in AAC, pp. 42, 48.

hinges on the acceptable hypothesis that Marie (Brossard) Doucet died in 1774, probably in childbirth or from complications; Doucet was a single parent for nine months -- and in the frontier that was quite sufficient -- and there was also a delay until the arrival of a priest who could perform the ceremony. During this second marriage at least ten children would be born.

Doucet's role in the community first began as the priest's substitute in the absence of the latter. With no permanently resident priest in Clare, the people were served by itinerant missionaries, first from Quebec and later from Halifax. Before his departure, the missionary would designate an individual to act on his behalf (within the accepted conventions of Rome) until the arrival of the next missionary priest, which in effect could be several years hence. This "elder" would preside over prayers at Sunday services, which were then called *messes blanches* because Roman Catholic dogma teaches that "true" mass, or the attainment of transubstantiation, is reserved exclusively for the ordained priest. The designated person conducted religious activities during the feast day celebrations as well (Christmas, Good Friday, etc.), and he also "married" and "baptized" people on the condition that the sacrament be solemnized when a priest did pass by. Thus we read in the Saint Mary's Bay parish records that Amable Doucet had conducted at least 12 marriages between the years 1791 and 1798, these being solemnized after the arrival in 1799 of Clare's first resident priest, the Abbé Jean-Mandé Sigogne.[17]

Sigogne found in Amable Doucet a worthy lieutenant to work with his flock. It is no surprise that Doucet was among the six chosen by the Abbé as *personnes de confiance* to help him in formulating *"quelques réglements et quelques arrangements qui seront jugés nécessaires pour le bien de notre église et notre Paroisse."*[18] Doucet stands out in comparison to the other five because he was the only one who could affix his signature to the document. His literacy was cer-

17 Leonard H. Smith, Jr., transcriber, *Saint Mary's Bay 1774–1801: Early Parish Registers* (Clearwater, Florida: Owl Books, 1983), pp. 13–16.

Jean-Mandé Sigogne was a native of Beaulieu, France, whose opposition to the French Revolution forced him to seek exile in England until 1799, when he agreed to come to Nova Scotia and work among the Acadians of Yarmouth and Digby Counties. His 45-year dedication to both spiritual and temporal matters earned him the just title of "Apostle to the Acadians of South-West Nova Scotia."

18 "Registre de la Fabrique de la Paroisse de la Baye Sainte-Marie 1799," Jean-Mandé Sigogne Collection, AAC.

tainly a factor in his acceptance by the people and priest as an individual capable of community leadership. At this time his literary abilities were only shared by four or five others in the entire region of Saint Mary's Bay, and therefore it is not an over-exaggeration to state that reading and writing were marks of distinction in an illiterate environment. As to where and when he acquired his art, we can only speculate, but odds are that it was prior to his arrival at Saint Mary's Bay, for who there would have had both time and the training to teach him?

Doucet's involvement soon stretched to the provincial scene, for his signature appears on various government documents[19] and in 1792 the Nova Scotian authorities recognized his merit when the Court of Sessions appointed him town clerk for the township of Clare. Further recognition came a year later when he was appointed justice of the peace for Annapolis County, the first returned Acadian to occupy such a post. Unfortunately, records for the justices of the peace at this period are lacking, both at the Public Archives and Annapolis Royal (which was the seat of government for the township of Clare at that time). However, we are aware of one court case which took place in Doucet's own home in 1803. The accused was found guilty of petty larceny and was sentenced to be flogged.[20]

On 21 June 1806, after having served his community well on both a civil and religious level, Amable Doucet died and was buried the following day in the parish cemetery. A few days prior to his death, he dictated his last will and testament to Father Sigogne, leaving all his movable property and a Negro slave named Jerome to his wife Marie. His only son, Amable Bénonie Doucet, received lot 22 on the condition that he look after his unmarried sisters until they entered into wedlock.[21] The memory of this man who had led his compatriots by being their "priest," by conveying their petitions to politicians and bishops alike, and by serving as their municipal clerk, justice of the peace and highway assessor, would not easily fade away and his fraternal devotion still shines in the pages of Acadian local history.

19 Land Papers, RG 20, Series A, Vols 24-25, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

20 Father Clarence d'Entremont, "Amable Doucet; Ecuyer du roi," *Le Courrier* (Yarmouth), Thursday, 2 March 1978, pp. 10, 26.

21 A copy of this will can be found in AAC. There are no other records of domestic servitude in Clare; although Paul Dugas had a resident black in his household, he was not held in bondage. Could Doucet's Jerome be a mark of social distinction for his master?

When Mgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, visited Saint Mary's Bay in 1815, he wrote in his diary:

> *Les Acadiens de la Baie Sainte-Marie parlent avec éloge de l'un d'entre eux: un nommé Doucet, mort il y a environs 20 ans, auquel ils se croient redevables des bons procédés du gouvernement envers eux. C'était un homme instruit, honnête, raisonnable, sachant se présenter avec avantage. En se rendant recommendable par sa déférence aux Gouverneurs d'Halifax, il n'oubliait point que les autres Acadiens étaient ses frères, et travailla pour eux aussi bien que pour lui-même.*[22]

The bishop was undoubtedly talking about Pierre Doucet, a distant cousin of Amable, and a man who also became one of the noteworthy pioneer settlers of Saint Mary's Bay.

Pierre Doucet was five years old and living at Granville Ferry when the deportation began its devastating blow on the Acadian people. Born on 17 May 1750, the son of François and Marguerite St. Scene, he probably lived at or near the spot designated as "Matt Doucet's Vill" on Mitchell's 1733 map of the Annapolis River. Mathieu Doucet, still designated as "Laverdure", would have been Pierre's great-uncle.[23]

Pierre Doucet's family was among some 2,000 Acadians received in Massachusetts in the fall and winter of 1755–56. The governor of the colony, William Shirley, was faced with an immediate and threatening problem. What to do with these homeless, hungry refugees of alien tongue and opposing faith? The Massachusetts General Court decided that the best way to deal with the situation was to have some of these people bound by contract to masters who would have them and care for them. Young children especially were bound out, because it was much easier to assimilate them culturally than to impose absorption on mature individuals. For many this servitude, which broke up the family unit, was a pain too great to contemplate, but was nevertheless borne with despairing resignation.

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22 Mgr. J.-O. Plessis, "Journal des visites pastorales" in *Les Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne*, II, 1,2 and 3 (mars-juin-septembre 1980), p. 211. His comments stated that the Acadians of Saint Mary's Bay often referred to one of their own (meaning Pierre Doucet) towards whom they owed much since he was largely responsible for the kind manner with which the authorities treated them. He was an honest man, learned and one who knew how to approach the governors at Halifax. Anytime he did so, he never forgot that the Acadians were his brothers and that he was working for them as well as for himself.

23 Arsenault, *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens*, II, 508–509. In 1733 George Mitchell was commissioned to survey the Annapolis River. A copy of his map is in the AAC.

Pierre Doucet was one of those separated from his family and bound out. Although we know nothing of his first decade in New England, by 1766 he was under the care of a Captain Seaman, although the question of formal bondage probably never was an issue. For one thing, the lad would have been approximately sixteen years of age in 1766, three years after the Treaty of Paris. Officially the Acadians were no longer enemies of the British Crown. We must also remember that at this period in time, it was not at all strange for a young man to be sent from his family to live with another in order to learn some specific skill. It is evident that the time Doucet spent with Seaman was very profitable, since it enabled him later to become Clare's first master mariner.

Doucet obviously obtained his captain's certificate at a young age, for in one of his log books covering a voyage to Saint Lucia, the journal ends with "Peter Dowsett, his Book, his pen, 1769" -- which would make him nineteen years of age! In fact, records show that he regularly commanded vessels such as the *Victory* and the *Race Horse* out of Piscataqua (on the Maine/New Hampshire border) to various Caribbean destinations.[24]

Pierre Doucet was married while still in New England, at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1773 to Marguerite LeBlanc, herself an exile. The following year we find him with his wife and first-born, Olivier, at Portland, Maine, where the family stayed for two years before moving to Saint Mary's Bay.

It was in the spring of 1775 that Pierre Doucet arrived on the shores of the bay that would henceforth be his permanent home; he chose as the site of his homestead a tract of land in what is now Major's Point, and obtained this two-hundred-acre lot from Joseph Gravois, who sold Doucet his 1771 allotment and moved to Bonaventure County, Québec.[25]

Within a few months of his arrival, Pierre Doucet was steadily occupied in practising the avocation he had learned so well in New England, and was well on his way to establishing a reputation as Clare's ablest sea captain. On 21 December 1775 he left the port of Halifax, commanding the

24 See Anselme Doucet Collection, Box 2, AAC. One is amazed at the complex geometric figures and calculations that Doucet could later produce when describing the methods of plain and Mercator's projection in navigating.

25 Professor Willie Belliveau, "Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Doucet 1781-1861," unpublished manuscript in AAC.

Eunice, which was laden with 15,000 feet of boards and 20,000 shingles. His destination was the island of Grenada in the West Indies.[26] This was the beginning of a series of voyages that would see him command ships such as the *Hannah* and the *Peggy* to a multitude of destinations: Antigua, Bridgetown, Kingston and Havana in the Caribbean, and closer to home, ports such as Boston, Saint John and Annapolis. Much of the trade was for English entrepreneurs from Yarmouth and Annapolis, such as the Lovett families, and we suspect that the ships commanded by Doucet were the properties of these businessmen.

However, it would not be erroneous to assume that Pierre Doucet subsequently carried cargoes in which he had personally invested, and furthermore, that he transported them in his own vessels. Isaiah Wilson has maintained -- without providing concrete proof -- that Doucet was the first to build a ship in Saint Mary's Bay.[27] This would be a logical development, since his profits would be greatly increased if the means of transporting these goods were his own. In addition, it is not inconceivable that a vessel could be built in Clare in the early 1780s. Doucet and his sea-going colleagues would certainly possess the necessary skills; the land abounded with timber, and previous voyages had introduced the necessary tools to the region.

It is without a doubt that Captain Pierre Doucet's numerous voyages to the West Indies and along the Atlantic seaboard account for the availability of certain basic commodities in the newly-established villages of Saint Mary's Bay. Without Doucet and his trade, both commodities and necessities would have been wanting among his compatriots. A quick examination of the *Hannah's* bills of lading gives us an idea of the goods brought into the area: knives and forks, buckets, candles, nails, sugar, molasses, iron, flour, tea and salt, all of which made the pioneer life more bearable. Outgoing cargoes used to procure the above-mentioned goods were usually less varied, for they basically depended on two items of local origin: wood and fish. On one particular voyage to Barbados, Doucet carried 97 barrels of her-

26 "Bills of lading," Anselme Doucet Collection, AAC.

27 Isaiah W. Wilson, *A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia* (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Studio, 1972), p. 84.

ring, 1649 feet of boards, 27,250 shingles, oars made from ash, 320 stakes and 50 squared posts.[28]

Since Doucet had the means of transporting goods and sundries, it was only fitting that he widen his business horizons by being the distributor of these as well. Accordingly, by 1784 he had opened a store, probably on Major's Point, and it became Clare's chief mercantile establishment, selling a variety of foodstuffs and wares. A glance at the store's accounts reveals that not only the necessities of life were available, but that it was also possible to procure non-essentials such as tobacco, coffee and rum; for the privileged few there were even pints of *"eau de vie de France"*! Interestingly enough, Doucet's business ventures were not restricted to serving the immediate Acadian community, since names such as Porter, Thurber, Morrell and Stevens appear in the store's accounts, giving evidence that the surrounding English community patronized the enterprise as well.

Having learned to read and write in New England, it was of course easy for Doucet to transact business, both oral and written, in English; at the same time he did not forget the language of his ancestors and his compatriots, for he made a concerted effort to enter the accounts of his people in French. The spelling and grammar leave much to be desired, but given the circumstances of never having had any kind of education in French, his effort should be commended.[29]

The impact of Doucet's financial operations upon the young Acadian community was as far-reaching as it was obvious. More than merely supplying goods, Doucet had managed to set up a 100% Acadian-owned and operated business on an international scope some two hundred years ago on a shoreline that contained no more than a thousand people. If for nothing else, we must marvel at the resourcefulness of this individual, and we can thus expect that the extent of his influence would spread beyond the sphere of economics to encompass an even wider community involvement.

The military attracted Doucet during the latter part of his life, for in 1793 he was listed as a major in the Acadian militia of Annapolis County.[30] It is difficult to ascertain to what extent he partook in the activities of the

28 "Bills of lading," Anselme Doucet Collection, Box 4, AAC.

29 "Store's accounts," Anselme Doucet Collection, Box 3, AAC.

30 Placide Gaudet, "Unknown yet Prominent," in *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1897.

militia, but we do know that he served the colony well during the early period of the Napoleonic Wars. A letter to Governor John Wentworth, signed by Colonel James Moody and dated 15 August 1795, asked that Captain Doucet be spared impressment because he was actively involved in carrying lumber, coal and other freight used for the repairing and maintaining of the Halifax defences during this military crisis.[31]

The sea had given abundantly to Captain Pierre Doucet; unfortunately, it would also take just as much. On a voyage from St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, to Yarmouth in the fall of 1797, the *Peggy*, laden with lumber, sank off Briar Island in a severe gale. Captain Doucet and his crew all perished. The career of a celebrated Acadian had ended but the memory would long endure, especially when we recognize that he left to the people of Clare one who would carry on the family tradition of community involvement -- his son, Anselme.

Anselme Doucet was sixteen years old when his father died at sea. He was born on 16 May 1781, and in the absence of a priest, he was "baptized" by Charles LeBlanc, with the official ceremony taking place in September of that year when the Abbé Joseph-Mathurin Bourg was in the area.[32]

From the many letters that Anselme -- or "Samuel" as he signed himself whenever he corresponded in English -- has left to posterity (at least 225), it is evident that the young lad received some kind of formal schooling. Could it have been from a French teacher named Bunel, who wrote Captain Pierre Doucet in 1797, proposing to open a school in the latter's home?[33] However, the younger Doucet's command of English suggests that he had been taught by someone proficient in that language -- perhaps the Abbé Jean-Mandé Sigogne, who after living in England for nine years had mastered English, and who would later become Anselme Doucet's personal friend.

As co-heir to the paternal possessions, along with his brother Olivier, Anselme established himself at Major's Point. His wife, Marguerite LeBlanc whom he married in 1801, would bear him eleven children, including two

31 *Ibid.* See also Susan Burgess Shenstone, "Loyalist Squire, Loyalist Church," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, III, (1983), 71-88.

32 Gaudet, "Généalogies," Box 2, AAC, from microfilm collection, PAC.

33 Bunel to Captain Pierre Doucet, 4 April 1797, in Anselme Doucet Collection, Box 1, AAC.

who died young, and one who died a bit older, but unmarried.[34] In time, Anselme Doucet established a reputable lumber business, owning some 1200 acres of timberland at Saint Mary's Bay.

The above-mentioned letters are our best indication of the degree and variety of community involvement that surrounded the career of this individual. One discovers correspondence addressed to the prominent citizenry of the province at that period: included are letters to John Johnston, legislature member for Annapolis (1830), concerning the division of Annapolis County; to James B. Uniacke (1840), reminding the honourable member that a newly-received land grant contained only thirteen grantees instead of the promised sixteen; to Henry Stewart, clerk of the peace at Digby (1839), regarding the construction of a court house in Clare; to Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1828), concerning the building of a pier at Belliveau's Cove; and on a lighter note, to the same Haliburton (1840), lamenting his (Doucet's) inability to find an Acadian maid for the prominent author-politician.[35] Whenever his correspondence to Halifax did not bring about the desired results, it was not unusual for Doucet to saddle his horse and head for the capital, a town he knew well not only from his visits but also through Joseph Howe's *Novascotian*, to which he was a regular subscriber.

It is his military career, however, that accounts for most of the correspondence. Anselme Doucet was commissioned by Sir George Prevost in 1808 as captain of the 25th battalion, Nova Scotia militia;[36] however, he was destined to occupy a more prominent position in the history of the province's civilian army. In a letter of March 1814 we read:

> that his Excellency the commander in Chief has been pleased to approve of the raising of the fifth company, and has also been pleased to propose [to Doucet] a further appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel in the battalion...

34 Gaudet, "Généalogies," Box 2, AAC, from microfilm collection, PAC.

35 Anselme Doucet Collection, Box 2, AAC.

36 A copy of this commission can be seen in the Acadian room, Fort Anne National Historic Park, Annapolis Royal.

> but as it is his wish I do not like to refuse it although I do not think myself capable of that appointment.[37]

In the end, Doucet opted for duty over modesty, since in the following month his letters bear the title of lieutenant-colonel after his signature.

The Adjutant-General's office in Halifax was obviously convinced of Doucet's competence when it asked him to take up the command of a second battalion, this time in Digby. His initial reaction was again negative, as is testified by the following letter to Colonel John MacColla of the Adjutant-General's office:

> I have to earn my living by hard work and have to see to two battalions. I think it is too much. I had no objections to command the 25th Battalion and would do the duty as well as lay'd in my power, but to command the two I am fearful of not doing the duty as it ought; such a distance from Beaver River to Bear River, 60 miles, from Digby to Grand Passage on the neck 40 miles making 100 miles and also being unacquainted with the Digby Battalion will make it very difficult for me.[38]

For the second time Anselme Doucet's sense of duty prevailed, for on 9 September 1820 a letter appears in his correspondence, for the first time signed "Samuel Dousset, Lt.-Col., Digby Regt."[39] Even his retirement from military service seemed to be an unattainable goal. In 1844 he wrote to his superiors that

> in consequence of my being troubled with the rhumatism and at times very much troubled with the cramps, together with being old and heavy in my 64th year and having served as Lt.-Colonel upwards of 30 years and not being able if called upon to do my duty as I ought, I must beg of you to have the goodness to request His Excellency to permit me to resign which I would esteem a particular favour.[40]

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37 Doucet to Lieutenant-Colonel Denis Herbert, 9 March 1814, in Anselme Doucet Collection, Box 2, AAC. It is interesting to note that in none of Doucet's correspondence do we find him using the military title of "Major," yet that is the rank that exists between captain and lieutenant-colonel; even more surprising in the light of this gap is the fact that he was nicknamed "Major" by the local population, and that the point of land on which he lived, as well as the road leading there, both carried the name "Major" in his honour.

38 Doucet to Colonel John MacColla, 5 August 1820, in *ibid.*

39 Doucet to Colonel William Bonnell, 9 September 1820, in *ibid.*

40 Doucet to Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, 18 June 1844, in *ibid.*

Two years later he still held the same positions!

It would be inappropriate to deal with the life of Anselme Doucet without mentioning his adventures in the political arena, which although brief, were exciting and again reveal certain aspects of this man's personality. In order to do that adequately, a brief explanation of the political system of that time is in order. In the 1830s, Nova Scotia was divided into fifteen counties, ten of which (including Annapolis) could send two members to the House of Assembly, and five of which could send only one. Therefore, if the counties by themselves accounted for 25 delegates, where did the remaining 24 members come from to compose a House of 49 representatives? They came from the 23 townships in the province, which each elected one member, plus Halifax Township which had the right to elect two.

Annapolis County was divided into six townships: Annapolis, Granville, Wilmot, Clements, Digby and Clare. Of these, only Annapolis, Granville and Digby could elect a representative. The fact that Clare could not did not exclude Acadians from running in Annapolis; in fact, to solicit votes in Annapolis was the only way an Acadian *could* run. That, however, was a difficult thing to do and victory was highly unlikely, especially when one remembers that Acadians formed only approximately 13% of the county population. Encouraged by his fellow Acadians, however, Samuel Doucet decided to contest those odds in 1830, during what became known in Nova Scotian politics as the Brandy Election.

Elections in nineteenth-century Annapolis County were very much different from what they are today, in that they lasted fifteen days, with election officers spending at least two days in each of the polling stations of Annapolis, Granville, Digby, Weymouth and Meteghan. To declare oneself a candidate was a relatively simple matter; nominating meetings were a thing of the future, for those who wished to become candidates simply presented themselves at the poll on the day designated by the lieutenant-governor as the beginning of voting, and declared their intentions. Voting was done orally and openly -- a rather dangerous procedure -- and in order to stay in the race a candidate had to receive at least one vote per hour.

It was on a Sunday, before mass, that Doucet was approached outside the church by his compatriots, and was asked to throw his hat into the ring. He accepted on the condition that the Acadians vote for him and John Johnston (Annapolis could send two representatives to the House) and not for William Roach, for whom Doucet had a definite aversion. Dou-

cet and a few companions then set out for Annapolis in order to be present to register on the Monday morning following. Other colleagues promised to be there to assure that Doucet got at least one vote per hour. However, political promises are not always kept and neither was this one.

Everything went on relatively well until voting began at the Weymouth poll, where most of the Acadians of Clare went to vote. The proverb says that no man is a prophet in his own land; neither was Anselme Doucet about to be. Many Acadians favoured the work that William Roach was doing, and they decided to vote for Doucet and Roach -- and not for Doucet and Johnston, as the former had stipulated. Seeing that he had been abandoned by his fellow countrymen, Doucet decided to do the same and withdrew from the race, abruptly ending a political career that did not even make it through an entire election.[41]

For the next thirty years Anselme Doucet continued to play a role in the affairs of the community, both as a businessman and a high-ranking militia officer. When he died at age 80 on 25 September 1861, his passing was not only the death of an individual, but also the end of a community symbol who had served to elevate the status of his rural confrères to one which better fitted the patchwork-quilt ethnicity of this province. His funeral procession was impressive, since the merits of this Acadian were acknowledged by a military funeral in which soldiers, by relay, carried his coffin on their shoulders for a distance of five miles to be buried in the Church Point cemetery.

In the history of the returned Acadians, a quick glance at the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth would seem to uncover few individuals whose names are recorded in heroic fashion in the development of an Acadian conscience at that time. However, closer scrutiny reveals that in the remote and nascent Acadian villages that dotted the shores of Nova Scotia from Chéticamp to Pubnico, certain individuals went beyond the routine of daily survival and espoused roles of community leadership which greatly contributed to the economic, civil, and even spiritual well-being of their compatriots.

It was people like Amable, Pierre and Anselme Doucet whom illiterate and subdued Acadians would have to rely upon if they were to elevate their

41 Placide Gaudet, "Le Colonel Anselme Doucet," in *Moniteur Acadien*, 31 August 1897.

station in life. The Doucets -- and others like them in other villages -- were the first people to whom the Acadians looked up to for guidance; they were, in fact, early heroes. A former Acadian scholar once summed up this notion by stating that devotion to one's race requires a recognition of distinguished ancestors who may not necessarily shine in the annals of written history, but who nevertheless merit attention and respect because of the role they have played.[42] Such were the Doucets of Saint Mary's Bay.

42 Conference on Lieutenant-Colonel Anselme Doucet given by Professor Willie J. Belliveau at Saulnierville, 29 October 1935. Unpublished manuscript in AAC.

The Siege of Annapolis Royal, 1744

Bernard Pothier

The year 1744 marks the height of what is generally remembered as the Golden Age of the Acadians. The year is a watershed, on the eve of the most critical decade in their history. The next eleven years witnessed the disintegration of a way of life which had been secured through a generation of general peace, and maintained largely by native shrewdness.

In 1713, Acadia became legally British by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, and reverted to its former name, Nova Scotia. Its principal centre, Port Royal, became Annapolis Royal. The new French colony of Ile Royale (Cape Breton) had its administrative centre at Louisbourg. The problem of recovering Acadia became a preoccupation of the French thereafter, since more than when they had possessed it, they now saw the lost colony as a crucial strategic element in their North Atlantic empire.[1] It was only with the resumption of hostilities between the two crowns thirty years later that an opportunity would present itself.

During the intervening years, circumstances favoured careful French diplomacy. The governor of Ile Royale was instructed to foster the loyalty of both the Acadians and Micmacs, and to act in secret to encourage hostility towards the British in Nova Scotia. This surreptitious propaganda from Louisbourg was enhanced by several factors, most notably the French missionaries who were permitted to work among the Acadians and Nova Scotian Micmacs in accordance with the Treaty of Utrecht. They received regular instructions from the French authorities as to the attitudes, political as well as spiritual, which they were expected to foster among their charges. In addition, there was a lucrative, albeit clandestine, trade in grain and livestock between Nova Scotia and Louisbourg. The annual assemblies of Micmacs at Port Toulouse (St. Peter's) and on Ile Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island) also provided occasions for French reinforcement of Indian loyalty with liberal distributions of powder and ball, muskets and utensils.

The British had been unsuccessful in attracting English-speaking settlers to the colony; an insignificant number of mostly New England fishermen lived seasonally at Canso, and a few traders were at Annapolis Royal. The Acadians formed by far the majority of the population, but the colonial administration, despite repeated and sometimes forceful attempts, had been powerless to exact formal allegiance from them. Though the Acadians were

1 This preoccupation abounds in many sources of the period. See, for example, "Expédition contre Port Royale manqué par la faute du sr. de Gannes [1745]," in Archives nationales, Colonies [hereafter AN, Col.], C[11]D 8, f. 87v.

happy enough to supply foodstuffs and firewood to the garrison at Annapolis Royal, and to provide labour as required on the fortifications, they stayed remote from the English, friendly with the Micmas, and intimate only with the French. They granted the British authority at most a qualified allegiance, insisting on their right to remain neutral in the event of hostilities between the two crowns. For the rest they wished simply to be left alone. Discreetly encouraged by the majority of their own missionaries (as distinguished from those of the Micmacs), they came to regard neutrality as a guarantee of the material security which had eluded them throughout the colony's first century. They remained confident in this belief for more than a generation, until the upheavals which began in 1755.

Lacking the power to compel a more regular allegiance, the British declined to force the issue. They did not want the Acadians to resettle in Ile Royale, emptying Nova Scotia and peopling the new French colony. They instead left the French largely to govern themselves through their elected deputies and their priests. The motley garrison and decrepit fort at Annapolis Royal displayed British weakness rather than strength. In 1720 the British officer, Paul Mascarene, had complained that "all the orders sent to [the Acadians] are scoffed and laughted [*sic*] at as they put themselves upon the footing of obeying no government."[2] Insubordination was an old tradition among the Acadians; it had bedevilled the French administration as much as it did the British.

Despite repeated French warnings of treachery at the hands of the British, the Acadians were not to be budged from their neutral stance by 1744. Much of the credit for this firm position must go to Paul Mascarene, then lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. A shrewd, practical and conciliatory Huguenot, he was the most successful of the British commanders to deal with the Acadians between 1710 and 1755. If he could not count on their unqualified loyalty, he could convince them that their own tranquillity and that of the province rested on continued neutrality. As he confided to a friend later, "I us'd our french Inhabitants with so much mildness, administerd Justice so impartially and employ'd all the skill I was master of in managing them to so good purpose."[3]

2 Mascarene, "Description of Nova Scotia [1720]," in Public Record Office [hereafter PRO], Colonial Office Papers, Series 217, Vol.3, pp. 190ff.

3 Mascarene to Ladeveze, quoted in J.B. Brebner, *New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (New York, 1927), p. 104.

The War of the Austrian Succession began in Europe in 1740, and as relations between Great Britain and France deteriorated, the then commandant at Louisbourg, Jean-Baptiste-Louis Le Prévost Duquesnel had instructions to ensure the safety of the island colony in anticipation of war, and to plan whatever offensive operations should be warranted.[4] The obvious objective was Nova Scotia. When word arrived on 3 May 1744 that war had been declared, the accompanying instructions, however, were for defensive measures only.[5] This, plus the fact that his military means were limited, caused Duquesnel to postpone offensive action in Nova Scotia. There was strong support within his garrison, however, for an immediate offensive, and the strongest urgings came from François Du Pont Duvivier, a captain in the *Compagnie franches de la Marine*. Under pressure, Duquesnel authorized an expedition of 350 men against the English fishing station at Canso (Grassy Island), and appointed Duvivier to lead it.

Born at Port Royal to a French officer and an Acadian mother, Duvivier was the eldest of the second generation New World Du Ponts, and a leading member of the family.[6] Under the aegis of his uncle, Louis Du Pont, *sieur* Duchambon, and with the protection of the colonial administration, the family had developed a powerful military-commercial dynasty which wielded considerable influence throughout the Atlantic region, from the West Indies by way of New England and British Nova Scotia, to the west coast of France.

4 "Mémoire du Roi pour servir d'instruction à Duquesnel," 18 Sept. 1740, in AN, Col., B 70, f. 428v.

5 Maurepas to Duquesnel and Bigot, 18 March 1744, in *ibid.*, 78, f. 388.

6 The circumstances of Duvivier's birth, 25 April 1705, augured anything but a life of high status; he began life at the centre of a routine forced marriage which escalated into a *cause célebre*. His father, François Du Pont Duvivier Sr., stationed at Port Royale from 1702, wished, early in 1705, to marry Marie Mius d'Entremont. The commandant strenuously objected, on grounds common enough for the period: as an officer, Duvivier required family consent before taking a wife of obscure birth and humble circumstances. Local prominence such as the Mius family enjoyed was not sufficient, strictly speaking, to sustain the honour of an officer of the King.

The prospective bridegroom was supported by the garrison chaplain, the Recollet Felix Pain, who defied the temporal authority of the commandant and blessed the marriage in January 1705. Pain, as it turned out, had more important matters to consider than social convention and the acrimony of feuding officers. The prospective bride was in an advanced state of pregnancy, and Pain determined to sanction the union so that the offspring might be legitimate. See Bernard Pothier, "Du Pont Duvivier, François," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II (Toronto, 1969), 205-206; *ibid.*, "Pain, Felix," in *Dictionary*, III (1974), 499-500.

By 1744, François Du Pont Duvivier was Ile Royale's wealthiest officer, with a fortune estimated at 200,000 *livres*.[7] He displayed enormous business acumen, unscrupulous ambition, and a ruthless disregard for competitors in commerce and the fishery. He had extensive commercial dealings with the Acadians, and he passed at Louisbourg as the officer best informed on the situation and true sentiments of the French population in Nova Scotia. As early as 1735, he had expressed confidence that a French force landed in Nova Scotia would gather large numbers of Micmacs and loyal Acadians in its advance across the province. He was firmly convinced, through his extensive family and business connections, that the Acadians had preserved the hope of one day returning to French allegiance.[8]

The Canso enterprise was Duvivier's first formal military venture. His 28 years of military service, passed during peacetime, had afforded him only the experience of tracking deserters and building roads.[9] There was no resistance from the defenders at Canso, however, and at dawn on 24 May the British commander, Patrick Heron, surrendered. The French realized large commercial profits from the undertaking: much booty in fish and stores accrued to the victors, including, of course, the commander and his family.[10]

The raid on Canso signalled the resumption of hostilities in North America. Encouraged by the ease of the Canso raid, Duquesnel began in June to lay plans for a more ambitious expedition against Annapolis Royal, an expedition which was designed to drive the British from Nova Scotia entirely, and to return Acadia to French rule. Duquesnel planned to send a small detachment of regular troops to Nova Scotia, to be joined before Annapolis by two warships, the *Ardent* from France, and the *Caribou* from Canada, both expected presently at Louisbourg. He assumed, having listened to Duvivier, that reinforcements of Indians and Acadian volunteers would join the regulars as they marched through Nova Scotia.

Duquesnel's choice for commander of the land force was once again Duvivier. There can be little doubt that the latter put his own claim strongly

7 T.A. Crowley and Bernard Pothier, "Du Pont Duvivier, François," in *Dictionary*, IV (1979), 251-255.

8 An English version is in Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie* (Halifax, 1865), I, 509.

9 "Etat de services," 16 May 1745, in AN, Col., E 169 (Du Pont Duvivier), ff. a40-41v.

10 "Prise de Canceau...," 20 June 1744, in *ibid.*, C^{11} B 26, ff. 194-194v.

forward, as much for commercial gain as for military aims. Indeed, the then *curé* at Annapolis Royal later recalled contemptuously that during the 1744 campaign, Duvivier "was...more skillful in trade than in the art of war," and that "in his camp he spoke only of hogsheads of molasses and brandy."[11]

Duquesnel's combined land and sea operations would depend heavily on careful planning and delicate timing. The movements of the Indians -- Micmacs from Ile Royale and Nova Scotia, and Malecites from the St. John River valley -- had to be coordinated so that they arrived in unison before Annapolis. There was some apprehension concerning the Acadians: would they in fact join the French in great numbers? Duvivier's optimism was no guarantee, particularly since Mascarene had curbed their trade with Ile Royale since the declaration of war.

From the start, things began to go awry. By the end of June, the promised vessels had not arrived, but Duquesnel was not to be deterred, and he resolved to take a calculated risk. He sent word to the Abbé Jean-Louis Le Loutre, missionary leader of the Nova Scotian Micmacs, to rally his people in support of the French effort. Le Loutre, assured that he would be joined by a land and naval force, appeared before Annapolis at the head of three hundred Micmacs on 11 July. The following day they advanced upon the fort in a half-hearted and undisciplined attack. Mascarene, with seventy or eighty men fit for duty, repulsed it easily. The Micmacs, ignorant of siege tactics, contented themselves with burning buildings in the vicinity of the fort and harmlessly firing off their muskets. On 16 July Mascarene received seventy reinforcements from Boston, and the Micmacs withdrew to Mines (Minas).[12] By committing the Micmacs prematurely, Duquesnel compounded the effects of his inattention to careful planning. Thus, three weeks before Duvivier left Louisbourg, the enterprise was already doomed.

It was the last week of July before the *Caribou* hove into Louisbourg harbour. *Ardent* did not arrive until 16 August and then required extensive repairs. Meanwhile, Duquesnel decided he could delay no longer. On 29 July he

11 Gay Desenclaves to Berryer, 8 March 1759, in *ibid.*, C^{11} A 95, f. 151v.

12 Mascarene to Lords of Trade, 20 Sept. (O.S.) 1744, in T.B. Akins, ed., *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Archives I* (Halifax, 1869), 131-133.

ordered Duvivier to embark for Beaubassin, in the expectation that both warships would join the latter by the time his force reached Annapolis.[13]

Duvivier landed at Baie Verte on the isthmus of Chignecto, 8 August 1744, in command of a small detachment of colonial regulars and Ile Royale Micmacs. The important *Journal* which he kept concerning this expedition provides various additional insights into the continuing fiasco of these French efforts to regain Acadia.

Once Duvivier set foot in the province, he cast himself as the Acadian liberator back among his own people. He now bore official responsibility for the interests of the French Crown in Nova Scotia, and his bombast and arrogance seemed to grow as he progressed through the province. His *Journal* makes it clear that he felt he had begun well, and that family connections had much to do with the welcome he received: "at the first house...I found an old mother who expressed much pleasure at seeing me. She told me she hadn't forgotten my late father and mother."[14]

Cracks in the veneer soon began to appear, however. Duvivier relied on the Acadians for his foodstuffs, material requirements such as scaling ladders, sand bags, picks and shovels, transport and the running of dispatches to and from Louisbourg. His faith in their loyalty was somewhat misplaced; they were even reluctant to supply logistical requirements. What progress Duvivier succeeded in making with them was almost entirely the result of the efforts and influence of the two richest Acadians in Nova Scotia, Joseph LeBlanc and Joseph-Nicholas Gautier.[15] LeBlanc, in particular, agreed

13 This part of the story exceeds the scope of this article. The comprehensive treatment is in Bernard Pothier, ed., *Course à l'Accadie, Journal de campagne de François Du Pont Duvivier en 1744* (Moncton, 1982), p. 41.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68. The original *Journal* is in AN, Col., E 169 (Du Pont Duvivier), ff. 3-33. Microfilm copies are at PAC; the centre d'études acadiennes, l'Université de Moncton; and at the Parks Canada research centre, Fortress of Louisbourg.

15 Joseph Le Blanc *dit* le Maigre was 47 in 1744. So little is known of his early life in Mines, where he was born and lived, that it is difficult to explain what prompted him to side with the French in 1744-46. There is little doubt that he viewed the 1744 campaign primarily as a commercial venture. See Bernard Pothier, "Le Blanc *dit* Le Maigre, Joseph," in *Dictionary*, III, 366-367.

Joseph-Nicholas Gautier *dit* Bellaire was 55 in 1744, a native of Aix-en-Provence; his emigration ca. 1710 undoubtedly influenced his ardent partisanship for the mother country. He married the daughter of a successful Annapolis Royal merchant, whose assets in due course became the foundation of his own considerable fortune, which was estimated at 85,000 *livres* -- making him a veritable tycoon by Acadian standards. He was connected to the Du Ponts by trade and by marriage: in 1737 his eldest daughter had married Duvivier's younger brother. See Bernard Pothier, "Gautier *dit* Bellaire, Joseph-Nicholas," in *Dictionary*, III, 254-255.

on Duvivier's behalf to pay the Acadians in cash for supplies and services, as an incentive for their cooperation. Duvivier optimistically noted that close to two hundred Acadians were owed money for such assistance.[16]

Despite the efforts of these two partisans, however, no more than two dozen Acadians consented to bear arms. Though Duvivier was keenly disappointed at this indifference, he attempted to cover his discouragement. Noting that only ten men had volunteered for the expedition from Beaubassin, he claimed to look forward to the Annapolis district, where his greatest support awaited him.[17] Again he would meet the same reluctance. There can be no doubt that in 1744 the Acadians, with few exceptions, honoured their commitment to neutrality.

The force which reached Annapolis on 8 September totalled some 280 men, of whom 56 were colonial regulars, of all ranks. Four of the six officers were related to the commander. The expedition was distinctly a Du Pont family enterprise, and in his later letter summoning Mascarene to surrender, Duvivier quite confidently informed him that "all my family is here."[18] The other two-hundred-odd men were mostly Indians. Of these, perhaps one hundred were Micmacs from Ile Royale, led by their missionary, Pierre-Antoine-Simon Maillard. The Abbé Le Loutre had had little success in rallying his charges a second time; only thirty Micmacs from Nova Scotia responded. The other seventy Indians were Malecites from across the Bay of Fundy.

During the subsequent campaign, Duvivier praised the abilities of his Indian allies: "The Savages fire their weapons more accurately at night than our regulars do by day."[19] It is unclear whether he was merely being rhetorical for the occasion, or whether he sincerely held them in high esteem as fighting men; the prevailing French opinion appears to have been much less enthusiastic. An unsigned *mémoire* of the 1730s claimed that the Mic-

16 *Course à l'Accadie*, p. 110.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

18 Duvivier to Mascarene [15 Sept. 1744], in AN, Outre-Mer, G^2 188, f. 290v.

19 *Course à l'Accadie*, p. 99.

macs were "much less warlike than the Savages of Canada; they would be little able to carry out a considerable enterprise."[20]

Despite the lack of expected volunteers, Duvivier's more serious disadvantages lay in his military inexperience, the absence of troops trained in siege tactics, and the lack of siege equipment and field artillery, required for the reduction of even the most negligible fortification. The artillery was to have been supplied by the two warships still missing from Annapolis by mid-September, when Duvivier sent three Acadians to Louisbourg to report on his situation, and to ask when the vessels would arrive. He feared that Duquesnel had decided to withhold the warships, either because of the lateness of the season, or on orders of the ministry of the Marine.[21]

Duquesnel had indeed received new instructions from the ministry, who were completely unaware that a siege was in progress in Nova Scotia. The *Ardent* and *Caribou*, according to orders dated 30 April, were to protect the fishery and trade of Ile Royale.[22] Duquesnel was also under some local pressure. The merchants, supported by the commissary, François Bigot, demanded that the warships be used against New England privateers, which were vigorously attacking French commercial activity off the coast of the colony.[23]

Duquesnel, in ailing health and ruffled by the trend of events, felt that he had no choice but to withdraw his commitment to the Nova Scotian enterprise, leaving Duvivier to fend for himself in the heart of enemy territory. In the final unfolding of the fiasco, Duquesnel then dispatched a party of 54 colonial regulars and from sixty to eighty Indians under Captain Michel de Gannes de Falaise, with orders to relieve Duvivier and send him back to Louisbourg.[24]

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20 "Mémoire sur les missions des Sauvages mikmaks...[ca. 1739]," in AN, Col., C^{11}B 1, ff. 251-251v. L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists, Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Vancouver, 1979), p. 36, notes that, though the French could never be sure of the natives, the latter were useful, in Nova Scotia especially, to create alarms and inspire fear in the British. Upton further notes that every statement condemning the unreliability of the Micmacs was "in fact a testimony of their determination to make their own decisions despite the exhortations of French officials and missionaries."

21 *Course à l'Accadie*, p. 96.

22 Maurepas to Duquesnel, 30 April 1744, in AN, Col., B 78, f. 24.

23 Duchambon and Bigot to Maurepas, 20 Nov. 1744, in *ibid.*, C^{11}B 26, ff. 40-43.

24 De Gannes to Maurepas, 8 Nov. 1744, in *Course à l'Accadie*, appendix 14, p. 178.

In the meantime, the British position was precarious. When news of the declaration of war and the capture of Canso reached Mascarene, he set about repairing his derelict fort and trying to boost the morale not only of his garrison, but also of the English civilian population which had sought refuge within the walls. Later, he summed up his situation in a letter to a friend:

> I was...in a fort capacious enough but whose works neglected in time of peace were all in ruins, and instead of five hundred men requisite at least to mann it I had butt one hundred, twenty or thirty whereof were utter invalides; of ten or a dozen of officers not above two or three who had ever seen a gun fir'd in anger and who for the most part were tainted by Republican principles. By confining some of my officers I brought them att least to obey.[25]

Duvivier began the siege proper on 9 September, while Mascarene dispatched a vessel to Boston for reinforcements and supplies.[26] Brisk artillery fire from the defenders forced Duvivier to defer a full-scale assault until the arrival of the French warships -- and artillery of his own -- which he still expected imminently. The French thus had to limit their operations to skirmishing under cover of darkness; as Mascarene awaited further assistance from New England, "the garrison was...much harrass'd with a perpetual alarm," and there were considerable British casualties each night.[27]

Although he still had no artillery, Duvivier formally summoned the British to surrender on 15 September. Mascarene refused, "until such time as the rules of war and honour should allow me to do so."[28] The French commander then proposed a preliminary or conditional capitulation, to take effect only when the warships arrived. There was much pressure within the fort to accept these terms, as the troops had small hope of prevailing against such strength as the French appeared to command. Yet Mascarene was determined to hold out to the last extremity, and this determination

25 Quoted in Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, p. 104.

26 Mascarene to Shirley, Dec. 1744, in *Nova Scotia Archives I*, 140-143.

27 Shirley to Lords of Trade, 4 Oct. (O.S.) 1744, in PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, 26, pp. 178-185, and *Course à l'Accadie*, pp. 88ff.

28 *Course à l'Accadie*, appendix 6, p. 169.

"saved the Garrison when it was on the point of being surrendered by General Consent... ."[29]

Both sides were now content to bide their time until ships of one nation or the other should enter the Annapolis Basin. Eleven days later, on 26 September, three sets of sail appeared. All eyes, both within the fort and on the heights above it, turned seaward, straining to recognize the flags they flew. Finally, the British ensign was discerned fluttering from the masthead of the lead ship. Captain John Gorham led fifty "picked Indians and other men fit for ranging the woods" into the fort, and the campaign of 1744 was all but over.[30]

The morale of the French force was shattered by the British reinforcement, though Duvivier attempted to soften the adverse effect on his men. The defenders, naturally, were ecstatic: "The English shouted many huzzahs. I had them watched during the night. They sang and amused themselves much in the fort where they undoubtedly passed the night drinking."[31]

When Duvivier lost the initiative, the misgivings of the Acadians who were supplying his troops with food quickly increased. Even the partisans pleaded with the French to make a hasty withdrawal, lest the entire Acadian population be compromised.[32] Duvivier maintained the siege for another week, however, until the arrival on 2 October of de Gannes.

This, of course, officially ended the campaign. Duvivier finally learned what he had long suspected: the squadron from Louisbourg had never even sailed. De Gannes assumed command and abruptly ordered a general retreat three days later. Duviver feigned disgust at the prospect of retreat, "prodded in the arse," and claimed that an assault on the fort could still be made: "It is flight, not retreat," he wrote as the French prepared in some confusion to quit the district on 6 October.[33]

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29 Charles Morris, "A Breif [sic] Survey of Nova Scotia...[1748]," p. 60, in PAC, MG 18; F 10.

30 Shirley to Lords of Trade, 25 July (O.S.) 1744, in C.H. Lincoln, ed., *Correspondence of William Shirley* (New York, 1912), I, 135.

31 *Course à l'Accadie*, p. 101.

32 "Requeste à [de Gannes] par les inhabitants des Mines," 13 Oct. 1744, in *Course à l'Accadie*, appendix 12, pp. 176-177.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 123, 128.

De Gannes was to have set up winter quarters for his detachment at Mines, the most important French population centre in the colony, to shield the Acadians from possible British retaliation. He was instructed to ensure first that he could subsist in the enemy province without compromising the honour of the French King.[34] He was soon to learn that he could not. The Acadians quickly turned actively hostile; they not only refused to victual the retreating troops, but also actually hid food from the French to avoid further compromising their precarious neutrality.[35]

Meanwhile, when he reached Louisbourg on 23 October, Duvivier learned that a squadron of three small vessels and fifty reinforcements had been sent to him after all. They arrived at Annapolis on 25 October, a full three weeks after the land force had departed. Finding the heights above the fort abandoned, they had no choice but to return to Louisbourg.

The failure of the expedition may be ascribed to a number of factors, the most important of which was a rather singular absence of a bold offensive spirit in the commander, Duvivier. He faced a weak and demoralized enemy, literally lying in hiding behind decrepit fortifications, and he had the benefit of superior numbers; yet throughout the four-week siege, he failed to seize a number of tactical advantages which lay open to him.

The evidence on both sides suggests that, had he been up to the job of military command, Duvivier could have taken the fort virtually at will between 9 September, when his dispositions were completed, and 26 September, when Gorham's Rangers arrived from Boston. In fact, Mascarene's position was so vulnerable that the French could have dispensed even with the normal apparatus for siege works -- which were missing anyway, thanks to Duquesnel's vacillation in implementing the naval portion of the campaign. Duvivier was, as his *Journal* intimates, seriously hampered by his orders from the Louisbourg commandant.[36]

In the aftermath of the invasion, the Acadians maintained that those who had assisted the French, either directly by taking up arms or indirectly by giving logistical support, had done so only "as force obliged them to

34 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

35 "Certificat des officiers," 2 Nov. 1744, published in *ibid.*, appendix 13, p. 177.

36 "Ordre et instruction de Duquesnel pour Duvivier, 1744," published in *ibid.*, appendix 1, pp. 159-161.

it."[37] This was generally true, and Mascarene accepted their explanations in a general way, and reported to his superiors accordingly: "the inhabitants...have kept in their fidelity much beyond what was expected, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the French officers from Louisbourg who could not prevail on them to take up arms against us."[38] The majority of the population was left unmolested. If one is to credit the "inhabitant of Louisbourg" who reported the incident, Mascarene reached the height of magnanimity in his decision regarding the scaling ladders which de Gannes had ordered abandoned as he fled the province: the lieutenant governor purportedly told the Acadians that "since the French had paid them for the ladders they had made, it was only right that the English pay them to take them apart."[39]

So ended, after three months, the incursion of the mixed French and Indian force deep into the territory of their all-but-powerless enemy. In the autumn and winter following, de Gannes and Duvivier laboured over their respective apologias. Neither suffered from their misadventures in Nova Scotia. Within a year, both were admitted into the military Order of Saint Louis. Duvivier's citation made specific mention of the service he had rendered the Crown in Nova Scotia. He returned to France early in 1745 and enjoyed a long retirement in the Charente region, whence his family had come originally; he died there in 1776.[40] De Gannes remained in Louisbourg and died as major of the garrison in 1752.[41]

One cannot resist speculating on the fate of the Acadians, had either Duvivier's enterprise of 1744, or the formidable naval armament of 1746

37 Council minutes, 11 Dec. (O.S.) 1744, published in *Nova Scotia Archives I*, 151.

38 Mascarene to Warren, 22 Oct. (O.S.) 1744, in PRO, Admiralty 1, 3817.

39 G.M. Wrong, ed., *Louisbourg in 1745, the Anonymous "Lettre d'un habitant de Louisbourg"* (Toronto, 1897), p. 21. Gautier and Le Blanc, however, paid dearly for their partisanship. Gautier, whose house had served as Duvivier's headquarters, had a price on his head from the moment the French withdrew. Le Blanc and other lesser collaborators were summoned to Annapolis and subjected to interrogations before the provincial Council. See *Nova Scotia Archives I*, 50-63.

40 Crowley and Pothier, "Duvivier," p. 255.

41 H.P. Thibault, "Gannes de Falaise, Michel de," in *Dictionary*, III, 235-236.

under La Rochefoucauld de Roye D'Anville, succeeded. With both Acadia and Ile Royale -- temporarily lost to the British in 1745 -- regained, and French power thus consolidated in the North Atlantic, Halifax undoubtedly would not have been established, nor would the Acadians have had to contend with such forceful, determined men as Edward Cornwallis and Charles Lawrence, men who, in the 1750s, were to contrast so markedly with those earlier objects of the Acadians' diplomacy, Richard Philipps and Paul Mascarene. It was inevitable that New France would eventually fall to British arms, as indeed it did; nevertheless, a measure of French success in the Atlantic region during the War of the Austrian Succession might very well have spared the Acadians the cruel fate that awaited them in 1755.

The Life and Death of the Cumberland Coal Mines

Hope Harrison

Coal, its discovery and recovery, was as important to the nineteenth century for the developing industrial era as oil is to the maintenance of our present twentieth-century technology. The fires of the Industrial Revolution were many times stoked by fuel supplied from the coalfields of Nova Scotia. The resources of Cumberland, Pictou and Cape Breton became pre-eminent during the mid-1800s, but their existence had been known for well over a century beforehand.

In Cumberland County, the earliest recorded discovery was at Joggins, at the head of the Bay of Fundy. This area was early settled by the Acadian French, who quickly utilized the visible coal outcroppings, since at least one old map of the region contains a notation concerning "old French workings."[1] Little is recorded of mining in the area prior to 1800, although it is known that the French -- and later the British soldiers from nearby Fort Cumberland -- supplied the forts at Annapolis and Beaubassin with Joggins coal. Robert Hale's *Journal* of 1731 describes these early mining ventures in entries detailing his voyage past present-day Cape Chignecto and Cape Enragé:

> June, Fri. 25, 1 a.m. ...Wee past the Coal Banks & a little farther come to the place where the Coal is taken... .
> June Thir. 1 p.m. Wee Endeavoured to bring our Vessel from ye Road to ye Wharff, but ye Channel being Narrow Wee ran aground & then threw out our Ballast.
> June, Sat. 26, 1 a.m. Then made a 2d attempt to gain ye Wharff, but got aground a Boats Length from it.
> 2 p.m. Wee got our vessel in to ye Wharff & took our Cask out of the Hold, & Capt. Foresythe's Hands went to Landing & put in as much coal as wee tho't our Schooner wou'd float with, &c.
> June, Sab. 27, 2½ a.m. ...The coal which they dig about 7 miles below of Place, they bring hither in 2 Lighters [barges]& thro' up in to Cribs which they have made in the Edge of the Marsh... . The Persons now Concerned in this Affair are Maj. Henry Cope of Annapolis, Capt. Alex Forsyth, Mr. John Liddel and Mr. John Carnes of Boston. They have a permission from Govr Phillips at Annapolis & began to dig last April -- Only 2 Vessels have loaded here before us... .

1 M.J. Copeland, *Coalfields, West Half Cumberland County, Nova Scotia*, Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 298 (Ottawa, 1959), p. 6.

> Coal has been dug here this 30 years but they always us'd to take it up below high water Mark, but now they dig it out of the Cliff near an 100 feet above.
> ...Capt. Belcher of Boston formerly caus'd coal to be dug here & brought to this very place where ye wharfe now stands & a large quantity of it lyes here now which was sett on fire (being mix'd with much dirt) about 3 weeks agoe & the fire is not out yet. They Suppose this Mine of Coal reaches to that at Spanish River [Sydney?], it being but a few Leagues a crop of [across?] land from one to the other. One Man will dig many Chaldron[s] of this Coal in a day.[2]

Thomas Chandler Haliburton published the first geological account of the Cumberland coal basin in 1829. He noted that the coalfield was located between the River Maccan and the shores of Chignecto Bay, and mentioned outcroppings along the high cliffs at Joggins, as well as a small vein on the River Hebert.[3]

The first person to investigate the area extensively, from a geological viewpoint, was Abraham Gesner, during the 1830s. His subsequent reports noted the petrified flora and fauna in the high bluffs at Joggins, which have since become famous as fossil cliffs. Gesner was also the first to note the presence of coal at Springhill, where tradition claims that a man named Lodewick Hunter was both operating a mine and marketing coal to local blacksmiths as early as 1834.[4] Gesner's geological map of Nova Scotia, published in 1846, was the first to encompass the mineral resources of Cumberland County. The memoir accompanying the map mentioned, for the first time, the presence of coal near Apple River, on the shore of Chignecto Bay.[5]

Eventually, later exploration established the bituminous Cumberland coalfield as extending from the northern margin of the Cobequid Upland (i.e.

2 "Journal of a voyage to Nova Scotia made in 1731 by Robert Hale of Beverly," in *Report* of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (1968), Appendix B, pp. 23-24. The problems of accessibility and transportation noted by Hale were longterm ones in this region.

3 Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *An historical and statistical account of Nova-Scotia* (Halifax, 1829; reprinted Belleville, Ont., 1973), II, 429-430. There were some attempts to build a mining industry at Joggins before 1820.

4 R.A.H. Morrow, *Story of the Springhill Disaster* (Saint John, 1891), p. 179.

5 Copeland, *Coalfields*, pp. 4-5.

Springhill) to the southern flank of the Minudie Anticline (i.e. Joggins). This area of approximately 400 square miles includes Springhill, Chignecto, Maccan, River Hebert, Minudie and Joggins -- those regions where mineral exploration was to be most concentrated.[6] Although the area is often thought of as a whole, the geological history of the Cumberland coalfield is not uniform; the Springhill and Joggins-Chignecto seams were shaped at different times, and are therefore quite diverse in character.

In 1826, the Duke of York had been granted all unreserved mining rights in Nova Scotia. He used this grant to pay off debts, and his creditors formed the General Mining Association. The coal resources of Cumberland County, however, were not tapped by this company until 1847 when, forced by public opinion, a small colliery was opened at Joggins Mines.[7]

About this same time, coal was discovered along the banks of what became known as Coal Mine Brook at River Hebert East. This site was developed as the Boston Mine, since the coal was shipped via the River Hebert out to the Bay of Fundy and down the coast to Boston. The tunnel for this mine was started at marsh level and timbered with round beams to a width of twelve feet and a height of eight feet. In 1949, some local men visited the mine site and reported that even after a century, about a hundred-foot length of the tunnel was still open. Oxen had been used to haul the coal, as ox shoes, a broken neck yoke and wooden bucket remains were found in the mine.[8]

Another colliery to open about this time was the Seaman Minudie Mine. This was evidently the first slope mine in Cumberland; in this method, coal was extracted by entering the coal seam via an angled shaft driven down from the surface, rather than by tunnelling in from an outcropping.[9]

During this early period, there was no great demand for Cumberland coal, and production from the workings was restrained, particularly since the only shipping means was by water. By the late 1850s, however, the situation had altered dramatically. The Reciprocity Treaty, signed in 1854, opened the rich potential of industrial New England to Cumberland coal;

6 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

8 Interview with Ben Rector, former miner, River Hebert East, 12 January 1982.

9 Morrow, *Springhill Disaster*, p. 221.

Yankee schooners found easy access across the Gulf of Maine and up through the Bay of Fundy. The monopoly of the General Mining Association in Nova Scotia was broken in 1856, and this accelerated the development of known coal reserves. As the American Civil War approached, coal was selling in the eastern United States at $13.00 and $14.00 a ton, American currency. In the colonies of British North America, especially Upper and Lower Canada, industrial development, railway construction and the expansion of steam navigation resulted in a great increase in the demand for coal. It had become "black gold," and the rush to discovery and production was on.[10]

In Cumberland, the reserves at Joggins, River Hebert East (or Strathcona, as it became known) became well established during this period of expansion, as new coal seams were sought, surveyed and opened. By 1859, the first major slope mine, the Victoria at River Hebert, had begun production; the first cargo was raised and shipped in September of that year.[11] During the same period, the General Mining Association developed an even larger and more important colliery at Joggins.

Subsequently, a number of mines were opened in the Maccan area. The Lawson One, discovered and opened in the spring of 1861, was found to have superior quality coal. During the first year, the colliery produced mainly for local needs, with only a few cargoes exported, but in 1862 it was sold to the Howe and White Co. of Boston, and in June 1863, Boston interests formed the Maccan Company. Mining experts and geologists from New York were brought in, miner's houses were built, and a tramline was constructed through the woods in as nearly a direct route as possible to the Maccan River, where a wharf was built. The tramline was a double rail system, so that the full coal cars going out to the export wharf at the river pulled the empty cars inland and back to the mine. This tram system was used at all inland mines at that time, though in some areas horses, rather than gravity, provided the necessary pulling power. The path of the Lawson One tramline was still visible in recent years.

To produce a greater export efficiency at the Lawson One, a steam tug was purchased in New York at a reported cost of $15,000 to tow the ves-

10 *Ibid.*; and *Canada 1867-1967* (Ottawa, 1967), p. 145.

11 Morrow, *Springhill Disaster*, p. 221.

sels leaving the wharf on the Maccan River out to deeper water. These were tidal waters, with great variations between high and low water; shipping depended on the tides, and profits depended in part on the swiftness of the loading and export operation.

At its peak of production, the Lawson One was raising and shipping from sixty to seventy tons per day. Horses were used to power the mine-shaft machinery for the first two years, and then, it is said, the Maccan Company recklessly spent $70,000 in a bid to convert to steam power. Before the new system could get started, the whole business had folded. The mine remained closed for sometime; the next purchaser was a Mr. Smith of Amherst, at an unknown date. It is recorded, however, that on 20 July 1891 the surface buildings and plant burned, ending Smith's operation. This mine evidently held a record of good coal, as the next buyers were Fife and Taylor of Joggins, who reopened the colliery about 1926, when the nearby Harrison Lake electrical power plant was under construction. Local tradition states that the mine remained in operation for at least ten to fifteen years afterwards.[12]

East of Maccan at Chignecto, family tradition recalls that Thomas Ripley was using local coal in his blacksmith forge during the mid-1800s; the black rock burned with an intense heat and a great efficiency, and the source of Ripley's supply was his most closely guarded secret -- until another local resident, Michael Fortune, found where Ripley was digging and made known his findings.[13] This outcropping on the St. George Brook in Chignecto became the St. George Mine after William Patrick claimed its discovery in the summer of 1863. It was soon joined by the Chignecto Mine, developed about the same time.

During the heavy coal-demand years of the mid-nineteenth century, development of the Chignecto mines was pushed. Improvements worth some $25,000 were poured into the collieries, including a tramline through the woods to the Maccan River and to a wharf constructed at the O'Brine shipyards. The first shipment of coal moved from Chignecto in the autumn of 1864, but the bottom was about to fall out of the market.

In 1866, the Reciprocity Treaty was cancelled in an effort to protect the trade resources of British North America. An export duty of $1.50 per ton

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.

13 Interview with Dave Ripley, grandson of Thomas Ripley, Chignecto, October 1982.

was imposed on coal and this, combined with dwindling American markets after the Civil War, resulted in coal prices dipping to $5.00 and $6.00 per ton in American paper money, which was valued at only $.60 gold per dollar.[14] The effects of these economics were felt immediately in the Cumberland collieries, and the fate of those at Chignecto provides a good example of the subsequent slump in production and export. As already noted, coal first moved from Chignecto in late 1864; the following year, 15,000 tons were shipped, but at a heavy loss, and after 1866, further production became economically pointless. The St. George Mine lost out completely, since ice closed the shipping lanes just as it began to produce and export; the next season brought economic disaster in the American market.[15]

The Chignecto and St. George collieries lay idle but maintained until they were reopened about 1901 by William and David Mitchell. At this time, they supplied the nearby town of Amherst with coal for that community's electrical generating station. The narrow-guage tramline to the Maccan River was replaced by a standard railway to connect with the main line at Maccan, and a steam locomotive was put in service to transport coal from Chignecto out to Maccan.[16]

The Chignecto mines continued to operate on a small scale until 1907, when the first pit-mouth public service power station on the North American continent was set in operation at the St. George Mine. Where previously each town and factory had had its own private generating station on site, to which coal was hauled to fire the boilers, the St. George operation was a coal-fired electrical generating station where energy was subsequently transported by copper wires to the sources of need.

The St. George station proved successful beyond all expectations. By 1918, the plant was burning 50,000 tons of duff or pulverized coal per year, and shipments had to be brought in from Joggins and other smaller area mines to fire the boilers. In the early 1920s it became apparent that the coal supply was rapidly becoming depleted and that the water supply for condensing purposes was also insufficient. A phase-two plant was planned and erected about two miles west of Chignecto at Maccan. It went into

14 John Castell Hopkins, *The story of the Dominion* (Toronto, 1901), p. 333.

15 Morrow, *Springhill Disaster*, pp. 225-227; and interview with Carl MacAloney, Chignecto, October 1982.

16 A. Andrew Merrilee, *A History of the Maritime Coal, Railway and Power Co. Ltd.* (n.p., n.d.).

production in March 1927, and coal was brought to the plant by rail and truck from various Cumberland mines. The Chignecto plant continued operation until 1929, and the two plants working together made possible the supply of much needed power to the Springhill collieries. In 1929 both the historic power station and the Chignecto workings ceased operations.[17]

The first major Springhill mine began operation in 1864. Eventually, the workings in this area would become the most important in the entire Cumberland coalfield, particularly during the industry's heyday of production and employment from 1880 to 1914. Early development at Springhill was slow, however, and not only because of the economic downturn after 1866. The area was far removed from the natural waterways needed for export, and the coal had to be hauled long distances through the woods before it could begin the water journey to market. Under these conditions, the coal reserves at Springhill were not of much value.

This problem was soon solved by two major developments. By 1870, the Intercolonial Railway was on its way into Nova Scotia; Springhill coal was used for firing locomotives which were, in turn, used in ballasting for the rail-line construction between Amherst and Truro. On 17 November 1872, the first passenger train from Saint John to Halifax made its initial run on this new track. With the arrival of the Intercolonial, a new era of coal mining began throughout Cumberland County, since the railway both used and carried coal -- and carried it to markets never before accessible, or even contemplated.

Springhill was among the first mining areas to benefit from the arrival of the railway. The first railcar load of coal to leave the local collieries was shipped in the autumn of 1873, and was transported via Springhill Junction by Hugh Tait, engine driver for the Intercolonial.

The second development was the incorporation, in 1872, of the Springhill and Parrsboro Coal and Railway Co. Ltd. The prospectus of this company stated that it had been "incorporated for the purpose of building a railway from the coalfields of Springhill to Parrsboro." The first shipment made along this route was sent on 15 March 1877, and the completion of this

17 *The story of Canada Electric, eighteen eighty-nine to nineteen forty-nine* (Amherst, 1948).

rail line to a wharf in Parrsboro, which had excellent port facilities, created a new outlet -- and a new importance -- for Springhill coal.[18]

During subsequent years, the coal mines of Springhill developed and flourished. The future would see a shaft designated as No. 2 sunk to a depth of nearly 8,000 feet. The town grew accordingly, but lived in dread of the mine whistle, which signalled trouble at the colliery -- and the Springhill workings seemed more disaster-prone than the other Cumberland mines.

In February 1891, a terrific underground explosion rocked the community; 125 miners were killed. Another in 1956 took 39 men and in 1958, a "bump" claimed 76 lives.[19] The final slope mine in Springhill was closed in 1970. In 1982 an experimental strip-mining operation began, in which the coal was removed by surface mining, rather than via an underground tunnel. This, however, was phased out in the spring of 1983, and stands as the final attempt to exploit the mineral wealth of Cumberland County.[20]

The year 1887 brought a new era to coal mining in the River Hebert-Joggins area: a railway connection known as the Maccan-Joggins Railway was completed between Joggins Mines and the Intercolonial line at Maccan. This spur line developed a two fold purpose: it carried in timbers needed to uphold mine shafts and tunnels, and hauled out coal for export via the main rail line at Maccan. On 15 January 1888 the line opened for regular freight and passenger service. The steam locomotives were fired by area coal, and there were two trains daily connecting with the main line.[21]

Coal mining became the life-blood of these communities since, in addition to their traditional water export route, they now had access to the Intercolonial Railway line, leading into the heart of the North American

18 Morrow, *Springhill Disaster*, pp. 183, 188, 194. *Editor's note:* In terms of population, coal production and labour activism, Springhill was the most important community of the Cumberland coalfield; readers interested in further information and a detailed analysis are directed to Ian McKay, "Industry, work and community in the Cumberland coalfields, 1848-1927," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1984.

19 "The Fighting Facts of Springhill," in *Welcome to Nova Scotia*, Amherst and Area Tourist Association (n.p., n.d.).

20 *Springhill-Parrsboro Record*, 30 March 1982.

21 Merrilee, *Maritime Coal, Railway and Power Co. Ltd.*

continent. Joggins grew to achieve status as an incorporated town in 1919, but reverted forty years later to a village when the mining industry faded.[22]

The largest colliery to operate in this area was the Shore Mine, which came into production during 1910 at Joggins Shore. The big producer during the First World War, it employed 500 men during its peak years, when 800 and 900 tons of coal per day were brought to the surface. The underground tunneling into the seams of coal went to nearly 6,000 feet. It was at first a steam-run mine, but thanks to the little power plant at Chignecto, the Shore colliery became the first coal mine in Nova Scotia to be completely operated with electric power. The weight of thin coal -- slack coal of very poor quality -- finally brought an end to this mine. As with the other collieries in Cumberland County, the life-span of the Shore Mine was some fifteen to twenty years, ending when the coal seam became too thin, or went into boulder rock.[23]

There were numerous other mines opened throughout the Cumberland coalfield over the years; some flourished, but many were found not profitable and operated but a short period. The Blight colliery at Fenwick, about five miles south of Amherst, looked promising enough that a little community was built, including seven company houses. First opened about 1890, several attempts were made to exploit the reserves profitably, the final one in the early 1920s, before the working was abandoned.[24] Bootleg mining -- small unlicensed and unregistered coal mines -- also enjoyed a flourishing period.

Although the larger and more important collieries were developed by bona fide companies and were officially registered under those corporate names, many of the unofficial names given to the workings by the men who toiled in them were near poetic, belying the dangers that lurked in the bowels of the earth: Sweet Cake, Black Diamond, Maple Leaf, Victoria, Green Crow, Dog Nail, Five and Ten -- to name but a few remembered in local history.

Life in these mines was hard, and death and disaster were a way of life. In many collieries, tunnels were large enough that horses were taken into the depths as means of power -- but if the workings were not big enough,

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22 Interview with Miss Ethel Fife, Joggins, October 1982.

23 Interview with Basil Brine, Joggins, October 1982.

24 Myrtle Chappell, *The Chignecto, St. George and Fenwick Mines* (n.p., 1977).

manpower was used instead, and even into the 1930s, boys as young as 13 and 14 years of age went into the mines to work.[25] The collieries were beset with rock falls, "bumps" -- upheavals of mine floors -- gases which quickly killed, and sudden explosions which rolled through the workings. The history of every Cumberland coal mine includes a number of men killed in a colliery disaster.

Nevertheless, coal operations developed and flourished in the county for over one hundred years. Their growth is recorded in the annual reports sent to the Nova Scotia Department of Mines. The following chart is compiled on ten-year periods, beginning in 1848, the first year of recorded returns from the Cumberland mines:[26]

	Springhill (long tons)	Joggins-Chignecto (long tons)
1848		669
1849		1,382
1859		5,383
1869	95	14,971
1879	88,405	10,817
1889	425,149	65,292
1899	369,533	67,588
1909	376,283	165,757
1919	374,351	219,277
1929	539,390	160,216
1939	547,394	143,289
1949	635,028*	148,669*

By the mid-twentieth century, death shadows had begun to fall in Cumberland County. By 1959, the Green Crow at Joggins and the Cochrane at River Hebert were the main producers, yielding approximately 3,000 tons per week. In 1969, only the Cochrane and a small operation at Springhill were left. The former raised to the surface only an average 250 tons per week, and this did not increase much over the next ten-year period. This

25 Interview with Ben Rector.

26 Chart courtesy of Nova Scotia Department of Mines and Energy, Halifax.
* short tons

coal was used mainly at the Maccan power station. It is estimated that over a fifty-year period, approximately two million tons of coal left the mines by truck for this power plant, area industries, and home fuel use -- direct shipping that would not have been registered with the Department of Mines, and thus is not included in the totals of the above chart.[27]

As already noted, the last slope-mining operation in Springhill ended in 1970. The last slope mine in Cumberland County, the Cochrane -- registered as the River Hebert Mine -- ceased operations in the spring of 1980. Coal seams had run thin or to boulder, flooding had set in, and gas, fire and bumps had conspired to force the closure of the great Cumberland coalfield. An era had ended.

27 Interview with Ben Rector.

Kirkpatrick of Kirkhill and Crossroads, Nova Scotia

Robert F. Kirkpatrick

The original title of this article was to have been "...of Cumberland County, Nova Scotia." However, in the course of its preparation, there were non-related Kirkpatricks found to have been living in the county during the same time frame (Alexander of River Hebert, for example). Therefore, a more definitive title became necessary.

The name Kirkpatrick, once prevalent in and about Parrsboro, Cumberland County, had by 1982 become nearly extinct thereabouts. Only one family of the name resided in Pleasant Valley, at the foot of West Mountain,or Kirk's Hill, which was thus named for the numerous families of Kirkpatrick who once dwelt upon its slopes. While there are a number of descendants by other names still living in the vicinity, most of the direct lines from the particular two Scots-Irish half-brothers who brought the name to that part of North America have, themselves, removed to far-off places.

There is much folklore, and little substance, in the sundry traditions held by members of the two family lines herein described. Indeed, the families' ascribed Scottish origins have yet to be proven, albeit the first James Kirkpatrick of this article attended Glasgow University.

The following pages delineate the families and persons in descent from Thomas[1] and James[1] Kirkpatrick, sons of Thomas, farmer, of Ballyclog, Tyrone, Northern Ireland, only so far as has been substantiated by primary and secondary sources. For the purpose of this record, the account starts with the family of the elder half-brother, Thomas Kirkpatrick. Abbreviations are standard. Birthplaces, unless specifically indicated, are the parents' place of residence.

Space constraints have precluded the inclusion of details concerning collateral branches descended from female offspring. For those interested, such data is available in a basic manuscript on file at the following: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax; Public Archives of British Columbia, Victoria; American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; Library of Congress, Washington; The Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City; New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston; South Shore Genealogical Society, Lunenburg, N.S.; and Queens County Museum, Liverpool, N.S.

1 Thomas[1] Kirkpatrick, Jr., farmer, son of Thomas Kirkpatrick, farmer, by one of his at least two unknown wives, of Ballyclog, Tyrone, Northern Ireland (2¼ Irish miles northeast of Stewartstown) was b. prior to 1789; d. prior to 1867, Kirkhill, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia; marr., possibly Cookstown, Northern Ireland, prior to 1815, Elizabeth

McWhood, daughter of Thomas McWhood, and a sister to his half-brother James's wife. Removed to North America ca. 1819, to join his half-brother in that part of Cumberland County (then part of Kings County), Nova Scotia, now termed Kirkhill, near Parrsboro. His wife was b. ca. 1781 and d. 25 Jan. 1867.

Issue of Thomas and Elizabeth Kirkpatrick:

3 i. John, b. 1815; d. 1883; marr. Agnes **Kirkpatrick.**

4 ii. Alexander, b. 1819; d. 1906; marr. Elizabeth **Mason.**

5 iii. Thomas, b. 1821; d. 29 Nov. 1891; marr. Jane **Law.**

2 James[1] Kirkpatrick, farmer and teacher, son of Thomas Kirkpatrick, farmer, by one of his at least two unknown wives, of Ballyclog, Tyrone, Northern Ireland, was b. ca. 1789; d. 6 Nov. 1876, Kirkhill, N.S.; gravestone in Parrsboro Cemetery; marr., possibly Cookstown, Northern Ireland, Martha **McWhood**, daughter of Thomas McWhood, and a sister to his half-brother Thomas's wife. Removed to North America 1812, intending for Philadelphia, Pa., but diverted to Halifax because of the War of 1812. Res. Horton Landing, Kings County, 1812–1815; Ohio, U.S.A., 1816–1819; thence to Kirkhill, N.S.

Issue of James and Martha Kirkpatrick:

i. Agnes, b. possibly Horton Landing, 1812; d. 1896; marr. John[2] **Kirkpatrick** (Thomas[1]), her first cousin.

6 ii. Thomas, b. 1815; d. 23 Feb. 1905; marr. firstly, Margaret **Corbett**; secondly, Ellen (Corbett) **Thompson**; thirdly, Mary ( ) **Morewick.**

iii. Margaret, b. probably Ohio, 1816/19; marr. _____ **Leitch.** Issue.

iv. Eliza, b. ca. 1819; d. 14 Feb. 1917; gravestone in Parrsboro Cemetery. Unmarried.

v. William, b. ca. 1824; marr. Mary Matilda **Holmes**, daughter of Daniel Jr. and Frances (Gilbert) Holmes, Halfway River. N/I. Adopted Clara Beatrice M. Morrison, b. 27 Aug. 1871, daughter of Samuel G.A. and Jane Rebecca (Holmes) Morrison, Parrsboro, by Private Act of N.S. Legislature, 1893, 56 Vic., cap. 213.

vi. Mary, b. ca. 1825; marr. Hamlet **Webster.** N/I.

7 vii. James, b. 20 Aug. 1828; bapt. 20 July 1829; d. 27 Jan. 1922; marr. Asenath Dorcas **Holmes.**

3 John[2] Kirkpatrick (Thomas[1]) was b., probably Ballyclog, Northern Ireland, 1815; d. 1883, Kirkhill; gravestone in Parrsboro Cemetery; marr. prior to 1840, Parrsboro, his first cousin, Agnes **Kirkpatrick**, daughter of James. She was b. 1812, possibly Horton Landing, N.S.; d. 1896; gravestone in Parrsboro Cemetery. Res. Kirkhill.

Issue of John and Agnes Kirkpatrick:

i. Martha, bapt. 29 Aug. 1841, aged 1.
ii. Thomas James, bapt. 11 Aug. 1843.
iii. John, bapt. 5 Nov. 1852.
iv. Elizabeth, bapt. 5 Nov. 1852.

4 Alexander[2] Kirkpatrick (Thomas[1]), farmer, was reputably born at sea, en route to North America, 1819; d. 1906, Kirkhill; marr. 1856, Parrsboro, Elizabeth **Mason**, daughter of George and Martha (Curry) Mason, Parrsboro, She was born b. ca. 1835 and d. 28 Aug. 1871, Kirkhill. Res. Kirkhill.

Issue of Alexander and Elizabeth Kirkpatrick:

i. Rebecca, b. 1857; bapt. 13 March 1860; d. 1892/93, River Hebert; marr., 14 June 1875, Samuel **Rutherford**, farmer, son of James and Margaret Rutherford. He was b. 1838, Lower Cove, Cumb. Co. and d. 6 May 1909; bur. Lattie Cemetery, River Hebert. Res. River Hebert. Issue.
ii. James, bapt. 13 March 1860; d. 12 April 1928; marr. Margaret **McAleese**. N/I. Foster parents of female child, Phyllis, who removed to the U.S.A.
iii. Sara Jane, b. 8 Sept 1862; d. 16 Dec. 1894; marr. James **Adams**. Res. Highland Village, Colchester Co. Issue.
iv. Elizabeth, bapt. 28 Sept. 1863; d. 5 Aug. 1871.
v. Thomas, b. 10 Dec. 1864; d. 12 Sept. 1931; marr. Elizabeth **Brander**.
vi. Martha, b. 1 July 1867; d. 5 Dec. 1892. Res. Kirkhill.

Issue of Martha Kirkpatrick:

1. Percy Harold, alias Kirkpatrick, b. 7 Jan. 188__; d. 7 Oct. 1955, Vancouver, B.C.; marr. Ellen **McConnville**, daughter of Andrew and Ellen (Guest) McConnville, Cheshire, England. She was b. 30 April 1889. Res. Vancouver.

Issue of Percy and Ellen Kirkpatrick:

a. Roy Harold, b. 28 Aug. 1919; d. 24 Aug. 1981. Unmarried.

b. Evelyn Elizabeth, b. 12 June 1927; marr. May 1949, Vancouver, Edward John **Bailey**, son of Edward Charles and Hulda (Gustavson) Bailey, Vancouver. He was b. 18 Jan. 1926. Res. North Vancouver. Issue.

vii. Rachel, b. 14 Aug. 1869; d. 13 Jan. 1945, Wharton, Cumb. Co.; marr. Albert Howe **Yorke**, son of Charles and Caroline Amelia (Delaney) Yorke, Yorke Settlement, Cumb. Co. He d. July 1930, Wharton. Res. Wharton. Issue.

viii. Rosamund Elizabeth, b. 9 Aug. 1871; d. 23 Oct. 1930; marr. Dr. William D. **McKenzie**. N/I.

5 Thomas[2] Kirkpatrick III (Thomas[1]), storekeeper, b. 1821, Parrsboro; d. 29 Nov. 1891, Crossroads, Cumb. Co.; marr. 17 April 1856, Parrsboro, Jane **Law**, daughter of Samuel and Rossamund (Stewart) Law, Parrsboro; the ceremony was performed by James M.G. McKay, the Presbyterian clergyman. She was b. ca. 1825, Northern Ireland and d. 11 Jan. 1887, Crossroads. Res. Crossroads.

Issue of Thomas and Jane Kirkpatrick:

i. Mary, b. 3 March 1857, Crossroads; d. 19 April 1909, Crossroads; bur. Methodist Cemetery, Crossroads; marr. 30 June 1880, Parrsboro, William Rufus **Smith**, master mariner, son of David Albert and Margaret Jane (Dewis) Smith, Kirkhill. He was b. 3 Nov. 1848 and d. 17 Nov. 1934, Musquodoboit Harbour, N.S.; bur. Crossroads Cemetery. Issue.

ii. Rossamund, b. 5 Aug. 1859, d. 26 March 1862.

9 iii. Thomas Renwick, b. Oct. 1862; d. 13 Jan. 1920; marr. Sara Ellenor **Smith**.

iv. William Stewart, b. 28 Feb. 1865; bapt. 17 June 1865. (No further record, but remote possibility that he may have been the unmarried "Bill" Kirkpatrick, woodsman, in the area of Sawyer's River, New Hampshire, as mentioned by the railroad station agent there, ca. 1928).

6 Thomas[2] Kirkpatrick (James[1]), b. 1815, probably Horton Landing; d. 23 Feb. 1905, River Hebert, at home of daughter Martha, then widow of Alonzo Tabor; bur. Parrsboro, aged 90 according to gravestone. Marr.

firstly, prior to 1850, Margaret **Corbett**, probably the daughter of John Corbett, Five Islands, Col. Co.; she was b. ca. 1829 and d. 5 Jan. 1860, aged 31; bur. Parrsboro. Issue. Marr. secondly, Ellen (Corbett) **Thompson**, widow and elder sister of Margaret; she was b. ca. 1819 and d. 12 Feb. 1889, aged 70; bur. Parrsboro. Issue. Marr. thirdly, 10 Dec. 1889, Parrsboro, Mary **Morewick**, widow, of Advocate, by whom N/I. Res. Kirkhill.

Issue of Thomas and Margaret Kirkpatrick:

i. Margaret Eliza, b. 21 Nov. 1849; bapt. 3 Aug. 1850; d. 27 Jan. 1941, Parrsboro; marr. firstly, 8 Dec. 1869, Cumb. Co., Edmund Cogswell **Reid**, farmer, son of George and Eleanor Reid, Advocate Harbour; he was b. 18 May 1840 and d. 27 Sept. 1909, Advocate Harbour. Issue. Marr. secondly, a Captain **Corbett**, by whom N/I. Res. Advocate Harbour.

ii. Ellen Maria, b. 15 Nov. 1851; bapt. 5 Nov. 1852; d. 19 Oct. 1928, River Hebert; bur. Wharton; marr. 23 Dec. 1875, Joseph Norman **Ward**, farmer, son of Robert J. and Rachelle A. (Fowler) Ward, Parrsboro. He was b. Oct. 1844 and d. 27 Dec. 1912. Res. Wharton. Issue.

iii. Martha, bapt. 27 Dec. 1854; marr. firstly, Alonzo **Tabor**, killed in 1891 Springhill mine fire. Issue. Marr. secondly, sometime after 23 Feb. 1905, J. Wentworth **Hill**, by whom N/I. Res. Cloverdale, California.

10 iv. Joseph Corbett, b. 17 Aug. 1858; d. 1926; marr. Rachel Eliza **Ward**.

v. Maud, b. 5 Jan. 1860; d. 17 Jan. 1901, Apple River, of cancer; marr. 1887, Cumb. Co., John Kerr **Elderkin**, farmer and contractor, son of William Rufus and Hannah (Smith) Elderkin, Apple River. He was b. 31 Jan. 1860 and d. 17 June 1942, Amherst. Res. Apple River. Issue.

Issue of Thomas and Ellen Kirkpatrick:

11 vi. James William, b. 6 Nov. 1863; d. 20 Aug. 1928; marr. Mary Olivia **Elderkin**.

7 James[2] Kirkpatrick (James[1]), farmer, was b. 20 Aug. 1828; bapt. 20 July 1829 (St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Halifax); d. 27 Jan. 1922; marr. Parrsboro, Asenath Dorcas **Holmes**, daughter of Daniel Jr. and Frances (Gilbert) Holmes, Halfway River, Cumb. Co. She was b. 1843 and d. 6 June 1941, Calgary, Alberta. Res. Kirkhill.

Issue of James and Asenath Kirkpatrick:

12 i. Robie Daniel, b. 6 July 1878; d. 24 Feb. 1955; marr. Mary Edith **Smith**.

ii. Elizabeth Beatrice, b. 23 Oct. 1879; d. 28 Sept. 1961, Calgary; bur. Burnsland Cemetery, Calgary; marr. 15 Dec. 1909, Victoria, B.C., Frederick George **Garbutt**, business college owner, son of George A. and Hannah (Chapman) Garbutt, Thistletown, Ont. He was b. 30 Jan. 1875 and d. 30 Oct. 1947, Calgary. Res. Calgary. Issue.

iii. Edith Matilda, b. 7 Feb. 1881; d. 24 Nov. 1926; bur. Burnsland Cemetery, Calgary. Unmarried.

iv. Ellen Augusta, b. 30 May 1882; d. 6 Dec. 1976; bur. Burnsland Cemetery, Calgary; marr. Anthony **Perry**. N/I.

v. Ina May, b. 1883; d. 1972; bur. Burnsland Cemetery, Calgary. Unmarried.

8 Thomas[3] Kirkpatrick (Alexander[2], Thomas[1]), shingle mill owner, was b. 10 Dec. 1864; d. 12 Sept. 1931, Vancouver, B.C.; marr. 8 Sept. 1890, New Westminster, B.C., Elizabeth **Brander**, daughter of Robert and Liza (Gay) Brander, Halifax. She was b. 20 April 1868 and d. 23 April 1951, Vancouver. Res. Vancouver.

Issue of Thomas and Elizabeth Kirkpatrick:

13 i. Earl Alexander Brander, b. 20 Oct. 1891; d. 5 Sept. 1969; marr. Gladys Evylin **Gregg**.

14 ii. Robert Huntly Mellis, b. 20 Jan. 1893; marr. Winnifred Eleanor **Hutcherson**.

9 Thomas Renwick[3] Kirkpatrick (Thomas[2], Thomas[1]), teamster and grain merchant, was b. 15 Oct. 1862; bapt. 20 June 1863; d. 13 Jan. 1920, Somerville, Mass.; bur. Crossroads Cemetery; marr. ca. Oct. 1889, New York, N.Y., probably aboard barque *N.B. Morris*, by Captain W.R. Smith (brother of the bride), Sara Eleanor **Smith**, daughter of David Albert and Margaret Jane (Dewis) Smith, Kirkhill. She was b. 11 Dec. 1855 and d. 30 April 1944, Worcester, Mass.; bur. Crossroads Cemetery. Res. Waltham, Mass., etc.

Issue of Thomas Renwick and Sara Kirkpatrick:

15 i. Robert, b. 15 Sept. 1890; d. 30 May 1969; marr. Mabel Murray **Ford**.

10 Joseph Corbett[3] Kirkpatrick (Thomas[2], James[1]), prospector and miner, was b. 17 Aug. 1858; d. 29 Dec. 1926, Arrowhead, B.C.; marr. 25 Jan.

1888, Parrsboro, by Rev. Cranswick Jost, Methodist clergyman, Rachel Eliza **Ward**, daughter of Robert J. and Rachelle Ann (Fowler) Ward, Parrsboro. She was b. 10 March 1852 and d. 6 Aug. 1940, Revelstoke, B.C.
Issue of Joseph Corbett and Rachel Kirkpatrick:

16 i. Robert Alonzo, b. 15 Nov. 1890; d. 23 Aug. 1928; marr. Annie Belle **Cockle**.

11 James William[3] Kirkpatrick (Thomas[2], James[1]), lumberman, was born at the flat then termed Pleasant Valley, below Kirkhill, 6 Nov. 1863; d. 20 Aug. 1928, Parrsboro; bur. Parrsboro; marr. 12 Sept. 1888, Apple River, Mary Olivia **Elderkin**, daughter of William Rufus and Hannah (Smith) Elderkin, Apple River. She was b. 6 Nov. 1862 and d. 7 Feb. 1927, Parrsboro; bur. Parrsboro. Res. Parrsboro.
Issue of James William and Mary Kirkpatrick:

17 i. Paul Chester, b. 13 Nov. 1889; d. 30 June 1958. Marr. firstly, Edith Reed **Tanner**; issue. Marr. secondly, Marjorie Woodburn **Titcomb**, by whom N/I.

ii. Bessie, b. 2 Sept. 1891, Cape d'Or, Cumb. Co.; d. 24 June 1925, Parrsboro; marr. William **Wylie**. N/I.

18 iii. Rupert Edwin, b. 16 Feb. 1894; d. 16 Nov. 1930; marr. Vera Lavinia **Ward**.

v. Harold Thompson, b. 18 July 1896, Cape d'Or; d. June 1954, Toronto; marr. Jessie **McLaren**. She d. ca. 13 March 1979, Toronto. N/I.

v. Georgia Ellen, b. 18 Sept. 1903, Diligent River; d. 14 Feb. 1984, Parrsboro; marr. 11 July 1927, St. George's Anglican, Parrsboro, Perley Woodford **Wright**, druggist, son of Henry Woodford and Helen (Miller) Wright, Lower Southampton, N.B. He was b. 20 June 1898 and d. 12 Dec. 1965, Parrsboro. Res. Parrsboro. Issue.

12 Robie Daniel[3] Kirkpatrick (James[2], James[1]), farmer, was b. 6 July 1878; d. 24 Feb. 1955, Kirkhill; bur. Parrsboro; marr. 14 April 1915, Parrsboro, Mary Edith **Smith**, daughter of John Dewis and Mary Edith (Lewis) Smith, Parrsboro. She was b. 12 Nov. 1886 and d. 12 Aug. 1947, Kirkhill; bur. Parrsboro. Res. Kirkhill.
Issue of Robie Daniel and Mary Kirkpatrick:

i. Keith James, b. 16 June 1925. Marr. firstly, June 1946, Parrsboro, Marion Alita **Coffel**, daughter of Alden Lee and Amy (Crowell) Coffel, Blomidon, Kings Co.; issue; divorced.

Marr. secondly, 7 Dec. 1974, Parrsboro, Elizabeth Isabell **Smith**, daughter of Laurence Raymond and Muriel (Clements) Smith, Parrsboro; by whom N/I. She was b. 22 May 1941. Issue of Keith James and Marion Kirkpatrick:

a. Stephen Keith, b. 25 Jan. 1950. Unmarried.

b. Alita Diane, b. 14 June 1952; marr. 18 Oct. 1975, Yarmouth, James Cecil **Dease**, son of James and Christine (Rennehan) Dease. He was b. 31 Oct. 1952. Res. Truro. Issue.

13 Earl Alexander Brander[4] Kirkpatrick (Thomas[3], Alexander[2], Thomas[1]), shingle manufacturer, was b. 20 Oct. 1891; d. 5 Sept. 1969, Vancouver, B.C.; marr. 8 Aug. 1923, Vancouver, Gladys Evylin **Gregg**, daughter of Edward and Mary Alice (Rock) Gregg, Victoria (Gregg originally Grigg). She was b. 9 Aug. 1891 and d. 9 Aug. 1973, Vancouver. Res. Vancouver.

Issue of Earl Alexander Brander and Gladys Kirkpatrick:

i. Alice Erlyne, b. 9 July 1927; marr. 27 June 1951, Vancouver, Paul William **Richardson**, geologist, son of Henry Richard and Martha Alberta (Barter) Richardson, Vancouver. He was b. 30 Sept. 1926. Res. Vancouver. Issue.

19 ii. Thomas Gregg, b. 28 June 1938; marr. Sharon Eleanor **Robb**.

14 Robert Huntley Mellis[4] Kirkpatrick (Thomas[3], Alexander[2], Thomas[1]), shingle manufacturer, was b. 20 Jan. 1893; marr. 1 Sept. 1923, Vancouver, Winnifred Eleanor **Hutcherson**, daughter of Harry Jehu and Lucy Sophia (Wadhams) Hutcherson, Ladner, B.C. Robert Kirkpatrick served as a gunner, 2nd. Siege Battery, P.E.I., C.E.F., World War I. Res. Vancouver.

Issue of Robert Huntley Mellis and Winnifred Kirkpatrick:

i. Sheila, b. 22 June 1924; marr. 7 March 1954, Vancouver, Ulf **Lonegren**, son of Alvar and Eva (Norstrom) Lonegren, Gavle, Sweden. He was b. 10 Sept. 19__. Res. North Vancouver. Issue.

ii. Norah, b. 3 Feb. 1929; marr. 21 Dec. 1950, Vancouver, William Vincent **Stobbart**, son of William Morley and Marion (Haines) Stobbart, Ipswich, England. He was b. 9 July 1928. Res. North Vancouver. Issue.

15 Robert[4] Kirkpatrick (Thomas[3], Thomas[2], Thomas[1]), sales manager, was b. 15 Sept. 1890; d. 30 May 1969, Halifax; bur. Anglican Cemetery,

Liverpool, N.S.; marr. 18 Oct. 1915, Church of the Annunciation, Marylebone Square, London, England, Mabel Murray **Ford**, daughter of Lemuel Sponagle and Ada Star (Minard) Ford, Worcester, Mass. She was b. 12 April 1892 and d. 22 Aug. 1983, Shoreham Village, Chester, N.S. Robert Kirkpatrick served as captain/quartermaster, C.A.M.C., C.E.F., World War I; M.B.E. and mentioned in despatches. Res. Worcester, Mass., etc.

Issue of Robert and Mabel Kirkpatrick;

20 i. Robert Ford, b. 13 Feb. 1918; marr. Elizabeth **Inman**.

16 Robert Alonzo[4] Kirkpatrick (Joseph Corbett[3], Thomas[2], James[1]), civil engineer, was b. 15 Nov. 1890, Parrsboro; d. 23 Aug. 1928, Arrowhead, B.C.; marr. 4 Oct. 1920, Kaslo, B.C., Annie Belle **Cockle**, nurse, daughter of Joseph William and Annie Winnifred (Kellett) Cockle, Kaslo. She was b. 8 April 1896 and d. 23 Sept. 1978, Trail, B.C. Res. Trail.

Issue of Robert Alonzo and Annie Kirkpatrick:

i. Margaret Elizabeth, b. 1 Aug. 1921; nurse; marr. 20 July 1948, Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, Ronald Thomas **Knight**, son of Tom and Rosina (McKeown) Knight, Newcastle, Staffs., England. He was b. 29 Aug. 1920. Res. Nelson, B.C. Issue.

ii. Mary Isobel, b. 19 Dec. 1923; marr. 28 April 1949, Vancouver, Richard William Astley **Roberts**, Cmdr., R.C.N. (Ret'd.) Eng., son of Michael Willoughby and Jeanne Madeleine (Collier) Roberts, Nelson, B.C. He was b. 25 June 1925. Res. Victoria, B.C. Issue.

17 Paul Chester[4] Kirkpatrick (James William[3], Thomas[2], James[1]), civil engineer, was b. 13 Nov. 1889; d. 30 June 1958, Baie Durfe, P.Q. Marr. firstly, 1917, Ottawa, Edith Reed **Tanner**, daughter of Richard and Marinda Anna (Reed) Tanner, Cornwall, Ont.; she was b. Jan. 1890 and d. 18 April 1939, Cornwall. Issue. He marr. secondly, 1946, Ottawa, Marjorie Woodburn **Titcomb**, by whom N/I. Res. Ottawa.

Issue of Paul Chester and Edith Kirkpatrick:

21 i. Donald Vernon, b. 12 Oct. 1918; marr. Hazel Anne **Morgan**.

ii. Dorothy, d. young.

iii. James Gordon, b. 3 Dec. 1925; unmarried. Res. B.C.

iv. Allan Douglas, b. 9 May 1927. Marr. firstly, Barbara **Rosenthal**; issue. Marr. secondly, Marian Dunning **Daley**, by whom N/I.

Issue of Allan Douglas and Barbara Kirkpatrick:

a. Lionel Allen Reed, b. 1950.
b. Grant Frederick (adopted).
c. Kimberly Maria (adopted).

v. Muriel Anne, b. 6 Oct. 1929; marr. Ottawa, Martin G. **Bannister**, Ottawa. He was b. 19 Aug. 1925. Res. Ottawa. N/I.

18 Rupert Edwin[4] Kirkpatrick (James William[3], Thomas[2], James[1]), lumberman, b. 16 Feb. 1894, Cape d'Or; d. 16 Nov. 1930, Parrsboro; marr. 15 July 1916, Advocate Harbour, Vera Lavinia **Ward**, daughter of Otto Mead and Margaret Bertha (Morris) Ward, Advocate Harbour. She was b. 8 Aug. 1895 and d. 14 March 1984, Parrsboro; after her husband's death she married, secondly, Charles **Dyas**, Parrsboro. Res. Advocate Harbour.

Issue of Rupert Edwin and Vera Kirkpatrick:

i. Lesmere Forrest, b. 19 Oct. 1916; marr. 25 Sept. 1948, Montreal, Eva Katherine **Gavin**, daughter of Augustus Patrick and Mary Ellen (Morrisey) Gavin, Parrsboro. She was b. 25 Dec. 1912. L.F. Kirkpatrick served in the R.C.A., World War II, D.S.O. He was also president, Nova Scotia Power Corporation. Res. Halifax.

Issue of Lesmere Forrest and Eva Kirkpatrick:

a. Kathie Lane, b. 18 June 1950; marr. 28 July 1984, Lunenburg, N.S., Peter **Van Falkenham**. Res. Lunenburg.
b. Mary Leslie, b. 28 Sept. 1955.

ii. Sylvia Ethelyn, b. 19 Nov. 1917; marr. 9 Oct. 1950, Parrsboro, Melville Studer **Sinn**, Montreal. He was b. 2 Aug. 1917. Res. Beaconsfield, P.Q. Issue.

19 Thomas Gregg[5] Kirkpatrick (Earl Alexander Brander[4], Thomas[3], Alexander[2], Thomas[1]), civil servant, was b. 28 June 1938; marr. 7 Sept. 1968, Kingston, Ont., Sharon Eleanor **Robb**, daughter of Robert James and Geraldine Mary (Flynn) Robb, Kingston. She was b. 24 April 1946. Res. Orleans, Ont.

Issue of Thomas Gregg and Sharon Kirkpatrick:

i. Elizabeth Anne, b. 17 Nov. 1974.
ii. Katherine Louise, b. 9 July 1976.
iii. John Robert Alexander, b. 22 April 1978.
iv. Michael Thomas Greggs, b. 1 Aug. 1979.

20 Robert Ford[5] Kirkpatrick (Robert[4], Thomas Renwick[3], Thomas[2], Thomas[1]), Lt. Col., U.S.A.F. (Ret'd.), was b. 13 Feb. 1918, Watertown, Mass.; marr. 25 Nov. 1940, Worcester, Mass., by Malcolm Midgely, City Clerk, Elizabeth **Inman**, daughter of Chester Moore and Fanny Robinson (Fiske) Inman, Worcester. She was b. 5 April 1918. Robert Ford Kirkpatrick served with the U.S.A.A.F., World War II, Belgian Fouraguerre; U.S.A.F., Korean and Viet Nam Wars, L.O.M. Res. Worcester, etc. Issue of Robert Ford and Elizabeth Kirkpatrick:

i. Thomas Renwick, b. 1941; d. 1941.

22 ii. Robert Ford Jr., b. 5 Oct. 1943; marr. firstly, Gale Elizabeth **Duddy**; marr. secondly, Wendy Jean **Rothemund**; marr. thirdly, Laura Lee (Alvis) **Norwood**.

23 iii. Allan Murray, b. 5 Feb. 1947; marr. firstly, Phyllis Courtney **Emerson**; marr. secondly, Kim Frances **Umphrey**.

24 iv. Jean, b. 13 May 1951; marr. Gary Lee **Lederer**.

21 Donald Vernon[5] Kirkpatrick (Paul Chester[4], James William[3], Thomas[2], James[1]), commissionaire, was b. 12 Oct. 1918; marr. 16 Dec. 1936, Ottawa, Anne **Morgan**, daughter of Roderick A. and Hilda Frances ( ) Morgan, Ottawa. She was b. 12 Dec. 1920. Res. Ottawa. Issue of Donald Vernon and Anne Kirkpatrick:

i. Joan Elizabeth, b. 10 Nov. 1940; marr. 17 Sept. 1960, Ottawa, George Stephen Douglas **Freda**. Res. Ottawa. Issue.

ii. Gail Anne, b. 7 April 1943. Marr. firstly, Laurier **LaChapelle**; issue. Marr. secondly, Lance **Steele**; issue.

iii. Wendy Pauline; b. 3 Oct. 1946; marr. Eric **Ashton**. Issue.

iv. Donald Morgan, b. 24 Nov. 1949; marr. Cindy **Halliday**. Issue of Donald Morgan and Cindy Kirkpatrick:

a. Donald Aaron, b. 14 Jan. 1976.

b. Dayna Lee, b. 21 Oct. 1976 (two months prematurely).

v. Robert Douglas, b. 24 March 1953; marr. Valerie **Anthony**.

22 Robert Ford[6] Kirkpatrick Jr. (Robert Ford[5], Robert[4], Thomas Renwick[3], Thomas[2], Thomas[1]), builder, was b. Oct. 1943. Marr. firstly, 15 Feb. 1965, Las Vegas, Nevada, Gale Elizabeth **Duddy**, daughter of Walter Frances and Florence (Harrison) Duddy, Waltham, Mass. She was b. 11 Nov. 1947. Issue; divorced Feb. 1972, Dublin, Georgia. Marr. secondly, 29 March 1972, Waltham, Mass., Wendy Jean **Rothemund**, daughter of John Jacob and Virginia Clare (Sedgewick) Rothemund, Oceanside,

California. She was b. 6 Oct. 1951. Issue; divorced 2 June 1983. Marr. thirdly, 25 June 1983, Williamsburg, Virginia, Laura Lee (Alvis) **Norwood**, daughter of Andrew Thomas and Dorothy Elizabeth (Hawkins) Alvis, Newport News, Va., and mother of James Walter Norwood III. She was born 27 April 1952. Issue. Res. Williamsburg, Va.

Issue of Robert Ford Jr. and Gale Kirkpatrick:

i. Cheryl Ann, b. 13 Sept. 1965, Concord, Mass. Res. Dublin, Georgia. Surname **Gay** (adopted by mother's second husband).

ii. Lisa, b. 2 Jan. 1967, Concord, Mass. Res. Dublin, Ga. Surname **Gay** (adopted by mother's second husband).

Issue of Robert Ford Jr. and Wendy Kirkpatrick:

iii. Robert Ford III, b. 27 Aug. 1974.

iv. Jaime (daughter), b. 30 July 1977.

Issue of Robert Ford Jr. and Laura Lee Kirkpatrick:

v. Thomas Renwick, b. 25 Dec. 1984.

2 3 Allan Murray[6] Kirkpatrick (Robert Ford[5], Robert[4], Thomas Renwick[3], Thomas[2], Thomas[1]), food service manager, was b. 5 Feb. 1947. Marr. firstly, 27 Dec. 1969, Worcester, Mass., Phyllis Courtney **Emerson**, daughter of Harold and Edna (Reeder) Emerson, Laconia, New Hampshire; she was b. 23 March 1949. Issue; divorced Liverpool, N.S., May 1981. Marr. secondly, 8 Oct. 1983, Liverpool, Kim Frances **Umphrey**, daughter of Harley Keith and Kristena (McPhee) Umphrey, Oshawa, Ont. She was b. 25 July 1956. N/I. Res. Liverpool.

Issue of Allan Murray and Phyllis Kirkpatrick:

i. Allan Murray Jr., b. 18 June 1971, Worcester, Mass.

ii. Aaron Edward, b. 26 Dec. 1973, Meredith, N.H.

2 4 Jean[6] Kirkpatrick (Robert Ford[5], Robert[4], Thomas Renwick[3], Thomas[2], Thomas[1]), was b. 13 May 1951; marr. 22 May 1976, Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin, Gary Lee **Lederer**, candy company vice-president, son of Robert Michael and Joyce Ada (Bahr) Lederer, Fond du Lac, Wi. He was b. 25 April 1950. Res. Milwaukee, Wi.

Issue of Gary and Jean Lederer:

i. Andrew Robert, b. 30 Oct. 1978.

ii. Elizabeth Ann, b. 2 April 1981, Stanwell, Surrey, England.

iii. Stephen James, b. 30 Oct. 1983.

Sources

The Archives of the University of Glasgow, Scotland.
Parrsboro Leader (various issues).
Nova Scotia Census, 1871.
Registrar General of Nova Scotia (vital records after 1907).
Mrs. A.L. Graham, "Some Parrsboro Families; Cumberland County," microfilm manuscript at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
Private Collection, "British Columbia from Earliest Times to the Present, 1914."
Church Records, Parrsboro, from transcripts at PANS.
Cemeteries: Parrsboro, Crossroads, River Hebert, Wharton, Advocate and Apple River.
Family Bibles, from private collections: Collins; McIver; Smith, D.A.; Smith, W.R.

The author also thanks the many members of this family who provided information through correspondence or personal interviews.

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The Governor's Goods: The Inventories of the Personal Property of Isaac de Razilly

Joan Dawson

Towards the end of the year 1635, Isaac de Razilly, lieutenant-general of New France,died at the age of 48 in the settlement which he had established at LaHave. Following his death, the Capuchin fathers who served the colony drew up an inventory of his personal property, most of which was subsequently returned to France. These goods, with the inventory, were brought to Tours, where they were to be stored under lock and key in the house of Isaac's brother, Claude de Launay-Rasilly, pending the settlement of the estate.

On Wednesday, 4 November 1637, Claude de Launay-Rasilly appeared in the presence of the royal notary in Tours, Jacques David, at the drawing-up of a second inventory, which listed the items returned. Both inventories are among David's records, now in the Archives of Indre and Loire, at Tours, France.[1]

The first inventory is signed by the Capuchins, Father Augustin de Pontoise, the Superior, and his colleague Father Cosme. The third signatory is P. Lonvilliers (Longvilliers de Poincy) who, according to the preamble, was designated as Razilly's successor in command at LaHave, "according to the intention of the late Commander declared by his last wishes."[2] The fourth signature is that of Largentier, an otherwise unidentified figure who seems to have acted as registrar for the colony.[3] The second document is signed by the notary, Jacques David, Claude de Launay-Rasilly, and one Mathieu Royer.

Although the LaHave inventory is not dated, it was probably made late in 1635 or very early in 1636. Negotiations for the return of his possessions to France may have taken some time, as it was nearly two years afterwards that the second inventory was drawn up.

It is from the preamble to this second inventory that we learn about the circumstances of its compilation. Present at Claude de Launay-Rasilly's request was Mathieu Royer, who is stated to have served Isaac de Razilly

1 Archives d'Indre et Loire, Série A, Minutes du notaire David.

2 "...*ses dernières volontés*." Possibly a formal will. Razilly's "last wishes" are quoted again in the second inventory as an acknowledgement of his debts. No actual document has survived. As a Knight of Malta, he had sought permission from the head of his Order to make a will, but was permitted to dispose of only one fifth of his property, the rest being designated for the Order. (Letter from the Grand Master to Isaac de Razilly, Archives de Razilly, XXV, T281:31.)

3 His signature appears on at least one other document written at LaHave, a pass issued by Razilly to Philibert de Ramezay. Public Archives of Canada, MG 18, H54. Ramezay, famille. Vol. 4, p. 1616.

for nearly twelve years, and to have been entrusted by the Capuchins with the task of returning his personal effects to Tours. The chief heir to Isaac's estate was the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Order of Malta), of which he had long been a member and held the rank of Commander. Creditors' claims were also mentioned, among them those of his brother Claude, who had helped to finance the colony,[4] and of Royer, to whom Isaac had apparently owed money, both for his services and as repayment of loans; Royer now also claimed expenses for bringing the goods from La Rochelle to Tours.

The settlement of these claims is beyond the scope of this study, but it seems unlikely that the proceeds from the sale of the items listed as returned to France, which represented only a proportion of the original list, would have covered them. It is, however, interesting to consider the nature of the worldly goods of a member of the French aristocracy, Commander of the Order of Malta, veteran naval officer, hero of the battle of La Rochelle, lieutenant-general for the king in New France, who had spent the final three years of his life establishing a colony in Acadia.

It is the earlier inventory, made at LaHave 350 years ago, which is reproduced here.[5] It is almost certainly the earliest document of its kind to be made in Acadia. Many of its contents are described in identical terms in the second inventory, which lists some items as having been kept at LaHave, noting also some discrepancies in quantities for the same reason. Only when this list (Inv. 2) gives additional information will it be quoted.

General inventory of all the goods which were found after the death and decease of the late Commander de Razilly, lieutenant general for the king in all the extent of New France, belonging to him; made in the presence of the reverend Capuchin fathers undersigned, with Monsieur de Poincy,

4 Although Razilly had come to Acadia under the auspices of the *Compagnie des Cent Associés*, both he and his brother had supplemented the Company's funds with personal investments.

5 The transcription of the first inventory, and the translation of both, are those of the author of this article, who acknowledges gratefully the transcript of the second article by Madame Jurgens, supplied by the Centre d'Etudes Acadiennes, Université de Moncton.

commandant, at present in this fort and habitation of Sainte Marie de Grâce at LaHave, according to the intention of my late lord Commander de Razilly, declared by his last wishes.[6]

And firstly

One suit[7] of panne,[8] with silver wire buttons, almost worn out.
Plus[9] one scarlet suit with silver braid, almost new.
One scarlet suit, half worn out.
Inv. 2: *without buttons and without aglets,*[10] *trimmed with ribbon.*
One suit of grey *drap de Ceau*[11] with some silver buttons, half worn out.
Inv. 2: *having some silver wire buttons, half worn out, trimmed with aglets, with matching hose.*
Another suit of black taffeta, worn.
Inv. 2: *half worn.*
Another suit of woollen cloth, grey in colour, almost worn out.
Inv. 2: *royal blue in colour.* (Probably the original colour, then faded.)
Another suit of satin, quite worn out.

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6 This introductory paragraph has been seen by scholars disputing the legality of Charles de Menou d'Aulnay's assumption of power in Acadia as evidence that Razilly intended Longvilliers de Poincy to succeed him as governor. Whether this assumption is justified nor not, Poincy's authority at LaHave seems to have been undisputed, as he is described in the second inventory as "captain at LaHave," a position he presumably still held at the time of Royer's departure.

7 *habit*: a suit of clothes, or a coat. The former translation is used throughout.

8 panne: a soft, long-napped cloth.

9 *Plus* is repeated at the beginning of each entry, but it is omitted in the translation.

10 aglets: points, or tagged laces, orginally used to join garments, but usually decorative in the seventeenth century.

11 *drap de Ceau*: authorities differ about the correct terminology. *Drap du sceau* is considered by Furetière (*Dictionaire universel*, 1690) to be erroneous for *drap d'Usseau*, a woollen cloth manufactured at Usseau near Carcassonne. It is translated simply as "woollen cloth" in subsequent entries.

Two suits of bure,[12] half worn.
Two shabby satin doublets and a shabby pair of hose.[13]
Inv. 2: *one sleeveless and collarless; the hose made of velvet with small checks.*[14]
One buff-jerkin.
Inv. 2: *trimmed with black aglets.*
Two under-waistcoats, one green and one of black panne.
Inv. 2: *more than half worn.*
Two pairs of frieze[15] drawers, one green and the other red.
Two pairs of boots and a shabby pair of slippers.
Six pairs of shoes.
Two cloths[16] of open work, one large and the other small, half worn.
One cloak of Berry cloth[17] with silver buttons, more than half worn.
Inv. 2: *with a white cross.* (The emblem of the Knights of Malta.)
One cloak of black panne, lined with panne.
Inv. 2: *silver lace around, with a white cross.*
Another of black satin with braid, lined with satin.
Inv. 2: *lined with satin spotted with flowers, trimmed with satin braid with a white cross.*
Another of black velvet lined with panne with Milan braid.
Inv. 2: *black satin Milan braid with a white cross.*
Another of scarlet, lined with spotted satin.

---

12 bure: a coarse, dark woollen cloth.

13 *"hault de chosse,"* i.e. *haut-de-chausse*: the breeches which were worn with the doublet. Elsewhere, "hose" refers to stockings.

14 *à petits carreau*: although this sounds like a description of mixed colours, it may indicate a woven pattern. Since the material is velvet, neither interpretation seems entirely satisfactory. Furetière observes, *"On dit, une estoffe à petits carreaux,"* without further explanation. The normal meaning today is "checked."

15 freize, or Frisian cloth: coarse woollen cloth with nap usually on one side only.

16 *"tauaille,"* possibly for *touaille*, a towel or napkin. Inv. 2 reads *tavayole*, a cloth used in ecclesiastical ceremonies. Either seems a little out of place at this point in the inventory.

17 Berry cloth: a coarse woollen serge.

Inv. 2: describes instead *l'haby* (suit) in the same terms. This may be correct, since the next entry restates *un manteau.*

One cloak of woollen cloth lined with panne, olive in colour.

Inv. 2: *more than half worn, with a white cross on this one.*

Another cloak of black checked[18] velvet lined with panne, more than half worn.

Inv. 2: *lined with sheared panne with small checks, with his white cross on this one.*

One scarlet riding coat with silver wire buttons, almost half worn.

One riding coat of grey Berry cloth, almost worn out, with silver wire buttons.

One little cloak of grey *serge de Seigneur*[19] lined with spotted taffeta, half worn.

One suit of tan-coloured woollen cloth lined with linen, more than half worn, with the hose.

One suit of drugget[20] lined with linen with the hose.

One suit of black woollen cloth lined with taffeta, without hose.

Inv. 2: *trimmed with aglets.*

One beaver hat, a felt hat[21] which came to him this year, with two fur hats and the hat-box.

Inv. 2: *all of them black.*

Two gold cords[22] and two shabby silver ones.

Two shabby baldricks[23] embroidered in silver.

One old suit of woollen cloth, olive in colour, quite worn out.

Inv. 2: *with its matching hose.*

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18 See above, n. 14.

19 *serge de Seigneur*: a type of serge made in Rheims.

20 drugget: coarse woven fabric of wool or part wool.

21 *feutre* seems to have had a pejorative sense: a scurvy or ill-made hat.

22 *cordon* can mean either a lace or a hat-band; in this position, the latter seems possible, but by no means certain.

23 baldrick: shoulder-belt.

Two other baldricks made of leather, one trimmed with silver and the other with silvered copper.
One sword-sling embroidered in gold and silver, new, with the belt.
One small case of red velvet fitted with two combs, a mirror, one large brush and two small ones.
Two pieces of ribbon.
Inv. 2: *black ribbon.*
Two other pieces of ribbon, one grey, the other red, each twelve ells[24] in length.
One pair of red rosettes trimmed with gold and silver lace.
One packet of red, black and grey silk.
Six pairs of gloves, including two trimmed with panne and silver galloon[25] the other four are woollen.
Inv. 2: *one-pair...trimmed with red panne with galloon of silver thread.*
Two packets of silver buttons.
Another piece of black ribbon.
Two cords, one made of hair with silver trimming, the other of gold, silver and [green?][26]
Inv. 2: *One of hair bound with silver, and the other of "verre noir meslé."*
Two pairs of garters, one red and the other black, trimmed with coarse gold and silver lace.
Two dozen aglets which are on the suit of Spanish cloth.[27]
Six fine shirts, new, with lace and braid at the wrists.
Inv. 2: *of fine linen.*
Eleven new pairs of small ruffles[28] with lace.
One dozen nightcaps with medium lace.
One dozen neckbands of fine linen trimmed with tassels.

24 1 ell = 45 inches.

25 galloon: a kind of lace.

26 *vers* or *neir* (black). The reading of this word is doubtful and the meaning in either case obscure. Inv. 2 is no more enlightening: "mixed black glass" conveys no useful image of the material.

27 Not identified as such elsewhere in the inventory.

28 *manchettes*: worn at the wrists.

One dozen new pairs of large ruffles.
One dozen new neckerchiefs[29] with tassels.
One pair of grey-brown garters which have been used.
One dozen new shirts of coarse linen with lace at the front of the wrists.
Four dozen other shirts, of which there are thirteen which have not been used.
Six other shirts which are all torn.
Four other old torn shirts with ruffles at the wrists.
Five dozen handkerchiefs of which two dozen have not been used.
Twenty cap coifs,[30] half worn.
Inv. 2: *linen coifs, most of them worn.*
Five other coifs with coarse lace, half worn.
Three neckbands of cut-work, half worn.
Three other neckbands of cut-work, more than half worn.
Twenty-one plain neckbands, almost worn out.
Six pairs of large ruffles.
Inv. 2: *in poor condition.*
Eleven old ruffs[31] in poor condition.
Twenty pairs of old drawers in poor condition.
Fifteen pairs of old linen hose in poor condition.
Twenty pairs of old socks.
One dressing gown of royal blue woollen cloth without lining, cut out and not sewn.
One red barracan[32] hood lined with Caen serge, half worn.
Three pairs of hose of bure, and one of *serge de Seigneur*, almost worn out.
One dressing-table cloth of green velvet with a silver fringe, and braid also of silver, with the bag, and the case fitted with two combs, a large brush and a small one, all partly worn.
One small dressing-table cloth of crimson velvet trimmed with a fringe of red silk.

29 *mouchoirs*: handkerchiefs, but the tassels suggest neckwear. See the neckbands below.

30 coif: a close-fitting cap. *Coeffe de bonnet de nuit*: a linen cap within a nightcap.

31 *fraizes*: worn at the neck.

32 barracan: mixture of goat hair and wool.

One old velvet cap, more than half worn.
Another small dressing-table cloth of patterned velvet with a silk fringe.
Inv. 2 adds here the gilt mirror listed separately below.
Two nightcaps, one of red velvet with gold and silver tinsel, the other of carnation-coloured velvet with silver braid.
Inv. 2: *both lined with taffeta.*
One pair of grey garters, all torn, with rosettes for the shoes trimmed with silver lace.
Another pair of rosettes, black, almost worn out.
Inv. 2: *of black taffeta.*
One pair of grey silk hose, almost worn out.
Another pair of hose, of white thread, almost worn out.
Two pairs of deerskin gloves, embroidered one in gold and the other in silver, almost worn out.
Inv. 2: *the one trimmed with gold embroidery lined with satin, and the other with silver lined with grey taffeta, all in poor condition.*
One gilt mirror. (See above)
Two copper astrolabes.
Two firelock arquebuses,[33] almost worn out.
Two wheel-lock pistols.
Two swords, one for thrusting, the other for use on horseback.
One Turkish purse containing money.[34]
One bed of green woollen cloth with a cover, trimmed with a little fringe around.
One armchair with six folding chairs, trimmed with a silver fringe.
One carpet,[35] also trimmed with a silver fringe, all made of green woollen cloth.
One set of bed covers of yellow satin with velvet and silk embroidery, with yellow taffeta curtains, and a quilted counterpane.
One set of bed covers of red velvet with gold and silk embroidery, with red damask curtains and the counterpane more than half worn.

33 An early type of portable gun, supported on tripod by hook or on forked rest.

34 *garnie d'argent* may possibly simply mean "trimmed with silver," though the expression usually refers to money. It is perhaps surprising that no actual sum is mentioned.

35 *tapy à housse*: a carpet for covering a table, or other furniture.

One Turkish carpet, more than half worn.
One small set of tapestry hangings, almost worn out, and torn.
Another set of hangings, of Rouen tapestry, quite worn out.
One oval silver washbasin.
One silver ewer.
One silver vinegar cruet.
Two silver salt cellars.
One dozen plates, also silver.
One large silver gilt cup.
Another similar cup, not gilt.
One small gilt cup.
Inv. 2: *with a chain* (or chevrons).
Two small silver drinking cups,[36] one ornamented and the other, which is not, beginning to break.
One dozen spoons, of which two are broken.
One porringer with handles.
Two small candlesticks; all [of the above] of silver: the whole weighing 37 marks 2 ounces 3 drams.
One cross of gold and enamel belonging to the late Commander,[37] which has begun to break.
Inv. 2: *of enamelled gold which the late Commander used to wear.*
One dozen knives with silver handles.
Ten-and-a-half pairs of old sheets, nearly worn out.
Fourteen tablecloths of diapered linen, except for one of plain linen, more than half worn.
Eleven dozen napkins, in poor condition.
Four mattresses, half worn out.
Four coverlets, also half worn out.
One feather-bed with two small bolsters, all almost worn out.
One checker-board of Brazil-wood, almost worn out.
Inv. 2: *The checker-board and its checkers.*
Six serge riding-coats, of which three are unlined, with the Commander's arms in silver embroidery.

36 *gondelle*: a sort of drinking cup shaped like a gondola.

37 The emblem of his membership in the Order of St. John.

Inv. 2: *on three of which are white crosses with escutcheons.*
Three dozen pewter dishes.
Three dozen plates, also of pewter.
Three large pewter pots.
Three small pint-pots; which [pewter-]ware has been used: the whole weighing 152 pounds.
Fifty-five pounds of broken pewter.
Two old chests covered with leather.
One old trunk, all broken.

F. Augustin de Pontoise, Capuchin superior
I, Fr. Cosme, Capuchin, sign having only reviewed the inventory and the goods.
P. Lonvilliers Largentier

What kind of a picture does this document give of the owner of these goods? Forty-eight years of age at his death, Razilly had led an adventurous life, much of it at sea, and was probably used to "living out of a suitcase," carrying with him carefully-selected items which would ensure his personal comfort wherever he found himself. Since his arrival at LaHave, he had had little opportunity to renew either his wardrobe or his household furnishings. The few unused items in the list suggest careful management of the stocks he had brought with him rather than new acquisitions, the exception being his new hat.

It will be noted that well over half the items contained in this inventory consist of articles of clothing, with which Isaac de Razilly seems to have been reasonably well-provided, and which he had probably acquired over a considerable time. In addition to the nine suits of clothes with which the list opens, four more occur later. The material of which they were made varies from satin and taffeta to coarse woollen cloth. One, of scarlet with silver lace, was almost new; others were quite worn out. The varied condition of the rest is not surprising after Razilly's more than three years' absence from France. Some of the more decorative garments were probably intended for wear on social occasions; others were of a more practical nature. By comparison, he was less lavishly provided with footwear: his boots, shoes and "shabby pair of slippers" occupy only a small place in the inventory.

The cloaks listed are of a number and variety befitting a man of Razilly's position. Many of them bore the white cross of the Order of St. John; one had silver buttons, while another was decorated with silver lace. His riding coats also included some with silver buttons, and with the white cross of Malta.

A relatively small variety of outdoor headgear is listed here, along with the hat-box. The beaver hat was, of course, the height of fashion in Europe at this period; it was the demand for such hats which made the export of beaver pelts the mainstay of the economy of New France. The plain felt hat, though new, was probably considered inferior; the two fur hats must have been by far the more useful, along with the barracan hood mentioned later, when the cold east wind blew across the LaHave.

The inventory includes many other accessories, such as shoulder-belts and a sword-belt, gloves of various kinds, garters and rosettes, ruffs, ruffles, neckbands and handkerchiefs. Some of these articles were plain, others fancy; some were still new, but many showed signs of wear and tear. All suggest that Isaac de Razilly, despite his isolated situation, was equipped to dress with the same elegance as a gentleman of his rank in France.

Even the more practical items of clothing were not without distinction. Razilly's pride in his position of Commander of the Order of Malta is reflected in the number of garments bearing the white cross, as well as by the gold and enamel cross which he wore. Gold and silver trimmings are found on some of the most worn items; spare ribbons, aglets and silver buttons provided for the maintenance of the garments in suitable condition for as long as possible. Shirts by the dozen, and quantities of underwear, served to ensure that the Commander was never without a change of linen; he could be fastidious, even in the unpromising conditions of a struggling new colony.

Some of the many shirts listed may have been night-shirts, which are not mentioned separately. The unsewn cloth for a dressing-gown, and two nightcaps of some elegance are described, as well as a third "old cap" which may have served the same purpose, or may have been worn indoors by day. Cap-liners ("coifs") were worn under the nightcap; Razilly was well-supplied with these.

Scattered among the clothing in the list appear personal items. They include toilet sets and dressing-table cloths made of velvet. Each of the sets

described in detail included a case, brushes and a comb; one also contained a mirror, and another mirror is listed separately.

The Commander's professional interests are also reflected in some of the items on the list. The astrolabe, an instrument with which the height of the sun and stars could be calculated, was essential to any navigator of the period; Isaac de Razilly, a veteran naval officer, owned two. Firearms were clearly necessary for the leader of an isolated colony. The almost worn-out arquebuses may have impressed the Indians; Razilly's pistols were probably more effective as weapons in case of need. The peaceful nature of the colony, however, clearly rendered a larger personal arsenal unnecessary. The swords would form part of the normal equipment of an officer and a gentleman of that period. The horseback sword, in a settlement where there is no indication that horses had yet been established, was probably of use only as a ceremonial accoutrement.

Isaac's purse, whether the *argent* refers to actual coinage or to the decoration of the item itself, raises the question of "cash-flow" in the colony. Most of the financial transactions took place in France, where supplies were purchased largely on credit, to be paid for out of the proceeds of the sale of furs. Sailors and short-term *engagés* were paid in advance or on their return to France; we know that Royer's wages were still unpaid on his return. The settlers probably subsisted at a fairly simple, feudal level, with their wants being supplied by the governor who would see to the distribution of both the goods brought in from France and the food produced on the spot. Barter with the Indians involved exchange in kind; actual currency was probably very little used. Razilly was thus shielded by distance from the financial worries with which his brother and other business associates had to deal, which perhaps accounts for his idealistic attitude towards his colony, which he described as an "earthly paradise."[38]

The Commander's bed, chairs and other furnishings were relatively modest in nature, in keeping with his rather unsettled life of travel and adventure. Bed-covers and hangings, and some tapestry pieces, may have accompanied him on his voyages for many years, judging from their condition. They would still have served to provide some degree of comfort and shabby elegance in his quarters at LaHave. The sheets, though plentiful, were old

38 Razilly to Marc Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634. Fond français, Vol. 13423, f. 350, Dept. des MSS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

and almost worn out; they, too, had probably seen many expeditions before they reached Acadia.

The list of silverware is rather more impressive, due no doubt to its more durable nature. It includes a washbasin and ewer, and among the table silver, a dozen each of plates, spoons and knives (forks were not in general use in France until later in the seventeenth century), along with sundry cups, dishes and candlesticks. With a plentiful supply of fine, if worn, table linen, entertainment at the governor's residence would have been appropriately dignified. In addition, he owned three dozen each of pewter dishes and plates; the large amount of broken pewter also listed leads one to hope that a pewter smith was among the colonists to be recruited in the near future.

The two chests and the trunk had undoubtedly travelled many miles with their owner. Their contents were chosen to assure a reasonable degree of personal comfort wherever he was, on land or sea. The somewhat shabby state of many of his household effects should not detract from the fact that they were essentially of good quality. Although the way of life of the leader of the small Acadian community was of necessity simpler than that enjoyed by the well-to-do in France, certain similarities remained. He was capable of entertaining his guests in some style, with silver place-settings for twelve, silver salts, vinegar-cruet and candlesticks, and sufficient dishes for several courses, set on diapered linen, with napkins. In the cold of an Acadian winter, as in chilly French castles, tapestry hangings both excluded the cold breezes and provided decoration.

One final familiar item towards the end of the inventory is Razilly's checker-board, which adds a more private and personal dimension to this list of the governor's goods. It is pleasant to imagine him at the end of the day, playing the game of checkers with one of his companions; then washing in his silver bowl and putting on his nightcap, retiring to his feather bed, pulling the quilt and drawing the curtains around him.

We are left with the impression of a practical man, conscious of his rank and dignity, but well-used to adapting to the circumstances in which he found himself. His tastes were what one might expect from a member of a long-established aristocratic family, but his priorities in Acadia clearly did not include the importing of personal luxuries. Nevertheless, the decencies of life were to be observed, and certain standards maintained, even in what some of his countrymen might have considered unpromising surroundings.

We know from Razilly's letter to Marc Lescarbot[39] that he was content with his life at LaHave; so much so that he urged his friend to bring his wife and come and join him. We think all too often -- and with good reason -- of the hardships of the pioneers in New France; it is good to remember also that they brought with them a civilized way of life, and the means of reestablishing it in some measure in their new home.

39 *Ibid.*

Book Reviews

Gunshield Graffiti: Unofficial Badges of Canada's Wartime Navy, by Thomas G. Lynch and James B. Lamb. Illustrations by L.B. Jenson. ISBN 0-920852-0. Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, 1984. 144 pages, illustrated, softcover, $12.95.

Gunshield Graffiti is the first book to deal with this near-forgotten aspect of Canada's naval heritage. It consists of a brief introductory narrative, followed by an extensive selection of photographs and drawings, each with an accompanying commentary. Mr. Lynch has done an exceptional job of detective work in compiling such a thorough collection.

Unfortunately, the impact of the book is somewhat degraded by the narrative and the method of presenting the illustrations.

The narration clearly reflects previous writings of both authors on the Canadian corvettes of World War II. While it does provide the background to the development of the subject at hand, it is highly subjective and runs off on tangents. Pet hobby horses are aired -- the quality of paint and the attitudes of the regular Navy -- and a full page is devoted to describing the development of the corvette. The place of the "graffiti" in our national development, and the maturation of the Navy during the war are, however, well treated.

The major flaw in *Gunshield Graffiti* lies in the organization of the illustrations. The authors have opted for a simple alphabetical sequence which, given the range of items included, does not work well. They should have either limited themselves strictly to the area implied by the title, or used major subdivisions. The impact would have been far more favourable had the illustrations been grouped into: Gunshield Art; Unofficial Badges; RN ships associated with the RCN; and Contemporary Examples in the 1980s. The cartoon of HMCS *Rosthern* on page 110 and "*Spikenard*'s Spike" on page 127, while interesting, are irrelevant and would be better deleted. As it stands, the book leaps from gunshield to badge, and from 1942 to 1982, in a very disjointed manner.

Several editorial errors exist: on page 14, Sir Leonard Outerbridge was the Governor, not the Governor General; page 73 should read HMS *Lancer*, not HMCS; page 77 should read *Levis* (2); page 94 should read *Okanagan*, not *Okanogan*.

These criticisms aside, the authors have captured some of the magic which still strikes every new visitor to that wonderful time capsule, the "Crow's Nest Club." For the naval veteran of those wonderful little ships, the book

will generate a thousand memories, and for the naval historian it is a fascinating and compact collection of a previously undocumented area of our history. LCdr G.V. Davidson CAF

The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick, by Ann Condon. ISBN 0-920-483-01-1. New Ireland Press, 1984. 236 pages, illustrated, softcover. Available from the publisher, Box 905, Station A, Fredericton, New Brunswick, E3B 5B4.

This is a study of the twenty or so Loyalists, mostly from Massachusetts, who were the leaders in creating New Brunswick. It was they who envisaged it as a separate colony which was to be "a refugee for loyalty" and "the envy of the American States." New Brunswick was their creation for better or worse. Condon's aim is to probe the ideology of these leaders and to examine their efforts to make their vision into reality. She is sympathetic to her leaders, but not overly so; she accepts them for what they were, men possessed by a dream; and men who, for all their efforts, were bound to watch much of that dream succumb to the exigencies and natural egalitarianism of frontier settlement.

The likes of Edward Winslow, the Bliss brothers -- Daniel and Jonathan -- Ward Chipman and Jonathan Odell did firmly believe that British Liberty and the British Empire were inseparable. They fought ideologically and often under arms, with courage and strength of purpose, against the very idea of colonial independence. To them, independence and republicanism meant the end of liberty, and with it the well-ordered society which was at the very base of their beliefs. They saw themselves as part of a highly educated, cultured and propertied class destined to govern. In return for their devotion to the public interest, they expected privileges and respect. They tried unsuccessfully to establish cultural institutions centred on the Anglican Church, in order to inculcate the necessary loyalty and respect for the established order. Their faith in, or more aptly their vision of, the British Empire was so strong that they failed to grasp that once the Loyalists were settled, the British government would easily revert to its old colonial policy of trade and the maintenance of sea power above all other imperial considerations.

The well laid out and discussed bibliography is an asset to all those interested in Loyalist history. Although Condon used many sources in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, for reasons unclear she did not use the

Bliss Family papers, which are an excellent source for the views and activities of many of the sons of her Loyalist leaders. I found only one factual error and that a very minor one on page 117. It was not Chief Justice Bryan Finucane who was sent by Governor Parr to London to speak against partition, but Andrew Finucane, his brother.

Although Condon's focus is on her leaders, she ably brings into her story the context in which they thought and acted in their self-acclaimed role as leaders. It is her ability to handle so well context with personality that marks this book as a significant contribution to the growing list of Loyalist studies that have been given such impetus by the Loyalist Bicentenary. Whatever may have been the trials and tribulations of the publishing programme for the New Brunswick Bicentenary, Condon's book and that of David Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John*, should prove sufficient rewards in themselves.

B.C. Cuthbertson

"An Appearance of Strength": The Fortifications of Louisbourg, by Bruce W. Fry. ISBN 0-660-11551-4. Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1984. 2 volumes, illustrated, softcover, $23.00 a set.

Bruce Fry's two-volume work, *"An Appearance of Strength": The Fortifications of Louisbourg*, is a meaningful addition to the growing body of recent Louisbourg publications. The fortifications have always loomed large in the popular image of Louisbourg, but often from contradictory points of view. Perceptions of strength and impregnability have been countered by those of poor design and construction. Fry's primary objective is to examine "by archaeological methods...what was built, why and the extent to which the intended functions were fulfilled"; in doing so he demolishes some of those perceptions and places others on a solid basis of supporting evidence.

A former senior archaeologist of long standing with Parks Canada's massive reconstruction project at Louisbourg, Fry writes with considerable experience and depth of knowledge. He is able to make notable use of the project's abundant archaeological and historical resources. In addition, two years' research in France has enabled Fry to provide the European background to these fortifications. This is particularly important, given the direct links of Louisbourg's military equipment with that of France.

The first of Fry's two volumes is devoted to text and supporting appendices and references, while the second contains related illustrations. Unlike most archaeological reports, the artifacts Fry examines are the

fortifications themselves, rather than the more usual shards of pottery and glass. Other fortifications become comparative artifacts, and the large number of illustrations are a necessary adjunct to his comparisons. The illustrations comprise a fine collection of their own, consisting in large part of reproductions of finely-drafted original plans, as well as a selection of the author's photographs of existing French fortifications.

In a valuable service to the reader, Fry devotes almost a third of his text to establishing the context of Louisbourg's fortifications. There is a much needed discussion of how fortifications evolved, beginning with the major changes wrought by the introduction of gunpowder. By the time of Louisbourg's founding, the principles of fortification against the prevailing smooth-bore weaponry were well established. In delineating this evolution, Fry notes the contributions and accomplishments not only of the famous Vauban, but also his less well-known contemporaries and predecessors. Fry also discusses the historical background of the town's establishment, and the difficulties posed by its physical setting. Selection of the site for commercial rather than strategic reasons was to have important repercussions on the success of the town's defences.

The greater part of Fry's work provides a significant and detailed analysis of both the whole and the component parts of Louisbourg's fortifications. Fry succeeds admirably in achieving his stated objective of determining what was built and why and the degree of its success. His analysis includes the complete outline of the town's fortifications, the detached defensive works (such as the Royal and Island Batteries) and even the siege works. As might be expected, the two major reconstructions, the King's Bastion and the Dauphin Half-Bastion, receive the most detailed treatment. As suggested by his title, moreover, Fry does indeed uncover shortcomings in the defences -- but weighs them against the practical alternatives. He advances a plausible solution to the key weakness in the town's defences, but doubts whether Louisbourg officials would ever have received metropolitan approval for it.

For some readers, the occasionally quite heavy load of analysis, and the use of precise and unfamiliar terminology, will make this study hard going. These problems, however, are minimized by the solid introduction and a glossary of key technical terms. Although the work will appeal particularly to the specialist, all readers will be rewarded with an increased awareness of the adaptations which new environments require -- even in fortifications.

Sandy Balcom

Every Popish Person: The Story of Roman Catholicism in Nova Scotia and the Church of Halifax, by J. Brian Hannington. ISBN 0-9691712-0-X. Archdiocese of Halifax, 1984. 272 pages, illustrated, hardcover, $18.95. Available from the publisher, P.O. Box 1527, Halifax, N.S.

In honour of the 1984 Papal Visit and the bicentennial of the fully legal practice of Catholicism in Nova Scotia, the Archdiocese of Halifax commissioned the preparation of this history of the Church in the city. Written by its former Communications Director, J. Brian Hannington, the book's tone is respectful and celebratory, while free of both the hypersensitivity to criticism and the smug triumphalism that too often mark officially sanctioned works of religious history.

Hannington has structured his narrative around the episcopates of Halifax's twelve bishops, perhaps because his archival sources were so organized, but also to reflect the importance of these remarkable men in shaping the development of the local Church. From Edmund Burke (1818 – 1820), whose strong and prudent leadership helped to win for his flock "a respectability and credibility it had not known before," to current Archbishop James M. Hayes, whose efforts in promoting ecumenical dialogue and implementing the sweeping changes of the Second Vatican Council have been widely noticed, the diocese has been generally well-served by its chief pastors.

Many of the bishops have been embroiled in controversies, most of which Hannington treats in a fair and balanced manner. He describes, for example, the ethnic and regional divisions among Nova Scotian Catholics which led to the creation of the predominantly Scottish diocese of Antigonish in 1844 and the largely Acadian diocese of Yarmouth in 1953; the bitter struggle of Bishop Michael Hannan (1877 – 1882) to control or expel the Sisters of Charity; and the devious, imperious, and financially foolhardy campaign by Archbishop J.T. McNally (1937 – 1952) to build a new Saint Mary's University.

While passing reference is made to the broader history of the city, including an exceptionally moving account of the Halifax Explosion, there is little genuine integration of religious and secular history. Neither is the local Church placed satisfactorily in the context of national or universal Church history. Hannington's account of the confrontations between Catholic leadership and Joseph Howe in 1850s and 1860s is very one-sided, relying overmuch on Sr. K. Fay Trombley's hagiographic biography of Archbishop Thomas Connolly while ignoring the superior work of Howe's biographer, J. Murray Beck. Furthermore, the book's perspective is decidedly

Whiggish, tending to view earlier beliefs and practices through the tinted spectacles of the contemporary, post-Vatican II Church.

A number of errors and infelicities mar the text, including the omission of footnotes cited in the text, the misspelling of several words, and the mistaken implication that King's College moved from Windsor to Halifax between 1876 and 1881. Still, despite the appearance of such colloquialisms as "ritzy" and "that was that," the book is engagingly written. It is also lavishly and handsomely illustrated with archival photographs and paintings and striking original drawings by Derek Sarty and Rand Gaynor; it also contains a helpful glossary for those unfamiliar with Roman Catholic nomenclature.

Much work remains to be done on the history of Roman Catholicism in Nova Scotia, but Hannington's examination of a number of obscure and partial studies and formulation of a coherent narrative provides a good starting point. For the general reader he offers a very readable account of a fascinating subject in a beautiful and extremely inexpensive package.

Robert Nicholas Bérard

Victorious in Defeat: The Loyalists in Canada, by Wallace Brown and Hereward Senior. ISBN 0-458-96850-1. Methuen, Toronto, 1984. 230 pages, illustrated, hardcover, $24.95.

In the autumn 1984 issue of *Acadiensis*, David Wilson presented a comprehensive review of recent books on the Loyalists. He argues that none of these has fully brought out the ambivalence and ambiguities within Loyalism. He also decries the heroic view of these refugees that has prevailed in both past and present writing, and concludes that the issue of the "Loyalist legacy" remains insufficiently explored, if such a legacy even exists in any positive sense. Two books on the Loyalists published in 1984 go a fair distance in dealing with the issues raised by Wilson, although both retain more of the heroic image than probably would suit him. The first is Brown and Senior's *Victorious in Defeat* and the second (reviewed above) is Ann Gorman Condon's *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick*.

Victorious in Defeat is the most comprehensive and enlightened treatment yet published of the Loyalists in exile. The authors are concerned with what they call the "constructive" story of the Loyalists, building anew their lives and fortunes in the wilderness of the northern half of the North American continent. This story, as told by Brown and Senior, skillfully

holds a consistent balance between the heroic image of the Loyalists and their undoubted achievements as the English-speaking founding fathers of Canada. There is no attempt to disguise or hide the fact that the refugees were often a quarrelsome, complaining lot. The elitism of their leadership, which so upsets those historians interested in demythologizing them, is taken account of. Nevertheless, the authors are less interested in the Loyalist élite than they are in the Loyalist common man, who successfully challenged the Canadian wilderness and made his contributions to creating a new nation -- the axe should be his symbol as much as the letters U.E.L.

In the process of beginning anew, the Loyalists did create a mythology, just as the Americans created a revolutionary mythology (in what was far more a civil war than the French Revolution). When the two mythologies are examined and compared, the Loyalist one fairs very well indeed. As the authors note, "Whatever the purpose of revolution, its methods are anti-Liberal: conspiracy, war, arbitrary arrest, and summary executions. They are habit-forming and more difficult to live down once they become part of a revolutionary mythology." Such evils were not part of the Loyalist tradition and Canada has been the better for it.

What is so striking about this book is its scholarly perspective. A good example is the question of land distribution. That there were delays and discrimination in allocation is unquestioned. Yet the fact that nearly fifty thousand men, women and children were settled and fed and the institutions of government established, all in the space of two or three years, was a remarkable achievement for any age. It may well be in our day that arrangements for African famine relief will prove somewhat less of an accomplishment.

What does detract from this otherwise fine book is the number of factual errors. For Nova Scotians, they range from misspelling Sir Andrew Snape Hamond's name to stating that Joseph Howe attended King's College (page 107); Howe was educated at home by his father and at the Acadian School in Halifax. Also, the description of William Cochran's work at King's, on the same page (there is no index entry for the college), reads as though there were religious tests until 1806; in fact, there were none until *after* 1806 and they were not removed until 1827. Still, these are minor errors when it is considered that the authors follow their Loyalists in exile not only to all the eastern provinces of present-day Canada, but also to the West Indies. And it is this very breadth and scholarship that makes *Victorious in Defeat* by far the best book on the Loyalists yet published.

B.C. Cuthbertson

No Other Foundation: The History of Brunswick Street United Church with its Methodist Inheritance, by Margaret I. Campbell. ISBN 0-88999-253-3. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1984. 376 pages, illustrated, softcover, $10.00.

One of the recently published Nova Scotian ecclesiastical histories is Margaret I. Campbell's *No Other Foundation*. Not only does the author trace the development of Brunswick Street Methodist/United Church, but also discusses the lives of John and Charles Wesley, the origin and development of the Methodist Church, and its introduction and early history in North America and, in particular, Nova Scotia.

William Black was Methodism's first itinerant preacher in this province, and he eventually resided in Halifax. Philip Marchinton, an active member in the local congregation, erected a hall in which worship service was conducted. This hall, built at Marchinton's own expense, was constructed on Argyle Street in 1787. Such an arrangement proved satisfactory until 1791, when Marchinton's name was removed from the membership roll for "unbecoming conduct." He retaliated by closing the hall to the Methodists. Undaunted, the congregation built its own church, which opened in 1792. The new edifice was named "Zoar" Chapel because the minister who delivered the dedication sermon, preached from Genesis: "The sun was risen on the earth when Lot entered into Zoar." The author writes that the irreverent quickly named Marchinton's hall "Sodom" -- Lot's biblical home before going to Zoar!

By 1829, Zoar Chapel was too small to accommodate the increasing congregation. A new church, Brunswick Street, was constructed and opened in 1834. This church, which began as a Methodist congregation, witnessed the affluence of the north suburbs surrounding Brunswick Street, the turn-of-the-century movement of residents from that area to Halifax's south and west ends, the congregation's incorporation into the United Church in 1925, and the building's eventual razing in the tragic fire of June 1979. Throughout its history, the church has not only ministered to its congregation, but has also reached out to the community at large. It has been involved with the Jost and North End Missions, has served breakfasts to the poor during the Depression, provided a "Christmas Shop," welcomed war refugees, and provided various organizations for children, young people and adults. Outreach programmes still continue from the church, which now operates from a new structure constructed on the old foundation and dedicated in 1984.

Mrs. Campbell has spent considerable time in weaving the various threads of Brunswick Street Church's history into a coherent story. Her writing is a combination of academic historiography interspersed with personal reminiscences and anecdotes from older congregational members. Although the book contains a bibliography and index, it does not have footnotes. It is unfortunate that there are a number of spelling errors which probably occurred -- and were not corrected -- when the manuscript was typeset prior to printing. Lancelot Press deserves to be complimented for the book's attractive covers, which encompass a colour photograph of the old foundation. Because of the numerous photographs interspersed through the volume, and the size of the print, this publication is undoubtedly one of the company's best efforts.

Mrs. Campbell, who has also written *A Tale of Two Dykes*, has again proven that she can write an informative and interesting story. Certainly, people who are interested in religious history should include her book in their libraries.

Philip L. Hartling

The Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1758-1983: a biographical directory, ed. and revised by Shirley B. Elliott. ISBN 0-88871-050-X. Information Division, Department of Government Services, Halifax, 1984. 397 pages, illustrated, hardcover, $25.00.

In 1958, to celebrate the bicentenary of representative government in Nova Scotia, C. Bruce Fergusson produced *A Directory of the Members of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1758 - 1958*. It was a hallmark publication that has been of inestimable service to all those interested in the political history of the province. Since then, the total number of representatives has risen from 982 to 1,104. Also, research has provided much more personal information about members than was earlier available. A revised and updated edition was therefore sorely needed. With the publication of Shirley Elliott's splendid version this has been accomplished. We now have a biographical directory of members that provides not only the information -- thoroughly checked -- that was in the 1958 edition, but also much more detail on the families, public lives, religion, and business and professional interests of members.

Few can comprehend the sheer labour and dedication, both by the author and the publisher, that must go into a publication of this kind if it is to

be both authoritative and easy to use and read. The understandable errors of the 1958 edition have been corrected and a completely new format designed for this current presentation of information. In this latter aspect the Information Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Government Services is to be congratulated. The revised edition is also welcomed for its inclusion of the lists of premiers, speakers, attorneys general, chief clerks, assistant clerks, sergeants-at-arms and opposition leaders in Appendix C. This biographical directory will certainly remain the authoritative reference on the members of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia from 1758 to 1983 for many decades to come. B.C. Cuthbertson

Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline, by G.A. Rawlyk. ISBN 0-7735-0439-7 (hardcover); 0-7735-0440-0 (softcover). McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston and Montreal, 1984. XIV + 176 pages, $6.95 (softcover).

Ravished by the Spirit, titled by drawing from the revivalist Henry Alline's (1748-1784) description of his conversion, is the text of George Rawlyk's four 1983 Hayward Lectures at Acadia University. Two appendices are added: an evaluation of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist responses to a public opinion survey, and statistical tables for religion and population.

Alline's itinerant career throughout present-day Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is described, relying upon his published journal to illustrate how his preaching transformed the religious life of Yankee Nova Scotia. The dependency of the New England Free Will Baptists upon Alline for their early theology is shown by a comparison of Alline's theological writings with those of Benjamin Randel, the founder of the denomination. The division of the Allinite neo-Whitefieldian tradition in the Maritimes into Calvinist and Arminian Baptist denominations is traced in the decades following Alline's death. The transformation of the mystical and emotional revivalism into "ordered" and "respectable" revivalism during the nineteenth century is detailed and lamented.

Rawlyk misidentifies the Warren Association as the Danbury on page 91 and the Free Will Baptists initially had a stronger denominational connectionalism than he ascribes to them. Since the Allinite churches which did not become Regular [Calvinist] Baptist formed their own indigenous denomination, the Free Christian Baptists, Rawlyk's designation of them as "Free Will" Baptists confuses them with the American denomination which

the majority rejected in the 1820s. If Nova Scotia can be considered part of "revolutionary New England," then the Allinite churches constitute a fourth "radical sect" for study in the period covered by Stephen A. Marini in *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Harvard University Press, 1982).

Dr. Rawlyk, Professor of History at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, confesses to be "emotionally sympathetic" with the Allinite tradition, seeing Alline's "basic pietistic and mystical message" as the means to "energize [needed contemporary] revival and renewal." Alline's hymns, journal, sermons and theological works were published in order to promote spiritual renewal. *Ravished by the Spirit* is an admission of the continuing power of Alline's revivalist vocation. Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood

Loyalist Mosaic, a Multi-ethnic Heritage, by Joan Magee. ISBN 0919670-84-9 (hardcover); 0919670-85-7 (softcover). Dundurn Press Ltd., Toronto, 1984. 246 pages, illustrated with maps, hardcover $24.95, softcover $14.95. Available from the publisher, Box 245, Station F, Toronto, Ont., M4Y 2L5.

Loyalist historiography has come a long way from the days when platform speakers and historical writers extolled the "British quality" of the Loyalists, while appreciative audiences soaked up the praise of their forebears as no more than their just due. One strand of this myth-making -- the social superiority and high moral calibre of the Loyalists -- has been modified by recent analyses of their social and economic status, and in the process the ethnic composition of the "good Americans" is now undergoing examination. As long ago as 1969 Wallace Brown made the major observation that many Loyalists belonged to "cultural minorities" which depended upon British protection against the power of the majority population.

Joan Magee, known for her work on the Dutch in Windsor, Ontario, seeks to illustrate the ethnic diversity of the Loyalists with eleven biographic sketches. We find two Dutchmen, two Palatine Germans, as well as a Black, a Highlander, a Huguenot, an Irishman, a Jew, a Mohawk Indian and a Swiss. Apart from their loyalty these people shared membership in one or other of the "cultural minorities" whose isolation left each group at the mercy of a preponderant English population.

Three of these Loyalists lived in Nova Scotia during or after the Revolutionary War. Peter Etter (Swiss), Henry Magee (Irish), and Flora Macdonald (Scots) make appropriate exemplars of those whose loyalism was founded

on something other than the mere fact of considering "British as better, and better as British." By following the ancestry of such people, Joan Magee establishes their ethnic origins and weaves a fascinating tale of genealogy and incident which sometimes spans two centuries.

The map showing "ethnic origins and religious groups c. 1784" in the Thirteen Colonies is most helpful. If you teach, you will want your students to apply the lessons on this map. If you are a general reader, you will enjoy the excellent selection of colour and black and white illustrations. While some of these will be familiar, others make here their first appearance in public print. Joan Magee rounds off the Loyalist bicentennial with a salutary reminder that Loyalist lives make informative and entertaining reading, and that a person could be loyal without being Anglo-Saxon.

Terrence M. Punch, F.R.S.A.I.

Newport, Nova Scotia -- A Rhode Island Township, by John Victor Duncanson. ISBN 0-919303-92-7. Mika Publishing Company, Belleville, Ont., 1985. 494 pages, illustrated, maps, hardcover, $35.00. Available from the publisher (+ $2.50 postage), Box 536, Belleville, Ont., K8N 5B2.

In 1965, John Duncanson was awarded the Canadian Historical Association's Certificate of Merit for his landmark publication, *Falmouth -- A New England Township in Nova Scotia*. For those patiently awaiting the publication of *Newport, Nova Scotia -- A Rhode Island Township*, rest assured: the author had done it again, and now has another success on his hands.

Like *Falmouth*, this book is divided into two sections. The first presents a brief but comprehensive historical background: three chapters covering the Acadian period, preparations for the townships of Newport and Falmouth, and the early years of Newport itself, after 1760; document appendices carry the history well into the nineteenth century.

The second section, nearly 400 pages long, presents a detailed, exhaustive and accurate genealogical study of the founding and early families, including much information on their New England and/or European origins and connections. Surprisingly, a casual examination of these lines reveals that the Newport settlers -- including the "no-shows" and those who quickly moved on -- were an influential lot: Albro, Alline, Borden, Chambers, Cottnam, Deschamps, Dimock, Haliburton, Harvie, Juhan, Macumber, Mosher, Shaw and Stuart -- to name a few -- are familiar threads in the fabric of our history. Mr. Duncanson has meticulously presented their back-

grounds, family connections and spheres of influence; his treatment of the Delesdernier family, for example, is easily the most thorough yet published.

Those expecting a "rip-roaring good read" should be forewarned that this type of social history is both technical and exhaustive in format; it is intended as a handbook rather than as inspired non-fiction, and should be approached as such. Otherwise, several illustrations, an excellent foldout map, two indices, plus copious footnotes and acknowledgements round out a superlative publication. The offset printing process has resulted in various typographical gremlins, although none of them appears serious. In short, happy the ancestor hunter whose trail leads back to *Newport*. Prospective readers are advised to dash out and buy a copy now -- they won't last long!

Lois Kernaghan

Foodways in the Northeast: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1982. Boston University, Boston, 1984. 144 pages, illustrated.

What are foodways? The term applies to every aspect of the social and economic processes involved in the production, acquisition, preparation and consumption of food. Why do people study foodways? In addition to providing information to assist museums in the accurate reconstruction of everyday life, the study of the processes involved in food production allows us some insight into the domestic economy of individual households. We see what they ate and when they ate it; what they grew, what they bought and what kinds of financial transactions were involved; how long it took to prepare foods; and what was involved in the production process.

The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife was established in 1976. Its statement of purpose describes it as "...a continuing series of conferences, exhibitions and publications whose purpose is to explore the daily life, work and culture of the common man in New England's past." *Foodways in the Northeast* is a product of the 1982 sessions held at Sturbridge and Deerfield, Massachusetts.

The publication consists of papers presented at the seminar. It includes four essays on archaeological and documentary studies on specific sites, two essays on "Food, Architecture and Agriculture," one on "Food and Society" and two on "Museum Interpretation." An extensive bibliography is included.

Perhaps the most useful aspect of these studies is that they introduce the reader to the complexities of discovering information about everyday

life in the past. Cookbooks, ledgers, diaries and even excavated trash heaps provide archaeologists and historians with clues to the foodways of seventeenth and eighteenth century New England. Scholars make use of computer technology, among other things, to discover the details of the diet of an average New Englander.

While the collection makes rather dry reading, especially for someone not an expert in the field, it is certainly worthwhile. For scholars, it provides information about consumption patterns and the methods used to discover them. For the interested amateur, it provides an insight into the everyday life of New England forbears whose foodways may be found even yet in Nova Scotia kitchens. Mary Ellen Wright

The Cod Fishery of Isle Royale, 1713–58, by B.A. Balcom. ISBN 0-660-11559-X. Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1984. 88 pages, softcover, $5.25.

Despite the importance of the fishery to the development of Atlantic Canada, interested readers are hard-pressed to find readily available and readable accounts of the early history of this significant part of the region's history. Most seventeenth and eighteenth century works are long since out of print and brief excerpts from them tend to appear in works like Harold Innis's *The Cod Fishery*, an intimidating work for both scholars and interested readers alike.

A considerable, and until recently, untapped body of material on the early Northwest Atlantic fishery is contained in the public records of France and England, many of which have been microfilmed and are available to Canadian researchers. Balcom's study of the Isle Royale cod fishery makes good use of both contemporary eighteenth century works on the fishery as well as the public records of France for the same period. He is also fortunate in being able to utilize much of the work of his Parks Canada colleagues at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park.

Although his economic analysis is somewhat tentative, Balcom's treatment of the material culture, technology and social structure of the eighteenth century cod fishery provides readers with a vivid insight into the life of fishermen on Isle Royale. The inclusion of a glossary, well-chosen appendices and illustrations from Duhamel du Monceau's *Traité général des peches...* are themselves almost worth the very reasonable price.

Mr. Balcom has done a good job and Parks Canada should be congratulated for at last making works such as this one readily available through a monograph series like Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History.

David B. Flemming

Eliza of Pleasant Valley, by James Doyle Davison. ISBN 0-96912-870-3. Privately published, Hantsport, 1983. 188 pages, illustrated, softcover, $8.50. Available from the author, Wolfville, N.S. B0P 1X0.

Mr. Davison's last book, *Alice of Grand Pré*, appeared in 1981. He has used the interval in a most profitable manner. *Eliza of Pleasant Valley* is well-organized and carefully researched. Mr. Davison has taken to heart criticisms of his previous work, and *Eliza* lacks much of the rambling commentary that made *Alice* difficult to read.

The book is a biography of Eliza Chipman, who was the wife of Baptist lay preacher William Chipman. Davison has sub-titled it "Her family, church and community in nineteenth century Cornwallis township," and has by this means allowed for the inclusion of descriptions of local events from many sources. He has included quotations from the journals of Mary Ann Norris and Edward Manning, as well as from assorted ledgers and correspondence. These give the reader a more varied perspective than would be available through Mrs. Chipman's diaries alone. Eliza's journals appear to have consisted mainly of musings on the state of her soul. Accounts of the major events in her life and in her community are often oblique, and it is left to Mr. Davison to offer the reader any interpretation. This he does very well.

The book is embellished by appropriate nineteenth century illustrations, and includes a bibliography and partial index. Mr. Davison has not indexed references to Eliza Chipman, her husband, or Edward Manning. While these references are indeed interspersed throughout the text, a chronological index might have been useful. Footnotes are also absent, although sources are cited in the text.

Eliza of Pleasant Valley is a useful study of a woman and her times. It is good to see that Mr. Davison is aware of the part a nineteenth century woman played in her church, her community, and in the career of her husband.

Mary Ellen Wright

The Well-Watered Garden: The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798–1860, by Laurie C.C. Stanley. ISBN 0-920336-16-7. University College of Cape Breton Press, Sydney, 1983. 239 pages, softcover, $14.50. Available from the publisher, P.O. Box 5300, Sydney, N.S., B1P 6L2.

Originally presented as the author's M.A. thesis at Dalhousie University in 1980, this scholarly book attempts to explain the emergence of Presbyterianism as one of the dominant forces shaping the Cape Breton identity in the nineteenth century. An absorbing drama, it takes us from the struggles of the missionaries of the early 1800s to the merging of the Free Church of Cape Breton with the Established Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia in 1860. Paraded before our eyes is an ardent assembly of itinerant missionaries, zealous ministers, catechists and school teachers, all intent upon the reformation of society.

In the early chapters of the book we are presented with a detailed analysis of the reasons for the spiritual metamorphosis of Cape Bretoners from indifferent Kirkmen to vigorous Free Churchmen by the 1830s. One factor, says Ms. Stanley, was the different breed of Scot that emigrated after 1825: one aroused by the spiritual revival in the Scottish Highlands, thus more responsive to the evangelical utterances of the itinerant missionaries of the 1830s and 1840s.

Concurrent with this development was the influence of the Edinburgh Ladies' Association, formed in 1832. One of its objectives was to promote the "religious" interests of Scottish settlers in British North America. Its central figure was Isabella Gordon Mackay, who visualized Cape Breton as a "well-watered garden" in the Presbyterian fold. Her *magnum opus* was the "Church Extension Plan," which combined itinerating libraries, a network of lay catechists, missionaries, and sabbath and day schools in a grand design to shape the religious consciousness of Cape Bretoners. While Mackay encountered initial difficulties, the plan was eventually successful: from a low of four ministers and three catechists in 1837, there were three presbyteries, twelve ministers and seven catechists by 1860.

In later chapters, Ms. Stanley discusses other figures and events which inspired Cape Breton Presbyterians to maintain their orientation toward Scotland and away from the Established Church of Nova Scotia. One of these was the influence wrought by a revivalist movement in the 1850s and 1860s which, with its common festivals and sabbath "awakenings," had particular appeal to Cape Breton youth. At a time when there was economic

upheaval, and substantial out-migration and transiency, Presbyterianism seemed to offer a sense of direction to many.

As well, there was the influence of the enigmatic Rev. Norman McLeod of St. Ann's. While the "Doughty Divine" dissociated himself from any form of established religion, he seemed to stir up the populace wherever he ventured, with his dynamic preaching and thunderous denunciations of the "wayward and prodigal." In Ms. Stanley's opinion, it was he, above all others, who helped realize the missionary hopes of the Free Church in Cape Breton. His legacy, along with that of Isabella Mackay and her associates, can be described as a strict moral code, a Bible-oriented faith, and an enlightened interest in education.

Ms. Stanley has obviously left no stone unturned in digging up source material for her book. Despite the lack of Cape Breton Presbyterian records, she has ferreted out records of numerous ministers, presbyteries, synods, religious societies and the like in such localities as Scotland, Ottawa and Toronto, among others. The arrangement of the material cannot be faulted, as we find not only footnotes and a bibliography, but also appendices and even an index. The result of this exhaustive effort is not only to provide us with a more detailed account of the subject matter than had ever been hitherto attempted, but also to add another dimension to the fascinating study of Nova Scotia's past. Wendy L. Thorpe

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