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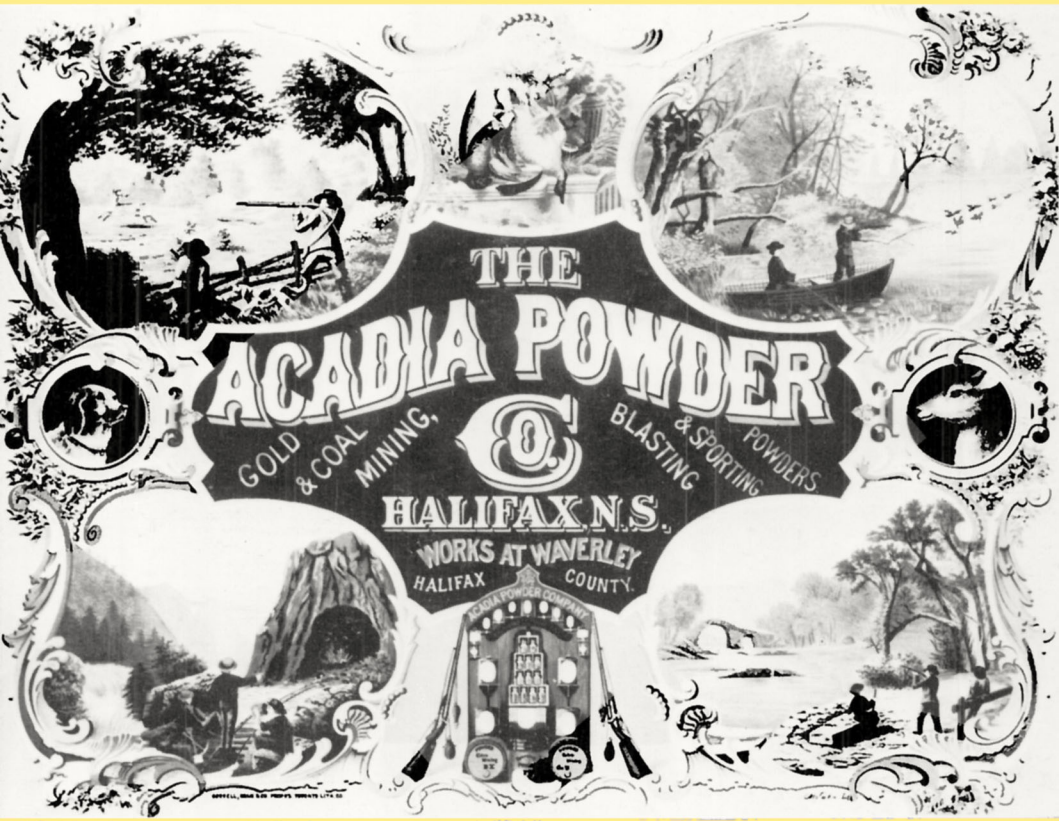

Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 8, Number 1, 1988

Cover Illustration:
Original colour lithograph, Toronto, ca. 1878.

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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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Contents

Editorial

The cover illustration reminds us of the struggle being waged by the author of our lead article to have the site of the Acadia Powder Company works at Waverley declared a heritage property, or otherwise protected from the ravages of ignorance and unconcern. Courageous personal campaigns such as John Hartlen's, and the recent establishment of the Museum of Industry and Transportation at Stellarton under the vigorous leadership of Peter Latta as curator, have given new hope to those interested in the history of this province that the surviving documents of its industrial heritage, whether textual or 'artifactual,' will be located, identified and preserved.

This is the first issue of the *Review* in several which has not been devoted to a particular theme. A general issue has the advantage of allowing the editors to dip into the "holding file" and draw out from it submissions which may have been accepted for publication one, two or even three years previously, but not yet published--either because they did not relate to the theme of the issue concerned, or because they could not be physically accommodated in a periodical which appears but twice a year and may not exceed a rather modest maximum number of pages. Theme issues resume in December, however, with the publication of our deferred issue featuring legal and medical history.

This issue of the *Review*, has been made possible by a generous grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture. We are most grateful for their support, which has been forthcoming continuously since 1981; our survival depends on it.

We are pleased to announce that the *Review* will henceforth be indexed in the *Canadian Periodical Index*.

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THE FIRST BISHOP

A Biography of Charles Inglis
by Brian Cuthbertson

Irish by birth, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary in colonial Delaware, Charles Inglis as rector of Trinity Church in New York became the foremost Loyalist clergyman during the American Revolution. Consecrated in 1787 as the first bishop of the Anglican Church in Canada and as the first overseas bishop in the Commonwealth, the controversial Inglis in his 29 year episcopate laid the foundations for the Church in Maritime Canada. There are twelve chapters describing his career in colonial American and as bishop, including a special chapter on his role in creating an indigenous style of Maritime church architecture.

Former Public Records Archivist at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the author has published extensively in Nova Scotian history, including biographies of Attorney General Richard John Uniacke and Governor Sir John Wentworth, and edited the Journal of the Newlight preacher John Payzant.

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The Acadia Powder Company at Waverley, 1863-1886

John Hartlen

The Acadia Company was formed on 1 May 1863 under the Nova Scotia *Joint Stock Companies Act*. It was incorporated in 1869 and 1880 by private Acts of that province and incorporated again in 1883 by a private Act of the Dominion of Canada. As a joint stock company in 1863, its name was the Acadia Powder Mill Company. All nineteen shareholders were nominally from Halifax, with eighteen shareholders taking one share each at $1,000, and the remaining shareholder taking two shares at $1,000, for a total share capital of $20,000. The 1869 Act named Acadia Powder a limited company with a capital stock of $50,000, and with permission to double its capital to $100,000. The 1880 Act renamed the company the Acadia Powder Company Limited, and capital was authorized to be doubled again to $200,000. By the Dominion Act of 1883, Acadia was allowed to carry on business anywhere in Canada, and to make "nitrogylcerine, dynamite and any and all other explosives substances," besides explosives powders.[1]

Among Acadia's nineteen shareholders in 1863, Wells Laflin was probably the only experienced powder man. In charge of the Waverley powder works from 1863 to 1871, Wells was one of five children of Herman Laflin (1778-1854) and a grandson of Matthew Laflin (1735-1810), a powder-maker from Massachusetts. Wells's uncle (also named Matthew) and cousins, too, were powder men, the surname lasting in U.S. corporate titles until at least 1912, the year the Laflin and Rand Powder Company was dissolved.[2]

By its first deed transactions in May and July 1863, Acadia acquired 210 acres on both sides of a stream connecting Fish (later called Powder Mill)

The author began research for this article out of curiosity about the remains of an explosives manufacturing plant near his home at Waverley. In June 1985 he was notified by Du Pont Canada's Public Relations Division of a grant to enable him to continue research at the Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware. That research was done during August 1985. Hagley's business history collections include records of the Du Pont and Laflin Powder Companies and their corporate connections with the Acadia Powder Company of Waverley and Halifax.

The author wishes to thank Du Pont Canada, and Dr. Richmond D. Williams, Deputy Director for Library Administration, as well as the staff of the Hagley Museum, for their assistance.

1 Articles of Incorporation in RG 5, Series P, Vol. 55, No. 37, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS]; *Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1869, c. 63, and 1880, c. 51; and *Statutes of Canada*, 1883, c. 94.

2 Laflin genealogy in E.H. Lambert (with supplement by Hugo Schlatter), memorandum *re* history of Laflin & Rand Powder Company, ca. 1923: Accession 500 (Du Pont Company Records), Series II, Part 2 (Records of E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, Inc.--Acquisitions of Du Pont Company Museum), Item 74, Hagley Museum and Libary [hereafter HML].

Lake and Lake William in Halifax County, along the Shubenacadie Canal and near the Nova Scotia Railway line; the property was intersected by Scott's Road (now Route 2) from Waverley to Bedford. By 1871, Laflin was outfitted with a carriage or sleigh, a stable, five wagons or sleds and the manager's home. Four adjacent houses were likely leased to workmen. An 1864 map shows also a "Press House," a "Cylinder Mill," a "Grinding Mill" and a "Composition House."[3]

"Composition" is a name given to the first mix of black powder ingredients --saltpetre, sulphur and charcoal--with water added. A "rolling (or incorporating) mill" is a grinding mill with cast-iron wheels, powered both to rotate and to revolve in a circular trough on top of the composition, making "powder cake." The powder cake was broken and sized--meaning grained, granulated or "corned"--by sieving, and then dried in or out-of-doors on racks or tables. The rough powder was smoothed and "glazed" by adding graphite and tumbling the mixture in cylinders; packaging was the final step in the process.

Besides wheel mills, tumbling cylinders or drums containing metal balls were used in the mixing and grinding processes; hence the "Cylinder Mill" of the 1864 map. The only known description of an exact method of powder-making used by Acadia before 1871 is that of Arthur Pine Van Gelder, likely based on interviews he had about 1923 with Harry Wylde, a former secretary of Acadia. Van Gelder wrote:

> The powder was incorporated in cylinders with brass balls, pressed in a hydraulic press operated by hand pumps, broken up with wooden mallets, dried and glazed. . . .Whenever an explosion of the cylinder mills occurred, which was not rare, boys were employed to pick up the brass balls and were paid 10¢ a pound for them.[4]

3 All land transactions of the Acadia Company from 1863 to 1911 are recorded in Registry of Deeds, Halifax County. Factory buildings identified are on the A.F. Church & Co. map of Halifax County, ca. 1864, PANS.

4 Arthur Pine Van Gelder and Hugo Schlatter, *History of the Explosives Industry in America* (Arno Press reprint, 1972), p. 299. At least five men died as a result of powder manufacturing accidents from 1867 to 1905: William Robinson, 13 July 1867; Henry Reynolds, 17 June 1873; Henry McEwan, 17 Aug. 1883; David Thomas, 8 May 1884; and John Spriggs, 28 Oct. 1905. Joseph Cole, William Pitcher and Harold Roscoe were killed, 25 July 1935, in an explosion of nitroglycerine which had leached into the ground of the abandoned factory; see *Mail* (Halifax), 26 July 1935.

Acadia was self-insured and kept machinery duplicates on hand. The Company charred alder-wood and refined sulphur and saltpetre on site, as an 1884 inventory listed iron kettles, barrels of sulphur and saltpetre "loose in refinery" and "pulverized." Ten frictionless wooden shovels, 24 wooden powder barrows, 1,000 sparkless brass balls, and a steam pump were listed among tools "in use and on hand" in 1884. The "Duplicates" inventory that year included 150 more brass balls, turbine duplicates, a portable magazine, a spare water-wheel and an extra wheel-mill curb. There were two wheel mills at the powder yard in 1882. One wheel, running in October 1890, weighed about 24 tons. An 1871 census-taker recorded one hundred tons of saltpetre, 35,000 pounds of sulphur and 165 cords of wood used by four powder men, with a capacity of 75 horsepower (waterpower) to make about fifteen tons of powder in that year. There were 34 workers by 1881 and 38 employees in 1891.[5]

Wells Laflin died at Waverley on 3 September 1871, aged 64, survived by his wife. A Halifax merchant, Thomas Abbott, was Acadia's president from 1863 until 1877.[6] Why did Abbott and Laflin build a black powder plant in Nova Scotia? First, Acadia's merchant shareholders were likely influenced by high powder prices caused by the American Civil War and a shortage of powder at home. American powder-makers withdrew exports during the war, including powder that had come to Nova Scotia from Maine's Oriental Powder Company. Evidence is wanting that Acadia's powder was not shipped to Civil War combatants, but Acadia made only about ten to fifteen kegs of powder a day before 1871, barely enough to meet local demand.[7] Second, the local mining industry needed powder. Some of the province's largest mines during the gold-rush years from 1862 to 1867 operated at Waverley, next to the powder yard. By the 1880s, more explosives were sold by Acadia to the coal mines than to the gold industry, including sales to the Acadia, Glace Bay, Halifax, Intercolonial, Spring Hill and Vale

5 Inventories in Accession 1305 (Estate of Lammot du Pont), HML. Census material taken from correspondence, Public Archives of Canada to J. Hartlen, 7 Feb. 1985.

6 *Evening Reporter* (Halifax), 5 Sept. 1871; *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 23 May 1910.

7 Van Gelder, *Explosives*, p. 299.

coal companies. An Acadia advertising circular of February 1878 emphasized that

> The Blasting Powders, made from the best refined saltpetre, are put in 25 lb. and 100 lb. kegs, air and water tight, which are warranted to stand any climate. For COAL MINES or any deep workings, this powder is subject to special treatment, whereby the amount of smoke from combustion is greatly lessened.
>
> The SODA Powder is well adapted for many purposes, as surface blasting and dry workings, and is cheaper. . . ."[8]

Though about equal in strength and ability to retard moisture, soda powder made from Chilean saltpetre or sodium nitrate nearly displaced the more expensive Indian saltpetre powder--also called potassium nitrate or potash powder. A U.S. powder-man reported about Acadia in August 1876 that good soda powder could not be made in Waverley's "foggy climate."[9] But in 1884, Superintendent Wilson surveyed 9,000 kegs on site and 500 kegs being filled--"about equally divided" between saltpetre and soda powder. Besides mining demand and high wartime prices, a market for sporting powder was a third reason Acadia was able to commence operations in 1863.

Of the five types of powder which Acadia could have manufactured--cannon, rifle, musket, blasting and sporting--the last-mentioned was said by Acadia's president in 1882 to have been its most profitable line. Besides advertisements in Halifax City directories, the 1878 circular boasted of Acadia's sporting powder that

> This. . . Powder is produced from the finest F.F.F. to the largest sized cartridge grains, and besides in the usual 25 lb. wooden kegs, is put up in oval flasks, containing quarter, half, one lb. and three lbs. excellently adapted for retailing, especially at night when it is dangerous to handle loose powder in the vicinity of lights. It is also put up in 6 lb. and 12 lb. metallic canisters for retailing which are colored scarlet, have an attractive label, and form a handsome shop ornament, besides being perfectly safe. . . ."

8 Accession 1305, HML.

9 Memorandum *re* Acadia Powder Company, 5 Aug. 1876, in Memorandum Book on Powder Industry, kept by Laflin & Rand Powder Company: Accession 500, Series II, Part 1, Item 1231, p. 273, HML.

A picture of an Acadia powder cannister--labelled for A.A. Baldwin & Co., Charlottetown, P.E.I.--was featured on the cover of the August 1964 issue of *The Canadian Journal of Arms Collecting*. The letters described the burning properties of the powder, triple fine ("F.F.F.") being powder burning faster than coarse, single "F." powder. Evidence is wanting that Acadia made or sold military powder, although a letter of 15 May 1882 advised that Acadia might withdraw a tender to the government "for military powder to injure us," i.e. to compete with the rival Hamilton Powder Company.[10]

By its 1884 inventory Acadia had on hand, of its own brands, 1,120 kegs of Sporting F. powder at $2.25 per keg; 1,402 kegs of Saltpetre Blasting Powder at $2.00 per keg; and 838 kegs of Soda Powder at $1.60. There were forty cases of sporting powder in paper containers and two cases in tins. A printing press, type, lithographs, circulars, square and round labels, stencils, packing tools and paints, oils and varnishes were also listed. A cooperage had been renovated in 1883, its mill powered by a water-wheel in a trench dug from Rocky Lake on the powder-yard property. The 1884 inventory also mentions wood supplies, including items such as staves, headings, hoops and screw bungs for powder kegs.

Easy water, rail and road transportation was a fourth reason why Acadia built at Waverley. The powder-yard shorefront at Powder Mill Cove on Lake William faced the Shubenacadie Canal waterway. The canal remained passable until about 1874, when the Dartmouth- and Portobello-inclined canal works were dismantled, thus ending the commercial water route from Lake William to Halifax Harbour. An 1863 canal freight tariff listed tolls for powder, cooperage goods and other products which Acadia might have transported. Moreover, Acadia's plant expansion after 1863 required stonework for flumes, trenches, culverts, bridges and powder-yard magazines--building stones which might have been taken from the canal upon its closing about 1874. In 1886, Acadia deeded some of its land to the Crown as a railway right-of-way along Lake William; and by 1896, a newly-built railroad causeway severed Powder Mill Cove, thus ending Acadia's 33-year-old access to the Shubenacadie Canal waterway.

10 Thomas Brainerd to Lammot du Pont, 15 May 1882: Accession 384 (Papers of Lammot du Pont), Box 11, HML.

Acadia bought four acres of land in 1870 and a water lot in 1875 at Tufts Cove, on the shores of Halifax Harbour near the exit from the Shubenacadie Canal. Financial statements for 1883, 1884 and 1885 recorded land and buildings at Tufts Cove valued at $49,000. In those years, explosives were shipped to destinations such as Mulgrave, St. John's, Newfoundland, and Saint John, New Brunswick, likely from Tufts Cove. Other consignments went overland from Waverley to places such as Mount Uniacke and Musquodoboit.

In February 1881, the Company bought additional land at Waverley across Scott's Road from the black-powder works, probably as explosives clearance property for its new dynamite manufacturing works. By 1885, Acadia had spent $4,079 on dynamite plant construction. A December 1883 financial statement recorded that Acadia had shares in two powder and dynamite magazines at Saint John, which had lately been built. Acadia had also acquired two acres of land at East River Pictou in 1868, possibly as the site for an explosives storage depot.

Acadia had originally located on land at Waverley next to the main line of the Nova Scotia Railway, although in 1882 the Company was using a railway station four miles away--certainly Windsor Junction--to which station the powder works were connected by a macadamized road. A railway siding was built on to the dynamite works around 1882, the line showing on Canadian topographical maps as late as 1951. Railway companies everywhere, however, were reluctant to haul explosives. In 1882, Acadia's president wrote of the refusal of railroad officials to move the dangerous commodity, adding that "we manage to overcome the difficulty here by resources of our own"[11]-usually overland transportation, such as when *Atlantic Weekly* of 19 November 1898 reported that five wagon teams would leave the dynamite works on Monday for Pictou. A correspondent for a Halifax newspaper in November 1890 also complained of "the storage and transit through the streets of *dangerous* explosives like *dynamite* and *gunpowder*," and of shipments "in steamers and vessels with passengers at the risk of their lives."[12]

Public safety was a fifth reason why Acadia located at Waverley. In August 1857, an explosion of five tons of powder had destroyed the Merchant's

11 John Mott to Henry Hosmer, 22 Feb. 1882: in Accession 1305, HML.

12 *Morning Chronicle* (Halifax), 15 Nov. 1890.

Powder Magazine at Halifax, so the decision to build Acadia's magazines and plant twelve miles from the city was a timely one. By 1884, however, Acadia had moved closer to town. Its inventory of that year included 464 kegs of powder and sixty cases of dynamite, with fuses and detonators, all stored at Hosterman's magazine on the North West Arm of Halifax Harbour.

Acadia prospered during the late 1870s. One reason alleged in an 1882 letter to Acadia president John Mott, from Lammot du Pont, was a decision by the American Gunpowder Trade Association (GTA) to ignore temporarily the Nova Scotia powder trade, "as it was thought to be small and not likely to grow." To the extent that the GTA held back competitive exports to Nova Scotia, Acadia prospered. Other actions of the GTA which Du Pont claimed had helped Acadia were the American-funded purchases of many of Acadia's Canadian competitors; price-setting to a "paying point"; and the withdrawal of British powder manufacturers from Canadian explosives-trading, when confronted by the GTA with threats of retaliatory exports. Mott's business acumen was praised by Du Pont: under Mott's management, prices at Acadia were "advanced," and "money was made by all parties."[13]

John Mott was an Acadia shareholder in 1865 and had become president by 19 October 1877, this being the date of a financial minute by Acadia secretary Charles Wylde, noting that Mott had taken more shares at auction and assumed the presidency, after "the late agents who became insolvent" – namely Mott's competitor, Thomson, Abbott & Co., commission merchants of Halifax.

Acadia's office address in 1884 was Bedford Row, Halifax. That was also the trading address of Mott's more prominent business, John P. Mott & Co., Manufacturers and Dealers of Soaps, Candles, Spices, Etc. Mott confided in an 1882 letter that he had shares in three Western United States railroads, three railroads in New York and Ohio, and several eastern coal mines; he also owned, in whole or in part, ten ships, including the *Maggie Elliott*, which had recently landed sodium nitrate and saltpetre cargoes at New York and Boston. Mott had been educated at Dorchester, Massachusetts,

13 Lammot du Pont to John Mott, 7 May 1883: Accession 1305, HML. Hereafter, this nine-page letter is quoted extensively.

where he might have seen powder works, and by 1882 he had also visited powder mills in England and Scotland, where he had "learned much by inspection"-and where he likely recruited powder men.[14]

Mott's superintendent at the Waverley works was Benjamin Curry Wilson, who probably had begun as Laflin's clerk. Wilson, like Wylde, had extensive contacts in the mining trades. By the time of his death in 1905, Wilson had been president of both the Nova Scotia Gold Miners' Association and the Mining Society of Nova Scotia, and had also served as warden of the County of Halifax. Charles Wylde was to be secretary of Acadia for 25 years until his death in 1906, when he was succeeded by his son, Harry.[15]

Between 1877 and 1885, plant changes under Wilson included a new magazine and wheel mill; a new water-wheel, wood shed and "new shafting"; a new packing building and storeroom; a new stone dry-house, a new dwelling house and an enlarged glazing mill; additions and improvements to the keg mill; a corning mill to replace the mill which had exploded in 1883; and a new magazine and barricade.[16]

Dr. Thomas Brainerd of the Hamilton Powder Company and John Mott of Acadia struggled from 1876 until 1886 for control of the Canadian powder market. In the end, not even Lammot du Pont, who was working behind the scenes to assimilate the entire Canadian explosives industry within his American conglomerate, was sure which powder-maker had laid the first charge. In letters and telegrams from Brainerd to Du Pont, Mott was described as a pleasant man who had "a bee in his bonnet about powder."[17] By 1883, according to Brainerd, Acadia was making dynamite as well as powder; had pirated Hamilton's nitroglycerine-maker; "was dumping powder" in Quebec and Ontario; and had even bought Daniel Smith's little mill at Brownsburg, Quebec, hired Smith, re-tooled the mill, apparently

14 Mott to Hosmer, 22 Feb. 1882.

15 *Acadian Recorder*, 4 Sept. 1905; 17 May 1906. Harry Wylde died Aug. 1939.

16 Accession 1305, HML.

17 Thomas Brainerd to Lammot du Pont, 12 Dec. 1882: Accession 384, Box 11, HML. The analysis of corporate affairs which follows is based on manuscripts in Box 11; see also Accession 1305 and Accession 1363 (Estate of Lammot du Pont), Box 5, HML.

renamed it "Pacific Mills"--and might soon be shipping explosives for Canadian Pacific Railway construction, thus undermining Hamilton Powder's CPR contracts. Brainerd had met at Hamilton's Montreal office with Charles Wylde in 1880 and with Mott in 1882 to arrange a pricing agreement, but Mott--according to Brainerd--broke that agreement. From other GTA sources, Du Pont next learned that Acadia was selling powder to the sawmills of Newfoundland, and that Mott might soon start a mill in Manitoba.

Mott alleged in a letter to the GTA that the Hamilton Company was an "overbearing [monopoly], composed almost entirely of foreigners." Moreover, he knew of at least two prominent parliamentarians anxious "that natives of the Lower Provinces should take a prominent position as manufacturers," and ready to take shares in Acadia.

Brainerd alleged that eastern coal mines were Canada's largest users of explosives, but Mott argued that soft-seamed coal mines used few explosives. Brainerd insisted that Hamilton was entitled to the Maritime trade which the Windsor Powder Company had had before that company was bought by Hamilton in 1876. Mott, in turn, insisted that Windsor's eastern powder trade had been marginal and that its "inferior" product had had to be re-manufactured by Acadia. Brainerd argued that Hamilton was entitled to the eastern share of the new dynamite trade which had been given up by American GTA powder-makers when they were confronted with protective Canadian tariffs. Mott, however, insisted that his company could make dynamite as good as Nobel's, and that he would fight with "vigorous tenacity" for the right to trade anywhere in Canada.

In May 1882, powder was being dumped at Saint John, New Brunswick at "ridiculous" prices by the GTA-controlled Hazard Powder Company. Mott wrote to Du Pont to complain that Brainerd had recently placed sales agent N.K. Bigelow in Halifax, to cause "interference" with Acadia's trade. In December 1882, Bigelow wrote to Brainerd, who in turn wrote to Du Pont, noting that Bigelow had seen several Acadia stockholders, including Wylde and Wilson, who were "indisposed" to back Mott in a longer corporate fight. The rebel shareholders had indicated they "[would] act and strongly" at an upcoming shareholders' meeting, and had even claimed that they wanted Pacific Mills taken "off from [*sic*] their hands!"

The shareholders' or directors' minutes of Acadia's January 1883 meeting have not been found, but support for the outright purchase of Acadia

was likely undermined by an attempt by Brainerd to hire Smith, Acadia's explosives-maker. It seems probable, however, through a complicated series of manoeuvres, that Du Pont had obtained control of Acadia by 30 August 1883, by which date he is known to have assumed financial obligation for an explosives accident at Acadia's Waverley plant.[18] A financial statement of 31 December 1884 proves that Du Pont's estate (he had been killed in an 1884 nitrogylcerine explosion) then held Acadia shares valued at $49,000--out of a total par value capital stock of $74,000; the remaining $25,000 having been distributed among thirteen local shareholders.

Mott was still president of Acadia, however, and his battles with Brainerd were not yet over. Near the end of that year, Acadia took a loss on the sale of Pacific Mills to Hamilton Powder--an action directed by Du Pont--while Mott complained again of the sales tactics of agent Bigelow. By the end of 1883, Brainerd transferred Bigelow to Newfoundland. At the January 1884 shareholders' meeting, Mott was returned as president, on written advice from Brainerd to Du Pont: "If friend Mott insists at returning at the annual meeting better let him."[19] By written instructions from the administrators of Du Pont's estate, Mott voted in January 1885 with the estate's shares in Acadia, and so remained president. In January 1886, however, Brainerd had a "lively" time at the shareholders' meeting when he successfully put forward his own nominee, Theron Gue, as Acadia's new president, with Brainerd himself and Mott as directors. Hours before the meeting, Brainerd had secured from Du Pont's executors a power of attorney to vote Acadia stock, conditional on payment by Brainerd of $19,095--an amount previously reported by the executors as outstanding for Acadia shares held by them.[20]

18 The shareholders were M.P. Black, Robert Boak, George Esson, James Hart, L.J. Morton, John Mott, Peter Ross, estate of Edward Smith, John Stairs, W.J. Stairs, James W. Turner, Robie Uniacke, and Benjamin Wilson. Norman B. Wilkinson, *Lammot du Pont and the American Explosives Industry: 1850-1884* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1984), p. 228, implies that Du Pont made a one hundred per cent purchase of Acadia. Du Pont, however, failed to make a total purchase: the reasons are outlined in Hartlen to HML, 26 Feb. 1986, and HML to Hartlen, 4 Mar. 1986 (author's collection).

19 Thomas Brainerd to Lammot du Pont, 20 Dec. 1883: Accession 1363, Box 5, HML.

20 Thomas Brainerd to Henry Belin Jr., 9 and 26 Jan. 1886: Accession 1363, Box 5, HML.

John Mott died in 1890, his shares in Acadia then being sold by his executors. Thomas Brainerd retired as president of Hamilton Powder in 1903 and died in 1910. The valuation of Mott's estate was $757,785; the net worth of Lammot du Pont's personal estate was $1,044,000.[21] Norman Wilkinson, Du Pont's biographer, has argued that Lammot du Pont's acquisition of the Hamilton and Acadia Companies was a "first step" towards overseas expansion by the Du Pont family. Indeed, Brainerd had once written to Du Pont to report that Mott was a person of "large wealth," and to suggest an outright purchase of Acadia "if we can afford it."

Acadia continued from 1886 to 1907 under the stewardship of Theron Gue. In 1899, Gue spearheaded the establishment, on land adjacent to the Waverley dynamite factory, of the Dominion Electrical Works for the manufacture of electrical blasting supplies.[22] A former secretary of the Hamilton Powder Company, and a New York native apparently with Laflin family connections, Gue died at his Halifax home in 1907. By his will he anticipated that corporate changes were coming, but hoped nevertheless that the two companies which had taken his "best energies" might be carried on.[23] In 1911, Acadia's works at Waverley were deeded to the Canadian Explosives Limited (CXL), for payment of CXL preferred and common shares with a par value of $428,000. Incorporated in 1910 as a holding company and capitalized by Nobel's Explosives of Glasgow (55% of capital) and U.S. Du Pont (45% of capital), CXL went on to acquire various Canadian explosives companies, including the Dominion Electrical, Hamilton and Acadia concerns.[24] Acadia's black-powder works were taken to Windsor in 1913, and its dynamite works moved to Beloeil, Quebec in the same year.[25]

21 Wilkinson, *Lammot du Pont*, p. 286. Mott's estate valuation in Probate Court, Halifax County, No. 3937; his obituary in *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, 26 Apr. 1890.

22 Letters patent in RG 7, Vol. 250, p. 50, PANS.

23 Will in Registry of Deeds, Halifax County, Vol. 381, p. 343; obituary in *Industrial Advocate*, Aug. 1907.

24 William Reader, *Imperial Chemical Industries: A History* (London, 1970), I, 210. Memorandum, Canadian Industries Limited and Predecessor and Associated Companies, November 1951: Accession 1410 (Records of Public Affairs Department, Du Pont Company), Box 27, HML.

25 Van Gelder, *Explosives*, p. 300.

In 1927, CXL became Canadian Industries Limited, and in 1954 C-I-L became two companies--Du Pont of Canada and Canadian Industries (1954) Limited. The latter company is now the proprietor of a large portion of Acadia's former 1,000-acre property at Waverley, still used for explosives storage, but largely forgotten in the industrial history of this province. Its present status seems far removed from a day in mid-October, 1890, when a Halifax newspaper reporter visiting the Waverley works wrote of a man placing waxed paper cartridges inside wooden moulds, and funnelling them full of "yellow sugar"-dynamite: "A man named Sandy was filling and pouring it in hard and fast. . . .Sandy was saturated with it, and if a detonator was put to him[,] he would blow up just as well as dynamite."

Father Vincent de Paul Merle: Unusual Trappist, Unlikely Missionary

Paulette M. Chiasson

On a busy Halifax wharf some time early in June 1815, a Trappist priest watched a ship sail out of the harbour. He should have been aboard that vessel bound for England. He had, in fact, been on it for two days as it lay waiting for favourable winds, but he had decided to step ashore to secure a few fresh provisions in anticipation of the long voyage. The wind had come up and the captain set sail. All efforts to regain the ship were futile. Alone, in a strange country, with hardly any funds and little comprehension of English, Father Vincent de Paul Merle began a remarkable sacerdotal career in Nova Scotia.

Some historians have accused the Trappist of deliberately "missing the boat," of refusing to return to Europe because of his firm belief in the importance of the North American missions. While it is difficult to believe that this concientious Roman Catholic priest would have deliberately disobeyed his superior's order to return to Europe, throughout his 54 years of priesthood Vincent de Paul would demonstrate a remarkable capacity to continue his missionary work, despite frequent advice and even orders to abandon it.[1] The story of this French Trappist's formative years in revolutionary Europe is one of determination and courage in the face of religious persecution. Vincent de Paul carried that same spirit with him to Nova Scotia and it was frequently tested during his more than 37 years of labour in the northeastern section of the province.

The roots of Vincent de Paul's efforts to establish a Trappist monastery in Nova Scotia, as well as to minister to the province's inhabitants lie in his experiences in France and Switzerland. He was born into a devout Roman Catholic family on 29 October 1768 in Chalamont, France, the son of Claude Merle and Louise Garnier.[2] He was baptized Jacques that same day. His father, a surgeon, could probably afford to educate his sons; when Jacques and his brother were old enough, they were sent to a Jesuit college in nearby

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1 For a discussion on whether the actions were deliberate, see Thomas Merton, *Au sources du silence*, Jean Stiénon du Pré, trad. (5e édit., Bruges, Belgique, 1955), pp. 104-105.

2 Baptismal certificate, Archives de l'État, Départment de l'Ain (Bourg-en-Brasse, France).

Lyon.[3] After completing his classical course Jacques began studies for the priesthood, apparently with the intention of entering one of the branches of the Cistercian order, commonly known as the Trappists.

The Trappists had one of the strictest monastic observances within the Catholic Church. Their monasteries were cloistered and were usually established in secluded areas where there was little contact with the outside world. Following the rule of Saint Benedict, altered over the centuries, monks and priests dedicated themselves to lives of contemplation, combining prayer, study, and manual labour in devotion to God. Except for emergencies and cases of necessity, silence was strictly observed in the cloister and the Trappists maintained a frugal and spartan existence. It was a rigorous régime for a young man in his twenties, but Merle seemed determined.

The outbreak of the French Revolution was only one of numerous obstacles in his path. On 13 February 1790, the National Assembly issued a decree which forbade the taking of solemn vows and ordered the supression of religious orders throughout France. Later that year, all clergy and religious were required to take the oath of allegiance to the civil constitution. Many refused and a vigorous campaign of persecution against non-juring clergy began.[4] In the midst of this turmoil a group of Trappists, led by Dom Augustin de Lestrange, novice master at the monastery of La Trappe, fled to Switzerland. There, for a while, they found refuge and established a monastery which grew rapidly under the leadership of the dynamic Dom Augustin.

It was to this monastery, at Valsainte, Switzerland, that Merle was admitted as a novice. Dom Augustin probably had a formative influence on the young novice. A man of action rather than of contemplation, he would provide direction for the Trappists at a time of confusion and persecution. When Napoleon's forces invaded Switzerland in 1798, Lestrange led his monks on an extraordinary odyssey through what is now Germany, Austria, Poland

3 Information on the life of Jacques Merle (Father Vincent de Paul) comes from an unsigned manuscript biography, "Le R. P. Vincent de Paul, Trappiste et missionaire, 1768-1853," Series A, 1021, Archives de l'Abbaye cistercienne, Oka, Quebec [hereafter AAC].

4 C.S. Philips, *The Church in France, 1789-1848: a study in revival* (New York, 1966).

and Russia, in search of refuge.[5] However, Merle was not among the monks who made the journey. Indeed, his first stay at Valsainte lasted only a brief six months. Ill health prevented him from following the severe régime that had been initiated by Lestrange since the Trappists' arrival in Switzerland, so he had no choice but to leave the monastery.

Merle returned to France, where persecution of the clergy still continued. In hiding, he acted as a catechist and religious teacher in the countryside of the diocese of Lyon, while also continuing his studies for the priesthood. He and several others were ordained in a clandestine ceremony on 7 April 1798 by the Bishop of Vienne.[6] He continued his work as a catechist, but was eventually discovered and arrested. Sentenced to be deported, he managed to escape from prison and eventually found refuge in a clandestine seminary, where he taught from 1799 to 1802. The Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon and the papacy had removed some of the restrictions placed on the Catholic Church in France, so in 1802 the seminary moved to Meximieux, and Merle continued his teaching career there.[7]

Meanwhile, the Trappists under Lestrange had taken advantage of the climate of toleration to return to Valsainte in July 1802. His health much improved and his determination to enter the Trappists renewed, Merle also returned to Switzerland, probably in January 1803. He pronounced his vows as a Trappist on 13 October and took the name Vincent de Paul.[8] Soon after the Trappists had returned to Switzerland, Lestrange saw to the foundation of several new monasteries. When one of these, near Genoa, Italy, asked Napoleon for legal recognition, the French emperor conceived the idea of a Trappist monastery-hospice in the Alps, which would provide shelter and medical aid to his troops crossing over into Italy. In return for recognition of the Genoa monastery, Lestrange agreed to the foundation

5 Merton, Chapter IV; Louis J. Lekai, *Les moines blancs: histoire de l'ordre cistercien* (Paris, 1957), trans. of *The white monks* (Okauchee, Wis., 1953).

6 Series A, 1021, AAC.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

of such a hospice.[9] He chose Merle, now Father Vincent de Paul, for the difficult task, apparently because of his "indefatigable zeal" and his "unlimited charity." [10] In 1806 Vincent de Paul and several monks left for Montgénèvre, France, the site of the monastery-hospice they were to build and operate. By the winter of 1806-07 the hospice had opened its doors. Its work was apparently well appreciated by local government authorities, who viewed the monks' industry and knowledge of agriculture as a fine example for local farmers and appreciated the assistance rendered to numerous travellers who made the arduous passage through the Alps.

Although the hospice prospered and additional monks arrived, storm clouds began to gather. On 10 June 1809 the pope excommuicated Napoleon. Dom Augustin then aroused the emporer's ire by visiting the pope. In 1811 Napoleon retaliated by ordering the abolition of "all the monasteries of la Trappe. . . throughout the empire, even that of Mont-Génèvre." [11] Vincent de Paul joined Dom Augustin in France, as the Trappists once again began to search for a new home.

In 1803, after the Trappists had returned to Valsainte, Dom Augustin had sent a contingent to the United States under Dom Urbain Guillet. Rather than join Dom Urbain's community, Vincent de Paul was now sent to the United States with orders to establish a monastery near Baltimore. If it prospered, it would provide refuge for other Trappists. Vincent de Paul left Bordeaux on 15 June 1812 and arrived in Boston on 6 August. From Boston he travelled extensively, frequently on foot, to locate a suitable site. Although he was offered land in Pennsylvania and the citizens of several communities in which he preached and said mass begged him to stay, Vincent de Paul initially clung to his objective: "We hadn't gone to that country to act as missionaries," he later noted.[12]

9 Lekai, p. 161.

10 Series A, 1021, AAC. Author's translation.

11 Lekai, p. 163. Author's translation.

12 Father Vincent de Paul, "Mémoire de ce qui est arrivé au P. Vincent de Paul, religieux de la Trappe; et ses observations lorsqu'il étoit en Amérique où il a passé environ dix ans avec l'agrément de son Supérieur," published in *Relation de ce qui est arrivé à deux religieux de la Trappe, pendant leur séjour auprès des sauvages* (Paris, 1824). The work was translated in 1886 by A.M. Pope as *Memoir of Father Vincent de Paul, Religious of La Trappe* (Charlottetown, 1886). Author's translation.

In Maryland he purchased land between the Patuxent and Potomac rivers. He returned to Boston, where the monks who had accompanied him from France had stayed behind. Together with three additional monks who had since arrived from France, the group set out for their new home in Maryland, arriving at the beginning of 1813. They immediately set to work, building log huts, clearing land, and planting crops. Their efforts, however, were not successful. Swampy land surrounded them and they suffered greatly from mosquitos and tics. All came down with fevers, some eventually died. The arrival of Dom Urbain's group, which had not succeeded in finding a permanent home, probably strained their already meagre resources.

In 1814 Lestrange, fleeing persecution by Napoleon, arrived in New York, and wrote to the small group in Maryland, summoning them to him. For a while it seemed as if the New York establishment was likely to succeed. Then word came of Napoleon's defeat and subsequent exile and of the restoration of the monarchy. The nomadic Lestrange decided that his priests and monks should return to France. He hoped to be able to unite the Trappists he had dispersed throughout Europe, and he knew that there would be a great need for spiritual renewal in his homeland after years of revolution and war. He and most of the monks left in the autumn of 1814. Vincent de Paul stayed behind to sell their property, settle all outstanding affairs, and wait for six of the brothers to finish recuperating from their illness. In mid-May 1815 the small group left New York. Fifteen days later they arrived in Halifax.[13]

The vessel on which they were sailing having been commandeered to convey troops to Quebec, the Trappists were obliged to seek passage on another ship. Meanwhile, Edmund Burke, Roman Catholic vicar-general of Nova Scotia and later bishop, found them lodgings and passage on a ship bound for England.[14] The Trappists boarded, but the captain was obliged to wait for favourable winds. Vincent de Paul stepped ashore--and thus began his Nova Scotian career.

Burke was delighted to have the services of another priest in Halifax. He himself was about to depart for England and Rome for reasons of health,

13 *Ibid.*

14 Burke to Plessis, 15 June 1815, Edmund Burke Papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax [hereafter AAH]; mfm at Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

but also to lobby for changes in the administration of the Catholic Church in Nova Scotia. Given the shortage of priests in the province, Vincent de Paul's arrival was timely, if not providential. He would provide valuable assistance to Father Pierre-Marie Mignault, the only other Catholic priest in Halifax. If Burke quickly formed a favourable impression of the pious and zealous Trappist, so too did Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis of Quebec. At that time, all of the Maritimes were included in the diocese of Quebec and Plessis, on a pastoral tour of the eastern part of his large diocese, arrived in Halifax on 14 July[15]

In the days that followed, Vincent de Paul accompanied Plessis on visits to the Acadian community of Chezzetcook and to the Irish Catholics at Prospect and Herring Cove. During their time together, they no doubt found the opportunity to discuss a project which had been proposed and abandoned by Dom Augustin de Lestrange several years earlier, but which had continued to interest both Plessis and Burke. Lestrange had suggested the establishment of a monastery in Upper or Lower Canada or in Nova Scotia, which would also serve as a mission for the christianization and education of Indians.[16] Vincent de Paul's arrival in Nova Scotia and his enthusiasm for North America as a home for Trappists no doubt rekindled the idea in the minds of Plessis and Burke.

Plessis lost no time in applying, through the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, to the British government for approval to set up the project. In his letter of 27 July, Plessis expressed his concern at the degraded and impoverished state in which the Micmacs were living. Given their strong attachment to the Catholic Church he argued, they would be more receptive to the teachings of missionaries than to those of any other civilian or military agents the government might wish to employ. Plessis claimed that no other community was as well suited as the Trappists for work among the Micmacs. Knowledgeable in agriculture and accustomed

15 Joseph-Octave Plessis, "Journal de la mission de 1815," reprinted in "Le Journal des visites pastorales en Acadie de Mgr Joseph-Octave Plessis, 1811, 1812, 1815," in *Cahiers* of La Société Historique Acadienne, 11 (1980), 131-265.

16 Burke to Plessis, 9 Feb. 1813, 6 July 1813, Burke Papers, AAH; 210A, Registres des lettres, Vol. 8: 35, 96, Archives de l'archdiocèse de Québec [hereafter AAQ].

to physical labour, the Trappists would be able to teach useful skills. Self-sufficient and accustomed to living with few comforts, they would also be no burden to the government and would benefit the entire province through their industry and traditional hospitality to travellers. All that they required was the government's permission to exist as a community and to regroup the Micmacs in villages nearby.[17]

To Lestrange, Plessis held out the potential for the Trappists to do charitable work among the Micmacs, yet retreat within the solitude of their cloister at the end of the day. Nova Scotia and even the entire diocese of Quebec could provide young novices from the numerous Catholic settlements.[18] Plessis took it upon himself to retain Vincent de Paul in Nova Scotia until answers were received. Meanwhile, he arranged for the Trappist to spend the winter with another French émigré priest, Jean-Mandé Sigogne, who ministered to the Acadians of St. Mary's Bay. Besides enjoying a "warm church, warm room and tranquility to practise your devotions," Vincent de Paul could profit from his visit by learning Micmac from Sigogne.[19]

Mignault's ill health prevented Vincent de Paul from spending the winter of 1815-16 with Sigogne, but he probably passed the following one in his company.[20] During the next few years, however, he spent most of his time in Halifax and the surrounding area. As his English improved, he began to preach and administer sacraments. His teaching experience in France no doubt helped him to prepare a young Nova Scotian candidate for the priesthood.[21] Between 1815 and 1819 he also made frequent voyages to Chezzetcook, where he performed numerous baptisms, marriages, and burials, as well as probably saying mass and hearing confessions.[22] In a letter to Dom Augustin de Lestrange describing his work there, he explained that

17 Plessis to Sherbrooke, 27 July 1815, RG1, Vol. 430, No. 153, PANS; 210A, Vol. 8: 346, AAQ.

18 210A, Vol. 8: 348, AAQ.

19 210A, Vol. 8: 351, AAQ. Author's translation.

20 210A, Vol. 8: 400; 312CN, V: 131, AAQ.

21 312CN, Vol. V: 93, 94, 99, AAQ.

22 Registers of St. Anselm's Roman Catholic Church, West Chezzetcook; mfm at PANS.

in the community "there are 45 Acadian families. This people or nation professes the Catholic faith. The Acadians in general are ignorant, not very industrious, but naturally good." Drawing on medical training he may have acquired from his father and his experience in the Swiss hospice, he sometimes acted as a doctor, since none was available in the settlement. To this end, he had learned the art of bleeding and may have practised it on some of the residents. He also gave religious instruction and planned to erect a wayside cross on a hill near the village.[23]

Despite a wide variety of missionary activity, the spiritual and temporal welfare of Nova Scotia's Micmacs remained Vincent de Paul's main concern. As Plessis had pointed out, approval for his project might be long in coming but during the interim, there was nothing to prevent the Trappist from working among the Micmacs, teaching and administering sacraments. The indefatigable Trappist took Plessis at his word, visiting Indians near Halifax and Shubenacadie. His work progressed well, despite his having to speak through an interpreter, but by early 1817 it was clear that government approval for the plans would not be forthcoming.[24] Furthermore, Lestrange had ordered him to found a Trappist monastery or return to France.[25] Vincent de Paul was torn between his yearning to return to the cloister and his recognition of the desperate shortage of Catholic clergy in Nova Scotia. He was especially concerned that without the guidance of priests, the Micmacs would fall under the influence of Methodists, particularly the zealous Walter Bromley. Yet the roles of missionary and Trappist were theoretically incompatible. One could not live the contemplative life of a cloistered monk and at the same time be a missionary and parish priest. But Vincent de Paul continued to try.

In 1817 and 1818, while continuing his work in Chezzetcook and Halifax, he began to search for a possible site for a monastery.[26] He made visits to the Antigonish area to look at land offered by Burke, now bishop of

23 Series A, 1021, AAC.

24 210A, Vol. 9: 103, AAQ. For a speculative discussion of why plans were not forthcoming, see Luke Schrepfer, *Pioneer monks in Nova Scotia* (New York, 1947), pp. 28-29.

25 210A, Vol. 9: 145; 312CN, Vol. V: 97, AAQ.

26 312CN, Vol. 5: 103, AAQ.

the newly created vicariate apostolic of Nova Scotia, and to Cape Breton to see land that had been offered by the Catholic merchant Lawrence Kavanagh, later a member of the House of Assembly. Vincent de Paul combined both visits with missionary tours--to the Indians at Bras d'Or and to the inhabitants of Tracadie, Havre Boucher and Pomquet, in present-day Antigonish County.[27] Sometime in 1818 he was given the charge of the three parishes. Although he hesitated between choosing the site near Tracadie, in Burke's vicariate apostolic, or on Cape Breton, still in the diocese of Quebec--and at one point even considered establishing two monasteries--he eventually, after frequent consultation with Plessis, purchased the former for £150, probably early in 1819.[28] He described the 300-acre site, which reminded him of the monastery of La Trappe in France, to Dom Augustin:

> It is a large deep valley in the middle of which a little river runs. . . . Two rather high mountains serve as ramparts, one on each side. The soil here is excellent. We can have plenty of hay, wheat, potatoes and all sorts of other vegetables. This land is only half a mile from the sea, a good site with good air.[29]

The communities of Pomquet, Tracadie and Havre Boucher, settled by Scots, Irish and Acadian Catholics held promise for recruits. Already in 1819 Vincent de Paul had some "young people" with him, apparently interested in becoming Trappists. It seemed that he also had not given up his original plan of a monastery in the centre of an Indian mission. There was a Micmac settlement some ten miles away and he hoped to use part of his 300 acres to encourage others to settle near him.[30] Vincent de Paul soon realized, however, that his impoverished parishioners had difficulty paying the yearly title of one louis and that they were less devout than the Micmacs. They also seemed less inclined to join the order than he had originally hoped. In order to pay for the land, construct buildings and support any novices, he need funds. He had apparently discussed with Plessis

27 210A, Vol. 9: 143, AAQ.

28 25 May 1819, Burke Papers, AAH; 312CN, Vol. 5: 100, 106, AAQ.

29 Series A, 1021, AAC. Author's translation.

30 312CN, Vol. V: 106, AAQ.

the possibility of going to Quebec in 1819 to collect money in some of the richer parishes, but changed his mind. In the summer of 1821, however, he left for Quebec on a not entirely successful fund-raising trip. Although he did benefit from his visits to several religious orders, the pessimism of his Montreal host, Jean-Henry-Auguste Roux, superior of the Sulpicians, as to the possibility of ever establishing the monastery on a permanent footing, sorely shook his confidence.[31]

On his return to Nova Scotia, Vincent de Paul persevered with a number of projects, some only remotely connected with the Trappist monastery. In 1796 Dom Augustin de Lestrange had founded the first Trappistine convent, in which women observed the same regulations and devotion as the Trappists. Vincent de Paul recognized the importance of education for young women as well as young men, and despite the fact that the Trappistines were intended to be a cloistered order, he began to lay the foundations of a Trappistine convent in Nova Scotia, which would have as its vocation the education of young girls. While in Montreal, he arranged for the Congregation de Notre-Dame to take without charge some young Nova Scotian novices. He hoped that the Congregation could educate the young girls in such a way that when they returned to Nova Scotia, they could teach school and instruct others who might wish to enter the convent.[32] Three girls, Anne Coté, 24, Marie Landry, 18, and Marie-Olive Doiron, 25, "simple country girls" whose piety and character he highly recommended, left Pomquet and Tracadie for Montreal in 1822.[33] A building attached to the church at Tracadie had been completed the previous year and was to serve as a convent and school for girls. Vincent de Paul also hoped to establish a school for the children of some thirty Black families living in "deplorable" conditions not far away. He had set aside fifty "arpents" of land to support a teacher. His efforts to convert some of the Blacks to Catholicism, however,

31 312CN, Vol. V: 108, AAQ; Series A, 1021, AAC.

32 312CN, Vol. V: 108, AAQ.

33 312CN, Vol. V: 108, 109, 111, 113, AAQ, and [D.-A. Lemire-Marsolais, named Sainte-Henriette] and Thérèse Lambert, named Saint-Marie-Médiatrice, *Historie de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (11v. to date, Montréal, 1941-), VII, 15-18.

met with strong and violent resistance from members of the community who clung to their own religion.[34]

In addition to his duties as parish priest, he served as missionary to the Micmacs in Antigonish County and Cape Breton. In November 1822, Plessis had named him vicar-general for the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence that were part of the diocese of Quebec, including the Magdalen Islands and Cape Breton.[35] Although numerous Micmac canoes would arrive in Tracadie on the feast of Saint Anne for mass, confessions, and special celebrations, his dream of making Tracadie the nucleus of an Indian mission never materialized. On many other occasions, Vincent de Paul travelled to the Indian encampments on the Bras d'Or lakes; several trips, by boat and canoe through stormy weather, almost cost him his life. Through his labour for their spiritual welfare, Vincent de Paul earned the respect and affection of the Micmacs. Historian L.F. Upton has noted, however, that he was unable to effect any improvements in their material conditions.[36]

Despite his recognition of the educational and spiritual needs of the communities he served, Vincent de Paul did not neglect his objective of founding a monastery. By 1820 a building large enough to house twelve to fifteen monks had been constructed. But novices were few and most who entered did not stay. His requests to Dom Augustin for recruits, especially priests with whom he could alternate missionary work and cloistered life, went unanswered. Alone or with only a few novices, he could not pursue the communal life of the Trappists and bring the monastery to self-sufficiency. Although he had spent only a few years of his life as a Trappist in a regular monastic community, it was clear that despite his fondness for the Nova Scotian missions, he missed the monastic life: "I am most anxious to follow the [Trappist] rule entirely and now more than ever, long for retreat. . . . And although I have some inclination for the

34 312CN, Vol. V: 113, AAQ; Vincent de Paul, "Mémoire."

35 210A, Vol. 11: 41, AAQ.

36 310CN, Vol. V: 116, AAQ; Vincent de Paul, "Mémoire"; L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Victoria, B.C., 1979), pp. 158-59.

missions, I would not like to die here, but surrounded by my brothers, in the practice of the Holy Rule." [37]

Late in 1822 Vincent de Paul wrote to his confidant and advisor, Bishop Plessis, outlining the progress of the monastery, his concerns over the lack of novices and shortage of funds, and his failing health. (He had recently suffered the second of two epileptic attacks since his arrival in North America). The visit of a British colonel whom he thought had been sent by the government aroused his suspicions as to the administration's intentions. He requested Plessis's permission to return to France. Then, shortly afterwards, he received orders from Lestrange to abandon his efforts in Nova Scotia, and join other Trappists in Kentucky. Reluctant to abandon Tracadie, anxious to return to France to explain his problems to his superiors, yet not wanting to disobey orders, he turned again to Plessis.[38]

In a letter combining fatherly concern and ill-concealed exasperation at what seemed likely to be another example of Vincent de Paul's asking for advice and then doing the opposite, Plessis supported his decision to return to France. He pointed out that he had suggested the site in Cape Breton for the monastery since it was closer to the Micmac encampments, but Vincent de Paul had chosen Tracadie, thus necessitating more travelling on his part. He had welcomed the Trappist's decision to visit Quebec in 1819 to collect funds, but Vincent de Paul had delayed until 1821, when money had become scarcer and there were fewer people available to help him. He also pointed out that Vincent de Paul had left Quebec without the letters of recommendation which the governor-general, Lord Dalhousie, had offered to write on his behalf to the lieutenant-governor in Nova Scotia, Sir James Kempt, letters which might have allayed his fears concerning the government's intentions. Having scolded the Trappist on those points, Plessis did give his permission to ignore his superior's orders and to return to France.[39] After receiving such a letter, it is not surprising that for once Vincent de Paul followed Plessis's advice. Leaving his affairs in the hands

37 Series A, 1021, AAC. Author's translation.

38 312CN, Vol. V: 113, 117, AAQ.

39 210A, Vol. 11: 209, AAQ.

of Hyacinthe Hudon, parish priest at Arichat, he sailed for France in October 1823.

While in France, Vincent de Paul visited several Trappist monasteries and abbeys and consulted with Lestrange. He also wrote a brief work which described his life in the United States and Nova Scotia. "Mémoire de ce qui est arrivé au R. P. Vincent de Paul" was published with the account of another Trappist in the United States in *Relation de ce qui est arrivé à deux religieux de la Trappe...* in Paris the following year. Vincent de Paul's account emphasized above all his work among the Micmacs, and contained brief descriptions of their customs and manners. It stressed the need for priests and funds to maintain the missionary work he had begun. Part of his work was republished in the *Annales* of the Conseil de l'oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi (the Society for the Propagation of the Faith) and that society granted him 1,500 francs for his mission.[40]

With funds and perhaps a new vote of confidence from his Trappist superiors, Vincent de Paul sailed from Rochefort, France, in May 1825. With him were four Trappists; two more were to follow. He made his way to L'Ardoise in Cape Breton and there he hesitated. The attitude of the parishioners in that village impressed him. He again considered establishing his monastery close to the Indian missions on Cape Breton Island, since he believed that the Micmacs there were less influenced by alcohol than those on the mainland. Also, the disorder in the vicariate apostolic since Bishop Burke's death had prevented him from accomplishing much work. At Lestrange and Plessis's suggestion, he petitioned Sir James Kempt for permission to set up a monastery and, if possible, to assemble the Micmacs in a village around the establishment, so as to be able to teach them agriculture, arts and trades, since he was "convinced that as long as they are wanderers or vagabonds, they can never be properly civilized."[41] He seems to have received no reply, but he and the new arrivals eventually settled in at Tracadie, in the monastery which he now named Petit Clairvaux after the Abbey of Clairvaux in France. Johann Baptiste Kaiser, named Father François-Xavier, the only priest among the recent recruits, took over the

40 Vincent de Paul, "Mémoire"; Series A, 1021, AAC.

41 Series A, 1021, AAC; 312CN, Vol. V: 118, AAQ; 210A, Vol. 12: 326, AAQ; RG1, Vol. 232, No. 41, PANS. Author's translation.

daily administration of the monastery while Vincent de Paul, despite a request to be relieved of all duties not related to the monastery, continued to act as parish priest and missionary, at least until 1836.[42]

The 1830s and 1840s were years of quiet expansion and consolidation. The Trappistines, established in their convent of Notre-Dame-des-Grâces, taught Micmac and Acadian girls basic reading and writing, catechism, sewing, embroidery, and how to make artificial flowers. Education for young boys was not neglected. Vincent de Paul noted that in addition to those following the regular course of studies, one young Micmac was progressing well in Latin. The arrival of new recruits had no doubt led to the construction of additional buildings. In 1831 a gristmill was built to serve both the monastery and the surrounding community. Vincent de Paul's petition to the House of Assembly for the bounty paid on the erection of a mill was refused, however, for lack of funds.[43]

The 1830s and 1840s were also difficult for Petit Clairvaux, despite its increased self-sufficiency. The death in 1827 of Dom Augustin de Lestrange, whose energy and confidence had inspired Vincent de Paul, had left the Nova Scotian monastery without a protector abroad. Although his replacement was sympathetic to Petit Clairvaux, he could offer no material assistance. In 1834, a papal decree united the two separate observances which had developed within the Trappists in France into one congregation, the Cistercian Monks of Our Lady of La Trappe, under one vicar-general; the Trappists now reverted to the regulations in existence before Lestrange's reforms. Petit Clairvaux, unaffected by the decree, continued to follow Lestrange's observances, but was increasingly regarded by the French abbeys as an orphan. Two years later, having received no replies to repeated requests for more novices and other assistance, Vincent de Paul, at 67, once more made the difficult crossing to France to plead the cause of his monastery.[44]

The vicar-general of the order, Dom Joseph-Marie Hercelin, persuaded Vincent de Paul to close Petit Clairvaux and send its occupants to a Trappist

42 312CN, Vol. V: 118, 119, AAQ.

43 RG5, Series P, Vol. 51, No. 109, PANS; *Journals and Proceedings* of the House of Assembly, 1832, pp. 157, 203, 249.

44 Merton, pp. 114-115; Series A, 1021, AAC.

house in England. Bowing to his superior's decision, in March 1837 he sent detailed instructions to François-Xavier on how to close the monastery and dispose of the property before joining him in England. He then went to Mount St. Bernard, a recently founded monastery near Loughborough, Leicestershire, England, where he enjoyed a warm welcome. The untiring priest agreed to return to France to collect funds for the English monastery, but once there, he is said to have had misgivings about abandoning Petit Clairvaux.[45] Was it the will of God that so many years of work in Nova Scotia should be abandoned? Although the superiors of all the Trappist abbeys he had visited offered the same advice as the vicar-general, his conversations with directors of the Séminaire des Missions étrangères raised doubts as to whether he was indeed doing the right thing. Always willing to do "God's will," Vincent de Paul's greatest difficulty was discerning what course God wished him to take. He was either easily swayed by others' opinions, or deliberately sought out those opinions to confirm the course he wished to pursue. Perhaps he had opposed the order to close Petit Clairvaux from the beginning and was now asking support to keep it open. Father François-Xavier's protests against having to move to England, and the desire of Bishop William Fraser, Burke's successor as vicar apostolic of Nova Scotia, that he return to the province, may also have influenced his decision to seek further advice. By February 1838 Vincent de Paul was in Rome. That April a papal decree placed Petit Clairvaux, with its ten to twelve monks and the Trappistine convent, Notre-Dame-des-Grâces, with eight or nine sisters, under the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic of Nova Scotia.[46]

What Vincent de Paul hoped to achieve is not clear, but given the physical distance and the difference of opinion which separated him from his French superior, it is not surprising that he sought more immediate protection and guidance from his local bishop. Also, now that Petit Clairvaux was under Fraser's direction, Vincent de Paul could in all conscience ignore the Trappist vicar-general's order to abandon Tracadie. When in August he received a letter from Fraser, asking that the Trappists remain in Nova Scotia and

45 Series A, 1021, AAC.

46 *Ibid.*

assuring him that his presence was necessary for the continuance of the monastery, he interpreted it as a command to return. It was the "will of God" that Petit Clairvaux should continue. Before leaving France, he wrote a report of his missionary work among the Micmacs for the Conseil de l'oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi at Lyon, outlining the need for priests and funds in order to maintain the devotion to the Catholic faith manifested by the Micmacs.[47]

Although the continuance of missionary work in Nova Scotia occupied an important place in his mind, Vincent de Paul always thought of himself as a Trappist. Therefore in March 1840, from Vire in the Department of Calvados, while waiting for a boat that would take him to Jersey and then to Nova Scotia, he wrote the second of two letters to Dom Joseph-Marie asking for his blessing. The humble tone of the letter suggests that harsh words may have been exchanged between the two. Because of the papal decree and his bishop's request, Vincent de Paul felt that he was right in returning to Nova Scotia, but his letter also suggests that he suspected Dom Joseph-Marie would not agree. He seems to have left without receiving an answer.[48]

The vicar-general perhaps meant to address his letter to Bishop Fraser, but wrote instead to the parish priest at Arichat, who was probably Jean-Baptiste Maranda. The letter has not survived, but François-Xavier's vigorous reply of 9 October 1840 has. Although not as well known as Vincent de Paul, François-Xavier was no doubt a man of courage and strong loyalty. Dom Joseph-Marie's letter had been read and "many persons, not to say everyone, were all scandalized." François-Xavier took exception to the vicar-general's description of Vincent de Paul as a "vagabond." Catholics and Protestants alike had great respect for the aged priest, he retorted. "On his return he was received with as much honour as would have been a bishop in Europe, even to the ringing of bells and the firing of guns in rejoicement." [49] Although the quarrel seems to have gone no further, it illustrated the gulf which separated Vincent de Paul from his French superior.

47 *Ibid.*

48 *Ibid.* and Vincent de Paul to Dom Joseph-Marie, 13 Mar. 1840, Series A, 1000, AAC.

49 François-Xavier to Dom Joseph-Marie, 9 Oct. 1840, Series A, 1000, AAC. Author's translation.

He was not the only Trappist to have exercised his vocation outside the walls of the cloister; monks and priests in the United States had done pastoral and educational work at one time or another. But formed as he had been, under Lestrange, and having spent so little time in a regular Trappist monastery, his conception of the role of a Trappist differed substantially from that of his vicar-general.

After his return, the 72-year-old Trappist handed the administration of Petit Clairvaux to François-Xavier. He continued, however, to maintain an active interest in both its spiritual and temporal welfare. The seven monks--three choir religious and four lay brothers, including a gardener, a shoemaker, a cook and a labourer--did their best to observe the Trappist rule, never neglecting the vigils, fasts, manual labour, and the rule of silence.[50] But the life of a Trappist did not attract many Nova Scotian boys; recruits from the area were few in number. One of the few, young John Ryan, seemed to have some problems. Vincent de Paul noted in 1844 that the boy was making progress in French, but that he seemed to find Trappist observances difficult.

> Nonetheless he eats 3 meals per day and has 9 hours of rest. The children get up at 4 o'clock [a.m.] to attend mass with the brothers. We go to bed at 7 o'clock. It seems to me that 9 hours of sleep should be sufficient for children of his age. He sings the offices with us Sundays and feast days and in the evening the complines and the Salve Regina [last prayers of the day].[51]

Vincent de Paul blamed local priests for turning away potential novices, and it is possible that they directed boys with religious vocations towards the seminaries rather than to the Trappists.[52]

In February 1843 Vincent de Paul wrote to William Walsh, coadjutor bishop of the province, who was living in Halifax, to request permission to visit him and raise funds in the capital. The previous fall, construction had begun on a chapel for the monastery. Farmers from Tracadie had come to help out, squaring the wooden beams and using their teams of oxen to

50 Series A, 1021, AAC.

51 Vincent de Paul to Walsh, 12 Feb. 1844, William Walsh Papers, AAH. Author's translation.

52 *Ibid.*, 4 May 1840.

raise the frame. Now, additional funds were needed to finish both the interior and exterior of the chapel.[53]

A few weeks later, Vincent de Paul wrote again, asking permission to collect funds, but this time he had an even more pressing reason:

> Fire broke out, I do not know how, in our old main buildings which contained the hostelry for the accommodation of strangers and the procurer's house where were stored all our provisions and many other useful things necessary for our establishment. In approximately four hours all was consumed by flames.[54]

By the time they had noticed the fire, which broke out on the evening of 19 February, it was already too late to contain it. Fortunately, no one was sleeping in the building at the time; the Trappists were all in a new building that served as the monastery. Vincent de Paul described their efforts to put it out:

> Father François, who woke up at 11 o'clock that night, was the first to notice that the fire had broken out in the other house. We were in deepest silence, when the Rule of Saint Benedict forbids speech, except in urgent and necessary circumstances. He cried *fire*. . . . We stayed about an hour working almost in vain. After that, one of the lay brothers, Brother Etienne, made signs to me and the others to go rest in the dormitory, since we still had two hours of sleep before the office of matins which was to begin at 2 o'clock in the morning. We followed his advice. The time for rising having arrived, we went to the chapel and we recited the office while the fire was still burning but was dying down. We were calm, although the monastery, the barn, the cellar were well exposed to the same fate if the wind had changed. Nevertheless, several stayed awake as long as there was any danger for the other buildings, so as to warn us if the need arose. Otherwise we would have been guilty of indifference. In the end, God did not permit [the wind to change]. We were able to continue our devotions as usual. Included in the loss we sustained were precious objects which we will have difficulty

53 *Ibid.*, 16 Feb. 1843.

54 *Ibid.*, 6 May 1843. Author's translation.

replacing, such as some large and beautiful images, some excellent examples of engravings.[55]

The gristmill, the sawmill, cellar, and barn were saved, as was the building in which the monks resided and the partially finished chapel. But most of the provisions, with the exception of a small amount of half-burnt oatmeal, were gone. The loss was substantial and Vincent de Paul was discouraged. He again began to wonder whether the Trappists should stay on or return to France. There were plenty of repairs to be done and few funds to do so. Both he and François-Xavier, the only priests, were no longer young and there was no one to take up the burden of directing Petit Clairvaux. There seemed to be little to show for his 28 years of work in Nova Scotia. But they stayed on, and somehow managed to struggle through the difficult times.

In 1845 François-Xavier learned that the new abbot of Bellefontaine in France was an old friend of his. Hoping that he might be receptive to their needs, François-Xavier sailed to France to explain to him their need for recruits. The abbot, however, was unable to promise anything, and although he and the heads of other abbeys were interested, the vicar-general Dom Joseph-Marie opposed the idea, probably because the Trappists would be going to a monastery which no longer had any official ties with the order in France. Seeing that there was little to be accomplished, François-Xavier sailed back to Nova Scotia, taking with him the advice of the Bishop of Sées and the Papal Nuncio, that Petit Clairvaux seek affiliation with a French abbey--exactly what Vincent de Paul had set out to change eight years earlier. So, a petition signed by Vincent de Paul, François-Xavier, and eight others was sent to Pope Pius IX, requesting a decree which would affiliate them with one of the more austere Trappist houses. Bishop Fraser added his approval to the petition. No reply was received and a second one, addressed to an abbey where Vincent de Paul was still well known, also went unanswered.[56]

55 *Ibid.*

56 Vincent de Paul to Pius IX, 22 Sept. 1846, and Vincent de Paul to an unidentified person, 23 Sept. 1846, Series A, 1000, AAC. See also 18 Jan. 1846, from the Bishop of Sées, Series A, 1021, AAC.

The arrival in 1848 of a contingent of five Irish Trappists bound for the United States temporarily helped Petit Clairvaux, since three stayed for a time in Nova Scotia, while the other two laid foundations for an establishment in the United States.[57] News of another revolution in France ironically brought some hope to Vincent de Paul. Recalling that Lestrange had sent him to America to found a place of refuge, he offered Petit Clairvaux to Dom Joseph-Marie, but also indicated that should the Trappists want to settle in the Canadas or elsewhere, those at Tracadie would be willing to leave to join them. "Your Reverence until now has waged war against us," he pointed out. "You have persecuted me and treated me harshly but no more than what I merited. Now I hope that peace will be between us and that you will finally have pity on us who are your brothers or rather your abandoned, neglected children, exiles from the flock." [58] The cold, polite refusal he received must have been a great disappointment. His efforts at reconciliation were ignored.

Throughout the years there seemed little hope that Petit Clairvaux would ever establish a solid footing in the New World. Its existence was precarious, too dependent on local novices who seldom stayed and on support from Europe which never arrived. Yet the monastery continued to stumble along, a witness to the tenacity and endurance of its founder. Often discouraged, frequently unsure as to whether it was God's will that he stay or return to France, Vincent de Paul had worked hard to secure Petit Clairvaux's future as best he could. After making arrangements which included bequeathing to Bishop Fraser the property on which the monastery stood, he died on 1 January 1853.[59]

The monastery he established did survive. In response to Petit Clairvaux's pleas for assistance, Belgian Trappists arrived in 1857-58 to usher in a new era of prosperity. Fires in 1895 and 1896, from which the monastery never completely recovered, led to its closing in 1900. But in 1903, Petit Clairvaux fulfilled the dream of its founder by providing a place of refuge for French

57 Series A, 1021, AAC; Vincent de Paul to Walsh, 28 Sept. 1848, Walsh Papers, AAH.

58 Vincent de Paul to Dom Joseph-Marie, 28 Mar. 1848, Series A, 1000, AAC. Author's translation.

59 Series A, 1021, AAC.

monks once again faced with religious persecution in their homeland. In 1919 the Trappist occupation of Petit Clairvaux came to an end, but its monastic vocation was resumed in 1937 when the Order of St. Augustin purchased the property. The order continues to occupy it to this day.[60]

It is not surprising that despite his efforts to establish a Trappist monastery in Nova Scotia, Vincent de Paul is also remembered for his missionary and parochial work. In announcing his death, the *Eastern Chronicle* referred to him as "probably the oldest Missionary in the Province. . . . Piety, learning and the grace of high civilization shone conspicuous in his life and shed a halo of peculiar dignity round his sacerdotal character." [61] The *Casket* referred to a "tried and venerable labourer" whose name would long be remembered in the diocese.[62] The Micmacs cherished his memory for many years after his death. The people of Tracadie, Pomquet, and Havre Boucher, whose parish priest he had been for many years, held him in highest esteem and attributed miracles to his intercession. In 1905 unsuccessful steps were taken to obtain his beatification.[63] In 1868 the name "Back Settlement, Tracadie" was changed to the village of Merland in his honour.[64]

Vincent de Paul had readily discerned the spiritual, educational, and material needs of the small, dispersed communties in northeastern Nova Scotia, and of isolated ethnic groups such as the Blacks, the Micmacs, and the Acadians. His unceasing work on their behalf, as well as his simplicity and spirituality, made him one of the most beloved missionaries in the province. Yet throughout his missionary work, he never lost the meaning of his Trappist vows and continually yearned for the life to which he had pledged himself. The indecision and hesitation which characterized his actions no doubt resulted, at least in part, from the internal conflict he

60 See Schrepfer, *Pioneer monks* and Ephrem Boudreau, *Le Petit Clairvaux* (Moncton, 1980).

61 *Eastern Chronicle* (Pictou), 11 Jan. 1853.

62 *Casket* (Antigonish), 10 Jan. 1853.

63 31CN, Vol. 1: 130, 130a, AAQ; Schrepfer, p. 87.

64 Nova Scotia *Statutes*, 1868, cap. 20, "An Act to change the name of Back Settlement, Tracadie, in the County of Antigonish."

must have experienced in trying to reconcile the dual role of missionary and Trappist. His years of missionary-like work in revolutionary France had shaped the course of his religious vocation in the New World, but he still clung to his goal of establishing a monastery in Nova Scotia. His perseverance led Trappist author and historian Thomas Merton to describe him as "one of the most tenacious Trappists who has ever lived." [65]

65 Merton, p. 108.

The True Story of the Legendary Granny Ross

Elva E. Jackson

Along a straight stretch of highway in the beautiful North East Margaree valley, where broad elm-lined meadows extend towards the surrounding mountains, stands a church with a large varnished cedar sign in front which reads:

Welcome to St. Patrick's Church
Built in 1871 on land granted
to James Ross, English pioneer
For fighting at Louisbourg in 1758.
Buried in this graveyard is his wife
"The Little Woman"
Who fought for the French

In the surrounding graveyard, a memorial on the south side of the church reads:

In memory of
The Little Woman
Henriette LeJeune
wife of
James J. Ross, pioneer
The first white woman to settle
in North East Margaree
Born in France 1743
Died in Margaree 1860

Fought with the French in the
Second Siege of Louisbourg 1758
Administered smallpox vaccine
Brought with her from France
To the settlers of this Valley
Benefactress of both white
and Indian.
Erected by her Great-Grandson
Thomas E. Ross

This article, though completed with great difficulty, has been a labour of love. The writer is grateful to Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, Literary Editor of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review;* and to Mr. Stephen White, of the Centre d'Etudes acadiennes at the Université de Moncton, who provided the clues to set her on the search for her great-great-great-grandmother's roots.

Though it was handed down in her family for generations, the story of Henriette Lejeune Ross was first recorded in 1922 by J.L. MacDougall in his *History of Inverness County*. He noted that "Harriett LeJeune" was first married in France at the age of thirteen. Her husband was drowned and she married a captain named Briand, who was killed in 1758 during the second seige of Louisbourg. Several years later she married a Scotsman, James Ross, with whom she settled at North East Margaree. MacDougall described her as an ardent Roman Catholic and as being benevolent and charitable, especially towards the sick, to whom she brought aid. He also described her bravery when facing hostile Indians and wild animals. He claimed she returned to France several times and, at the time of her last visit, brought back her widowed father to live with her.

The present writer, in 1956, using the story told her by a great-grandson, Thomas E. Ross, who had also told it to MacDougall, published the legendary account in the *Cape Breton Post*. In 1972, having learned that Henriette did not marry her second husband until 1786, twenty-eight years after the second siege and fall of Louisbourg, this writer, doubting that Henriette's age was as great as that handed down, expressed doubts in her book, *Cape Breton and the Jackson Kith and Kin*. In 1984, in an interview with Ron Caplan for the *Cape Breton Magazine*, she wondered whether Henriette could possibly have been of Acadian stock--a possibility which had not been previously considered.

Now this writer is able to tell the true story and document it. Stephen White, genealogist at the Centre d'Etudes acadiennes at the Université de Moncton, has discovered Marie-Henriette Lejeune--legendary among both Acadians and English in Cape Breton--the names of her parents, their marriage, her birth and her first marriage. The present writer, after much further research, has uncovered a fascinating tale, not only of Marie-Henriette, but also of the Acadian people and the ebb and flow of their fortunes in Atlantic Canada.

What is truth and what is fiction on her gravestone and on the church bulletin board is unveiled in the following tale. To understand her background and her varied life, one must first examine briefly the history of the Acadians in Nova Scotia.

It was the French who first colonized Acadia, the name given to present-day mainland Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and northern Maine. Perma-

nent settlement began in 1632, with the arrival of colonists at Port-Royal, now the town of Annapolis Royal. Most of these first settlers were mariners, labourers and craftsmen from Touraine, Poitou, Berry and Anjou, in France. These early immigrants were attracted by the double lure of land and security--impossible goals in a homeland plagued by warfare, overcrowding and bureaucratic restrictions.

The first of Marie-Henriette's known direct ancestors, the man said to have been her great-great-great-grandfather, was Germain Doucet *dit* Laverdure, the first of the Doucet name in Acadia. About 1632 he came as a commissioned major, bringing with him recruits to serve in the army of Lieutenant-Governor Charles d'Aulnay. Being d'Aulnay's *homme de confiance* and tutor to his children, Doucet played a leading role in the affairs of the colony. When Robert Sedgewick attacked and captured Port-Royal for the English in 1654, Doucet was commander of the fort. By the terms of capitulation, as an officer, he had to return to France.

The first recorded Lejeune in the colony, Pierre Lejeune *dit* Briard, born in 1656, is known to have been at Port-Royal in 1693. He is believed to have been the son of another Pierre Lejeune, who was married to a daughter of the above Germain Doucet.[1] Pierre Lejeune the younger, the great-grandfather of Marie-Henriette Lejeune, married Marie Thibodeau, born in 1663, the daughter of Pierre Thibodeau, who had come to Acadia in 1654. Among the twelve children of Pierre and Marie was Germain Lejeune, born in 1693, who was to be the grandfather of Marie-Henriette Lejeune. Germain, who married twice, had seven children, including Joseph, born in 1730, the father of Marie-Henriette.

Living in Acadia at the same time was Charles Roy (Le Roy, Le Roi), born in 1700 in Paris; he married about 1723, Marie-Charlotte Chauvet, daughter of Charles Chauvet and his wife Edmée Lejeune. Their daughter Martine, born in 1738, was to be the mother of Marie-Henriette.

Early settlement in Acadia had been confined to the area around Port-Royal, with a few scattered coastal communities, such as that of Petite Rivière--near present-day LaHave--where Pierre Lejeune the younger was living in 1704. The early families were mobile, however, and after 1675

1 Stephen White to the author, 7 May 1985.

there was a concerted migration north and west from Port-Royal, following the fertile crescent of the Bay of Fundy. Members of both the Lejeune and Le Roi families were part of this outward movement, and in time they came to be based in the Piziquid area, now known as Windsor.

If the French colonists thought they would be far from European warfare in their new homeland, they were very wrong. Wars in Europe had repercussions in America. Thus, it was in an atmosphere of almost constant strife that the French became established in Acadia. The colony was repeatedly handed back and forth between England and France for some eighty years, until the last conquest by Britain, which took place in 1710. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Acadia was given to Great Britain. At that time, the only land left to France in Atlantic Canada was Ile St. Jean, now Prince Edward Island, and Ile Royale, now Cape Breton Island, which France would keep, except for a period of about three years, until 1758.

The Acadian economy that supported a constantly expanding and moving population was based on a mixture of farming, fishing and hunting. Since there had been little contact with the French at Quebec, or with the home government, the Acadians had begun to think of themselves as a separate people, and of Acadia as their homeland. Their communities were very close-knit, with a large family structure where everyone was connected by marriage. To the British, the presence of such large numbers of Roman Catholic, French colonists loomed as a threat, lest in time of war with France the Acadians would take up arms for their mother country. On the other hand, the British also felt them an asset, because they provided food, wood and labour for the small English presence in the colony.

An uneasy truce prevailed after 1713, but as European rivalries increased during the following decades, the British subsequently demanded an unqualified oath of allegiance to the Crown from the French inhabitants. The Acadians, more interested in living peacefully on their farms, and in being neutral--lest they be asked to fight against France in time of war-- refused.

To reinforce their power, the British constructed forts around the Acadians: in 1749 at Grand Pré; in 1750 at Pisiguit; and in 1751 at Beaubassin, Beauséjour and Gaspereau. Uneasy about rumoured threats of expulsion, the Acadians in 1749 and 1750 began a great migration from Nova Scotia, mainly to Ile St. Jean, with a few going to Ile Royale. Among those migrating to the latter were the Lejeune and LeRoi families.

In 1713, when it had been retained by France, the strategic and commercial importance of Ile Royale was immediately perceived. All traffic between France and her colony of Quebec passed the island, which stood as a sentinel in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The island could also serve as a base for drying fish, repairing vessels, servicing the French Navy, and as an *entrepôt* for trade with France, Quebec, New England and the West Indies. Beginning in 1714, the great fortress of Louisbourg was built on the southeastern tip of the island. Although it was captured by a New England force in 1745, the fortress was returned to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

The construction of Louisbourg attracted other French enterprises to the island. In 1719, for example, M. Poupet de la Boulardarie, formerly an officer in the French Navy and among the troops in Acadia, was given a grant of the southern part of the island which still bears his name. He brought farmers and craftsmen from Normandy, and in time employed 25 persons on his cleared lands, where he grew wheat, planted fruit trees, had a rare herbarium, dairy cattle, horses, sheep, a dovecote, and water and windmills. In 1745, war with England brought an end to the venture, when the British burned his property. When the peace restored Ile Royale to France in 1748, however, Boulardarie's son returned and, until Britain took over again, carried on his father's enterprises in a limited way.

It was on neighbouring lands that the Lejeune, Le Roi and several other Acadian families settled when they came to Cape Breton in 1750. Their community was known as Little Bras d'Or, or French Village, and it comprised land on which some of their descendants--Youngs, Kings and others--still live today. Many of Boulardarie's unpruned fruit trees were still there when they arrived. It is said that the lilacs had spread and the yellow briar roses brought from France still bloomed each summer amid natural wild growth which almost choked them out. It is also said that the Acadian women, longing for flowers by their doors, took cuttings and dug up roots, which through tending, survived. Soon there was a lilac and a rosebush by every door, and the beginning of an orchard near each dwelling.

The extensive Lejeune and Le Roi families formed almost a village by themselves. Isolated as they were, and without the services of a priest, they had to go to Louisbourg for the sacraments. It was there on 5 November

1754 that Joseph Lejeune, aged 24, and Martine Le Roi, aged 16, were married.[2] They were to become the parents of Marie-Henriette Lejeune.

The men of French Village fished during the summer and felled trees and cleared land during the winter. With the strong fortress not far away, they felt comparatively safe. On the mainland, the Acadians were not nearly so secure. With the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754, political tensions had increased, leading to the explusion of the French inhabitants, beginning in 1755. Between 6000 and 8000 Acadians were deported to the Thirteen Colonies, or taken to prisons in England, where many died. Probably some 2000 more escaped by fleeing to the woods.

News of these tragic happenings gradually filtered through to Little Bras d'Or and the other isolated French communities on Ile Royale. Because they were devoted to the families they had left behind, there was great anxiety and sorrow. With the seeming impregnability of the fortress at Louisbourg, however, they were probably thankful that they had left the mainland for French territory five years earlier.

When Louisbourg was attacked by a large British force at the beginning of June 1758, no one there believed the fortress could fall. Then, as the siege went on, the Acadians in the outlying settlements, subject to British marauders, began to despair. After Louisbourg's capitulation on 26 July 1758, the British, determined to rid Ile Royale and Ile St. Jean of all the French, loaded them on ships to be sent to France. The Lejeune and Le Roi families, caught in the maelstrom, their homes burned, were among those deported.

In severe autumn storms, the number of deaths from illness and shipwreck while crossing the Atlantic was appalling. Those who survived were taken to various English and French ports. The Lejeune and Le Roi families were among those disembarked at Rochefort, a city several miles north of La Rochelle, on the Bay of Biscay in southwestern France.

There, on the evening of 13 August 1762, a daughter was born to Joseph and Martine Lejeune. The following morning, she was taken for baptism at the parish church of Saint-Louis. A translation of the church record of that day reads:

2 A.J.B. Johnston, Research Section, Historical Resources, Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park, to the author, March 1985.

> Marie-Henriette, legitimate daughter of Joseph Lejeune, mariner, and of Martine Le Roi, born last evening has been baptised by me, the undersigned priest in the parish church of Saint-Louis of Rochefort. The godfather was Jacques Cabot, sergeant-major in the colonial troops, and the godmother Osite Le Roi. The first has signed with me, the godmother has declared not being able to sign. The father, present, has also declared not able to sign. The baptism has been conferred this fourteenth day of the month of August in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two.
> (signed) Jacques Cabot Bossens, priest[3]

Though born in France, Marie-Henriette Lejeune was a true Acadian, and one who was destined to become a legend among both the English and French in Cape Breton.

The Acadian families at Rochefort, as elsewhere, were not happy in France, and wished only to return to their former homeland. Accustomed to a bountiful land where the earth was not hard to till, they chafed at the restrictions caused by overuse and underproductivity. Used to combining more than one career, such as farming and fishing, or sea-going and carpentry, they found themselves in conflict with France's rigorous laws, which permitted men to take up one occupation only. The records of Breton courts contain various cases in which Acadians were on trial because they tried to combine more than one occupation.

The French government, hoping to assimilate the refugees and intending to place them in permanent establishments as soon as possible, gave no thought to their Acadian identity. In the meantime, the refugees lived precariously on the small subsistence allowance granted them by Louis XV as a slight recognition of the losses they had endured for their loyalty.

The Treaty of Paris, 10 February 1763, ended the Seven Years' War and left to France, of all her former possessions in America, only the archipelago of Saint Pierre and Miquelon. Though the islands were given to France as a port of refuge, the British reserved the right to limit the garrison there to fifty men. On 23 February 1763, the former captain of the troops at Louisbourg, le sieur Dangeac, was made governor. The Acadians, living under grinding oppression in France, now saw a chance to return--if not

3 Photostatic copy of entry provided by Abbé Pierre Jégou, Church of Saint-Louis, Rochefort, France, 1985.

to Nova Scotia or Ile Royale, then at least to a near location. In April 1763, about three hundred fishermen and former residents of Ile Royale arrived at Saint Pierre and Miquelon. During 1774, another contingent of Acadians arrived, this time from various locales--Massachusetts and neighbouring colonies, Chedabouctou, Beauséjour and other places in Nova Scotia and Ile St. Jean--until 850 Acadians were there.

It is very probable that Joseph and Martine Lejeune and their children were among the first to arrive. The family was definitely on Miquelon in 1764, when their daughter Marthe was born, and in 1766, their second son, Charles.

Saint Pierre and Miquelon, near the outer edge of the Grand Banks, are barely six miles off the south coast of Newfoundland. Miquelon, five times larger than Saint Pierre, which is mostly bare rock, has arable land. On Miquelon, the Acadians settled on flat terrain, scarcely more than two metres above the sea and bordered by two mountainous promontories--Le Chapeau and Le Cap de Miquelon. Nearby, there was good drinking water.

Upon their arrival, they sought different ways to make a living; some looked to the sea, others to the land. The islands, deserted for more than half a century, provided game, shellfish and trout in abundance. The main industry was fishing, with the men going to sea and the women splitting, gutting, and drying fish on the rocks.

Although the Acadians were determined to remain, it was not long before the governor had his troubles, not the least of which was the English governor of Newfoundland, who opposed the cutting of wood on his island. According to the peace treaty, the French had rights on that part of the coast--the "French Shore"--which was reserved for them. As the flow of refugees streamed into Miquelon, Dangeac tried desperately to dissuade the new arrivals, and in 1766 issued a royal decree ordering the Acadians to return either to France or to Nova Scotia.

The Acadians were thrown into confusion. Moreover, the authorization to return to Nova Scotia, given to the French government and transmitted by Dangeac, gave them the impression that France had again abandoned them. Acting perhaps on impulse or from desperation, many of them left. Among those evacuating were the Lejeune and Le Roi families, who chose to return to Little Bras d'Or, where they remained for eleven years.

During this period, though there were still a few scattered communities --chiefly French--settlement was actually illegal in Cape Breton. There was no government, and land grants were forbidden. After the persecution and oppression of the previous decade, however, such freedom must have been exhilarating. Though they had no church or clergy, in 1771 they were visited by the missionary, Father Charles-François Bailly of Messein. During his visit he baptized the third daughter of Joseph and Martine, giving her the name Radegonde (she was later called "Barbara").

Within two years, however, the Acadians were permitted to return to Saint Pierre and Miquelon. The archipelago had quickly developed into a trade entrepôt, and the economy had prospered. The greatest part of the trade was with Guadaloupe, Martinique, St.-Dominique and Tobago. Much clandestine trade also went on. Ships came from Boston bringing construction materials, flour and tobacco; others from Louisbourg bringing coal; and still others bringing goods from Ile St. Jean, and Ile Madame in Cape Breton.

For Joseph Lejeune, a mariner, there were eventually more opportunities in Miquelon than in Cape Breton. Accordingly, about 1777, leaving their parents and some other family members at Little Bras d'Or, Joseph and Martine, taking their children, returned to Miquelon. Forces beyond their control were working against them, however, and they were not to remain there long.

When the Thirteen Colonies declared independence from Great Britain on 4 July 1776, France sympathized with the rebels. War was subsequently declared between France and Great Britain on 6 February 1778. A blockade by the English, and the seizure of ships bringing food supplies to Saint Pierre and Miquelon, brought the island community to the point of starvation. Then, on 14 September 1778, the governor of Newfoundland sent three frigates and an armed vessel to the French islands. Everything was set on fire--237 houses, 126 fishing cabins, 89 storehouses, 6 bakeries, 79 stables and a number of shallops. Without even being allowed to save their clothing, all the inhabitants were deported to France, where they disembarked at several ports. The Lejeune and Le Roi families, once more uprooted, were taken to La Rochelle.

Thus, in the autumn of 1778, Marie-Henriette Lejeune, now a young woman of sixteen, returned to France, a country which she had left as an

infant. She was now in a city on the Bay of Biscay, several miles south of Rochefort, where she had been born. At this time and in the same locale, Joseph Comeau, another displaced Acadian, son of Jean-Baptiste Comeau and Anne-Marie (Thibodeau) Comeau, lost his wife, the former Anne Doucet. Left with several children, he asked Marie-Henriette to marry him. Though he was 54, she accepted, and on 17 February 1780, they were married in the parish church of Saint-Nicholas at La Rochelle.[4]

The Acadians again found it difficult in France. Though they were reasonably well-treated, they felt nostalgia for their former homeland. The elder Acadians in particular romanticized their days in Acadia, where they thought of themselves as lords living off the fat of the land. Their numerous families wanted to live in groups, but in France it was not always possible to be close together.

The Treaty of Versailles, signed 24 May 1783, marked the end of the War of the American Revolution. On 3 September 1783, a circular was issued, offering the Acadians transportation back to Saint Pierre and Miquelon at the expense of the king, and a living provided for six months. In their discontent, many of them were glad to cross again to the rocky islands they had left five years before.

Among the 240 who returned in 1783 were Joseph and Martine Lejeune, who travelled in their own large schooner with thirty others, including their daughters Marie-Henriette and Marthe, and their son Joseph. On a different vessel were Joseph Comeau, Marie-Henriette's husband, and the Comeau and other Lejeune children. On 6 October 1783, after the Feast of St. Michael--the time when fishermen sold their season's catch and settled their debts--they set out in the stormy autumn season for Saint Pierre.

On the census of 1784, Marie-Henriette, her husband and several of his children were living on Saint Pierre. At the same time, Joseph Lejeune, his wife Martine and their younger children were found at Miquelon. Joseph Comeau, Marie-Henriette's husband, died the following year; tradition says he was drowned. Church records show his burial at Miquelon on 4 April 1785. Tradition also says that by this marriage Marie-Henriette had a child,

4 Information provided by Stephen White, extracted from records of l'Eglise Saint-Nicolas, now with the Departmental Archives, France.

who died in infancy. At age 22, after five years of marriage, she was thus a widow.

Almost immediately, her family decided to migrate back to Little Bras d'Or. When Joseph and Martine Lejeune and their family returned to French Village in 1785, they rejoined other family members who had remained there during the intervening years. At Little Bras d'Or, where practically everyone was related to each other, they were again a close family unit. Isolated from other French settlements, however, the young had no one to marry but their relatives. Marie-Henriette--now a young widow of 24--and one of her cousins desiring to wed, the couple went to Sydney to be married by the Reverend Ranna Cossit. The records of St. George's Anglican Church for 26 August 1786 show her marriage to Lamuad Briard DeGong.[5] Like Marie-Henriette's first marriage, this union did not last long. As there was no church at French Village, and no vital statistics were kept, we do not know when her second husband died--except that by 1793 she was a widow again.

It was at Little Bras d'Or, according to tradition, that Marie-Henriette first demonstrated her nursing skills. With an interest in people and their physical well-being, she was called upon to act as midwife and to minister to the sick of the area. It is said that, having once caught smallpox while milking an infected cow, she was immune to smallpox, one of the most dreaded diseases which then affected communities from time to time. During an epidemic, it is said that she single-handedly, in a hut built for the purpose, nursed the sick back to health.

Meanwhile, the same Treaty of Versailles which ended the war between Britain and France and allowed the Acadians to return to Saint Pierre and Miquelon, also recognized the independence of the United States of America. As a direct result of these happenings, Marie-Henriette was to meet her third husband.

In the closing years of the war, the city of New York held thousands of Loyalists and British soldiers. Among the latter was Private James Ross of William Cunningham's Company, His Majesty's 76th Regiment of Foot. This regiment, the MacDonald Highlanders, raised in 1777 by Lord MacDonald of Sleat, served in North America from 1779 to 1783, when it was

5 St. George's Anglican Church records, Sydney. *Lamuad* was perhaps in error for *L'Amand*.

disbanded. Army records for 1783 show that James Ross was "discharged and went to Nova Scotia on the 24th of October with eight other men." [6]

By information he gave for the 1818 census, it appears that James Ross, born about 1757 in Ireland of Scottish parentage, indeed came to Cape Breton in 1783--a year before the island became a separate colony, and two years before the founding of Sydney. He probably soon found the Acadian settlement at Little Bras d'Or. He is first documented there on 6 March 1787, when he appeared at Sydney before the Council, with proof of military service, asking for land. He subsequently settled on Lot 8, containing over 200 acres, and approximately bordering the present Trans-Canada Highway from near the intersection of Park Road to the Little Bras d'Or Bridge, and extending along the shore a distance to the adjacent land of François Lejeune, Marie-Henriette's brother.[7] From there it ran up the hill towards Park Road, and thence easterly to the point of beginning.

At Little Bras d'Or, James Ross, aged 36, saw in 31-year-old, twice-widowed Marie-Henriette the compassion and capability he desired in a helpmeet. On 18 March 1793, before spring could break up the harbour ice, they travelled to Sydney, where they were married by the Reverend Cossit, who had officiated at the bride's second marriage, six years before. Though James and Marie-Henriette stood by the faiths in which they had been brought up, it is said they had an understanding that any male children they might have would be Protestant, while any female would be Roman Catholic.

At Little Bras d'Or there was no priest, and only an occasional itinerant missionary. In the autumn of 1799, Father François Lejamtel, the missionary from Arichat, visited the community while in Sydney. He later reported that he had found there a great ignorance of religion and irregularities of conduct, noting especially that three married couples were first cousins.[8] Two men and a woman of these were the brothers and sister of Marie-Henriette. Father Lejamtel also reported that two of the three couples had been married before a Protestant minister, thus referring to Marie-Henriette's

6 From the Pay Lists and Muster Rolls (1783), WO 12, Public Record Office.

7 Calendar of Cape Breton Land Papers (RG 20, Series B), Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

8 Lejamtel to Plessis, 30 July 1799, Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec, N.E., VI-28.

second marriage, and to that of her sister Barbara, who on 21 July 1793, at St. George's in Sydney, had married Joseph Christophe Lejeune.

While Father Lejamtel was at Little Bras d'Or he was also presented with a petition signed by those who subscribed certain amounts towards bringing a missionary priest each year. The fifteen petitioners included several members of the Lejeune and Le Roi families, plus "Gemmy" Ross.

After their marriage, the Rosses remained at Little Bras d'Or for about seven years. Marie-Henriette bore four Ross children--Joseph, John, Jean and Mary-Barbara. On 10 September 1799, James took Joseph and John to St. George's Anglican Church, Sydney, where they were baptized, according to the agreement their parents had made at their marriage. John and Mary-Barbara died in infancy; Joseph and Jean grew up to marry and leave descendants, now down to the eighth generation.

With two hundred acres at Little Bras d'Or, near Marie-Henriette's family, one would expect the family to remain permanently in the area. Yet by 1800, the Rosses were on the move again. One might ask why James, then 43, would once more begin the pioneering experience. Firstly, though the front part of his Little Bras d'Or land was of excellent quality, the rear was not well drained and the soil was poor. Secondly, and probably more importantly, James had three brothers who were all looking for good land in Cape Breton.

William Ross, the second brother, born in 1768 in Ireland, came to Cape Breton in 1790. Though it is said that he lived for some time at Washabuck, opposite Baddeck, it appears that he resided in, or visited Sydney at least from time to time after his arrival on the island. Edmund, the third brother, was born in Hants County, Nova Scotia in 1770; David the fourth brother, was born in 1772, also in Hants County. All were eager to join their brother in Cape Breton; the Little Bras d'Or area was well-settled, with no room for new arrivals, and James was not averse to moving. As for Marie-Henriette, relocating was nothing new for her; she had been moving from one place to another all her life.

In their search for suitable vacant land, the Ross families finally decided on the North East Margaree valley, where good land was still available and they could all settle on adjoining properties. The Margaree River and its tributaries had long been known to the Indians for their annual abundance of salmon. European settlement had begun in 1788, when some seventeen

Acadian families living on Ile St. Jean applied for and received land at the mouth of the river. English settlement began in the 1790s, with the arrival of Hezekiah Ingraham, Captain Robert Cranton, Thomas Etheridge and others. Trade between Cape Breton, Halifax and Newfoundland became particularly important in the growing community. It is almost certain that the bilingual James Ross knew Margaree Harbour and its English and Acadian settlers. It is quite probable that he had sailed there with Marie-Henriette's brother, Joseph Lejeune who, a mariner like his father, had built in 1791 at Little Bras d'Or, a shallop, the *Martin*, of which he was master.[9]

James Ross also knew the broad valley of the North East Margaree. Tradition says he was led by Indians from Nyanza on the Bras d'Or Lakes, up along the west side of Middle River to Beaver Brook, where they climbed to the top of Twelve O'Clock Mountain. It was autumn, so tradition claims, and the steep mountainside below them glowed in a rich mosaic of yellow, orange and red to the deepest crimson, as birch, beech and maple trees took on their finest dress before the coming frosts. The flat valley, levelled by waters of a bygone day, when the area was a vast arm of the sea, showed terraces which marked different levels of receding water. In lower swampy places, black spruce formed a contrast with the red swamp maples. Though most of the land was well-drained and covered with hardwood, there were areas of pine, spruce and balsam fir.

Across the valley, 1000-foot hills, also in autumn brilliance, rose abruptly above the North East Margaree River, which flowed from high hills in the north through a gap by Sugarloaf Mountain. It is said that the Indians left Ross to descend alone, to spend the winter exploring the valley floor.

In the spring of 1800, James, Marie-Henriette and their family, on waters only recently freed of drift-ice, sailed from Little Bras d'Or to Margaree Harbour. There they loaded canoes and flat-bottomed boats with necessities only--sacks of meal and flour, some salt, sugar and tea, bundles of bedding and clothing, an iron pot, a few dishes and pieces of cutlery, and--perhaps most important of all--a musket, powder horn, gunpowder, a tinder-box, a compass, an axe and an adze.

Aided by Indian guides and friendly Acadians, they started up the river estuary, where the low shores and islands, fertilized by rich humus carried

9 Shipping Register, Sydney, Vol. 1, 1787-1824.

downstream during periodic flooding, bore luxurious natural meadows. With the aid of the incoming tide, which flowed a few miles upriver, progress was good where waters were deep and the current slow. All spent the first night at the home of an Acadian family.

On the second day progress was slower, and though the guides followed the channels with the least current, they made fewer miles. The river, deeper and narrower than it is now, without the gravelly shallows known locally as "rifts," rushed with strong currents and rapids where the incline was steeper. Occasionally, there were twenty-foot-deep pools that were long and still, and others where the water eddied into whirlpools and there was a danger of being drawn into the vortex. Headway was made only under sheer muscle power.

Where the hills on the left fell steeply to the river, near the so-called Plaster of Paris cliffs, they turned into a brook. In shallower water they proceeded a short distance, and meeting the Lake O'Law Brook, after alternately poling through pools and dragging the boats through shallows, they reached the small clearing James had made the previous winter. There, beside a spring of clear water, he had chosen a site for their first home in this valley.

While they slept in a temporary shelter, James, aided by the guides, raised a log cabin. The work of filling the cracks, putting in a floor, building a chimney, and putting in a window and door could wait. With a great concern to clear land, he felled trees and they burned brush and tree stumps. While he made their first bed, of posts nailed to the floor with poles going at right angles to niches in the logs of the wall, and thongs stretched across to hold their bedding, Marie-Henriette wandered into the deep woods and plucked soft mosses, which she dried to fill a mattress.

After a few years, James would build a frame house, with walls well-insulated by heavy sheets of birch bark. His first priority, however, was the land. He continued to work doggedly at felling trees and burning them, gradually extending the cleared acreage. Where there had been potatoes among the stumps one year, there was grain the following year, with potatoes in a newly-cleared patch. The forest was alive with food, and with furs to keep warm. Soon there were bearskins for coverlets and for a rug in front of the fireplace. Though moose and caribou were rapidly becoming extinct because of foreign poachers who came to kill for hides only,

there were rabbits, ruffled grouse, wild geese and ducks, and the river teemed with salmon.

As soon as possible, James and Marie-Henriette obtained a cow, a pig, sheep and poultry. With the milk she made butter, which taken to Margaree Harbour was readily sold. In her wooden churn--probably made by Hezekiah Ingraham, the cooper at Margaree Harbour--she poured sour cream and plunged the long dasher up and down, while small spurts of cream oozed out the hole in the cover where the plunger came through. After awhile, the sound of muffled thudding, and the feel of added weight told her that butter had formed. Lifting it out into a wooden bowl, she kneaded it in clear, cold water from the spring, until all the buttermilk was removed. Stored in a wooden tub in brine strong enough to float an egg, and until the container was filled, the butter was taken to Margaree Harbour to barter for articles they could not produce.

The story has been handed down that in their earliest days in Margaree, Marie-Henriette, after milking her cow, was accustomed to set the milk in bowls in the shade at the side of the cabin, to allow the cream to come to the top. Then she would pour it into her churn, which she kept in a cool depression near the spring. After the cream was taken off, the pig would get most of the skim milk.

Once, she found the milk completely gone and the bowls licked clean. A bear, she surmised, and shuddered to think one would come so near the cabin in broad daylight. When he came home from chipping trees, however, James reported that the Indians, encamped by the river, had a dog.

A short time later, on a day when her husband was working a distance from the cabin, she found a dog lapping up the milk. To get rid of the animal, she rushed into the cabin, grabbed the musket from over the fireplace, rammed powder into it, hurried out again, and shot the animal through the head. Grabbing the dirty, greasy body and dragging it into the cabin, she lifted the bearskin-covered hatch to the dug-out which held their winter's potatoes, and threw the dead animal down. She had scarcely removed the evidence when the Indians appeared, looking for the dog. Secretly a little afraid, she went on with her work, pretending she knew nothing about it. Eventually the natives went away, puzzled by the mysterious musket-shot and the disappearance of the dog.

Later, when James was home, the Indians came back, still looking for the animal. This time, she quickly threw a coat over her husband, who was lying on the settle, and cried out "Smallpox!" pointing to the reclining figure. The natives left immediately--and did not return for a long time.

In 1801, Edmund and Nancy Ross came from Halifax with their eldest child, and in 1803 David and Elizabeth Ross also arrived. All made the same tortuous voyage up the river. Edmund settled about a mile from his brother James, David between them on the north, and William on the south. The year of arrival of the last-named is not known.

In Cape Breton, most of the early settlers searched out and found unclaimed land to their liking, and then became squatters. As soon as convenient, they sought out, Cape Breton Council at Sydney, requesting a Crown licence. Surveyors were then sent out to survey, map and make comments on the land, and report to the Council, at whose pleasure licences and grants were given. In 1805, the four Ross brothers requested the services of a surveyor. On 18 April 1806, the chief surveyor reported that he had measured the tracts and was enclosing maps. Since there were no highways, and the river was used for travel, the occupied land all fronted on the river; it was 1811 before there was a road from Baddeck to Margaree Harbour.

William was to get Lot 7, comprising 450 acres, with the comment: "This lot has some interval land in front, the rear is very mountainous." James received Lot 9, being 400 acres with "pretty good land in the front and the middle, the rear mountainous." David's parcel was Lot 10, containing 329 acres, with the remark: "These lots are for the most part capable of cultivation." Of Edmund's, Lot 11 of 398 acres, there was the remark: "The front and the middle of this lot are capable of cultivation."

Later, because so much of the land was not suitable for farming, William received an additional 260 acres in Lot 8, and David 110 acres in Lot 12. As each met the requirements for obtaining a Crown grant by building a house, cultivating the required number of acres, acquiring a certain number of cattle, and paying the required fees, grants were issued and registered at Sydney. In 1810, we find William with Crown Grant No. 506 and Edmund with No. 554; in 1811, David with No. 599, and in 1818, James with Crown

Grant No. 871. In all, the four brothers received almost 2200 acres, extending from about present-day Big Brook to Methodist Hill.[10]

It appears that James and Marie-Henriette made fairly frequent trips back to Little Bras d'Or. In winter, after walking or snow-shoeing to Baddeck, it was comparatively easy to skate or walk on the ice, by way of St. Andrew's Channel on the south side of Boulardarie Island. It is said that James brought his first seed potatoes to North East Margaree, on his back from Little Bras d'Or.

It has also been said that after her mother died, Marie-Henriette brought her father to spend his last days in Margaree. It is known that Marie-Henriette's niece Marie, born about 1794 at Bras d'Or, a daughter of Barbara and Christophe Lejeune, came to Margaree where, after 1816, she married Philip Brown, a native of Silver Springs, Wexford, Ireland. They lived at Lake O'Law, where she died 8 April 1871,[11] leaving six children.

James and Marie-Henriette were not the only family members to make long journeys on foot. Edmund Ross, known as the "Big Man"-well over six feet in height, and weighing more than three hundred pounds--once made a journey to Halifax, and brought home on his back a pack weighing 150 pounds, containing a Bible and parts for a grist-mill he was building. Taking advantage of the brook on his property, Edmund built the first mill on his side of the river. Later, his son Edmund Junior, and his son Wesley, added power-operated looms for weaving cloth and blankets, as well as a spinning jenny for producing yarn.

On 30 September 1811, a terrific hurricane struck this part of Cape Breton. At North East Margaree, after sections of forest from the Nile to the Salt Brooks were levelled, a fierce forest fire ensued, buring virgin timber so deeply that nothing but blueberry barrens have remained until almost the present time. Edmund Ross subsequently claimed that he had lost all his firewood, and petitioned for more land.

By this period, settlement in the area was well established. In the mixed English and Acadian community, Marie-Henriette's skills in nursing and midwifery continued greatly in demand. With no doctor in the area, she

10 Calendar of Cape Breton Land Papers, PANS.

11 RG 32, Series WB, Vol. 41, Deaths, Inverness County, 1871-52, PANS.

was called upon to usher all the local babies into the world. There were many of them, and the demands upon her time were heavy. By now, she was known to all by the English form of her name, "Harriet." As she grew older, everyone called her simply "Granny Ross."

When she travelled alone in the woods on her mercy errands, Marie-Henriette carried a loaded musket with her. It is said that on one occasion when she was rushing down a wooden trail on her way to a sick call, she met a bear which was about to attack her. Fearlessly she aimed, fired and killed the animal instantly. Tradition also says that this was not the only bear she killed. On another occasion, a bear got into the pigpen--made of upright poles in stockade fashion--and attempted to kill the pig. Hearing the uproar, Marie-Henriette rushed in with the fire shovel, which had a four-foot handle, and quickly made an end of the animal.

The years passed by, and the children grew up. On 5 March 1823, when he was 66 and his health failing, James Ross deeded the centre 200 acres of his farm, which he called "Inverness," to his son Joseph, reserving the four acres on which the farmhouse and buildings stood for himself and his wife.[12] In December 1825, at the age of 68, James Ross died.[13] He was buried on his own land, not far from the present large farmhouse. Marie-Henriette long survived him, living a useful and revered life in the community; she did not die until May 1860. She was then buried in the graveyard of the Roman Catholic Church, which had been built in 1840 on land from the original James Ross grant, and donated by her daughter and son-in-law.

How much of what is on the wooden plaque in front of St. Patrick's Church, North East Margaree, is correct?

1. "Built on land granted to James Ross English pioneer." When the census was taken on 12 May 1818 in Margaree, James Ross gave his birthplace as Ireland, and that of his parents as Scotland.[14] Therefore, we would not call him English.

12 Registry of Deeds, Cape Breton County.

13 Probate Court, Cape Breton County.

14 *Holland's Description of Cape Breton Island and Other Documents*, ed. D.C. Harvey (Halifax, 1935), p. 156.

2. The land was granted "for fighting at Louisbourg in 1758." By the 1818 census, James Ross claimed he was 61, which would place his birth ca. 1757. He would hardly have been fighting at Louisbourg, aged one year. We do know that twenty years after that, he fought for the British in the American War of Independence.
3. His wife "fought for the French." We have proof through her baptismal entry that she was born in 1762, four years after the fall of Louisbourg.

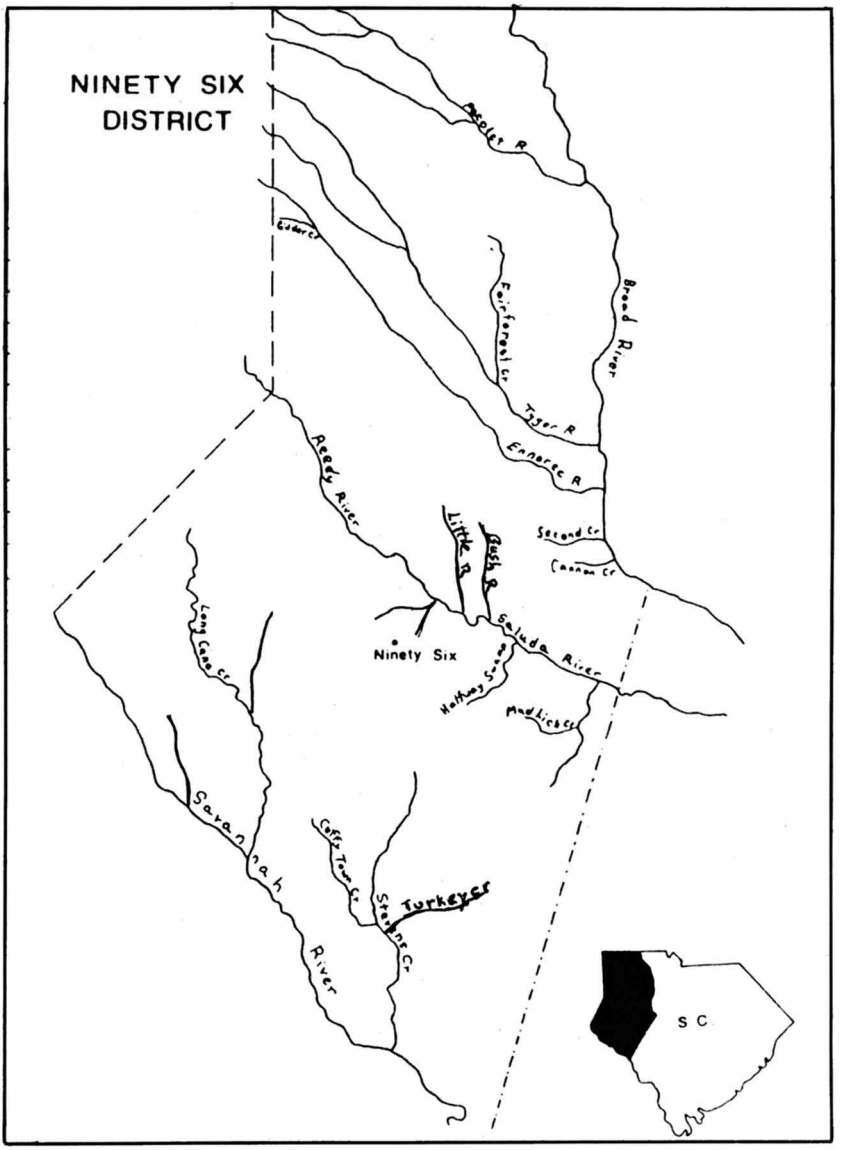
Thus, the only certain facts on the plaque are that the church stands on land first granted to James Ross, and that his wife is buried in the graveyard.

How much of what is on the gravestone is correct?

1. "The Little Woman." The late John Hart, in his *History of Northeast Margaree*, strongly disagreed, claiming that "The Little Woman" was instead the wife of Edmund Ross, "The Big Man."
2. "Born in France in 1743." Marie-Henriette's baptismal entry proves that she was born in France in 1762.
3. "Fought with the French in the Second Siege of Louisbourg 1758." Obviously incorrect, since she was not yet born at that time.

Though he did not know the facts, we must commend the late Thomas E. Ross for putting this marker on the grave of his great-grandmother, whose resting-place had been almost forgotten.

Though she did not live to the great age attributed to her, Granny's true story is more fascinating than anyone had ever imagined. Think of her as an infant of a few months, being brought from France to Saint Pierre and Miquelon, and then as a girl of sixteen being deported back to France, with her home burned behind her; then of her early marriage overseas, and all the other misfortunes which befell her before she married James Ross and came to North East Margaree. May her life continue to be an inspiration to succeeding generations of her descendants!


NINETY SIX
DISTRICT
Broad River
Tyger R
Enoree R
Reedy River
Little R
Rush R
Second Cr
Cane Cr
Long Cane Cr
Ninety Six
Saluda River
Mud Lick Cr
Savannah River
Cuffytown Cr
Stevens Cr
Turkeycr
SC

Origins of the Rawdon Loyalist Settlement

Carole W. Troxler

In Hants County, Nova Scotia, the place name "Rawdon" occurs five times. Upper Rawdon, Centre Rawdon, South Rawdon, Rawdon Gold Mines, and Rawdon Hills all carry the name of the second Earl of Moira, who until 1793 was known as Lord Francis Rawdon. Like many place names, "Rawdon" outlasted the memory of its rationale. In an admirable paper concerning the settlement of Hants County, a local historian quoted a summary of Lord Rawdon's career, but acknowledged his puzzlement over why the Loyalist settlement had been named for Rawdon. "I have found no mention," he confessed, "of his [Lord Rawdon's] ever being in Nova Scotia."[1]

The men and women who created the community of Rawdon after the American Revolution gave it the name which had symbolized British protection when they had needed it most. In the summer of 1781, more than one-half of the people who would settle Rawdon were under siege for a month at Fort Ninety-Six, the strongest and westernmost British installation in the southern backcountry. Twenty-six year old Lord Rawdon rescued the people inside the South Carolina fort and started them on a migration that would take many of them to a place they would name in his honour. This article identifies the original Loyalist settlers of Rawdon and attempts to communicate a sense of their wartime experiences and decisions which resulted in their settlement in Nova Scotia.

Rawdon's founders arrived in the upland between the Kennetcook and Herbert Rivers in three movements between 1783 and 1788. The first group left Charles Town, South Carolina in the British evacuation of autumn 1782. They arrived in Halifax among a group totalling 501 Loyalist refugees. From Halifax, some of the newcomers went to Shelburne, others to the area north of the Bay of Fundy which would become New Brunswick, and others to a place referred to as "near Windsor," which would become Rawdon, some forty miles north of Halifax. In February 1783, the first Rawdon settlers moved north to Windsor and Newport to be nearer the unsurveyed tract of wilderness. By the time the warrant to survey was issued in June 1784, they had cut a road and moved to the area which they called "Rawdon."

1 Ralph B. Whittier, "Notes on the Early Settlement of Hants County Nova Scotia," MG 100, Vol. 137, No. 9; Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

There were 28 families and 27 single men. With them was a family who had lived in Nova Scotia since the 1760s.[2]

In the summer of 1784, the first group was joined by ten more men, six of them with families, just arrived from the evacuation of East Florida. Coming on the first of three transports to bring civilians, they had disembarked at Halifax, leaving their fellow passengers to travel on to Shelburne and the Strait of Canso. The East Florida arrivals were from the same general area as the first Rawdon settlers. Most of them were personally known by the leaders of the settlement, who helped the newcomers apply for land.[3]

Thereafter, Rawdon continued to attract exiles from the southern backcountry, most of them arriving by 1788. They gathered from various parts of Nova Scotia, many of them leaving warrants to survey or actual grants. The southern backcountry people made up almost the entire Rawdon settlement. By 1788, 74 southern backcountry men and widows had received grants. Although most of them had families, there were not 74 households, for teenaged boys received grants. There were 53 surnames among the grantees.[4]

The people who had gone directly to Nova Scotia from Charles Town were the most homogeneous of the settlers. Before the war, most of them had lived in southwestern Ninety-Six District, within a network of eastern tributaries of the Savannah River. A few of these families are known to have intermarried prior to the war, but not enough for the Rawdon nucleus

2 John Bond and other Associated Loyalists from South Carolina warrant to survey, 26 June 1784, RG 20, Series A, Vol. 2, PANS; "Return of the Loyalists from South Carolina settled near Windsor," PANS RG 1, Vol. 359, No. 63; Claims material of John Saunderson, Public Record Office [hereafter PRO], Audit Office Papers [hereafter AO] 13:135.

3 *Argo* discharge list and passenger list, 13 July 1784, National Archives of Canada [hereafter NAC], Lawrence Collection, Ward Chipman Papers MG 23 D1 (1) [hereafter Chipman Papers], Vol. 24, pp. 289, 292; *Argo* passenger list, PANS, Gideon White Collection, MG 1, Vol. 948, No. 288; John Bond petition, PANS RG 20, Series A, Vol. 2, 1784; PRO, Admiralty Papers [hereafter Adm. P.] 49:9, pp. 11-17, 100-101.

4 Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests, Hants County Portfolio, Plans 31-35; Petition and Land Papers of John Bond and Petition and Land Papers of Thomas McKey *et al.* PANS RG 20, Series A, Vols. 2, 6, 1784; Petition and Land Papers of John Sterling *et al.*, *ibid.* 1787; PANS RG 1, Vol. 359, No. 63.

to be considered a kinship network.[5] This group remained together from their departure from Fort Ninety-Six until their settlement at Rawdon. Backcountrymen who came in 1784 and thereafter shared several characteristics with the first arrivals, so the 1783-88 community can be described as a whole.

Of the 74 grantees, 35 were from southwestern Ninety-Six District, between Turkey Creek and Long Cane Creek. Thirteen had lived just eastward, between the middle reaches of the Broad and Saluda rivers. The northern section of Camden District provided four more men, and four came from elsewhere in the South Carolina Upcountry. From Georgia there were five grantees, in four families, and two grantees in one family were from North Carolina. The pre-war locations of eleven men have not been determined beyond their statement that they were from South Carolina. Birthplaces of thirty of the 74 grantees are known: fourteen in northern Ireland, fourteen in America, and two in England. The Irish-born had arrived in the backcountry at a fairly even rate between 1757 and 1773. Some of the American natives had moved in during that time as well, coming from the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina. Thus they had been part of the general migration which had populated the southern backcountry during the quarter-century prior to the Revolution. Ulster Scots were the predominant ethnic group in the backcountry, and this is reflected in the high proportion of northern Irish natives at Rawdon. German communities in western Ninety-Six District would be represented elsewhere in Nova Scotia, but Rawdon numbered only two families with German surnames, and they were related by marriage to a Rawdon family from northern Ireland.[6]

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5 Claims material of George Snell, John Thornton, Adam Fralick, AO 12 Vols. 49 and 68, AO 13 Bundle 135.

6 Recruiting List, Duke of Cumberland's Regiment, PRO, State Papers 41:29; Loyalist claims material for Robert Alexander, George Bond, John Brison, William Brison, James Carter, William Cunningham, David Dunsmore, Adam Fralick, Henry Green, Reuben Lively, Samuel McAllister, William Meek, John Murphy, James Nickles, Thomas Pearson, George Snell, John Thornton, Thomas Thornton, William Wallace, John Withrow, John Brown and Margaret (Evans) Fitzsimmons, AO 12 Vol. 49 and 68 and AO 13 Bundle 138. Claims for other Rawdon settlers in this study are Richard Fenton, AO 13:100; Zachariah Gibbs, AO 12 Vols. 46, 92, 99 and AO 13 Bundles 79, 119, 129, 137; Henry Martindale, AO 12: 40 and 66 and AO 13: 57; Darius Pace, AO 13:26; Samuel Proctor, AO 12:92 and AO 13:26; Charlotte Pollock, AO 12:99; John Saunderson, AO 13: 135; Thomas Thornton, AO 13: 136; John Thornton, AO 13: 136; John Brown, AO 12:5 and 59 and AO 13:90. For pre-revolutionary property ownership, see also Returns

At the outbreak of the Revolution, most of the men of Rawdon seem to have been farmers, owning a single farm with livestock and farming implements, but no slaves. The exception was one man with more than 2,000 acres and seven slaves. The 23 other Rawdon settlers whose pre-war acreage is known averaged about 285 acres each. Three tenants had moved during the war to get away from revolutionary pressures, and they owned as much livestock as their landowning neighbours. Four men are known to have owned one slave each, either before the war or afterwards in East Florida. One Yorkshireman had arrived in Georgia in 1774 as an indentured servant.[7]

The Rawdon settlers shared a general pattern of wartime experiences. In 1775 most people in the South Carolina Upcountry were reluctant to join the Revolution; at least that was the assessment of Whig leaders in the Lowcountry, who sent astute emissaries to the area in August. A Loyalist who had been nineteen in 1775 later recalled, "there was several advertisements set up in every part of the. . . District that there was a Very Good prispetearing minister to call at the Different Places and Baptise Children."[8]

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of property of dead or absentee Loyalists, May-June 1783, Historical Commission of South Carolina; copies in South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, and published in Robert Woodward Barnwell, Jr., ed., "Reports on Loyalist Exiles from South Carolina, 1783," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1937), pp. 43-46 [hereafter S.C. Exiles Report] and South Carolina General Assembly, "An Ordinance for appointing a new Jury List for the district of Ninety-six. . .," 20 February 1779, published in Thomas H. Pope, *The History of Newberry County, South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 287-302 [hereafter, Ninety-Six jury lists, 1778-1779]. Colonial Plats, South Carolina Archives [hereafter SCA], Secretary of State, Surveyor General [hereafter S.C. Colonial Plats], *passim*; Royal Grants, SCA, Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Lands Grants, Colonial Series, [hereafter S.C. Royal Grants], *passim*; Memorials, SCA, Auditor General, [hereafter S.C. Land Memorials], *passim*; Conveyances, SCA, Public Register, *passim*; Conveyances, 1776-1780, SCA, Register of Mesne Conveyances, *passim*.

7 Portions of the social tapestry of the southern backcountry are explored in valuable essays in Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate and Peter J. Albert, eds., *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985). For Richard Fenton, see list of Thomas Brown's servants, AO 13:34. Claims of George Bond, John Bond, Reuben Lively, Samuel McAllister, William Meek, AO 12:49 and 68 and AO 13:138; Bahamas Register General, Book M, petition of William Bowman; East Florida Papers, Bundle 323A, 1784 census, Library of Congress.

8 Lindley S. Butler, ed., *The Narrative of Col. David Fanning* (Davidson, N.C.: Briarpatch Press, 1981), p. 20; for the Reverend William Tennent's account, see Robert Wilson Gibbes, comp., *Documentary History of the American Revolution. . .*, (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1971), pp. 225-239.

Accompanying the clergyman was the president of the Provincial Congress. Strenuously they addressed gatherings and reasoned with local leaders who voiced criticism of the whigs. In general, the emissaries were coolly received and by autumn lines were drawn. Each "side" suspected the other of building an alliance with the feared Cherokees just to the north and west. This fear would in the long run work to the benefit of the revolutionaries, for the Indians were afraid of settler encroachment and so maintained a pro-British stance throughout the war. Weeks of militia drills, confrontations and truce efforts climaxed in November 1775: the Loyalists laid siege to a hastily built fort near the settlement known as Ninety-Six.[9] The commander of the loyal militia later estimated the siege force number at 2,400. After two days they overpowered the 600 defenders, but then quickly agreed to a truce and dispersed. Meanwhile, the whig Council of Safety had sent in about 4,000 troops, many from North Carolina. The new force swept the area. Their thoroughness was dramatized by a blanket of snow more than a foot deep which lay for seven days, a phenomenon rare enough to be called an omen. This whig mopping-up action came to be known as the "Snow Campaign."[10]

Fifteen of the Rawdon settlers are known to have fought in the November 1775 Loyalist uprising. Some of them eluded capture by hiding in the woods or going to Georgia or Virginia. At least six were seized and released when, in the words of their captor, "I caused the men to sign an instrument of writing, which they did willingly with fear and trembling, by which they forfeit their estates, real and personal, if they ever take up arms against. . . the people of this colony again, and to assist them if they are ever called upon."[11]

9 Ninety-Six had originated as a fort against the Cherokees, whose nearest town lay 96 miles over trading paths.

10 Claims material of Richard Pearis, AO 12 Vol. 49, f. 300, Vol. 68, f. 50 and AO 13:138; claims material of Joseph Robinson, AO 12 Vol. 49, f. 332, Vol. 68, f. 63 and AO 13: Bundles 92 and 138. John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution as Relating to the State of South Carolina* (Charleston: A.E. Miller, 1821; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969) I, 376-430; David Ramsay, *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton: Isaac Collins, 1785) I, 308-312; John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), p. 200; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution 1775-1780* (New York: Macmillan, 1901), pp. 95-96.

11 Gibbes, *Documentary History*, p. 247.

They would be "called upon." Early in the war, militia service could be avoided by paying a fine, or one might meet the revolutionaries' demand in an Indian campaign. After the war, six Rawdon men acknowledged that they had served in the revolutionary militia prior to 1780, some of them after paying fines. Adam Fralick was fined, then imprisoned for refusal to serve, and finally drove a wagon for ten days. George Bond similarly served as a wagoner.[12] In 1778, state law required an oath of allegiance from every member of the militia. Although the oath was not uniformly administered, this requirement increased pressure on persons opposed to the Revolution, for refusal to take the oath marked a man publicly for plundering or other harassment.

This and similar legislation identifying tories in the Carolinas and Georgia resulted in more and more backcountrymen going into East Florida. The garrison at Saint Augustine was the nearest British installation until the British made a beach-head in Georgia in the final weeks of 1778. Several future Rawdon men went to East Florida in 1778, some of them joining the South Carolina Royalists, a provincial corps organizing there. During 1779, the British posts at Augusta and Hudson's Ferry on the Savannah River were attractions, particularly for men between Long Cane and Turkey Creeks, the Rawdon nucleus.

It was in 1780, however, that the definitive Loyalist stand was made throughout the southern backcountry. Beginning in May, the British occupied Charles Town and a string of interior forts, the most distant from Charles Town being Fort Ninety-Six. All of the Rawdon men who had not taken up arms against the revolutionaries did so while the British forces were at hand. The person who would head the Rawdon settlement, John Bond, had made no overt move for either side until he joined the Loyalist militia which formed after the British took Charles Town. For some men, it was clearly a matter of switching sides, having supported independence until the British show of force. After the war, William Cunningham admitted that he had willingly served in the revolutionary militia and had switched sides in 1780 because he thought the British would win.[13]

12 AO 12 Vol. 49, ff. 30, 156, 175, 197, 207, 244, Vol. 68, ffs. 9, 33, 40-41, 43, 45-46.

13 AO 12 Vol. 49, ff. 30, 227, Vol. 68, ff. 9, 44.

Except for the few provincial corpsmen who came to Rawdon after 1784, all of the Rawdon men who were old enough to serve in 1780 were in the militia. They performed a variety of auxiliary services, largely menial, for the British and provincial forces at Fort Ninety-Six. Most commonly they were wagoners and cattle-drovers. They loaded, handled and ditched. Some scouted and carried messages through the familiar land. They were in the thick of the fighting, which reached such intensity in 1781 that to live inside the stockade at Fort Ninety-Six was prudent, and even necesary, as more and more houses were pillaged and burned on both sides.

A few Rawdon men had high military profiles. Zachariah Gibbs, a Virginia native living near Fairforest Creek in upper Ninety-Six District, did some of the work for which the British were most hated in the Upcountry; acting under the authority of General Earl Cornwallis, Gibbs captured men who had joined or rejoined the Revolution after they took the oath of allegiance required by the British in the summer of 1780.[14] Gibbs commanded some 500 men in a militia regiment. Before the British came to the area, he had demonstrated his leadership by recruiting and leading a force to join the British in Georgia. They had been intercepted by revolutionary militia under Andrew Pickens, also drawn largely from Ninety-Six District.

In three encounters, Pickens triumphed and secured the Revolution in the Georgia backcountry. To cite a detail typical of the times: Reuben Lively, who later would be a Rawdon settler alongside Gibbs, fought in this Kettle Creek campaign--in the revolutionary militia.[15]

The task of training the Loyalist militia of the southern backcountry fell to Major Patrick Ferguson. He understood backcountrymen better than did any of his British comrades, quickly identifying the danger that the British would make their presence felt too strongly: he saw the need to proceed without either "dampening the zeal of our friends" or "exasperating

14 Sir Henry Clinton's proclamation of 3 June 1780 required all South Carolina men to take an oath of allegiance or be treated as rebels; hitherto, Clinton tacitly had recognized neutrality as an alternative. PRO, Colonial Office [hereafter CO] 5:264; *ibid.*, Treasury Papers [hereafter T] 50:3, pp. 10-12; AO 12 Vol. 46, f. 145, Vol. 92, ff. 1a, 2, 7.

15 Accounts Audited of Claims Growing Out of the Revolution [hereafter Accounts Audited], file no. 4620A, SCA, Comptroller General.

those rebels who are quietly disposed."[16] Ferguson shaped his backcountry militia into creditable fighters, but he was impatient for action and got many of them--and himself--killed at King's Mountain.

With or without Ferguson, Fort Ninety-Six was the Upcountry linchpin for the British forces, and General Nathanael Greene laid siege to it in May 1781. He was joined by forces under Pickens and Henry Lee. By that time, the little town was completely enclosed by a stockade and ditch, and further protected by a star-shaped earthen bastion and a hornwork. The fort was manned by 550 Loyalists under John Harris Cruger of New York. Theirs was a desperate defense, for the killing, rape, houseburning and plunder on both sides called for revenge. After a month, Greene learned that Lord Rawdon was on the way and he pulled back. Rawdon was at the fort only long enough to have it evacuated.

After a brief stop at Orangeburgh, the evacuees joined the hordes that were gathering in the Charles Town area: Loyalists from both Carolinas, slaves of questionable ownership, and blacks who had fled from their revolutionary owners to the British promise of freedom. Fifteen months would pass before the British evacuated the city. For the people who would go to Rawdon, it was fifteen months of refugee existence while they weighed their alternatives.

One possibility was to return to their homes and face the enmity of their neighbours. Few Upcountrymen were named in the 1782 confiscation and banishment legislation--their turn would come in the confiscation ordinance of 1783--so return was at least a legal possibility throughout 1782. The British commander encouraged militiamen and other refugees to return home. Most militiamen left Charles Town after the militia was disbanded in the late summer of 1782. In addition, at least 1,000 civilian men and women were given payments at this time, typically a guinea each to buy a horse with which to return to the backcountry.[17] That many of the refugees in Charles Town in 1781 and 1782 returned to their homes can be concluded by examining the records kept by the counties of western Ninety-Six District

16 Ferguson to Cornwallis, 22 June 1780, PRO, Official and Private Documents Relating to the Colonies, Cornwallis Papers 30/11/1, pp. 183-184.

17 "Book G of Refugee Payments," T50:1; "Refugee Women and Children going back to the Country," *ibid.*; T 50: 4, pp. 249, 267, 272, 386-400; militia pay abstracts, T 50:2.

after their creation in 1785. Even allowing for the uncertainty that a particular name occurring in the county records denotes a former Loyalist refugee by that same name, the frequency of names from the Charles Town refugee records which occur in the western county records a few years later is suggestive.[18]

One refugee who quickly found his way back to Union County was James Gibbs, a close relative of the Loyalist militia colonel Zachariah Gibbs. James Gibbs served in the revolutionary militia as early as 1778, but after the British took Charles Town he headed a Loyalist company in Zachariah's regiment. Both James and Zachariah were substantial landowners, and since the late 1760s had lived in northern Ninety-Six District and adjacent Tryon County, North Carolina. They served together, and in Charles Town James exercised some responsibility for refugees from Ninety-Six District. James's Loyalist militia record stops in November 1781, and by 1782 he was again in revolutionary service, leaving Zachariah to go on to Nova Scotia without him.[19]

A different set of circumstances shaped William Meek's decision to remain with his comrades in exile rather than go home. He had been a child in 1768 when, with his mother and two brothers, he moved from northern Ireland to Ninety-Six District. Apparently they were joining relatives, for there were Meeks owning land among the other Ulster Scots north of the Enoree River, and also in the Long Cane area near the Savannah River. Still described as a "youth" in 1779, William owned no land. Members of the larger family fought on both sides during the Revolution. Among the revolutionaries in the family, the extent of military service varied; one of

18 See in particular, minutes of the county court, deed books and probate records of Newberry, Abbeville, Edgefield, Union and Spartanburg counties, microfilm and some originals in SCA. Charles Town refugee records are T 50:1-5, microfilm copies in North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

19 James Gibbs memorials, S.C. Land Memorials, Vol. 12, p. 178, Vol. 13, p. 393; Accounts Audited, file nos. 1774-1775; Tryon County Court Minutes, 1769-1774, *passim*, North Carolina Archives; Grant to Zachariah Gibbs, Tryon County, no. 4, 1768, North Carolina Land Grant Office; Zachariah Gibbs's Regiment, June-December 1780, T 50:2; James Gibbs's company, June-October 1781, *ibid.*; T 50:5, f. 17; A.O. 13:79, p. 197; Brent Holcomb, ed., *Union County South Carolina Minutes of the County Court 1785-1799* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1979), *passim*; Ninety-Six jury lists, 1778-1779; Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), pp. 352-353.

the most active was Moses Meek, a militiaman by late 1780 and a sergeant at the end of the war. A less active relative of Moses, Adam Meek, Jr., provided a few horses and steers for the revolutionary militia--and in so doing lost "two pair of overhauls and one pair of Britches. . . in the Congaree River."[20]

The Rawdon settler, William Meek, took a Loyalist position in the 1775 campaign at Ninety-Six, and thereafter "kept in concealment." He broke cover three years later, when he heard of the British arrival in Georgia. Captured, he was allowed to find a bondsman for his good behaviour and return home, "on account of his youth."[21] Once the British took Charles Town, he enlisted in the loyal militia and served until the end of the war.

About the time Meek made his decisive move in 1780, he made a personal decision which may have confirmed his loyalism. Meek married a daughter of Robert Coleman, a Loyalist from the area north of the Enoree River. Coleman's two sons and second daughter were revolutionaries, and Coleman willed his 150 acres to Meek's wife, just before dying in Charles Town in 1781. Meek had never seen the land. In 1782, Mrs. Meek returned briefly to her home. She found the houses and buildings burned, and the land in the possession of her father's brother. The young couple went on to Nova Scotia in company with two other Meek men, leaving a brother of William Meek in South Carolina.[22]

There is a description of backcountry Loyalists as they crowded in their Charles Town huts and chewed the bitter nut of defeat. A New England revolutionary, agog by what he found in the South, wrote in a derisive vein to his sister:

> Just for a change of intelligence, I can describe to you some of the Back Countrymen of South Carolina. They call them there *Johnny Gwaughers*: There were plenty in *Charlestown* when I was there, many of them had good Estates

20 Accounts Audited, nos. 5176A, 5178.

21 Claims material of William Meek, AO 12 Vol. 49, f.. 257, Vol. 68, f. 55, A.O. 13:138.

22 *Ibid.*; *Second Report* of the Ontario Bureau of Archives, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1905), pp. 183-184; S.C. Exiles Report, Thomas Brandon's Regiment; Ninety-Six jury lists, 1778-1779, pp. 80, 94; S.C. Royal Grants, Book 21, p. 176; S.C. Colonial Plats, Book 18, p. 351, Book 21, p. 379; S.C. Land Memorials, Book 11, p. 218; Accounts Audited, nos. 5176-5179; A.O. 12:68, f. 335.

in the Country; but, 'come in from the R-e-b-e-l-s' because they did not like their 'oppression,' & so they, 'come in to serve their king & shew their loyalty & there for such proofs of Loyalty they. . .were damn'd for a parcel of wounded wretches that were worse than Rebels. They were great tall strapping women & Men, the former generally dressing in one single Petticoat that droppd to the ground & a short wrapper & man's hat--loop'd--the latter's dress was compos'd of a hat, a jacket, a shirt, a Pr of short Britches & some woolen Cloth roll'd round their Leggs, & call'd by the British Soldiers *Shin Curtains* & very few of them, any shoes--You see I am very particular in description, as people are so fond of Novelty I dont know but the fashion might be adopted, maugre the appearance.--But these above mentioned poor Devils thin'd fast when I came away [i.e., late summer 1782]--some came to their senses & returned to Genl. Greene & were forgiven with the penance of a six months duty in the field. Others would make excursions in the Country in plundering partys where many had the satisfaction of being knock'd in head & hung for their Loyalty to their Starve Gut King."[23]

The hunger and misery observed by the New Englander are reflected also in British records of the distribution of food, clothing, tents, camp equipment and cash to several hundred refugees during the winter of 1781-82. There were lotteries for refugee relief as well, and a school served some refugee children. A Rawdon settler, Henry Martindale, was on the school committee. The relief measures were inadequate. The six men practising medicine at government expense could do little more than distribute palliatives: camphor, extract of saturn, gall stomach bitters, a little sugar and wine, and a great deal of tea. One hundred and sixty-three refugees were buried at public expense; they died largely from colds in late winter and fevers in late summer. Among them were relatives of Rawdon settlers James Lemmon, Margaret Evans and John Lawe. Barnet Snell died, leaving his three teenaged sons to go on to Rawdon.[24]

For persons who did not return to their homes, army transport ships would take them to Jamaica, East Florida, Britain, Nova Scotia, New York

23 Z. Waterman to "Dear Sister," 1 September 1782, PRO, High Court of Admiralty 32:459, British Records, N.C.A.

24 Claims material of George Snell, AO 12 Vol. 49, f. 170, Vol. 68, f. 39, AO 13:135; T 50:1, f. 24; T 50:4, ff. 94, 116, 144, 187, 190, 391-392, 424-425; T 50:5, ff. 72, 111-130, 159, 201, 213-214, 224, 231, 245, 282, 302, 387-388, 554, 564, 605, 611, 617.

and St. Lucia. In general, the islands attracted men with slaves; families went with the army to Halifax and New York; and East Florida claimed a cross-section of slaveholders and non-slaveholders, single men and families. The nucleus of the Rawdon settlement were among the 501 who boarded the transports for Halifax.[25]

Almost all the other Rawdon settlers chose nearby East Florida, with its familiar climate and relative ease of return to the backcountry. After almost two years in East Florida, they faced new migration choices as the British evacuated both Floridas in keeping with their 1783 cession to Spain. Between April 1784 and November 1785, transports took civilian East Floridians to Britain, Nova Scotia, Jamaica, Dominica, the Bahama Islands and the Mosquito Coast.[26] Already, about 370 men, some of them with families, had gone to Nova Scotia from East Florida as members of the three southern provincial corps.[27] As in Charles Town, slave ownership was a factor in destination choice. Wealthier coastal Loyalists had salvaged some of their property in the form of slaves, and they took them primarily to the Bahamas. In addition, the more well-to-do backcountry Loyalists, even those with few or no slaves, went chiefly to the Bahamas. The governor of the Bahamas tried to avert the landing of backcountry people in his islands, knowing that few of them would bring wealth in any form. He wrote to the East Florida governor:

> I understand a large number of back Country Loyalists may be expected by the next Transports that arrive here, these Islands are by no means calculated for these people, who mostly subsisted on the Continent by Hunting, and like Arabs removing their habitations, and Stock from one place or province to another, and therefore could Your Excellency order them to Nova Scotia or some other Province on the Continent, or should Your Excellency

25 Loyalists' Return, 13 August 1782, NAC, British Headquarters Papers, no. 10316; *ibid.*, nos. 5938, 5951; *Year Book of the City of Charleston, 1883* (Charleston: News and Courier Book Presses, 1883), p. 416; CO 5:560, pp. 406-411.

26 CO 5:561, pp. 817-820; Adm. P. 49:9, pp. 11-17, 100-101; Carole Watterson Troxler, "Loyalist Refugees and the British Evacuation of East Florida, 1783-1785," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (July 1981), 1-28.

27 "Present State and Intended Distribution of the Troops under General Sir Guy Carleton," 28 April 1783, PRO, Home Office 50:378; CO 5:110, p. 269; Chipman Papers, Vol. 24, pp. 253-262; Grant to Major James Wright *et al.*, 13 May 1784, RG 20, Series A, Vol. 10, PANS.

> be inclined to send them this way, you may think it more of His Majesty's Service to empower me to forward them in the same bottoms to the Moskito shore.[28]

There is no indication that the East Florida governor exerted any pressure when some 900 people sailed for Nova Scotia. There were at least 725 whites and 155 blacks, most of them free. Two-thirds of the East Floridians going to Nova Scotia were foot-draggers to the end, embarking at the close of the evacuation period for a place they had rejected as an option in 1782. The East Florida people who would go to Rawdon directly upon their arrival in Nova Scotia in 1784 were not among the foot-draggers, however. They boarded the first transports to go to Nova Scotia, less than two months after the evacuation began in the spring of 1784.

Throughout the evacuation of East Florida, fears were expressed that "Southern Constitutions" would not adapt to Nova Scotia, which some imagined to be a frozen wasteland.[29] During their first winter in the colony, veterans of the 1775 "Snow Campaign" saw a lingering blanket of snow, this time in a place where it was no anomaly. For the "great tall strapping women and Men" of the Ninety-Six frontier, the snow was a reminder of the beginning of their troubles, of the stand they had taken, and of the myriad decisions that had followed. The snow of 1775 had been an omen indeed. The snow of Nova Scotia would enfold them for the rest of their lives--if they remained. The years of decision had not ended.

The Rawdon settlers would face questions common to other Loyalist settlements and, for that matter, to frontier settlements in general. Simply put, would the refugees stay, would Rawdon "make it" as a settlement? More specifically, would the area support the livelihood they knew, in this case farming and livestock-raising? How would they maintain sufficient communication with the outside, particularly Halifax? Could they build institutions to serve their needs and integrate them with other parts of the

28 James Edward Powell to Patrick Tonyn, 9 June 1785, enclosed in Tonyn to Lord Sydney, 29 August 1785, CO 5:561, pp. 721-723.

29 Barbara Gorley Teller, "The Case of Some Inhabitants of East Florida, 1767-1785," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (October 1954), 106.

province? Would the "pull" of other areas--in Nova Scotia, other parts of British North America, or their former homes--be stronger than Rawdon's attraction? Would enough of the original settlers remain to continue the sense of community they brought with them? These and related questions will be addressed in a later article.

The Williams Lobster Factory at Neils Harbour, 1901-1935

Trevor Williams

Lobster is the backbone of the fishing industry in northern Cape Breton. Fishermen set an average of 250 traps per man; catch an average of 6000 to 12,000 pounds of lobster per year; sell the catch to the buyer; and never see the finished product. Though residents are not now and never have been consumers of processed lobster, there was a time when lobster was caught and processed on the spot. Just about every village had one or two lobster canneries.

That period ended after World War II for a number of reasons, the most important of which were greatly improved transportation networks and the increased use of cooling and refrigeration units. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, however, the lobster factory was an essential part of the economy of most villages from Cape Smokey to Meat Cove. My intention here is to examine the operations of a typical lobster cannery and its related businesses, general store and fish processing operation, which functioned in Neils Harbour from the turn of the century to the Great Depression. That was the Williams Lobster Factory, begun by Thomas Williams and carried on by his son, Hubert, until its closure in the mid-1930s.

Thomas Williams was one of the many men who left their homes in Dorset, England in the mid-1800s in search of an economically brighter future. The Industrial Revolution offered this generation of Englishmen little more than a life of hardship and an early death in mine or factory. Thomas grew up near the town of Poole, which was the main supplier of the Newfoundland fishery. The fishery was controlled by the merchants from the southwest of England. Thomas embarked at the age of seventeen to work in the fishery and landed in Rose Blanche, Newfoundland, where he became a resident fisherman or planter. He married and remained in Rose Blanche for twelve years. A period of years when the fishery did not thrive; overcrowded conditions in the town; and a promise of better things in Cape Breton brought Thomas and his family to Neils Harbour in 1876.

Neils Harbour was a small but growing community, and the people who lived there had come from Newfoundland--with the exception of the MacLeod family. MacLeod was a Scot who had established a fish business in the neighbouring community, New Haven, in 1868, which enabled him to control the fishery in that area. Thomas Williams fished for a number of years, but in the late 1880s established his own business and general store.

At the turn of the century, lobster was beginning to challenge cod and haddock as the staple produce in the Cape Breton fishery. The New England states were the prime market, and there was a huge demand for lobster. Thomas Williams therefore set up a cannery on his shore property in Neils Harbour and began a business which lasted into the 1930s.

Production in the cannery involved many people, ranging from those who worked in the factory to the men who fished for the lobsters. Thomas and Hubert kept records for the factory and general store, the records dating from 1901 to 1935. These give the historian valuable information about the work-force; the relationship between the producer and wholesaler; and the markets.

Though Thomas Williams was a fisherman, he could not bring in enough lobsters himself to sustain the needs of the factory. He therefore had to buy lobsters from the other fishermen, and confine himself to management of the business. Relations at the time between merchant and fishermen were governed by the barter system – the exchange of goods in return for other goods. The nature of the transaction was the trade in lobster and other fish for credit. On credit the fishermen bought food and other supplies for the winter – clothing, fuel for lamps, etc.; and supplies to prepare for the coming fishing season – materials to mend nets, laths to build lobster traps and nails. Credit could also be received during the fishing season, though cash was often used after repaying the debt.

Given the case history of a fisherman from the Neils Harbour area, one can determine his average catch over a period of time – five years – and how much he earned in an average year. George Sweet Sr. was randomly chosen from the ledgers as the subject; his average catch was tabulated for the years 1901 to 1905. The fishing season was May through July. These figures can be used to compare his average income to what he spent on supplies for the year.

Mr. Sweet had profitable years from 1901 to 1905, and made a moderate salary. The records show him to have been one of the higher paid fishermen during that period. His average catch was approximately 4000 pounds of lobsters, providing him with an income of about $80.00 a year. During the year 1902, Mr. Sweet spent $35.00 on various supplies at Thomas Williams's general store. His money was spent mainly on food. The figure

does not include what was spent on fuel and other necessities; for the maintenance of the boat; and for paying assistants.

Comparing Mr. Sweet's income to that of other fishermen whose incomes were not so high shows how the barter system helped some fishermen. From the ledgers it is clear that one of these fishermen, who put in the same number of days fishing, averaged only half as large a catch as George Sweet; an average of 2,000 pounds of lobster each year bringing in an income of approximately $35.00 to $45.00. Buying only food, and a few supplies for building traps, he would have to rely on credit and anticipate a better season next year.

In the late 1920s the lobster-fishing season was shortened from three months to two – 15 May to 15 July. The subject chosen for the late 1920s case study was Charles Williams. His average catch was 1600 pounds, which by comparison served as a mean for all fishermen. His average income was about $110.00 a year. These figures indicate a large increase from the early 1900s.

The lobsters were bought as the men came in from checking their traps; this practice continues even after eighty years. Today, however, the lobsters are trucked away immediately; when the factory was in operation, the lobsters were taken directly from the wharf to the factory, which was located close by for convenience. Thomas Williams's factory was only ten to fifteen metres from the wharf; the lobsters were brought to the building via a gangway. The lobsters were cooked by boiling rather than steaming; a method which eventually led to the shutdown of the Williams factory.

The lobsters were boiled in two pots or cauldrons. One pot was placed inside the other – the inner pot having holes in its bottom so that, when the lobsters were cooked and ready to be dumped onto a large table for processing, the water drained back into the larger pot and kept boiling. This method saved the workers from having to boil fresh water for the next cooking, and thus conserved valuable time. The process took approximately fifteen to twenty minutes. One could judge whether the lobster was cooked by shaking it; if the legs could be shaken off, then the lobster was finished cooking.

When the lobsters were cooked they were dumped onto a large table for the first stages of processing, several workers each carrying out a particular job as on an assembly line. The first step was to rip the arms,

claws and tail from the body of the lobster. The arms and claws were placed in a pot and passed on to another table for more processing. The body was thrown away and the tail given to the "pull tail." The pull tail's job was to pull the meat from the tail and pass the meat to the "splitter." The splitter cut the meat from the tail in two pieces and threw it into a pot, to be taken to another room. While the tail section was being processed, the arms and claws were also being processed at the other table. There a worker would crack the claw with a cleaver and pass the broken claw to the "shaker," who would then shake the meat from the claws into the pot with the meat from the tail. The arms were given to others to remove the meat from them. All the meat from claws, arms and tail were given to workers, mostly women, in another room to undergo yet further processing.

The early days saw a majority of women workers in the factory. In later years, the ratio of men to women evened out somewhat. The women also worked in assembly-line fashion. The first group of women washed and cleaned the meat. An equal amount of "fine" meat – from the arms and claws – was placed with meat from the tail into cans. Some "pickle" was added – fresh water tinctured with salt. The cans of meat were then weighed as they were packed in either 8-ounce or 16-ounce cans. The cans were put in a "sealer," a machine which sealed the lids of the cans. Once sealed, the cans were boiled again for three to four hours. After the second boiling was completed, the can had to be pricked in order to let air escape. The hole was soldered over, and the cans taken to the neighbouring building to be labelled and packed in crates. The cases held forty-eight 1-pound cans and ninety-six ½-pound cans, to be transported by steamship to the buyer.

The number of men and women working in a factory ranged from six to eight in the early 1900s to sixteen in the late 1920s. There were always more women, with only one or two men as overseers. Few people were needed to work the first and last days of the season, as not many lobsters were taken at these times. Workers had an average workday of six hours, though it could range from one to twelve, men and women working the same number of hours. Wages were also equal for both men and women.

From 1905 to the 1920s pay was six cents an hour, five cents for new workers and seven for senior employees. In 1923 the wage was ten cents an hour, and was raised to twelve cents an hour in 1925. The number of hours or days a person worked depended on the abundance of lobster, good weather and the daily catch. A small catch meant a short day's work. With the season only three months long and shortened to two in the 1920s, the employees worked every day that fishermen were able to check their traps – Sunday only being a day of rest. Stormy days meant free time to catch up on work at home. The season could provide from eighty to 180 hours of work, paying as low as eight dollars to as high as thirty dollars a season. This money was a great help to the family, especially if the husband had a bad year fishing.

To pack lobsters legally, one had to obtain a lobster-packing licence from the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Thomas and Hubert Williams kept some of these licences among their records. The cost of a packing-licence in 1910 was two dollars; in 1914, seven dollars; in 1915, five dollars. In the late 1920s the price dropped to two dollars once again. During that period, however, more than one licence had to be bought in order to cover the entire season.

Once the lobsters were packed, they were shipped to the buyer. Thomas and Hubert Williams each conducted business with different companies, but O'Leary and Lee of Halifax proved to be their most frequent choice. A traditional arrangement developed between the Williamses and O'Leary and Lee, and this interaction continued for over twenty years until the closing of the Williams factory. The two parties conducted business by correspondence, O'Leary and Lee always being eager to take on more of the Williams product, but at the same time offering reasonable prices.

The price offered by O'Leary and Lee varied over the years: in 1922 the price per case was $32.50; in 1924 it was $27.00 – rising to $27.50 the same year. The price per case rose to $30.00 in 1927, but then dropped to $25.25 for half-pound cans and $26.00 for one-pound cans. The other companies with whom the Williamses dealt did not offer so much per case; in 1922 Neville Canneries Limited of Halifax offered only $31.00.

The method of transportation for cases of packed lobster was by steamship, which travelled along the coast of Nova Scotia delivering and picking up goods. The Williamses had to send their lobsters to Halifax, where the buyers were established. The steamship on which most of the Williams shipments travelled was the *Dominion Shipper*. The cost of shipping and freight insurance depended on the size of the load, but usually averaged eight dollars, which was deducted from the payment by O'Leary and Lee. This form of transportation proved to be very slow and inefficient when compared with modern technology. Sometimes the ship would be delayed by stormy weather or trouble in loading or unloading the cargo. In one instance, when the ship was carrying a cargo of dried fish, rainy weather prevented unloading the vessel and caused a delay of almost a week.

There were many reasons for the decline of lobster factories in northern Cape Breton. As I stated in the introduction, the two most important were greatly improved methods of transportation and the increased use of refrigeration units to prolong the period over which seafood could be kept. This improvement enabled the buyers cheaply to ship the lobsters to their own factories for processing, thus ensuring greater profits. The method of cooking lobster by boiling left the Williams factory and others like it obsolete, and unable to compete with production in steam-operated factories such as the MacLeod factory at New Haven, just north of Neils Harbour. The Great Depression which struck in the 1930s, causing the markets to dwindle so that there was no demand for the Williams product, played a major role in the closure of the factory. To keep the business operating would have meant to lose money; hence the end of a family-owned rural lobster cannery.

Sources

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The Charter Membership of the Charitable Irish Society Re-examined

Robert P. Harvey

It is unlikely that we shall ever know the exact identities of the company of men who met at John O'Brien's Golden Ball tavern on the night of 17 January 1786 to found the Charitable Irish Society. We know only that "a number of respectable Inhabitants," who were "natives of the Kingdom of Ireland" and "lovers of Charity," gathered that night to form an association which still flourishes in the City of Halifax.

The first members of the Society--who counted among their numbers Lieutenant-Governor John Parr, Solicitor-General Richard Uniacke, Councillor Thomas Cochran; Loyalists such as Daniel Hamill and John Allen; and original settlers of Halifax such as Secretary Richard Bulkeley--agreed on fourteen Articles of Association. These were "to be fairly wrote in the Society's Book and the present Members with Such as shall be hereafter admitted Members shall subscribe their names to them in said Book. . . " A list of 136 names, therefore, follows the record of the Articles of Association. Original signatures begin with the ninety-ninth name, which indicates that the list was compiled sometime after 1786, perhaps as late as 1791. New members--not all of them--continued to sign the Articles as late as 1796. About fifteen per cent of members between 1786 and 1795--in which year the new constitution was promulgated--failed to sign the "Book." The last two signers, John Meagher and Garret Miller, were clearly meant to sign the revised Constitution and By-Laws of 1795--with which a new list had been started--but, in error, signed at the end of the original list. The Society, nevertheless, has tended to regard the 136 who did sign the original list as its charter members.

What has created confusion around the identity of the original members is the absence of the Society's original records prior to 17 August 1788. A hint that record-keeping in the Society may have been unsatisfactory appears in the minutes for 17 August 1791. On that occasion, an *ad hoc* committee consisting of Richard John Uniacke, Thomas Cochran and Michael Bennett, was authorized to receive the minutes from the former secretary--William Frost--and ensure that they were copied in a book "for the future government of the Society." It seems likely that the Society's first extant minute-book, in which is found a copy of the original Articles of Association and the list of 136 names, dates from that time. Hence the original list of supposedly charter members includes not only them, but also persons who may have joined the Society between 1786 and 1790-91.

What follows is a chronological list of members of the Charitable Irish Society from 1786 through 1819. It has been reconstructed from the Society's records, especially the first two minute-books;[1] early printed lists of members, which customarily have been published together with the Society's constitution and by-laws;[2] the transcription of the charter list of 136 names which appears in H.L. Stewart, *The Irish in Nova Scotia: Annals of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, 1786-1836* (Kentville, 1949), 27-31; and the alphabetical list of eighty-eight members given in "The Charter Membership of the Charitable Irish Society," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 6, 1 (1986), [11]-15.[3]

List of Members of the Charitable Irish Society, 1786-1819[4]

The following appear to have joined the Society between 17 January 1786 and 17 May 1788:

John Allen
Henry Austen
Thomas Austen
William Barry
William Bell
John Blake
George Boyd
John Boyd
David Brien
Edward Bulkeley
J.M. Freke Bulkeley
Richard Bulkeley
Michael Hickey
Charles Hill
Charles Hill Jr.
John Hogan
Alexander Howe
James Hussey
Roger Johnson
James Jones
Edward Kavanagh
Edward Kavanagh Jr.
James Kavanagh
Lawrence Kavanagh

1 MG 20, Vols. 65, 66, Public Archives of Nova Scotia. (Payment of dues began to be recorded in the minute-book in 1796.)

2 The list appearing in 1961, for example, was virtually unchanged from the one in 1912, which indicates the continuation of a much older list--the first such compilation having been ordered by the Society in 1794.

3 No. 49 on page 14 should read "**Lyons**, Charles," not **Lynch**, Charles."

4 Italics denote subscribers to the original Articles of Association and By-Laws. An asterisk (*) denotes former members who rejoined the Society. "H.M." denotes an honorary member. While several obvious spelling errors in the early printed lists of members have been corrected, no attempt has been made to conform the original orthography to modern practice.

Richard Bulkeley Jr.
Matthew Bull
Edmund Butler
Roger Clancy
John Cleary
Richard Cleary
James Cochran
Thomas Cochran
Rev. William Cochran
William Cochran
Constant Connor
Thomas Cullerton
Benjamin Cunningham
John Cunningham
John Cunningham Jr.
John Cunningham (?)
Edmund Dwyer
Jones Fawson
Andrew Finucane
Gerald FitzGerald
Henry Frost
William Frost
Daniel Hammill
Michael Head
John O'Brien
Patrick O'Brien
Robert O'Brien
M.J. O'Loghlen
John Parr
Rev. William Phelan
Edmund Phelon
Edmund Phelon Jr.
Manuel Lucas Power
John George Pyke
Forster Sherlock
Hugh Kelly
James Kelly
William Lawlor
Voster Lombard
Peter Lynch
Charles Lyons
John Maguire
Thomas McGory
John McMonagle
James Meany
William Millet
Major Thomas Moncrieffe
Hamilton Moore
John Moran
Charles Morris
Mark Mullen
Timothy Mullen
James Murphy
John Murphy
Timothy Murphy
William Murphy
Timothy Noonan
Charles Nova Scotia
(Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis)
George William Sherlock
John Shields
John Smithwick
Robert Smyth
Walter Smyth
Henry Thetford
Michael Tobin
Winckworth Tonge
Richard John Uniacke
Thomas Watson
M. Walsh
William Welsh
William Whitty

Between 17 August and 17 November 1788:

Capt. Edward Rowe
John Lawlor
Patrick Heffernan
Capt. William Frizzle
Patrick Lanigan
Daniel McMichael

1789:

William Cottnam Tonge
John Cody
John Meany
James Bennett
Michael Bennett

1790:

John Blair

1791:

Rev. George Wright
Martin Meagher
John Gleason
Capt. John Kelly
Rev. Lawrence Phelan
John Curtain

1792:

John Leonard
James FitzGerald
Thomas Keys
James Whitehead
Capt. Michael Ford

1793:

William Barry*
Capt. Rupert George
Dr. Isaac Wilson
Charles Dickson
Charles Morris Jr.
Edmund Hussey
Luke McGrath
Lieut. Winckworth Tonge
Capt. Garret Stack
Capt. Garret Hodnet
Capt. Edward Potts
Michael Denney
Rev. W. Thomas Power
Richard Kenefick

1794:

Thomas Murphy
Bryan Meighan

Morgan Murphy
Robert Hill
John Lanigan
John McQuaid
William Rerdon
Capt. Paul Minchin
Capt. Ross Welsh
Thomas Fillis H.M.
Thomas Cahill
William B. Brinley H.M.
David Lawson
Capt. John Sands

1795:

John Cleaveland
Daniel Noonan
Michael Dwyer
Edward St. George
Daniel Dickson
Lt. Col. Francis Kearney
Capt. Henry J. Reynett
Lt. Robert Ross
Lt. Thomas Fitzsimons
Michael Scott
Dr. John McEvoy
Capt. John Stealing
John McDaniel
John Neville
Patrick Ryan
John Dempsey
Joseph Manning
Joseph Mitchell
Capt. John P. Beresford
John Lancyman
Nicholas Foley
Lt. John Griffin Saville

1796:

James Miller
Lt. Hayfield Howe
Patrick Pursel
John Meagher
Garrett Miller
William Keys
John Gallivan
John Bollard
Adam Murphy
Capt. Jonas Rose
Capt. John Birmingham
Joseph Mumford
Major Burroughs
Major Domville
Lt. Despard
Mr. Irwin
Major Jackson
Lt. Keating
Lt. Wilson

1797:

Mathew Connell
James Cinnamon
James Tobin
John Hennissey

Frederick Major
Dr. Bartholomew Sullivan
Charles R. Prescott
Andrew Power
Capt. Ebenezer Farnam
Lt. O'Brien
Joseph Allison
Thomas Wallace
Lawrence Doyle
John Connor
Charles Cody
Philip Colfer
Nicholas Smith
Philip Gorrell
John Fillis
James Ryan

1798:

Rev. Mr. Gilmor
Lt. Daniel Donovan
Lt. Ferris
Ensign McCrohan
Dr. Dennis McCashin
Thomas Tobin
Rev. John Weathrall
Walter Lee
Edmund Power
James Foley
Joseph Fennell
William Morris
Capt. Daniel McHerron
Dr. Patrick Mullane
Thomas Bennett
Michael Leonard
Lt. Thomas McCulloch
John Cook
Lt. Burke
James Kerwick
Dennis Ring
Isaac O'Brien
Edmund Larkins

1799:

Brig. Gen. Murray
Major Murray
Samuel Head
Thomas Finn
Andrew Williams
William Dickey
James Kavanagh
Patrick Kavanagh
John Meagher
Robert McBrier
James Redman
John Murphy
Michael Finn
William Galagher
Wyndham Maddin

1800:

Richard Shea
Bryan Conroy

Capt. Joseph Churchill
Capt. John Power
Patrick Fogerty
Michael Tobin Jr.
Alexander Allan
James Butler
John Neville Jr.
William Story
Marshal Story

1801:

Michael Forrestal
Mansell Newton
John Landrigan
Philip Pursell
Michael Stapleton
Michael Hickey
William Hore
Edmund O'Leary
William Morrissey
William Bayer
Lt. Ballard
John Meagher
John Howe
Hugh Cleary
John Henneberry

1802:

Joseph Dolby
Michael Phelan
Rev. Dr. Edmund Burke
William Newman
Lawrence Kavanagh
Nicholas Power
James Flemming
John Falvey
Dennis Farrell
Edward FitzGerald
Thomas Finn Jr.
Maurice Rainey
Daniel Farrell
Michael Phelan Jr.
Capt. Daniel Kelly
Michael Power
Thomas Phalen
Edmund McDaniel

1803:

John Martin
Peter Martin
Archibald Gay
Francis LeGuire
John Linnard
Lawrence Phalen
John Pursell
Pierce Clancy
Thomas Dulharty
James Malone
Capt. Thomas Morris
James Dulhanty

1804:

Patrick Hunt
Michael FitzGerald
Robert Hughes
John Ryan

1805:

Edward Laffin
John Phalen
Capel Hians

1806:

John Carey
Pierce Landrigan

1807:

Thomas Diggins

1808:

Peter Laffin
Michael Laffin
John Phalen
Crofton Uniacke
Charles S. Hill
George N. Russell
Michael Houlihan
John Riley
Richard Harney Sr.

1809:

Capt. Blake, 101st
Capt. O'Grady, 101st
Capt. Brown, 101st
Capt. Killkelly, 101st
Lt. Lynch, 101st
Lt. Blake, 101st
James O'Rourke
Edward Hennessey
Thomas Smith
Morgan Doyle
Richard Chapman
James Dulhanty
Patrick Leamy
Col. Dillon, 101st. H.M.
John Albro
Gerard Hawe
Robert Phelan

1810:

Nicholas Dobbin
Edward Mara
Henry Austen
Samuel Hood George
C. McKiege
John Clarke
William Conroy
John Leston
Dr. T.G. Keegan
Richard Habberlin

1811:

William Power
Thomas Fenerty
Capt. William McHerron
John Newman
John Pendergast
Capt. John Power
Capt. Michael Moran
David Fletcher
Joseph Allison

1812:

Joseph Hamilton
William Fenerty
John Dupuy
Andrew Wright
Michael Merley
Isaac Mansfield
Lewis Demolitor
Michael Creamer
John Skerry

1813:

Robert Parker
James Kerby
Paul Cermanati
Joel Martin
George Walsh

1814:

Robert Angus
John Ford
Charles Burns
Dr. Mathias Hoffman
Thomas Kerby

1815:

Dr. Michael O'Brien
Thomas Houlihan

Joseph Rocket
Joseph O'Brien
John Scott
William Donovan

1816:

Rev. P.M. Mignault
Benjamin Etter Jr.
Robert Henry
Capt. William Power
William Miller
Michael Cutt
J.W. Pike
Michael Mead

1817:

Thomas Cleary
Martin Welsh
Samuel Albro
James Lyons
John Allan
John Mann
Capt. N. Head, R.N.
James McGrath
Rupert D. George
Lt. J. Criag, R.N.
David Shaw Clarke
Edward McSweeney
William Hackett
Nicholas Keating

1818:

Michael Bennett*
Cornelius O'Neil
J.W. Nutting
Samuel Cunard
George Thompson
Timothy Heffernan
Richard Bulger
Richard Harney Jr.
Thomas O'Mara

1819:

Richard John Uniacke Jr.
William Fraser
Oliver Goldsmith
John Hare
R.T. Hogan
James S. Alport
Edward Cleary
James Cochran
Edward Howe
William Ross
Lt. Lyster, R.A.
James Doyle
Charles J. Hill
Edmund Ward

William Dixon
John Harney
Benjamin Pamp
Robert Dixon
Thomas Dixon

Thomas Tobin
Thomas Fennell
Richard Inglis
Doctor Cantrill
John Whytal
Michael Harney

The Ross Family of Rossville, Inverness County

Elva E. Jackson

Tradition claims that the four Ross men who, with their families, settled the area now known as Rossville, in the valley of the North East Margaree River, Inverness County, in the years after 1800, were brothers. The two elder, James and William, reputedly were born in Ireland of Scottish parents. The two younger, Edmund and David, are said to have been born in Hants County, Nova Scotia. Research to date has failed to identify the parents of these four men, nor has the link to Hants County been clarified.

James Ross was born ca. 1757 in Ireland, and served during the American Revolution as a private in William Cunningham's Company, 76th Regiment (MacDonald Highlanders). He was discharged 24 October 1783, and arrived in Cape Breton shortly thereafter; by 1787 he was living at Little Bras d'Or. He married, 18 March 1793, the widow Marie-Henriette **Lejeune**; the ceremony was noted in the register of St. George's Anglican Church, Sydney. In 1800, the family moved to North East Margaree, where James died in December 1825; his widow remained there until her death in May 1860. She was known in the community as Harriet, or Granny Ross, and was revered as a midwife and nurse.

Marie-Henriette Lejeune was born 13 August 1762 in Rochefort, France, the daughter of Acadian exiles Joseph and Martine (Le Roi) Lejeune. She married firstly, 17 February 1780, in La Rochelle, France, and as his second wife, another Acadian exile, Joseph Comeau, son of Jean-Baptiste and Anne-Marie (Thibodeau) Comeau. There is said to have been issue, one child who died in infancy. Joseph Comeau was buried 4 April 1785 on the island of Miquelon, reputedly a victim of drowning.

Marie-Henriette married secondly, 26 August 1786, Lamaud Briard DeGong [L'Amand Lejeune *dit* Briard] of Little Bras d'Or, a cousin; the marriage was noted in the register of St. George's Anglican Church, Sydney. Further details are unknown; Lejeune presumably died prior to 1793, the year of Marie-Henriette's marriage to James Ross.

Issue of James and Marie-Henriette Ross: (order uncertain)

1. Joseph, bapt. 10 Sept. 1799, St. George's Anglican, Sydney; marr. 29 June 1821, at Margaree by the rector of St. George's, Sarah (Sally) **Burton**, daughter of William and Nancy (Cranton) Burton.

   Issue of Joseph and Sarah Ross: (order uncertain)

(1) Ann, marr. Hugh **MacKinnon**, Middle River, Victoria Co.

(2) Harriet, marr. Thomas **Etheridge**, Margaree Centre, son of Thomas Etheridge.
Issue of Thomas and Harriet **Etheridge**:
(1a) Elizabeth, marr. Francis A. **MacDonald**. Issue.
(2a) Sarah, marr. John P. **Burton**. Issue.
(3a) William, marr. Sarah **MacDonald**. Issue.

(3) Mary, marr. Mark **Crowdis**, Margaree Valley.
Issue of Mark and Mary **Crowdis**: (order uncertain)
(1a) Sarah, marr. Absolom **Ingraham**, Margaree Valley. Issue.
(2a) John Jr., marr. Phoebe **Carmichael**. Issue.
(3a) Elizabeth, marr. and settled in U.S.A.
(4a) Lydia, marr. and settled in U.S.A.
(5a) Mary, marr. Alfred **MacDonald**, Margaree Valley. Issue.
(6a) Edith, marr. Henry O. **Ingraham**, Margaree Centre. Issue.

(4) Sarah, marr. John **MacLennan**, Middle River.
Issue of John and Sarah **MacLennan**:
(1a) Duncan, marr. firstly Rebecca **Swain**, Whycocomagh; no issue. Marr. secondly, Annie **MacLennan**, daughter of Rory and Jessie MacLennan, Gold Brook. Issue.
(2a) James.
(3a) Neil.
(4a) Annie Jane.
(5a) Joseph.
(6a) John R.

(5) Jane, d. 6 Jan. 1904, aged 82; marr. Donald **Ross** (no relation), son of Murdoch and Isabelle (MacDonald) Ross. He was b. Isle of Skye, Scotland, 18 Aug. 1816; d. 8 Feb. 1876, Margaree Valley.
Issue of Donald and Jane Ross:
(1a) Alexander, b. 4 Dec. 1841; marr. firstly, Maria **Ingraham**; issue. Marr. secondly, Adeline **Phillips**; issue. Marr. thirdly, Mary Ann **Ross** (Burton); no issue.
(2a) John Y., b. 19 Mar. 1844; d. Feb. 1914; marr. Charlotte (Lottie) **Richardson**. Issue.
(3a) Sarah, b. 29 Oct. 1846; marr. Timothy **Phillips**, Glace Bay. Issue.

(4a) Joseph A., b. 23 Dec. 1848; d. 23 Jan. 1832; unm.
(5a) Ann Isabel, b. 10 May 1851; marr. John **Ingraham**. Issue.
(6a) Elizabeth A., b. 10 Mar. 1853; marr. John **Gasper**, Truro, N.S. Issue.
(7a) Murdoch William, b. 13 Apr. 1856; d. 20 May 1924; marr. 1 Sept. 1880, Amelia **Nisbet**, daughter of Andrew and Ann (Ross) Nisbet. She was b. 28 July 1855; d. Oct. 1939. Issue.
(8a) Catherine, b. 9 Feb. 1860; marr. Mark **Ingraham**. Issue.
(9a) James, b. 31 Aug. 1863; marr. Mary Ann **Levis**. Issue.
(10a) Walter J., b. 3 Jan. 1866; d. 30 June 1953; marr. Amelia **Burton**. She was b. 1871; d. 1943. Issue.

(6) Rachel, marr. William H. **Phillips**, Rossville.
Issue of William and Rachel **Phillips**:
(1a) Elizabeth, went to the U.S.A.
(2a) Hattie, went to the U.S.A.
(3a) Joseph, marr. Maggie **Ross** of Murphy. Later left the district. d.s.p.

(7) Elizabeth, unm.

(8) William J., marr. Ellen **MacDonald**, Nyanza. Lived at Rossville and settled on the lower 100 of his father's 400 acres.
Issue of William and Ellen Ross:
(1a) Robert, clergyman and physician; settled in Ont.
(2a) James, settled in Vancouver, B.C.
(3a) Eva, marr. Robert **Frizzle**. Settled in Western Canada.
(4a) Charles, marr. Sadie **Phillips**. Settled in Western Canada.
(5a) Amy, went to Western Canada.
(6a) Maurice, went to Western Canada.
(7a) Joseph, went to Western Canada.

(9) James, marr. Margaret **Carmichael**, and settled on the upper 100 of his father's 400 acres.
Issue of James and Margaret Ross:
(1a) William, d. young.
(2a) Jacob, settled in U.S.A.
(3a) Isaac, settled in U.S.A.
(4a) Melinda, marr. firstly, James **Munro**, Belle Cote; issue. Marr. secondly, in the U.S.A., a Mr. **Randlet**; no issue.

(5a) Hattie, lived firstly in the U.S.A., but d. unm., Truro, N.S.
(6a) Sarah, marr. Edgar **Cranton**, Margaree Centre; d. Truro. d.s.p.
(7a) Rachel, marr. Havelock **MacLeod**, Big Intervale. Issue.
(8a) James, marr. Isadora **Phillips**, and lived on the home property. Issue.

(10) Joseph Ross, Jr., b. 7 June 1843; d. 4 June 1919; marr. Eliza J. **MacDonald**, daughter of Murdoch and Mary (Ingraham) MacDonald. She was b. 31 May 1850; d. Mar. 1930. Joseph remained on the centre 200 acres of the farm.
Issue of Joseph and Eliza Ross[1]
(1a) Edward J., b. 28 Oct. 1871; d. 28 Dec. 1933; marr. Miriam **Phillips**, daughter of John T. Phillips. They lived at Margaree Centre. Issue.
(2a) Elizabeth M., b. 20 Apr. 1874; marr. in U.S.A. Issue.
(3a) George M., b. 30 May 1876; d. ca. 1959; marr. 25 June 1902, North Sydney, Julia Helen **Sudbury**. She was b. P.E.I. They lived in Olds, Alberta. Issue.
(4a) Alexander A., b. 10 Mar. 1878; d. 9 Sept. 1963; marr. Annie **Crozier** Tupper. They lived in Saint John, N.B. Issue.
(5a) Thomas Etheridge, b. 10 Feb. 1880; d. 24 Dec. 1965; marr. Annie Jean **MacRae**. She was b. 4 July 1877, Baddeck Bridge; d. Apr. 1939. Thomas remained on his father's farm. Issue.
(6a) William Donald or Daniel, b. 27 Sept. 1881; d. Jan. 1972. Settled in Alberta.
(7a) Bertha Mary, b. 5 May 1883; d. 2 Apr. 1972; marr. firstly, Henry **Ross**, Margaree Harbour; issue. She marr. secondly, Willard **Robbins**; no issue.
(8a) Harry Scott, b. 5. Nov. 1885; d. 10 Nov. 1972; marr. _____ **McNeil**. Issue.
(9a) Stanley Graham, b. 20 June 1889; d. ca. 1962; marr. Margaret **Owen** at Laramie, Wyoming, where they lived.

1 Information on the descendants of Joseph Ross from John F. Hart, *History of Northeast Margaree* (Margaree Centre, ca. 1963); family Bibles; and Mrs. Jean Meloney.

(10a) Jennie H. (Jean), b. 30 Mar. 1894; marr. George A. **Meloney**, North Sydney. Issue.

2. John, bapt. 10 Sept. 1799, St. George's Anglican Church, Sydney; d. in infancy.
3. Jean, probably b. Margaree; marr. Bazil **Ryan**, son of Patrick Ryan, Lake O'Law. He was b. ca. 1796 in Cape Breton; d. 1871 at Big River, Nfld.

   Issue of Basil and Jean Ryan: (incomplete)[2]

   (1) Margaret, b. ca. 1822, Cape Breton; d. 9 Jan. 1914, Searstown, Nfld.; marr. James W. **Downey**, son of Patrick and Anastasia (O'Hearn) Downey. He was bapt. 7 July 1814, St. John's Nfld.; d. 9 Oct. 1865, Searstown.

   Issue of James and Margaret Downey: (incomplete)

   (1a) Michael, b. ca. 1861, N.S.; d. 1935; marr. 29 Oct. 1889, Nfld., Frances Ann **Young**. She was b. 24 Sept. 1867, Cape Ray; d. 21 May 1911, Searstown, Nfld. Issue.

   (2) Dennis, b. 1825; d. 17 June 1919, Searstown; marr. Sarah **MacIsaac**.

   (3) Michael.

   (4) James (Jim), d. 14 June 1901.

   (5) William, b. 1834, Cape Breton; d. 31 Oct. 1924, Searstown; marr. Ellen **Fitzpatrick**.
4. Mary-Barbara; d. in infancy.

William Ross, born in Ireland ca. 1768, came to Cape Breton in 1790. On 28 November 1792 at St. George's, Sydney, he married Esther **Mowatt**, daughter of Daniel Mowatt.

The year of William's arrival in North East Margaree is not known, although it was before 1805. He took a Crown grant adjoining that of his brother at Northeast Margaree. He later left and received land at St. Patrick's Channel. By the census of 1818 he was living there with thirteen children.

Issue of William and Esther Ross: (incomplete, order uncertain)

2 Information on the descendants of Jean Ross from Mrs. Cathie Grant, RR#1, Mill Bay, B.C., V0R 2P0.

(1) Margaret, bapt. 15 July 1798, St. George's, Sydney.
(2) William, bapt. 21 Oct. 1800, St. George's, Sydney; bur. 24 Oct. 1800.
(3) Jennie, marr. Finlay **MacRae**, Middle River.
(4) Mary, marr. John **MacLeod**, Middle River.
(5) Esther, marr. David **Cormier**, Margaree Harbour.
(6) John, marr. Mary **MacLean**, Washabuck.
(7) William, went to B.C.
(8) Donald, marr. Mary **Burton**.

Edmund Ross, born ca. 1770 in Hants County, Nova Scotia, died 22 February 1815.[3] Known throughout his lifetime as "The Big Man," on account of his size, he married in Halifax, 3 June 1800, Ann (Nancy) **Lawrence**, daughter of John Lawrence, Prince's Lodge, Halifax; she was born ca. 1776 and because of her small size in contrast to that of her husband, was affectionately known as "The Little Woman." They moved to North East Margaree in 1801.

Issue of Edmund and Nancy Ross:

(1) Eliza, b. 1801; marr. Kenneth **MacLeod**, Middle River.
(2) William, b. 1804; marr. firstly, _____ **MacKay**; marr. secondly, Ann **Phillips**.
(3) James ("Big Jim"), b. 1806; marr. Catherine **Meloney**.
(4) Armenia, b. 1808; marr. Thomas **Rice**, Big Baddeck.
(5) Harriet, b. 1810; marr. William S. **Hart**.
(6) Edmund, b. 1812; marr. Mary **Carmichael**.
(7) David, b. 1815; d. unm.
(8) Rebecca, b. 1817; marr. William **Watson**.
(9) Theophilus, b. 1819; d. unm.
(10) Ann, b. 1821; marr. John **Smith**, Port Hood Island.
(11) Phoebe, b. 1826; marr. Thomas **Smith**, Port Hood Island.

David Ross, born ca. 1772 in Hants County, Nova Scotia, married Elizabeth **Mason**, daughter of Francis Mason, Rawdon, N.S. They settled in North East Margaree, 1803.

3 John V. Duncanson, Falmouth, N.S., in consultation with the editor, October 1987.

Issue of David and Elizabeth Ross: (order uncertain)

(1) Jennie, marr. John **Etheridge**, Sr.
(2) Margaret, marr. Donald **MacRae**, Middle River.
(3) Ann, bapt. 10 Sept. 1816; marr. Ebenezer **Leadbetter**.
(4) Sarah, marr. Daniel **Carmichael**.
(5) Mary; d. unm.
(6) John, marr. firstly, Catherine **MacRae**; marr. secondly, Sarah **Crowdis**.
(7) David, marr. Ann **Humes**.
(8) William, marr. 17 Sept. 1825, Margaret **MacKay** (St. George's Anglican, Sydney) or **MacKinnon** (Hart).
(9) Jacob, marr. Flora **MacKinnon**, Middle River.

The Solicitor-General Redivivus

On 3 December 1987 the office of solicitor-general of Nova Scotia, which had been defunct since 1867, was reestablished by Order-in-Council,[1] and the former Minister of Health, the Hon. Ronald S. Russell, appointed to it. The following notes and list are intended to mark the restoration of the office, and to place it in historical perspective. The solicitor-generalship had existed for over a century when it was abolished in 1867 by an "Act relative to certain Public Officers and their Salaries."[2] The office fell a victim to Premier Charles Tupper's mistaken belief that Confederation would allow for a reduction in the scale of local administration.

Twenty-two men--a couple more than once--held the office of solicitor-general between 1760 and 1867; all were lawyers, with the possible exception of the first, who had nevertheless been a justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. Sixteen were members of the House of Assembly for all or part of the time during which they served as solicitor-general; the last two, however, were members not of the Legislative Assembly, but of both the Legislative Council and the Executive Council--the latter because, after the achievement of "responsible government" in 1848, the solicitor-general had cabinet rank. Nine solicitors-general became attorneys-general.[3] Eight--Brenton, Stewart, Hill, Johnston, Dodd, DesBarres, McCully and Ritchie--became judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia; two--Monk Junior and Gibbons--chief justices in colonies other than Nova Scotia; and one--Henry--a judge of the newly-created Supreme Court of Canada in 1875. Three--Robie, Fairbanks and Archibald--became successive Masters of the Rolls in the Court of Chancery.[4]

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1 No. 87-1455, para. 18, 19.

2 30 Vic. c. 1, sec. 5.

3 Their names are preceded by an asterisk (*).

4 Bracketed names are those whose local commission from the governor was overriden by a mandamus from the secretary of state, who therefore may be regarded only as solicitors-general *pro tempore*. Up to 1848, one is most likely to find a record of the appointment of a solicitor-general in the commission books in RG 1, Vol. 163ff., Public Archives of Nova Scotia. After 1848, it is best to consult the minutes of the Executive Council, also in RG 1, whenever the party forming the government was turned out of office by an election. Of the four solicitors-general whose appointments were made or confirmed in England--Monk Junior, Gibbons, Uniacke and Fairbanks--the first three are recorded in the warrant-book in RG 1, Vol. 347, PANS. The date of the mandamus usually preceded, but sometimes followed, that of the commission.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the solicitor-general, as junior law officer and Crown prosecutor, acted as deputy to the attorney-general, whom he expected to succeed and, on four occasions--1781, 1831, 1841 and 1864--did. In the post-Confederation era, the solicitor-general, whether at the national or at the provincial level, has usually been responsible for the police and the penal system; not for running a department of justice, the minister of which--the attorney-general--is responsible for the courts and prosecutions. The new department of solicitor-general, "whose major areas of responsibility will include corrections and policing,"[5] is therefore quite different from its long-dead predecessor--and Mr. Russell's appointment departs from tradition in that he is not a lawyer. It is a nice constitutional point whether a Crown law office which was abolished by statute in 1867 can be restored by Order-in-Council 120 years later. The Public Service Act,[6] however, provides for the creation of "other departments, not exceeding two in number."

1. James Monk Senior, 1760-1768 ("King's Solicitor")
2. *James Brenton, 1768-1774 ("King's Solicitor")
3. James Monk Junior, 1774-1776
[4. James Brenton, 1776]
5. *Richard Gibbons, 1777-1781
6. *Richard John Uniacke, 1781-1797
7. Jonathan Sterns, 1797-1798
8. James Stewart, 1798-1815
9. Simon Bradstreet Robie, 1815-1825
10. *Samuel George William Archibald, 1826-1831
[11. William Hill, 1831]
12. Charles Rufus Fairbanks, 1831-1834
13. *James William Johnston, 1834-1841
14. *James Boyle Uniacke, 1841-1843
15. Edmund Murray Dodd, 1844-1848
16. William Frederick DesBarres, 1848

5 Gary Dupuis, "New Department of solicitor general," in *Corrections Nova Scotia*, II, 1 (January 1988), [1].

6 *Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia*, 1967, Chapter 255, sect. 2, para. 1.

17. Alexander McDougall, 1848-1854
18. William Alexander Henry, 1854-1856
19. *Adams George Archibald, 1856-1857
20. *Martin Isaac Wilkins, 1857-1859
21. William Alexander Henry, 1859-1860
22. Jonathan McCully, 1860-1863
23. *William Alexander Henry, 1863-1864
24. John William Ritchie, 1864-1867

Book Reviews

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume VI (1821-1835), edited by Francess G. Halpenny. ISBN 0-8020-3436-5. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1987. 904 pages, indices, hardcover, $65.00.

Volume VI of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* is a collection of lives of Canadians who died between 1821 and 1835. It is the tenth in the series to cover the period 1000 to 1900; Volumes I-V (1000-1820) and Volumes VIII-XI (1851-1890) have been published already; there remain Volume VII (1836-1850), due to be released in 1988, and Volume XII (1891-1900).

The *Dictionary of Canadion Biography* is Canada's equivalent of that masterful British reference work, the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The entries themselves, as exemplified by Volume VI, cover a wide range of vocations touching on business and trade, settlement endeavours, colonial administration, judicial development, education, religious affairs and the professions (medicine, the military, law, etc.) as well as the arts, literature and science. Equally diversified are the backgrounds of the 283 contributors to this most recent volume. Moreover, the next generation of professionals in their respective fields--as represented by graduate students--are among the *Dictionary*'s authors.

In format, Volume VI follows its predecessors with the inclusion of appendices. The most valuable of the latter is an extensive "General Bibliography," through which one can learn of the holdings of various archival repositories. A breakdown of *Biography* entrants according to birth-place, profession or occupation--and provincial association by career--is also useful. One can see at a glance (p. 899) that there are a respectable eighty-nine Nova Scotian biographies out of the 479 printed.

There are twenty-seven Nova Scotia-based contributors to this volume, including staff members of the Public Archives (our own historical treasure-house). Among the latter are the late Provincial Archivist Emeritus, Phyllis R. Blakeley (*Charles Baker*); Barry Cahill (*Alexander Brymer, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Charles Hill*); Allan C. Dunlop (*Duncan Ross*); Lois K. Kernaghan (*Mary Cannon, Wellwood Waugh*); and Julie Morris with Wendy L. Thorpe (*Sarah Deblois*).

The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* has produced some leading contributions to historiographical development in many areas. Volume VI, for example, contains insightful entries on William Black (the "Father of

Methodism" in Nova Scotia); Halifax lay preacher and author, Thomas D. Crowell; and the charismatic missionary, Freeborn Garrettson--all of which are important additions to Wesleyan Methodist studies in the province. Indeed, Black's entry by Goldwin S. French commands six pages alone, and comprises an introduction to Nova Scotia Methodism. One can fault French for not referring to Black's influential Halifax merchant sons, especially Martin Gay Black, or in stating that 1782 instead of 1781 saw the beginning of the correspondence between William Black and John Wesley. Nonetheless, the Black entry shares essential traits with all of the biographies: an effort to see through individuals a synopsis of the times in their various aspects; to portray each person's peculiar contribution to Canada's history; and to embody in accounts of the lives of men and women, representative types from minor poets to shrewd colonial entrepreneurs.

Volume VI is a most welcome addition to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* series. It will prove to be no less an essential reference work for scholars and students of Nova Scotia's past than its companion volumes.

Allen B. Robertson

The First Bishop: A Biography of Charles Inglis, by Brian Cuthbertson. ISBN 0-9692970-0-9. Waegwoltic Press, Halifax, 1987. 283 pages, illustrated, soft-cover, $16.95.

Charles Inglis (1734-1816) was an Irish-born Church of England missionary in colonial America, and a Loyalist who in 1787 became both the first bishop of Nova Scotia and the first holder of an Anglican episcopal see outside the British Isles. Brian Cuthbertson's *The First Bishop* has provided an in-depth, scholarly and balanced portrait of Inglis as a private person and as a public servant-administrator.

Charles Inglis was the subject of earlier studies, notably R.V. Harris's *Charles Inglis* (1937) and Judith Fingard's *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783-1816* (1972)--along with her *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entry for Inglis in Volume V (1983). The Harris book is informative, but tends towards an uncritical portrayal of the man and assessment of the episcopate. Fingard depicts the first bishop as the extension of an insensitive British clerical establishment--thus painting a negative picture of unsuccessful adaptation to Nova Scotia. To describe Inglis as out of touch with the colonial

American religious situation is an error corrected by *The First Bishop*. Furthermore, Inglis is shown not just as an administrator but as a pious Christian who regarded the bishopric as a pastoral charge. Dr. Cuthbertson delineates Inglis's evangelical side, as influenced by William Law and Methodism, while revealing why Inglis clung to sacramentarianism and the superiority of reason over "enthusiasm" in politics and religion.

There are several provocative chapters in *The First Bishop*, including those on Inglis's importance as a Tory polemicist among Loyalist Anglican clerics during the Revolution; a refreshing look at Anglican educational goals in Nova Scotia; and a needed corrective to minimalist views of the attention given by Inglis to the Church in New Brunswick. The section on Nova Scotian church architecture, in relation to liturgy and doctrine, deserves attention especially from denominational historians.

"Enthusiasm" is the weakest chapter, unfortunately so, considering Inglis's evangelical side. The Church, through Inglis's direction, sought to counter the spread of radical dissenting sects (e.g. Baptists, New Light Congregationalists, Wesleyans); yet insufficient examination is made of their attitudes towards both the Church of England and each other. Equally sparse is the explanation of why New Lights and Wesleyans were weak enough in the 1790s for the Anglicans to stabilize their own position in Nova Scotia. There are occasions, as with the treatment of Baptist preacher Thomas H. Chipman, where deviousness and doubts about religious sincerity lessen objectivity in favour of Anglican bias. Finally, the assertion that Methodism made no incursions into Shelburne--a centre of Wesleyan activity--is surely an editorial oversight.

Dr. Cuthbertson has also overstated Bishop Inglis's role in leading the way for all denominations towards conservatism and formal organization. Provincial society as a whole was receding from its pioneer days. Sect followed church in consolidating congregations and coordinating ministerial efforts. The Baptist-New Light-New Dispensation clash pushed forward creation of a Baptist Association (1800), while the Wesleyans from 1785 had been moving towards stabilization--using the English Wesleyans and American Methodist Episcopal Church as models.

The First Bishop is a biography, not a church history, so one may excuse certain underdeveloped themes relating to provincial history in general.

The book is concerned foremost with Inglis as a Christian, family man, teacher, pastor and administrator. Future studies will have to enlarge on issues arising from the biography, such as the Church Evangelical movement in the 1800s. Other reviews have noticed the incorrect index to the volume, but this does not detract from its value. On the whole, Dr. Cuthbertson has presented a readable, even compelling, biography of a major religious figure in late eighteenth-century Nova Scotia.

Allen B. Robertson

Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes, by John Reid. ISBN-0-920852-84-X. Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, 1987. 200 pages, softcover, $14.95.

The words in the title "crucial" and "change" sum up the thrust and purpose of these lectures given at St. Mary's University, Halifax, in 1986. What John Reid has done--and successfully so--is to select those decades of Maritime history that he considers the most crucial because of how the larger focus so altered the course of the region's history. His chosen decades cover initial colonization during the French period, the Acadian expulsion, the Loyalist influx, Confederation, the 1880s industrialization and finally the 1920s, the years of "economic disaster." The two last are interesting because they bring together, in a coherent and readable form, much new research about periods that are poorly understood and generally misinterpreted. There is, however, a critical, even curious, omission, the decade of the 1840s, the era of significant political change with the coming of responsible government. Perhaps Reid--in line with other modern historians--does not consider that Maritime history was dramatically altered in the 1840s!

One of the principal weaknesses of much contemporary historical writing is the shying away from any attempt at comprehensives, at general interpretations, Not so John Reid, who has shown how a sound mastery of old and new sources can result in a coherent and comprehensive interpretation, in straightforward prose, of particular periods and events in Maritime history. He perhaps overdraws the portrait of complexity and conflict; nonetheless, in *Six Crucial Decades* we have by far the best overview of the history of the Maritimes from the first settlement to the Second World War.

Brian Cuthbertson

The Black Battalion, 1916-1920. Canada's Best Kept Military Secret, by Calvin W. Ruck. ISBN 0-920852-92-0. Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, 1987. 143 pages, illustrated, softcover, $12.95.

Spurred on by a reunion of Black World War I veterans, sponsored in 1982 by the Society for the Protection and Preservation of Black Culture in Nova Scotia, Calvin Ruck produced *The Black Battalion* to document the important, but overlooked, Black Canadian contribution to World War I. Relying on archival documentation, photographs, and tape-recorded interviews with veterans, Ruck chronicles the initial rejection of Black volunteers and the eventual establishment of a segregated labour battalion, "No. 2 Construction."

Though Black Canadians had provided valuable military service in the past--certainly the name of Victoria Cross recipient, William Hall, is familiar to many Nova Scotians--in World War I few Blacks were permitted to contribute through service in integrated front-line battalions. The prejudice Black volunteers experienced was difficult to confront, as the unenforced official military policy was the acceptance of all suitable volunteers, regardless of race. The eventual creation of a Black construction battalion as a solution to Black protest was, as Calvin Ruck declares, "blatant discriminatory treatment" which allowed for a narrowly defined Black contribution.

Set in the wider context of Black Canadian military involvement prior to and following World War I, Ruck concentrates on the establishment and role of the No. 2 Construction Battalion. Having traced its origins, he describes the battalion's training in Pictou and Truro, and outlines its activities in Europe. Then Ruck allows some of the men to speak for themselves. The seventeen brief biographical sketches, supplemented with excerpts from tape-recorded interviews with veterans, bring to the book a unique perspective. The men's comments evoke some of the frustration and pride which have characterized the Black military experience in this country. In the face of the prejudice which these men encountered before, and sometimes after they enlisted, their contribution is all the more significant. However, as many of the veterans have died since Ruck spoke with them, one has the feeling that if he had not listened, their story might have been lost.

In his preface, Calvin Ruck openly states that his book is "not intended to be a detailed historical work on Black veterans in the Great War 1914-1918." Rather, he sees it as a tribute to those Blacks who served their country

during World War I; and as an encouragement to others to research the Black experience and contribution to the defence and development of Canada. Just as valuable as these two goals, with *The Black Battalion*, Ruck directly addresses an important aspect of a major historical event not previously explored. He also documents a step in the battle by Blacks to overcome racial prejudice. Only through such honest treatments of all areas of our past, despite their unpleasantness, will we gain a better understanding of Canada's social history.

Diane Tye

Pictou Academy Gold Medalists, by L.G. "Bud" White. Pictou Advocate, Pictou, 1985. 92 pages, softcover.

The core of this work evolved from the author's research material amassed while preparing an exhibition at the Hector Centre, Pictou, honouring the winners of the coveted Pictou Academy Gold Medal. The medal--actually, from 1877 to 1886, a cup--went to the student with the highest standing in the senior class. This was a significant academic accomplishment, for many of the brightest students from around the Maritimes came to take their senior year at the Academy. Such was the reputation of the school and its graduates that both Dalhousie and McGill Universities permitted graduates of the Academy to commence their university degree at second-level courses.

Mr. White has carefully crafted his material into brief but informative sketches of the careers of each of the medal winners. The diversity of avocations and the upward mobility of women in the 1880s and 1890s may surprise many readers. In addition to the biographical data, the author begins with a good introduction to the history of Pictou Academy, and closes with an informative essay on the teachers and principals of the Academy.

The year 1988 represents both the 185th anniversary of the arrival in the old shiretown of the founder of Pictou Academy, Dr. Thomas McCulloch, and the 150th anniversary of his appointment as first Principal of Dalhousie College. This volume will therefore serve as a timely reminder of the role that Presbyterians and Pictonians have played in the evolution of a high-quality education system in Nova Scotia.

Allan C. Dunlop

One Name, One Family. An Italian-American's Search for Continuity, by Paul W. Salterio. ISBN 0-533-06703-0. Vantage Press, Inc., New York, 1985. [81] pages, softcover, $8.95 (U.S.).

Paul Salterio's grandfather was a Haligonian who, like so many others, followed the gleam and went to seek his fortune in Boston. His grandson, growing up as an Italian-American, felt a need to trace out his origins and, very possibly, to discover facts to bolster his self-esteem. As a boy of Italian origin, he had known the snubs and sneers of those who felt they were superior by reason of blood.

This volume, the product of his inquiries and research, is therefore an intensely personal account of the research and of the material it revealed, linking the Salterio brothers living in Boston today to the first men of their name living in medieval Lombardy, as well as to kinsmen still living in that region today.

Paul Salterio is a teacher of Classics at the famous Boston Latin School, and his interest in language is evident as he discusses the ancient origins of the family name.

This is not the usual kind of family story; the reader has to accept it as an individualistic approach to an intensely-felt personal quest. The writer has not provided an index, family lists, chart or index. The material has been treated in twenty chapters, most of which deal individually with one particular family group. Nova Scotia comes into the picture in the fourteenth chapter, as the career of Anthony Thomas Salterio (1826-1876) is traced. He came from London at the age of 17 and taught school for some years in Douglas Township on the shore of Cobequid Bay.

If in the history of Nova Scotia there has been a tendency for ethnic groups to favour marriage within themselves and frown on exogamy, there have on the other hand been young outsiders absorbed through marriage to become patriarchs among the group. One thinks of the original Melanson and the original Levy amongst the Acadian and the German settlers. Anthony Salterio might similarly have been absorbed into the British stock living along the Minas Basin shore. He lived among them as a community leader for ten years, working actively in the (Presbyterian) Church, singing in the choir and teaching Sunday School. He crowned his efforts by marrying Mary Campbell, whose family, although seafarers, were closely related to the most eminent Scottish Presbyterian divines in the province.

Suddenly Salterio, who found himself the father of a young son, reverted to the faith of his childhood; revealed himself as a Roman Catholic; abandoned his established position at Noel; and took his wife and child to Halifax. He and his family became part of quite a different tribe in the social context of Nova Scotia in 1853; urban, mercantile and Roman Catholic.

One would like to know about the inner man and the struggle which made him change his life so fundamentally, but his descendant has not uncovered more than the bare bones of the story. If Anthony ever set down an account of his odyssey, it has probably long since perished, and we are left to flesh out these bare bones with our own speculation.

Paul Salterio succeeds in his labour of love, establishing a continuity of family line which shows consistent traits of character and outlook through the centuries. His relatives and connections, in Nova Scotia and elsewhere, will find it an informative account, while Nova Scotian libraries will find it an interesting addition to their holdings. Gordon Haliburton

This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791, by Neil MacKinnon. ISBN 0-7735-0596-2. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986. 231 pages, hardcover, $29.95.

This description of Loyalists in Nova Scotia is the most complete yet published, though it does not carry the story beyond 1791. MacKinnon's focus is on the actual Loyalist experience. Thus, he begins with "The Evacuation," then covers such aspects as Loyalist attitudes, reactions to the Loyalists by the older settlers, their political involvement, and their place in the economy, before concluding with a discussion of how they finally adjusted or left in disillusionment. The author is fully aware of the twin pitfalls of either idealizing or disparaging them; and it is for this reason he is primarily concerned with describing their experiences in coming as exiles and adjusting to a land and society that for many turned out to be an "unfriendly soil."

This Unfriendly Soil is not a demographic study, as were Esther Clark Wright's seminal *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, or the more restricted *Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia* by Marion Gilroy. In fact, a weakness of MacKinnon's work is that the aspects of land granting and economic development are not systematically analysed. Regrettably, Margaret Ells's thesis, "The Development of Nova Scotia, 1782-1815," was not available when MacKinnon was doing his research; it could have provided a firmer analyti-

cal basis. Those using the references should note that his use of "MD," followed by a volume number and PANS, refers to documents in Record Group (RG) 1.

MacKinnon tells the story of the Loyalist experience in Nova Scotia in a lucid, scholarly manner. The high price asked for this book of just over 200 pages (particularly when it received a publishing grant) will do little, however, to encourage general interest in Nova Scotian history.

Brian Cuthbertson

First in its Class. The Story of the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron, by Nancie Erhard. ISBN 0-920852-51-1. Nimbus Publishing Ltd., Halifax, 1986. 156 pages, illustrated, hardcover, $24.95.

The first compliment to this attractively produced history of the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron is extended to its title: a familiar yacht-racing expression, with historical and sociological connotations appropriate to the subject. The Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron, or RNSYS, has not only been the focus of yacht-racing activity in Halifax since its beginning, but also claims to be the oldest continuously operating club of its kind in North America; and has most certainly been a meeting-ground for prosperous members of the city's society throughout that time. Its membership rolls, which go back to the first regatta of the "Halifax Yatch [*sic*] Club" in 1837, include not many but most of the influential members of the community.

Names of important historical figures fill Erhard's account: Enos Collins, Alexander Keith, the Stairs, innumerable Olands, Wallace MacAskill, W.J. Roue, J.C. MacKeen, Charlie MacCulloch, and many others who contributed to our business and cultural life, while enhancing our nautical heritage. Erhard deals with a number of these individuals, as well as the famous yachts of the Squadron's past, in separate boxes inserted throughout the book, which allow her to present interesting details without upsetting the narrative. The text as a whole focuses on the trials and tribulations of sustaining an organization which, despite its many notable and wealthy members, has never been far from financial peril. There are numerous prints and photographs to illustrate the story, including many beautiful yachts.

Erhard's narrative is readable, although her prose is occasionally florid. She provides a wealth of interesting detail, but from time to time slides over large sections of the club's history, thereby avoiding some tricky is-

sues. Most notable is her vague treatment of the relationship between the Royal Halifax Yacht Club (RHYC) and the Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron, from the time the Squadron was established in 1876 as a splinter group frustrated by the emphasis given social activities at the Club. The last RHYC members transferred to the Squadron in 1898, according to Erhard, which suggests that they were two separate organizations for over twenty years. The claim that the RNSYS is the oldest club of its kind must rest on the presumption that it is in fact a continuation of the RHYC; however, Erhard does not cite any formal union of RHYC and RNSYS. In the same vein, she designates the first election of Halifax Yacht Club officers in 1857, a "reorganization" of the sailing group which put on the regatta of 1837, although the documentation of the time reads "Halifax Yacht Club, Instituted March, 1857," according to her own citation.

Whether or not the RNSYS is the oldest yacht club is ultimately immaterial, because its story is, regardless, interesting. Its history is not an illustrious one, as the kind of bottomless wealth that has traditionally been required to compete at the highest levels of yacht-racing has rarely been available in Halifax and Dartmouth. Nevertheless, through the work of the great naval architect, Roue, it has produced some noteworthy craft, including two marvellous class boats, the Roue 20 and the Bluenose, and the most famous Canadian vessel of all, the schooner *Bluenose*. It has also provided many yarns about races and royalty, and several tragedies, all of which Erhard weaves into her story.

Despite its struggles, the Squadron has emerged as one of the leading clubs in Canada, if not the world, through its sponsorship of Canada's 1987 challenge for the Americas' Cup, and the emergence from its membership of several young crews who have produced world-class results during the past decade and who should be serious Olympic contenders in 1988. In its new home--its fourth--on the North West Arm near Purcells Cove, the RNSYS also has one of the most attractive and functional locations of any yacht club in Canada--with easy access to some of the best sailing waters anywhere. Though financial problems have yet to disappear completely, it is a situation that bodes well for the future of the club as a leading institution of the Halifax-Dartmouth community and North American sailing.

John Heseltine

Religion and Identity: the Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada, edited by Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne. ISBN 0-929592-61-X. Jesperson Press, St. John's, 1987. 146 pages, softcover, $9.95.

This collection of essays has been culled from the proceedings of a conference, "Roman Catholics in Anglophone Canada: the Atlantic Region," held at St. Mary's University, Halifax, in 1984. The modest attendance at the conference was treated to a number of stimulating papers, and it is particularly fortunate, therefore, that the best contributions from the meeting have been made available to a wider readership.

The first and last essays of the nine which comprise the book have--perhaps oddly, given the title of the volume and the conference which spawned it--little to do with Roman Catholicism in the Atlantic region. The Reverend Patrick Corish, of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, reviews developments in Irish Catholicism at the end of the penal era, the years just prior to the great migration of Irish Catholics to the Atlantic provinces. He illustrates the complexities, rooted in internal divisions of region and class, of Catholic-Protestant relations in Ireland and traces the development of Irish separatism from a largely Protestant to a Catholic cause. The article is useful as background to studies of Catholicism of the Irish Catholic diaspora and as a model for sorting out the sectarian and social aspects of civil discord.

Another essay of only second-hand relevance to Canadian religious history is Sheridan Gilley's comparative study of the relationship to an emerging labour movement of three influential Irish-Catholic hierarchs, Henry Cardinal Manning in Britain, James Cardinal Gibbons in the United States, and Patrick Cardinal Moran in Australia. Although Gilley makes no mention of the Church in Canada and its response to organized labour, his artfully written piece suggests an alternative to the widely held image of the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century being an implacable foe of socialist and other left-wing political and social movements. Its inclusion in this collection is clearly more reflective of the prominence of the author and the quality of his research than its importance to the experience of Catholics in the Atlantic region.

J.M. Bumsted suggests that the emigration of Scots Catholics to Prince Edward Island was encouraged by Scottish bishops to secure religious as well as economic refuge for their persecuted countrymen, and to bring

economic pressure on Protestant landlords to behave more tolerantly to Catholics who remained behind. The trials of pastoral service to those who did emigrate are discussed in Allan MacDonald's survey of the ministry of the Reverend Angus Bernard MacEachern from 1790 to 1835. MacDonald chronicles MacEachern's struggles with the size and primitive character of his mission and--his being the only Catholic priest on the Island for over ten years--with loneliness and lack of collegial support.

Three essays deal directly with the links between politics and religion in the region. Hans Rollman analyses the reluctance of Newfoundland's Governor Richard Edwards to grant full religious liberty to the Catholic population, despite instructions to do so in 1779, and the altered circumstances which enabled his successor finally to do so in 1784. Phillip McCann's study of Bishop Michael Fleming between 1830 and 1850 illustrates the process by which Irish Catholics in Newfoundland were given political organization and direction by their ecclesiastical leaders, and makes an intriguing link between Fleming's espousal of the cause of the colony's poor fishermen and contemporary clerical activism. The political involvement of Archbishop Thomas Connolly, especially in the cause of Confederation in Nova Scotia, is described fully, if one-sidedly, by Sister Fay Trombley, whose antipathy to Joseph Howe and the anti-Confederate movement mars a work of great industry and scholarship.

Two articles stand out as particularly important regional contributions to a more general history of the Catholic Church in Canada. Ronnie Gilles LeBlanc's study of the career of the Reverend Antoine Gagnon, whose failure to achieve the see of Charlottetown in 1836 and, in 1842, of New Brunswick, is attributed to rivalries and suspicions among Acadian, Irish, Scottish, and *canadien* Catholics in the region, will be a valuable document to any scholar investigating the powerful role of ethnic nationalism in shaping the character of Canadian Catholicism. Finally, Terrence Murphy's study of lay trusteeship in the Church at Halifax sheds important light on the relationship between clergy and laity in the early Canadian Church, and suggests the need for similar studies in other regions and comparative analysis with the experience of trusteeism in the United States.

Although the quality of the essays is uneven and the volume lacks unity, *Religion and Identity* remains a welcome and attractive contribution to Atlantic and Catholic historiography. It is to be hoped that more scholars will be

led by this work to reassert the importance of religion in regional history, which, if ignored by many academics, is all too real to anyone who grew up in the Atlantic provinces. Robert Nicholas Bérard

The Historic Churches of Prince Edward Island, by H.M. Scott Smith. ISBN 0-919783-25-2. The Boston Mills Press, Erin, Ontario, 1986. 119 pages, illustrated, softcover. $14.95.

The Historic Churches of Prince Edward Island is handsomely illustrated with photographs, and includes a glossary of terms and bibliography. It is a sampling of thirty-one churches built between 1824 and 1919 of historical and/or architectural significance.

One of the strong points of Scott Smith's first of four books on Prince Edward Island architecture is the 120 photographs and illustrations. Another is the informative, crisp writing style; a third is the knowledge of building techniques, which makes the book both entertaining and educational reading.

It is disappointing, however, that the book has inaccurate dates or misspelling of proper names, especially of such an eminent architect as Patrick C. Keeley (page 67). A check of the *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects* would have corrected this error. William C. Harris (page 27) studied in Halifax under both David Stirling and his partner Andrew Dewar, who is mentioned regularly in Harris's diary, and therefore should not be omitted from the text. One would have liked more information on the church which was moved to Kildare Capes in 1923 (page 51), rather than the author's mentioning it and then dismissing it. Many of these flaws can be traced to the almost exclusive use of secondary sources; one hopes that in future books Mr. Smith will make greater use of original sources. Lastly, I encourage the author to include an index, so that researchers, architectural historians and general readers can see at a glance the architects, builders and places covered in the text.

Regardless of the above-mentioned flaws, I recommend to anyone interested in architecture in general--or the architecture of Prince Edward Island in particular--the purchase of this delightful book. With a closer eye to spelling and dates, and these other suggested improvements, I hope that Scott Smith is now hard at work on the other books in the series.

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