

# Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 6, Number 2, 1986



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# Nova Scotia Historical Review

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This issue of the Nova Scotia Historical Review  
is respectfully dedicated to the memory  
of Phyllis Ruth Blakeley, CM, D.Litt., LL.D.,  
Archivist Emeritus of Nova Scotia.  
1922-1986.

Cover Illustrations:

*Coast Railway Workers, Locomotive, Belleville, ca. 1895* (front)

*Digging the Coast Railway, Belleville, ca. 1895* (back)

Photographs courtesy of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

## To Our Readers

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* publishes articles on every aspect and period of Nova Scotian history, and welcomes contributions from everyone interested in the subject. The *Review* has a special mandate to publish non-professional and/or first-time authors, whose work can benefit particularly from the rigorous but sympathetic literary editing provided by the *Review* to all its contributors.

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# Nova Scotia Historical Review

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## Editorial

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Regular readers of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* will have become accustomed to our penchant for observing anniversaries, preferably two-hundredth. In December 1985, it was the bicentenary of the founding of Sydney by J.F.W. DesBarres (no issue of the *Review* has ever sold out so quickly); in June of this year, it was the bicentenary of the founding of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax; in June 1987, it will be the bicentenary of the consecration of Charles Inglis as the first colonial bishop in the Church of England. The present issue of the *Review*, however, does not derive its theme from an anniversary; it concentrates rather on aspects of the history of transportation in Nova Scotia, a comparatively neglected topic hitherto.

Brian Cuthbertson, who was Managing Editor of the *Review* since its inception in 1981, has now relinquished those responsibilities to Barry Cahill, who becomes Editor. Dr. Cuthbertson takes over as Publisher, while Lois Kernaghan remains Literary Editor.

As the *Review* has completed its sixth year of publication, now is an appropriate time for serious stock-taking. That the number of subscribers is not only not increasing, but actually declining, is a matter of the gravest concern. If this trend continues, then despite the generous financial support of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness, the survival of the *Review* will be in jeopardy. If all our readers were also subscribers, however, then the situation would be much improved.

This is the first occasion on which we have published our "Mandate" as an integral part of the magazine; henceforth, it will appear in every issue. There is now also a descriptive brochure, copies of which the *Review* will make available -- free of charge -- to any local historical society or museum wishing to display or distribute it. The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* is a publication which in a sense belongs to everyone interested in Nova Scotian history; we, the editors, aim to do our best to reflect and encourage that interest. If you like not only reading about provincial history but also writing

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about it, then why not send your manuscript to us for consideration. The urgent message in any case is, "Subscribe now!"

Editor - Barry Cahill

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# Contributors

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## HERBERT R. BANKS

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* notes with regret the death of Herbert R. Banks on 29 September 1986 at Barrington Passage, and extends sincere sympathy to his family.

Retired after distinguished careers with HMC Dockyard and the Nova Scotia Department of Health and Welfare, Mr. Banks was an enthusiastic and dedicated promoter of our provincial heritage. The loss of such an individual is deeply felt by all who are concerned with the preservation of our past.

The obituary notice, carried in the Halifax Herald Ltd. publications of 30 September, observed that Mr. Banks's

major interest was in the history and heritage of Nova Scotia. He was a founding member of the Cape Sable Historical Society. He later served for many years as treasurer of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society. His collection of Nova Scotia books is regarded as among the finest in Nova Scotia.

Largely as a result of his efforts, the Western Counties Regional Library was established in Barrington Passage and, in 1983, he donated his extensive book collection to this institution. In recognition of his contribution to Nova Scotia heritage, he was the co-recipient of the first Dr. Phyllis R. Blakeley Lifetime Achievement Award [presented in 1985 by the Federation of Nova Scotian Heritage].

The *Review* joins in acknowledging the enduring contribution made by Herbert Banks towards the preservation of Nova Scotia's past.

## HATTIE A. PERRY

was born in East Advocate, Cumberland County, but has long been associated with the history and environmental concerns of Nova Scotia's South Shore. A graduate of the Nova Scotia Teachers' College, Truro, Mrs. Perry is now semi-retired after a varied career which has included teaching, clerical work with the Canadian Army, and leadership activities in various handcraft and environmental groups.

A recognized author and historian, Mrs. Perry is a founding member of the Writers' Federation of Nova Scotia, contributes historical columns to various local newspapers, and is curator of the Cape Sable Historical Society Centre in Barrington. Among her many articles, pamphlets and books, the best known are *This was Barrington* (1973), *In and Around Old Barrington* (1979), and *These Stones Shall Be for A Memorial* (1983).

**WALTER K. MORRISON**

is a native of Waltham, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Bridgewater Teachers' College (B.S. Ed.) and Clarke University (M.A. Geog.), Worcester. After working as a cartographer with the National Geographic Society in Washington, D.C., Mr. Morrison came to Lawrencetown as an instructor with the Nova Scotia College of Geographic Science, from which institution he is now retired as Cartographer Emeritus.

Mr. Morrison continues his interest in historical cartography, and is presently coordinating, for the Annapolis Valley Macdonald Museum, an exhibition on the mapmaking career of J.F.W. DesBarres. He has been published in various cartographic journals, and an earlier version of this current article appeared in the *Canadian Surveyor*, 37 (2), Summer 1983.

**RANDALL C. BROOKS**

was born in Sackville, N.B. He holds a B.Sc. from Mount Allison University, Sackville, and an M.Sc. in Astronomy from the University of Waterloo. He is currently on leave from the Department of Astronomy at Saint Mary's University, and is a doctoral candidate in the history of science and technology at the University of Leicester, England.

Mr. Brooks is interested in the history of astronomy and astronomical technology. He collects antique scientific instruments and antiquarian books on astronomy. He has also had historical material published in the *Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada*.

**GRAEME WYNN**

is a native of South Africa, and was educated at the University of Sheffield (B.A. Hons.) and the University of Toronto (M.A. and Ph.D.). He is currently Associate Professor of Geography at the University of British Columbia.

Dr. Wynn's main interest is in the historical geography of settler societies in the Maritime Provinces. He has been published in *Acadiensis*, and his recent study, *Timber Colony. A Historical Geography of Early 19th Century New Brunswick* (Toronto, 1981), is a recognized standard in that subject.

**M. NOREEN E. GRAY**

is a Halifax native and a graduate of Mount St. Vincent University. She now resides in Enfield, Halifax County, where she is a freelance writer and a member of the Fall River-Waverley Historical Society. She has received two awards for her historical writing, and her previous publication credits include, among others, *The Atlantic Advocate* and the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*.

**ROBERT H. PINEO**

is a resident of Shubenacadie. He graduated in June 1986 from Hants East Rural High School and is now studying at Dalhousie University. He continues an interest in historical research and genealogy.

**ODELITE CANNING JUVELIS**

was born in Edmonton, Alberta, but was raised in the United States and now resides in Swampscott, Massachusetts. Her paternal roots are in Cumberland County, where she still maintains strong family ties. At present, she is researching several old and established families from the Parrsboro area.

**LOIS K. KERNAGHAN**

is a former staff member of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. She is presently a freelance editor, historical researcher, and literary editor of this magazine.

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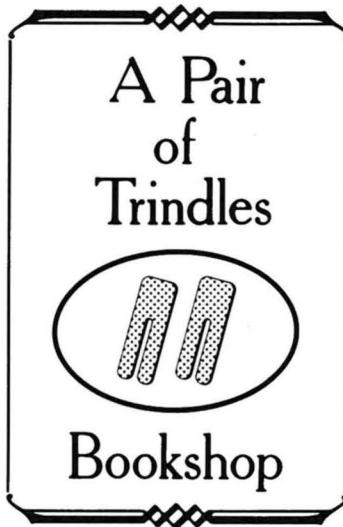
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# The Coast Railway: "Tom Robertson's Wheelbarrow Railroad"

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Herbert R. Banks

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Plans for a railway in Shelburne County appear to have first taken definite shape in the summer of 1893, when Thomas Robertson of Barrington Passage made the acquaintance of Leonard Atwood of nearby Atwood's Brook. Robertson had been Shelburne County representative in the House of Commons and was soon to seek -- and win -- a seat in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly as one of the two members for that county. Atwood had spent his working years in the United States and was an inventor of some note, having produced successfully, among other things, some pulp-manufacturing machinery. While installing some of this equipment in mills located in the state of Maine, he became interested in railway construction and subsequently built some hundreds of miles of narrow-gauge line.

In the summer of 1893, Atwood visited his old home, hoping to get in touch with some of his relatives and old friends. He met Thomas Robertson and they appear to have lost no time in forming a scheme for a local railway. Robertson, a member of the governing Liberal party in the Legislature, attended to the local end of the business, such as obtaining a charter from the provincial government and the necessary rights-of-way from the various municipalities. Atwood, who appears to have had some very influential and capable acquaintances, undertook the promotion of the scheme. A young Nova Scotian engineer named L.H. Wheaton, whom Atwood had known in connection with railway construction in Maine, was contacted. Wheaton came to Yarmouth and made a general survey from that point to Barrington Passage.

Atwood, in the meantime, was in Philadelphia, where he succeeded in interesting G.A. Fletcher, president of one of the national banks, and John A. Brill and G. Martin Brill, two brothers who were engaged in the manufacture of cars and other railway equipment. These men agreed to supply the capital for the undertaking. In the fall of 1893 a company was organized in Yarmouth, taking the name of the Coast Railway Company of Nova Scotia, with Thomas Robertson as president and L.H. Wheaton as superintendent and chief engineer. The charter which Mr. Robertson had obtained from the provincial government permitted the construction of a narrow-gauge line from Yarmouth to Lockeport.

About this time, Wheaton was approached by Frank Clements of Yarmouth, who already had a charter from the provincial government for the building of a standard (broad)-gauge railway from Yarmouth to Halifax

along the South Shore. Clements offered to sell the charter, but Wheaton, taking the advice of others, refused to deal with him. Clements and some of his friends then actively began to discourage the construction of a narrow-gauge line as less satisfactory, from a commercial standpoint, than their projected standard-gauge road. Clements finally succeeded in interesting some New York capitalists in his project, with the result that a steamer soon arrived in Yarmouth, loaded with Southern labourers, mules and construction machinery. Clements also had a certain amount of support from the two Yarmouth firms of E.K. Spinney and Co. and Parker-Eakins Co. A joint enterprise was formed and immediately started operations under the name of the South Shore Railway Company.

Meanwhile, Robertson had begun his construction with the use of hand labour and the lowly wheelbarrow, which prompted the *Halifax Herald* to label the project as "Tom Robertson's Wheelbarrow Railroad." Work went forward in accordance with the original plan, until the road was graded as far as Tusket. By 1894, a relatively violent contest began to take shape, the project soon developing into a straight political fight between a narrow-gauge line -- the Coast Railway -- organized by Liberals and having the backing of the W.S. Fielding administration in Halifax, and a standard-gauge promotion -- the South Shore Railway -- which was supported by the Conservative opposition elements.

The South Shore Railway had acquired no rights-of-way, however, and thus had to purchase property as it was required. Their survey crossed the Coast Railway line at Argyle and they proposed at this point to hold up the Coast Railway operations, and in that way stop the narrow-gauge line from going any further. Robertson, however, had forestalled them by obtaining an option on the properties around that point. The South Shore Railway Company, in retaliation, then undertook to obtain a charter from the federal government. Wheaton was hastily sent by the Coast Railway to Ottawa during the parliamentary sessions of 1894 and 1895, to oppose the competition. The charter was finally refused, on the grounds that the South Shore Railway had neither the necessary cash deposits at their bank in Yarmouth nor the necessary legal organization. As a result of this reverse, the South Shore Railway Company, being over-extended financially, went into liquidation. After settling on the basis of 33 cents on the dollar, rioting broke out among a group of unpaid Italian labourers, who were eventually reimbursed by Messrs. E.K. Spinney and Co., Parker-Eakins Co., and the Bank of Nova Scotia.

The Coast Railway Company had a clear field, but finding that public sentiment was swinging quite strongly in favour of the broader standard-gauge road, they decided to obtain a new charter and widen their grade. Eventually, in 1901, Robertson obtained this charter from the provincial government, calling for the construction of a road from Yarmouth to Halifax and changing the name to the Halifax and Yarmouth Railway Company. In the meantime, the railroad had been completed as far as Pubnico East in the summer of 1897, the first passenger train running an excursion from Yarmouth to that point and back on 1 July. About five hundred guests took the trip; they included company officials and W.S. Fielding, who was then minister of finance in the federal government. The celebration concluded in Yarmouth with a large dinner party at the Grand Hotel, which ended only when Clem Burns, Fielding's secretary, disappeared under the table.

Construction continued slowly; the first train to reach Barrington Passage was on Christmas Eve, 1889. Work was not undertaken past this point, except for a little grading for a few hundred yards, and it began to look as though there were some serious difficulties about the road progressing further. Messrs. Brill and Fletcher appeared to be trying to collect subsidy payments from the government before they were actually due, and on account of their unsatisfactory attitude, Tom Robertson was instrumental in having the subsidy payments stopped. The general upheaval which followed resulted in both the reorganization of the company and the name change already referred to. G. Martin Brill replaced Robertson as president and Clark Cooper became superintendent.

Robertson, seeing that further progress was practically impossible, given that local supporters of the scheme and the company were at loggerheads, undertook to interest another company in taking over the road. Negotiations were begun with the Northern Trust Company of New York, which firm sent an agent to Nova Scotia to make a general survey. Their proposal was to complete the existing Halifax and Yarmouth Company line, and build summer hotels to induce travel.

Before the company came to a decision in the matter, however, the Messrs. MacKenzie and Mann, of Canadian Northern fame, succeeded in obtaining a charter from both the federal and provincial governments. Mann had become acquainted with Wheaton while the latter was in Ottawa in 1894 and 1895, and had since been watching developments in Nova Scotia. He and MacKenzie now undertook the completion of the railway with Mr.

Wheaton as their chief engineer. MacKenzie and Mann hoped that by the accumulation of impressive mileage in Nova Scotia, they could force the federal government to lease the old Intercolonial Railway to them, or at least grant them running rights over it from Montreal to Halifax, which would accomplish their long-cherished dream of a transcontinental line from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

The Halifax & South Western, a new name for the railway, was the second-last sizeable railroad to be built in Nova Scotia. It came into corporate existence in 1901. Construction was begun from the Halifax end and, as was customary with slowly built railroads, main-line train service opened in sections: first from Halifax to Chester, then to Mahone Bay Junction and the connection with the old Nova Scotia Central lines to Lunenburg and Middleton. In 1904 the line reached Liverpool, but it was not until 14 December 1906 that the last spike was driven on the difficult section between Liverpool and Barrington Passage. Hattie Perry, in her interesting and entertaining chapter on the railway in *This was Barrington*, refers to the late Francis Watt of Barrington, one of the construction gang who was honoured by helping to drive the last spike, joining the lines together.

On 19 December 1906, the first passenger train reached Yarmouth from Halifax, and regular tri-weekly service was instituted on 22 December. That the road filled a long-felt want as far as passenger service was concerned, was shown immediately by the lively traffic that developed. In 1910 the line transported no fewer than 202,000 persons. Before the automobile began to make its competition felt, totals finally reached the figure of over a quarter of a million passengers per year.

Ottawa proved uncooperative, however, with respect to MacKenzie and Mann's national dreams. As a result, the Halifax & South Western became somewhat of an orphan, cheaply built with numerous curves, steep grades and general disabilities. It was tagged locally, according to H.B. Jefferson, the provincial railroad historian, as the "Hellish Slow and Wobbly." Details of the many wrecks occurring in the line's history have been long since forgotten, with the exception of what was probably the worst, an accident which took place on 9 February 1907 at Mahone Junction. It resulted in the death of several crew members and a section foreman.

The line was so poorly equipped with rolling stock that it had no cabooses for trainmen, and freight brakemen had to ride the tops of the cars even in the most inclement weather. There is a well-worn local legend, no doubt

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apocryphal, about a Halifax & South Western train that was lurching, rolling and bumping along the South Shore, when suddenly it came to a piece of track that had lately been lined up by the hard-working section men. As she glided along smoothly for a few hundred feet, the alarmed conductor sprang to his feet, shouting: "Jump for your lives, boys! We must be off the track!"

In 1917 the federal government purchased the stock of the Halifax & South Western, as well as that of the other tributary lines, and in 1919 the whole concern was taken over by the new Canadian National Railways system. After 1919, the CNR largely rebuilt, strengthened and improved the track and structures. It did little at that time, however, to reduce the number of dangerous level-crossings, of which there were no fewer than 105 between Halifax and Yarmouth. It was not until 1934, when the province began hard-surfacing the highways, that about eighty per cent of these death-traps were finally eliminated.

This article could be considerably enlarged upon by recounting how services, throughout the years, were improved upon by the use of heavier equipment, with diesel replacing steam locomotive power; or by describing the daily round-trip, passenger/freight service operating in Shelburne and Yarmouth counties during the 1920s, and known as "The Owl"; or by reminiscing over the "specials" put on for such occasions as the annual Temperance Picnic at Port Clyde.

Perhaps, however, the most appropriate conclusion would be to note that the first "special" was made up to transport mourners from Yarmouth and intervening points, to the funeral of the Honourable Thomas Robertson in Barrington Passage, on Sunday, 27 April 1902. He had died in Dakota, at the home of a brother, and such was the popularity of this local politician, with his death occurring shortly after the inauguration of train service between Yarmouth and Barrington Passage -- a project of which he had been the prime mover -- that the "special" found it necessary to add additional accommodations for passengers as it neared Barrington Passage.

### Bibliography

The author must here acknowledge sources of information given in this paper. In the early 1940s, the late Ralph Hopkins, retired superintendent of Postal Services and a member of the Cape Sable Historical Society, un-

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dertook, at the author's request, to put together bits of information he had accumulated throughout the years, relating to the Coast Railway Company. The author has quoted extensively from same, and has also drawn heavily upon the writings of "J.B. King," a frequent contributor to the Maritime railway publication, *The Maritime Express* (1968-1976). He was actually H.B. Jefferson, for years the editor of several regional weeklies in this area. In the late 1960s he was employed in Halifax as editor of the provincial *Hansard*, and while travelling on the same city trolley route, he regaled the author of this present article with many a railway anecdote.

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# The *Athol* Went A-Whaling

Hattie A. Perry

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The *Athol* was a 400-ton, square-rigged, three-masted sailing vessel which had been built especially for the whaling trade. Her owner was Charles Stewart of Saint John, New Brunswick. On 12 July 1845, she set sail from her home port on her maiden voyage, which lasted more than four years. James D. Coffin of Barrington, Nova Scotia, was her master. Among those on board were the captain's wife and two-year-old daughter Esther, Benjamin Doane, Samuel Pinkham, and a young Scot named MacDonald, all of Barrington. Of the remainder of the crew, three had never been to sea before; two of this trio were alcoholics, and the third was a minister who was running away from a clandestine love affair!<sup>1</sup>

The whaling ships of this period were fitted out for voyages lasting several years. The cruises were made over a fairly consistent route, and planned so as to place the vessels on the whaling grounds during the seasons when the cetaceans were known to congregate there. If a ship was lucky, the trip would be short. If her fortunes were ordinary, she would sail around for years, refitting herself by selling part of her catch of oil.

Apart from the captain, no one received wages. Instead, they were all, including the captain, on shares or lays. When the crew members signed on for a trip, they agreed to accept as pay a certain number of shares in the anticipated cargo of whale oil; men with experience were offered more than those with none, while the captain had the largest number of shares. When the oil was sold, each man was paid according to the number of lays he held. Meanwhile, the vessel's owner paid for the food and some of the expenses, while from each man's shares, deductions were made for the expenses of loading, unloading and measuring the oil.

When the *Athol* was about two weeks out, they sighted their first whales, a shoal of blackfish. Quickly they lowered three boats, and gave chase. When they got up to them, Ben Doane, the boat-steerer, put an iron into one of the larger whales, intending for safety to put a second iron into the same whale; instead, another blackfish popped up in the way and he struck it. This made the boat bridled fast to two whales at once. A few minutes later, one of the blackfish started to go one way, and the other in the opposite direction. This brought one of them abaft the boat, doing

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on the log book of the *Athol*'s voyage. This book, kept sporadically by Captain Coffin, is in the author's possession.

its best to tow them stern first, while the other was towing ahead. The men hauled first on the one ahead and managed to kill it with a lance; then they killed the other one. That day they managed to get five small whales, which made fifteen barrels of oil.

They shaped their course for the Western Azores, where they picked up a supply of potatoes, live hogs, sheep and poultry. Then they went to the Cape Verde Islands, and from there they headed for the Albrohos Banks, off the coast of Brazil. The Banks proved to be almost barren ground, and the men became discouraged. Captain Coffin wrote: "These are dry times -- can't write -- can't anything!"

In January 1846, during a screaming gale with heavy seas running, the *Athol* rounded Cape Horn to hunt in Pacific waters. Here, after cruising around for a couple of months without any luck, they sailed into San Carlos<sup>2</sup> to get water and other supplies. They had no oil to barter for vegetables, and so Captain Coffin traded calicoes, gunpowder, tobacco and a little rum. On such articles there was a heavy duty, and so the crew loaded a boat with their merchandise, and at night, guided by a pilot, rowed to one of the little islands in the harbour, where they carried on their illegal trading.

While in port, each man was given three days' leave. There were several other whalers and a number of small coasters also in port. Four of Coffin's crewmen, celebrating after six months' confinement on ship, landed in jail; eleven others deserted. Early in April the *Athol* set sail again, shaping her course this time for the islands of Juan Fernandez, one of which was for several years the home of the Scottish sailor Alexander Selkirk, the original Robinson Crusoe.

When they were within about sixty miles of the islands, on 9 April 1846, the captain's wife gave birth to a son who was named James Fernandez; the ship's colours were hoisted in honour of the new shipmate. That same day they took seven blackfish. In the evening, all hands gathered on the forecastle and sang songs, because "seven blackfish and a baby boy do not come to a whaleship every day!"

For the next nine months, the *Athol* cruised back and forth between the Galapagos Islands and the South American coast. This was good whaling ground, and they were successful in taking several. On one occasion, Cap-

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2 San Carlos was on the northern end of the island of Chiloe in Chile; it is now called Ancud.

tain Coffin decided to send three boats ashore on one of the Galapagos to capture terrapins, which could be kept alive for several weeks without food or water. These turtles made a tasty addition to the larder, and fresh food such as this also helped to eliminate the danger of scurvy. The men succeeded in catching enough to fill their boats, and they also spent a few hours, in fun, riding around on the backs of the big ones, which were too heavy to be carried to the waiting boats.

On another occasion during this period, some of the crew miraculously escaped when they were attacked by a large whale. Years later, Ben Doane told the story this way<sup>3</sup>

I sang out, 'There he is, right astern of us.' And by the time the mate could look around, the whale had turned on his back and was coming right for us, piling up the water with his great square head, and opening and shutting his jaws with a snap like the slamming of a door.

We were luffed to, lying in the trough of the sea, drifting. The mate kept right off before the wind, and shouted to the men to take their oars. Before they had time to do so, the whale caught up to us, turned on his side and made a grab for the sternpost. But the mate, with a stroke of the steering oar, gave the boat a rank sheer, and the great jaws came together without any wood between them.

When the whale found he had missed his hold, he turned back up and went down under the boat until his spout holes were about abreast our forward thwarts. Then he raised so that the boat grounded on him, gradually slipping, slipping, but still going along with him at a high speed. I caught up my iron and tried to get in shape to dart, but the boat jostled and I stumbled against the crutch and broke it, and the second iron fell overboard. I got to my feet again with the first iron in my hand, and by this time the bunch of his neck was past me and I drew back to strike....

I set the iron down into the top of the whale's back till it fetched up against the hitches. He gave a big rouse with his flukes, and as the boat capsized I jumped overboard. I swam off a minute then looked around. The boat was bottom up, and I saw the whale break water about two hundred yards from it, with the iron pole sticking straight up in his back, and off he went. The men climbed up on the bottom of the boat, and as the line was running

<sup>3</sup> Captain Benjamin Doane told the story of his life to his son Benjamin, a lawyer, who recorded it in shorthand. Later it was typed, and a grandson gave a copy to the Cape Sable Historical Society, Barrington. The manuscript is entitled, "The Recollection of Ben Doane."

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sizzling across it, the mate told one of them to cut it. I stayed out of the way till all the men were on the boat, so that nobody would get hold of me, as some of them were not good swimmers. Then I swam to the bow and pulled myself partly up, my legs hanging in the water each side of the stem.

'Is there any room for me?' I said. As I spoke, I saw, not three feet from me, the jaw of the whale shoot up on one side of the boat, and his head on the other. I gave myself a throw backwards and pushed off with my feet from the boat, and as I swam clear I heard the crash of splinters and the cries of the men. I looked around and saw the whale just as he spouted after cutting off the head of the boat. He was slowly turning jaw downward, and a little Spanish-Chilean was lying on the flat of his back, both feet and hands in the air, on the side of the whale's head. He instantly slid off, and I was afraid he had fallen into the whale's mouth, but the whale in turning had rolled him off the opposite side.

Then I swam away from the wreck as fast as possible, trying to keep ahead of the whale so that he would not see me. The after oarsman, William Mills, an excellent swimmer, followed me. When he had gone about forty or fifty yards we looked back and saw the whale lying in the fragments, biting and snapping at everything he could get hold of, and whenever he felt anything against his flukes he would knock it sky high. He had a good time there for what seemed to us about half an hour. He bit all the oars in two, mashed the stern of the boat all to pieces, and even bit the lanyard keg and boat kegs, mast and sails -- everything that he could see or feel. At last the chips were so small and scattered that there was no more sport in it, and he disappeared.

The sun was creeping periously near the horizon when Doane and the other men were picked up and taken back to the *Athol*. The mate was very sick for several days, but fortunately no lives were lost.

Following this incident, Captain Coffin took his ship into Paita, Peru, for painting, prior to setting out across the Pacific to Honolulu, and then to the Solomon Islands and Australia. Sorrow befell all hands on board when they were nearing Australia, for little Esther Coffin became ill and died. Everyone attended the funeral as real mourners, on 6 January 1848, and she was laid to rest in a Sydney cemetery, where a former shipmate of the captain had also been buried.

Captain Coffin sold most of his oil in Sydney, but he had about one thousand barrels shipped home to Saint John. The next year and a half

was spent cruising around the islands to the north and east of Australia. At that time, many islands in that part of the world were inhabited by cannibals, and there were several occasions when those on board the *Athol* experienced trepidation. When in St. George's Channel, in the Bismarck Archipelago near New Guinea, the captain wrote:

We have had several canoes off from the shore with a few cocoanuts [sic] and a little tortoise shell. These natives are without a vestige of covering; they wear rings in their noses some of them; but oftener a small stick through the middle part of the nose, like a spritsail fair across the face and one stuck into each side of the nose. Their hair is dressed in small wisps and coloured to fancy, white, red, others brown, black and so on. Did not want their company; pointed to the land and told them to go, but they did not start; discharged a musket over them and they were off.

They also encountered severe tropical thunderstorms in St. George's Channel, and several times they almost ran aground because of faulty charts, but their most dreadful experience occurred when Timor fever (malaria) broke out, and five of the crew died. They sailed into Bally, on the island of Ampannan,<sup>4</sup> where the men were buried, and where they received medical assistance from a doctor who gave the captain all the quinine that he could spare. They spent nearly a month in port, but there were recurring symptoms of the fever, and so Captain Coffin decided to sail around the Cape of Good Hope, and on to England. This they did. He was paid off in London in March 1850, and the *Athol* was sold to an English company.

Captain James Coffin returned to Barrington, and he and his brother Thomas began a shipbuilding and lumbering business at Port Clyde. Except for a few trips in their own vessels, he retired from the sea and devoted his full time to the shipyard.

We marvel at the heroism of these whalers, and the composure with which they met the conditions of their arduous life.

<sup>4</sup> Ampannan was east of the present island of Bali; it is now called Sumbawa, and is one of the Lesser Sunda Islands, south of Borneo.



Detail showing title block of Mackay's copper-plate map of 1834. Photograph courtesy of W.K. Morrison (from an original in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia).

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# William MacKay, the Invisible Mapmaker

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Walter K. Morrison

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The beginning of this account of William MacKay goes back to 1974, when a cartography student at the Nova Scotia Land Survey Institute brought a large rolled manuscript map to class. It was starting to flake off the linen backing, had been slightly burned on one edge, was covered with dirt and spotted with candle wax.

The roll had been stored in a contractor's garage loft after a remodelling job -- saved because of a prominent "Annapolis County" lettered across it. At first glance, the drawing appeared quite modern, as it was on  $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch graph paper, supposedly a development of the late nineteenth century. But a second look disclosed that "Annapolis County" included what is now Digby County and that the village across the river from Annapolis Royal was called "New Caledonia," a name which persisted until the 1860s,<sup>1</sup> then was changed to Granville Ferry.<sup>2</sup>

The Spicer family of Paradise donated the map to the Nova Scotia Land Survey Institute, but nothing was done with it until the Institute moved to a new building in 1975, because the 7-foot x 14-foot map had a disconcerting way of shedding pieces everytime it was unrolled. A winter's work stabilized the map and saw it mounted on stretchers in the library.

It became apparent that the display would have to be augmented by an explanation. All the information available was an inked, "William MacKay" in one corner and under that, "(1 inch equals) 40 chains." Perhaps here it should be mentioned that a chain is 66 feet, so a scale of 1 inch to 40 chains is the same as 1 inch =  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. For comparison, our present  $\frac{1}{50,000}$  topographic sheets are on a scale of 1 inch to just over  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile. MacKay's map of Annapolis County is half again larger.

Who William MacKay was, where he came from, or where he continued his career, were mysteries. There was no mention of him in *Men and Meridians*<sup>3</sup>, no knowledge of him as a surveyor among the records at the provincial Department of Lands and Forests or the Crown Lands Office, and no one had ever heard of him at either the Public Archives in Halifax or the Hector

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<sup>1</sup> A. & W. Mackinlay, *Mackinlay's Map of the Province of Nova Scotia...* (Halifax, 1865), still shows "New Caledonia"; Map Collection, 202/1865, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

<sup>2</sup> E.F. Neville, *History of Granville Ferry Since 1862* (Annapolis Royal, 1931), does not mention "New Caledonia."

<sup>3</sup> Don W. Thomson, *Men and Meridians. The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada* (Ottawa, 1966).

Centre in Pictou. The first solid fact was discovered in Appendix C of Patterson's *A History of the County of Pictou*. The list of passengers on the *Hector*, 1773, named the children of Squire William MacKay and mentioned a grandson: "William MacKay, the surveyor, was the author of a map of Nova Scotia, published in London, which has supplied information for all mapmakers since."<sup>4</sup>

Still, this did not explain the large Annapolis map. It was not until a search of the *Journals* of the House of Assembly was made in the Legislative Library in Halifax, that an account of an entire lost survey unfolded and a new chapter was added to the history of surveying and mapping in our province. The descriptions in these reports show that the large map on the library wall at the Land Survey Institute is a survivor, possibly the only one still in existence, of William MacKay's first reduction from "The Great Map."

"Compiled from Actual and Recent Surveys, . . ." is a cartographic cliché usually given as much credence as a used-car dealer's description, ". . .driven by a little old lady only on Sundays." Yet, that phrase is a completely accurate description of William MacKay's *Map of the Province of Nova Scotia . . . published July 10, 1834*, because this was the first printed map of the whole interior of this province to be compiled from actual surveys. Curiously, although a monumental and unique work, it had little influence on contemporary maps, or, indeed, on the subsequent professional life of its author; this, then, is what prompts the title of this paper, "the Invisible Mapmaker."

The map printed in 1834 was the end product of an ambitious, five-year project initiated by Nova Scotia's Legislative Assembly and carried out by a committee of that body, not, as might be expected, by the surveyor-general, Charles Morris. Proposals for a complete survey of the whole province started in 1820 with the Earl of Dalhousie's message to the House of Assembly, on 10 February, lamenting that ". . .the Want of an accurate Survey of the Province has been long felt as a very serious inconvenience. . ."<sup>5</sup> A committee was formed and reports made, but Dalhousie later wrote, ". . .it was with great surprise and mortification I observed. . .that one part of

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4 George Patterson, *A History of the County of Pictou Nova Scotia* (1877; reprinted Pictou, 1916), p. 282.

5 *Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly* [hereafter *Journals*], 1820, p. 135.

the leading measures which I had submitted to the House has been altogether passed over; I mean the survey of the Province."<sup>6</sup>

Dalhousie's successor, Sir James Kempt, felt compelled to raise the subject again in his message to the House on 28 December 1820: ". . . there appears to be an urgent necessity for making, if possible, an accurate Survey of the Province. . . ." He then expanded on the subject:

Considering the great extent of Wilderness land in the Country, and the means we possess, it will be found impossible, I fear, to make a trigonometrical Survey of the Province. A more prudent and practical plan will be to name so many Townships to each County, to fix the limits of each Township by actual survey, and the limits of the Townships in each County. . . .<sup>7</sup>

From 1820 to 1827, there was much activity; the Assembly *Journals* are full of reports that were made, committees formed, bills passed and communications written. No tangible results were produced, although Surveyor-General Morris reported:

I employed Anthony Lockwood, Esq. to assist me in compiling and connecting the several detached Surveys of the Province, into one general Map . . . , the outline or external limits of which, on the South Shore of the Province, taken from the accurate Surveys of the Coast, by that able and celebrated Surveyor T.[sic] FW. Desbarres, Esq. which, as far as respects the Navigable Harbours, Bays, and Indents of the Coast, have stood the test of minute examination, and excited the admiration, of all experienced Mariners who have visited these shores.<sup>8</sup>

In April 1827, a committee was appointed ". . . to cause to be provided [maps]. . . . The said Maps to be constructed under the direction of the Surveyor-General. . . ."<sup>9</sup> But in March 1828, the House Map Committee took over direct supervision:

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6 Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie*, III (Halifax, 1867), 465.

7 *Journals*, 1820, p. 21.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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...resolved...a map of the Province, on the scale recommended by the committee, be prepared from the plans and surveys heretofore made under the sanction of the House, and that all Roads and Lines, with the distances, be accurately laid down thereon. That the Map be constructed, under the direction of the Committee, by such person or persons as they shall appoint: and also, that from the general map, when constructed, Maps of each County and District be prepared and copied, and mounted in a proper manner for preservation.<sup>10</sup>

Even before the staff was hired, planning had commenced; in the *Assembly Journal*, 14 March 1828, is the following:

Mr. Fairbanks reported...it appeared necessary to provide suitable Paper properly prepared, so as to insure correctness in laying down the various Surveys that have been made throughout the Province, and to form as it were a correct outline of a General Map thereof.

The Chairman therefore caused a plate for printing suitable paper for this purpose to be engraved in England. This has been done with all possible exactness, and a quantity of Paper printed from it has been received for the construction of the Maps. In order to complete the Maps in a correct and proper manner, the Committee consider it to be necessary, that a competent Person should be employed to take up the different surveys, and protract them to a scale of Twenty chains to the Inch, on the paper thus provided, and, using the different lines of the Counties and Roads as Base Lines, to proceed as far as correct Surveys admit, to execute an Outline of the whole Province, with the Lines of Counties, Towns, and Roads, with Lakes and Streams, and other objects usually inserted on Maps: this work requires a careful and attentive Surveyor, and ought to be commenced as soon as possible. From this outline, when finished, the County maps can be copied with facility by means of the Paper prepared for it, and all additions can be inserted thereon as future Surveys are returned. The Committee have made enquiry as to the expense of a Surveyor to do this work, and believe a Person, every way competent can be procured for Ten Shillings per Day.

The Committee beg leave further to state, that as their [sic] exists no Map of the Province of a portable size for general use and reference, it will be highly useful to cause one to be prepared under the direction of the Com-

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10 *Ibid.*, 1828, p. 331.

mittee, and engraved; they . . . are satisfied the sum of Fifty Pounds will defray the whole expense.<sup>11</sup>

Later, in the *Journals* for 1830-33, is a report on the first two years of the provincial map project:

... in May 1828, the construction of the Maps was commenced under the inspection of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Fairbanks, by whom a surveyor, Mr. William MacKay, of whose competency and ability he speaks in high terms, was employed for the work, Mr. Charles Morris, Junior, was also employed as an assistant sometime afterwards -- Mr. MacKay has been ever since and still is engaged in this employment, and Mr. Morris has devoted his time chiefly to it.

... the Committee have examined the progress made, and find that with the aid of the surveys previously obtained of the County lines and roads, and those made under the direction of the Committee, the outlines of the whole Province, (Cumberland and Cape Breton excepted which have not been surveyed) have been laid down on a large scale -- with all the boundary lines of Townships and Counties, so far as they are settled, and with the Roads, Rivers, Lakes &c. of which any Surveys have been made.

That the scale used is that of twenty chains to the inch, by the adoption of which, and by the employment of the same person and the same instruments to lay down all the Surveys from the Original Notes, a degree of accuracy has been obtained, which could hardly have been anticipated, and only inferior to the results of a Trigonometrical admeasurement, which for a long period will be impractical here.<sup>12</sup>

In the first three years of the project, 1827, 1828 and 1829, many gaps were discovered and separate surveys were commissioned to a total of over £329. That these were a series of small jobs to plug up the gaps, is evidenced by just one report, titled "Extracts of surveying costs, acc't of C.R. Fairbanks," which lists nineteen surveys for Hants County alone, ranging from £3 to £40 over a period of fifteen months.<sup>13</sup>

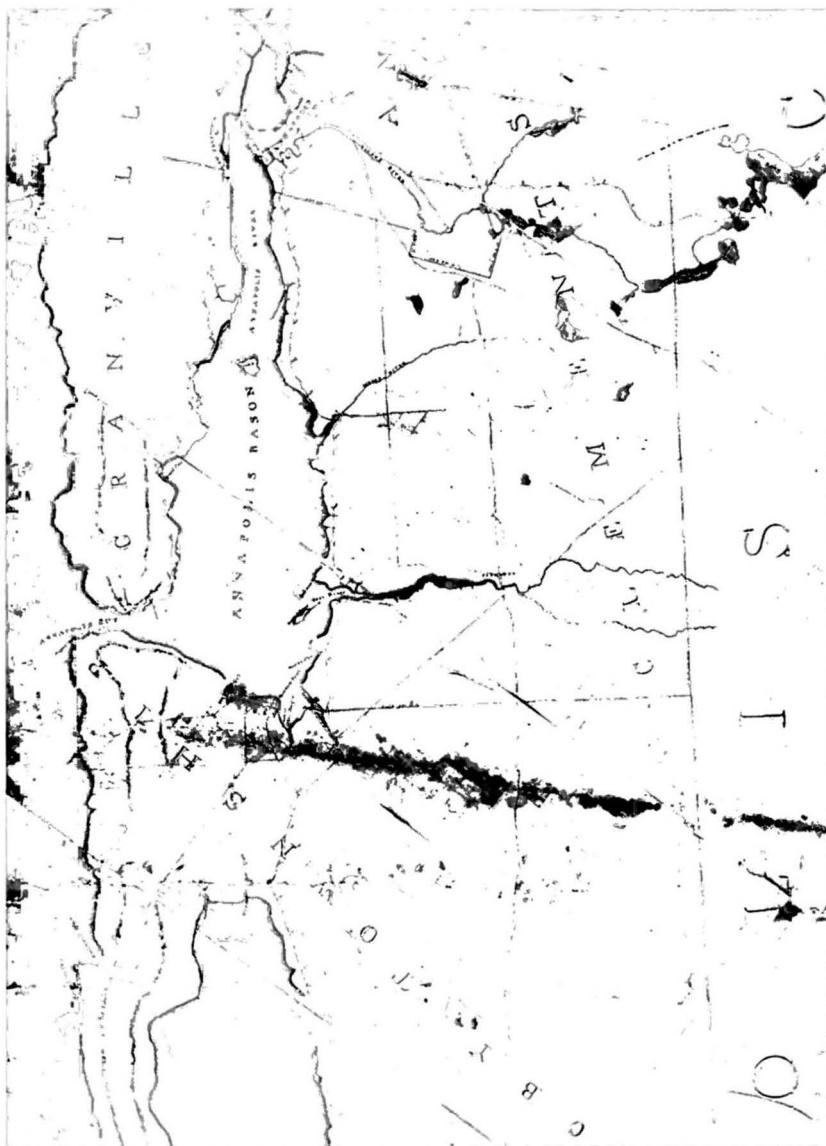
11 *Ibid.*, p. 286.

12 *Ibid.*, 1830-33, Appendix No. 31, p. 21.

13 Account of C.R. Fairbanks. Reports and Resolutions, Legislative Assembly, RG5, Series R, Vol. 15, 1830-1831, PANS.



Two sheets from flat numbered "C 15", showing a portion of the Minas Basin (top) and the Cornwallis and Gaspereau rivers (bottom). Photograph courtesy of W.K. Morrison (from an original in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia).



Section from Annapolis County map (scale:  $1'' = 40$  chains), drawn on copper-engraved graph paper. Photograph courtesy of W.K. Morrison (from an original in the Nova Scotia College of Geographic Sciences, Lawrencetown).

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Finally, to sum up the whole project, a Report read to the House on Saturday, 13 April 1833, noted:

That there have been constructed... by the Draughtsman employed, Mr. William MacKay, the following Maps, viz:-

First, -- A general Map of the whole Province of Nova Scotia Proper upon thick paper, laid down by the scale of Twenty chains to the Inch.

Second, -- A Map of each County and District, Cape Breton excepted, laid down by the scale of Forty Chains to the Inch.

Third, -- A Map of each County and District, laid down by the scale of Sixty Chains to the Inch.

Fourth, -- A Map of the whole Province laid down by the scale of One Hundred and Sixty Chains to the Inch, being the same now in the House of Assembly.

...Maps having each been reduced from the large original, many of the sources of error in former Maps have been avoided, and every degree of accuracy secured which is practical from ordinary surveys.<sup>14</sup>

In the 1830 Report, the "Plan of the Province," meaning the first map in the above list, was described as being on "strong pasteboard...divided into proportionate squares";<sup>15</sup> thus, the printed paper from the specially-made copperplate from London was reserved solely for the reductions. Each 20-inch x 30-inch piece of pasteboard was pencilled off into two-inch squares and details from separate surveys were fitted to these squares. These sheets were then mounted on linen backing in groups of from two to as many as six, without any system for the number of sheets per flat or for numbering the flats. In the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 110 of these flats are preserved, covering all the province except for Cumberland County and Cape Breton Island. There are no borders and the detail is continuous from flat to flat. If laid out continuously, the whole map would occupy a space of approximately 60 feet x 90 feet -- and that doesn't include Cape Breton.

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14 *Journals, 1830-33, Appendix No. 58, p. 41.*

15 *Ibid., Appendix No. 31, p. 21.*

One interesting flat, which probably comes closest to the ideals set by the Committee but seldom achieved, is that for Horton District.<sup>16</sup> The crudity of the drawing is immediately striking, but these were working plots only, or what we would call today -- using the current buzzword -- a database for later maps. Distances from Halifax are shown by Roman numerals, the town area of Cornwallis (present Port Williams) appears at the northern edge, and township lots are numbered. In contrast, most of the other flats show only roads, drainage, major grants and public buildings. The first reductions from "The Great Map" were on the imported graph paper and fair-drawn, as this was work to be exhibited to the public.

For some years these flats were stored in the basement of the old Archives building, bundled in brown-paper wrappings, separated by county and labelled simply, "Survey Drawings." After the description of "The Great Map" turned up, Gary Shutlak, map archivist at the Public Archives, made a search and discovered some bundles marked "Sydney County" [present-day Antigonish and Guysborough Counties]. The contents fitted "The Great Map" description. Gradually, all the rest of the mainland counties were found, except for Cumberland and some stray sheets, unfortunately in key areas such as Halifax, Shelburne, Preston and the central Annapolis Valley.

Once MacKay's existence in Halifax had been established, it was a simple task to consult pertinent records at the Public Archives to piece together the following biographical data. William MacKay was born ca. 1789 and was the son of Donald MacKay, settler of Fraser's Mountain above New Glasgow; and as already stated, the grandson of Squire William MacKay, one of the founders of Pictou County. An uncle by marriage was Willie ("the Moose") Fraser,<sup>17</sup> a deputy-surveyor for the Pictou District and a Scottish-born-and-trained land surveyor who may have influenced MacKay's early survey work, such as a rather crude manuscript "Plan of the Road from fisher's grant [sic] to the upper Settlement of the East River of Pictou... June 18th 1820."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Flat C-15, as indicated in W.K. Morrison, "Index to 'The Great Map' of Nova Scotia," Map Collection, PANS.

<sup>17</sup> Patterson, *Pictou County*, p. 282.

<sup>18</sup> Map Collection, 209/1820, PANS.

A court case, *Fraser vs. Cameron, 1854*,<sup>19</sup> refers to a MacKay survey of lots in New Glasgow (one of which was his own) some thirty years before, so we know that he was active in surveying as well as mapping during the 1820s; but as he was then about thirty years old, we must assume he had practiced earlier than that, although no record has so far been uncovered. The same court case mentions that MacKay left the country 25 years before the trial. "Leaving the country" consisted of moving in 1827 from New Glasgow to Halifax, where he was employed in surveying and drawing plans for the Shubenacadie Canal Company.<sup>20</sup> Employment by the Canal Company proved fortunate for MacKay, since the secretary of that enterprise, C.R. Fairbanks, was also an M.L.A. for Halifax and chairman of the Map Committee of the Legislature.<sup>21</sup>

Thus in May 1823, MacKay started work on the construction of the maps. One of the first to be produced was described as "...a Portable Map, for general information, (History of Nova Scotia)."<sup>22</sup> There can be little doubt that this is the map accompanying Thomas C. Haliburton's *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (1829), because: a.) it was the only map of Nova Scotia published at that time; <sup>23</sup> b.) Volume 1, where the map is located, is subtitled *History of Nova Scotia*; and c.) Haliburton was a member of the Map Committee.<sup>24</sup> Incidentally, the House, not the author, paid the £50 for the map.

Ironically, because of the wide circulation of Haliburton's *History* and the limited distribution of MacKay's later, 1834 *Map of Nova Scotia*, basic errors in the earlier map were perpetuated for three more decades. This 1829 map was to a large extent traced from existing contemporary maps, none of which were particularly accurate; primarily, Prince Edward Island

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19 Alexander James, *Reports of Cases...in...Nova Scotia*, I, Part 2 (Halifax, 1852), 189.

20 Shubenacadie Canal Portfolio, Map Collection, 210/1828, PANS.

21 *Journals*, 1828, p. 286.

22 *Ibid.*, 1836, Appendix, Report No. 81, p. 156.

23 W.K. Morrison, "Cartobibliography of the Printed Maps of Nova Scotia," unpublished work in progress.

24 *Journals*, 1827, p. 151.

was misplaced longitudinally and the Cape Breton Highlands were too narrow east/west.<sup>25</sup>

Dr. W.F. Ganong attributes John Purdy's *Cabotia* (a map first published in London, 1814, and subsequently in 1821, 1825 and 1828<sup>26</sup>) as the source of the Haliburton map,<sup>27</sup> but he may not have been aware of J.G. Toler's 1819 *Nova Scotia*,<sup>28</sup> printed from a plate engraved by Halifax's Charles W. Torbett, or the similarity to James Wyld's 1825 effort.<sup>29</sup> All may have stemmed from a Toler manuscript sent to England from Halifax by his army employers in 1812.<sup>30</sup> The Toler manuscript's scale was eight miles to the inch, strikingly similar in size and detail to Purdy's and Wyld's.

MacKay's 1834 map, although really derived from "Actual and Recent Surveys," received scant attention from the influential English mapmakers such as John Arrowsmith, because the distribution of "The Great Map" reduction was very limited. One hundred and twenty-five were spread around officially in Nova Scotia, but only nine others to the government in Great Britain; the rest were sold by Clement Belcher in Halifax (who had arranged for the engraving and printing), by Robert Scholey in London, and by Oliver & Boyd in Edinburgh.

These statistics are recorded in the Assembly *Journals* for 1836, although the initial report was submitted in December 1834.<sup>31</sup> Incidentally, the same report records £5 for "... repairing and rebinding a set of Desbarres' charts,

25 W.K. Morrison, "The Modern Mapping of Nova Scotia," in *The Map Collector*, No. 18 (Tring, England, 1982), 33.

26 Richard Malinski, "Purdy's 'Map of Cabotia' and the Mapping Sequence of New Brunswick," in Association of Canadian Map Libraries, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference*, June 15-20, 1975, Sackville, New Brunswick (Ottawa, 1976), p. 39.

27 W.F. Ganong, "Additions and Corrections to the Monograph on Cartography," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Section II (Ottawa, 1906), p. 57.

28 Map Collection, 202/1819, PANS.

29 James Wyld, *A Map of the Province of New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia...* (London, 1825). Author's Collection.

30 Her Majesty's Stationery Office, *Maps and Plans in the Public Record Office [II] America and West Indies* (London, 1974), 191, entry 1101.

31 Miscellaneous Undated Reports. RG5, Series R, Vols. 20 and 21, 1834-35, PANS.

used for construction of Maps" ; thus we know from whence came the coast-lines on "The Great Map." DesBarres's coastlines were plane-table surveys and equal in accuracy to the land surveys of the day.

After producing such an impressive, copperplate-engraved map -- on which one of the larger lines notes "By William MacKay" -- one would rather naturally expect the author to build on his success and go on to bigger and better projects. But MacKay went back to drawing plans, surveying for the Shubenacadie Canal Company and working until nearly the end of his life as a deputy-surveyor for Halifax County.<sup>32</sup> He did write a book about surveying, which was reviewed by fellow deputy-surveyor Titus Smith in the *Acadian Recorder*, 3 September 1836; but nothing seems to have come of it and no record has been found of the book's existence. MacKay's only other printed map with his credit line is *The Plan of the City of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, lithographed by Thayer & Co., in Boston ca. 1842.<sup>33</sup>

Gary Shutlak has narrowed down the time of MacKay's death through discovery of a reference to "the late William MacKay" in the first *Report* of the Hospital for the Insane, 1859; MacKay was cited for helping the Commissioners, not as an inmate. With this evidence, a survey of newspapers of that period turned up MacKay's death as occurring on 8 July 1858.<sup>34</sup> The Camp Hill Cemetery deed index, Halifax, shows that he was buried there, although no monument was erected and no other person was interred in the grave. The Canadian Institute of Surveyors rectified the lack of a monument in July 1983, on the 125th anniversary of MacKay's death.

Included in a collection of plans turned over to the Public Archives by the Halifax City Engineer's office in the past few years, was a subdivision plan on vellum by MacKay, of the north side of North Street at the intersection of Upper Water Street. This was also the location of MacKay's last residence, described in his obituary as being on Water Street at the foot of North.

32 Belcher's *Farmer's Almanac* ... 1855 (Halifax, 1854), p. 76.

33 Map Collection, V/240/ca. 1842, PANS.

34 *The Evening Express* (Halifax), 9 July 1858 and *The British Colonial* (Halifax), 10 July 1858 list MacKay's death on "Thursday, July 8," but both the *Novascotian* (Halifax), 12 July and the *Morning Chronicle* (Halifax), 10 July have "Thursday, July 7." Thursday was the 8th of July in 1858.

"The Great Map" at 1 inch to 20 chains, or 1320 feet, would be a large undertaking even today. One's mind boggles at the thought that so many flats could have been coordinated in what has been described as the workplace: ". . . one of the rooms in the upper part of the Province Building."<sup>35</sup> Two-inch, pencilled squares seem a very shaky framework on which to hang an entire provincial survey, but the result, when reduced to the county maps and the printed portable map, was a great advance on the work which had existed to that time.

Sadly, knowledge of MacKay's work soon faded. Duncan Campbell, in his well-known Nova Scotian history, after describing Lord Dalhousie's call for a survey of the province, commented: "Upwards of 50 years have elapsed since this subject was brought under the notice of the House but the work has not yet been done."<sup>36</sup> Thus, only fifteen years after his death and some forty years after the completion of "The Great Map," William MacKay's work had become invisible.

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35 *Journals*, 1828, p. 286.

36 Duncan Campbell, *Nova Scotia in its Historical, Mercantile and Industrial Relations* (Montreal, 1873), p. 245.

A. D. 1791. MAR: 18. N<sup>o</sup> 1980  
NUGENTS SPECIFICATION

*Universal Reflecting Sextant*

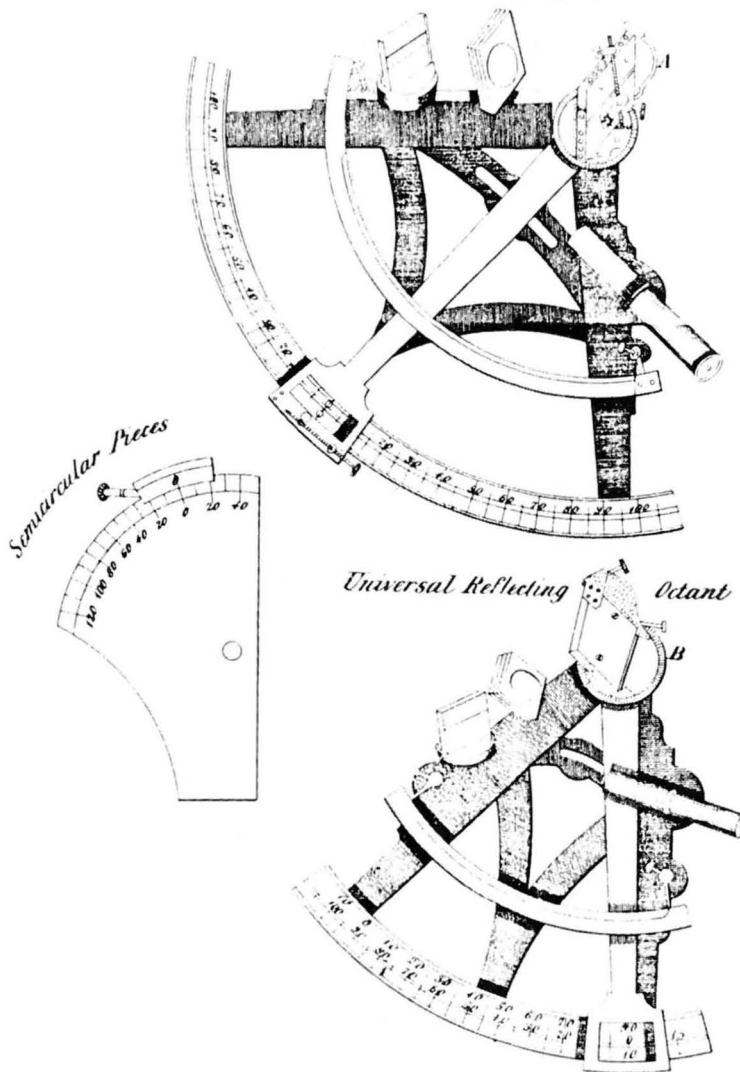


Illustration courtesy of Randall C. Brooks

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# Nautical Instrument-Makers in Atlantic Canada

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Randall C. Brooks

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Occasionally, while perusing the collections of museums around the Maritimes, one sees nautical instruments signed in Halifax or Saint John. The signed makers were working in the Maritimes during the nineteenth century and many of them can be found listed in Donald C. Mackay's *Silversmiths and Related Craftsmen of the Atlantic Provinces* (Halifax, 1973). There were others involved in similar work, but little study has been devoted to determining just what contribution this group of individuals may have made to instrument-making. From the information which has been compiled here, these makers, with one or two exceptions, appear not to have been particularly inventive, but were making or, perhaps more accurately, assembling functional items intended for the local market.

The known examples, by those whom we may consider professional makers, are nautical instruments. By comparison with extant instruments by makers in the neighbouring colonial market of New England, one would have expected some simple surveying instruments to have been made and to have survived. However, none can be positively identified as being by Maritimers. The few extant examples of instruments with names of Maritimers allow comparison with contemporary instruments being made in Europe. With other collected information, we may draw some conclusions about the nature of the businesses and related activities of these individuals.

The earliest scientific instruments were often invented, designed and/or made by the user. However, public demand for instruments, both by scientists and by those who wanted such instruments for their amusement, stimulated the appearance of professional makers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, craft-style workshops in Italy and Germany were busy making crude optical instruments and not so crude -- in fact, exceptionally elegant -- items such as barometers and various types of decorative sundials, which the purchaser acquired as a curiosity rather than for its pure scientific purpose. Such dilettante collectors still exist, but the supply of instruments for this type of market reached its peak in the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In the Maritimes, there were not many scientists to use scientific instruments and

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The author wishes to thank Mr. David Flemming, Director, and Ms. Valery Leminson, Registrar, of the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic for their assistance in providing access to the instruments among the Museum's collections.

1 D.J. Bryden, *Scottish Instrument Makers -- 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1972), p. 15.

there were probably few dilettante collectors. The majority of instruments were nautical or surveying instruments used for practical, everyday needs.

Until the early eighteenth century, each craftsman still made both the mechanical and optical components of an instrument. Increased demand, complexity, and the resulting necessity for higher precision, began to demand cooperation among craftsmen. One of the first to employ assistants, in addition to apprentices, was Jesse Ramsden in London. The most skilled and innovative maker of his time, he had expanded his workshop to fifty workmen by 1800. His brother-in-law, Peter Dollond, was joined in the optical trade by his father, John, and with their achromatic (i.e. colour-corrected) lenses, developed a justly respected reputation. Ramsden and the Dollonds frequently collaborated in the production of state-of-the-art pieces, producing the components each was most adept in fabricating. A similar relationship existed during the early nineteenth century between the Dollonds and John and Edward Troughton for practical reasons -- both the Troughton brothers were colour-blind and thus could not make achromatic lenses. Such collaborations among skilled craftsmen and scientists raised production standards, making possible new technical advances and, in turn, new scientific discoveries. These and several other noted British makers placed Britain at the forefront of instrument-making, a place they were to hold up to World War I.

During the same period in France, instrument-makers did not enjoy the highly respected position of their British counterparts. Indeed, British makers often prospered in a social climate where philosophers, scientists and craftsmen belonged to the same scientific societies and to the same coffee-houses. French makers, lacking comparable social status and without financial backing -- and thus lacking the necessary machine tools -- were not as proficient or as innovative as their British contemporaries. An exception was Etienne Lenoir, who worked in London for several years, principally with Ramsden. He eventually returned to Paris, expanding his workshop to seven men. The workshop produced some superb instruments which could match all but the few most outstanding examples by Ramsden, the Dollonds and the Troughtons. French instruments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tend to be more artistically pleasing, but the quality of workmanship and materials was in general not comparable to those produced on the opposite side of the Channel.

Germany also had many outstanding instrument-makers -- Fraunhofer, Reichenbach and Merz -- who were known for their mechanical ingenuity and precision. In the first half of the nineteenth century, their efforts were stimulated due to the technical advantage gained by possessing the superior glass technology pioneered by the Swiss, Pierre Guinard. This was made possible by his incredibly simple discovery of the fire-clay stirring rod, used to stir melts of glass -- a discovery which resulted in optical glass with fewer inhomogeneities, thus allowing lenses of larger size.<sup>2</sup>

With their heritage deeply anchored in the sea, several designers and makers of nautical instruments have been associated with Eastern Canada. As early as the seventeenth century, John Davis, discoverer of the Davis Strait between Baffin Island and Greenland, invented a precursor to the sextant -- the Davis quadrant or backstaff.<sup>3</sup> The backstaff was a vast improvement over the nocturnal and mariner's astrolabe, used prior to the invention of the backstaff. The latter was to remain in use for more than a century, until master mariners grudgingly replaced the backstaff with the octant, and still later with the sextant.

All these instruments are for measuring angles of the Sun, Moon or stars to the horizon or between each other, as a means of determining latitude and longitude with increasing accuracy. The octant was initially invented ca. 1670 by Isaac Newton, but did not become widely known until 1731, when John Hadley and Thomas Godfrey independently reinvented it in London and Philadelphia, respectively.<sup>4</sup>

The form of navigational instrument currently used, the sextant -- conceptually the same as the octant, but with larger subtended angle -- was conceived in 1757 by Captain (later Vice-Admiral) John Campbell of the Royal Navy. It was a response to improved methods of navigation, which required measurement of angles over a wider area of sky.<sup>5</sup> At the time he

2 Henry C. King, *The History of the Telescope* (London, 1955), p. 144ff. and p. 176ff.

3 E.G.R. Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 178.

4 A. Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology and Philosophy in the 18th Century* (Gloucester, Mass., 1968), p. 146ff.

5 E.G.R. Taylor, *Mathematical Instrument Makers of Hanoverian England 1714-1840* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 32 [hereafter Taylor II]. Although Campbell's contribution to instrument-making is largely peripheral to the theme of this paper, it is important enough to the general history of the topic to warrant further discussion.

conceived the sextant, Campbell was conducting sea tests of the reflecting circle devised by Tobias Mayer to accompany his tables of lunar positions. These were presented for the consideration of the Board of Longitude and, as a result of Campbell's trials, Mayer's widow was awarded £3,000.

Campbell is also closely related to the testing of the marine chronometer, which was then being perfected in England by John Harrison. Campbell was one of those who carried out the careful computations which were to establish that the chronometer compiled with the Act of 1714.<sup>6</sup> He also carried out tests of the Thomas Mudge No. 1 chronometer for the same purpose, on trips to and from Newfoundland, 1782-85, whence he was travelling as governor of the colony.<sup>7</sup> Illness in 1790 prevented Campbell from making testimonials before the Board of Longitude, but Mudge eventually received his award, partially on the basis of Campbell's observations with the instrument.<sup>8</sup>

The individual most closely associated with the Maritimes, and of whom we know the most as an actual instrument-maker, was Patrick Rooney Nugent, a native of St. Pancras, Middlesex (now part of London). During his tenure as the deputy surveyor-general of Cape Breton, Nugent invented instruments intended "for measuring longitude, latitude, magnetic variation and dip".<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that his appointment as a surveyor was made (1786-87) by perhaps the foremost marine surveyor of the eighteenth century, Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, who was then the

6 The Board of Longitude was established by an Act of the British Parliament in 1714 to encourage and reward discoveries and inventions which would improve the accuracy of navigational techniques. Provisions for prizes up to £20,000 were established. Such a handsome award brought forth many proposals of more or less merit, and the prospect of reward spurred research for more than a century. The largest award was made to John Harrison for his marine chronometer of 1764, although it took many years to convince the Board that he had fulfilled the terms of the Act.

7 Taylor II, p. 69. D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (London, 1896), p. 362. Campbell was governor from 1782 to 1785.

8 Rupert Gould, *The Marine Chronometer* (London, 1923; last reprinted 1973), records the details of the Greenwich trials of this instrument in 1774 (p. 267). Under the method established at the Royal Observatory to test the performance of chronometers, the Mudge No. 1 was given a trial number of 11.73 while Harrison's had the large trial number 124.4. The trial number of Mudge's chronometer was not bettered until 1873, thus proving the instrument's quality and the maker's talents.

9 Taylor II, p. 346.

lieutenant-governor of Cape Breton.<sup>10</sup> In 1794 Nugent was awarded patent number 1980 for modifications to the octant and sextant and for a "steering or universal azimuth compass." This patent was ultimately to be of great importance to Nugent in future financial troubles, a problem he had in common with DesBarres.<sup>11</sup> In the patent specifications, filed 9 April 1794, Nugent gave his address as Grey's Inn, Middlesex County, and described himself as "late Chief Surveyor of Crown Lands in the Island of Cape Breton" (if this was the same position as deputy surveyor, or a subsequent promotion, is not clear).

The patent, entitled "Instruments to Obtain Latitude, Longitude, and Magnetic Variation," gives the details of his modifications to the octant and sextant. These alterations were rather complicated and would have been difficult to manufacture at the time, which in turn would have substantially increased the cost of each instrument. The additional care needed to adjust the instruments would have been beyond the capabilities of the average seaman, and it is thus not surprising that examples have not survived. Nugent's modifications allowed for the observation of objects at unequal altitudes and for a variety of other situations which he thought would expand the usefulness of the instrument.

The fact that it did not become popular suggests that potential users were not convinced of its utility and, indeed, found the instrument difficult to use. Other modifications were incorporated to allow observations when the horizon was obscured -- a not uncommon occurrence in the North Atlantic. To this end, Nugent proposed the attachment of either a pendulum with a fiducial mark to line up with the zero of the instrument's scale, or a semi-circular bubble level attached to the frame and filled with mercury, and which was observable as one made a sighting. Again the lack of general adoption suggests problems were encountered. This is not surprising, since makers of nautical instruments had been tackling the same problem in similar ways -- unsuccessfully -- for decades.

Nugent's steering or azimuth compass was designed with slots through the bowl of the compass and with index hairs on each side so that it could

<sup>10</sup> See Stephen B. MacPhee, "DesBarres and His Contemporaries as Mapmakers," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, V (1985), 15-27.

<sup>11</sup> G.N.D. Evans, *Uncommon Obdurate: The Several Public Careers of J.F.W. DesBarres* (Salem, Mass. and Toronto, 1969), p. 61ff.

be used in conjunction with his modified -- or with a normal -- sextant or octant. Nugent intended an object such as the Sun, Moon or a star to be observed in the sextant with the index set for zero degrees and then to be brought into coincidence with the two crosshairs of the compass, which of course was pointing to magnetic north (or south). The change of index mirror required to bring the object into coincidence with the set of crosshairs then would yield magnetic variation directly -- certainly a simple method in theory, but probably requiring unusual dexterity in its application. A bobbing compass card due to the motion of the sea, and an unsteady stance while attempting to sight an object, must have made its application on board ship a trying experience.

In 1796 Nugent was back in Cape Breton and was appointed acting surveyor-general, but the following year he was imprisoned for debt. From the "List of his real and personal property estimated," in which he prepared a detailed assessment of his financial resources, we can find some details of his activities relating to the first patent:

The sum of £500 by way of Mortgage understood to be taken out of the first proceeds of profits was secured on those shares and Instruments [i.e. financial not mechanical] to the Rev. Wm. Cowling for so much lent by Mr. Hammersley of Pall Mall Banker to aid me in carrying out the object of my Inventions into effect. W. Cowling drew out the whole, of which or the Expenditure there of have not hither to altho' I have requested it obtained any account, I am still likewise responsible to Mr. Hammersley so that W. Cowling may be considered to have had money Mortage Instruments without my being exonerated nor as I expected assisted upon settlement of Accounts with Mr. Cowling it is presumed his demand will be found considerably under £500 . . .

Mr. Cowling paid me £1000 for  $\frac{1}{8}$  share of my Patents. I afterwards could have sold a like share for twice that sum, and after that but for my Imprisonment. I doubt not for 4 times as much. Neither should I yet doubt, being still able to sell, soon after my liberation (unless even greater mischief and defeat has been effected, or through further Machination arise to me) another eighth share for at least a sufficient sum to discharge both the aforesaid debts. Mr. Cowling and Mr. Hassel have since my Imprisonment refused being paid back the purchase money advanced by them being £1500 . . .<sup>12</sup>

12 List of real and personal property, Patrick R. Nugent, 1797, pp. 7 and 22 (unnumbered ms.), MG1, Vol. 729C, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

Thus we see that Nugent's patent, which he owned for England, Scotland and Ireland, held both considerable expense and promise for the inventor. Nugent's London connections are exposed and we can assume from further passages that Cowling either made or had made a number of the instruments and by refusing to give up his share of the patents, was hopeful of making financial gain by future sales of the instruments. Nugent, like any inventor, may have been somewhat optimistic as to the real value, but listed this particular asset thus: "%<sub>8</sub> Shares of my three patents, one for England, one for Ireland, and a third for Scotland which being cut off from Society Aid or Advice as I have long been and endeavoring if possible to hereafter prevent, I Estimate at present in loss or value as the case may be at £300,000"<sup>13</sup>

This was certainly a princely sum for one who, as acting surveyor, was probably making less than £150 per annum (a successor, Thomas Crawley, was appointed in 1803 and was paid £140 per annum<sup>14</sup>). Nugent further claimed £400 as the value of a number of patent instruments he and Cowling had made and had in their possession. The value he placed on the patent and the extant instruments was thus most of the £309,932 13s. 11½d. he claimed as the total of his assets.<sup>15</sup>

What the actual value of the patents was would be difficult to determine; however, it must have been sufficient to clear his debts, for Nugent was awarded another patent in 1798, indicating that he had settled his financial difficulties and had returned to London. The new patent was for mathematical instruments and was awarded patent number 2246 on 27 June 1798. However, Nugent did not enter the specifications required to be filed within a month of the above date; thus no details of these instruments have been located. Nonetheless, the cleverness of his nautical instruments attests to his mechanical ingenuity and understanding of the underlying principles, although we must conclude that his estimates of the value of the patents were grossly exaggerated.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

14 Richard Brown, *A History of the Island of Cape Breton* (London, 1869; reprinted Belleville, Ont., 1979), p. 429.

15 MG1, Vol. 729C, p. 8, PANS.

Another Royal Navy marine surveyor, this time associated with New Brunswick, was also the inventor of instruments applicable to his profession. Captain William FitzWilliam Owen (1774-1857) was appointed in March 1815 to survey the Great Lakes and in the next fourteen months mapped Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron. A very energetic man, he left his mark on the local geography of that area by naming many of the bays and islands; and in turn, his successor, Henry Bayfield, named Owen Sound after his mentor. In June 1817 Owen returned to his native England, but in 1821 was sent to survey the coasts of West Africa. About this time, he designed two instruments for surveying purposes. The first was a double reflecting circle; the second, a quadruple sextant, was designed to provide more accurate angular observations in his running surveys along coasts. The essential difference was in having more than one scale, an improvement which permitted the detection and elimination of errors caused by inaccurately engraved instrument scales. These instruments were made for him by Thomas Jones, one of the first rank of London makers of the day.

Owen presented his personal examples of these instruments to the Royal Astronomical Society in 1832, and these are now preserved in the Museum of the History of Science in Oxford. They include 6.5- and 8.5-inch double reflecting circles and a 5-inch quadruple reflecting sextant which resembles a Siamese-twin version of a box sextant. In later life, Owen established his home on Campobello Island in the Bay of Fundy, where he became known as "The Quoddy Hermit." In 1842 he was appointed to survey the Bay of Fundy. On 27 October 1854, Owen was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral and died in Saint John on 3 November 1857.<sup>16</sup>

During the nineteenth century, the amount of shipping tonnage under Nova Scotian registry increased to twenty per cent of the world's total, making the province the third greatest maritime power after Britain and the United States. With so many vessels sailing from their ports, Nova Scotian and New Brunswick jewellers and watchmakers began adjusting, repairing and, in the case of a few, assembling items required for navigation. This was a natural expansion of their business, since jewellers had the requisite

16 Sidney Lee, "William FitzWilliam Owen," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLII (London, 1895), 458; Barry M. Gough, "The Royal Navy and Canadian Dominion," in *Mariner's Mirror*, 72 (1986), 5-15; and Paul G. Cornell, "Owen, William FitzWilliam," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VIII (Toronto, 1985), 668-673.

skill for working on precision equipment. The substantial demand for nautical instruments was also a factor in initiating their interest in instrument-making, sales and repair. Old directories show the names of numerous jewellers who repaired and adjusted octants, sextants, chronometers and compasses, but only a few may have attempted their actual fabrication.

The first known commercial instrument-maker in Nova Scotia was Richard Upham Marsters (1787-1845). Born in Falmouth, he appears to have been the mail carrier between Truro and Pictou in 1813, but in 1819 he advertised himself in Halifax as the inventor of a type of steamship propellor.<sup>17</sup> By the mid-1820s, Marsters became the first Canadian to construct a marine chronometer.<sup>18</sup> This was certainly a significant accomplishment demonstrating his very considerable mechanical and scientific skills, since chronometers were the most complex and delicate instruments being made at the time. Marsters must have been ingenious, for he incorporated improvements of his own design, and he reportedly handed details of these improvements to British government officials ca. 1825. He was probably hoping for an award from the Board of Longitude, whose mandate it was to reward discoveries and improvements which aided navigation. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace the nature and details of these recommendations.

During the same period, Marsters made a trip to London, which was funded in part by a grant of £98 from the Nova Scotian government. The grant was also to assist in the purchase of instruments for rating chronometers.<sup>19</sup> Among the instruments purchased were an astronomical transit telescope and a regulator clock, i.e. one which was well compensated for temperature changes and which would allow time to be accurately maintained over long periods. Each chronometer had to have its rate (the measure of the rate of systematic gain or loss of time) determined prior to voyages, so that such discrepancies might be corrected in the computations to find longitude while at sea.

17 J.B. Duncanson, *Falmouth — A New England Township in Nova Scotia* (Belleville, Ont., 1983), p. 321; R.H. Sherwood, *Pictou Pioneers* (Windsor, N.S., 1973), p. 80; *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 10 April 1819, p. 3.

18 R.C. Brooks, *An Index and Biographies of Scientific Instrument Makers to 1935* (in preparation).

19 Petition of R.U. Marsters, 25 Feb. 1826. RG5, Series P, Vol. 51, PANS.

In 1828, Marsters erected a temporary transit observatory in Halifax to house the above instruments, and from which he could make the astronomical observations necessary to rate chronometers.<sup>20</sup> This was an advancement necessitated in part by the Royal Navy's provision of chronometers to all naval vessels whose masters requested one. Prior to this time, ships' officers carried their own instruments -- if they could afford them -- but from this time the Navy would issue two chronometers to a ship, if the master also carried his own.<sup>21</sup> Also, by this period, larger commercial vessels were carrying chronometers.

By 1831, Halifax newspapers were featuring commercial endorsements from mariners, testifying to the quality of Marster's instruments.<sup>22</sup> Edward Potter, R.N., master of the government brig *Chebucto*, reported that his Marsters chronometer did not alter its rate while on a three-week voyage to Bermuda, and D.W. Watson, Lieutenant, R.N., reported on the performance of a small chronometer (presumably a pocket model) used on four voyages across the Atlantic in the period 1825-30. This chronometer, number 20, had been determined to have errors of sixteen seconds of time, or four minutes of arc, in longitude. Although not stated, but assuming that this error was accumulated on a one-way passage and assuming a two-week passage, the error would have been on the order of one second of time per day. By comparison, British and French chronometers rated between 1821 and 1828 by William Bond in Cambridge, Massachusetts, had an average daily error of 0.99 seconds for 225 ratings. Individual chronometer ratings ranged from 0 to 5.3 seconds.<sup>23</sup> On the basis of the testimonials by Potter and Watson, it appears that Marsters's chronometers thus gave acceptable performance.

New York newspapers of 1832, including the *Constellation*, noted that Marsters was the first to manufacture chronometers in the United States. This statement was made on the basis of the model Marsters exhibited at a fair

20 *Novascotian* (Halifax), 7 Feb. 1828, p. 43.

21 W.E. May, "How the Chronometer Went to Sea," in *Antiquarian Horology*, 9 (1976), 638-663.

22 See, for example, *Halifax Journal*, 2 May 1831, p. 9.

23 W.C. Bond, "Observations on the Comparative Rates of Marine Chronometers," in *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, New Series, 1 (1833), 84-90.

in New York in October 1832.<sup>24</sup> However, William C. Bond, later to become first director of the Harvard College Observatory, is currently recognized as having made the first chronometer in the United States during the War of 1812. At that time, an embargo was placed on shipment of the required parts from England to the United States, and thus Bond, of necessity, took up their manufacture. After the end of the war, he probably once again reverted to the purchase of chronometer parts which he then assembled.

After a couple of years in New York, Marsters returned to Falmouth, where he continued to make chronometers.<sup>25</sup> A Marsters box chronometer has recently been acquired by the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic in Halifax. It is signed "Richard U. Marsters, Halifax, N.S." and bears the serial number 765. The instrument has several distinctive external features, but at the time of writing had not yet been dismantled for close inspection of the mechanism to determine the extent of independent workmanship by Marsters. If this serial number reflects the actual number of chronometers made by Marsters -- which cannot necessarily be assumed, especially when considering that Arnold and Dent, a large London firm, produced only twelve box chronometers annually in the 1820s and sixty per year in the 1830s -- as well as assuming that Marsters sold his chronometers for £40 each (the price of Arnold and Dent's cheapest instrument ca. 1830), then he must have accrued nearly £30,000 in gross sales. Production costs would not have been trivial, however, especially if he were importing components as Bond was doing. It should perhaps be pointed out as well that, in the 1820s, Arnold and Dent employed some 43 component makers and it took over a year to accumulate the hundreds of parts necessary to make up a chronometer.<sup>26</sup> More than just the ability required to construct the components, the skill of the chronometer-maker lay in his ability to assemble and adjust the instrument to perform to exceedingly high standards. Thus we begin to appreciate the achievement of Marsters, but we must

24 *Halifax Journal*, 10 Dec. 1832, p. 3.

25 Silvio Bedini, *Thinkers and Tinkers, Early American Men of Science* (New York, 1975), p. 353.

26 Alun C. Davies, "The Life and Death of a Scientific Instrument: The Marine Chronometer 1770-1920," in *Annals of Science*, 35 (1978), 509-525.

also question that he made over seven hundred such instruments without at least some assistance.

William S. Crawford (fl. 1817-65) came to Nova Scotia from Glasgow, Scotland, where he had served an apprenticeship. He established himself in business, first in Liverpool, N.S., stating in his advertisements, "repairs chronometers, quadrants and compasses".<sup>27</sup> By 1826 he had established himself in Halifax as a jeweller. Following the example of Marsters, and after the latter's move to New York, Crawford erected a transit observatory on the upper floor of the Royal Acadian School (currently the Five Fishermen Restaurant). With a grant of £75 from the Nova Scotian Legislature, the observatory was moved ca. 1832 to Lockman Street, where a proper structure was built and equipped with a transit telescope, reflecting telescope and reflecting circle, which were actually owned by the Marine Insurance Association of Halifax.<sup>28</sup> From this post Crawford could rate ships' chronometers, and later began signaling noontime to the Halifax Citadel for the firing of the twelve o'clock gun which, in the early years, was intended to allow ships' masters to check their chronometers. The observatory continued these functions at various locations, and with two successors, until 1915.

Crawford was foremost a jeweller and watchmaker and will be recognized as the creator of some fine silver pieces in the Henry Birks Collection. Though no examples of Crawford instruments have been located, his advertisement in Cunnabell's *City Almanac* for 1842 states that he was a "chronometer, watch and clock maker" and he still advertised as such as late as 1864-65.<sup>29</sup> Until one of his chronometers can be inspected, however, it cannot be stated with any certainty that he was, in fact, manufacturing the instruments. Like Bond in the United States, it is more likely that he was assembling them from imported parts. His son, William, joined him in partnership, beginning in 1842, and was with him until at least 1858. William Sr. retired in 1865, when he sold the business to Robert Cogswell.

27 G.A. White, *Oalifax and Its Business* (Halifax, 1876), p. 50.

28 *Journals of the House of Assembly*, 1832, pp. 157, 275; and Vertical Manuscript File: Crawford, Wm., report on his petition, PANS.

29 Cunnabell's *City Almanac and General Business Directory* (Halifax, 1843), p. 101; Hutchinson's *Nova Scotia Directory*, 1864-5 (Halifax, 1864), opp. p. 108.

In Saint John, William Hutchinson was repairing and, according to his advertisements, making chronometers by ca. 1842 and perhaps earlier. He was a clockmaker who had emigrated from Londonderry, Ireland in 1819. After being in business with his brother, George, for fourteen years (1820-34), the partnership was dissolved. William's son, also George (b. 1825), joined him in 1840 and succeeded him in 1856. They, like Marsters and Crawford in Halifax, had a transit observatory for rating chronometers and, as clockmakers, were gradually drawn to repairing and, apparently, eventually to making chronometers.<sup>30</sup> But like Crawford, none of their instruments have been located, and thus it is impossible to determine the extent of their workmanship on such precision equipment. George Hutchinson Jr. later became director of the Saint John Observatory and Time Ball at its establishment in 1870, and was still in that position until at least 1885.<sup>31</sup>

William Crawford's successor in Halifax, Robert H. Cogswell (fl. 1865-1907) has been suspected as an instrument-maker on the basis of four signed specimens extant in Halifax (three are in the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic and a fourth is in a private collection); a fifth was sold in the United States in 1979. All these instruments are octants, and all but one are ebony with ivory scales. These were relatively inexpensive versions, similar in construction to British instruments of the mid-nineteenth century, and were primarily used in the coasting trade rather than on transatlantic voyages.

One of the instruments held in the Maritime Museum is signed "Crichton Bros. London made for R.H. Cogswell Halifax N.S." This gives us a starting point for investigating the other instruments with Cogswell's name. A second octant is virtually identical to an instrument recently offered for sale in the United States. The latter item is signed "Crichton London made for Nugent Wells, Newport"<sup>32</sup> as far as can be determined, Wells was only a dealer. The third, a brass-framed octant, is very similar in detail to a sextant in the author's collection signed by a maker in Liverpool, England.

30 *Hutchinson's Directory*, 1864-5, p. 727.

31 Malcolm M. Thompson, *The Beginning of the Long Dash. A History of Time Keeping in Canada* (Toronto, 1978), p. 22.

32 S. Moskowitz, *Historical Technologies Catalog 125* (Mugford, Mass., 1983), item 256; or *Catalog 128* (1985), item 204.

None of these instruments shows any indication of original design or workmanship. On the basis of these three examples, we can assume that Cogswell, at most, assembled octants from imported parts, although the similarity between the engraving on the Crichton octant and others signed only by Cogswell places even this conclusion in doubt: i.e. it appears that Crichton, as the maker, put Cogswell's name on at the point of manufacture.

Roger's *Photographic Advertising Album* of 1871 carries an advertisement for Cogswell which states that he was a "Chronometer, Watch and Nautical Instrument Maker."<sup>33</sup> This indicates his interest in timekeeping and timepieces (in addition to nautical instruments), an interest which carried over to maintenance of the observatory he had inherited from Crawford. It was used to determine local time astronomically for chronometer rating and he, like Crawford, supplied local time to the Citadel and to Cunard steamers of the Bermuda and Newfoundland lines. He was also in charge of the railway time and kept Halifax, Boston and Greenwich time on his astronomical clocks.<sup>34</sup>

The fact that he was a recognized authority and so well equipped to determine local standard time may be one reason that a time ball -- for the use of mariners and similar to the famous progenitor established in 1833 at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich -- was not constructed in Halifax at the same time as the one in Saint John. Money had been appropriated for the two structures in 1868, but it was a number of years before the Halifax time ball was established on the side of Citadel Hill. When Cogswell died ca. 1907, the transit observatory and the time signalling were taken over by Hedley V. McLeod. However, the spread of the telegraph soon made such observatories obsolete for determining local time, and McLeod ceased signaling twelve o'clock noon to the Citadel by 1915, although it was 1954 before the time ball was finally removed from the side of Citadel Hill.<sup>35</sup>

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33 J.S. Rogers, *Rogers' Photographic Advertising Album* (Halifax, 1871; reprinted Halifax, 1971), p. 101. A photo of Cogswell's premises at 155 Barrington appears on p. 100. A gentleman in shirt sleeves standing in the doorway may be Cogswell.

34 White, *Halifax and Its Business*, p. 90.

35 Thompson, *The Long Dash*, pp. 21-24, 30-31, 40-42.

As has been noted above, items with large volume sales, such as sextants, many not have been manufactured or even assembled by the firm whose name appears on the instrument. Wholesale companies supplied the trade in the nineteenth century, even signing the dealer's name or leaving a plate for the dealer to engrave himself. The largest such wholesaler was Spencer, Browning and Rust of London. They signed their higher-quality instruments "Spencer Browning Co. Ltd." but also sold octants and sextants with "SBR" simply engraved in script on the scale arc or marked in a less obvious spot. These items were then sold under the individual dealer's name.

A nineteenth-century firm with branches in Halifax and Saint John and operating under various names (A.M. Della Torre, fl. 1821-51; A.D. Della Torre, fl. 1844-71; and Della Torre and Rayner, fl. 1846), sold instruments purchased from such wholesalers. A couple of their octants may be found in the Maritime Museum; one is signed "Della Torre Halifax and St. John N.B." In addition, two spyglass telescopes in the Maritime Museum carry the Della Torre name, with one of them signed "St. Johns, N.B."

Optical instruments of this type would not have been manufactured in nineteenth-century Atlantic Canada, since neither the necessary optical glass nor the rolled brass tubing would have been easily available. Design considerations, particularly those of the octants, strongly support the assumption that these instruments were made in Britain. The scale shape, scale accuracy and frame shape of the two octants closely resemble those made by Spencer, Browning and Co. None of the Spencer Browning insignia or markings can be found on any of these four instruments, although it should be noted that the instruments have not been dismantled for inspection of hidden surfaces. Finally, the Della Torre advertisement in *Hutchinson's Directory* for 1864-65 plainly stated "musical, nautical and mathematical instruments from the first makers."<sup>36</sup> At that period the "first makers" were in London, thus supporting the above conclusion of British manufacture for the octants signed under the Della Torre name.

The only other Nova Scotian to have been identified as a possible professional instrument-maker was Carl Gustav Schulze (Schulz after 1917). In 1884 he emigrated from Germany to Halifax and the following year he was working as a jeweller. His career can be traced in the Halifax City directo-

36 *Hutchinson's Directory*, 1864-65, p. 738.

ries. Successively, he was a locksmith (1887-88) and watch-and chronometer-maker (1888-89). Again we must interpret this terminology and again, without evidence to the contrary, must conclude that he was assembling imported parts or making replacement parts for instruments he was repairing. From 1914 Schulze called himself a marine optician, suggesting that he made spyglass telescopes or at least ground the optical elements, and from 1917 to 1926 he traded under the name Halifax Nautical Instrument Co. Ltd. With his experience, it is possible that, as part of the war effort, he was assembling and adjusting instruments required for the navy, but in short demand because of the disruption to the London market.

A sextant with Schulze's name now in the Maritime Museum has a frame of the three-circle design made popular by William Heath and Henry Hughes and Son of London, ca. 1890 to ca. 1920. However, a serial number (6944) on the scale of the instrument is consistent with C. Plath's manufacture in Hamburg. Indeed, Schulze's German roots suggest that he may have preferred using German suppliers. Neither Heath nor Hughes appear to have used serial numbers on their instruments of this period. Furthermore, the configuration of the frame which swings the horizon glass filters over the scale, is again identical to the style used by Plath, and differs in that respect from the English instruments of the era. The *e* on Schulze's name suggests this particular instrument was pre-1917; furthermore, because the war would have stopped the import of German equipment, this instrument would then pre-date World War I.

Distinct from those whom we may loosely call professionals, there were individuals who made instruments for their own use, or simply to pass long winter nights. One particular instrument, the sundial, was a popular subject for the amateur maker in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, one frequently finds sundials made "one-off" by an amateur. An example made by Cornelius Tully is at the Ross Thomson House in Shelburne. Tully was an assistant surveyor to Benjamin Marston in the town during the Loyalist immigration of 1783-85.<sup>37</sup> This example is a brass dial inscribed "Shelburne 1786 fecit C. Tully." A more primitive pewter example, dated 1799, was made by one Jacob Calnek, a Hessian trooper who settled in Annapolis

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37 W.O. Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," Pt. 2, in *Proceedings of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, VIII (1909), 215, 233, 235.

County after the American Revolution; this dial is not among the exhibits at Fort Anne, in Annapolis Royal. Still another may be found at Fort Beauséjour, Aulac, New Brunswick. It is signed "F. Addison" -- perhaps a British soldier stationed there during or after the Seven Years' War. Dialing had been a favoured pastime for educated people during most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was often undertaken to demonstrate mathematical skills. The three examples above, however, are simple garden-type dials and show no particular mathematical ingenuity.

Although there appears to have been a small number of instrument-makers working in the Maritimes, their work was on a minor scale and, in the history of technology, relatively insignificant. However, we may conclude, with supporting evidence, that Nugent and Marsters made instruments of original design. Though Nugent is not known to have earned his living from his instrument-making, he may have lived comfortably from the proceeds earned from his sextant and compass patents. Marsters, on the other hand, clearly made instruments for sale in his shops in Halifax, New York and Windsor. It is unfortunate that more examples have not survived, since his work would appear to be the most interesting for an historian of technology. Crawford, Cogswell, Hutchinson and Schulze probably assembled imported parts and perhaps made some parts for instruments, but none of the identified specimens bearing their names suggests anything more. Perhaps, if further examples were to come to light, this view might be modified. Della Torre did nothing more than import instruments with the name already engraved.

We may ask how these activities compare with the provincial markets of England, Scotland and the United States. In Britain during the nineteenth century, the instrument trade was very strongly centred in London. Provincial trade flourished in some areas as a result of local patronage, but it appears that even with their larger population base, the majority of the instruments signed by British provincial makers originated in London. In the United States the situation was perhaps a bit different because of the political climate, and because there were times when the instrument trade with Britain was affected by trade restrictions and embargos. This forced Americans to make their own instruments -- a problem that Maritimers never encountered. A few Americans perhaps also saw such activities as an assertion of their independence.

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In the Maritimes, with a small population and nothing forcing the development of an instrument trade, it would appear that the nineteenth-century activities never fully developed beyond a subsidiary business of those engaged in the jewellery and watchmaking trades. However, the important contribution made to time services by these individuals, and provided in the absence of government departments charged with these duties, should not be overlooked. This was a dimension of their work not commonly required of their British contemporaries, but was nevertheless a natural extension of their activities.

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# "This Dark Vale of Sorrow"

Graeme Wynn

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In 1851, Abiel Brown was one of 1177 residents of Mount Thom in Pictou County.<sup>1</sup> A cordwainer, he lived with his wife Nancy and a growing family on a small holding. One of the 25 mechanics in this farming district, he had produced boots and shoes to the value of £150 in the preceding year. This was almost a quarter of the district's output, at a time when footwear was often repaired and not infrequently made by farmers working occasionally at their own lasts;<sup>2</sup> none of the three other leading manufacturers of boots and shoes in the district exceeded Brown's production. Indeed, few cordwainers in rural Pictou County produced more.

Yet the Browns did not depend upon Abiel's leatherworking skills alone. Their house and outbuilding stood on six acres of improved land. In 1850, that land had yielded oats (twenty bushels), turnips (twenty bushels), potatoes (fifteen bushels), barley (eight bushels) and buckwheat (six bushels), and sustained at least a couple of cattle. There was almost certainly, too, a kitchen garden from which many of the family's vegetables would have come. Further evidence of the subsistence component of the household economy is found in the small quantities of soap and candles manufactured, the 28 yards of unfulled cloth produced, and the one hundred pounds of butter churned in the Browns' kitchen. With seven children under twelve years of age, including an infant born in 1850, this was, inevitably, a busy household. Yet it was neither demographically nor economically exceptional in Mount Thom, where fully a third of the population was under ten years of age, and where most of the 194 families combined work on the land with a multitude of domestic chores to provide themselves a modest subsistence.

To be sure, Abiel and Nancy Brown had fewer material assets than most of their neighbours. In this community where two-thirds of the farms had twenty or more acres of cleared land, and the largest of them included sixty or seventy cultivated acres, the £40 valuation ascribed to the Browns'

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This article is an early product of research on the historical geography of mid-nineteenth-century Pictou County; the work has been supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

1 Unless otherwise noted, demographic and economic data for Mount Thom and the families discussed below are derived from the enumerators' returns for Polling District 9, Census of Pictou County 1851. Micro. Misc. "C" Reel 11B, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

2 As any survey of the 1851 census enumerators' returns reveals. See also [John Murray] *Journal of New Rhyne farm with the Daily Occurrences*, 1853, MG 100, Vol. 194, No. 16, PANS.

real estate was among the lowest in the district. Fewer than ten percent of Mount Thom properties were valued below £50. Nor had the Browns much personal property. The £5 against Abiel's name in the 1851 census was not an eighth of the mean value for Mount Thom families. Excepting the district's five paupers, the Browns were among the poorest of Mount Thom families; none of the other 172 ratepayers was assessed a smaller sum than the 9<sup>d</sup> Abiel contributed toward the County Rates in 1851.

Yet this family, captured at the margin of respectability by the census taker, was not without connections in the district.<sup>3</sup> Nancy Brown was the daughter of Donald and Jennet (McIntosh) Smith. Her father, born in Perthshire in 1761, had been buried in Mount Thom in 1845. Her mother (who would die at the age of 79 in 1852), apparently lived with Nancy's sister Graciella, the wife of Alexander Morrison. Another sister, Sarah, and her husband, Andrew Creighton, were neighbours of the Morrisons near the Mount Thom schoolhouse on the Truro road. With Donald and Elizabeth (Smith) Munro[e] nearby, and a fourth sister Abigail Sinclair, wife of John, little further away, a network of kin surrounded the Browns in Mount Thom. In 1851, the five households of Smith women included 39 people and three generations. Each family but the Browns had sizeable farms; the Creightons had forty acres improved, the others fifty. With real estate valued between £160 and £200, and personal property worth £60 to £90, the families of Nancy's sisters were among the substantially comfortable in the district.

We know little of Abiel's early years, and of his family circumstances. As a young man he was in the town of Pictou, perhaps learning but more likely practicing his craft.<sup>4</sup> In April 1840, probably shortly after his marriage to Nancy, he acquired his first property in Mount Thom with the purchase

3. This reconstitution of the Smith family is derived from *Pictou Observer*, 22 April 1834, p. 63 (marriage of Elizabeth and Donald Munro) and information collected from the Creighton Family cemetery, Mount Thom, by Henry Ritchie in 1956 (MG 5, Vols. 7-8, PANS). The inference that the widow Smith lived with the Morrisons derives from the census returns for District 9. Information about locations in Mount Thom comes primarily from the correlation of the census enumerators' returns with the A.F. Church & Co., *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Pictou County Nova Scotia...* (Halifax, 1867) and J.H. Meacham & Co., *Illustrated Atlas of Pictou County Nova Scotia...* (Philadelphia, 1879).

4. List of Sundry Debts and Balances due by Overseers of the Poor prior to 1829 and paid by George McKenzie and John Geddie, Overseers from the year 1828 to March 1834. Entry of payment to Abiel Brown, 8 July 1829. Pictou County, General Sessions of the Peace, Proceedings, January 1835, RG 34-318, P-9, PANS. A mortgage deed, Registry of Deeds, Pictou County, Vol. 24, p. 268, also lists "Abiel Brown of Pictou, Cordwainer" in 1840.

of approximately half an acre straddling the new road between Pictou and Truro.<sup>5</sup> In a manner common, if rarely as rewarding, in the nineteenth century, this £4 purchase was almost immediately mortgaged for three years to one Alexander Brown, for £40.<sup>6</sup> Although there is no further record of the mortgage, we know that Alexander Brown bought the property from Abiel and Nancy, for £60, in October 1842.<sup>7</sup> Apparently without real estate, Abiel Brown was not enumerated in the 1843 assessment of Pictou County.<sup>8</sup> Nor is any later acquisition of property by him recorded in the county deeds. We may presume that the land he occupied in 1851 was conveyed to him without formal registration, possibly by one of his wife's relations.

Further, we might speculate -- on the basis of no more substantial evidence than the desire Abiel harboured to visit West River, and the inflated price paid for his land in 1842 -- that he was a relative, perhaps a son, of Alexander Brown, a substantial farmer whose property lay some thirteen miles up the West River from Pictou. Several observations add credence to this speculation: the widow Jane Brown enumerated in this area in the 1871 census was of an age appropriate to have borne Abiel; Nancy and Abiel christened their first son Alexander; Mount Thom's only tannery (owned by William McLeod in 1851 and Alexander Creighton in the 1860s) was on the West River between the Ten and Twelve Mile Houses; two of the other leading shoemakers of Mount Thom in 1851 (Robert Brown and James Gass) lived in this vicinity; and one George Brown was a shoemaker in the area in the 1860s.<sup>9</sup>

In any event, it is clear that Abiel and Nancy Brown struggled to establish themselves and their young family during the 1840s. Without sufficient land to secure a subsistence and thus independence, and with children

5 Registry of Deeds, Pictou County, Vol. 24, p. 66 (10 April 1840).

6 *Ibid.*, p. 268 (5 June 1840).

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 820 (10 October 1842). When this property was sold under writ of execution from the Supreme Court in Halifax against an outstanding debt of Alexander Brown's, it brought £11 (Registry of Deeds, Pictou County, Vol. 37, p. 404).

8 RG 34-318, Series A, Vol. I, PANS.

9 Enumerators' return, Census of 1851, Polling District 9; Census of Canada 1871, Province of Nova Scotia, District 200, Pictou County (a) Mount Thom. RG 31, Vol. 1229, Public Archives of Canada. A.F. Church, *Map of Pictou County*.

arriving almost annually during the first four or five years of their marriage, and (with one longer interval) approximately two years apart thereafter until the birth of Abigail (their eighth child) in 1852,<sup>10</sup> they faced both uncertainty and material hardship. Yet unusual as this pattern seems to have been among their kin, the experience of Abiel and Nancy Brown was not uncommon in mid-nineteenth century Nova Scotia. The early child-bearing years were often the most difficult economic times for the families of farmers, fishermen, mechanics and town labourers alike. New mouths to feed and bodies to clothe had an appreciable effect on family budgets; mothers carrying babies and rearing young children had less time and energy for household chores and domestic production; in the longer run, successive pregnancies must have drained many a wife, both physically and emotionally. With time, however, the economic burden of youthful offspring might be expected to turn to advantage as children grew to contribute their labour to the daily round of toil. Then, families such as Abiel Brown's often found themselves in less-straitened economic circumstances.

For Abiel and Nancy this was not to be. Early in 1853, tragedy struck the Brown household. Both the *Eastern Chronicle* (15 February 1853) and the *Nova Scotian* (28 February 1853) recorded the circumstances:

DIED: Of dysentery at, Mount Thom, Pictou, on the 15th ult, Abigail, aged 5 months; on the 16th Alexander Hugh, aged 11 years; on the 19th, Daniel Smith, aged 7 years; on the 28th Elizabeth Sarah, aged 13 years; and on the 30th Mary Welsh, aged 14 years, all children of Mr. Abiel Brown of that place; also on the 28th, Nancy, his wife, aged 46 years.<sup>11</sup>

Thereafter, Abiel Brown disappears from the official record of Pictou County. We would know nothing of his subsequent fate were it not for the letter reprinted below, which he wrote to Andrew Creighton in 1861.<sup>12</sup> The docu-

<sup>10</sup> So far as I am able to reconstruct the Abiel and Nancy Brown family, I see it as follows: Mary Welsh, b. 1838; Elizabeth Sarah, b. 1839; Jennet, b. 1840; Alexander Hugh, b. 1841; John, b. 1843; Daniel Smith, b. 1845; Christy, b. 1850; and Abigail, b. 1852. Because precise birthdays are unknown, one or more of these births may have been early in the year after that suggested.

<sup>11</sup> Although this tragedy was exceptional, it should remind us that gastric disorders such as dysentery and diarrhea were a major cause of mortality, especially among the young in the early nineteenth century. See RG 32, Series WB, Vol. 44, Deaths, Pictou County, 1864-1877, PANS for further and later evidence.

<sup>12</sup> MG 1, Vol. 1070B, No. 27, Creighton Family Papers, Pictou County, PANS. The spelling and punctuation of the original have been retained here.

ment is of interest, not only for what it reveals of the time and place in which it was written, but also because it suggests something of the way in which the teachings of the pulpit were distilled into a simple faith that, for all its clichéd expression, undoubtedly sustained many a member of the Kirk of Scotland through adversity.

In Abiel Brown's recounting of the reasons for his departure from Mount Thom we obtain, too, a glimpse of the tensions and pressures, the judgments and prejudices that shaped life in the close rural communities of pre-Confederation Nova Scotia. The fate of Brown's business in Salisbury anticipated what the 1861 census of New Brunswick revealed: that the import of boots and shoes from the factories of New England had "materially affected" local production of these items in the province.<sup>13</sup> It also foreshadowed the impact of improved transportation on innumerable communities and businesses across the Maritimes. And although they were earlier, and in a sense less voluntary, than those of most of the countless Nova Scotian migrants to New England, Abiel Brown's experiences, and his reactions to them -- the surprise at prices, the search for better opportunities, the hankering for home -- were probably not atypical of circumstances encountered and feelings expressed by many who participated in the late-nineteenth-century exodus from the Maritime provinces.<sup>14</sup>

Portland Maine Feb 12th 1861

I have for some years past been very/ Desirous to hear from my former Friends/ which I still hold as warm and dear to me/ as in days gone by but being somewhat/ Discouraged by getting no answers from those/ to whom I wrote caused me (reluctantly) to/ be silent but being very anxious to hear/ from you all and especially from Mrs/ Crighton I am resolved to write beliv-ing/ in due time to recive your answer/ giving me information of the prosperi-ty/ and adversity of my former Friends and/ acquaintance and also of public affairs of/ intrest the railroad from Truro to Pictou/ and the State of times ginerally I would/ like to hear who your representatives is/ I will yet (if per-mited) see you all at some/ futer day I am still extending my worldly/ pil-

13 C.A. Everett and J.S. Beck, "Compilers' Report," Census of the Province of New Brunswick, 1861, in *Journals of the House of Assembly, New Brunswick, 1862*, App. p. 5.

14 See A.A Brookes, "The Golden Age and the Exodus: The Case of Canning, Kings County," *Acadie-n-sis*, XI, 1 (1981), 57-82.

grimage over the face of the earth and/ still wishing to sittle down and rome no more// Jennet has been very earnest for me to write/ and says she would wrote long since if I had/ not so often promised we have not made/ much of our travling as yeat as for our/ coming to Portland it has hapned the trade/ came down directly after we came and it/ was the same way in Monkton N-B just/ after I came into it Still kind providence/ builds the Back to bair the burden; yet we murmur/ my chief object in coming to the States is to/ get John to learn tanning and Curreing in/ the new Sistem and that Jennet may get/ more perfected as a Tayloress and various other/ improvements before we return to Nova Scotia but/ according to the State of things at present we/ are doubtfull how we may succeed for/ the nation is compleatly divided against/itself and if a compromise is not quickly/ effected a distructive conclusion must be/ the result but we are many hundred miles/ from the seat of war but it makes/ very bad times even here but we can go back// now I will give a few of the out lines/ concerning my proceedings in years past, a few/ months after coming to Monkton I went into/ a tannery on a very advantageous lay and/ thought to make very well by it but the/ man faild in keeping stock then I went to/ shoemaking on weages; next up to Salisbury for/ three months on weages; the employer gave up then I bought/ his Stock and imployments and proceeded with/ the buisness on my own responsibility and/ done very well untill the rail road was/ completed I then sold of all and/ came to Portland and am working on/ weages which is very small and can scarcely/ get imployment but it is thought times/ will begin to get better in March if not/ we must remove worse than we came/ we cannot get a house fit for us to live in for/ less than eighty Dollars yearly and fire wood is/ Seven Dollars a cord provision is high Butter/ 25 cents/ per lb Beef 8 cents pork 12 cents potatoes 75 cents flour/ \$7 pr Barrel eggs 26 cents pr Doz judge ye by these// I have not been out into the interiour of/ the country but when Spring opens I intend to/ go out some distance into country Towns and/ vilages and if I can establish myself in/ Buisness to advantage I will for a time/ if I cannot get into a tanning establishm/ent taking John with me and if I fail gitting/ in myself I will try to get him in to learn/ curreing but by the time I will be answering/ your letter perhaps I can give you some/ better information he has grown a stout/boy and is industrious and can work well/ at Shoemaking and has not taken up/ any bad habits which the excitements/ of a City life is so prone to for here/ is every inticement to draw the mirthfull/ mind into a Snare we have all been in/ a good state of health since we arrived here/ I pray it may so continue when the/ warm Season comes in they say it is/ not much warmer here than in New/ Brunswick at all events I believe it/ to be the most healthy part in the States// Dear Frinds

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you no doubt wonder at my/ roving about for I often do my self; and/ meditate repeating to myself that the wicked/ is like the troubled Sea and such like/ pasages and again this work is not my/ home; not that I desire to leave it but/ desireing to be clensed and pardned and/ goodly knoledge and Grace engrrafted into/ my heart and not me alone but all/ those of my household and those that/ Truly Believe in the Spirit of truth and/ Sacred writings of the inspired which is/ to us a Guide and a light to pass thrugh/ this Dark vale of Sorrow; and Strength to/ uphold us thrugh adversity and be/ reivement the Back is made acording/ to the Burden and you know I have been/ chastened sore and I trust the rod has/ not been aplied in vain for in all this/ I have hope for he Chastineth whom/ he loveth and the poor is incoraged and/ it is written he that cometh to me I will in no wise Cast out// I still remember the time of my/ great affliction and my inability/ To withstand the Shock in a firm and/ thoughtfull manner but by endevouring/ to speak geustingly my expresions was/ out of place and so gave chance to some/ to make remarks but above all I/ remember the earnest interest of my/ Friends and neighbours offering up their/ petitions in our behalf for which I/ acknoledge myself ever thankfull/ and greatfull while I retain my reason/ & c I feel as I would be delighted to be/ a short time with you and others on/ Mount Thom and west River but I trust/ I shall yet see you I have seen/ James Morrison in Salisbury about/ eighteen months ago I invited him to/ come to My house but he promised but/ did not come I would have much pleasure/ in peacful- ly inquiring of him on various/ matters which I would not inscribe with/ pen and paper & // now I will give you some Discription of the/ City of portland it is closly built three and a/half miles in length with Broad Streets and/ Splended Buildings and brick side walks and/ handsomly aranged with large oak elms/ and horse chesnuts planted on all the Best/ streets its breath is about a mile with a/ good harbour and a very Considerable/ number of factoreys of various kinds/ and some small viliages within sight of/ some parts of the City and three Diferent/ rail roads for running on out of it one of them is/ calld the grand trunk which reaches Quebeck/ it is a very hansome place in the sumer/ this winter we have about four feet/ of Snow but the weather is very/ moderate except the 7-8 and 9 of this present/ month stood 18 degrees below zero on the/ themometer which is not common here/ if I remain all Sumer here I must/ have [a] Novascotia paper eather from/ Halifax [ms. torn] Pictou weekly// now to come to a conclusion that I may/ not weary you with my Scribel I hope/ you will answer me soon you may/ Direct Abiel Brown Portland Maine/ Congress Street No 242 to the Care of Doctor/ Wright

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and by so doing it will be Safe/ my wife wishes to be rembered to you<sup>15/</sup> in friendship Jenney and John talks much of/ their Aunts and Uncles and would be/ remembered in warm terms of affection/ to each and all relations and enquiring friends/ remember me to my former true Friends/ Hugh Fraser and his wife and family/ I wish you to believe I still retain as/ warm a feeling of friendship to you all/ as formerly my respects to John/ Sinclar and his wife and family Peace/ be with you all here below and after/ passing over I wish you endless happyness/

Affectionately yours  
Abiel [Bro]wn

Jennet would [ms. torn] [kn]ow where Nancy McKay is.

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15 Abiel seems to have remarried in Mount Thom. The interment of Christy, his seventh child by Nancy, in the Creighton Family Plot in 1856 further suggests that his departure was not immediate in 1853.

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# Summerfield, a Coach Inn

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M. Noreen E. Gray

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The dusty stagecoach pulled by six tired bays makes its way along the winding wooded road. Suddenly the lead horse raises his head, nostrils a-quiver. Quickly the excitement is transmitted through the ranks; with complete disregard for their lumbering burden, the horses break into a headlong gallop, thoughts of fresh hay, water and bed foremost in their minds. Inside the coach, drowsy passengers straighten in their seats, clutching the worn leather straps to retain their balance as the vehicle pitches precariously over logs and boulders. A drummer wipes the thick layer of dust from a window with his faded handkerchief. The wooded road has given way to large green fields. The coach plunges on over the crest of a hill. There is a hush inside as the passengers catch their breath.

Straight ahead to the west, the sky is tinted a deep crimson. The sun, a vast ball of fire, seems to be sinking into the black velvet surface of the lake. Here and there, flecks of gold twinkle as a wave crests. On a small island near shore, a giant pine silhouetted black against the sky, stands solitary sentinel. Just as the passengers begin to feel uneasy that horses, coach and all are about to plunge headlong into this scene, the road veers sharply to the right, running between terraced orchards white with apple blooms. Beyond, buildings begin to appear like mushrooms. Some crouch behind wind breaks of Balm of Gilead, others peer out from the shelter of the high stone cliff which extends to the lake shore.

The coach is swallowed into momentary darkness as it enters a covered bridge separating the large inn from the carriage house. Here, amid much snorting and blowing from the horses and "whoa's" from the driver, the coach comes to rest. Doors of the vehicle are thrown open by the cheerful innkeeper, who greets regular travellers by first name. Luggage collected, and staggering slightly on stiff legs, the passengers make their way through a side door into the main room of the inn. The mouth-watering aroma of fresh bread precedes the innkeeper's wife as she arrives flushed from the kitchen. Greetings and pleasantries passed, guests are shown to their rooms by two bucksome lasses bearing large pitchers of warm wash-water and towels.

Upon entering the small, neat rooms, many a tired passenger is tempted to sink into the soft, feather-ticked beds covered with bright homemade

quilts. White cotton curtains flutter in the breeze of the open windows. The air is heavy with the drowsy drone of bees returning from the honey-house, and the clink of metal on metal from the nearby blacksmith shop. Toilettes finished, guests begin reappearing in the main room. Here a party of fishermen staying at the inn display their day's catch of trout and grayling. Their discourse on "the big one that got away" is interrupted by a call to the dining room for dinner.

If you think you have been reading the introduction to a western novel -- you are wrong. This is an account of an average day at Summerfield, a famous Nova Scotian road-house of the 1800s. Summerfield was situated 25 miles outside the city of Halifax, on the eastern shore of Grand Lake. This inn was a popular stopover point on The Old Post Road which made up part of the main overland coach route to Truro and Pictou.

Summerfield was more than just a coach inn. The estate, which covered some 250 acres, was in its day a self-contained complex. A sketch from the mid-1800s shows twelve units, comprising the inn, tavern, countryman's barn, stables, coach-house, boat-house, ice-house, blacksmith shop, honey-house and smaller cottages for the help. There was also a tannery situated on a nearby brook, while for outdoor entertainment, quoits and skittle alleys were provided.<sup>1</sup> Food served from the Summerfield kitchen came straight from the garden: fruit from its orchards, fresh milk and eggs from its livestock and poultry. One would imagine the menu often featured fresh trout and bass from Grand Lake, as well.

The original deed, still intact (on linen cloth), shows Summerfield as having been established in 1819 by James Donaldson, Esq., a Halifax merchant.<sup>2</sup> Over the next fifty years Summerfield flourished, for it was during this period that stagecoach travel reached its peak. Through the years the property saw not only changes in ownership, but also changing trends in travel.

From 1823, Summerfield was operated by the Shultz family.<sup>3</sup> That Mrs. Shultz was a "chef extraordinaire" is apparent from the many references

1 Original sketch of Summerfield complex, in possession of Nancy MacDonald (a member of the Nichols family), Windsor Junction, Halifax County, Nova Scotia.

2 Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Vol. 46, p. 286. Original deed in possession of Nancy MacDonald.

3 Donaldson to Shultz, 1823, Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Vol. 46, p. 477.

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to her fine table to be found in the diaries of such distinguished travellers as Joseph Howe, Sir John A. Macdonald<sup>4</sup> and John James Audubon, the famous ornithologist and artist. Joseph Howe mentioned with regret his sampling of Mrs. Shultz's fine cuisine on a visit to the inn during 1829: "At Shultz Inn on Grand Lake you make a short stay, and from the neat and tasty appearance of the house, and everything about it, you regret that you cannot stay longer."<sup>5</sup> It appears from Audubon's diary, dated 24 August 1833, that this gentleman also enjoyed his stay at the inn: "This morning had breakfast at Shultz Inn on Grand Lake, food plentiful and tastefully prepared by the cheerful proprietress."

This versatile inn not only serviced the stagecoach trade but also catered to private parties, which were a large part of the social scene of the day. From the *Acadian Recorder* dated 4 January 1847 comes this account: "The Axe Firemen of Halifax enjoyed an exhilarating sleigh ride to Shultz Inn at Grand Lake returning through Dartmouth in Hiram Hyde's mammoth Tea Party Sleigh with six in hand and colors flying."

In the mid-1800s, Summerfield suffered two severe set-backs. The first was a fire which razed the inn and damaged other buildings. A new structure was built just south of the original inn. The second was the railroad which pushed through to Grand Lake in 1857 and cut the inn off from the lake. The railway did make certain concessions, such as a large tunnel which was built under the tracks to allow horses access to the lake for water. Also, a platform was constructed in front of the inn, which allowed passengers alighting from the train direct entry to the establishment.

With the ever-extending railway, however, the need for these overnight stops was coming to an end. The inn had to rely more heavily on social excursions, picnics and sportsmen for its survival. That it did survive and continue is apparent from the advertisement placed in the *Acadian Recorder* by the proprietor of this period, one Stephen O. Pollock.<sup>6</sup>

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4 Local tradition claims that Macdonald made a brief stop at Summerfield on 11 August 1868, on his way by rail to Pictou.

5 *Novascotian* (Halifax), 31 December 1829.

6 Shultz to Pollock, 1850, Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Vol. 95, p. 387.

Eighth of June 1858  
Summerfield -- Grand Lake Inn

The Subscriber will be prepared on the approaching Holiday to accomodate parties seeking recreation and amusement. He has a first rate Skittle Alley, Quoit grounds and Boats on Grand Lake. There is good trout fishing near the Inn. The Proprietor will do all in his power to render the day a pleasant one to all who may patronize him. The trains will stop for this day at the platform in front of the Inn and excursion tickets up and back will be only 3s.9d.

In 1860, Summerfield was purchased by George Nichols and took on an additional role as Grand Lake's first post office.<sup>7</sup> Since this time, Summerfield has remained in the Nichols family. It was passed down to a grandson, Louis MacDonald, and most recently the property was occupied by Helen (Hawboldt) MacDonald, until her death in August 1983. An avid gardener, Mrs. MacDonald did much to retain the orchards, and her rock gardens ablaze with colour were a source of enjoyment to passersby.

This will probably be Summerfield's last year. Not much of its former glory remains. The old stagecoach road and large fields are partly grown over in bushes. Sunken foundations mark the sites of the first inn and other buildings. The terraced orchards, with a few surviving fruit trees, remain, as does a large double-story house dating from 1860 (post office and second inn), keeping its lonely vigil over Grand Lake, where the spectacular sunsets remain unchanged: "Evening red and morning grey sets the traveller on his way." The travellers from this colourful era have long since finished their journeys, leaving Summerfield to face an uncertain future.

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7 Pollock to Nichols, 1860, in *ibid.*, Vol. 97, p. 158.

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# The History of the Nova Scotia Railway

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Annie W. Wallace

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The history of the Nova Scotia Railway would be incomplete without paying tribute to the one who made it possible. That man was Joseph Howe, son of Loyalist printer John Howe, who brought his family from Massachusetts to Halifax after the American Revolution, in order to live under the flag of Great Britain.

Joseph Howe, born in Halifax in 1804, was a well-educated young man, one who put his people and his country ahead of his own interests. A great orator, journalist and champion of justice for all, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1836. Representing Halifax, he fought successfully for the principles of responsible government, giving Nova Scotia in 1848 the distinction of being the first colony in the old British Empire to form and have basic control of its own government.

Howe, wishing to know the people of his province better, travelled extensively by horseback during the 1830s, in order to meet and talk with the rural population, especially farmers, and to hear of their concerns and needs. At that time, roads were mere paths, and only horse-drawn carts were used in delivery service when taking provisions to Halifax to feed the populace there. Long hours were spent on the road, so that often, much of the produce was unfit for consumption upon arrival.

After conversing with the men and understanding their concerns, Howe became convinced that only a railroad would ease their troubles. As early as 1835, he first suggested the importance of a railway connecting Halifax with Windsor, the bread basket of the capital city. During the following years, however, Howe's growing involvement with governmental concerns left him little time to pursue railway schemes.

Public interest continued, nevertheless, and during the 1840s, various routes and projects were debated by both government and private industry. Much interest was expressed in a projected line running from Halifax through the Annapolis Valley, with a steamer connection to New Brunswick and Maine. It was generally felt, however, that the most advantageous route lay through Nova Scotia from Halifax to the New Brunswick border, with the hope that this would be the beginning of a transcontinental railroad linking the British North American colonies.

By the late 1840s, interest in Howe's old idea of a rail link between Halifax and Windsor had been revived, since it was recognized that regardless of which route was finally selected for the trunk railway, branch lines would be essential components. In 1847 a motion was passed in the House of

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Assembly, authorizing the government to employ competent persons to survey the country between Halifax and Windsor, to ascertain if a practicable line could be developed. Joseph Howe was among the government officials appointed to a commission charged with making arrangements. George Wightman, a self-taught engineer who was familiar with the countryside, was selected to oversee the survey and, with others, spent the summer of 1848 running trial lines and collecting information on the proposed 32-mile route between Halifax and Windsor.

In 1850, Howe moved a resolution pledging from the provincial revenues a sum equal to the estimated amount required (£330,000) to construct the Halifax-Windsor line. Since this project was regarded as part of a much larger scheme for a trunk railway, the final route of which remained undecided, and since financing for none of the proposals had yet been guaranteed, a prolonged political debate followed. Enabling legislation was not passed until 1854, when the Halifax-Windsor line was finally authorized, as part of the Nova Scotia Railway.

By the passing of this legislation, the government was committed to the construction of three lines. The first was a trunk line to Truro and then on to the New Brunswick border, to link up with any intercolonial railroad which the other provinces might construct. The second was the long-discussed line from Halifax to Windsor, later to be continued through the Annapolis Valley. The third was a branch to Pictou from the main Truro line; it was authorized in order to secure the export of coal from the Albion Mines and other collieries of that area, during winter months when the Northumberland Strait was closed by ice. The trunk line to Truro was to be constructed first.

These works were to be built under the supervision of six commissioners; the funds were to be raised by the issue of twenty-year debentures at 6% interest, against which the provincial revenues were pledged. No more than £200,000 was to be spent annually. On 2 April 1854, Howe resigned his office of provincial secretary to become chairman of the Railway Board, with an annual salary of £700; he retained his Assembly seat. With him on the Board was the Honourable Jonathan McCully, as well as William Pryor, Perez Cunningham, John H. Anderson and Thomas S. Tobin, Esquires.

The legislation provided that the lines were to be built by tender and contract. Rights of way were given over individual properties, streams, roads,

etc.; damages were to be valued by appraisers; and both damages and fencing expenses were to be paid by the counties concerned. James Forman, a Scotsmen, was the chief engineer and also the general superintendent of construction. He would judge the work as it was completed, and no work would be paid for until he certified that it had been well performed.

Tenders for grading around Bedford Basin were called in May 1854; work was to begin at the Governor's North Farm in Richmond, in the north end of Halifax, and terminate at Nine Mile River, a distance of 6½ miles. Tenders were in by 4 June, and the contract went to a Pictou group, who were to have grading completed and ready for superstructure by 8 October at a rate of £3527 per mile.

The first sod was turned at Richmond on 13 June 1854, and by the end of the year sections of the line had been completed as far as the present-day community of Windsor Junction, where the line to Windsor branched off from the main trunk to Truro. Hackmatack sleepers ten feet long were used in preparing the roadbed for the heavy rails, which each weighed 63 lbs. per yard, and were shipped from Wales. The guage of the road was five feet, six inches.

The first locomotive, *The Mayflower*, was built in Massachusetts and arrived in January 1855. A trial run was made over the first four miles of track in February. On 8 June the Nova Scotia Railway opened for operation from Richmond to Nine Mile River; in honour of the occasion, a great banquet was held at the Nine Mile House, on the shores of Bedford Basin.

On 21 September 1855, the first accident occurred, when the morning train from Sackville struck a horse on the track. The locomotive, tender and two baggage cars went off the rails and over a twenty-foot embankment. The passenger cars stayed on the track, but the horse was killed, the engineer's face was cut, the fireman's legs were scalded, and the locomotive was wrecked. It was subsequently decided that fencing regulations had not been adequately enforced in this case; as a result, all speeds were reduced, the lines were properly fenced, and watchmen were stationed at the crossings. Service on the line was forced to cease until the fall, when two new locomotives, the *Sir Gaspard Le Marchant* and the *Joseph Howe*, arrived from Greenock, Scotland.

For the next three years, work on both the branch line to Windsor and the trunk line to Truro proceeded regularly. The railroad had reached Bedford in July 1855. The 23 miles from Windsor Junction to Windsor

were completed in late 1857; the first locomotive over the line ran on 30 December, but the run was deemed unsatisfactory. The line was officially opened on 3 June 1858, when the first full train left Halifax at 7:30 a.m. and arrived in Windsor at 11 a.m. The whole town turned out to greet it. On the return run, the train left Windsor at 3 p.m. and arrived in Richmond at 6 p.m. A holiday was declared on 8 June in Halifax, with festivities held in both communities. During the course of the day, Joseph Howe was presented with £1,000 and a complimentary address in appreciation of his great service to Nova Scotia.

Meanwhile, construction of the trunk line to Truro proceeded at a similar pace. The tracks reached Grand Lake (23 mi.) in January 1857; Elmsdale (30 mi.) in January 1858, Milford and Shubenacadie (39 mi.) in March 1858, and Truro (61 mi.) on 15 December 1858. Joseph Howe's dream had been brought to fruition.

The completion of the trunk line to Truro and the branch to Windsor had not been achieved, however, without tremendous cost, delay and political argument. Construction difficulties had been highlighted by labour problems, culminating in the Gourley Shanty riots of 1856, when Protestant and Catholic workmen did battle against each other. Meanwhile, plans for the Pictou extension of the line remained stalled. As a result of the continuing political debate, James Laurie, a civil engineer, was commissioned by the government in 1857 to present an independent report on the state of the Nova Scotia Railway.

In his presentation, Laurie cited various instances of poor planning and construction on both lines, and also criticized the financial administration of the railway during the construction phase. He noted as well such unavoidable delays as those caused by the loss of the barque *Glide*, which sank in a storm on the Bay of Fundy while en route to Windsor, laden with 195 tons of rails, chairs and spikes.

According to Laurie's report, tabled early in 1858, rolling stock on the line at that time included seven locomotives; six eight-wheel passenger cars; one eight-wheel second-class and mail car; four eight-wheel covered merchandise cars; 31 eight-wheel platform cars; one four-wheel merchandise car; five eight-wheel covered horse cars; three eight-wheel cattle and sheep cars; two four-wheel ballast cars; one snowplow; and four handcars. Laurie reported that the main line to Truro had been completed at a cost of

£644,864.4s.11d., or £10,536.19s.11d. per mile. The branch to Windsor had cost £380,002.2s.3½d., or £12,025.7s.6d. per mile.

It was hoped that with the lines now operational, a surge of business -- and resulting profits -- would justify the years of political argument, as well as the problems encountered during the planning and construction stages. By 1859 the whole road was in good working order. In addition, tariffs had been fixed at the lowest possible rates, in order to attract business; accordingly, the volume of timber, cordwood, plaster and bricks carried on the line was increasing. Two trains daily ran between Halifax and Windsor, except during the winter months, when the service was reduced to one train daily.

With a change in government in February 1860, the Board of Commissioners was abolished and the Honourable Jonathan McCully became the sole Railway Commissioner. As well, principal stations were equipped with the telegraph, and rates were increased three cents per mile. A highlight of that year was the visit of H.R.H. Prince Edward, the Prince of Wales, who journeyed on the train, and on his departure, gave £20 to be divided among the employees.

Meanwhile, the branch line to Pictou remained unrealized. After much political debate, enabling legislation was finally passed in April 1864, and ground was broken on 30 November. Sir Sandford Fleming was instrumental in the construction of this line, firstly as chief railway engineer, and then as contractor. His innovative management and determination to bring the project in on time and within budget led to the successful completion of the Pictou extension by 31 May 1867, at a cost of \$2,321,567.98.

In the years preceding Confederation, both branches of the Nova Scotia Railway had increased their revenues, and always showed a surplus. The profits were never great, however, since the scheme for an intercolonial connection was slow in developing, and the two lines in operation in Nova Scotia merely connected scattered communities in a geographically isolated province. The last report for the railway covered the nine months preceding 1 July 1867, during which time revenue amounted to \$22,699.36.

At the time of Confederation, the Nova Scotia Railway became part of the developing network of railroads falling under the domain of the federal government. Regardless of its subsequent importance within this national system, the Nova Scotia Railway remained the pivotal point for future rail-

road development within the province. Even today, it can be viewed as an enduring tribute to Joseph Howe, the man who first envisioned its utility and championed its cause.

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# Joe Howe: Faithful to the Nova Scotia Cause

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Robert H. Pineo

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A bitter day came to many of the followers of Mr. Howe in 1869, when for reasons which have been amply set forth, he felt it necessary to accept confederation and take a seat in the government of Sir John Macdonald.<sup>1</sup>

In 1867, Joseph Howe was strongly set against Confederation. During that year, he attended a delegation to England to try and stop the passage of the British North America Act. His efforts failed.

He returned home and became a devoted member of the anti-confederation or repeal movement. In 1868, the movement pressed for an Act of Repeal. This act would provide for Nova Scotia to leave Confederation legally and form a separate national identity within the British Empire, with British institutions.

Howe and his companions took this tentative act to London in the late autumn of 1868 for ratification. The British government would have nothing to do with the scheme. Howe then returned home, knowing the act would fail. Upon returning home, Howe immediately began negotiations with Sir John A. Macdonald and his minister of finance, Sir John Rose. These talks were aimed at reconciliation between Nova Scotia and Canada.

Howe realized that "any further appeal to England would be fruitless and vain," so he strove to achieve better terms for Nova Scotia: ". . . we failed to accomplish the repeal of the [British North America] Act, so we should endeavor to modify and improve it. . . as would make it more acceptable to the people of Nova Scotia."<sup>2</sup> In order to achieve this, Howe found it necessary to become a cabinet member in the Macdonald government. It was this career move which many people criticized, accusing him of selling out to Macdonald and abandoning the Anti-Confederation League. The accusations are untrue for four main reasons.

First, Howe fought hard for Nova Scotia when he went to Ottawa. He fought for financial concessions and merely traded his support for these considerations.

Second, he was very patriotic and loyal to Great Britain. He realized that status changes for Nova Scotia must take place within the British Empire,

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1. J.W. Longley, "Joseph Howe," in *Makers of Canada Series*, ed. W.L. Grant, VIII (London and Toronto, 1926), 276.

2. G.A. Rawlyk, "Joseph Howe: Opportunist? Man of Vision? Frustrated Politician?" in *Issues in Canadian History*, ed. Morris Zaslow (Toronto, 1967), p. 110.

and could not agree with the alternatives: war, isolation, or annexation. Events had progressed too far and radical ideas had begun to develop -- ideas that could prove very dangerous. Solidifying relations between Nova Scotia and Canada would, in Howe's estimation, remedy this.

Third, Joseph Howe was loyal to the people of Nova Scotia. His whole political career was spent fighting for the rights and well-being of the common people. Wherever he went and whatever he did, he always returned home for their support. He was a man of principle and could not be compromised by a better deal in Ottawa. He merely went there to be of best advantage to Nova Scotians, as opposed to going to Ottawa for personal gains.

Fourth, most of the controversy about his "selling-out" stems from his former colleagues, who perceived that he had abandoned their cause and gone to Ottawa only to reap personal benefits. It was their jealousy that hurt Howe's reputation. He was an honourable man. He left the anti-confederates only when he realized he could do more for Nova Scotia by being a member of Macdonald's government. This was when he was accused of selling out.

Upon returning home from the second delegation in 1868, Howe "set about getting the best terms for Nova Scotia within Confederation."<sup>3</sup> He figured that the British Parliament would not repeal the British North America Act and allow Nova Scotia to leave Confederation. Sir John A. Macdonald, in turn, was still worried that Nova Scotia would leave Confederation. He needed the province as part of his scheme to attract much-needed foreign investment for the Intercolonial Railway.

Howe realized this and subsequently realized how valuable his support was. He talked to Macdonald about concessions to be made to Nova Scotia if he, Howe, would change his support for Confederation:

Largely as a result of Howe's efforts, Macdonald's government went to some lengths to 'ally the discontent.' By the end of January, 1869, negotiations were to the point where Howe felt that he could, with good conscience accept office under Macdonald... that he could better serve Nova Scotia from within the government than by harassing it from without.<sup>4</sup>

3 H.R. Percy, *Joseph Howe* (Toronto, 1976), p. 57.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Soon after Howe made these policy changes, the news from London arrived. It was just as Howe had predicted:

The overdue dispatch finally arrived on 30 January, 1869 and it contained the anticipated rejection of repeal. On that same day, Macdonald announced that Howe had accepted a Cabinet position as president of the Privy Council and revealed the terms of concessions to Nova Scotia.<sup>5</sup>

Howe then started his plan for concessions in trade in return for his support. In addition to the pressure he applied on Macdonald, the British Parliament also applied pressure on the Canadian government. This was mainly a result of the efforts of Howe and the second delegation:

In the dispatch which the Duke of Buckingham addressed to Lord Monk in July last, while distinctly refusing to repeal the Act of Union, he threw upon the Canadian Ministers the obligation to inquire into the working of that Act, with a view to such modifications and changes as would make it more acceptable to... Nova Scotia.<sup>6</sup>

Howe thus became a minister in the federal government. He went to Ottawa and left the anti-confederation movement without a leader, all of which he did "in return for a revision of the financial terms of the union."<sup>7</sup>

Sir John A. Macdonald was not unaware of the difficulties posed by Howe's reversal in policy, and wrote him that:

We will have our own difficulties with the General Parliament in carrying any concessions. Already has George Brown through the *Globe*, protested against pecuniary advantages being given to Nova Scotia, beyond those secured to them by the Act of Union.... This course will not at all deter us from agreeing to what is reasonable, and staking our existence upon it... whatever you agree upon....<sup>8</sup>

This letter points out that Howe could name the concessions he wanted for Nova Scotia: "whatever you agree upon." It also points out that the

5 Kenneth G. Pryke, *Nova Scotia and Confederation 1864-74* (Toronto, 1979), p. 84.

6 Rawlyk, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

7 W.L. Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada* (Toronto, 1963), p. 332.

8 H.H. Herstein, L.T. Hughes and R.C. Kirbyson, *Challenge and Survival*, p. 248.

concessions gained would be for Nova Scotia -- no mention of personal gain: "advantages being given to Nova Scotia."

The first major concession given to Nova Scotia was an increase in the annual grant: "the annual grant budgetary deficit be met by a special annual grant of \$82,689, to be paid for ten years from the date of union."<sup>9</sup> In addition to the aforementioned sum of money, Howe fought for more money for other provincial projects, such as roads, bridges and public works.

These better terms which Howe fought for were an alternative to heavier taxation. The provincial government would have to tax the public much more heavily. He realized that he could lessen these burdens by his seat in the federal government. In a speech to fellow Nova Scotians, Howe said:

Apart from the personal question, you have got now to decide whether Nova Scotia shall raise £40,000 a year by direct taxation, or whether by the negotiation, ratified by the Canadian Parliament, our roads and bridges and other public services shall be amply provided for without any such necessity.<sup>10</sup>

Howe respected the feelings of his fellow Nova Scotians. He knew the system of taxation used by Ottawa would be unfair to Nova Scotia, since it was done on a per capita basis and based on Canadian, not Maritime, incomes. He fought this point in his negotiations:

In his talks with Rose, Howe expounded the argument popular with many Nova Scotians, that the method used by the federal government of merely totalling the liabilities, without any allowance for the earning power of the assets taken over from the provinces, was basically unjust.<sup>11</sup>

Howe strove to have this problem corrected, and was successful in having Nova Scotia's debt allowance increased to \$9,040,439.<sup>12</sup>

These provisions have proven that Joseph Howe was sincere in his motive for accepting a seat in Macdonald's cabinet. In order to gain these con-

9 Pryke, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

10 Rawlyk, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

11 Pryke, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

cessions for Nova Scotia, he had to join the federal government. In a later speech, he stated:

In August last [1868] the Premier [Sir John A. Macdonald] offered me a seat in his cabinet. That offer was renewed and pressed upon me again in October. But I felt that it would be time enough to think of honors and emolument for myself when I had tested the sincerity of his professions to do justice to my country. . . . he did do justice. . . .<sup>13</sup>

The only way that Parliament would ratify Howe's demands was to have some "assurance that the repeal movement would cease."<sup>14</sup> Macdonald knew "the only substantial guarantee he could give to his colleagues was the presence of Mr. Howe in his Cabinet."<sup>15</sup> This is the reason why Macdonald pressed Howe to take a seat in government. If Howe was in his government, the repeal movement would be dead without a leader.

This is where the "trade" took place. Sir John A. Macdonald wanted Howe in his cabinet. Howe wanted the aforementioned concessions for Nova Scotia. He then joined Macdonald's government and his terms were approved.

The second reason why Howe joined Macdonald was his love for the British Empire:

Howe, a persistent opponent of Confederation, was a staunch imperialist and an adamant foe of annexation. He insisted that changes in Nova Scotia's status take place within the British Empire. Therefore, he decided upon a course of collaboration with the Dominion government.<sup>16</sup>

Howe once said, "I wish to live and die a British subject, but not a Briton only in name."<sup>17</sup> By this he meant that he would never do anything to jeopardize Nova Scotia's status within the Empire. He always maintained

13 J. Murray Beck, ed., *Joseph Howe: Voice of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1964), p. 197.

14 Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

15 *Ibid.*

16 Herstein, Hughes and Kirbyson, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

17 *Novascotian* (Halifax), 23 February 1827.

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"the fact that they [Nova Scotians] must receive their full rights of manhood within the Empire."<sup>18</sup>

Howe realized, however, that if Nova Scotia did leave Confederation, she would also have to leave the British Empire. Although he wanted Nova Scotia to be independent of Canada, he did not want the alternative: annexation to the United States by force or otherwise, which would be inevitable due to the close economic ties between the two.

It may have been this that convinced Howe that his dream of repeal would be impossible. He would not leave the Empire and would not be annexed. These alternatives, however, became the plans of his increasingly radical-minded colleagues, whom he then decided to break with and join Macdonald:

When the plans of the repealers began to include everything from a war with Britain and Canada to annexation with the United States, Howe saw that the agitation would have to be stopped.<sup>19</sup>

Howe did not want a war with Britain, Canada, or the United States. Neither did he want a revolution or civil strife between the different factions of Nova Scotians. Furthermore, he did not want to be responsible for totally ruining his beloved province:

I hope to live and die in Nova Scotia and must be careful of her reputation and my own. In all the struggles of the past for the elevation and advancement of our country, it has been my boast that no life has been lost or pane of glass shattered. . . . I shall not go mad and turn our country into shambles.<sup>20</sup>

Joseph Howe fought throughout his career as a politician and orator for the common person in Nova Scotia. He established precedent in North America for freedom of speech and freedom of the press. He was a man of principle and honour. He cared enough for his fellow provincials to change his policies, despite the criticism, in order to gain advantages for them.

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18 Miriam Norton, "The National and Imperial Policies of Joseph Howe," unpublished M.A. [?] thesis, University of Manitoba, n.d., p. 81.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Initially, Joseph Howe felt that the Confederation of the British North American colonies would be disastrous for Nova Scotia. He felt it was designed to solve the political problems in Canada, a decision which he reached after a trip to Ottawa in 1867. In a speech on 16 January 1868, he noted: "I am so satisfied from my forty days' experience at Ottawa that the Dominion will never work for the security of Nova Scotia."<sup>21</sup>

It was soon after this speech that Howe and the other repealers planned a second delegation. Later that year, they went to London, where he realized they would fail. He then considered his alternatives and "understood the value of Confederation if it *fairly* worked out."<sup>22</sup> With this understanding, Howe gave up the struggle and set out to gain "more favourable terms for Nova Scotia"<sup>23</sup> "I have no faith in further appeal to England, and I cannot lie to the people of Nova Scotia and amuse them in vain with delusions and another expensive delegation."<sup>24</sup>

When it was made official that the British Parliament had rejected the Act of Repeal, Howe joined Macdonald's cabinet in Ottawa. He justified this as an act to help the people of Nova Scotia, and in a speech to them, he said: "The moment the conviction was forced upon me that she [Nova Scotia] must stay in the Confederacy, I was determined that if she could not get out, she would count for something within it."<sup>25</sup> Howe cared very much for the "wishes of the people." His main goal in this respect was "an honourable place for Nova Scotia in the great empire federation, considering too, the wishes of the people."<sup>26</sup>

After accepting office in Ottawa, Howe further showed his respect and care for the people of Nova Scotia by taking a position for which he would have to be elected by them. Because of this, there was a by-election in Hants County in the winter of 1869, at which time he made it clear to

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21 *Morning Chronicle* (Halifax), 17 January 1868.

22 Rawlyk, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

23 Quoted in Henry Youle Hind et al., *The Dominion of Canada* (Toronto, 1869), p. 31.

24 Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

25 Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

26 Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

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the electorate that he was running for them. He also pointed out that he did not need to run for a governmental position, but wanted to represent the people. He stated this in a public letter to the electors of Hants:

This office, men of Hants, though the technical formalities make it mine, is in your gift, and to be of any value to me I must receive it at your hands. I could have accepted it with a seat in the Senate, and enjoyed it without your sanction. But you trusted me, and I am not afraid to trust you. On a calm review of all circumstances, I believe that you will ratify by your suffrages my conduct and policy.<sup>27</sup>

Later on in that same letter he posed a question, merely asking if they wanted an experienced person representing them, or somebody who had little influence or power:

You also have to decide whether there shall be a just and fair administration of public affairs by your own representative, who has seen some service and gathered some experience or whether Nova Scotia is to have no influence in conducting the Government of this Dominion, to the authority of which by law her people are bound to submit.<sup>28</sup>

Joseph Howe stated this in another speech during the same campaign:

When I had to deal with your interests, there could be no question as to the line of action to be pursued. A large number of the members of Cabinet were old acquaintances and personal friends, with whom I might occasionally be expected to have influence from the start. . . . Your interests lay all on one side. Nova Scotia had suffered enough. Why should I lead her into hopeless opposition, and leave her, perhaps for the next ten years, without influence, patronage, or any reasonable chance of provision for her public works?<sup>29</sup>

This campaign was a showing of Howe's loyalty to his fellow Nova Scotians. He knew his power and influence could gain a great many privileges for

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27 Rawlyk, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

his people: "It will be my duty, if I obtain power, to do what is right to all those who supported me...."<sup>30</sup>

Joseph Howe made good these statements. He did gain many concessions, as previously mentioned. He still planned to help those who supported him. This is demonstrated in a private letter from Howe to his personal friend and fellow politician, Amos Purdy, in Nova Scotia. This letter is dated 13 August 1869: "I have been asked to assume new duties and responsibility and mean to do it.... My only motive is to get the means to serve a good many of our followers at home whose fortunes I would like to improve."<sup>31</sup>

Joseph Howe did not go to Ottawa for personal gain. He went "to make the best of a bad bargain."<sup>32</sup> If he had gone there for his own interests he would not have bargained so hard and successfully for all he gained for Nova Scotia.

The worst accusations about "selling his heritage" came from former colleagues. They were politicians who stood to gain much if Nova Scotia left Canada. This would have left them in line for the chief positions in the new government. When Howe, who had been their leader, left for Ottawa they were angered and became spiteful. They then started rumours that he had sold out because he had been beaten by Macdonald: "Followers of the long-time 'Voice of Nova Scotia' were bewildered; they raised the cry of bribery, treachery, and betrayal."<sup>33</sup> Some of them were jealous because he now held a very important position. They were also upset because he left their movement without consulting them first:

The local government [reformers previously led by Howe] was enraged because Howe had taken 'too much power upon himself without consulting them' and Howe's own friends felt that they had been 'dragged through the dirt and were left sprawling by him.'<sup>34</sup>

30 *Ibid.*, p. 198.

31 Joseph Howe to Amos Purdy, 13 August 1869. MG 100, Vol. 42, No. 35, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

32 Hind, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

33 Herstein, Hughes and Kirbyson, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

34 Pryke, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

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The popular legend about Joseph selling out to Sir John A. Macdonald is simply untrue. When his first choice, namely legal secession, failed, he used Macdonald's cabinet as an alternative to help his fellow Nova Scotians. Howe went to Ottawa and proceeded to gain financial concessions for his province. He negotiated to increase the federal grant, the debt allowance, and other money for public services; thereby reducing the tax burden of Nova Scotians. Would a man who went to Ottawa for personal benefits work this hard and go to all this trouble?

Howe also went to Ottawa as an alternative to leaving the British Empire. He cared too much for Nova Scotians to let them become involved in a violent confrontation with Canada or Britain. He cared too much to let them be annexed to the United States. He therefore joined Macdonald to avoid these disastrous results.

Howe did not go to Ottawa for personal advantage. As he pointed out, he could have accepted a seat in the Senate, been paid very well, and been forgotten -- with a comfortable income for the rest of his life. Instead, he went through a by-election to become a true representative of the people; he then succeeded in gaining advantages for his supporters. A man controlled by greed and the need for self-satisfaction would not have gone to these measures.

It can be pointed out that these unjust accusations were simply the weapons of the losing politicians, men eager to gain revenge on Howe for -- in their estimation -- leaving them and humiliating them: " 'You quiet Nova Scotia and we'll take care of you' is a base of falsehood, without a shadow of foundation."<sup>35</sup>

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35 Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

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# In Search of the Promised Land: The Cannon/Canning Family of Cumberland County

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Generally speaking, the founding families of colonial Nova Scotia were a solid, well-rooted group of people. Once they arrived and settled on their respective farm or town lots, they rarely moved. Sometimes they might change location within a community, or in cases such as early Shelburne and Guysborough, they might move on, with others, to settle in some more favourable spot. Families displaying the mobility and restlessness of more modern times, however, were rare indeed.

An exception to this general rule would appear to be in the early history of the Cannon/Canning family of Cumberland County. Although their origin in Nova Scotia points back to Halifax during the 1750s, their first half-century in the colony is shrouded in obscurity, faint scandal and much moving about. Out of the jumble of names, dates and possible locations, the first distinct individual to emerge is a John Cannon, who brought his young family to Diligent River, Parrsboro, during the 1790s, and whose descendants have remained there for some 175 years. For this branch of the family, it was evidently deliverance out of Egypt into the promised.

A surviving story in Cumberland County claims that John Cannon was born in Gibraltar, was present at the siege of Quebec, met and married a Miss Davison in Halifax, and then settled at Diligent River, where he lived to the ripe old age of 110. Since some of these details are correct -- albeit somewhat garbled -- one must ascribe at least a grain of truth to this family tradition.

There is little doubt that the first John Cannon in Cumberland County came from one of the confusing groups of people bearing that surname in early Halifax. How and why they came to that community is not known; presumably they emigrated from Great Britain rather than New England, although the latter possibility cannot be entirely discounted. If they were in any way connected with the British navy or army, it is also impossible that they came to Nova Scotia via Gibraltar, or that one of the family members, was indeed, present at Quebec in 1759. In any case, although the early Halifax records are often spasmodic, confusing and misleading, there is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence to prove the existence of at least three Cannon families in the community, all perhaps related.

William Cannon was the first of this surname to appear in Halifax. He and his wife arrived in 1749 with Governor Edward Cornwallis's founding expedition, and in 1750 he was running a tavern. There was at least one child born to them in Halifax, a daughter Mary, baptized at St. Paul's

Anglican church, 8 September 1754; it is possible that she was buried 25 April 1761.

By 1750, a John Cannon and wife Hannah had also appeared in the community; a son Charles was baptized 4 November 1750, another son George in December 1754, and a daughter Susan on 17 December 1757. This John Cannon was perhaps buried 21 September 1773.

The third Cannon to surface in early Halifax forges the first definite link in the chain to Diligent River. James Cannon, a mason, was in the town by March 1750, when an agreement of separation was drawn up between him and his pregnant wife, Eleanor; she evidently preferred living with one Joseph Clark, a soldier. The terms of this agreement were laid out in one of the more unusual documents to be found among the early Halifax County deed registrations. The unborn child cited in the settlement was no doubt Ambrose, son of James and Eleanor Cannon, baptized 2 July 1751. By 1752, Eleanor was styling herself a widow when selling property, but this was doubtless a polite euphemism, since there is ample evidence that James was still very much alive. There is no further trace of him in Halifax, however, after a record of marriage at St. Paul's, 18 January 1755, between James Cannon and Susanna Williams. Presumably the two men were one and the same.

James Cannon was a mason, and his name occurs several times during the 1750s in the account book of William Best, an early Halifax contractor. Best later moved to the Cornwallis area of Kings County and thus it is not too surprising to find James Cannon in Windsor, Hants County, by 1768. The three family groupings in Halifax seem to have disintegrated by that time, and to have disappeared from that community. In turn, there are shadowy indications that various family members coalesced in Hants County, perhaps under the protection of James Cannon, or perhaps to benefit from close proximity to the mysterious Mary Cannon, mistress of J.F.W. DesBarres, and chatelaine of his manor farm, Castle Frederick, at Falmouth.

Mary Cannon, born about 1751, also appears to have originated among the obscure Halifax Cannon families. In 1764, she became housekeeper for Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, the brilliant but irascible surveyor and cartographer who later served as lieutenant-governor of Cape Breton (1784-87) and Prince Edward Island (1805-12). DesBarres also attempted to play the role of feudal landlord in colonial Nova Scotia, developing extensive

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tracts of Crown land from his home in Falmouth. Mary Cannon soon graduated to the position of cherished mistress, and between 1764 and 1773 bore five children to DesBarres. Their subsequent relationship was acrimonious, as Mary attempted to manage DesBarres's huge land holdings in a vain effort to retain at least sympathy -- and his financial support for their children. Although DesBarres left Falmouth in 1773, never to return, Mary continued at Castle Frederick until her death in 1827. The story of the Cannons in Falmouth and Windsor is inextricably interwoven with the years of her residence there.

As early as 1768, James Cannon, the mason, was a resident of Windsor, but in June of that year he was awarded lot 77 in the ruined Acadian Village Forei [Forrest] at Falmouth, in consideration of a £33 debt owed him by Freake Dilkes Hoare, 60th. Regiment, late of Halifax. Lot 77 included 100 acres and an Acadian dwelling, and although Cannon subsequently sold the lot for £15 in November 1769 to John Harris of Annapolis Royal, it bordered directly on DesBarres's extensive Falmouth holdings. Sometime around 1774, DesBarres was asking Mary Cannon to pursue the purchase of this lot from the widow Harris.

James Cannon remained in the Windsor area, and had at least one child, a daughter Mary, who married Christian Hennigar in 1789. It was Hennigar who was responsible for his father-in-law's burial in Windsor, where James died a pauper, late in 1805. Hennigar subsequently presented a Windsor township meeting with the bill for Cannon's funeral; the local officials were suitably annoyed to find that the total of £3.18s.6d. included 4s.6d. for pipes and tobacco, 16s. for rum during Cannon's illness, and 32s. for rum consumed by the mourners. They rejected the charges "as truly inadmissible, and as being a very dangerous precedent."

Meanwhile, by the 1770s, there was also a Charles Cannon in Falmouth. He was almost certainly the son born to John and Hannah Cannon in 1750, and he must also have been closely related to Mary Cannon, since he appears in the Castle Frederick financial accounts as having made trips to Tatamagouche and Minudie in her employ. He was also a trader, dealing in fabric, hats, clothing, etc., but by 1779 there were at least four lawsuits filed against him for debt, and he was described in the Supreme Court documents as being "late of Falmouth."

It is probable that he took this opportunity to vacate the area discreetly, and it is just as probable that he was the initial Cannon to settle in the

Hopewell region of what is now New Brunswick, an area which had strong ties to Horton and Cornwallis in Kings County, Nova Scotia. Certainly there were very strong family links between Hopewell and Castle Frederick, for many years later, an Ann Cannon, born in 1818, came from Hopewell Cape to live on the Falmouth property.

The next, and final, link in the chain leading to Diligent River is the emergence of a John Cannon in Falmouth in 1780. His relationship to both James Cannon and Mary Cannon, while uncertain to a degree, is nevertheless definite: possibly he was a son or nephew of the former, and a brother or cousin of the latter. The fact that his three sons were later named John, William and James would certainly seem to indicate his connection to the shadowy trail leading back to early Halifax.

The first evidence of the existence of this John Cannon is his marriage in Falmouth, 26 January 1780, to Lucy Davison, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Babcock) Davison, Connecticut Planters in that township. Although opinion is divided on her Christian name, which is given variously as Amy, Sophia and Lucy, land conveyances from the 1820s support the last choice.

After 1780, there is no trace of John Cannon until his name appears on the Falmouth poll tax list in 1791 and 1792, being assessed for one shilling on each occasion. His position on the returns indicates that he was living in close proximity to Mary Cannon; there were no other Cannon families in Falmouth at the time. It is safe to assume that he was closely related to the mistress of Castle Frederick.

The 1793 poll tax return indicates that John Cannon had left the community by that date. This is supported by a Crown land grant made in 1819 to John Cannon Jr., who at that time claimed to have removed from Falmouth to Parrsboro some 25 years earlier, i.e. sometime around 1794.

Although there had been some sporadic settlement of the Parrsboro area during the 1770s, the community did not become well established until a township was laid out in 1784 for a group of disbanded Loyalist soldiers. Many of them elected not to remain, and by the early 1790s, various disenchanted Falmouth-area families were lured across the Minas Basin by stories of the new community and the advantages of its vacant farm lots. John Cannon and his young family were part of this migration, perhaps because he saw an opportunity for peace and progress which had eluded him in Falmouth.

Whatever his reasoning, John Cannon settled his family on lot 70, a 500-acre tract at Diligent River. Here again, a strong connection to Mary Cannon is indicated. Lot 70 had been granted in 1785 to Lieutenant Eleazor Taylor, a New Jersey Loyalist; he subsequently sold the property, 28 May 1794, to Mary Cannon for £50. The timing co-incides neatly with the approximate date of John Cannon's removal to the Parrsboro area, and it is likely that he occupied lot 70 as a tenant and/or manager for his kinswoman. On 6 May 1809, she conveyed the 500 acres to him for £100, paid on that date.

Apart from a few land conveyances entered in the Parrsboro deed registry, there are no further traces of John Cannon Sr. in that community. In his old age, he deeded the family farm to his son James, in return for enough hay and pasture for two cows, plus the use of the west room in the family home for himself and his wife Lucy. This was in 1827. He is not listed on the 1838 census, although he could possibly have been included there as a member of James Cannon's large household. It is hardly likely that he lived to 110, but it is evident that Diligent River brought both him and his descendants the tranquillity and ordered existence missing from the family's first half-century in Nova Scotia.

Issue of John and Lucy Cannon (possibly incomplete, order uncertain):

1. John Jr., b. Falmouth; d. 1 Dec. 1864 (*Jenks' Journal* notes: "Old Mr. John Cannon had a parallitic [sic] stroke and is speechless, died Dec. 1, 1864"); bur. 4 Dec. 1864, Diligent River, aged 87; marr. firstly, 22 Dec. 1808, Elizabeth (Betsy) Lamb, daughter of Captain Isaac and Ann (Clark) Lamb, Loyalist; marr. secondly, date unknown, Ann Jane Lamb, possibly a sister of Elizabeth. The *Novascotian* (Halifax), 11 Jan. 1837, announced the marriage of John Cannon to Miss Ann Lamb, 7 Dec. 1836, but a denial was published in the same, 2 Feb. 1837. *Jenks' Journal* notes that "Old Mrs. John Cannon died Feb. 16, 1879."

In 1805, John Cannon Jr. purchased lot 71, a 500-acre tract adjoining his father's land at Diligent River, paying John Parr Taylor £18 for the acreage. Over the years, he acquired various other local properties, including 200 acres adjacent to his farm, the former obtained through a Crown land grant in 1819. His will, dated 3 Nov. 1851, showed that he had also inherited part of lot 70 on his father's death. This will

listed ten surviving children, but it is not known which, if any, were from his second marriage. The 1838 census also suggests that his family was considerably larger than both the will and surviving records indicate. John Cannon Jr. spent his lifetime farming at Diligent River. Issue of John and Betsy Cannon (incomplete and order uncertain):

- (1) Nancy, d. 22 Dec. 1860, Diligent River, aged 43; marr. 5 July 1827, Gilbert **Welton**. Issue.
- (2) Mary, d. 21 Apr. 1900, aged 87; marr. Stephen Vickery, son of Jonathan and Hannah (Allen) Vickery. He was b. 16 June 1809, Falmouth, and d. 1865, of dropsy.
- (3) Cyrus, b. ca. 1817; marr., date unknown, Catherine **Gow**. In 1842, he purchased 50 acres of his grandfather's lot 70, that section being then in the possession of Ephraim Lamb. Although his father's will, 1851, indicated that Cyrus owned a sawmill on lot 70 in that year, later records indicate that he was a ship captain and master mariner in Parrsboro. His absence from the 1881 census suggests that he may have left the community by that time, taking some of his children with him. The 1861 census indicates two additional males in the household, identities presently unknown.

Issue of Cyrus and Catherine Cannon (probably incomplete):

- (1a) Charles, b. Parrsboro; marr. 21 Feb. 1873, Parrsboro, aged 28, Cecelia (Celia) **Holmes**, daughter of Daniel and Charlotte (Pritchard) Holmes. He is listed as a seaman on both the 1871 and 1881 census returns. Issue.
- (2a) Sarah or Sabra, b. Parrsboro; marr. 11 July 1865, Parrsboro, aged 21, Charles A. **Curry**, son of K. and Rachel Curry, and a farmer, widower, and resident of Horton, Kings County.
- (3a) Cecelia Mary, d. 5 July 1903, Truro, aged 56 years, 8 months; marr. 28 Oct. 1867, Parrsboro, Thomas B. **Layton**, a Londonderry, Colchester County merchant, later a Baptist minister, and a son of Charles and Mary Layton. He d. 1906, Truro. Issue.
- (4a) Augusta A., d. 23 Dec. 1858, Whitehall, aged 10.
- (5a) Clara, b. ca. 1850.

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- (6a) Eva J., marr. 3 Oct. 1870, Parrsboro, aged 18, Kenneth H. **Campbell** of Pictou, son of William and Mary Campbell.
- (7a) C. Elizabeth, b. ca. 1853.
- (8a) John E., b. ca. 1856. Possibly Ezra Cannon, b. 12 Nov. 1857, Parrsboro, son of Cyrus and Catherine Cannon; d. 7 Jan. 1939, Palmer, Mass.; marr. Elizabeth **Marsh**. A sea captain. Issue.
- (9a) Cyrus Edward, b. ca. 1860.
- (10a) S. Thornton, b. ca. 1863.
- (4) William Henry, b. 3 Dec. 1820; d. 27 May 1901; marr. 18 Nov. 1847, Caroline **Pettis**, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Hatfield) Pettis. She was b. 16 Apr. 1829 and d. 1906. William Cannon was a farmer, surveyor and lumberman in the Ward's Brook/Port Greville area. He had a large family, all of whom are known. The 1861 census, however, indicates that there was an unmarried male between the ages of 60 and 70 residing in the household; he remains unidentified.  
Issue of William and Caroline Cannon:
  - (1a) Isaac Wells, b. 4 Jan. 1852, Port Greville; d. 1 Sept. 1922; marr. 2 June 1880, Brookville, Olivia (Olive) Catherine **Hatfield**, daughter of James Alfred and Catherine (Ells) Hatfield. She was b. 11 Oct. 1850, Brookville and d. 4 Jan. 1930, Brookville. Isaac Cannon led a diverse career, being listed variously as a seaman, ship carpenter, farmer and surveyor. Issue.
  - (2a) Elizabeth Charlotte (Bessie), b. 5 Mar. 1854; d. 22 Dec. 1876; marr. 27 Dec. 1871, Parrsboro, James **Fletcher**, Parrsboro blacksmith, son of George and Martha Fletcher, Wentworth, Hants County. Issue.
  - (3a) John William, b. 31 Oct. 1856; d. 1 June 1934; marr. firstly, 5 Jan. 1887, River Hebert, Mary O. **Wood**, daughter of Peter and Ellen Wood. She d. 19 Aug. 1887, aged 27. Marr. secondly, date unknown, Emma Jane **Scott**, daughter of James and Sarah Jane (Rhindress) Scott. She was b. 10 July 1865, Wallace, and d. 29 March 1936, Ward's Brook. John Cannon was known as "Laughing Jock" or "Cacklin' Jack";

he was listed as a seaman on the 1881 census, but by 1887 he was a mason. Fourteen known children.

- (4a) Cordelia (Delia), b. 6 May 1859, Ratchford River; marr. firstly, 22 July 1874, Parrsboro, Elisha E. **Grant**, mariner, son of Alexander and Jane Grant. Issue. Marr. secondly, date unknown, Johnson **Murphy**.
- (5a) Lawrence Smith, b. Jan./Feb. 1861, Port Greville; d. 1939; marr. 17 June 1885, Brookville, Annie Laurie **Hatfield** (1861-1921), daughter of Francis and Mary Elizabeth (McLellan) Hatfield. Lawrence Cannon was a lumberman and ship builder at Port Greville. Issue.
- (6a) James Albert, b. 3 Nov. 1862, Port Greville; d. 1942; marr. 7 Oct. 1884, Parrsboro, Annie Rachel **Cannon**, daughter of John Albert and Christine (Harrison) Cannon (see below). James Cannon was a mason in Port Greville, and later, Brookville. Thirteen known children.
- (7a) Winfield King (also cited as Hatfield and Whitfield), b. 3 July 1864, Port Greville; d. 6 Nov. 1946; marr. firstly, 23 Nov. 1889, Parrsboro, Freda Josephine (Sophia) **Reick**, daughter of John and Mina Reick. She d. 20 June 1905. Marr. secondly, 16 Oct. 1907, Advocate Harbour, Elizabeth Jane (**Harvey**) Moore (1871-1934), daughter of Dunson and Rose Harvey, and widow of Alexander H. Moore. Winfield Cannon was a farmer in Port Greville. Issue by both wives.
- (8a) Thomas Roach, b. 18 Feb. 1866, Port Greville; marr. 20 June 1887, New Salem, Emma J. **Elliott** (1871-1918), daughter of Henry and Rosanna Elliott, Advocate. Thomas Cannon was a farmer at Port Greville.
- (9a) Edward Northup Pettis, b. 23 Mar. 1868, Port Greville; d. 24 Aug. 1888, death by drowning.
- (10a) Henry Dunlap, b. 10 Apr. 1872, Port Greville; marr. 10 July 1895, Port Greville, Lavinia C. **Webster**, daughter of Matthew and Mary Webster. Henry Cannon was a Port Greville farmer. Issue.
- (11a) Imbert Otis (or Oates), b. 19 Dec. 1875, Port Greville; d. 1943; marr. firstly, 4 Nov. 1895, Diligent River, Laura

May Cannon, daughter of Leander and Mary Anne (Kendrick) Cannon (see below); marr. secondly, 5 March 1900, Minnie Ellen Scott (1873-1958), b. Wallace, Cumberland County, daughter of James S. and Sarah Jane (Rhindress) Scott. Imbert Cannon was a farmer and mariner in the Port Greville/Ward's Brook area. At one time, he captained the *Prince Albert*, which sailed between Parrsboro and Wolfville. Family tradition states that he also travelled to the Orient, bringing back dolls for his daughter and canaries for his sister Cordelia. Issue by both marriages.

(5) Isaac, probably b. 1820s; marr. 5 Feb. 1850, Jane Pettis, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Hatfield) Pettis. She was b. 1 Dec. 1830. Isaac Cannon was a sea captain in Diligent River, but little is known of his family. The 1861 census lists an additional male in the household, possibly a brother of Isaac, but otherwise unidentified. Oral tradition states that Isaac left his wife and family, presumably before 1871, since Jane Cannon was listed on the census of that year as residing with Francis and Mary (Pettis) Hatfield, her sister. Jane Cannon d. 23 Dec. 1883, aged 53.

Issue of Isaac and Jane Cannon (possibly incomplete):

- (1a) Cilistina or Cylestria, bapt. 31 Jan. 1855; d. 25 Oct. 1860, aged 6 years, 5 months.
- (2a) William Henry, bapt. 26 Oct. 1860. Oral tradition states he marr. in Alberta, with issue.
- (3a) John Pettis, b. 1860, Diligent River; d. 1930; marr. 4 Sept. 1883, Yorktown, Evangeline (Eva) Jane Warren, daughter of John and Elizabeth Rachel (Vickery) Warren. She was b. 28 Apr. 1864 and d. 1957. John Cannon was a sailor and farmer at Diligent River. Thirteen children.
- (4a) Ida, d. 1926; marr. 4 Mar. 1887, Brookville, aged 26, Charles W. Crossman (1863-1938), farmer, son of Samuel and Mary A. Crossman. In 1871, Ida Cannon was living in the household of her uncle, Jacob Cannon (see below). Issue.

(6) Frederick, b. 17 Nov. 1828, Diligent River; d. 26 Aug. 1899; marr. firstly, 19 Jan. 1851, Margaret Elizabeth Williams, who d. 15

May 1893, aged 63; marr. secondly, 12 Dec. 1894, Emma (**Hoeg**) Salter, widow of Robert Salter; she was b. in Maccan, daughter of Henry and Maria Hoeg, and d. 11 Mar. 1901.

Issue of Frederick and Margaret Elizabeth Cannon:

- (1a) Agnes Jane, marr. 11 Aug. 1874, Parrsboro, aged 22, Horatio Nelson (Nelson) **Lamb**, ship carpenter, son of Archibald and Jerusha Ann (Welton) Lamb. Issue.
- (2a) Lucinda A. (Cindy), d. 1925; marr. 4 Aug. 1883, Parrsboro, aged 25, Charles **McPhee**, Parrsboro, labourer, son of George and Roxanna McPhee of New Brunswick. Issue.
- (3a) Frederick W., b. 23 June 1855, Diligent River; d. 3 Dec. 1907; marr. 24 Oct. 1899, Fox River, Marsha or Martha **Smith**, of Burlington, Hants County, daughter of William and Sarah Smith. She was b. 9 Sept. 1865 and d. Sept. 1935. Frederick Cannon Jr. was a farmer at Diligent River. Issue.
- (4a) Margaret Ellen (Maggie), b. 3 Aug. 1867; marr. 25 Oct. 1880, John **Caudle** or Coddle. Issue.
- (5a) Benjamin Williams, bapt. 11 July 1861; marr. 2 Sept. 1888, Fox River, aged 26, Annie Gertrude **Cannon**, daughter of Frederick and Elizabeth Jane (Hatfield) Cannon (see below). Benjamin Cannon was a farmer at Diligent River. Issue.
- (6a) a son, b. 23 Apr. 1863; no further information.
- (7a) David Henry, b. 23 Mar. 1864; d. 25 Dec. 1941, Diligent River; marr. 23 Dec. 1896, Diligent River, Jessie Maud **Baxter**, daughter of Salter and Letitia (Hatfield) Baxter. She was b. in Windsor, 11 Nov. 1875, and d. 25 Nov. 1949. Eleven children.
- (8a) Estella May (Stella or Ella), b. 22 Nov. 1865, Diligent River; marr. 23 Dec. 1885, Parrsboro, William Eri **Dean**, farmer, son of John Edward and Jane Elizabeth (Hughes) Dean. He was b. 31 July 1862, and d. 1915, Saint John, New Brunswick. Issue.
- (9a) Alma Elizabeth, b. 2 Feb. 1868, Diligent River; d. 16 Apr. 1941; marr. firstly, June 1888, Murdoch **McLeod** of Prince Edward Island. Issue. Marr. secondly, 23 May 1898, William

Alfred Vickery, widower and son of Fones and Eunice M. (Holmes) Vickery. Marr. thirdly, 12 Oct. 1921, E. Judson Hatfield, widower and son of James Alfred and Susan (Joyce) Hatfield.

(10a) John Nelson Chapman, b. 18 May 1870, Diligent River; d. 16 June 1872, Diligent River, scarlet fever.

(11a) Daniel H. or Freeman, b. 4 Oct. 1876, Diligent River; marr. 14 Nov. 1903, New Yarmouth, Lucy A. Wasson, daughter of Alexander and Irene Wasson. Son of Cindy Cannon; raised as foster child by Frederick and Elizabeth Cannon. He was a lumberman at Diligent River. Issue.

(12a) Hallet or Joseph, b. 16 Oct. 1876, Diligent River; marr. 25 May 1897, Parrsboro, Helen Salter, daughter of Robert and Emma Salter (it is presumably this Emma Salter who marr., 1894, as a widow, Frederick Cannon, grandfather of this child). Son of Maggie Cannon; raised as foster child by Frederick and Elizabeth Cannon. He was a seaman in Diligent River. Issue.

(7) Archibald, probably b. 1820s; marr. 29 Nov. 1854, Horton, Kings County, Nancy Carey. Very little is known of this family. Issue of Archibald and Nancy Cannon (incomplete):

(1a) Leander, b. 28 Aug. 1861, Avonport, Kings County; d. 15 Jan. 1939; marr. firstly, 30 May 1885, River Hebert, Abbie Mills, daughter of Hiram and Hannah Mills; marr. secondly, 25 June 1897, Advocate Harbour, Minnie Caroline Brown. She was b. 1877 and d. 12 July 1964. Leander Cannon was a lumberman at Shulee. Issue from both marriages.

(8) Jacob F., marr. firstly, 11 July 1861, Eliza Mary Manuge, daughter of John and Betsy Manuge; she d. 19 Dec. 1865, Diligent River, aged 32, of consumption, but leaving a baby, two hours old. Marr. secondly, 21 July 1870, Parrsboro, aged 33, Isabella Joyce, daughter of John and Catherine Joyce; she d. 10 May 1871, Port Greville, from childbirth complications. Marr. thirdly, 23 Aug. 1873, Parrsboro, Julia Ann (Hatfield) Dean, widow of Captain Eri Dean, and daughter of Archibald and Nancy (Hillman) Hatfield. She was b. 11 June 1848, Diligent River. Marr. fourthly

and lastly, 13 Nov. 1890, Parrsboro, Susan **Shephard** of Port Greville, formerly of Newfoundland, daughter of James and Eliza Shephard. Jacob Cannon was a labourer and farmer at Fox River/Port Greville.

Issue of Jacob and Eliza Mary Cannon:

- (1a) child bur. 1 July 1863; no further information.
- (2a) Irene, bapt. 10 Nov. 1870.
- (3a) Rupert, bapt. 10 Nov. 1870; marr. 25 July 1906, Parrsboro, aged 39, Margaret Jane Lewis, daughter of Francis and Jessie Lewis. The marriage registration gives his mother as Margaret, although she was in all likelihood Eliza Mary, Jacob's first wife. Rupert Cannon was a Fox River mariner.

Issue of Jacob and Isabella Cannon:

- (4a) Mary Jane, b. 23 Apr. 1871, Port Greville.

Issue of Jacob and Julia Cannon (probably incomplete):

- (5a) Margaret Elizabeth, b. 25 Apr. 1875, Fox River; d. 1963; marr. Charles Field (1877-1950). Issue.
- (6a) Hibbard, b. ca. 1878.
- (7a) Martin, b. ca. 1880.

- (9) Elizabeth (Betsey), b. 11 Feb. 1836; unmarried, 1861 census.

Issue of John and Ann Jane Cannon:

- (10) Leander Douglas, b. 1838; d. 1916; marr. 28 Jan. 1861, Mary Ann Kendrick. She was b. in New Brunswick, 1830, and d. 7 June 1910. Leander Cannon was a farmer at Diligent River, and probably the only child of his father's second marriage.

Issue of Leander and Mary Cannon:

- (1a) Georgianna (Anne), marr. 15 Apr. 1877, Parrsboro, aged 16, John **Woods**, sailor, son of Charles and Elizabeth Woods. Issue.
- (2a) John Leander Star, b. 9 Jan. 1865; d. 1939; marr. Alice Alma **Robinson** (1879-1928). She was a schoolteacher and postmistress at Diligent River.
- (3a) William E., d. 26 Dec. 1867, aged 3 months.
- (4a) Ann Jane, b. ca. 1870.
- (5a) James Edward, b. 13 Jan. 1870, Diligent River; d. 30 Aug. 1872, Diligent River, scarlet fever.
- (6a) Mary Lavinia, b. 4 July 1872; bur. 6 Oct. 1872, Wharton.

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- (7a) Laura May, b. 27 Nov. 1873, Diligent River; d. 2 Dec. 1899; marr. 4 Nov. 1895, Diligent River, **Imbert Otis Cannon**, farmer, son of William and Caroline Cannon (see above). Issue.
- (8a) Ada Edna, b. 29 Apr. 1875, Diligent River; d. 7 Aug. 1961, Southampton; marr. 23 Oct. 1901, Diligent River, **William Walter Lamb**, seaman, son of Captain William Walter and Susan (McBurnie) Lamb. He was b. 13 June 1874, Diligent River, and d. 1936. d.s.p.
- (9a) Tamson, b. 17 Apr. 1876, Diligent River; d. 29 July 1914; marr. 31 Dec. 1895, Diligent River, **Charles William Gibson**, son of Robert Gibson. Issue.
- (10a) Harris Freeman, b. 6 Dec. 1881; d. 9 Apr. 1903.

2. Henrietta, b. 28 June 1784, Falmouth; d. 25 July 1868, New Canaan, Cumberland County, of erysipelas in the breast; marr. 12/17 Oct. 1802, Parrsboro, **Elijah Brown**, son of James and Sophia Anne Brown. He d. 30 Sept. 1855. The death registration gives Henrietta's parents as John and Sophia Cannon. Thirteen known children.

3. William, d. 4 Aug. 1878, West Brook, aged 87; marr. firstly, 21 Feb. 1816, **Frances (Fanny) Atkinson**. She was b. 3 July 1798, Southampton, daughter of Michael and Amy (Souls) Atkinson, and d. 13 Apr. 1857. Marr. secondly, possibly in 1859, **Lydia Wood**. She was b. 1831, daughter of Amos and Margaret (Bliss) Wood, and d. 30 Dec. 1883. William Cannon was a farmer on Canning Hill in West Brook. His will, dated 4 Nov. 1870, listed thirteen surviving children, but there were probably at least three more who presumably pre-deceased him. Issue of William and Fanny Cannon (possibly incomplete, order uncertain):

- (1) Sarah, marr. 10 Jan. 1837, **Ephraim Pugsley**. Issue.
- (2) Lavinia, d. 14 Dec. 1886, aged 64 years, 6 months; marr. 14 Sept. 1843, **Nathan Taylor**, son of Eleazer and Beriah (Jenks) Taylor, West Brook. Nathan was b. 21 Mar. 1819, Maccan, and d. 12 Apr. 1874. Issue.
- (3) Amelia, d. 28 Oct. 1869, Diligent River, aged 48, of dropsy; marr. 7 Aug. 1845, **Amos Dow**, son of William and Mary Clark (Lamb) Dow. Issue.

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- (4) William Jr., d. 1847.
- (5) Michael, cited in 1870 will. Supposed to have left home at an early age, and to have settled and married, with issue, in western Canada.
- (6) Elizabeth, d. June 1886, Port Greville; marr. firstly, date unknown, **William McCully**, who was bur. 27 July 1868, Diligent River. Marr. secondly, 31 Dec. 1869, Diligent River, Amos Dow, husband of her late sister, Amelia. Issue by first husband.
- (7) Stephen ("West Brook Steve"), d. 17 May 1903, aged 75; marr. firstly, date unknown, Mary Susan **Field**, who d. 27 April 1862, aged 28, of diphteria. Marr. secondly, probably 23 Oct. 1864, Lydia (**Atkinson**) O'Brien, widow, probably a daughter of John and Margaret (Casey) Atkinson, and if so, then a first cousin to her second husband. She d. 1922. "West Brook Steve" was a farmer in the vicinity of Maccan/Southampton/West Brook. Issue of Stephen and Susan Cannon:
  - (1a) Mary E., d. 27 Apr. 1862, aged 9, of diphteria.
  - (2a) Alice J., marr. 16 Jan. 1874, Parrsboro, aged 18, Archibald D. **Wilson**, mariner, son of Alexander and Eunice Wilson. Issue.
  - (3a) Frederick W., b. Apple River; marr. 5 Sept. 1883, Port Greville, aged 25, Cassie **Parsons**, daughter of Ralph and Susan Parsons. Frederick Cannon was a farmer at Southampton; later moved to Strathroy, Ontario.
  - (4a) John Albert, b. Southampton; d. 1927; marr. 17 Apr. 1882, Parrsboro, aged 23, Celia Margaret **Phinney**, daughter of Elkanah and Jane Phinney, Southampton.
  - (5a) Stephen Robert, b. 1861, Southampton; d. 1944; marr. 6 May 1885, Advocate Harbour, Mary E. **Spicer** (1858-1945), daughter of Robert and Sarah Spicer. Stephen Cannon was a farmer at Southampton; he also lived in Ontario for some time, but returned to Nova Scotia.
- Issue of Stephen and Lydia Cannon:
  - (6a) Rebecca, b. ca. 1865; marr. James Tweedie **Spicer**, son of Robert and Sarah Spicer. Issue.

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- (7a) Delilah or Delia, b. 27 Apr. 1866, West Brook; d. 14 Mar. 1867, West Brook. The birth registration gives her parents' marriage date as 6 Dec. 1861, which must be incorrect, since Susan, the first wife, did not die until Apr. 1862.
- (8a) Michael or Herbert, b. ca. 1868; d. young, lost in the woods.
- (9a) Mary Bridget, b. 3 Sept./4 Oct. 1870, Southampton/Maccan (two conflicting birth registrations exist); d. 1944; marr. 15 Nov. 1887, Southampton, A. Brightman **Field** (1867-1940), a farmer at Apple River, son of Oswald and Hannah Field. Issue.
- (10a) Frances A. (Fannie), b. Southampton; marr. 27 July 1892, Southampton, aged 17, William B. **Field**, a farmer at Apple River, son of Robert and Marjery Field. Issue. Said to have moved to the United States latterly to join children.
- (8) John Albert, probably b. early 1830s; bur. Billerica, Mass.; marr. firstly, date unknown, Christine (also cited as Christie and Christina) **Harrison**, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth B. (Shipley) Harrison; reputedly marr. secondly, date and wife unknown. The 1861 census indicates two or three older children, identities presently unknown, born during the 1850s. John Cannon was a farmer at West Brook, but he probably had left the area by 1881, and presumably went to New England.  
Issue of John and Christine Cannon (incomplete):
  - (1a) Miner, b. ca. 1854; supposedly settled in U.S.
  - (2a) Thomas Harrison (Henry or Harry), b. Canaan; bur. Taunton, Mass., aged 83; marr. 17 Dec. 1884, Southampton, aged 22, Harriet Adelia (Hattie) **Gilbert**, daughter of John and Abigail (Kerwin) Gilbert. Henry Cannon was a farmer in Canaan, and later a railway section foreman at Thompson Station. Eleven known children.
  - (3a) Lovell, b. ca. 1861; supposedly marr. and resided near Moncton.
  - (4a) William A., b. Parrsboro; marr. 12 July 1887, Springhill, aged 22, Minnie **Kennedy**, daughter of William and Fanny Kennedy. William Cannon was a miner and later a mine foreman at Springhill. Issue.

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(5a) Annie Rachel, b. 1867, West Brook; d. 1951; marr. 7 Oct. 1884, Parrsboro, James Albert **Cannon**, son of William Henry and Caroline Cannon (see above). Issue.

(9) Frederick D., b. 1832, West Brook; d. 1908, Port Greville; marr. 21 Oct. 1858, Parrsboro, Jane **Hatfield**, daughter of Charles and Elizabeth (Pettis) Hatfield, Brookville. She was b. 21 Feb. 1838, Port Greville, and d. 1917, Fox River. Frederick Cannon was a ship carpenter and farmer.  
Issue of Frederick and Jane Cannon:

- (1a) Henry Oscar (Harry), b. 29 Mar. 1863, Brookville; marr. 7 June 1887, Parrsboro, Blanche Evelyn **Lake** (1864-1941), daughter of James Robert and Anne Marie (Kerr) Lake. Marr. secondly, Edith Drake. Henry Cannon was a sailor at Fox River. Issue from first marr.
- (2a) Helen Marr, b. ca. 1862; d. 22 July 1879.
- (3a) Lauretta Jane, b. 29 July 1865, Port Greville; marr. 25 Nov. 1885, Port Greville, George Alfred **Bates**, a painter, son of John and Jane (Hatfield) Bates. Issue.
- (4a) Anna Gertrude Hatfield (Annie), b. 5 Aug. 1866, Brookville; d. 30 Jan. 1904; marr. 2 Sept. 1888, Fox River, Benjamin Williams **Cannon**, farmer, son of Frederick and Elizabeth Cannon (see above). Issue.
- (5a) Frederick Stanley, b. 1878; d. 1930; marr. Salome (Cassie) **Merriam** (1884-1969). Issue.

(10) Isaac, d. 1 Sept. 1900, Brookville, aged 67; marr. 11 Mar. 1858, Hannah **Hatfield**, daughter of Charles and Elizabeth (Pettis) Hatfield. She was b. 31 July 1836, and d. 11 Nov. 1905, Brookville. An obscure family.  
Issue of Isaac and Hannah Cannon (probably incomplete):

- (1a) John, b. ca. 1861.
- (2a) possibly Clarence Freeman, bapt. 18 June 1863; bur. 30 June 1863, aged 5 months. Parents cited as Isaac and Elizabeth Cannon, farmer, Wood's Mountain.
- (3a) Anna, b. ca. 1868.

(11) supposedly a daughter Rebecca, twin sister of Isaac; marr. Oman **Lewis**; d.s.p.

(12) Anny or Amy, marr. George **Hasty**. Supposedly resided in Maine.

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(13) Mary, marr. Alexander **McAloney**. Issue.  
Issue of William and Lydia Cannon:

(14) Elisha Lewis, b. 17 Dec. 1860, West Brook; d. 16 June 1843; marr. 14 Jan. 1886, Rockland, Maine, Ada G. **Perrigo**. She was b. 28 July 1865, Rockland, and d. 30 April 1921. He is bur. in Babylon, Amityville Village, New York State. Issue.

(15) William, b. 5 Dec. 1862, West Brook; d. 10 Feb. 1941, West Brook; marr. 21 Feb. 1887, River Philip, Olivia M. **Rogers**, daughter of Joseph Dennis and Janet (Tait) Rogers. She was b. 15 Dec. 1866, Windham Hill, and d. 7 Feb. 1951. William Cannon was a farmer at West Brook. Eight known children.

(16) Margaret Ellen (Maggie), b. 16 Jan. 1866, Canaan/West Brook; marr. firstly, 28 Feb. 1885, Parrsboro, George Melville **Cochrane**, carpenter, son of William and Mary Cochrane; marr. secondly, details not known, a Mr. **Webb** of New York. Issue by first husband.

4. James Edward, b. 16 July 1797; d. 24 Aug. 1882, Diligent River; marr. 25 May 1820, Parrsboro, Amelia Jane **Vickery**, daughter of Jonathan and Hannah (Allen) Vickery. She was b. 1 Aug. 1797/1799, and d. Apr. 1889, aged 92. James Cannon resided on the family farm, lot 70, Diligent River, which was conveyed to him by his father in 1827. The 1838 census suggests a much larger family than surviving records attribute to him, with perhaps up to five additional family members. The 1861 census also indicates an additional male in the household, possibly a grandson, born during the 1850s.

Issue of James and Amelia Jane Cannon (incomplete, order uncertain):

(1) Elizabeth, b. 7 May 1821, Diligent River; marr. 22 Oct. 1870, Mill Village (Parrsboro), John **Pritchard**, farmer, son of Francis and Mary Pritchard.

(2) Amelia, b. 4 May 1824, Diligent River; marr. 21 July 1853, Samuel Freeman **Holmes**, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Yorke) Holmes. He d. 15 May 1882. Issue.

(3) Olive, b. 22 Mar. 1827; d. 7 July 1885; possibly marr. a **Smith**.

(4) John William, b. 17 Dec. 1829; d. 10 Nov. 1856.

(5) George Albert, b. 11 Sept. 1832; d. 20 Nov. 1853.

(6) Caroline, b. 27 Feb. 1834.

(7) Stephen Colby, b. 3 June 1838, Parrsboro; d. 8 Dec. 1917; marr.

1 Feb. 1866, Parrsboro, **Angeline (Ann) Smith**, daughter of Charles A. and Elizabeth (Yorke) Smith. She was b. 7 May 1842, Diligent River, and d. 5 July 1925. Stephen Cannon was a miner in 1866, but later farmed at Diligent River.

Issue of Stephen and Angeline Cannon:

- (1a) John Albert, b. 6 Nov. 1866, Diligent River; d. 8 Dec. 1869, Diligent River, inflammation of the bowels.
- (2a) George Christopher, b. 15 Feb. 1868, Diligent River; d. 3 Mar. 1953; marr. 31 May 1900, Parrsboro, Alice (**Moore**) Martin (1867-1929), widow, daughter of Alexander and Catherine Moore. George Cannon was a farmer at Diligent River. Issue.
- (3a) Martha Angeline, b. 25 Nov. 1869, Diligent River; d. 7 Jan. 1962, Diligent River; marr. 17 July 1895, William James **Lamb**, lumberman, son of Sanford and Catherine (Kendrick) Lamb. He was b. 8 Mar. 1868 and d. Jan./Feb. 1942. Issue.
- (4a) Leonard Emerson, b. 16 Nov. 1871, Diligent River; d. 27 Jan. 1948; marr. 7 Aug. 1894, Amherst, Anna Y. **McDonald**, daughter of Daniel and Catherine McDonald. Marr. a second time, details unknown. Leonard Cannon was a farmer at Diligent River. Issue.
- (5a) John Betts, b. 27 Dec. 1874, Diligent River; d. 25 Apr. 1938; marr. 30 Oct. 1906, Fox River, Maude May **Lamb**, daughter of Sanford and Catherine (Kendrick) Lamb. She was b. 20 Oct. 1884 and d. 1970. John Cannon was a Parrsboro farmer. Issue.
- (6a) Richard Albert (Ritchie), b. 7 Apr. 1876, Canningville/Diligent River; d. 19 Sept. 1968; marr. 10 Nov. 1903, Parrsboro, Emma Maud **Manning**, daughter of William Benjamin and Mary Agnes (Newcomb) Manning. She was b. 3 Feb. 1879, Amherst, and d. 1968. Issue.
- (7a) Rupert Stanley, b. 1 Jan. 1879, Diligent River; d. 8 Nov. 1960, aged 83; marr. firstly, 11 Mar. 1903, Halfway River, Sadie **Gilbert**, daughter of Edward and Alice (Roberts) Gilbert; marr. secondly, 21 Feb. 1911, Springhill, Jessie Louise **Morris**. Issue.

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- (8a) Stephen, aged 1 month on 1881 census; no further information.
- (9a) Laurence, b. 10 Mar. 1882, Diligent River; d. 24 Feb. 1953; marr. 28 Dec. 1910, Port Greville, Annie Maude **Brown**, daughter of George Hibbert and Adelia Ann (Lamb) Brown. She was b. 6/9 Sept. 1887, River Hebert, and d. 17 Sept. 1969, Halifax. Laurence Cannon was a lumberman at Diligent River. Issue.
- (10a) Millard Morley, b. 6 Mar. 1884; d. 26 Nov. 1962; marr. 1 June 1914, Fox River, Lola M. **Carey** (1893-1977). Issue.
- (8) Elisha H., b. 27 Apr. 1841; d. 16 Apr. 1850.
- (9) Thomas Edward, b. 2 June 1844, Yorke Settlement, Parrsboro; d. 4 Oct. 1933, Diligent River; marr. 1 Jan. 1868, Diligent River, Julia Ann **Dowe**, daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth (Carey) Dowe. She was b. 1847, Glasgow Mountain, and d. 1 Oct. 1937, Diligent River. Thomas Cannon was a farmer at Diligent River. Issue of Thomas and Ann Cannon:
  - (1a) Caroline Olivia, b. 28 Sept. 1868, Diligent River; d. 21 May 1896; marr. 17 Oct. 1890, Parrboro, Melvin **Dowling**, son of Thomas and Mary Dowling. He had been born in Shediac, New Brunswick, but in 1890 was a lumberman in Randolph, U.S.A.
  - (2a) Charles Henry, b. 28 July 1870, Diligent River; d. 23 May 1938, Diligent River; marr. 6 Sept. 1901, Parrsboro, Elizabeth Almira (Bessie) **Leary** (1881-1920), daughter of James and Mary Leary. The bride was a resident of Port Greville, but had been born in Falmouth. Charles Cannon was a lumberman at Diligent River. Issue.
  - (3a) Adelia Eveline, b. 25 Aug. 1872, Diligent River; d. 10 Mar. 1954; marr. 24 Dec. 1892, Diligent River, Clarence **Parsons**, seaman, son of Joseph and Olivia Parsons. Issue.
  - (4a) Delila M. (Lila), b. 15 Dec. 1874, Diligent River; d. 10 July 1943; marr. firstly, 19 Feb. 1896, Parrsboro, George **Henderson**, lumberman at Apple River, born Pennfield, New Brunswick, son of Edmund and Eliza Henderson. Marr. secondly, a Mr. **Moxon**, and thirdly, John **Welton**. Issue.

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- (5a) Thomas, b. 20 Jan. 1877; d. 12 May 1950. No further information.
- (6a) Colby, b. 22 July 1878; d. 13 May 1941; marr. 25 Aug. 1898, Parrsboro, Theresa Lavinia **Kendrick**, daughter of James and Lalea Kendrick. She was b. 25 Aug. 1880, West Bay/River Hebert, and d. 27 Feb. 1958. The marriage registration states that the groom was 36, a millman at River Hebert, and that he had been born in Fair Isle, Scotland, son of William and Margaret Cannon, lumberman. Since more than one family source confirms the 1878 birthdate, with Thomas and Annie Cannon as parents, it must be assumed that the marriage registration details are in error. Issue.
- (7a) Elizabeth D. (Lizzie), b. 26 Oct. 1880, Diligent River; d. 10 Feb. 1969, Springhill; marr. 17 Nov. 1900, Parrsboro, William D. **Sears**, Parrsboro, butcher, born in Saint John, New Brunswick, son of Edward and Rebecca Sears. Issue.
- (8a) Norman, b. 22/25 Jan. 1883; d.s.p.
- (9a) Howard Morrison, b. 2 Mar. 1885, Diligent River; d. May 1979, Florida; marr., date unknown, Amy May **Manning**. She was b. 4 Sept. 1897, Whitehall, Cumberland County, and d. 24 July 1982, Salem, Mass. Issue.
- (10a) Melvin G., b. 30 Oct. 1887; d. young, of scarlet fever, in western Canada.

(10) William, marr. 12 Mar. 1876, Parrsboro, aged 22, Julia A. **Welton**, daughter of Francis and Sarah Welton. Reputed to be a son of Stephen Colby Cannon, at a very young age, by Mary Ann Welton; raised as a foster child by James and Amelia Jane Cannon. William Cannon was a farmer at Diligent River. Issue.

- 5. Elizabeth, marr. 12 Jan. 1815, John **Harrison** of Southampton.
- 6. Sarah, d. 9 Nov. 1853, aged 61; marr. 28 May 1818, Samuel D. **Etter**, who d. 18 Mar. 1855, aged 64. Both are bur. in Southampton cemetery. Issue.
- 7. Mary, marr. 27 Apr. 1820, Isaac **Lamb** Jr., son of Isaac and Ann (Clark) Lamb. According to the 1871 census, Mary (Cannon) Lamb was then living in the household of her brother, William Cannon.

## Select Bibliography

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Trinity United, Parrsboro; marr. to 1880.  
Trinity St. Stephen's United, Amherst; bapt. to 1870.  
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RG1. Vol. 444½. Poll Tax Lists, Falmouth Township.

RG12. 1838 Census, Parrsboro Township.  
1861 Census, Mill Village; Advocate; Maccan.  
1871 Census, Mill Village; Parrsboro Shore; Maccan.  
1881 Census, Mill Village; Parrsboro Shore; Advocate Harbour; Maccan.

RG32. Birth Registrations, Cumberland County.  
Death Registrations, Cumberland County.  
Marriage Registrations, Cumberland County.

RG47. Registry of Deeds, Cumberland County (Parrsboro Registry).  
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*Acadiensis*, XI (Autumn 1981), 23-42.  
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In compiling the preceding genealogy, the year 1881 has been chosen, with some exceptions, as the general cut-off date for the study. Certain pertinent records have not survived, or remain closed to public examination, and family migration and fragmentation after 1880 combine to preclude a definitive lineage for the more recent generations.

The preceding study does not claim total accuracy. In many instances, connections have been based on circumstantial evidence and educated conjecture, since corroborative evidence is lacking; the more contentious issues have been noted within the genealogy.

Throughout the study, the surname spelling *Cannon* has been used, although the family in Cumberland County today is known totally as *Canning*.

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Nevertheless, *Cannon* is historically correct and was the accepted spelling until at least 1850.

The information, assistance and encouragement provided by the following individuals have been particularly appreciated: Kerr Canning; George Lamb; Marion Dean; Reta Hiltz; Kenneth Canning; Gale Boland; Mary Colpitts; Ruth Chapman; Kathy Norton; Nell Wilton; E.E. Coates; Jean Holder; Jack F. Layton; Alice Canning; Mrs. Erma Shipley; Ruth Fraser; and Capt. Wilfred F. Canning.

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

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## "Mr Desbarres -- Description of Nova Scotia," ca. 1763

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In the course of a long memorial to Lieutenant-Governor the Earl of Dalhousie, written shortly before he moved from Amherst to Halifax -- in November 1817 -- an elderly Colonel Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres stated,

That, dutifully to forward the fulfilment of the Intentions of Government, in promoting, and accelerating, the Colonization, of the then infant Province of Nova Scotia; your Memorialist made Several excursions through the Woods into the distant districts; and with his observations thereon Submitted in a Short Essay his ideas on the expediency, Utility, and Advantages, of opening practicable roads of Communication; which by the Governor [sic] and Council, was transmitted to the Board of Trade!

The passage of more than half a century had not dimmed DesBarres's recollection of the first of many attempts to bring himself and his plans for Nova Scotia forcefully to the attention of the British government. This "short essay" -- it is twelve pages long -- in which the then Lieutenant DesBarres of the third battalion of Sixtieth Foot (the Royal Americans) "drew up one of his characteristically elaborate schemes...whereby a road-building regiment would construct a circumprovincial system,"<sup>2</sup> was indeed transmitted to the Board of Trade, where it was pigeon-holed and forgotten. There is no record of any dispatch in which it was enclosed, nor was its receipt minuted in the journal of the Lords of Trade. Endorsed simply as "Mr Desbarres -- Description of Nova Scotia," it ended up among the State Papers Colonial as the first document in a bundle marked "Nova Scotia Miscellaneous 1788 to 1800."<sup>3</sup> It is a curious relic of the early professional life of a military engineer who, within months, was to embark on the career which would make him famous: that of marine cartographer.

Though obviously composed by him, the manuscript is not in DesBarres's handwriting. The peculiar syntax and orthography, however, mark the piece as having been authored by someone whose mother-tongue was not English, and was probably French (e.g. "sauvages"). Undated itself, the latest date

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1 RG 1, Vol. 228, No. 71, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

2 John Bartlet Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia. A Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 124-125.

3 CO 217/72/2-8, Public Record Office [hereafter PRO]. (The orthography of the original has been retained in the transcription below.)

possible for the composition of the essay must be 30 July 1763, on which date it was approved. At that time, Lieutenant DesBarres was nearing the end of his three-year secondment with the Corps of Engineers in Nova Scotia.

A hardened veteran of the siege of Louisbourg and the battle of Quebec, DesBarres had been ordered to Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1760 with Major Patrick Mackellar and Captain Hugh Debbieg to assist with surveying<sup>4</sup> and with the design and execution of plans for fortifying the dockyard and building a citadel. With the exception of September to December 1762, when he was away on the expedition to recapture St. John's, Newfoundland, as an assistant engineer,<sup>5</sup> DesBarres remained in Nova Scotia until his departure for New York in the autumn of 1763.

The declaration of peace in February 1763 meant that the establishment of the Board of Ordnance, of which the Corps of Engineers was the civilian branch, would be reduced. On 3 August 1763, the commander-in-chief, Sir Jeffery Amherst, wrote to Lieutenant Samuel Beardsley, the acting chief engineer, informing him that he had to put a total stop to the fortifications work then carrying on at Halifax.<sup>6</sup> DesBarres, who had not done duty with his regiment for three years, thus found out that his services as an engineer would no longer be required. On the same day, however, Major-General Amherst also wrote to Lieutenant DesBarres himself, stating that he had been appointed to the second battalion of the Royal Americans and ordering him to proceed to Quebec either directly or by way of New York.<sup>7</sup> On the strength of Amherst's promise that he would be employed in any service which should offer, DesBarres took ship for New York in October 1763.<sup>8</sup> Through the intervention of the commander-in-chief, Lieu-

4 Murray to Mackellar; Murray to Debbieg, 14 September 1760, WO 55/1821/7, PRO. DesBarres had been doing similar duty with Mackellar at Halifax in the autumn of 1758: Mackellar to Bastide, 3 November 1758, WO 55/1821/5, PRO.

5 (Lieutenant-Colonel) Amherst to Forster, 24 August 1762 and Forster to (Major-General) Amherst, 10 September 1762, WO 34/12/307-308, PRO.

6 MG 12, Series RE, Vol. 2, p. II, PANS.

7 WO 34/13/166, PRO.

8 Forster to Amherst, 8 October 1763, WO 34/12/404-405, PRO.

tenant DesBarres had at least been spared the fate of a reduced officer on half-pay. The third battalion of the Sixtieth Regiment, of which DesBarres had been a member since the autumn of 1756, was in West Florida before going to New York, and in the spring of 1764 would be sent to England for disbandment.<sup>9</sup>

So it was, that at the time of writing, the author of this essay was out of a job and plainly looking for work. The "approbation" by a dozen senior officials of army and government was rather a blatant exercise in self-promotion. The proposals DesBarres was making were intended to be carried out by someone with qualifications just like his own. Lieutenant DesBarres, moreover, had not only personal knowledge of, but also personal interest in the territory he was describing: in June 1763, he had been granted five hundred acres in the township of Falmouth,<sup>10</sup> a tract of land on which he was soon to build the grandiosely named "Castle Frederick" as a residence.

Approbation of the Lieutenant Governor and Council As Also of the Commanding and Others, the Principal officers of the Troops.

We have read Lieutenant DeBarres,<sup>5</sup> Proposals for the Effectual Settlement of the Valueable Colony of Nova Scotia And are of Opinion that if they are Carried into Execution the Province will reap very great Benefits from them-----

And we are likewise of opinion that Lieutenant DeBarres,<sup>5</sup> is a very proper person for Conducting the Necessary Operations, Should his plan be approved of

Halifax Nova Scotia 30th July 1763.<sup>11</sup>

9 Nesbit Willoughby Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle and List of Officers of The 60th, or... The Royal American Regiment of Foot* (London, 1879), p. 2.

10 Micro. Places. Nova Scotia. Land Grants. Old Book 4, foll. 191-194, PANS.

11 There is no record of this "approbation" in Council minutes or elsewhere.

Wm. Forster<sup>12</sup>  
 Fredk. Hamilton<sup>13</sup>  
 Pat Sutherland<sup>14</sup>  
 Wm. Nesbitt<sup>15</sup>  
 Archd. Hinshelwood<sup>16</sup>

Jonathan Belcher<sup>17</sup>  
 John Collier<sup>18</sup>  
 Chas. Morris<sup>19</sup>  
 Richd. Bulkeley<sup>20</sup>  
 Alexr. Grant  
 Edmd. Crawley  
 Henry Newton  
 Mich. Francklin<sup>21</sup>

### Proposals

for the effectual Settlement of the valuable Colony of Nova Scotia by J.F.W.  
 Desbarres of the 60th Regiment acting Engineer<sup>22</sup>-----

12 Colonel the Honourable William Forster of the second battalion of the First (Royal) Regiment of Foot, commander of H.M. forces in Nova Scotia.

13 Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Hamilton -- as above -- Forster's deputy.

14 Major Patrick Sutherland, of the 77th Foot. Forster, Hamilton and Sutherland were the three most senior army officers in garrison at Halifax.

15 Attorney-General William Nesbitt had been retained as legal adviser to the ordnance establishment in Nova Scotia in the summer of 1761 (MG 12, Series RE, Vol. 1, pp. 3-5, PANS).

16 Archibald Hinshelwood seems to have been paymaster to the forces in Nova Scotia.

17 Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher was lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia from November 1761 to September 1763. The councillors' names are given in order of precedence.

18 Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court.

19 Chief Surveyor.

20 Secretary.

21 Michael Francklin was one of a group of land speculators with whom DesBarres became involved before his temporary departure from Nova Scotia. In September 1763, Francklin, DesBarres and three others memorialized the Lords of Trade for a grant of 100,000 acres of land in Nova Scotia (CO 217/20/267-268, PRO).

22 DesBarres was not a member of the Corps of Engineers, and so could only be an "acting" engineer on special duty.

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That the utility of these Proposals may appear in the clearest Manner it seems highly necessary in the first place to give a general Idea of the Face of the Country and the present Settlements therein together with the Natural Advantages it has from its Situation (a. vide the Sketch annexed & its references<sup>23</sup>)

The interior Parts of the Country except the Bay of Fundy and the River emptying themselves into it are but very Little known to the English but from the Reports of the Indians & Acadians there is a very good wood Land & a rich Soil in most Places with a great variety of Lakes some of them of Large extent & all fill'd with Fish-----

This Province is most happily situated for all kinds of Commerce, but particularly the Fishery from Cape Rosiers<sup>24</sup> to the Passage of Fronsac commonly called the Gut of Canso, it has the Gulph of St. Lawrence (The River of St. Lawrence is remarkable for the great number of Whales that are caught there yearly & this verry year no less than ninety Sail of Vessels (Sloops & Schooners) are employ'd in that valuable branch of Business--) open where there are Number of Rivers Bays Harbrs & Creeks & by the best Accounts a verry Fertile Soil for Settlements, and the Gulph itSelf abounds with the greatest Quantity of Cod, Salmon, Mackarel, Herrins, and other Small fish And with Whales, Sea Cows, Seals Porpoises & others of the larger kinds from the Gut of Canso to Halifax in the Harbour of Chebucto there are at present no Settlements except Lawrence Town a little to the eastward of that Harbour this valuable Tract has not yet been sufficiently explored, the English before the last Warr<sup>25</sup> cont[ente]d themselves with the Islands of Canso, (Before the Spanish warr in 1737<sup>26</sup> the Cod Fishery, which was carry'd on at Canso was the most Considerable of any in America and the most advantageous as the Banks lay within sight of the Harbours & the Bay of St. Lawrence very handy & abounding with Cod Fish some

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23 The whereabouts of the sketch, which does not appear in its proper place, are unknown.

24 I.e. Cape Roseway.

25 I.e. the War of the Austrian Succession, which began in 1744.

26 War between England and Spain did not break out until 1739.

27 I.e. Lunenburg Bay.

hundreds of Schooners & Sloops made there fish there & between forty & fifty topsail Vessells loaded there with dry'd Cod for Spain & Portugal yearly.) where they then carry'd on a very extensive fisherry here however we have the spacious Bay of Milford the Bay of Islands and many Harbours & large Rivers running down from the Country whose Numbers & extent we are not hitherto acquainted with but from vauge [sic] Reports.

Westward from Halifax lay the Bays of Merlinguish<sup>27</sup> and Mahone both full of fine Islands, in which last there is a Township lately settled called Chester<sup>28</sup> & on the Southwest side of it a part of the Lunenbourg Settlement -- next to that lays the Bay of Merlinguish and Township of Lunenbourg (The Township of Lunenbourg shipt to the Township of Halifax of the produce of last year upwards 2500 bushells of Roots besides several other Articles rais'd on the Farms of the Settlers this Settlement is so astonishingly healthy that the Revd. Mr Vincent cristen'd dur'g. his s[h]ort Residence there (18 Months)<sup>29</sup> 125 Children to 4 Deaths one of which was by Accident.) a flourshg. Settlement of laborious & industrious People, heitherto they have no inclination for fishery, Agriculture & the Occupations with which they are best acquainted being their necessary means for suporting their Familys.

Next to this is the River & Bay of Le have where the French had formerly a Settlement & a Goverr.<sup>30</sup> here is a fine Fishery for Salmon and the Islands at its Entrance most conveynt. for drying Cod Fish some Familys from the North of Ireland are settled here<sup>31</sup> & have begun to clear their Lands---which are reckon'd verry good.

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28 Chester Township was erected in 1762.

29 See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [hereafter DCB], III, 650-651. Reverend Vincent, who, like Des-Barres, was probably an anglo-Swiss, was assistant Church of England priest at Lunenburg from December 1761 until June 1763.

30 I.e. Isaac de Razilly (1587-1635); see DCB, I, 567-569, and articles by Joan Dawson in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 52-64, 83-95; Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 85-98; and Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 99-112. The French settlement at La Have was founded in 1632.

31 According to local tradition, Colonel Alexander McNutt settled Irishmen at "New" (Lower) Dublin in 1762; the township of Dublin had formally been erected in 1760.

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From this westward along the Shore to Annapolis Bason there are no Settlements excepting those of Liverpool Cape Sable Poubomcoup<sup>32</sup> these carry on a pretty large Fisherry & have also made some progress in clearing their Lands which are esteem'd exceeding fertile particularly those of the latter.-----

On the Banks of the River Annapolis two Townships are lattely settled,<sup>33</sup> and as most of the Lands were formerly under the cultivation of the Accadians they are in a verry flourishing Condition they have a Communication overland with the Townships in the Bason of Minas & with Halifax but by a verry bad Path through the Woods.-----

On the oposite Shore of the Bay of Funda you enter the Mouth of the River St. Johns where there is a small Fort but few Settlements. This River is navigable for Sloops or Schooners a great way up into the Country & Lands on its Banks are render'd vastly fertile by the Innundations which happens allways in the beggining of the Spring when the Snow melts on the high Lands above, as an accurate Survey has lattly been taken of this River<sup>34</sup> it is needless to enlarge farther upon it-----

The Bay of Fundy almost intersects the whole Province the Istmus of Chignecto not being more than twelve miles over from Fort Cumberland<sup>35</sup> to Bay Verte in the Gulph of St. Lawrence-----

On the north side of the Bay there are several fine Rivers with large Tracts of Marsh Lands as well as uplands formerly occupy'd by the Accadians but now uninhabited whereby these Marshes have been greatly damag'd by the sea breaking in & destroying the Dykes -- at the Head of the Bay there are three Townships in the Neighborhood of Fort Cumberld.<sup>36</sup> extending

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32 I.e. Pubnico.

33 I.e. Annapolis and Granville.

34 The date and circumstances of this survey are unknown. It may be pertinent that, in August 1762, DesBarres and several other officers memorialized the Lords of Trade for grants of one thousand acres apiece on the St. John River (CO 217/19/269, PRO). Among the memorialists were Captain Hugh Deb-bieg, the chief engineer in Nova Scotia, and Captain-Lieutenant Robert George Bruce, the engineer in charge at Annapolis Royal.

35 I.e. Amherst.

36 I.e. Amherst, Fort Lawrence (Cumberland) and Sackville.

over the Iismus to Bay Verte here the Lands is verry good & large Tracts of Marsh Lands which produce all Sorts of Grain with -- [ . . . ] Manure -- Hemp & Flax might be cultivated on these lands with great Advantage----

On the east side of the Bay you enter that Branch of it call'd the Basson of Mines & Cobequid in Which the Rivers of Cobequid Chebenacadia Pizequid St. Croix Mines & several others empty themselves, On these Rivers are the Townships of Onslow, Truro, Newport, Falmouth, Horton & Cornwallis all lattely settled & formerly inhabited by the Accadians in these Tracts there are verry extensive Marshes particularly at Horton & also great Quantitys of cleared uplands the Inhabit.<sup>ts</sup> have an imediate Comunication with Halifax the distance to the nearest not being above forty Miles but the Roads are almost impassible the greatest part of the year & as yet impracticable for Carriages of any kind----It appears from these Strata of Earth where of these Marshes are compos'd that they have been form'd by a long Ser[i]es of Years from the finest Particles of the Earth being carry'd down by the Rains and Melted Snow from the high Grounds above & forc'd back by the returns of the Tides which flow with great Rapidity, and in most parts especially near the Head of the Bay rises between fifty and sixty foot perpendicular highth----

The Accadians paid the greatest Attention to the Dyks and Abbatis<sup>37</sup> necessary for preserving the Marshes from being over flow'd by the Spring Tides as when that happ[e]ned the Land was render'd barren for three Years afterwards----

From this general View of the Province surrounded in a manner with the Sea & good Harbours & with the finest Fishing Banks it is but Natural to conceive it must speedily flourish in an extraordinary Degree but when we come to reflect on the great difficulty there is of a proper & easy inland Comunication between Settlement & Setlement and between these & Halifax the Capital & most centrical Establishment for the whole Country as well as for the Ships of Warr & the Merchant Ships from Europe, we shall find that the Progress of these Settlements must be greatly retarded & the encouragement to Industry & Agriculture in a great Measure disapointed----

37 I.e. "aboiteaux": sluice-gates or floodgates. The word is patois; see Pascal Poirier, *Glossaire Acadien* (Université Saint-Joseph, N.-B., 1953), pp. 13-14. "Aboiteaux" would not have been familiar to a continental French-speaker such as DesBarres, who therefore confused it with "abattis," a French word which in English has a military connotation.

To remove this Inconveynece & to give Vigour & Sperrits to the Industrious Colonists is the Intention of the Author of these Proposals---

The great Advantage of good Roads in all Settled Countrys has been universally acknowledg'd & of course those not fully peopled will by hav-ing [t]hem be the sooner in a flourishing Condition and the Consequences that would result in this Province from such a Measure are self evident it would induce a Number of Settlers to flock into the Country & to plant themselves upon the Roads. The Inhabitants who live upon their Farms at some distance from one another could be more easily protected by the sudden March of Troops to their assistance in case of Hostilitys from the Indians or others, and easy land Carriage would encourage the bringing their Produce to Markett and thereby encourage the industrious Settlers to proceed & even double their dilligence as they would receive an ade-quait Reward in the return of their superfluitys which would be taken off & not left to Spoil on their hands by this means the Settlement of Fishermen every where upon the Coast might be supported from the produce of the Inland Country, Trade would flourish riches encrease and a valuable Nursery of able Seam.<sup>n</sup> and other Subjects might soon be rais'd for the Defence of His Majestys Dominions.

It is humbly propos'd in the first place as a Step the most immediately necessary for the encouragement of the Settlers already in the Townships of Falmouth Newport Horton Cornwallis Granville Annapolis that a great Road should be made from Halifax thro these Settlements to Annapolis Royall as soon as can be done-----

In the next Place that a Road should be made from Halifax westward by the Townships Chester Lunenb. new Dublin or Le Have Liverpool & even to Cape Sables Poubomcoup and from thence to Annapolis-----

That a great Road should pass along the shore from Halifax by the Heads of the Bays and Harbours to the eastward according as Settlements came to be establish'd on that Quarter.

That these Roads may be render'd compleatly servicable as well as dureable it is proposed that the breadth of the Road shall not be less then Twenty One feet & properly rais'd in the middle to carry off the water, that it shall be conducted in the best manner for avoiding steep assents & discents & leave a ditch each side with proper outlets & drains for carrying off the Water at all Seasons & as the Woods prevent the Sun & Winds from drying the Roads after rains it is propos'd to Clear away the Trees for One hundred

feet at least on each side. And that Bridges be made over all the Rivers & over Swamps & boggy ground that cannot be drained----

It is computed that the Road from Halifax to Annapolis Royall may easily be compleated by the following Scheme in two years.

To carry this project into execution with success the Persons intrusted with the Management should be men of Capacity and applicat.<sup>n</sup> and should have some Acquaintance with surveying Architecture levelling &c.

It woud be most advantageous to Employ always the same workmen who being once us'd to the Work would readily comprehend the Designs trac'd out or given them by the Manager or his Assistants----

In order to Answer this as farr as it is possible it is proposed that application be made to his Majesty for leave to raise a Company of Pioneers to consist of One hundred & fifty workmen to be commanded by a Captain with a Captain Lieut.<sup>t</sup> two Lieutenants and an Ensign under him & also a proportion of Non comission'd Officers and an establishm.<sup>t</sup> be made for them by the Parlement this will not a mount to more than three thousand Pounds annualy----

The Company proposed (amongst whom there should be a certain Number of Artificers such as Masons Smiths Quarriers<sup>38</sup> Carp[ente]rs Miners &c. being well instructed & kept in good discipline) would undoubted.<sup>y</sup> do much more work by a regular method of proceeding than any other Workm.<sup>n</sup> hired by the Day besides the certainty of having them employ'd for a Constancy & saving the unavoidable disadvantages that would follow from delays & Some time being oblig'd to finish peice Meal, the Men thus Employ'd should always be carefully trained in all the Military to Serve as light Infantry as occasion shall require & might be made more usefull in the defence of the Province from the knowledge they will have of the Country then any equall number of other regular Troops----

And in order to neglect no advantage and to render the Endeavours of this Company usefull to the Publick During the Winter as well as during the Sumer it is intended to have the Company posted in the Woods and they are to build themselves small Huts along the Line thro which it is propos'd that the Road shall be made dureing the Summer following where they are to cut Avenues as wide as will be thought necessary for procur-ing an easy Access to the Sun and the Winds to keep the Roads in these

38 I.e. quarrymen.

Avenues perfectly dry & good by this Measure the publick will also save a verry considerable Expence. Viz.<sup>t</sup> that of Quarters Barracks Wood &c. which are allow'd to the Troops in America. This Company might also be of infinite service in raising Dyks erecting Abattis &c. for the Preservation of the enestimable Marsh Lands----As it is intended to have no Officers in this Corps but such as are duely qualified for the services in which they are to be Employ'd in order to encourage young Gentlemen sufficiently qualified to Solicet admittance therein it is propos'd that the Officers do enjoy the same Priviledges in regard to rank pay Promotion &c. as the rest of his Majesty's Foot-----

And for encourageing in like manner the better sort of Artificers & Labourers to enlist themselves, in this Company the Non commiss.<sup>d</sup> Officers & Soldiers after having faithfully serv'd dureing the space of five years besides obtaining their discharge should be entitled to certain Quantitys of Land as a Reward for their extraordinary Services either upon the Roads or in such other Places or Places as shall be judged most conveynient if this Method is taken the Proposer humbly apprehends that the design may be executed at less than half the Expence to the Publick than by the employing common Labourers by whom the work could never be compleated in a manner so durable or conveynient-----

#### Reasons

Shewing the Advantages that may attend the Execution of the Scheme propos'd----if the Roads are perfected in the way propos'd & kept in good repair each Horse will be able to draw of heavy Goods one fourth part more & to go one quarter of the distance farther in the Same space of time then formerly on the Bad Roads so that four Horses in four Days the same Quantity of Burth.<sup>n</sup> & to the same distance in a good Road as five Horses in five Days on a bad One, in these two Cases the proportion of Labourers is as 16 to 25 which shows that a Journey that might be made in 16 Days will require 25 on a bad one-----

The present Inhabitants of Annapolis Granville Cornwallis Horton Falm<sup>o</sup> & Newport are now able to Maintain 500 Teams of Six Horses each, or which is the Same 3000. two Men being the comon allowance for driving each Team there will be 1000 Men Wanted, to this add 500 Horses

to be keep't in Case of Accidents for Relief the Whole will amount to 3500 Horses and 100 Men----

Each employ'd in carting cannot cost less in Wages Proviss.<sup>ns</sup> &c. than £20 pr. An. each Horse, each Horse taken one with ye. other costs above £7 p. Annum, in Food Shoeing harnessing & the replaceing of it from time to time by purchase----

the Maintenance of 100 <sup>39</sup> Men at £20 pr. Annum	£20000
Ditto	3500 Horses
	£7

24500

Amounts to 44500

From which deduce one half for time when the Men & Horses may be otherways employ'd there will remain £22250, & as the expences of travelling on the good Road is to that of traveling on a bad one is as 16 to 25 we shall have this Analogy Viz.<sup>t</sup> 25 is to 16 as £22250 to £14240----

Expence of carting the Roads being good

in bad repair	£22250
ditto the Roads being good	<u>14250</u>
difference on Sum lost yearly for want of Roads good	£ 8010

This loss will amount to twice as much if the Roads (as they are now) continue impracticable to wheel Carriages, for every body knows that the expence of transporting Goods in Wheel carriages does not amount to above one half of what the same would cost by being carry'd on the backs of Horses----

If there were good Roads many Usefull & necessary Journeys would be made to, & from the Country for want of which the Settlers loose the proper Opportunitys of selling buying and mak.<sup>g</sup> many necessary Bargains, their Corn and other produce of their Farms by being kept too long on hand, spoil & perrish, many Workmen are by this Means left unemployed & there is a greater Neglect of Agriculture than other wise there would be----

Supose therefore only the twentieth part of the produce lost by this Article there are in the Townships of Annapolis, Granv.<sup>c</sup> Cornwallis Horton, Falmouth, & Newport only above 25,500 Acres of good Land now fit to be plow'd or mow'd by the Familys established there the produce of each

39 "1000" was oviously intended.

Acre taken one with y. <sup>e</sup> other being at least worth thirty Shillings yearly	
& 1275 Acres being the-----	
twentieth part of	25,500
at 30 s.p.Ann. <sup>m</sup> will amount to	£1912"10"
which is lost by this Article	
to this if the above loss by useless labour	
of Men & Horses &c. to be added	8010
the whole yearly loss will be	£9922"10"

Let this now be apply'd to all the Townships even consider'd in their present Conditions the yearly loss will be above £30000 which must increase proportionally as Settlements go on in the Province by Reason of their want of easy & conveynient comunication with one another-----

To shew how much any Country ows its flourishing to good Roads we might produce instances from the Ancients, but that of Canada being a recent One is more striking & altho' it is much inferior in the Fertillity of its Soil its Fisherry, and every other Natural advantage to this Province, yet by the great attention, y.<sup>e</sup> French King has shown in causing Comunication to be open'd thro the Country, & making good Roads at the publick expence it is brought to that floursh.<sup>g</sup> degree we now find it in<sup>40</sup>----

Let any person vers'd in Agriculture judge by the Small Sample of Land that is now occupied in this Province what its produce might be worth, what a Quantity of Hemp Flax &c. besides the Necessarys for the Maintenance of the Settlers, & the Fishery might be rear'd let him consider the future Advantage of the Commerse (It is thought there will be exported from the Province of Nova Scotia this present Year caught by Inhabitants & Savages

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40 As DesBarres had spent more than a year in Canada, while on active service with his regiment, he well knew whereof he spoke.

20000 Quint.s <sup>41</sup> of dry'd Cod Fish @ 12/..	£12000
10000 Barrells Mackeril Salmon Herrins & other Fish @ 20/..	10000
1500 Barrells of Whale & other Fish Oil @ 30/..	2250
10000 " of Whale Bone @ 2/6	1250
20000 " Beaver & about $\frac{1}{3}$ the Value thereof [in other Furrs	1000 1000
Besides a great Quantity of Plank Boards Joist & Staves	1000
	33,500 <sup>42)</sup>

such a measure would establish Great Britain & this Country and he cannot but be convinced that the good Consequence which would result from it would not only be a publick sav.<sup>g</sup> instead of an Expence but the laying a solid Basis for a Commerce, that must in a Short time reimburse as well as considerably Enrich the Mother Country.

These with many Other cogent & obvious Reasons that might be urg'd for the execution of so beneficial a Scheme the proposer humbly Submitts they are found on the Maxims of old established Countrys & apply'd for the prosperity of Nova Scotia and he therefore flatters himself they will meet with a favourable Reception.

## Remarks

There are indeed two Objections to the execution of the above Plan which seems naturally to arise from the present conjuncture of affairs.

The first is the difficulty there would be in procuring the establishment for such an Independent Company at the beginning of a Peace-----

And the next is the difficulty of raising such a Number of Tradesmen whereof it is to consist so speedily as the service seems to require if such an establishment should be obtained----

With regard to the first Objection as there is at present a considerable Number of French Accadians & many very numerous Tribes of Sauvages, scatter'd through the Province and as the fidelity of these new Brittish conquer'd Subjects cannot in any Shape be rely'd on as we find by experience

41 A quintal is a hundredweight.

42 This total is incorrect; it should read "£27,500."

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in the Southe[r]n Colonys,<sup>43</sup> it may be answer'd that as the Government will be under the necessity of employing for several years to come a respectable Number of Troops, to be a check upon the Indians in this Province the Company now propos'd will by their being properly exercis'd in the use of Arms, be the means of lessing [sic] in proportion the Number of Troops that should be thought necessary.

And in regard to the Second I humbly apprehend that this Company might speedily be rais'd by draughting a proper Man from every Company of the different Regiments now in America which would be little or no loss to the Service as so small a Number of good Recruits might soon be rais'd in the different Quarters.

J.F.W. DesBarres<sup>44</sup>

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43 It is not clear to which of the southern colonies DesBarres is referring.

44 The author's name, but not his autograph.

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## Book Reviews

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*The Harvie/Harvey Family of Hants Co. Nova Scotia* by Leland H. Harvie. ISBN 7703-9982-7. Sentinel Printing Ltd., Yarmouth, N.S., 1984. 311 pages, illustrated, indexed, softcover, \$14.95. Available from the compiler, Box 35, Hantsport, N.S. B0P 1P0.

For forty years Hants County Harvies/ey have revered their "book" -- a twenty-page booklet compiled by the late McLeod Harvey. Though long out of print, difficult to use, and containing only two dates (both of which are incorrect), this alpha of a family history was the starting point for many a family enthusiast.

With the publication of Leland H. Harvie's work, we and all other interested parties at last do have a book. From Aaron to Zylphia, more than two thousand of the family, in eight generations and spanning two centuries, are recorded. The compiler's computerized system of recording and classifying data, while somewhat esoteric, nevertheless works. It may well alarm purists, but it is quite straightforward and usable, though it is advisable to consult, from the start, the explanation found in the opening pages. Adding immeasurably to the usefulness of the data is the inclusion of two indices: first, an alphabetical listing of all members of the family, by first names, showing the name of the father and any spouse; and second, an index of all non-Harvie/ey surnames in the book, with the index number of the Harvie/ey reference.

Within the limitations of space and cost, a real effort has been made to flesh out the bare bones of family vital statistics. We learn that cousin Freeman was found decapitated in his potato bin; that Dr. George, of "the eighteen," served as a surgeon in the Union Navy, during the American Civil War; that his son, David, was a first delegate to the United States Congress from Oklahoma; and that Mrs. James N. Harvey knit 52 pairs of socks in 1918.

The compiler has, as well, printed many primary documents, including a reprint, with some corrections, of the "Letters from Relatives in Scotland," which first appeared in the McLeod Harvey booklet and which cover the period 1762-1819. An old account of the original Dalry Harvies, from Paterson's *History of the County of Ayr* (1847), and a map showing the location of many of the places mentioned in the letters, form an introduction to the genealogy. Other documents, letters and several photographs are found at appropriate places in the text.

While certain gaps, omissions and inconsistencies are to be expected in any such work, the compiler's courage in setting a four-year limit on research, carried out in old and new Scotland and the United States, is commendable. It should serve to inspire other genealogists to make public the fruits of their labours, and not to collect information indefinitely. The attempt to cite sources is typical of the compiler's scientific approach, although it would have been useful, to future researchers, to have continued this practice with the photographs and other reproduced primary documents.

This edition is certain to be snapped up quickly, and one can only anticipate with interest the appearance of future revisions.

Robert P. Harvey

*The Journal of the Margaret Rait, 1840-1844*, by Captain James Doane Coffin; introduction by Marion Robertson. ISBN 0-88999-246-0. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, 1984. 81 pages, softcover, illustrated, \$6.95.

The *Margaret Rait* was a three-masted barque owned by the Mechanics' Whale Fishing Company of Saint John, New Brunswick, and built in 1831. Between 1840 and 1844 she was on a whaling cruise to the South Pacific with Captain James Coffin as master. Coffin, a native of Barrington, Nova Scotia, began his whaling career at the age of twenty-one and a year later became a master mariner in charge of the *Margaret Rait*.

*The Journal of the Margaret Rait, 1840-1844*, is perhaps very different from most records of whaling or fishing voyages. Coffin, married a short time previous to setting out on this whaling voyage, dedicated this journal to his new wife, Mary, ". . . who have [sic] so long been the main spring of all my actions and chief cause of all my happiness and who now are [sic] and I hope long will continue my only love, my dear Mary."

The journal traces the voyage of the *Margaret Rait* to the South Pacific, the search for sperm whales and the return trip, almost four years later. Through Coffin's journal we learn of life on board the barque, the frustrations of trying to fill the holds with precious spermaceti oil and the dangers involved in taking the whales. The most interesting aspects of the journal are Coffin's accounts of his visits to exotic seaports such as the Island of Fayal, Payta, Caleao and Easter Island. Thus, what could have been another tedious log, becomes instead a record of Coffin's feelings and reactions to what he has experienced.

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Marion Robertson writes a concise introduction, filling us in on Coffin's background and the history of the *Margaret Rait*, as well as providing a description of that vessel. Mrs. Robertson also discusses the many and various uses of oil and other products of the whale. Jeannie Peterson

*The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times*, by Joseph Wilson Lawrence. ISBN 0-919107-04-4. Acadiensis Press, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1985. 552 pages, hardcover, \$45.00.

This re-edition of *The Judges of New Brunswick*, a work of popular historical scholarship which is so venerable that it would seem inappropriate to describe, let alone to praise it, was a bicentenary project of the Barristers' Society of New Brunswick. Some helpful new features have been added: a table of contents; a second (nominal) index of New Brunswick names; and a splendid Introduction by D.G. Bell, the author of *Early Loyalist Saint John* (reviewed in our June 1984 issue), which nearly amounts to an essay on the origins of New Brunswick historiography. The three men whose collaboration brought *The Judges of New Brunswick* from research to publication: J.W. Lawrence, Alfred A. Stockton, and the Reverend W.O. Raymond (otherwise better known as the editor of *The Winslow Papers*), all figure prominently in Professor Bell's introductory essay.

Lawrence's manuscript of *The Judges of New Brunswick* was inherited by Dr. Stockton, who took great pains to edit and annotate it. The work was incomplete at the time of Stockton's own death, however, and Raymond had to see the venture through to its conclusion. The book was published originally in instalments by the old *Acadiensis* (1905-1907), but shortly thereafter appeared in the familiar one-volume edition. The structure of the book, if it may be said to have one at all, is biographical: there are chapters on each of the judges of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick appointed between the establishment of the colony in 1784 and Confederation. The content of these biographical sketches, however, reveals that the "life" is but a prologue to the "times," in which Lawrence was really more interested. The style is discursive and anecdotal; Lawrence was at his best when telling stories, and he had a large stock to retail. He was also in the habit of citing important original documents -- some of which are no longer extant -- verbatim and *in extenso*.

There is much in *The Judges of New Brunswick* which is either incidentally or directly related to the legal history of Nova Scotia. There would indeed

be plenty of material for a book entitled "The Judges of Nova Scotia and Their Times," and the absence of such a work consumes the student of legal history in Nova Scotia with regret. Judges in New Brunswick, however, have traditionally fared better than their colleagues in Nova Scotia. Not only were there three puisnes from the beginning (Nova Scotia had only two until 1810), but also they were on the parliamentary grant for the civil establishment (Nova Scotia's were paid -- irregularly -- out of the provincial revenue). The history of the judges in New Brunswick *ab initio* is very much that of the professional loyalist élite and their descendants. The same cannot quite be said of Nova Scotia, where the loyalists had to wait some fourteen years before seeing one of their own onto the Supreme Court bench.

The republication of Lawrence's great work, however much it highlights traditional scholarly inattention to the judges of Nova Scotia, is a boon to legal history in Atlantic Canada. As only 750 numbered copies of *The Judges of New Brunswick* have been printed, the *Nova Scotia Historical Review* is particularly obliged to *Acadiensis* for providing a review copy. One cannot but agree with Professor Bell that it is fitting that the new "edition appears under the imprint of the second *Acadiensis*" (page xiii).      Barry Cahill

*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VIII (1851 to 1860), edited by Frances G. Halpenny and Jean Hamelin. ISBN 0-8020-3422-5. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1985. 1129 pages, indices, hardcover, \$60.00.

Volume VIII of the *Dictionary* has 521 biographies of those who died between 1851 and 1860. Of these, 73 are of Nova Scotians or of individuals whose public career was at least partially spent in the province. Volume VIII of this most commendable project, is the ninth volume of the planned twelve in the series, covering the period from the year 1000 to 1900.

In this volume, the editors have returned to the policy of an introductory essay that assists in putting the period into its historical context. The essay by Phillip Buckner on "The Colonial Office and British North America, 1801-50" is essential reading for understanding the administrative framework for governing the colonies of British North America. It was, as Buckner ably points out, a more flexible and responsive organization than many Canadian historians have been prepared to acknowledge, often because such a recognition would call into question their version of events for this period of Canadian history.

Responsible government came to Nova Scotia in 1848 and this event is represented by the biographies of James Boyle Uniacke, the first premier under responsible government; Herbert Huntington, the reformer from Yarmouth; and Sir John Harvey, the governor at the time. Almost nothing had been written on Huntington until this article by A.A. MacKenzie, which is a fine piece of writing.

The most thoughtful biography for this reviewer was Barry Moody's entry for the Reverend Edward Manning, considered the foremost leader among Maritime Baptists in the first half of the nineteenth century. Surprisingly and regrettably, there are only two biographies of Nova Scotian women: Eliza Ann Chipman, the Cornwallis Township diarist and teacher, and Marie-Henriette LeJeune, the Cape Breton midwife and nurse known as "Granny Ross". Among the business leaders, David Sutherland provides a perceptive portrait of Henry Hezekiah Cogswell, who was a contemporary of both Enos Collins and Samuel Cunard, and with them, a founder of the Halifax Banking Company in 1825.

Volume VIII maintains the editorial standards of previous volumes, but it is to be regretted that as yet far too few Canadians seem to be aware of the value of the *Dictionary*. Perhaps only with time will they come to appreciate the historical source that is available to all in the pages of these successive volumes.

B.C. Cuthbertson

*The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula 1769-1820*, by William H. Williams. ISBN 0-8420-2227-9. Washington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, published for the Peninsula Conference of the United States Methodist Church, 1984. xiv plus 225 pages, illustrated, hardcover, \$12.95 + \$2.00 handling (U.S. funds). Available from The Peninsula Conference, 139 North State St., Dover, Del., 19901.

A book on American Methodists of the Delmarva Peninsula should be of interest to Nova Scotians. Several eighteenth-century missionaries to this province came from Delmarva and played a vital role in Methodism's history here. Williams provides a comprehensive view of the homeland and theological milieu of these preachers.

*The Garden of American Methodism* concerns itself with a predominantly rural, agricultural, and largely illiterate society which, between 1769 and 1820, shifted from an Anglican majority to a significant Methodist adherence. Williams examines the appeal of Wesleyan Methodism, its impact on

peninsula life and certain aspects of its influence beyond the region. The social structures and denominations which early promoters of Methodism encountered are portrayed in order to set the context for this study.

In essence, Williams believes that the predominantly Anglo-Saxon population, served by an inadequately supplied Anglican clergy, was open to the efforts of a more vibrant, evangelistic ministry. The Whitefieldian "Great Awakening" of the 1740s had given an indication of the response which such a religious stir could gain in the peninsula. Methodism, conceived originally by John Wesley as an Anglican reform movement, presented the needed alternative among peninsular residents of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia.

The American Revolution threw the Anglican Church into disarray in the American colonies. Williams contends that Methodism took advantage of the partial vacuum to provide an alternate church. Creation of the autonomous American Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784 meant that a truly New World institution -- though English in origin -- could serve the peoples' spiritual needs.

On the peninsula, Methodist sermon imagery was taken from the familiar world of Delmarvans and the Bible. Exhortation and preaching appealed to the unlettered masses, yet were sufficiently rational in content to attract adherents from all levels of society. Williams's discussions of revival and sermon techniques are particularly well-handled.

Circuit-riding preachers who went into areas previously destitute of religious services further enhanced the appeal of Wesleyanism. This aspect -- in addition to the sermon and revival methods -- was an adaptation by American Methodism to a rural setting from an inherited English Methodism which was mainly urban; this transformation bears useful comparison to a similar colonial situation in Nova Scotia.

*The Garden of American Methodism* is occasionally weak in supporting evidence and sparse in coverage. One example is that of the 1784 "Christmas Conference," at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was given formal status; meager details are provided, since the author has fixed on a Delmarvan communion service prior to the meetings as the actual "break" with Anglicanism. Also, an appendix listing itinerants would have further supplemented the work, by illustrating the growth of the ministerial network.

From a Nova Scotian perspective, it is disappointing that Williams does not mention missionary efforts outside Delmarva to eastern British North

America. One of the first joint bishops of American Methodism, Francis Asbury, played an influential part in permitting missionary activity in this province. A Delmarvan native, Freeborn Garrettson, arrived in Halifax in 1785 to inaugurate the itinerancy of ordained Methodist preachers here, and by his evangelistic fervor sparked several local revivals. Both men receive treatment by Williams without reference to their northern interests.

*The Garden of American Methodism*, in spite of the aforementioned weaknesses, provides an insightful examination of Delmarvan society, and provokes intriguing comparisons between agricultural Delmarva and rural Nova Scotia. It is a most readable, often entertaining, account of Methodism in what was once a sister colonial region along the Atlantic seaboard.

Allen B. Robertson

*Free Trade and Sailors' Rights. A Bibliography of the War of 1812*, compiled by John C. Fredriksen. ISBN 0-313-24313-1. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1985. 399 pages, hardcover, \$45.00.

John C. Fredriksen, who, at the time of publication, was completing his doctorate in American history at the University of California, Los Angeles, has produced a volume which will prove indispensable to students of the so-called "War of 1812." No comprehensive (or even extensive) bibliography of that conflict has hitherto existed, and one is tempted to agree with the compiler's modest prediction that his book "will greatly ease and promote research on the War of 1812 and perhaps rekindle a general interest" (page xiii).

The bibliography, which consists mainly of published primary and secondary sources -- books, articles and dissertations -- is divided into thirteen sections, seven of which are geographical. These are divided along provincial, state or regional lines, and also according to subject, biographical or otherwise. The six other sections relate to "General Texts," "The War at Sea," "Tactical," "Politics and Peace," "Miscellaneous" and "Manuscripts." Each section is designated by a letter, and each bibliographical item within the section, by a number. There are three useful appendices, concerning contemporary newspapers, the service of regiments and a chronology of the war; and a very good general index.

Section F ("Atlantic Seaboard") comprises the Maritime provinces, New England and the Middle Atlantic states. Nova Scotia and Halifax (pages 134-135) together account for thirteen entries, and the compiler seems here

to have gathered up most, if not all, of the scholarly and popular literature except what relates to Nova Scotia privateers. (I am happy to say these details are to be found instead in the subsection entitled "English/Canadian Privateers," of Section I: "The War at Sea.")

The least helpful section of the bibliography is the very last: "Manuscripts." Great Britain is not even included, which suggests that the compiler may not have a national bias, but instead a continental one. Nor is the extensive series of contemporary British official records, which the Public Archives of Canada has on microfilm, noticed. One wonders, moreover, whether the compiler's letter of inquiry (*Methodology*, page xii) was received at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the address of which is given as "Coburg Road, Halifax" (page 272). While PANS original manuscript holdings on the War of 1812 may not be extensive, they are rather less ephemeral than Fredriksen's solitary entry ("Political observations by James Vroom") might suggest.

*Free Trade and Sailors' Rights* is an ambitious book, which perhaps falls somewhat short of the compiler's expectations. I respectfully submit that he is exaggerating when, in the preface (page xiii), he says of the book, "With it, virtually any aspect of the war -- military, naval, political, religious, or economic -- will be at the fingertips of prospective historians, student and scholar alike." This might be taken to mean that the primary arrangement of the material is thematic, which it is not. The title, moreover, is unfortunate, as it implies a very narrow interpretation of the *casus belli*. A merely functional title, such as "The War of 1812: A Comprehensive Bibliography," would have been less tendentious.

Barry Cahill

*Cape Breton at 200, Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial 1785-1985*, edited by Kenneth Donovan. ISBN 0-920336-34-5. University College of Cape Breton Press, Sydney, 1985. 261 pages, illustrated, softcover, \$10.00.

To mark the bicentennial of the creation of Cape Breton as a separate colony, Kenneth Donovan has presented an interesting series of ten essays. This is the second time in the last decade that people interested in Cape Breton history have had the chance to read such a book. (Don Macgillivray and Brian Tennyson published *Cape Breton Historical Essays* in 1980). Contrary to the last book, this one contains articles that have not been published elsewhere.

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The first two articles deal with Louisbourg. Kenneth Donovan's "Tattered Clothes and Powdered Wigs" shows the contrast between the poor and the well-to-do in the town of Louisbourg during the French period. The second article helps us to understand the task of historical interpretation. It covers the period of 1960 to 1980, during which time much of the historical research was done for the rebuilding of the fortress.

Robert Morgan and Rosemarie Langhout take us to the nineteenth century. Morgan's "Separatism in Cape Breton 1820-1845," explains why many Cape Bretoners wanted to return to a separate colony. The author sees this attempt as one of the roots of the modern idea of separation in Cape Breton. Langhout then explains the rise and decline of shipping at Sydney from 1842 to 1899. Using shipping registers as a source, she also shows that local entrepreneurship was present, particularly through the investments of Thomas Dickson Archibald.

The essay by A.A. MacKenzie explains the migration of people from Cape Breton to western Canada from 1890 to 1928, to harvest the crops. It deals mainly with train trips from the east coast to the west, and the problems encountered by those people. The A.J.B. Johnston essay presents "A Vanished Era: The Petersfield Estate of J.S. McLennan, 1900-1942." Although it focuses on the estate and its history, it also contains biographical information about the family.

In "Whisper in the Air, Marconi: The Cape Breton Years, 1901-1945," Mary K. Macleod writes about the Marconi installation and his efforts to provide transatlantic communication. She stresses that what was done by Marconi in Cape Breton was important and should be preserved as heritage. In the next essay, Peter Moogk explains the different military installations and the role that each one played from 1743 to 1980.

The last two essays deal with coal-mining. The geographer Hugh Millward gives an account of the many coal-mines in existence from 1720 to 1980, with different tables illustrating mine location and production. The second one, by David Frank, is about the working-class experience in a mining town and how the workers developed a culture of their own by drawing on available resources and traditions.

Overall, we can say with no hesitation that this series of essays is worth reading because of the scholarly work and the quality of the research done by the ten authors. That being said, the reader will be surprised to see that the main emphasis has been put on Louisbourg, with two essays about

the fortress and two others including additional information about it. In addition, *Cape Breton at 200* concentrates on what is known as industrial Cape Breton, while excluding other areas which are important to the history of the island. Lastly, Acadians, women, farmers and fishermen have not been included; hopefully, further essays will address those features of Cape Breton life.

Raymond Léger

*Politics of Nova Scotia [Volume 1] 1710-1896*, by J. Murray Beck. ISBN 0-920427-04-9. Four East Publications, Tantallon, N.S., 1985. 300 pages, illustrated, hardcover, \$29.95.

Dr. Murray Beck's many admirers will not be disappointed with *Politics of Nova Scotia [Volume 1] 1710-1896*. In this book he clearly accomplishes what he sets out to do: to prepare a study of 186 years of Nova Scotian politics of interest and relevance to both the generalist and the scholar. Thus *Politics of Nova Scotia* becomes a much needed and easily accessible source for those interested in Nova Scotia's political past.

*Politics of Nova Scotia [Volume 1]* traces political life from the assumption of British supremacy in the region to the departure of W.S. Fielding for federal politics in 1896. The patchwork governmental system of the early decades was distinguished by lack of direction from Britain, for as Paul Mascarene, among others, discovered, governing Nova Scotia was not easy, especially as "the authorities in England in typical fashion, did not reply to his dispatches for two years...." (pp. 12-13). Dr. Beck then takes us through the establishment of representative government, Confederation, and provincial unrest in the 1880s. The author stresses the conservative political culture of the Nova Scotian experience and frequently reminds us that the political victories and advances were won without gunfire and bloodshed.

The use of primary and secondary sources, documenting these sources, and the use of other aids in presenting the author's message are of interest to me as an archivist. Dr. Beck does not burden us with a multiplicity of footnotes and this is sensible, given his purpose. Readers are generally provided with sufficient documentation to trace his sources. Dr. Beck gives ample credit to the work of other scholars when he is presenting their interpretations, although there are several cases where he alludes to differing rationales without indicating in the text or in the footnotes about whom he is writing.

Dr. Beck provides a number of useful appendices in this highly readable

volume. The print is attractive and easy to read; surely a point to praise today, when so many publications give scant attention to this detail. Cartographic reproductions and more detailed photographic captions would have helped, but these are small points in a book which fully succeeds in accomplishing what the author intended.

I recommend this book to everyone interested in Nova Scotian political history. Dr. Beck has presented us with a very fine study and I, for one, eagerly await Volume 2, which will bring the story up to the present.

Carman V. Carroll

Nova Scotia



**Department of  
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