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Detail from Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, "Le Port de la Haive," 1686 (Paris. Bibl. Nat. Département des Cartes et Plans).

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Contents

Editorial 1

Dr. John Halliburton: The Loyal Sufferer
Brenton Haliburton 7

The 1793 Capitation Assessment Lists for Nova Scotia
B.L. Anderson 18

Nova Scotia and the First Methodist Chapels in Mainland Canada
Eldon Hay 31

Colonists or Birds of Passage? A Glimpse of the Inhabitants of LaHave, 1632-1636
Joan Dawson 42

The Fishermen of Eighteenth-Century Cape Breton: Numbers and Origins
A.J.B. Johnston 62

Pirates Defeated
Marion Robertson 73

A Seafaring Man: The Honourable Captain William B. Smith
Stephen Smith 83

The Descendants of Jasper and Elizabeth (Hanson) Harding
Eleanor Smith 95

Book Reviews 120

Editorial

The present issue of the *Review* is thematic to the extent that it carries "overflow" from our legal-medical theme issue of December 1988. The next issue will be devoted to architectural history, and potential contributors are invited to submit their manuscripts by 15 September.

The need has long been felt for a comprehensive index which would cover all forty issues of our predecessor publication, the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly* (1971-1980), together with as many issues of the *Review* (1981-) as could be included. We are pleased to announce that Mrs. Dorothy Cooke, formerly librarian of Dalhousie University, has agreed to undertake this work on a volunteer basis. It is intended that the Index should be published as a special third number of the *Review* in 1990 or 1991.

In March of this year all those who had been subscribers to the *Quarterly* at the time of its demise in 1980 received a letter from the Editor, asking them to subscribe to the *Review* if they had not already done so. The response to this circular not only has resulted in the renewal of lapsed subscriptions and the beginning of new ones, but also has indicated that some *Quarterly* subscribers had never taken the *Review*. Though there have always been important and obvious differences between the two periodicals, it is well for us to recognize the continuity between them: the *Review* is more a successor to the *Quarterly* than its replacement.

This issue of the *Review* has been made possible by a generous grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture, whose support we gratefully acknowledge.

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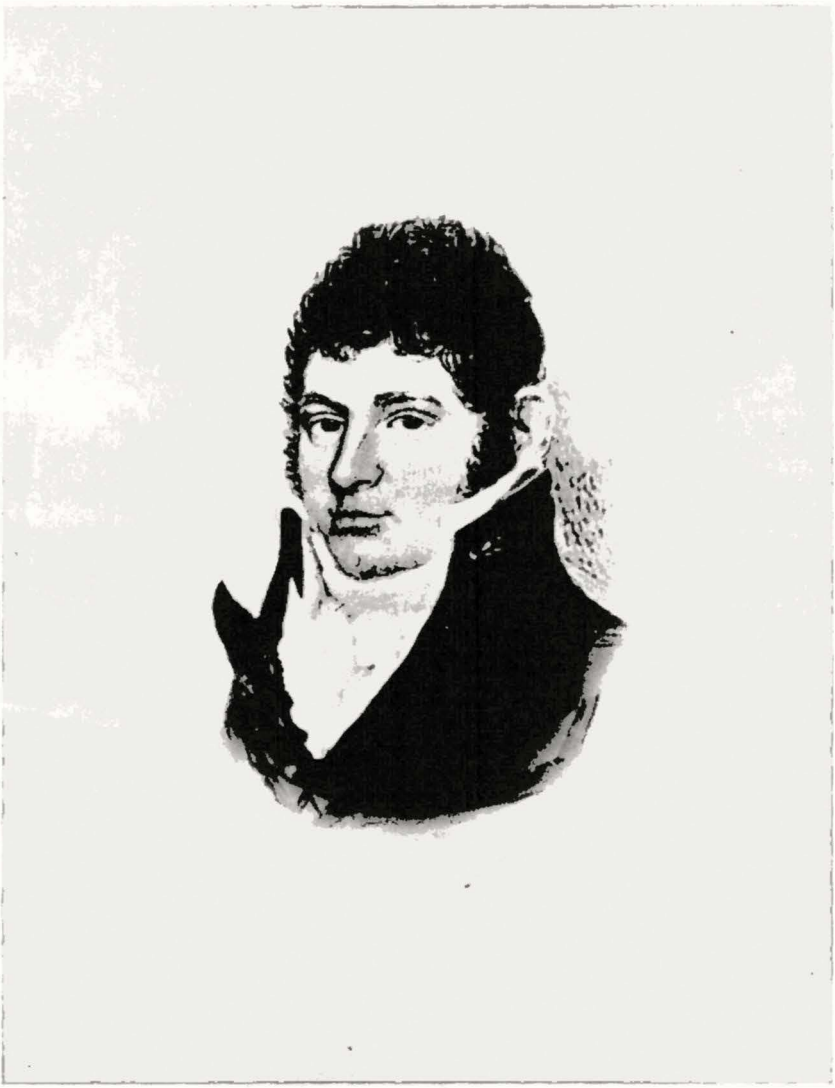

John Halliburton, ca. 1767 (Notman photo of presumed lost original).
Courtesy Photograph Collection, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

Dr. John Halliburton: The Loyal Sufferer

Brenton Haliburton

On board a vessel sailing into the port of Halifax in April 1782 was a prominent physician of Newport, Rhode Island: Dr. John Halliburton. Perhaps he stood on deck and watched as the buildings grew nearer. It was his first visit in nearly twenty years.

There is little factual information about John Halliburton's early life, except that he was born in Scotland in the latter half of 1739.[1] In 1758 he joined the Royal Navy as a surgeon's mate, and in 1761, having passed his examinations at the Company (now, Royal College) of Surgeons in London, received his surgeon's warrant. Dr. Halliburton's naval service brought him to Halifax for the first time about 1763. Founded some fourteen years before as the new capital of the royal province of Nova Scotia, Halifax had since become an important naval base with its own Dockyard and Seamen's Hospital. His naval duties appear to have brought Halliburton into contact with two members of the Brenton family of Newport, Rhode Island, who had emigrated to Nova Scotia. One was James, a lawyer by profession, who held a minor office in the Dockyard. The other was his sister, Mary Gerrish, whose husband Joseph was the Naval Storekeeper. It seems likely that through the Brentons, Dr. Halliburton was introduced to their young half-sister, Susannah ("Sukey"), his future wife, who resided in Newport but may well have met Halliburton while visiting relatives in Halifax. All that is known for sure, however, is that on the expiration of his warrant in 1766, Halliburton retired from active service in the Navy and settled in Newport, where he opened a chemist's shop and went into private medical practice.

Newport, the pre-revolutionary capital of Rhode Island, was an important administrative centre, seaport and naval base. The Brentons, as one of the "Newport Junto" of old-established planter families which effectively ruled the colony, were an advantageous family for the socially ambitious young doctor to marry into. Halliburton's marriage, which not only provided a passport into the best society but also guaranteed his position within it, was to be the making of him. On 7 January 1767 John Halliburton and

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1 In a 1784 letter, Halliburton refers to relatives in Scotland: Halliburton to Dundas, Edinburgh, 26 Sept. 1784, in Clements Library, University of Michigan. Halliburton also intended sending his elder son to attend university in Scotland.

Susannah Brenton were married in Trinity (Anglican) Church in Newport; the groom was about twenty-seven, the bride not yet twenty.

The next nine years were to be happy ones, and particularly rewarding for Dr. Halliburton. He watched the number and prosperity of his family grow, along with his reputation as a medical practitioner. In 1773 he was appointed surgeon and agent of the new Naval Hospital at Newport. The Halliburton family moved into a large gambrel-roofed house that had been home to a succession of Newport physicians, and seven years after the marriage, the household included five children--two more were to be born in Halifax--Susannah's spinster sister Mehetabel, and six servants.

In June 1776, the newly formed Continental Congress initiated the Test Acts, which required an oath of allegiance to Congress. The Rhode Island General Assembly was the first to tender the oath to suspected British sympathizers. Refusal to sign would result in a summons and perhaps also the seizure of arms and ammunition. The penalty was soon increased to include banishment elsewhere in the colony. From the very beginning of patriot agitation, Halliburton was zealously loyal to the British crown, personified for him by King George III, "the best of princes." [2] On refusing to sign the Test Act, Halliburton was exiled to Hopkinton in rural Rhode Island.

Within a few weeks of his detention, however, the esteem in which both he and his older compatriot, Dr. William Hunter, were held manifested itself in the form of a petition addressed to the General Assembly by the people of Newport. In requesting the return of Doctors Hunter and Halliburton, the petitioners cited their fear of losing the services of "two of the Physicians and Surgeons most eminent in their Professions. . . in Whose Skills and Abilities. . . the Inhabitants of said Town greatly relied. . . ." Also, with the return of the "sickly season," it was for the health of wives and children--"those nearest and dearest"--they feared the most. In conclusion, they pledged to take the necessary steps to ensure no communication would take place with those who might be "prejudicial to the Interests, Glory or Happiness of the Country". [3] When the Assembly met in August, the

2 *Ibid.*

3 Petition to Rhode Island General Assembly, 1776.

request was accepted. That acceptance, which amounted to official recognition of Halliburton's professional stature, enhanced his position during a critical period. As a result, he benefited from a lessening of government scrutiny which, in turn, gave him greater freedom to initiate activity as a British agent.

Volunteering his services as a secret agent, Halliburton sent messages to Admiral Lord Richard Howe, the Commander-in-Chief of British naval forces, at New York. After the battle of Long Island in the autumn of 1776, he advised Howe of the low morale of the Rhode Island rebels and recommended an attack on the rebel fleet and the town of Providence, which was the centre of dissent in the colony. How influential his advice was in the early years of the war in questionable; however, lacking any actual rebuff, he felt he was helping to change the course of history.

Troops under the command of General Sir Henry Clinton arrived in Newport in December 1776, entering the harbour unopposed. Halliburton was dismayed to learn that his despatches to Howe had not been forwarded to Clinton. On their first meeting, therefore, he reiterated his observations. Although Clinton was not given to taking advice from civilians, he decided to listen to Halliburton and a group of leading Newport tories. The meeting took place in Halliburton's house; who and how many attended is not known, but the result was an agreement that the time was indeed right for an attack on the rebel forces. As events proved, however, "This Expedition. . .was talked of, thought Easy- – then Possible- – then Postponed- – & finally Abandoned, from mere Caprice, & that dangerous Procrastinating Inconsistency that followed up the Man [Clinton], in all his Subsequent Plans, & futile Schemes." This incident left Halliburton feeling very discouraged; in his estimation, the British were an indifferent lot, preferring to direct their attention to "Eating, Drinking, Dancing & making Money. . .."[4]

Halliburton and his family would otherwise have left Newport with the evacuation of the British forces in October 1779. That they did not was due to another request, this time from the patriot general, Horatio Gates, who asked that Halliburton remain in Newport to continue his medical practice. This request must have been most welcome, for not only did it assure Dr. Halliburton of the continuing respect of officialdom, but also of their lack of suspicion regarding his clandestine activities.

4 Halliburton to "Sir," n.d., p. 5, Clements Library.

The following summer, 1780, marked the arrival in Newport of those "Perfidious Auxiliaries"[5]--French military and naval forces under Comte Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay. Halliburton felt that a strike against the French forces at this juncture would entail the defeat of the Rhode Island patriots and end the rebellion. He was, however, facing another check, since the English commanders, Clinton and Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot failed to send troops, under the false impression that the French had been joined by thousands of rebel soldiers. In fact, the rebel reinforcement was made up mainly of older men and youths; they were such a harmless-looking group that the French officer inspecting them could not help laughing.

The frequency and accuracy of Halliburton's reports were due to his familiarity with the French officers, one of whom, the Duc de Lauzun, was billeted in his home. This trust was not shared by the patriots; they became increasingly suspicious. The suspicion resulted in a petition denouncing any communication between French officers and suspected tories. Dr. Halliburton naturally feared the possible repercussions, but the French merely "passed it over in Silent Contempt."[6] General Clinton, having grown more receptive to the physician's reports, now asked that Halliburton send his messages in a code of Clinton's devising. It was then that the doctor was told he might rely, as a reward for his efforts, on the "Gratitude and Generosity of Great Britain."[7]

Halliburton had not long been engaged in sending coded messages when he became the victim of blackmail, by a patriot soldier named Dean. The appearance of Dean was due indirectly to a published letter written by Arbuthnot, in which he praised the quality of the information sent from Rhode Island. As a result, the French and Americans began to keep a closer watch on the Rhode Island coast. Posing as a British soldier Dean tricked one of Halliburton's agents, and having thus got hold of an especially important despatch, decided he could extract a larger reward from the British. After numerous unsuccessful attempts to sail for New York, Dean finally met with General Benedict Arnold in Connecticut and accompanied

5 *Ibid.*

6 Halliburton to "My dear Madam," Halifax, 23 Apr. 1784, p. 2, Clements Library.

7 Halliburton to "Sir," p. 12.

him to New York. Unfortunately for Dean, neither side trusted the double agent: "his Character was too well-known to procure Employment."[8] The obvious step was to return to Rhode Island and extort money from Halliburton, which he did. The subsequent demands increased until Halliburton felt the situation had become intolerable. Fearing imminent exposure, he contacted General Clinton for help. A boat was sent to collect him on two occasions; both attempts failed. Finally, on 2 February 1782, he rented a boat; his abrupt departure surprised even his family, who had no idea where he was going. Such a precipitate flight disturbed Halliburton as well, for he remained a devoted physician and was concerned about his patients, suddenly left without his care.

While the crossing of Long Island Sound proved to be stormy, the meeting with General Clinton in New York was hardly less so. The general offered Dr. Halliburton a reward which the latter thought beneath contempt: "He offered me a pitiful & Temporary Support which I rejected with Disdain." Consequently, "I told him with that Boldness which Conscious Integrity inspires, that if the Intelligence conveyed to him had been made a proper use of, his Majesty's affairs would have worn a different aspect. . . ."[9] In response, General Clinton attempted to blame Admiral Arbuthnot, but Halliburton was not assuaged; his letter had been directed to the general; therefore, it was he whom Halliburton felt deserved "the greater share of Ignominy."[10]

Halliburton needed not so much a satisfactory settlement of the score with Clinton as a solution to the immediate problem of where he could go. The answer came from Admiral Robert Digby, who offered him the choice of a post in either New York or Halifax. Anticipating that the former would not long remain in British hands, Halliburton wisely chose the latter.

He could not have been particularly pleased to return, for Halifax was still a garrison town. However, a new Naval Hospital was being built north of the Dockyard, and there were other marked changes. The palisades were gone; the houses and shops had expanded north and south and were creeping

8 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

10 Halliburton to "My dear Madam," p. 5.

around the base of Citadel Hill. The American Revolution had engendered a greater interest in the condition of local fortifications, so that repairs and improvements had been undertaken. Additional defences were added to the Naval Dockyard but the most striking alteration was reserved for Citadel Hill, which was now surmounted by a large octagonal wooden blockhouse.

In September 1782 the Halliburton family were reunited in Halifax. Unlike many of the Loyalists, who arrived in Nova Scotia destitute, or nearly so, Halliburton returned as "surgeon and agent" to the Naval Hospital, the appointment he had been offered while in New York. Along with the position came a house which adjoined the hospital. As the assistant surgeon had already been appointed surgeon, the senior naval officer was forced to demote him to make way for Halliburton. It was then felt by the Admiralty that Dr. Halliburton had been adequately compensated. Dr. Halliburton felt otherwise; and thus began his next round of difficulties with authority, both in England and locally.

In October 1782 the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia was superseded on the arrival of the new governor, John Parr, a retired Irish soldier who took over the position as a well-earned sinecure. Instead he faced, in the next few years, one of the most turbulent periods in Nova Scotia history.

The Loyalists found themselves unwelcome throughout the colony, because their arrival caused endless difficulties for the local government: their number increased continually; they had to be fed, clothed, housed, employed; and both Parr and his council were badly prepared for them. The Loyalists, for their part, expected to be well received because of the sacrifices they had made; they were impatient for the land promised them by the British government; and they were eager for the important and influential appointments which they regarded as their due. Dr. Halliburton soon turned his attention to the interests of his fellow émigrés by voicing Loyalist concerns to those in authority in Halifax, and by corresponding with intending refugees still in Rhode Island. He swiftly found himself once again embroiled in controversy, this time with the imperious and inflexible Councillor Richard Bulkeley. Bulkeley had been provincial secretary for twenty-five years and was one of the most powerful men in Nova Scotia. Halliburton felt that both Parr and the rest of the Council reflected the secretary's opinions, and therefore considered Bulkeley to be his most serious opponent. In response to Halliburton's persistent demands on behalf of his

compatriots, Bulkeley remained implacable. Halliburton leaves no doubt what he thought of the Honourable Secretary: "His Heart is Steeled and Encompassed with a Wall of Brass and of such Impenetrable Stuff that no Lamentable Tale of Want, Calamity or Virtuous Distress can Reach it. . . ."[11]

Resentment between the Loyalists and the earlier settlers was clearly hampering potential on both sides; that and the "Torpid Insensibility" of Parr and his cohorts. In an attempt to persuade Parr to act, Halliburton outlined to him "What steps to take, to quiet the Mind of the Loyalists, and to speak a decisive language to the Secretary of the Province, to facilitate the Grants and to fulfill the Benevolent Intentions of the King and Ministry to the Unfortunate Loyalists."[12]

Eventually swayed by Halliburton's arguments, Parr arranged a meeting in which the physician's views would be presented, once more, to Bulkeley and to the chief justice, Bryan Finucane, who was president of the Council. Again, Halliburton felt his words were wasted; what he did not know was that at last a scheme was under way for allocating land to the Loyalists. The plan that evolved consisted of dividing Nova Scotia into northern and southern districts; the former would become the colony of New Brunswick. Brigadier-General Henry Edward Fox, younger brother of the parliamentarian Charles James Fox, was considered a good choice for the position of governor in the newly formed colony. He was not only a man of integrity, and sympathetic to the plight of the Loyalists, but he also had about him a group of advisers who met with the Loyalists' approval. Under his guidance, the Loyalists could remove themselves to the northern district, if only to be rid of Parr and his colleagues.

For the more demanding of the refugees this was not enough; they wanted Parr's dismissal and the dissolution of the Assembly in order to make room for some of their number. Further, they wanted the creation of the office of governor-general to oversee both districts, and in that post they hoped to have Sir Guy Carleton, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America.

From the time of his return to Halifax in 1782, Dr. Halliburton's salary had been £365 per annum; that, augmented by his private medical practice

11 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

which yielded another £200, gave him what he considered a satisfactory income. Then, in April 1784, his salary was summarily cut to £200; next, he learned that the deadline had passed for those Loyalists wishing to make claims to the British government for the loss of real and personal property in the former Thirteen Colonies. Naturally he was not prepared to accept these reversals without a fight.

Admiral Sir Charles Douglas, commander-in-chief in North America, and Halliburton's only superior outside of the Admiralty, along with Commissioner Henry Duncan of the Halifax Naval Dockyard, suggested that he go to London to present his case personally. They felt a personal representation, coupled with the backing of Clinton and Arbuthnot, would result in the restoration of Halliburton's salary. Halliburton wanted to have an interview with Lord Sydney, Secretary of State for the Home Department; however, he knew he would never be received to discuss a purely personal matter. Such enforced passivity must have acutely frustrated a man whose forthright nature tended towards direct action. Suddenly Halliburton's luck improved, when an opportunity presented itself in the form of conveying despatches from Major-General John Campbell to the Secretary of State. In the covering letter, Campbell referred to Halliburton as "a Gentleman of great consideration in this Country and who is Competent to give. . .any information respecting the present state of the new Settlers."[13]

The Loyalists in general wanted to send an emissary to London to present their case to Lord Sydney. Thus in June 1784, Halliburton set sail on the *Renown*, bound for London. The trip was a race of sorts, as Andrew Finucane, younger brother of the chief justice, was also *en route* to London to present opposing views, that is, those of Parr and the Council. Dr. Halliburton arrived first. After describing to Lord Sydney the "Deranged State of the Province," [14] he brought up his own concerns. Sydney agreed to accept a report on his behalf from Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. Halliburton's relief may be imagined, though it was tempered somewhat by his having to write to them again, asking the favour of their cooperation.

13 Campbell to Sydney, Halifax, 1784, in Colonial Office 217/41/104a, Public Record Office [hereafter PRO], mfm. at Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

14 Halliburton to Clinton, London, 16 July 1784, in Clements Library, 199:52.

Halliburton had approached Lord Sydney in the hope of the latter acting as an intermediary, since Halliburton's appointment had come from the Admiralty, not the Home Office. In this instance the doctor proved successful, for he soon received word from his friend in the Home Office, Evan Nepean, Under-Secretary for the colonies, that Lord Sydney would indeed urge the First Lord of the Admiralty to restore the salary. Writing to Nepean to thank him for the news, Halliburton explained his problem: "Previous to my Petitioning the Lords of the Admiralty it would be necessary for me to know the Result of Lord Sydney's Applications as a Refusal once given would be an insuperable Barr to any future Interests being made on my behalf."[15] Halliburton's impatience was increased by his desire to have the matter settled before his departure for Scotland in September. When he learned that the Admiralty would do nothing for him, Halliburton shifted his emphasis to the Home Office.

From Edinburgh on 26 September he wrote to Henry Dundas, a privy councillor and treasurer of the Navy. Without naming either, Halliburton levelled criticisms against Clinton and Arbuthnot, accusing them of making false promises and implying that they were responsible for the defeat of the British in Rhode Island. He asked Dundas to address Lord Howe, in conjunction with Lord Sydney, on his behalf.

Halliburton was known to Lord Howe, to whom he had sent messages from Rhode Island while Howe was commanding the British fleet in North America. As that alone could hardly ensure co-operation from the Admiralty, Halliburton, in soliciting help from Lord Sydney and Henry Dundas, was clearly trying to get support from the two most powerful men he could. However, the Admiralty stood firm and would do nothing more for him.

The idea of appointing Halliburton to the Council of Nova Scotia appears to have originated with Evan Nepean. Lord Sydney had already proved cooperative, so it is not surprising, in light of the Admiralty's intransigence, that he ordered Lieutenant-Governor Parr to appoint Halliburton to the Council. Halliburton was not in fact the first Loyalist to receive such an appointment; that distinction belongs to the Boston merchant, Alexander Brymer, appointed in 1782. In any case, there were several prominent old settlers who felt eclipsed. One of them perhaps was Halliburton's own

15 Halliburton to Nepean, London, n.d., in CO 217/58/333b, 334a, PRO.

brother-in-law, Brenton, who successively filled the offices of solicitor-general, attorney-general and puisne judge of the Supreme Court, but was not invited to join the Council until 1797. James S. Macdonald, in his 'memoir' of Governor Parr, wrote that Halliburton's appointment "created a mild sensation. . .and Parr came in for an amount of most undeserved censure. He was only acting under strict instructions from the Home Government to give the Loyalist settlers preference in all future appointments to office." [16]

Halliburton did not actually become a member of the Council until June 1787: the mandamus had to be made up, despatched from London and received in Halifax; the candidate had to pay the required fee for the writ; and the governor was under no obligation to swear in the nominee until all these conditions had been met. The prestige of a seat on the Council would not have been lost on a man as sensitive to the advantages of privilege as Halliburton; he likely realized that a similar honour might not have come his way elsewhere under normal circumstances. Dr. Halliburton served on the Council until a few months before his death, attending as regularly as his medical duties would permit. Though the mission to England in 1784 to obtain the restoration of his surgeon's salary had been unsuccessful, Halliburton presided over the Naval Hospital until his death, which took place on 11 July 1808. He was eulogized in the Halifax newspapers as "an upright, useful man whose conduct in private and public life gained him universal esteem and affection.--He left the world in the full faith and liveliest hope of a dying Christian." [17]

The American Revolution precipitated a crisis for Dr. Halliburton in the form of opposition between his allegiance and his ambition. His loyalty to Great Britain was sincere and unswerving; nevertheless, he felt cheated by a government that did not appear to appreciate or even recognize his contributions. He also felt victimized by the nature of the personalities of the British commanders with whom he dealt. Worthy though his claims were, Halliburton did not seem to realize that the Home Office, if not the Admiralty, was besieged by hundreds of similar claims. The Home

16 James S. Macdonald, "Memoir of Governor Parr," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XIV (1910), 68.

17 *Weekly Chronicle* (Halifax), 15 July 1808, p. 3.

Office, for its part, had no intention of getting involved in the endless squabbles of colonial politics. Perhaps Halliburton, embroiled as he was in those squabbles, could not achieve any perspective on the larger problem of accommodation between old settlers and newcomers; or perhaps the issues ran deeper for him than for others, since he could neither return to Rhode Island to reclaim his property nor was he compensated for its loss. Whether or not he considered that the permanency of his exile gave him as strong a claim as those Loyalists who had taken up arms against Congress is nebulous; not so his conviction that Clinton's promises of reward offered more than was ever intended.

Halliburton's return to Halifax was a bitter irony. As his coming to Newport symbolized the advent of real prospects and prosperity, so his departure underscored the reversal of his fortunes. Nevertheless, the passage of time would show that he could achieve in Halifax even greater social and professional status than he had enjoyed in Newport, where he was largely dependent on the Brenton family connection and the liberal patronage of Dr. William Hunter. Though the inscription on his tombstone in the Old Burying-Ground of Halifax (*alias* St. Paul's Cemetery) records both the offices he held in Nova Scotia, it is the epitaph which eloquently sums up his life:

If unshaken loyalty to his King
Steady attachment to his friends
Active benevolence to the distressed
and
Humble confidence in his God
can perpetuate his memory
he will not be
forgotten

The 1793 Capitation Assessment Lists for Nova Scotia

B.L. Anderson

In the course of recent research, the author of this article found it necessary to obtain information on the population of Halifax in 1793: its composition, wealth, degree of education, etc. Fortunately the capitation (poll tax) roll for that year not only yielded the required information, but also highlighted the potential of these rolls for demographic analysis. So that other researchers in the same field may save time, the results of the earlier tabulation--extended to cover all the areas for which 1793 returns were available--are presented here.

The capitation tax was levied as a means of raising money to fund the province's debt. It was for all practical purposes a tax on men in the community, although three women's names were also noted. Microfilm copies of twenty-one usable lists were found; two others were excluded because they covered more than the year 1793.

Ideally, each tax roll should have contained the name, occupation, number of livestock, salary if applicable, and total tax assessed. Only four lists contained the full range of information: Chester, Halifax, Lunenburg and Windsor. Seven others occasionally included occupational information: Country Harbour; Queens County; Ramsheg (i.e., Remsheg); the district of Maccan, Nappan and River Hebert; Guysborough and Manchester; New Dublin; and Pictou Harbour. The remaining ten gave no occupational data: Amherst, Douglas, Conomy (i.e., Economy), Falmouth, Londonderry, Rawdon, River Philip, Gulph of St. Lawrence/Marrigomish (i.e., Gulf Shore/Merigomish), Truro and Yarmouth. A complete list of the returns with full name of place, number of taxpayers listed, and location of the original in Public Archives of Nova Scotia Record Group 1 is contained in the Appendix.

The information on occupations presented in this paper was gleaned from returns of the four communities in the first group, supplemented to some extent from entries for the second group. Predictably, the return for the Township of Halifax--the largest community, the seat of government, a military and naval base and a trading centre--contained the most numerous and most specific designations. However, the data from what may be considered a medium-sized township (Lunenburg), a small one (Windsor)

Dr. Beryl Anderson resides in Ottawa, where she was formerly Chief, Library Documentation Centre, National Library of Canada.

and a still smaller community (Chester) afford a means of discovering what types of expertise could be found in areas outside the capital.

One problem in compiling this occupational data was the listing of multiple occupations for one person: e.g., a merchant might also be a surgeon; a retailer also a baker; a teacher also a clergyman. An arbitrary decision was made to record under the first occupation only. Occupational terminology, moreover, was not standard. Lunenburg assessors preferred *cordwainer* to *shoemaker*; a *saddle-maker* appeared elsewhere as a *sadler*; *wheelmaker* and *wheelwright*, which might be considered synonymous today, were obviously two separate occupations at that time in their community. Returns which did not give full occupational data tended to use broad rather than specific terms, and a limited number even of these: *mechanick(s)* and *handcraftsmen* are examples. It was decided to retain the assessors' own terms (and spelling), rather than risk making combinations which might disguise the usage of the time.

Data on taxes assessed can be valuable at least as an indication of the general economic state of an area. It is a reasonable inference that communities where the predominant levy was the basic poll tax of one shilling were likely to be at a lower economic level than those where a range of taxes was assessed. Unfortunately the materials from which the tabulations were done were not conducive to exactitude on this point. The originals were themselves difficult to read by reason of age, style of the handwriting, extent of defacement by Scotch Tape, etc. Consequently, while there could be a fair degree of certainty about entries in a shilling column, it was impossible to be equally certain that there were no accompanying pence. The tax amounts, therefore, have had to be tabulated as ranges and not by a finer and more meaningful breakdown. A further problem encountered in tabulation was the listing of the total tax for a group of persons rather than an individual. An arbitrary decision was made to divide the total by the number in the group to obtain an average for each. This amount was then used in the count.

The remainder of this paper consists of selected tabulations. An alphabetical list of occupations is followed by a list arranged by broad occupational category to facilitate comparison among the four communities for which complete data exist. Halifax, as noted earlier, had the greatest number of entries, but it is interesting to see that *miller, potter, tinker, weaver,*

sailor/seaman did not occur among them. Occupations common to all four were few: *farmer, master* of various types of vessel, *blacksmith, carpenter, mason, shoemaker/cordwainer, wheelwright* and *labourer.*

For the tax tables, the choice of ranges took into account the fact that the distribution for individual communities often peaked at five and ten shillings, as well as one and two. The final table gives a somewhat finer breakdown of the total population recorded than the main table by community. It shows that, overall, 72.0 per cent of taxes levied were less than three shillings. When the communities were roughly grouped by geographic location to facilitate comparison, the percentages for this modal value ranged from 54.0 per cent (Amherst/River Philip group) to 92.0 per cent (Country Harbour/Guysborough and Manchester).

The tables published here were of necessity condensed from the detailed orginal tabulations. It is the latter, however, which yield the most interesting information. On settlement patterns, for example, one finds that in Halifax Township only fishermen were taxpayers in Prospect; that 40 per cent of the shipwrights lived in the Dutch Town area (to be near the Dockyard); that all but two of the shopkeepers lived in Halifax proper. Detailed analysis over time could chart community development and indicate, for example (if there were no other evidence), the time when a community began to number clergymen, physicians or schoolmasters among its inhabitants; or, to take a specific example, when fishermen became more prominent in Lunenburg Township, which was largely agricultural in 1793. The tax rolls contain data for the agricultural researcher as well, although such data were not tabulated for this paper.

A caveat must be entered for those using the data. The copies were poor; in spite of all efforts, mistakes may have been made. More importantly, the returns were probably incomplete and they gave no information on the adult female population. Conclusions drawn from them must therefore be tentative. Yet, however incomplete and imperfect a resource they may be, the assessment rolls repay study--and provide some intriguing sidelights on contemporary social structures.

TABLE 1

Occupations listed in the 1793 capitation tax rolls for "Chester and the Townships of Halifax, Lunenburg and Windsor in the province of Nova Scotia."

Occupation
Apothecary
Armourer
Army captain
Army lieutenant
Army quartermaster
Attorney/Attorneys at law
Auctioneer
Baker
Ballast-man
Blacksmith
Block-maker
Boat-builder
Boatmaster
(cf. Master of brig, etc.; Shipmaster)
Bookbinder
Brazier
Brewer
Butcher
Cabinet-maker
Carpenter (cf. Ship's carpenter)
Chair-maker
Clergyman/Missionary
Clerk
Clerks with special duties:
Clerk, Fuel Yard
Clerk, House of Assembly
Clerk, Navy Yard
Clerk, Pay Office
Cooper
Coppersmith
Cordwainer (cf. Shoemaker)
Cutler
Mate/Mate of brig
Merchant
Miller
Musician
Painter
Paver
Physician
Pilot
Potter
Printer
Prothonotary
Purveyor
Retailer (cf. Shopkeeper)
Rope-maker
Saddlemaker (cf. Sadler)
Sadler (cf. Saddlemaker)
Sailmaker
Sailor (cf. Seaman)
Saw miller
Sawyer
Schoolmaster
Seaman (cf. Sailor)
Servant
Sexton
Ship-master (cf. Boatmaster, Master of brig, etc.)
Ship's carpenter (cf. Carpenter)
Shipwright
Shoemaker (cf. Cordwainer)
Shopkeeper (cf. Retailer)
Silversmith
Stone-cutter

Distiller
Druggist
Farmer
Farrier
Fisherman
Furrier
Government official:
  Chief Justice
  Gauger
  Jailor
  Keeper of Poor House
  Messenger to Governor-in-Council
  Naval Officer
  Secretary/Register/Clerk of Council
  Sheriff
  Solicitor General
  Surveyor General
  Tide Waiter
Governor's secretary
Gunsmith
Hairdresser
Hatter
Joiner
Labourer
Lighthouse [keeper]
Mason
Mast-maker
Master [of brig, coastal trading vessel, vessel for voyage]
  (c.f. Boatmaster, Ship-master
Surgeon
Tailor/Taylor
Tallow chandler
Tanner
[Teacher at college]
  (i.e., President and English Master at King's College, Windsor)
Tinker
Tinplate worker
Tobacconist
Trader (cf. Merchant)
Truckman
Vintner
Watchmaker
Weaver
Wheelmaker
Wheelwright
Other designations:
  Annuitant
  "By Act of 1792"
  "Esquire"
  Half-pay officer
  Salaried [person]/Salary
  Singleman (i.e., Bachelor)
  Widower

TABLE 2

Occupations named in other lists and not in Table 1.

Captain of a vessel (cf. Master of a brig, etc.; Shipmaster)
Handcraftsman (cf. specific crafts in Table 1)
Mechanick/Master mechanick (cf. specific trades in Table 1)
Master of a vessel in foreign trade (cf. Master of a brig, etc.)

Military allowance (cf. Half-pay officer [?])
Vendors of goods (cf. Retailer, Shopkeeper, etc.)

TABLE 3

Occupations grouped by type, with number in each community.

Professions and Related Occupations		Halifax	Lunenburg	Windsor	Chester
Theology	Clergyman	6	3	1	0
	Sexton	1	0	0	0
Law	Attorney	5	2	3	0
	Prothonotary	1	0	0	0
Medicine	Physician	6	0	0	0
	Surgeon	1	2	1	0
	Apothecary	1	0	0	0
	Druggist	2	0	0	0
Education	Schoolmaster	7	2	2	0
	[Teacher at college]	0	0	2	0
Arts	Musician	1	0	0	0
		31	9	9	0
Government and "Civil Service"					
Chief Justice		1	0	0	0
Clerk, Fuel Yard		1	0	0	0
Clerk, House of Assembly		1	0	1	0
Clerk, Navy Yard		1	0	0	0
Clerk, Pay Office		1	0	0	0
Gauger		1	0	0	0
Jailor		1	0	0	0
Keeper of Poor House		2	0	0	0
Messenger to Governor-in-Council		1	0	0	0
Naval Officer		1	0	0	0
Secretary/Register/Clerk of Council		2	0	0	0
Solicitor General		1	0	0	0

Surveyor General	1	0	0	0
Tide Waiter	4	0	0	0
Governor's Secretary	1	0	0	0
	21	0	1	0
Primary Industries				
Farmer	135	276	66	62
Fisherman	146	0	0	1
	281	276	66	63
Seafaring and Related Industries				
Ballast-man	1	0	0	0
Boat-builder	1	0	0	0
Boatmaster	6	0	0	0
Lighthouse [keeper]	1	0	0	0
Mast-maker	2	0	0	0
Master of brig, etc.	2	12	2	12
Mate	9	1	0	0
Pilot	2	0	0	0
Rope-maker	2	0	0	0
Sailmaker	6	0	0	0
Sailor	0	5	0	0
Seaman	0	0	0	5
Ship-master	30	0	0	0
Ship's carpenter	0	2	0	0
Shipwright	29	0	0	0
	91	20	2	17
Crafts and Trades				
Armourer	5	0	0	0
Baker	18	1	0	0
Blacksmith	23	10	4	1
Block-maker	3	0	0	0
Bookbinder	1	0	0	0
Brazier	1	0	0	0
Brewer	2	0	0	0

Butcher	18	3	1	0
Cabinet-maker	2	0	0	0
Carpenter	64	9	11	5
Chair-maker	2	0	0	0
Cooper	23	5	1	0
Coppersmith	1	0	0	0
Cordwainer	0	21	0	0
Cutler	1	0	0	0
Distiller	1	0	0	0
Farrier	1	0	0	0
Furrier	1	3	0	0
Gunsmith	4	0	0	0
Hairdresser	8	0	0	0
Hatter	1	0	1	0
Joiner	1	0	0	1
Mason	14	3	3	1
Miller	0	5	2	0
Painter	11	0	0	0
Paver	1	0	0	0
Printer	6	0	0	0
Potter	0	1	0	0
Saddlemaker	0	0	1	0
Sadler	1	0	0	0
Saw miller	0	1	0	0
Sawyer	2	0	0	0
Shoemaker	29	0	6	3
Silversmith	2	0	0	0
Stone-cutter	1	0	0	0
Tailor	20	4	3	0
Tanner	5	2	1	0
Tinker	0	1	0	0
Tinplate worker	4	0	0	0
Watchmaker	4	0	1	0
Weaver	0	17	2	0
Wheelmaker	0	0	1	0
Wheelwright	3	2	1	1
	284	88	39	12

Commerce and Business				
Auctioneer	2	0	0	0
Clerk	4	0	0	0
Merchant	56	11	3	0
Purveyor	1	0	0	0
Retailer	0	11	0	0
Shopkeeper	67	0	3	0
Tallow chandler	1	0	0	0
Tobacconist	2	0	0	0
Trader	0	2	0	0
Truckman	1	0	0	0
Vintner	5	0	0	0
	139	24	6	0
Unskilled Labour				
Labourer	337	41	56	8
Servant	24	0	1	0
Singleman	0	85	0	0
	361	126	57	8
Military				
Army captain	0	0	0	1
Army lieutenant	0	0	0	1
Army quartermaster	0	0	0	1
Half-pay officer	4	0	1	0
	4	0	1	3
Other Designations				
Annuitant	1	0	0	0
"By Act of 1792"	3	0	0	0
"Esquire"	0	0	4	3
Salaried [person] / Salary	16	0	2	0
Widower	0	3	0	0
	20	3	6	3

Unspecified / Undecipherable	63	6	5	1

TABLE 4

Percentage of occupational groups in each community.

Occupational Group	Halifax (1295)	Lunenburg (552)	Windsor (192)	Chester (107)
Professions & related	2.4	1.6	4.7	0
Government & "civil service"	1.6	0	0.5	0
Primary industries	21.7	50.0	34.4	58.8
Seafaring & related	7.0	3.6	1.0	15.9
Crafts & trades	21.9	15.9	20.3	11.2
Commerce & business	10.7	4.3	3.1	0
Unskilled labour	27.9	22.8	29.7	7.5
Military	0.3	0	0.5	2.8
Other designations	1.5	0.5	3.1	2.8
Unspecified/Undecipherable	4.9	1.1	2.6	0.9
Total per cent (rounded)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 5

Percentage of tax assessed, by range of tax and communities grouped geographically.

Community and Number on Roll	Range of tax (£/s) To 2s	2<3	3<6	6<11	11<20	£1+	Illegible
Halifax (1295)	50.1	19.1	20.8	7.2	1.5	0.8	0.5
Chester (107	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Lunenburg (552)	38.2	28.8	25.0	4.4	1.5	0.2	1.8
Queens Co. (306)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
New Dublin (110)	57.0	26.2	11.8	3.1	1.7	0.	0.2
Yarmouth (246	35.0	30.9	24.8	5.3	4.1	0.	0.

Windsor (192)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Falmouth (88)	42.1	18.9	21.4	13.6	2.9	0.7	0.4
Rawdon (35)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Douglas (120)	55.5	26.5	18.1	0.	0.	0.	0.
Truro (49)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Londonderry (51)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
[E]Conomy (18)	38.1	31.4	29.7	0.8	0.	0.	0.
Amherst (82)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
River Maccan, etc. (93)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
River Philip (14)	36.0	18.0	32.8	11.6	1.6	0.	0.
Pictou Harbour (48)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Ramsheg (40)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Gulph of St. Lawrence/ Marrigomish (50)	60.9	20.3	14.5	4.3	0.	0.	0.
Country Harbour (54)	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Guysborough and Manchester (287)	77.7	14.1	3.8	3.2	0.6	0.6	0.

TABLE 6

Numbers and percentages of tax categories assessed for Nova Scotia as a whole in 1793.

Taxes Assessed (£/s)	Number	Per Cent
Up to 2s	1890	49.3
2<3	863	22.5
3<5	396	10.3
5<6	366	9.5
6<10	112	2.9
10<11	114	3.0
11<20	59	1.5
£1 and over	16	0.4
Illegible/not given	21	0.5
Total	3837	100.0

APPENDIX

Capitation rolls examined.

Call Number	Name and Subdivision	Number on Roll
(PANS RG 1)		
v. 444, no. 61	Township of Amherst	82
v. 444, no. 62	Chester	107
v. 444, no. 63	District of Country Harbour	54
v. 444, no. 65	Township of Douglas	120
	Noel District	
	Nine Mile River District	
	Kenatcook [*sic*] River District	
	District of Shubenacadie	
v. 444, no. 66	[E]conomy	18
v. 444, no. 67	Township of Falmouth	88
v. 444, no. 68	Townships of Guysborough & Manchester	237
v. 444, no. 69	Township of Halifax	1295
	Halifax	
	Dutch Town	
	Sackville Road	
	Western Volt [Dutch Village]	
	Northwest Arm	
	W. & S. Field [Spryfield]	
	Ferguson's Cove	
	Herring Cove	
	Hallybut Bay	
	Port[ugues]e Cove	
	Duncan Cove	
	Ketch Harbour	
	Sambro Harbour	
	Prospect	
	Dover	
	McNab's Island	
	Margaret's Bay	

	Windsor Road	
	Hammond Plain	
v. 444½, no. 1	Township of Londonderry	51
v. 444½, no. 2-6	Township of Lunenburg	552
	Lunenburg	
	Mahone Bay	
	Clear Land	
	Indian Point	
	Islands	
v. 444½, no. 7	Township of New Dublin	110
v. 444½, no. 8	Harbour of Pictou	48
v. 444½, no. 9	Queens County	306
v. 444½, no. 10	Town of Ramsheg	40
v. 444½, no. 11	Township of Rawdon	35
v. 444½, no. 12	River Philip	14
v. 444½, no. 13	District of Rivers Maccan, Nappan and Hebert	93
*v. 444½, no. 14	District of the Gulph of St. Lawrence/Marrigomish	50
v. 444½, no. 15	Truro	49
v. 444½, nos. 16-17	Township of Windsor	293
	Eastern District	
	Western District	
v. 444½, no. 18	Yarmouth	246
	Total	3837

Nova Scotia and the First Methodist Chapels in Mainland Canada

Eldon Hay

The first Methodist chapels in mainland Canada were built in Nova Scotia--the one at Shelburne, the other in Halifax. Yet neither of these is recognized as the first: that honour goes to Point de Bute, New Brunswick, "the site of mainland Canada's first Methodist church." [1] What is the evidence for churches in Shelburne and Halifax before the building of the chapel in Point de Bute in 1788? And if there were places in Nova Scotia with Methodist chapels before 1788, why are they not recognized as sites of mainland Canada's first Methodist chapels? What makes a chapel a Methodist chapel? A church is a place set aside where Methodists go to worship; that is, to praise God, hear Scripture, pray and sing. It has to be a structure which a community of worshippers recognize as a place of worship. If this is some kind of rough, "rule-of-thumb" description of a church, can the Methodist meeting-houses in Shelburne and Halifax meet the criteria?

The American Methodist missionary, Freeborn Garrettson, arrived in Halifax in 1785. Although Halifax was his headquarters, he travelled widely through the province for the following two years. He wrote many letters and papers during those travels. To Wesley on 25 April 1786 Garrettson wrote, "our chapel in Shelburn [*sic*] is not able to contain the congregation, and at present our friends are not able to build a larger." [2] So there was already a Methodist chapel in Shelburne in 1786. The chapel was in Shelburne largely because of Charles White, an Irishman who had settled in New York in 1766. Already a Methodist, he "stood up boldly for the truth." [3] In 1783 the issue of the war compelled him to leave the church he had helped build, and he found his way to Shelburne. His ardour for Methodism had not abated. Soon he provided a room in a large building

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1 James Taylor, *The Canadian Religious Travel Guide* (Don Mills, Ont., 1984), p. 37.

2 Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson: compiled from his Printed and Manuscript Journals, and Other Authentic Documents*, 4th ed. (New York, 1845), p. 152. Robert Drew Simpson, *American Methodist Pioneer: The Life and Journals of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, 1752-1827* (Rutland, Vt., 1984), p. 246. In my text I follow Bangs's book.

3 T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church within the territories embraced in the late Conference of Eastern British America, including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda* (Toronto, 1877), I, 138.

which he had erected for business purposes in late 1783 or early 1784: "Lack of success in business on the part of Charles White, had led him to place a room in a large building erected by him after his arrival [in Shelburne] at the disposal of the Methodists, for public services."[4] It was not then a "free-standing" building, nor had it originally been constructed with a church in mind. Yet it is clear that a community of Methodists did view and use it as a place of worship.

In his April letter to John Wesley, Garrettson had implied that Shelburne needed a larger chapel, but funds were not available. Later in 1786--the day and month are not given--Garrettson wrote to Francis Asbury on the American side. The place from where the letter was written is not clear--it may have come from Halifax--though I judge it to have come from Shelburne. The letter lurches from location to location:

> My time this winter has been spent in Halifax, and in the different towns between that and Annapolis.
>
> In Cornwallis the last time I was there I put a chapel on foot; there were nearly five hundred dollars subscribed: how they will manage I know not.
>
> On my return I put one on foot in Windsor. In this town God has given us a loving society.
>
> A few friends are willing to build one at Annapolis, though they have had very little preaching for six months.
>
> This day they began to draw stone for building a church in this town also. It is to be the same size as that of Mr. White, except a pitch higher.
>
> I have preached several times in Dartmouth, a new town.... They seem very desirous, and made an offer of erecting a small house of worship, if we would pay attention to them.
>
> God willing, what time I have to stay in this town I expect to...preach in our little chapel, which will hold about four hundred persons....
>
> In Horton the Lord has given us a kind of friend, though not converted, Mr. Crane. He and his brother-in-law have offered two hundred dollars towards
> building a church in that town.[5]

4 *Ibid.*, 142. For further information in regard to Shelburne and White, see Marion Robertson, *Trinity United Church* (Hantsport, 1983), p. 25.

5 Bangs, 160-162; Simpson, 250. This letter was probably written from Shelburne, because Shelburne accords well with the mention of White (Charles White is undoubtedly associated with Shelburne).

From this letter it is clear that Garretson knew of an already existing chapel at Shelburne, and that a new one was being built there. In other places, Garrettson had put chapels "on foot"--that is, at Cornwallis and Windsor. Finally, there was a possibility of chapels at Dartmouth and Horton. All in the year 1786. There are no deeds to any of these churches dating from the 1780s. In those days land was often given for churches; deeds were not drawn up at all.

In view of Garrettson's letters, it is clear that there were Methodist chapels in Nova Scotia before 1788. How then is the primacy of Point de Bute to be preserved? Arthur Betts grants that "Garrettson encouraged in various centres the erection of places of worship," but maintains that Point de Bute was the "first *properly deeded* chapel" (italics added).[6] For Betts the chief criterion seems to be the existence of a deed. It could well be one criterion: did a society or congregation of Methodists see a structure as the centre of their corporate worship? Did they see a chapel as their own, even though not necessarily exclusively used for Methodists? [7]

I contend that the chapel at Shelburne predates the building of the church at Point de Bute. Why was the chapel at Shelburne overlooked as the first

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The evidence for Halifax being the origin of the letter comes in the sentence, "I have preached several times in Dartmouth, a new town, *six miles from this*" (italics mine.) How should we interpret this sentence, assuming Garrettson was writing from Shelburne? Could Garrettson have been referring to Birchtown, which was six miles from Shelburne? I think not: he meant Dartmouth. Of course, Dartmouth is *not* six miles from Shelburne. What are we to make of these discrepancies? Garrettson, the peripatetic preacher par excellence, was slightly confused. The paragraph itself shows that Garrettson's attention moved quickly from one subject to another.

6 E. Arthur Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers* (Sackville, 1976), p. 36.

7 The plan for one of the properly deeded chapels--at Sackville, N.B.--makes explicit the inclusion of others not Methodist:

> It may be observ'd this House is intended for the Methodist, (so call'd,) but not to prevent any good clergy man ocationaly to preach in who preaches agreeable to the Articules and Homlys of the Church of England. (NBSaM, Raymond Clare Archibald Papers 5501 13/8/17.)

The deed for the same church is less inclusive:

> Nevertheless. . . the Trustees for the time being do and shall permit John Wesley. . . and such other persons as he shall from time to time appoint, and at all times during his Natural Life and no other persons to have and enjoy the free use and benefit of the said Premises: that the said John Wesley and such other persons as he appoints may therein preach and expound God's Holy Word. . . . Provided always that the said persons preach no other Doctrine than is contained in Mr. Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament, and four Volumes of Sermons. (NBSaM, United Church of Canada, Sackville, Papers 7933/1/15.)

Methodist church in mainland Canada? One important factor is that Shelburne did not have the English connection--the connection with Wesley and Yorkshire--that the community at Point de Bute enjoyed. Another factor is that the region in which Point de Bute is situated became the centre of Maritime Methodism. Both of these factors, however, lie outside the concern of this paper.[8]

There are, however, two other considerations attaching to Shelburne and other Nova Scotia sites. The first factor was suggested by Freeborn Garrettson himself. In a letter written in the spring of 1787 to his fellow American, Francis Asbury, Garrettson laid before his correspondent the need for new preachers in different areas of Nova Scotia. In Garrettson's own words, "So you may see we are in want of three preachers. I made bold to open matters to Mr. Wesley, and begged of him to send one preacher from England, as a number of people would prefer an Englishman to an American. *Many have refused hearing me on this account*" (italics added).[9]

Garrettson was an American, the first consideration. And he was one of the roving kind--therein lies the second. Garrettson found it difficult to settle in one place. He was never in one locale long enough to have his name indelibly associated with a church; nor with sufficient time to look into the matter of proper deeding, even if he had the inclination to do so.[10] Though he was nominally in charge at Halifax, that community "suffered from Garrettson's many calls to other places."[11] Wesley must have known this, for he gently admonished the preacher in a 1786 letter:

> You have great reason to be thankful to God, that he lets you see the fruit of your labours.... But I do not advise you to go on too fast. It is not expedient to break up more ground than you can keep; to preach at any

8 See Eldon Hay, "Point de Bute--First Methodist Church in Canada?" in *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers*, ed. Neil Semple (Toronto, 1987) pp. 41-69.

9 Bangs, 161; Simpson, 251. In a different letter to Wesley in 1787, Garrettson related several impediments he encountered in Barrington. One of these was "a letter... sent by a Calvinist preacher who had ministered among [the people of Barrington], warning them against an American." Bangs, 157; Simpson, 249. The American, of course, was Freeborn Garrettson: Bangs, 157; Simpson, 249.

10 Bangs, 161; Simpson, 251.

11 J.E. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto, 1908), I, 20.

more places than you or your brethren can constantly attend. To preach once in a place, and no more, very seldom does any good.[12]

Yet chapels in Nova Scotia could have risen to prominence comparable to those in New Brunswick, if Freeborn Garrettson had become superintendent in British North America. And that very nearly happened. For in spite of Garrettson's wanderings, his zeal could have surmounted his peripatetic proclivity. Futhermore, his own capacities could have overcome the liability of his American background: "a prejudice that would soon wear away," as he himself put it.[13] Garrettson was urged to become superintendent in the British North American provinces and in the West Indies, in 1787.[14] Both Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury urged it upon him, with Wesley's hearty concurrence. The Nova Scotia ministers wanted him; as Black wrote to Garrettson, "the hearts of the people are knit to you in a peculiar manner, and I believe you would be more useful than ever." [15] At first, Garrettson refused, pleading "My unfitness for so great a work." [16] The itinerant preacher had no wish to be pinned down. "The Lord knows," he wrote, "I am willing to do anything in my power for the furtherance of the Gospel; but as to confining myself to Nova Scotia, or any part of the world, I could not; a good God does not require it of me." [17] Later he changed his mind; his appointment was to be effected at the Methodist Conference in Baltimore.

At the start of that conference in May 1789, Dr. Coke made known to the assembled ministers that Wesley wished Garrettson to be appointed. The assembly promptly gave its unanimous approval. When Garrettson was informed, he asked to defer his decision until the next day. He then said he would accept, on certain conditions. He wanted to travel throughout

12 Bangs, 154; Simpson, 247.

13 Bangs, 161; Simpson, 251.

14 Smith, I, 192-194.

15 Quoted by Bangs, 167.

16 Bangs, 158; Simpson, 249.

17 Bangs, 161; Simpson, 251.

British North America and the West Indies, and if he met with the approval of the ministers and people he was to superintend, he would return to the Conference the next year to receive formal ordination as superintendent. Dr. Coke drew up a letter to go along with Garrettson, explaining the latter's intention. But then something very strange happened. Garrettson wrote, "what transpired in the Conference. . . . I know not". [18] No one else seems to know either. A short time later, when the appointments were read, Garrettson was placed somewhere else: in Maryland. Why had this happened? Did his confrères sense that Garrettson's heart was not wholly in British North America?[19] Were his American colleagues unwilling to separate entirely from a brother so highly competent and beloved? Were the American clergy rebelling against rule from England by Wesley? [20] We do not know. Garrettson himself wrote, "I was astonished." [21] Wesley was disappointed. The ministers of Nova Scotia were regretful. In any case Garrettson did not become superintendent; he had left Nova Scotia, never to return. Quite likely, his leaving meant that other chapels in that province--most notably Shelburne--were overlooked for the distinction of being the first Methodist church in mainland Canada.

As already noted, Freeborn Garrettson worked in many parts of Nova Scotia, but particularly in the Halifax district. Garrettson arrived in Halifax late in February 1785, where he and his fellow missionary, James Cromwell, "received a warm welcome from [Philip] Marchinton and the few Methodists of the city." [22] Philip Marchinton was a wealthy Methodist merchant who had come from the American colonies when the revolutionary war ended.

18 Bangs, 166; Simpson, 393.

19 Nathan Bangs himself writes, "Some alteration took place in the mind of the conference. . . . Probably knowing the value of his services in his Lord's vineyard, and being comparatively young as a church, they were unwilling to have him so entirely separated from them." Bangs, p. 166.

20 Francis Asbury, *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, J. Manning Potts *et al.*, eds. (London, 1958), III, 50. The pertinent part reads:

> The [Baltimore] Conference had been convened by order of Wesley, and he recommended that . . . the appointment of Freeborn Garrettson as superintendent for Nova Scotia and in the British Dominion should be recognized. It was already seen that the issue was one of British control.

21 Bangs, 166; Simpson, 393.

22 Smith, I, 154.

Shortly after Garrettson's arrival Marchinton rented a house, fitted it out with seats and a pulpit suitable for holding services, and engaged Garrettson to preach. The work in Halifax proceeded well, even though Garrettson himself visited other places in Nova Scotia. In 1786 Marchinton offered, with the help of several others, to raise £500 for the building of a Methodist church in Halifax, if Wesley would undertake to give £500 more. In a letter to Garrettson, Wesley refused--in no uncertain terms:

> It is a noble proposal of brother Marchinton; but. . . it will not take place. You do not know the state of the English Methodists. They do not roll in money like many of the American Methodists. It is with the utmost difficulty that we can raise five or six hundred pounds a year to supply our contingent expenses, so that it is entirely impracticable to raise five hundred pounds among them, to build houses in America. It is true they might do much; but it is a sad observation, they that have most money have usually the least grace.[23]

Marchinton, however, was not easily discouraged. He proceeded to build a church on his own property on Argyle Street. Construction began in 1786; it was opened on Easter Sunday, 8 April 1787, with William Black preaching.[24]

Marchinton saw himself as a Methodist. Wesley wrote of him as "brother Marchinton." [25] Freeborn Garrettson recognized him as a Methodist--"a true friend to the gospel."[26] Abraham John Bishop, on his visit to Halifax, "was kindly received by the brethren, especially by Mr. Marchinton, who requested me to make his house my home. He has the cause of God much at heart." [27] The small community of Methodists in Halifax, moreover, looked to Marchinton's meeting-house or hall, and worshipped in it as a Methodist church for some time--from 1787 until 1790 or 1791.

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23 The text of Wesley's reply is given in Bangs, 148-149.

24 Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins 1780-1789* (Toronto, 1958), p. 366.

25 Bangs, 148; Simpson, 246.

26 Bangs, 141; Simpson, 243.

27 Smith, I, 219-220.

There is no reason to doubt that Marchinton's meeting-house was a church. It had been built by Methodists, officially opened, preached in by Garrettson, Black and others, and perceived as Methodist by a community of Methodists. As such it predates by at least a year the building that is usually accorded the title of the first Methodist church in Canada: the chapel at Point de Bute, built in 1788.

Why has Marchinton's meeting-house not received serious consideration as the first Methodist church in mainland Canada? In addition to the factors mentioned in connection with Shelburne--a roving missionary who stayed but a short time, on the one hand; and Point de Bute enjoying a long tradition of close association with Yorkshire, on the other--Marchinton's chapel has its own unique reasons for being overlooked. What befell the church known as Marchinton's meeting-house? What befell the community that regarded Marchinton's meeting-house as a Methodist church?

In 1790 or 1791, Marchinton himself was disciplined by his fellow Methodists for behaviour which was regarded as "unbecoming." What was that behaviour? We are not explicitly told. A leading member wrote that Marchinton

> attempted to raise himself above all discipline, and therefore fell. Oh, the deceitfulness of riches; how they blind the understanding and harden the conscience! By this event we are deprived of a public place for worship, and for the present are obliged to hold our meetings in a private house. But the Lord is with us, and we find his fall the cause of others being established. The society are unanimous respecting the necessity of his being expelled.[28]

What is clear is that Marchinton turned his fellow Methodists out of the church on his property.[29] With Marchinton himself as preacher, services continued there for but a short time.[30] Marchinton's denial of discipline,

28 *Ibid.*, 242-243.

29 *Ibid.*, 243. Smith notes that upon Black's return from Newfoundland, he "remonstrated seriously and affectionately with Marchinton, but in vain." Marchinton was obviously out of favour with Methodists in the Halifax area. Yet we later "find him preaching most successfully in Charlottetown." Betts, 36.

30 R.L. Hattie, "Old-Time Halifax Churches," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 26 (1946), 11, 12, notes the final fate of the Marchinton meeting-hall:

> While Marchinton's Church ceased to be the home of the Methodists and soon ceased to be the scene of Marchinton's own preaching, it continued for a time to be a centre of religious

and his determination to continue preaching in the chapel "afforded him an opportunity of gratifying an unhallowed determination to involve the society in all possible perplexity." [31]

The Methodist congregation, freshly ejected from Marchinton's church, was obliged to erect a new building, which was formally opened on Sunday, 25 November 1792. The preacher at the opening was the Reverend William Jessop, and his text was Genesis 19:23: "The sun was risen on the earth when Lot entered Zoar." The text chosen for the day had unusual connotations. From it came the name of the new church, "Zoar," and an appellation for the Marchinton church now abandoned by the Methodists. After Zoar was completed, Marchinton's church was "nicknamed 'Sodom,' a name hard to live down." [32] Why was the Marchinton meeting-house thereafter called "Sodom"? Could there be a connection between that name and Marchinton's "unbecoming behaviour"? Is it possible that the behaviour attributed to him was homosexual activity? [33] In 1790 homosexuality was more than "unbecoming;" sodomy was a felony.[34] Nevertheless, on what grounds can one deny that Marchinton's meeting-house was Methodist, though only for a short time? Can one argue that if it were a church, then one man could not have ordered the community of Methodists to vacate the premises? Possibly.

However, the argument for denying Marchinton's meeting-house the designation "Methodist" had proceeded on a somewhat different basis. Betts

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activity until eventually it was converted into dwellings. Here in 1792 the Rev. John Burton carried on evangelistic meetings; in 1806 the building was purchased and used as a place of worship by a congregation of Presbyterians; later still it was occupied by those friends of Rev. Dr. Twining who had seceded from the Church of England in consequence of the appointment of Rev. Dr. Willis to the rectorship of St. Paul's.

31 Smith, I, 243.

32 Hattie, 11. On Zoar and Sodom see Gen 13:10, 13. Lot forsook Sodom for Zoar, the only one of the five "Cities of the Plain" not visited by the wrath of God.

33 Marchinton's wife died in late November, 1788. See the entry for 4 Dec. 1788 in Perkins, *Diary*, 452.

34 (1758) 32 Geo. 2, c. 13, s. 6. There was at least one eighteenth-century prosecution: *R. v. Prince (R. v. Smith)*, Trinity Term, 1777: RG 39, "J" series, vol. 1, pp. 298-299, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

says flatly that Marchinton's hall "was never Methodist." [35] The clue that Betts gives as to his reasons is found in his statment about the Point de Bute chapel, already noted above as "the first *properly deeded* chapel" (italics added).[36] In his article, "Places of Worship on the Halifax Scotia Square Site," Betts again writes about Marchinton's hall in these terms:

> Soon after the Rev. William Black moved to Halifax in 1786, Philip Marchinton, a leading member of his congregation, built a chapel to seat 1,000. It stood on the east side of Argyle Street near the end of Bell's Lane. Black preached at the opening service held on Easter Sunday in 1787, after which [it] became their place of worship, though Marchinton remained the owner.[37]

Here Betts concedes that it was a chapel, built in 1786, and that it was a Methodist place of worship. Yet Marchinton's meeting-house was never Methodist, because it did not belong to a community of Methodists. On that technical basis, Betts says that it never was Methodist. The technicality gains credence when it is recalled that Marchinton expelled his fellow Methodists, when they dared to accuse him of "unbecoming behaviour." But the technicality does not undermine the three or four years' usage of the building by Methodists as their house of worship.

The chapel at Point de Bute, on the other hand, had no such problems. It had a connection with Yorkshire, and with Wesley. The church had been built by the Reverend James Wray, a man specially sent out by Wesley as superintendent, after the move to make Garrettson superintendent had failed. The community of Point de Bute was a pivotal factor in the conversion of William Black and his subsequent development as the leader of Maritime Methodism. The region became the centre of Methodism. Small wonder that Point de Bute claimed, gained, and has retained the reputation of being the "first Methodist chapel in mainland Canada."

It might have been different. There can be little doubt that the Methodist chapels in Shelburne and in Halifax predated the building of the church

35 Betts, 26.

36 *Ibid.*, 36.

37 E. Arthur Betts, "Places of Worship on the Halifax Scotia Square Site," in *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, 9 (1979), 216.

in Point de Bute. On the one hand, Freeborn Garrettson's peripatetic habits; his short stay in the British colonies; and the stillborn efforts to make him superintendent, cut off Nova Scotia churches from the brilliance associated with this missionary. On the other hand, Philip Marchinton's "unbecoming behaviour" meant that the chapel he built was nicknamed "Sodom," a name hard to live down.

Colonists or Birds of Passage? A Glimpse of the Inhabitants of LaHave, 1632-1636

Joan Dawson

On 8 September 1632, Isaac de Razilly, Commander of the Order of Malta, veteran naval officer and the appointed representative of the Company of New France, led a flotilla of three ships into the mouth of the LaHave River. He bore the commission of Louis XIII as his lieutenant-general in all of New France; the settlement which he established at LaHave served for more than three years as the administrative centre for that territory. After Razilly's death in July, 1636, [1] the seat of government and most of the colonists were transferred to Port-Royal, leaving only a remnant behind at LaHave.

During Razilly's governorship, the centre of the community lay on the western side of the river at what is now known as Fort Point. It consisted of a group of buildings clustered round a fort, which commanded the river-mouth, and a chapel, which stood a short distance inland. On the far side of the river lay a lush pasture where Razilly's cattle grazed, near the present community of Five Houses. The eastern side of the river was also the site of lumbering operations conducted by Nicolas Denys between Ritceys Cove and Lunenburg Bay. At Petite Rivière, a short distance from the main settlement, fertile land had been cleared and was being farmed before Razilly's death. The total number of people in the community fluctuated from season to season, and can be only roughly estimated from the sparse--and sometimes apparently conflicting--records which have survived. The purpose of this study is to look at this population in the light of some of the extant records, and to see what kinds of people were to be found there during the period 1632-1636. We shall attempt to identify the small number whose names have come down to us, and who represent the many anonymous people who were involved in the early settlement of LaHave.

There is no orderly documentation of the early colonists of Acadia. There exist neither censuses of the colony, nor church records, for the period under consideration. The only significant nominal list of people believed to have come to LaHave is the passenger-list of the ship *St.-Jehan*, [2] which

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1 The date of 2 July 1636 has been established by Fr. Gilles de Rasilly, 1987, from a judgment of the *Parlement de Paris*, 2 Aug. 1640 (Archives Nationales, Paris. X 1A 5646). Personal communication.

2 Reproduced in A. Godbout, "The Passenger List of the Ship *St.-Jehan* and the Acadian Origins," *French Canadian and Acadian Genealogical Review*, I, 1 (Spring 1968), 59-66.

did not leave France until April 1636, three months before Razilly's death. There are, nevertheless, some scattered sources of information which help to shed light on a few of the people who spent time at the settlement before the transfer of the majority of the French population to Port-Royal.

The three most prominent members of the founding expedition were Isaac de Razilly himself, his lieutenant and kinsman Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, and Nicolas Denys, a versatile entrepreneur, seaman and author. Much has already been written about these three men, and there is no need to repeat details of their lives, which have become part of Canadian history. Two of them, Razilly and Denys, provide us with first-hand information about the LaHave settlement. Razilly's account is found in his letters written during the summer of 1634 to Cardinal Richelieu, one of the sponsors of the colony, and to Marc Lescarbot who, as a young man, had himself visited and written about Acadia.[3] Denys's description of the early days of the settlement and of some of the events which took place there was published many years later; [4] it is a vivid, personal account which brings to life the people and the incidents of which he writes.

Other sources of information include reports in the *Gazette* of Renaudot, whereby the French public was informed of events relating to the new colony;[5] and legal documents dealing with a wide range of topics, from work contracts to wills. Unfortunately, no day-to-day administrative records survive from this period, and Razilly does not appear to have kept a journal. Nevertheless, the documents which exist are sufficient to give us a glimpse of a few of the people who formed the population of LaHave.

Before looking at individuals, it may be helpful to consider the size of the community and its general composition. As mentioned above, the number of people present at any given time varied. Of the three hundred *homes d'élite* (picked men) who left France in July 1632, [6] not all were to spend

3 Razilly to Richelieu, 25 July 1634. Mémoirs et Documents, Amérique, Vol. 4, ff. 130-130v., Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634. Fonds Français, Vol. 13423, ff. 349v.-350, Dept. des MSS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [hereafter Bib. Nat.].

4 Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, ed. W.F. Ganong (Toronto, 1908). Original edition: Paris, 1672.

5 Extracts reprinted in *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXXV, 11 (Nov. 1929), 701-702.

6 Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, Vol. 9281, f. 59, Dept. des MSS, Bib. Nat.

that winter at LaHave. In writing of the hardships of that first season, when scurvy struck some of the colonists, Razilly says that "he lost 36 out of the 200 men whom he brought, [7] for lack of housing, not having had time for it [i.e. to build adequate shelter] before winter." [8] These deaths left a group of some 164 persons in the settlement by the end of the winter of 1632-33. They would be reinforced by new recruits in the spring, [9] but not all of these would remain over the following winter. About one hundred people were named in a list of those wintering at LaHave in 1633, signed by Razilly and now, unfortunately, lost. [10] His letter to Lescarbot states that there was not illness during the second winter; presumably they all survived.

In the early days of the colony, until some degree of self-sufficiency in food supplies had been achieved, the winter population of the settlement would have been kept to a minimum. Those remaining at LaHave included the governor and his household and administrative assistants: the Capuchin missionaries who accompanied the expedition; probably a doctor, though none is specifically mentioned; a few skilled tradesmen to maintain the essential services of the community; and the garrison of the fort. Possibly by the third winter, and certainly by the fourth, a nucleus of permanent settlers, chiefly farmers, was added to this number; Denys tells us that about forty *habitants* were established at Petite Rivière before Razilly's death. [11]

By contrast, the French population in summertime rose to as many as five hundred. [12] Many of these were *engagés*, people who worked under contract for a season and then returned to France. They included labourers

7 An apparent discrepancy of one hundred persons may be accounted for partly by the absence from LaHave of the men who replaced the garrison of forty-six Scottish soldiers at Port-Royal (*Gazette*, 24 Nov. 1632). Possibly a contingent was also dispatched to Canso, though it is not known precisely when that fort was established. A few people probably accompanied Menou back to France at the end of 1632.

8 Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634.

9 *Gazette*, 12 Mar. 1633.

10 Referred to in a notorial minute of Rémond, Minutier Central, Vol. XVI, f. 69, Archives Nationales, Paris [hereafter Arch. Nat.].

11 Denys, *Description*, p. 146.

12 Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634.

and artisans, brought out to assist in clearing the land and constructing the buildings of the settlement. They also included the men whom Denys tells us he employed as woodworkers and carpenters in his lumber-camps, [13] and the crews of the ships which brought supplies to the colony. The numbers would be further increased by the presence of seasonal fishermen, who traditionally spent their summers along the coast of Acadia, salting and drying cod on the beaches. As the year drew to a close, vessels would return to France laden with furs, lumber and fish, and taking with them those whose contracts were completed.

In addition to the French colonists, there was a significant native population in the LaHave area. The presence of these Indians had been noted by Champlain, who located their encampments on the east side of the LaHave and near the mouth of the Petite Rivière. [14] Razilly observed that they responded well to the Capuchins' missionary endeavours, and submitted quite willingly to the King of France, without any bloodshed. [15] Predictably, as we learn from Denys, the French employed the Indians as guides; he also writes of his hunters, who may have included Indians, and of the Indian children whom he employed to gather fruit for his feast.[16] Above all, trade with the Indians provided the furs which were expected to finance the colony.[17] Later records make it clear that a number of the early settlers took Indian women as wives or companions, and thereby established a *métis* population which survived in the LaHave-Merligueche area long after the departure of the majority of French settlers.[18]

Razilly's letter to Lescarbot, written in August 1634, paints a very pleasant picture of the community. Despite constant financial problems--which it was left to his brother and business associate, Claude de Launay-Razilly,

13 Denys, *Description*, p. 149-50.

14 Samuel de Champlain's map, "Port de La Hève," in his *Voyages du Sieur de Champlain* (Paris, 1613).

15 Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634.

16 Denys, *Description*, p. 154.

17 In fact, this was not a profitable endeavour. (Razilly to Richelieu, 25 July 1634).

18 E.M. Rameau de St.-Père, "Registres des Acadiens de Belle-Ile-en Mer: Remarques sur les mêmes registres par Mr. E. Rameau, "*Documents sur l'Acadie*, suppl. to *Le Canada Français*, III, 5 (Sept. 1890), 145.

to deal with at a practical level in France--he considered it to be an "earthly paradise," well worth the heavy personal investment he had committed to its development. His aim was to bring married men with their wives to the settlement, as he considered bachelors to be mere "birds of passage." [19] It is not known whether he had already succeeded in recruiting some married couples by 1634; the fact that he himself was unmarried had apparently deterred some would-be settlers from emigrating with their wives.[20] Probably a number of the *habitants* settled at Petite Rivière were married: a peasant farm economy depends heavily on the support of its women. Certainly the passengers on the *St.-Jehan* in 1636 included several marrried couples and families.

In the same letter to Lescarbot, Razilly lists some of the people who had assisted him in the establishment of the colony.

> As for those who have helped him in his project, the chief are his cousin d'Aulnay Charnisay, the two nephews of Commander de Poincy, of the Longvilliers line, his nephew de Razilly who died there, Sieur de la Saussaie, his lieutenant at Port Royal, Sieur du Buisson his ensign, Captain l'Evesque commanding one of his ships, Captain Molet, Sieur Denys commanding two of his ships, Captain Pol.

This personal acknowledgement provides us with a starting-point in trying to identify some of the individuals who were present at LaHave in early days.

"His cousin d'Aulnay Charnisay" is, of course, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, who sometimes also used the name Charnisay, which derived from one of his family's properties. He acted as Razilly's agent on many occasions. His services included travelling back to France to supervise the sale of goods from Acadia; recruiting additional manpower for the colony; negotiating for ships and supplies on behalf of the Company of New France and, later, of the Razilly-Condonnier Company; and, in 1653, recapturing the fort of Pentagouet which had been seized by the English.[21] All these activities kept him away from LaHave for much of the time; his sporadic

19 Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634.

20 *Ibid.*

21 R. Baudry, "Menou d'Aulnay, Charles de," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1966), I, 502-503. Pentagouet was in present-day Maine.

reappearances in port with fresh recruits and supplies were, no doubt, occasions for rejoicing.

After Razilly's death, d'Aulnay was to take over control of Acadia, with the support of Claude de Launay-Razilly. His subsequent disputes with Nicolas Denys, and his long-lasting feud with Charles de La Tour are well-known. During his life-time, Razilly clearly trusted his cousin to conduct both business and military affairs on his behalf. Once deprived of the Commander's guidance, however, Menou was unable to maintain the good relations which had initially prevailed among the French entrepreneurs in Acadia.

Next on the list come "the two nephews of Commander de Poincy, of the Longvilliers line." [22] They were probably recruited into Razilly's service through their uncle. Like Razilly, Poincy was a *chef d'escadre* in the French navy, a commander of the Order of Malta, and a member of the Cent-Associés (Company of New France).[23] He later joined the Razilly-Condonnier Company, established to raise funds for the Acadian settlement.[24] It would be in keeping with these interests for him to encourage his nephews to become actively involved in the colonisation of New France, under the command of his *confrère*, Isaac de Razilly.

We have only scrappy information about the activities of these two young men at LaHave. One of them is referred to in a document of 1634, recording the foundation of the Razilly-Condonnier company. The contract of association between Claude de Launay-Razilly and Jean Condonnier stipulates that the "pinnaces or barques, shallops, weapons, munitions, victuals, merchandise and other things" belonging to Razilly in Acadia at the time of the arrival there of the company's next ship "shall be appraised and estimated in that same country by Commander de Razilly, Mr. Henry

22 ". . . les deux neveux du Commandeur de Poincy de la race des Longvilliers." Some people have taken this to mean that Philippe de Longvilliers de Poincy, later governor of the Antilles, was a nephew of "the Commander," i.e. Razilly. The title "Commander de Poincy" is, however, appropriate, as Longvilliers was also a commander of the Order of Malta. His distinguished career paralleled that of Razilly, and it is unlikely that his presence in Acadia would have gone unrecorded. The present reference is clearly to his nephews.

23 M. Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, III, *La Seigneurie des Cent-Associés*, I, 428.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

de Longvilliers, by Captain Levesque and by Sieur Denys, or two or three of these." [25] Henry de Longvilliers was clearly considered one of the responsible and knowledgeable members of the community.

The second nephew appears again in the documentary history of LaHave only after Isaac de Razilly's death. In the preamble to the inventory of the governor's goods, made in late summer or fall of 1636, we read that "Monsieur de Poincy" was "presently commandant of this fort. . .according to the intention of my late lord, the Commander de Razilly, declared by his last wishes." [26] He appears as a signatory to this document as "P. Lonvilliers [*sic*]." He apparently retained command of the fort under Menou's administration: in the second inventory of Razilly's goods, made in Tours in November, 1637, he is again referred to, this time as "le sieur de Poincy, capitaine à LaHève." [27] His full given name is unknown; he may have been named after his uncle.[28] What is certain is that he was designated by Isaac de Razilly to take charge of Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce at LaHave, after the Commander's death, and that he fulfilled that responsibility.

These scanty references to the two de Poincy nephews leave us with the impression that they were both valued by Razilly for their competence and loyalty. They appear to have lived up to their distinguished uncle's expectations as colonisers. One of them at least stayed some time in Acadia, or returned there later, in the service of Charles de Menou. Among the signatures on a document of 1645 describing Menou's conquest of LaTour's fort at Saint John we find "Lonvilliers [*sic*] Poincy", one of the "witnesses and chief leaders of the French who are on this coast." [29] It is not clear from the document which of the former inhabitants of LaHave this was,

25 Association Razilly-Cordonnier, Minutier Central, Vol. LXXXVIII, No. 98, Arch. Nat.

26 Documents relatifs à la succession du Commandeur Isaac de Razilly, Archives d'Indre et Loire (Tours), Série E, Minutes du notaire David.

27 *Ibid.*

28 This uncertainty has given rise to some confusion between the two men and reinforced the supposition that the uncle was present at LaHave. But the elder de Poincy was normally referred to as "Commander"; the omission of this title in formal documents in which it was accorded to Razilly would be surprising.

29 Mémoire sur la prise du fort St.-Jehan, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, Vol. 9281, f. 107v., Dept. des MSS, Bib. Nat.

though only the captain of the fort is identified in the earlier documents by the name Poincy, and it may be he, rather than Henry de Longvilliers, who remained in Acadia. Neither man seems to have married in Acadia, or founded a family here.

Next to be mentioned in Razilly's list is "his nephew de Razilly who died there." According to the *Généalogie de la famille de Rasilly*,[30] this was Claude de Razilly, Esquire, Canon of Preuilly-le-Quilly in Touraine. Nothing is known of his activities in Acadia. It seems likely, since Isaac wrote in the summer of 1634 that there had been no deaths during the previous winter, that Claude was among those who did not survive the hardships of the first season.

It is possible that the next man to be acknowledged, "Sieur de la Saussaie, his lieutenant at Port Royal," is none other than René Le Coq de La Saussaie, who some twenty years previously had led an expedition, sponsored by the Marquise de Guercheville, to relieve the Jesuit mission at Port Royal and establish a colony in Maine.[31] This attempt at colonisation had in fact been an unmitigated disaster, and La Saussaie returned to France with some members of the expedition in October 1613, while the rest were taken as prisoners to Jamestown. La Saussaie's subsequent activities are unknown, but he may have redeemed his reputation sufficiently for Isaac de Razilly to have included him among his *hommes d'élite*. His previous knowledge both of LaHave, where his expedition had put in briefly,[32] and of Port Royal, may have recommended him to Razilly. The reference is not specific, however, and may apply to another member of the family. Whatever the identity of this La Saussaie, he was entrusted with considerable responsibility as Razilly's lieutenant at Port Royal, where he probably spent most of his time. If he had occasion to visit LaHave occasionally, no evidence of these visits has survived. Neither do we hear of him at Port-Royal with Menou; he may not have remained in Acadia after Razilly's death.

Sieur du Buisson, Razilly's ensign, or junior officer, has left no other trace. He was probably too young and inexperienced to have played any but a

30 *Généalogie de la famille Rasilly, Touraine - Anjou - Poitou* (Laval, France, 1903), pp. 315-316.

31 L. Campeau, "Le Coq de la Saussaie, René," *DCB*, I, 441.

32 *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*..., ed. R.G. Thwaites (New York, 1959), III, 263.

supporting role in the settling of LaHave, working directly under Razilly's orders. Like many other members of the founding expedition, he probably returned to France without having distinguished himself in any particular field. Having earned Razilly's praise, he may be presumed to have been competent and loyal, but we know no more about him.

"Captain l'Evesque commanding one of his "ships" and "Sieur Denys" are clearly the persons named in the Razilly-Condonnier contract quoted above, as reliable assessors and potential appraisers of the company's property in Acadia. L'Evesque was apparently one of Razilly's senior officers; his activities in Acadia seem to have been limited to serving the Commander in this capacity. Nicolas Denys, on the other hand, in addition to his duties as a ship's officer, engaged in a series of commercial ventures while at LaHave, and later elsewhere in New France. These included the establishment of a fishing station at Port Rossignol (Liverpool), a few miles along the shore, and a lumbering business on the east side of the LaHave, as well as some fur trading on the side.[33] We know little of the fishing enterprise, except that it failed after a promising start, because of the seizure of Denys's ship by the Spanish.[34] The lumbering business was also doomed to failure, but for different reasons; we shall examine Denys's own account of his activities at LaHave in more detail later.

The other two men named, Captains Molet and Pol, do not appear to have left any other traces in Acadian history. Their particular services may have been in any of a number of fields: trade, transportation, or the implementation of a variety of activities, military or civilian, in the new colony. Their inclusion in Razilly's list is testimony to the efficiency with which they performed their tasks, but gives us no personal information.

Razilly's final--and warmest--words of praise are for the Capuchin fathers, of whom he writes that their "good example. . . has banished vice and made love and charity reign there. There has not been a single case of deceit among as many ships' companies as he has seen; and [there were] more than 500 Frenchmen at one time in this port." [35] Elsewhere he speaks of

33 Denys, *Description*, pp. 142, 146, 149-50.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 143-45.

35 Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634.

their good influence on the Indians, who submitted themselves readily "to all the laws which we wish to impose on them, both divine and human." [36]

At least three Capuchins served the population of LaHave,[37] where the chapel stood at the heart of the community. Two of the fathers are known to us by name. Their signatures appear on the first inventory of Razilly's goods; they are Augustin de Pointoise, Superior, and Cosme (Côme) de Mantes. Both men were to see many more years' service in Acadia. In 1643, Father Côme was among eight Capuchins serving in Port Royal who witnessed Charles de La Tour's raid on that settlement. [38] In 1648, both he and Father Augustin were serving the Acadian mission;[39] Father Côme had by then risen to the rank of Superior, in charge of the mission at Pentagouet.[40] In 1652, however, he was imprisoned by Emmanuel Le Borgne's men and returned to France. Meanwhile, Father Augustin was transferred to Ile Royale (Cape Breton), where in 1654-55 he was at Nicolas Denys's fort at St. Peter's. He returned to France in 1655.

The third missionary at LaHave seems to have been the unnamed Capuchin father who is the subject of an anecdote told by Nicolas Denys. A party including the Commander, Denys and the priest went on an expedition to Lunenburg Bay, with Indian guides. They were told of a native superstition that anyone who set foot on a certain island would have his private parts consumed by fire. "This afforded us matter for laughter, and especially when the Commander de Razilly told a Capuchin priest aged 60 years and more to go there in order to disabuse these people of their errors and he refused and was not willing to do anything of the kind, no matter what Monsieur de Razilly could say to him." [41] It is unlikely that

36 Razilly to Richelieu, 25 July 1634.

37 According to the *Gazette*, 16 July 1632, three Capuchins left Auray with Razilly. But later, he sent to Charles de La Tour three from among "several Capuchin fathers. . .whom he had in his company." Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, Vol. 9781, ff. 71-72, Dept. des MSS, Bib. Nat.

38 Série C11D, Vol. I, f. 70v., Archives des Colonies, Paris [hereafter Arch. Col.].

39 Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, III, I, pp. 110-112, discusses the Capuchins in Acadia.

40 G.-M. Dumas, "Côme de Mantes," *DCB*, I, 234.

41 Denys, *Description*, pp. 153-54.

this elderly priest was one of the two still active in the Acadian mission twenty years or more later. He had possibly left LaHave even before 1636, when Father Augustin held the title of superior.

Clearly, the fathers took an active part in the life of the community. Their cooperation with its leader contributed to its orderly and peaceful development, and their good influence on the Indians, whose religious instruction was obviously among their main objectives, seems to have prevented the confrontations which some other colonists encountered. The fact that two of them continued to work in Acadia until the 1650s demonstrates their dedication.

Nicolas Denys's activities at LaHave are known to us chiefly from his own account. While Razilly recognized his services, particularly as a commanding officer of his ships, Denys himself dwells more on his commercial enterprises. One of his early initiatives was the commercial exploitation of the forests of red oak between the LaHave and Lunenburg Bay, where he established himself with his men.

> I had a dozen men with me, some labourers, other makers of planks or staves for barrels, [others] carpenters, and others for hunting. I was provided with all kinds of provisions [and] we made good cheer, for the game never failed us. On the upper part of my little river, passing four or five hundred paces into the woods, I went to large ponds full of game, where I did my hunting, leaving the main river to the Commander. In these places all the woods were nothing but oaks, and this is what I sought. There I set my makers of plank and carpenters at work, and in two years I had a lot of planking and of beams for building all squared, as well as rafters. [42]

This source of marketable lumber so close to the main settlement clearly enhanced the commercial viability of the colony, and Razilly was, as Denys tells us, delighted to let him ship his wood to France on the returning supply-vessels. This privilege was subsequently withdrawn by Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, [43] whose unwillingness to continue the arrangement seems inexplicable except in terms of personal rivalry.

Denys also gives us a glimpse of a more relaxed aspect of life at LaHave, as he accompanied Razilly on a tour of inspection of his lumbering operation.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

He describes the journey with Indian guides from LaHave to Lunenburg Bay, and Razilly's approval of "so great a quantity of timber, and in such fine condition." There followed a splendid feast in a hall which Denys had constructed, at which both Razilly's party and Denys's men enjoyed quantities of game and fruit, washed down with white and red wine,

> so that Monsieur de Razilly and all his retinue were very well pleased, as indeed were my own men, who hoped that Monsieur de Razilly would come often to see them. To this I would not have found myself in agreement, not because of the expense of the game which never failed me--they had it every day--but because of the hindrance to my work. [44]

Denys's account reinforces Razilly's description of LaHave as an earthly paradise, but it also recalls something of the infrastructure upon which this paradise was built. Denys's twelve men were undoubtedly *engagés*, who would return to France when their contracts had expired, and in most cases never be heard of again. Very few records of early contracts have survived; one, however, dates back to 3 February 1634, when one "Daniel Benesteau, of Puy Briand in Poitou, contracts for an unlimited period to Charles de Menou to serve Commander de Razilly in Canada." [45] Another interesting example, later in date but important in the context of Denys's operations, is the contract of Bernard Bugaret, drawn up at La Rochelle on 15 September 1637, to cut wood for Nicolas Denys at LaHave.[46] Bugaret was among the Basque carpenters who had come to Acadia the previous year on the *St.-Jehan* to build ships, apparently on a short contract since he was back at La Rochelle the following year. Although there is no record of Bugaret himself settling in Acadia or bringing his wife with him, he continued to maintain his links with the New World, and his daughter, Catherine, married and settled in Port-Royal. [47] By contrast, the majority of the workmen who came to LaHave as *engagés* have left no trace whatsoever.

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44 *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

45 G. Debien, "Les engagés pour le Canada au XVIIe siècle vus de La Rochelle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, VI, 2 (Sept. 1952), 221.

46 Convention entre Nicolas Denys et Bernard Bugaret, Archives Départementales de la Charente-Maritime, Série E, Minutes Teuleron, Registre 1637, f. 73v.

47 Godbout, "The Passenger List of the Ship *St.-Jehan*", p. 72.

A high proportion of the artisans who came to LaHave were woodworkers of one kind or another. The initial settlement period, when the fort and dwellings were under construction, would have kept all the available carpenters fully occupied. The colonists had brought with them construction materials, including 2,000 planks; [48] the abundance of local wood provided material for further building, and for the construction and repair of ships, as well as the lumber prepared for shipping to France. Among the passengers on the *St.-Jehan*, together with Bugaret and a number of other Basque carpenters, were a wood-chopper, a master mill-carpenter, two other carpenters from Paris, and a cooper. There were no doubt many other trades represented by the *engagés* in the settlement at various times, but carpenters seem to have formed an important segment of the population.

While the establishment of the settlement required skilled artisans, the security of the colony depended on the men who served under Razilly in a military or naval capacity. As well as those whom he acknowledged in his letter, there are a few other individuals whose names have come down to us. Among them is Nicolas Le Creux, Sieur du Breuil, who was born in Belle-Isle-sur-Mer, and was probably one of the members of the Breton nobility stated to have formed part of the original three hundred *hommes d'élite* who left France with Razilly.[49] Some time before the summer of 1635, he had been sent by the Commander to Canso to take charge of Fort St.-François. In July of that year, the fort was attacked and Le Creux wounded by a band of Indians, at the instigation of one Jean Thomas, who was fishing in the area and trading illegally with them. When word of this attack reached Razilly at LaHave, he immediately dispatched another officer, Bernard Marot, to seize Thomas's ship. A preliminary inquiry was held at LaHave, [50] and Thomas was taken to La Rochelle by Le Creux for trial.

The following April, Le Creux returned to Acadia on the *St.-Jehan*. While in France, he had recruited thirteen settlers: six farmers, one bringing his wife; a wood-chopper and three carpenters, as well as two men of unspecified

48 Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634.

49 Note on Razilly's voyage, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, Vol. 9281, f. 59, Dept. des MSS, Bib. Nat.

50 5 Sept. 1635. A. Couillard-Després, *Charles de St.-Etienne de La Tour. . .et son temps, 1593-1666* (Arthabaska, Qué., 1930), pp. 213-215. Original document in Série B, Reg. B188, Archives départmentales de la Charente-Maritime.

trade. [51] He also brought his own wife, Anne Motin; her sister, Jeanne, who was to be married to Charles de Menou (and later to Charles de La Tour); and several other family members, who may have come not as settlers, but simply to attend the wedding. [52] Nicolas Le Creux continued in Menou's service after Razilly's death, and the name De Breuil is among the signatures of the "chief leaders of the French" who witnessed the fall of La Tour's fort at Saint John in 1645.

Anne Motin does not seem to have stayed in Acadia for very long, and her husband had returned to France by 1652. [53] Despite their failure to remain as settlers, a family link may have been maintained with Acadia. A memoir from Governor Menneval in 1690 puts forward the name of one "Sieur Du Breuil," the king's attorney at Port Royal, as a possible replacement for the disgraced judge there: "He is a man of 45 years old from Paris who is a lawyer and whose mother let it be known that she would give him 10 thousand crowns if he could get himself decently married in Acadia." [54] Could this remittance man have been a son born to Anne and Nicolas at about the time of La Tour's defeat?

Bernard Marot, who was sent to arrest Jean Thomas in 1635, already had a long-standing connection with Acadia. [55] Of Basque origin, he had come as a ship's surgeon to Port Royal in 1610-11; it is not known how long he remained there. He vanishes from the records until 1630, when he reappears in charge of an expedition to deliver supplies to Charles de La Tour for the Company of New France. Having apparently acquired a taste for fur-trading on behalf of the Company, he subsequently carried out some unauthorised fishing and trading on his own account; for this he was sent back to France as a prisoner by La Tour. The charges against him were eventually withdrawn, and Marot returned once more to Acadia, this time in the service of Razilly, and with the rank of captain. It is possible that

51 Godbout, "The Passenger List of the *St.-Jehan*," p. 59.

52 C.J. D'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap Sable* (Eunice, LA, 1981) 2, 522.

53 R. Baudry, "Le Creux du Breuil, Nicolas," *DCB*, I, 442.

54 Mémoire sur l'Acadie, Série C11D, Vol. 2, f. 119, Arch. Col.

55 G. McBeath, "Marot, Bernard," *DCB*, I, 490.

his previous experience as a surgeon was of use at LaHave, where no other doctor is mentioned, but his interests apparently lay in more adventurous exploits.

After Razilly's death, Marot served Charles de Menou in a military capacity. He was at Pentagouet in 1640, and at the capture of La Tour's fort at Saint John in 1645, when he also was a signatory to the account of the affair. An enigmatic reference to him in Menou's will, drawn up in 1649, suggests a certain strain in their relationship which was probably due to Marot's penchant for freelance operations. [56] He was still operating in Acadia in 1656, when Le Borgne de Belle-Isle chartered a fishing vessel which Marot had brought from La Rochelle to Canso, for a visit to LaHave. There the vessel was seized by Nicolas Denys and sent back to France; [57] this seems to have been Marot's final appearance at LaHave. It is interesting to note that of all the people who were there in Razilly's time, Marot is the only one whose name survived his departure: Ile Marot (or Marotte) is the name given to West Ironbound Island at the mouth of the LaHave on maps by Lalanne (1684), Franquelin (1686), and Bellin (1784).

As well as the officers, some of whom we know a little about, the military population also included the ordinary soldiers who comprised the garrison of the fort, and was augmented by the sailors who formed the crews of Razilly's ships. Some, as we have seen, were posted at Port-Royal and Canso. The others, at LaHave, were responsible for guarding the fort and the settlement, and for maintaining and manning the twenty-five cannon which Razilly had installed for their defence. The majority of these men, of course, have left no record of their presence. But among the inhabitants of Canso who came to LaHave to testify against Jean Thomas, we find the names of two young soldiers, Gilles Peschoir, known as Le Prince, aged twenty-five, and Jacques Ronce, twenty-four years old; and a Breton sailor, Jean Drouat, aged twenty-six. [58] This trio will have to serve as representatives of many anonymous soldiers and sailors whose service brought them to LaHave. Their duties cannot have been arduous by comparison with those

56 N.T. Bujold and M. Caillebeau, *Les origines française des premiers colon acadiens* (Poitiers, 1979), p. 47.

57 Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, III, I, 94.

58 See above, n. 50.

at some other outposts; there was no serious fighting in the colony at that time, and the skirmish at Canso seems to have been the only incident during Razilly's governorship when force was needed to assert his authority.

As a result of the investigation into the Canso incident, we know the names of the officials who administered the law at LaHave. The *procès-verbal*, or official record of this inquiry, [59] tells us that François Le Sueur was provost-general, Edmé de Verne his lieutenant, and Antoine Guérard the registrar or clerk. The judicial powers of the colonial authorities were limited; Thomas's actual trial took place before the Admiralty Court in La Rochelle, where the LaHave document formed part of the evidence.

It is from this *procès-verbal* that we learn the names of the witnesses from Canso, among whom were the soldiers and sailor mentioned above. It also provides us with a glimpse of some of the other members of that small community. As at LaHave, the building trades were represented. Michel Héraud, aged fifty-four, was a master carpenter; he probably enjoyed a chance to chat with his fellow carpenters during his stay at LaHave. A master mason, Jean Lozerin, also appeared at the hearing; he, too, would have found other members of his trade at LaHave, where Razilly had brought with him mortar, plaster and bricks, and where the storehouses were built of stone. [60] The Canso contingent also included an apothecary, a young man named Jean Auger, twenty-four years old. No doubt in the small community of Canso he not only prepared, but also prescribed and administered necessary medicines.

Among the immediate members of the Commander's household was Mathieu Royer, who had spent nearly twelve years in his service. We have no details of his activities at LaHave, but he appears to have been Razilly's personal servant. He had presumably accompanied his master on several previous voyages, including four to Morocco. [61] His final duty was to bring back Razilly's personal belongings to France; they were delivered to the house of Claude de Launay-Razilly in Tours, where a second inventory was drawn up. On this occasion, Royer put forward a claim against Isaac's estate

59 *Ibid.*

60 Razilly to Lescarbot, 16 Aug. 1634.

61 C. Chereau, *Isaac de Razilly, Chevalier de Malte* (Master's thesis, 1985, Univ. François Rabelais, Tours), p. 123.

for sums of 650 *livres* and 300 *livres*, representing money lent to his master as well as wages due to him, as he acknowledged in Razilly's will--which, unfortunately, has not survived. He also claimed his expenses incurred while bringing the goods from La Rochelle to Tours. [62]

The decision of the Capuchins to entrust Royer with the responsibility of bringing back this property indiates that his long service had earned him the confidence of his late master's associates. The fact that he was owed back wages was probably due to the shaky financial state of the Razilly-Condonnier company, and possibly to a lack of currency in the colony, where the Commander depended on supplies bought in France on credit against the hoped-for profits from the fur trade. The practice of paying off the casual *engagés* on their return to France no doubt extended to the more regular employees as well. The personal loan to his master is not explained, but reflects the chronic financial problems which beset Razilly. Royer is described in the preamble to the inventory as living in Tours, in the parish of St.-Eustache; presumably his travelling days were now over.

Another member of Razilly's household at LaHave was his secretary, known to us only by his surname, Largentier. His signature appears on two documents: a passport drawn up for Philibert de Ramezay, who was returning to France after a period of service with Razilly; [63] and the first inventory of the Commander's personal belongings, made at LaHave shortly after his death by the Capuchins. Like Royer, he was a personal employee of the Commander, with duties quite distinct from those of Antoine Guérard, who was a public official.

The passport tells us little about Philibert de Ramezay. It is a formal document "to whom it may concern," certifying that Ramezay had been given leave to return to France, and asking that he be allowed to pass freely and given any necessary assistance. The only personal information that can be gleaned from it is that Philibert de Ramezay, Esquire, was a native of Champagne, and that he had served Razilly "well and duly on all occasions. . .duirng the time that he was in his service." The length and

62 Inventory, 4 Nov. 1637, Minutes David.

63 Documents concernant la famille Ramezay, MG 18, H54, No. 1610, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa [hereafter NAC].

nature of this service is not specified. The document is not dated, but it was drawn up "in New France at Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce."

Philibert was a member of a family better known for its connection with the province of Québec, where Claude de Ramezay, a nephew or second cousin of Philibert, was governor of Montréal in the early eighteenth century. There is no indication that Philibert himself ever returned to New France. He was married to Antoinette de Poux; in 1672, she was described as his widow. [64]

As we have observed, the population of LaHave increased during the summer with the arrival of supply ships and fishing vessels. The civilian masters of some of these ships no doubt became familiar and welcome figures in the community as they returned season after season. Jacques Leboeuf, who made his voyage to LaHave as first mate of the *Espérance en Dieu* in 1632, was still active in Acadia in the 1640s. [65] There is no record of the return to Acadia of Jean Boutin, master of the ship on that first voyage. [66] Among the small population of LaHave in 1708, however, was Jean Joseph Boutin, married to Marie Lejeune, whose family was among the earliest settlers. [67] The captains and crews who maintained the vital links with France were often found later taking part in the many skirmishes between Charles de Menou and his rivals.

Nicolas Denys's brother, Sieur de Vitray, [68] was also involved for a short time in the fishing venture established by Nicolas in partnership with Razilly and a Breton merchant. It was he who brought Denys's new ship, the *Catherine*, to Acadia, where he was certainly a welcome visitor at LaHave. After confiscation of the *Catherine* and her cargo in Portugal, and his subsequent

64 *Ibid.*, No. 1689.

65 As master of *St.-François*. Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, Vol. 9281, f. 85, Dept. des MSS, Bib. Nat.

66 Records of the payment of the ship's crew in Série E, Minutes Teuleron ff. 38-39, Jan. 1633, Archives Départementales de la Charente-Maritime.

67 Census of Acadia, MG 18 F18, NAC.

68 J. Lunn, "Denys de la Trinité, Simon", *DCB*, I, 261, identified this brother with Simon Denys de la Trinité, who worked in partnership with Nicolas in Cape Breton during the 1950s, and eventually settled in Canada. But C.J. D'Entremont considers the reference to be a second brother, Jacques: D'Entremont, *Nicolas Denys, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Yarmouth, 1982), p. 306.

imprisonment, he was given the command of one of the king's ships by Richelieu, while Nicolas Denys temporarily abandoned his endeavours to establish a fishery in Acadia. [69]

Finally, let us consider the real "settlers": those who were not short-term *engagés*, but who had come to stay, and whose descendants remained in or returned to Acadia. Some of the oldest families--Boudrot, Comeau, Doucet, Gaudet, Lejeune and others--had almost certainly put down roots at LaHave before moving to Port-Royal. [70] Those passengers on the *St.-Jehan* who were permanent immigrants may also have spent the early part of their life in Acadia there. Had Razilly lived longer, they might have remained in the LaHave area. Denys tells us that there was already good land cleared, which could have been further added to; the result would have been quite different from what happened under Razilly's successors, who instead destroyed LaHave, took the inhabitants to Port Royal and made war on their neighbours. [71] As it was, these ancestors of the Acadians were forced to make a second start in their new home.

In trying to reconstruct a picture of the LaHave community as it developed between the years 1632 and 1636, we have had to rely on all-too-brief personal accounts and some scattered references in surviving documents. The majority of those who made up the population during these years left no written record of their presence. Of the few who are named, some emerge as individuals concerned with various aspects of colonization: military exploit, commercial development, administrative duties, missionary endeavours or skilled labour. Others remain nebulous figures, of whom we know nothing, except that they shared with their fellow-colonists the spirit of adventure which brought them all to the New World. Most of them turned out to be, as Isaac de Razilly had predicted, birds of passage, who did not remain in Acadia.

The settlement as a whole appears as an orderly, well-governed community, whose inhabitants lived at peace with each other and with their neighbours. Isaac de Razilly was able to report to his cousin and

69 Denys, *Description*, p. 146.

70 Rameau, "Remarques," pp. 139 ff., discusses some of these families.

71 Denys, *Description*, pp. 98-99.

sponsor, Cardinal Richelieu, that "by the Grace of God, vice has no hold over this habitation, and since I have been here I have found almost no cause for punishment; love and charity are without constraint." [78]

The love and charity which gave the governor so much joy did not last for long after his death. The members of the community were soon scattered, some being transferred to Port Royal, while others returned to France. The next twenty years of Acadian history were turbulent, as rival factions fought over control of the colony's resources. Nicolas Denys became embroiled in the struggle, and in the summer of 1653 watched, a prisoner, as Le Borgne's men burned the LaHave settlement to the ground, "without sparing even the chapel. It was consumed in 3 or 4 hours with the fortress and other buildings, on which the loss amounted to more than 100,000 *livres*." [73] It would be some time before a permanent population was reestablished at LaHave.

72 Razilly to Richelieu, 25 July 1634.

73 Denys, *Description*, p. 100.

The Fishermen of Eighteenth-Century Cape Breton: Numbers and Origins

A.J.B. Johnston

The importance of the fishery to the overall economy of Nova Scotia is well-known. From groundfish to shellfish, inshore or offshore, there is barely a settlement along the province's craggy coastline that does not have a stake in one of the various fisheries. Techniques have changed over the years and many more species are now harvested than in the past, but the fishery has always been the foundation of the Nova Scotia economy. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was one fish species, cod, that was more important than all the others in the harvest from the seas. For generations, whether the area was known as Acadie or Nova Scotia, no other industry came close to the cod fishery in terms of its impact on employment and the economy.

During the colonial era there were actually several fisheries in the waters off Nova Scotia. On national lines, there were the fisheries based in different European countries, which employed tens of thousands of mariners. The vast majority, whatever the nation, stayed only as long as was necessary. They were seasonal employees, sometimes never setting foot on land. Within the French and English fisheries one could also make distinctions based on location (Newfoundland versus Cape Breton, or inshore versus offshore) and on technique ("dry" versus "wet" or "green").

There is now a large literature on the various fisheries of Atlantic Canada. [1] The focus in this article, however, is on only one particular fishery: that undertaken by the residents of Cape Breton during the French Regime. At that time the island was known as Ile Royale, and its administrative centre was the fortified stronghold of Louisbourg.

Though for decades historians regarded Louisbourg and Ile Royale only in terms of its military context, the colony is now recognized as having had an economic as well as a strategic *raison d'être*. No longer is the eighteenth-century French possession considered simply as an advanced defence post for the rest of New France. Recent studies of the island's economy during

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1 See Harold Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto, 1954); Charles de la Morandière, *Histoire de la pêche française de la marine dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1962); A.H. Clark, *Acadia, The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, 1968); B.A. Balcom, *The Cod Fishery of Isle Royale, 1713-1758* (Ottawa, 1984); and most recently, Michel Mollat, ed., *Histoire des pêches maritimes en France* (Toulouse, 1987).

the period of French occupation, 1713 to 1758, have demonstrated just how important fishery and trade were to the so-called "Guardian of the Gulf." [2] The strongest sector of the Ile Royale economy was undoubtedly the cod fishery. In B.A. Balcom's recent study, the author concluded that the "cod fishery was the economic base of Ile Royale" and that it "dominated the colony's import and export trades." [3] Given that pre-eminence in the island's economy, together with the traditionally labour-intensive fishery, it comes as no surprise to learn that a major proportion of the colonists on Ile Royale gained their livelihood as either fishermen or shore-workers. This article sets out to determine just how many men were employed in the Ile Royale fishery, where on the island they lived, and where they were from originally.

The best available information on the population of Ile Royale comes from the colonial censuses. **Figure 1** summarizes the main census data. It also reveals the degree to which the people employed in the fishery--owners ("habitant-pêcheurs"), fishermen, and shore-workers--dominated the resident population on the island, at least during the first period of French occupation, from 1713 to 1745.

During the first period of French occupation, over one-half of all adults[4] on Ile Royale worked in the fishery, on either a seasonal or a full-time basis.[5]

2 The most recent in-depth study of the Louisbourg economy is John Robert McNeill's *Atlantic Empires of France and Spain: Louisbourg and Havana, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill, c. 1985). See also Balcom, *Cod Fishery* and Christopher Moore, "The Other Louisbourg: Trade and Merchant Enterprise in Ile Royale, 1713-58," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, XII (1978), 79-96. It must be said that J.S. McLennan pointed out the importance of fishing and trade in *Louisbourg from its foundation to its fall*, first published in 1918. McLennan did not, however, provide an in-depth study of the colonial economy. On Louisbourg's place in the overall context of the French defence of the eastern coast of Canada, see Fred J. Thorpe, *Remparts lointains: la politique française des travaux publics à Terre-Neuve et a l'ile Royale 1690-1758* (Ottawa, 1980). For a detailed study of Louisbourg's fortifications, see Bruce W. Fry, *'An appearance of strength' The fortifications of Louisbourg*, 2 vols. (Ottawa, 1984).

3 Balcom, *Cod Fishery*, 65.

4 To obtain the total "adult" population, I have not included two categories listed on the original census. These were the entries for "garçons au dessous 15 ans" and "filles." I did, however, include any entries under the "servantes et domestique" heading, as well as any "garçons au dessus de 15 ans." Were I to exclude teenaged boys fifteen and up, the predominance of the fishermen would loom even larger among the adult population. In fact I suspect that many of these young males, particularly in households where a parent or guardian was a "habitant-pêcheur," were directly involved in the fishery. Nonetheless, I have not added any to my details.

5 This statement is based on the census returns for 1724, 1726, 1734, and 1737: pièces 67, 68, 69 and 71-suite of Vol. 466, Série G1, in the Archives Nationales in Paris [AN].

It is worth underlining that the total adult figure used to compile the data for Figure 1 *includes* the garrisons at Louisbourg and elsewhere on the island.[6] Also worth mentioning is that, counted under the "civilian" heading, are many people (particularly the wives of the fishing proprietors and their sons over fifteen) who were likely part of the colony's fishing population as well. If their numbers could be determined and then subtracted from "civilians" and added to "fishermen," the dominance of the cod fishery would loom even larger. (Surely, it goes without saying that many of the non-fishing civil population also depended on the fishery, whether as merchants selling supplies, tradesmen doing work, or *cabaretiers* providing food and drink.)

The census data on the second period of French occupation, from 1749 to 1759, is not as complete as it was during the 1720s and 1730s, at least in so far as it provides information on the fishing population. There is only one year, 1752, for which we can assemble figures to compare with those from the first period.[7] What the data from that year indicates (see **Figure 1**) is a sharp decline in the fishing population on the island, both relatively and absolutely. There were several factors at work here, the most important of which was the renewal of Anglo-French hostilities in the region. Having watched Louisbourg fall in 1745, and then the British found Halifax in 1749, the French authorities anticipated future conflicts. Accordingly, they doubled the size of the Ile Royale garrison based at Louisbourg.

Fishermen were influenced by much the same politico-military climate. Many who had been deported to France in the aftermath of Louisbourg's capitulation in 1745 chose not to return to the colony in the 1750s. At Niganiche (Ingonish), a community that had boasted over six hundred inhabitants before the 1745 siege, there were only a couple of dozen French settlers during the second period.[8] Other prominent fishing settlements,

6 Allan Greer gives the totals, ideal and real, for the colony's garrison in *The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-45* (Ottawa, 1979). The military figure for 1752 comes from Poly 55, No. 49 of the Surlaville Papers, held by the Archives du Séminaire de Québec [ASQ].

7 One must use ASQ, Poly 55, No. 49, which gives information on Louisbourg and AN, G1, 466, no. 81-82 for details on the other settlements on Ile Royale.

8 Sieur de la Roque does not record anyone as being at Niganiche. But there were still fishermen there. See "État general des havres. . ." (1751), in Carton 1, no. 25, Bibliothèque du Génie; J.S. Bourinot, "Cape Breton and its Memorials of the French Regime," *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, Section 2 (Montréal, 1892), 173-175.

like Baleine, Lorembec (Lorraine), Scatary, and St.-Esprit, did welcome back more fishermen, but in greatly reduced numbers. In 1734 those four outports had a total population of 973. In 1752 the figure for the same places was only 439.[9] B.A. Balcom has shown that Ile Royale fish catches were down significantly during the 1750s, and attibuted this to a sharp drop in the offshore migrant fishery.[10] Judging by the census data, that slump in the island's fishery was also due to a steep decline in its resident fishing population. Where one can identify over 1800 resident fishing adults in 1737, the total for 1752 is under 1100.

The very same Anglo-French belligerence that kept some fishermen away from Ile Royale in the 1750s led other groups to settle in the colony. Hundreds of Acadians from Nova Scotia came to the island between 1749 and 1755, boosting the populations of some settlements and giving birth to others, like Pointe de la Jeunesse (Grand Narrows) and Baie des Espagnols (Sydney).[11] In addition, there were new communities established along the Mira River, by discharged French soldiers and by German Catholics who fled Halifax and Lunenburg in search of a place to practice their faith openly. All of these groups added to Ile Royale's civilian population, though in truth they did very little for its economy. Most lived at government expense, surviving on rations.

Let us return to the first period of French occupation, when the fishing population was so utterly dominant. A glance at **Figure 2** reveals that during that period the preponderance of fishermen on Ile Royale did vary from settlement to settlement. Those ports that had the natural advantages for fishing (proximity to cod stocks and a protected harbour) became fishery centres soon after 1713, when the French colony was established. Once settled, those harbours tended to remain active in the fishery, at least until the first conquest in 1745.

There were only a few communities, such as Port Dauphin (Englishtown) and Port Toulouse (St. Peters) that had small fishing populations. In both

9 Barbara Schmeisser, "The Population of Louisbourg, 1713-1758," Manuscript Report No. 303 (Ottawa, 1976), 8.

10 Balcom, *Cod Fishery*, 16-17.

11 A.J.B. Johnston, "Before the Loyalists: Acadians in the Sydney Area, 1749-54," *Cape Breton's Magazine* (No. 48, June 1988).

cases, there were good reasons why there were relatively few fishermen. Port Dauphin was simply too far from the fishing banks to be a base for the fishery. Port Toulouse, on the other hand, developed a fairly diversified economy, specializing in the coastal carrying trade. In 1726, for instance, Port Toulouse had fifty-nine heads of household, but only six were directly connected with the fishery, and there were only another twenty-two active fishermen.[12] By way of contrast, Port Toulouse had thirty-three household heads that were listed as navigators. Aside from Port Dauphin and Port Toulouse, however, the dominance of the fishery was nearly complete on Ile Royale. Indeed, in many small outports virtually every adult derived his or her living from the fishery. In Baleine and Lorembec, for example, communities just up the coast from Louisbourg, there were respectively 118 of 142 adults and 109 of 125 adults who were directly dependent on the fishery. Similarly, the economy of Niganiche, the colony's second most populous settlement, was almost completely rooted in the cod fishery. Twenty of thirty-nine heads of household were fishermen or fishing proprietors, and 444 of its total adult population of 541 worked in the fishery. [13] Louisbourg, of course, as befitting a military, commercial and administrative centre, had the most diversified economy on Ile Royale. Yet here again, there were far more fishermen than any other civilian occupational group. Using the same 1726 census as an example, there were then 677 adult civilians. Of that number, over half (thirty-five heads of household and 314 "matelots, pêcheurs and graviers") worked directly in the fishery.

In his study of the cod fishery, B.A. Balcom used the 1752 census by Sieur de la Roque to ascertain the places of origin for 199 of the colony's fishermen. He found that the majority of them were from Normandy, Brittany and Gascony. In fact, most came from relatively small areas: seven dioceses on the Gulf of St.-Malo produced 37.6 per cent of the fishermen, while two largely Basque dioceses along the southwest coast (around Bayonne and St.-Jean-de-Luz) were the places of origin for another 48.7 per cent

12 "Recensement général des habitans Établis à l'isle Royalle fait en l'année 1726" : pièce 68, vol. 466, Série G1, AN.

13 *Ibid.*

of the fishing population.[14] In light of the differences outlined above between the fisheries of the first and second periods of French occupation, one wonders how accurately those 1752 figures reflect the situation during the 1720s and 1730s. The enumerations before 1752 were not as detailed as that of Sieur de la Roque, so one cannot so precisely pin-point the origins of the ordinary fishermen of the 1720s and 1730s. Instead, the *recensements* of those early years simply had a column set aside for the total number who worked under a particular employer, without giving any indication of names or places of origin. Nonetheless, the data from three returns, those of 1724, 1726 and 1734, is sufficiently extensive to enable a researcher to identify the birthplace of every head of household in the colony who was identified as a "pêcheur," "maî tre de grave," "habitant-pêcheur" (or in the case of a woman, a "habitant faisant pêche".[15] These were the people who employed the ordinary fishermen and shore-workers; sometimes only a few, at other times several dozen. The census information reveals that in 1724 there were 108 heads of households involved in the Ile Royale fishery, 117 in 1726, and 102 in 1734. The figure for 1752 stood at ninety, but that was without any entries for Louisbourg, so the actual total was probably twenty or thirty higher.[16] Therefore, despite a drop-off in the second period in both the productivity of the fishery and in the total number of fishermen involved, there seems to have been about the same number of fishing heads of household on the island (see **Table 1**).

14 Balcom, *Cod Fishery*, 55-56.

15 On the question of women in the fishery, I was able to identify four women who were fishing proprietors in 1724, one in 1726, and seven in 1734.

16 The 1752 de la Roque census, published in the *Report on Canadian Archives for the Year 1905* (Ottawa, 1906), does not include data on Louisbourg. I was able to ascertain how many fishermen there were in the capital of Ile Royale by using another census, the "Recensement numérique de Louisbourg par rues et totaux Généraux . . .," in ASQ, Poly 55, no. 49. That census, unfortunately, does not list heads of household and their occupations.

TABLE 1

Origins of Heads of Household involved in the Ile Royale Fishery, Selected Years.

	1724	1726	1734	1752
Gulf of St.-Malo	42	60	42	46
Midwest France	13	13	7	3
Southwest France	17	13	13	7
Other France	3	1	7	5
Plaisance	24	21	18	9
Ile Royale	---	---	2	10
Other New France	5	6	7	3
Other / Unknown	4	3	6	7
	108	117	102	90*

(Source: AN, GI, 466, pièces 67, 68, 69, 81-2)
* There are no heads of household from Louisbourg included on the original source, the de la Roque census of 1752.

Looking exclusively at places of origin (**Table 1** and **Figure 3**), one quickly sees that during the period before 1745 the fishing heads of household came from four main areas: the Gulf of St.-Malo, Plaisance (Placentia, Newfoundland), southwest France, and midwest France (basically from Nantes to Bordeaux). Of these four areas, the Gulf of St.-Malo easily outdistanced the others. The picture changes somewhat during the second period, with a noticeable increase in Ile Royale-born fishermen and a decline in those from everywhere else except the Gulf of St.-Malo, which maintained its thoroughly dominant position.

It is not surprising that large numbers of fishermen and fishing proprietors had moved to Ile Royale from gulf ports such as St.-Malo and Granville (and also from inland towns such as Avranches, Coutances, Dol-de-Bretagne, St.-Brieux and Dinan). There was a strong connection between gulf fishermen

and "Atlantic Canada" throughout the colonial period. [17] Yet the proportion of fishing heads of household from that small region, roughly half of Ile Royale's total, is extremely high. The evidence from the seventeenth-century French fishery in Newfoundland shows no such similar dominance. [18] And if there was any correlation at all between the heads of household and the ordinary fishermen out in the boats, then the figures suggest that there were many more Gulf of St.-Malo *pêcheurs* on Ile Royale during the 1720s and 1730s than the 37.6 per cent recorded in 1752. In fact, the 1752 figures only weigh as heavily as they do in favour of southwest France because of a single settlement. Sieur de la Roque entered on the listing for Petit Degrat two large groupings of non-resident fishermen, totalling eighty-two men, all of whom were from the southwest corner of France (indeed nearly all of them were from St.-Jean-de-Luz). At virtually every other fishing community on the island fishermen from the Gulf of St.-Malo predominated.

The next largest fishing group after the individuals from the Gulf of St.-Malo were those who had been born in Plaisance, the Newfoundland fishing establishment from which the colony's founders had come in 1713. This was a group whose numbers could only decline as the years went by. But as the Plaisance fishermen became less numerous, the totals of others born in New France (particularly Ile Royale) were increasing. The third and fourth most common place of origin for the resident Ile Royale fishing population was in southwest and midwest France. The numbers from both regions were significantly below those from the Gulf of St.-Malo, even if they were combined into a grouping that would be entitled "Atlantic France."

One final question that intrigued me in going through the census data was the thought that there might be some link between place of origin and place of residence on Ile Royale. Keeping in mind the settlement pattern on St.-Pierre et Miquelon, [19] where settlers from a particular region clustered together (and apart from others from different regions), I hypothesized that something similar might have happened on Ile Royale. People from the same

17 For an introduction to the magnitude and importance of the fishery conducted by *pêcheurs* from the Gulf of St.-Malo, see J.F. Brière, "Le trafic terre-neuvier malouin dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle (1713-1755)" *Histoire social / Social History*, XI (1978), 356-374.

18 For a comparison with the seventeenth century, see John Mannion and Gordon Handcock, "The 17th Century Fishery," in Cole Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, 1 (Toronto, 1987): Plate 23.

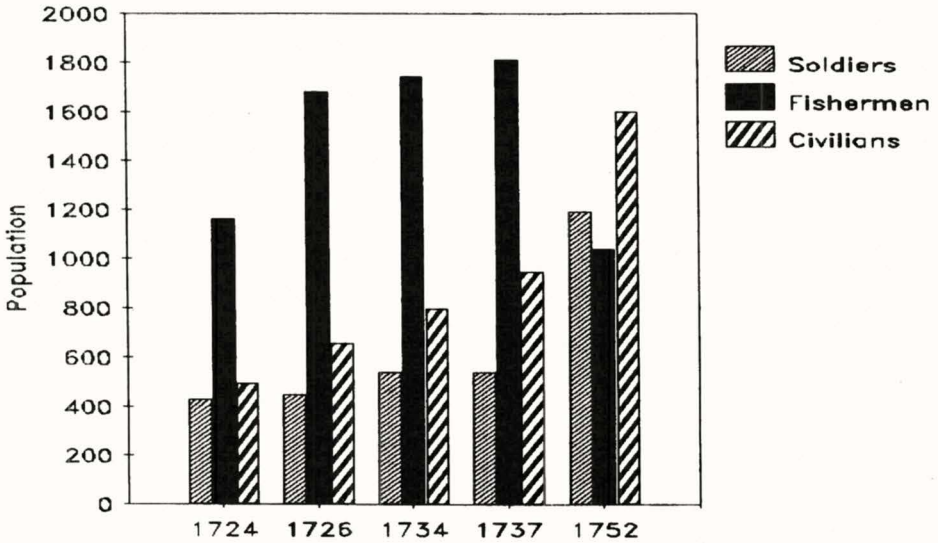
19 Michel Poirier, *Les Acadiens aux i les Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, 1758-1828* (Moncton, 1984), 47.

region (be it the Gulf of St.-Malo or Plaisance) might have chosen--because of language, custom, economic advantage, family ties or some other reason--to live near one another in their new setting. Alas, the evidence proved otherwise. In only one instance, at Petit Lorembec, was there a consistent indication of the fishing population being from a single area. In 1724, all five heads of household were from the Gulf of St.-Malo; in 1726 it was nine of ten. In 1734 there were nineteen fishing heads of households there, thirteen of whom were from the Gulf of St.-Malo, while in 1752 eleven of sixteen were from that region and a twelfth from nearby Bayeux. In the other Ile Royale settlements, however, the population was more of a mix of people from different places, though generally fishing proprietors from the Norman/Breton gulf predominated.

There are two main points that emerge from this brief article. First, during the 1713-45 period of French occupation on Ile Royale, the fishing population (fishing proprietors, fishermen, and shore-workers) was far and away the largest component group on the island. There were more adults involved in the fishery than all the other civilians and soldiers combined. This situation changed drastically during the second period of occupation (1749-58). Because of increased Anglo-French hostility, as an aftermath to the War of the Austrian Succession and in anticipation of the Seven Years War, there were dramatic increases in both the garrison and the ordinary civilian population of Ile Royale, the latter growing largely as a result of Acadians relocating there. But the threat of capture at sea, or simply disruption of their work, was enough to convince many fishermen not to re-establish on Ile Royale when the island was reoccupied by the French after 1748. As a result, the resident fishing population of Ile Royale dropped significantly during the 1750s.

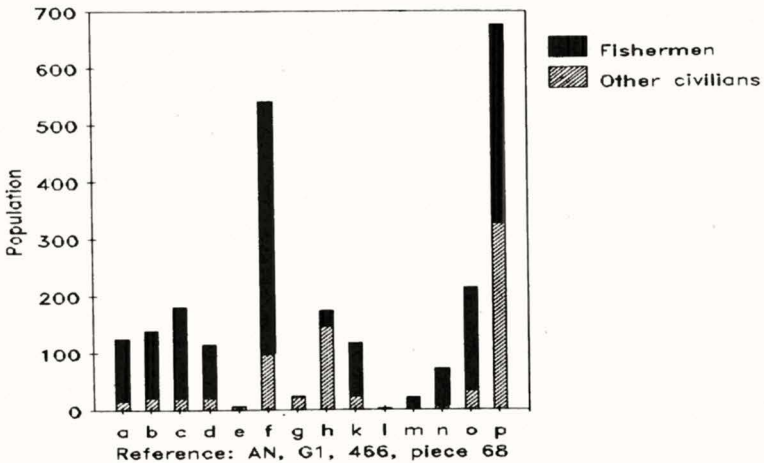
The second point concerns the places of origin of the heads of household on the island who were involved in the fishery. Regardless of the year selected, a clear majority of those individuals came from ports and inland towns along the Gulf of St.-Malo. Others came from midwest or southwest France, and from communities elsewhere in New France, but in nothing like the numbers from that part of the Normandy/Brittany coastline. This preponderance of Bretons and Normans among the fishing heads of households was greater on Ile Royale than it had been in the old French colony at Plaisance, back in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

FIGURE 1
Adult Population of Ile Royale
1724 - 1752



Reference:AN,G1, 67, 68, 69, 71; ASQ, Poly 55/49

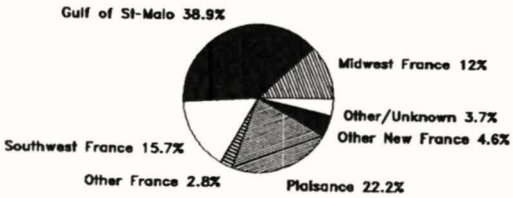
FIGURE 2
Fishermen of Ile Royale
in relation to other adult civilians, 1726



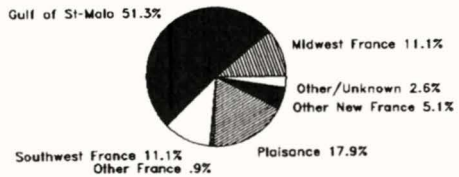
Reference: AN, G1, 466, piece 68

a = Petit Lorembec b = Baleine c = Scatary d = L'indienne
e = Petit Brador f = Niganiche g = Port Dauphin h = Port Toulouse
k = Petit de Grat l = Nérichac m = Iles Michaud n = Fourché
o = St-Esprit p = Louisbourg

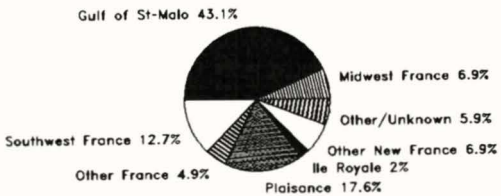
FIGURE 3
Origins of Heads Of Household involved in Ile Royale Fishery



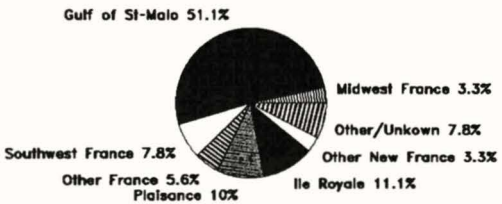
1724



1726



1734



1752

Pirates Defeated

Marion Robertson

In the spring of 1837, Augustus Vernon launched from his shipyard on the eastern shore of Shelburne Harbour a splendid new schooner.[1] It was built of timber harvested in the woodlands of the county, and was a fine one-decked, two-masted vessel of sixty-six tons in weight, and rigged with a standing bowsprit above a billethead. It was square-sterned, and was carvel-built of planks that lay smooth along the hull. It measured 58 4/10 feet in length, 19 3/10 feet in breadth, and was without galleries.[2] It was registered in Halifax on 15 June 1837.[3] As its builder and sole owner, Augustus Vernon named his new vessel the *Vernon*.[4]

Before the American Revolution, the Vernons lived in Chester County, Pennsylvania, where Nathaniel Vernon, Sr., was high sheriff of the county.[5] During the war, he and his son Nathaniel served as officers in HM Regiment of Cavalry in the British Legion, the father as captain and the son as lieutenant.[6] After they came to Shelburne in 1784 from Port Mouton, where they had wintered with others of the British Legion, they acquired land on McNutts Island and Sandy Point.[7] Here they and their descendants fished and farmed their rocky acres, and Augustus Vernon built the schooner *Vernon*.

For the first voyage, Augustus Vernon sent his new schooner on a fishing trip to Labrador, with Captain William McLean of Jordan Bay as master mariner.[8] In the early spring of 1840, John Strachan of Halifax chartered

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A longtime resident of Shelburne, Marion Robertson has written extensively on the history of that town and county.

1 The Vernon shipyard was located on the eastern shore of Shelburne harbour, just north of the Sandy Point lighthouse. The site was later occupied by a store owned by a Mrs. Long.

2 Shipping Registers, Record Group 12, A1, Vol. 28, p. 163, National Archives of Canada.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 Appointment of Nathaniel Vernon Esq. attorney to collect debts for Gideon Vernon, 12 April 1781, Micro: Places: Shelburne County: Kenney Papers, doc. 2, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

6 Marion Robertson, *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1983), p. 78.

7 Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County; Kenney Papers, PANS.

8 "A Shelburne Vessel Captured By Pirates," written for the *Budget* (Shelburne) by one who heard the story from John McLeod. Typed copy of article in possession of the author.

the *Vernon* to deliver a cargo of dried fish to the West Indies. Captain James Cunningham of Churchover (on the western shore of Shelburne Harbour) was engaged as master mariner.[9] For Captain Cunningham, sailing to the West Indies was not a new adventure, for he was a well-seasoned master of ships, and had for many years sailed to distant ports and returned with his vessel heavy laden with the produce of other lands. But for Captain Cunningham and those who sailed with him in the spring of 1840, stark tragedy awaited them in the waters of the Caribbean.

Word of the evil that befell the *Vernon* first reached Halifax in a New Orleans newspaper,[10] and was later confirmed in a letter from the British consul in Havana, C.D. Tolme, to Sir Colin Campbell, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia.[11]

> I take leave to communicate to your Excellency for the information of those interested the following brief particulars of an act of piracy lately committed on this coast. The Brigantine Vernon of and bound to Halifax left Jamacia [*sic*] on the 25th April last. When off Antonio she was captured by seven armed Spaniards in a yawl. After discharging her cargo consisting of about 80 puncheons of rum the pirates ordered the master and seamen named Benjamin Peach, Edward Norton and James Tyler, into a boat with five of themselves, under the pretext of proceeding on shore for ballast, and on the way murdered all except Peach, who jumped overboard, swam to the land and escaped. The murderers then returned on board where the mate and seaman [George McKay] remained, when after setting fire to the vessel they took with them to the hut some fishermen on the coast. Meanwhile Peach who so providentially escaped communicated what had occured [*sic*] to the master of two Spanish coasters, and by the admirable management and daring of their men and their crews the mate and McKay were liberated, the seven pirates taken and the bulk of the cargo saved. . . . The mate and two seamen remain here for the present as evidence against them. These poor fellows were at first detained by the Admiral, under it is true, no very severe restrictions but on application made by me in their favor they were immediately liberated with the condition that they shall appear when required

9 *Ibid.*

10 MG 100, Vol. 210, #6f, PANS.

11 C.D. Tolme to Sir Colin Campbell, 17 June 1840: RG 1, Vol. 246, doc. 81, PANS.

to give evidence and are now under my charge, wanting nothing to which they can normally pretend.[12]

When Captain Cunningham sailed from Halifax in the early spring of 1840 he had as mate, crew, and cook on the *Vernon* five well-seasoned seafarers. Benjamin Peach, who lived to tell the tale of the pirates and how he escaped, was from Liverpool, a son of Isaac Peach.[13] John McLeod, mate on the *Vernon*, was also from Liverpool, a son of Harrington McLeod.[14] Edward Norton was an American from Eastport, Maine.[15] From Shelburne came seaman George McKay, a Scot who emigrated as a child in 1816 with his parents, Donald and Ann McKay, from the village of Strathberg in the parish of Durness, Sutherlandshire.[16] James Tyler was cook. As a Negro he may also have been from the Shelburne area, where many hundreds of freed Blacks were sent in 1783 by Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief at New York.[17]

The *Vernon*'s cargo having been delivered, the hold was refilled with puncheons of rum, and on 25 April Captain Cunningham set sail from Falmouth, Jamaica, homeward bound for Halifax.[18] A few days later the *Vernon* had passed the Isla de Pinos and was north of Cape San Antonio at the westernmost tip of Cuba, when they sighted a small open boat rigged with a stick and a rag of canvas headed toward them. Captain Cunningham presumed they were shipwrecked mariners and turned the bow of the *Vernon* to rescue them. As the boat came closer the crew of the schooner saw seven men aboard, heavily armed with muskets which they lifted and fired

12 In correspondence and news reports relating to the capture of the *Vernon*, she is referred to as a brig or brigantine, indicating that her rigging was altered from that of a schooner to that of a brigantine or brig sometime following her registration as a schooner on 15 June 1837.

13 MG 100, Vol. 210, #6f, p. 4, PANS.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*

16 *King's Bounty*, 248.

17 *King's Bounty*, 83-106.

18 This narrative of the capture of the *Vernon* has been written from accounts of the story recorded in newspapers of 1840: MG 100, Vol. 210, #6e and #6f; MG 1, Vol. 41, p. 30, PANS; *Budget*.

at the *Vernon*. When their shots were not returned, the boat came closer and the chief among the men told Captain Cunningham that they were from a Spanish revenue cutter which lay out of sight beyond a point of land, and that he must bring his ship's papers to the cutter in a boat from the *Vernon*.

When Captain Cunningham was ready to leave for the cutter, the men in the boat changed their minds, and instead boarded the *Vernon*. It was then that Captain Cunningham and his crew realized the men were pirates, for they immediately ordered the *Vernon* to make for an anchorage close inshore near the hut of some fishermen. When the schooner lay partly hidden against a background of trees, its crew were forced into the forecastle and the hatch bolted and guarded by the pirates.

At daybreak, the crew were brought on deck and told to get the *Vernon* under way for the river Pinar del Rio, some ten miles along the coast. There, hidden from ships sailing near the shores of Cuba, the *Vernon* was beached and the crew were ordered by the pirates to unload her puncheons of rum. In the night, four ruffians from the fishermen's hut had joined the pirates, and were as ruthless as those who had siezed the *Vernon*. Most of the pirates were Spaniards; all spoke Spanish and some could also speak English.

Stripped by the pirates of their shoes and clothes, except their trousers, Captain Cunningham and his men were forced to labour in the hot sun until the puncheons of rum were stacked on the beach. He and three of his men, Benjamin Peach, Edward Norton, and James Tyler, were then ordered into a boat with five of the pirates, leaving two of the ruffians to guard George McKay and John McLeod, whom they had discovered were able ship carpenters and sailmakers.

It was late in the day and the pirates told Captain Cunningham and his men that they were going for ballast for their boat. Well away from land, the pirate in the bow of the boat sprang upon the cook of the *Vernon* and stabbed him through the heart. When young Peach saw the pirate drive a knife into Tyler, he dropped his oar and threw himself overboard. In long, desperate strokes, he swam toward the shore, the pirates firing at him whenever he lifted his head above water. Once glancing back at the pirates, he saw Norton's lifeless body hanging from the boat, and Captain Cunningham's head bent over the gunwale, the pirates beating and stabbing him to death.

When the pirates came after him, Peach had reached a large rock near the shore, partly hidden by tall swamp grass and bushes. As he swam around the rock, he came to a deep reed-hidden pool and lay low in the water. The pirates, as they circled the rock thrusting their bayonets deep into the reeds, missed his bare body by inches. At last they decided that he had drowned or been shot, and they rowed away.

Peach waited, hidden in the reeds, until he was sure that the pirates were far from the rock. Then he swam to the shore and struggled over a swamp, sinking waist deep into the muck of the wetland. Having reached dry land, he found that the bushes were as bad as the swamp, for they cut his bare feet and tore the flesh of his almost naked body. At daybreak he discovered he was on an island half a mile from the shores of Cuba, and lay down to rest before his long swim in the shark-infested waters.

As Peach struggled across the island, the pirates returned to their rendezvous on the Pinar del Rio. When they returned without Captain Cunningham and his men, McKay and McLeod knew they had been murdered and that they, too, would be killed by the pirates. The survivors were set to work covering the puncheons of rum from the *Vernon* with leaves and brush bound together by rope and vines, and repairing the pirates' boat and mending its sails. In order to set fire to the *Vernon*, the pirates sent John McLeod for driftwood. In a pile of waste timber he came upon the nameboard of the schooner *Swallow* of Liverpool. He had helped to build the *Swallow* and had painted her nameboard with his own hands. He stared at the board, remembering the day the *Swallow* sailed and never returned. One of the pirates shouted at him to get on with his work and struck him with his cutlass, hitting his nose and cheek. The chief of the pirates sprang upon the man with his cutlass, ripping the flesh from his arm, shoulder to elbow. When there was cutting to be done, he did it! The head-man then ordered McKay to get water and bathe McLeod's wounds. Later he came to McLeod and offered him and McKay partnership in his gang of pirates. McLeod considered that to save their lives they should agree, and escape when they were no longer watched as prisoners; but McKay refused.

When McLeod and McKay finished repairing the pirates' boat, they were chained together for the night. They talked of ways to escape, but there was none. When morning came, they were again set to work on the pirates'

boat, mending the sails and painting the hull. Again the chief of the pirates asked them to join his gang of buccaneers. Again they refused, and the chief warned them that he would kill them the next morning. But the next morning it was the pirates who were prisoners awaiting death.

While his shipmates from the *Vernon* laboured for the pirates, Benjamin Peach swam from the island where he had eluded the ruffians, to the shores of Cuba. For days he roamed the coastline, surviving on fish that were washed ashore and a bird which he killed with a stick. He watched anxiously for a sail. At last he saw in the distance the sails of a small schooner. At daybreak the vessel lay close to the shore. He was fearful it was a pirate ship manned with as ruthless a gang of ruffians as those who had captured the *Vernon*, but his fierce hunger overcame his hesitation. He swam to the schooner and was lifted aboard. It was a Spanish vessel, the schooner *Fauro*, Captain Antonio Peloso master. None of the Spaniards could speak English, but Peach was able to make them understand that he and his shipmates had fallen into the hands of a gang of pirates, who were not far away on the river Pinar del Rio.

In view of Captain Peloso's decision to go after the pirates, he and his men carefully devised a way to deceive them. Lifting the sails of the *Fauro*, Peloso and his crew sailed to the Pinar del Rio. There he and two of his men rowed ashore with three old muskets. The pirates sprang upon them, while Peloso was shouting that he too was a pirate and knew about them and their hide-out from one of their prisoners whom he had recaptured. He had brought three old muskets for them to repair, because he knew of a rich prize to be taken if he had three good firearms. He assured them that if they would join him and his men, they could capture the prize with the greatest of ease. Completely deceived, the pirates agreed to join Peloso and his gang, and accepted Captain Peloso's invitation to dinner on the *Fauro*.

Leaving two of their men to guard McKay and McLeod, the pirates boarded the *Fauro* and accompanied Captain Peloso to his cabin for dinner. As they were eating, Peloso and his ship's mate withdrew; the door to the cabin was closed and bolted and the pirates were warned that on the slightest outcry they would be shot. With all but two of the ruffians captured, Captain Peloso set off to rescue McLeod and McKay, and seize their captors. He and his men captured the pirates without a fight, and then turned the bow of the *Fauro* towards Havana.

In Havana the pirates were tried before the Supreme Court of Cuba and condemned to death, except two who were imprisoned for life. "Shot on the mole," [19] came word from Havana, "were Francis Dennis, alias David Francis Daores, John De Armas, Juan Romero, a native of the Canary Islands, Augustin Lopez of Portugal, and Lorenzo Fernandez a native of Porto Rico." [20] Each corpse was then to be decapitated. "The head of David to be cut off and placed on the highest point off Cape Antonio, the scene of the piracy. The heads of the others to be taken off and placed in conspicuous places about the Harbour of Havana."

Long detained in Havana as witnesses, the three survivors of the *Vernon* were placed by the British consul on a vessel bound for Halifax. Benjamin Peach and John McLeod eventually found their way to Liverpool and told their friends and relatives a tale of horror on the shores of Cuba. George McKay never returned to Shelburne and, after a time, was presumed lost at sea.[21] Of the *Vernon*'s cargo of eighty puncheons of rum, some seventy-five were salvaged and held in bonded storage until sold "at the disposition of the legal claimants, after deduction of the charges incurred." [22]

The story of the *Vernon* was ended. For many years the waters of the Caribbean and the shores of Cuba had been rife with stories of smugglers and pirates. In future, the British consul assured Sir Colin Campbell and the people of Nova Scotia, "I am not very apprehensive of piracy making much head in these waters, yet merchant vessels ought always to have the means of defending themselves. . .which was unfortunately not the case with the *Vernon*, she had neither arms nor ammunition on board." [23]

In Halifax there were those who had known Captain Cunningham. It was their wish to express to Captain Peloso their "unbounded admiration of his daring heroism" in the presentation of a gold medal and chain "as a testimonial of our lasting remembrance of his service to our countrymen

19 I.e., a mound of stones or masonry laid in the sea as a breakwater.

20 MG 1, Vol. 41, p. 30, PANS.

21 *Budget*.

22 Tolme to Campbell, 17 June 1840.

23 *Ibid*.

and to mankind." Further, they proposed to open a subscription for the relief of "the orphans and others that may have suffered from the massacre of Captain Cunningham and from the destruction of the *Vernon*, their brig." In the Halifax Public Library, the group met and nominated a committee to deal with the fifty or more who came to express their admiration for Captain Peloso and to help those suffering as a result of Captain Cunningham's death. The committee was made up of a roster of prominent Halifax names: Bell, Crosskill, Black, Leishman, Mitchell, Young, Ritchie, Nugent, Hoffman and Harrington.[24]

In the many years since Captain Cunningham lived on the shores of Shelburne harbour and sailed as a master of ships, he has not been forgotten. Information about him and his family has been gathered from church and cemetery records; assessment rolls, deeds, and probate records; Naval Office records for the Port of Shelburne, Dalhousie University Archives; and Manuscript Group 1, Volume 955, document 1496, Public Archives of Nova Scotia. For information about a letter written by James Cunningham in 1804, the author of this article is indebted to the late Herbert Banks, a descendant of Captain Cunningham.

It would seem from this letter, written by Cunningham to his mother Ann, and from the baptismal record of his sister Jane, that he was born in 1788 and was the son of Cornelius Cunningham. The latter came to Shelburne in late 1783; from the location of his town lot it may be inferred that he was probably a disbanded soldier. He settled at Ragged Islands (Lockeport), where he was listed as a farmer and mariner. When little more than a boy, James Cunningham went to sea, and by 1806 was a master mariner sailing out of the port of Shelburne in the schooner *Star* on a fishing voyage to Miramichi. Over the years he sailed as master for Shelburne and Barrington ship-owners, and in 1815 owned the sloop *Catherine and Ann*, which he used as a cargo vessel sailing between Shelburne and Saint John and to seaports along the coast of Maine. Shortly before his fatal voyage in the *Vernon*, he sailed as master of the schooner *Neptune* on a voyage from Shelburne to Barbados.

In 1808 James Cunningham married Adra Jane Guyon, a daughter of Peter and Jane Guyon, who were both descendants of Huguenot families which

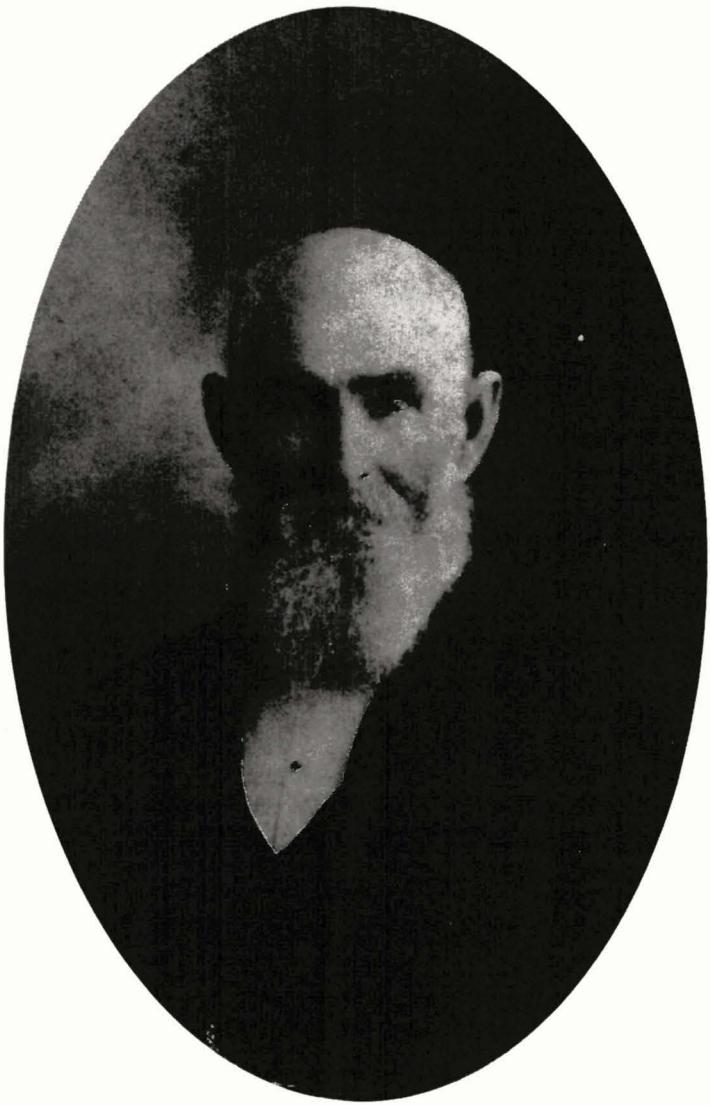
24 MG 1, Vol. 41, p. 30, PANS.

fled to America to escape religious persecution in their homeland. Her father was also a master mariner as well as a ship-owner. James and Adra Cunningham had a family of ten children, three sons and seven daughters:

1. James, b. 1809.
2. Jane Jones, b. 1810; m. 1834, George Henry Deinstadt, master mariner.
3. Mary Ann, b. 1812; m. 1835, Alexander McDonald of Round Bay.
4. Agnes Catherine, b. 1814; m. 1836, Peter Guion Locke, mariner, of McNutts Island.
5. Adra Jane, b. 1817; m. 1841, Richard Kenny of Barrington.
6. Elizabeth, b. 1819; m. 1852, John Snow.
7. Maria, b. 1822; m. Michael Wrayton of Barrington, later ship-owner and merchant of Doctors Cove.
8. James Cornelius, b. 1825; m. Lavinia Kenney of Barrington. He settled in Barrington and was a mechanic and merchant.
9. Sophia Emily, b. 1829; m. Nehemiah Banks of Doctors Cove, master mariner.
10. Joseph Rudolph, b. 1832; d. 1843.

Adra Cunningham died in 1839 and is buried near her parents in Christ Church cemetery, Shelburne.

James and Adra Cunningham first lived in Shelburne. Later they lived in Churchover on the western shore of Shelburne harbour, where they purchased two properties: Woodchurch Farm, the land granted to Colonel Abraham VanBuskirk in 1784, which they sold in 1832; and the farmland north of Woodchurch, granted to Joseph Durfee. The old Durfee house in which they and their family lived for many years is still standing on the hill above the shores of Shelburne harbour.



William Black Smith.
Photograph courtesy author's collection.

A Seafaring Man: The Honourable Captain William B. Smith

Stephen Smith

On Monday, 16 March, in the year 1863, William B. Smith of West Head, Cape Sable Island, was bound for Liverpool, England. He had been up at five o'clock that morning making preparations, and at six o'clock had bid goodbye to his wife and six children, the youngest of whom, Susan, was but two days old. He and his friend Captain Harvey Newell had been hired to command two sailing ships trading out of Liverpool. They travelled from Cape Sable Island to the mainland by ferry, and then from Barrington to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, in a double-seated sleigh, stopping at Shelburne for lunch and Sable River for tea. Thus far, a Mr. Davison had been driving them, but he remained in Liverpool, leaving the captains to continue their journey alone.

It was now midnight. They had been eighteen hours getting from Barrington to Liverpool, a trip which can now be travelled in just over sixty minutes. It was a "dark, frosty night," and a "strange road" lay before them. "There were many by-roads on either side," and twice they took the wrong way. The first time this happened, they realized their mistake when they ran into unbeaten snow a foot deep on the ground. The second time, a woodsman whom they roused from his bed gave them directions to correct their course. They "groped [their] way" to the LaHave River, which they reached at seven o'clock in the morning. Fatigued and "almost stiff with sitting cramped in an open sleigh," they attempted to change horses at the house to which they had been directed, but "the host made excuses," and they "were obliged to drive on further." Finally, they crossed the frozen LaHave and arrived in Lunenburg twenty minutes too late for the mail stage. However, they called on a Mr. Zwicker for breakfast, and were "revived" a little by it. Discovering that the packet would sail for Halifax that very day, they immediately engaged passage. Mrs. Zwicker having kindly furnished dinner, Captain Smith and Captain Newell set sail for Halifax.

William Black Smith was the great-great-grandson of Archelaus Smith, whose family was the first to settle permanently in Barrington Township. Archelaus had come from Cape Cod in 1761; his great-grandfather, Ralph Smith, had in turn come from Hingham, England, and founded Hingham,

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Stephen Smith, a native of Cape Sable Island, is currently studying towards a master's degree in piano performance at the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester, England.

Massachusetts, in 1633. William, the fourth of ten children born to Reuben Smith and his wife Deborah (Covel) Smith, was born on Sunday, 22 June 1823, at West Head, Cape Sable Island, of a sea-going family.

He first went to sea when he was thirteen years of age. Three years later he was already a master mariner, in command of the ship *Sarah*. At twenty-six, he married Irene Nickerson, who was also descended from Archelaus Smith. At thirty-four, he was made captain of a company of 120 men in the Nova Scotia militia. By age thirty-seven, he was Worthy Master of Concord Masonic Lodge, as well as a Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance. Later, he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace under the seal of the Nova Scotia government, and was elected to the Board of Education for the district of Barrington. It is at this point that Captain Smith's journal enters, permitting a brief but closer look at his eventful life during the years 1863 and 1864.[1]

On 19 March 1863, William Smith recorded in his journal, "When I awoke. . . I found the sun had risen, and Captain Newell had just done the same." After arranging their passage for Liverpool, England, the two friends found much to amuse them in Halifax. They visited the House of Assembly, where they met their friends Coffin and Robertson, and were shown through the whole building. Thirty years later, Captain Smith was to become a member of the Assembly and sit in that very House. While there on this occasion, he was introduced to the Honourable Joseph Howe, who was then in his final year as premier of the province.

At three in the morning on 20 March, the captains donned their "big coats and mitts," left their lodging, and boarded the packet. Next morning, as the ship sped on at thirten miles an hour, they had breakfast in the salon, An agreeable journey of some nine days brought them to the River Mersey and Liverpool. After registering at an inn, they strolled around the docks to see if they could locate their ships, the *Howard* and the *Twilight*.

By noon on Saturday, 4 April, Captain Smith had received his certificate from the Board of Trade in London, and had finished putting his vessel

1 All entries quoted in this article are taken from a copy of the original journal; the transcription was made by Margaret Messenger, and is held by the Archelaus Smith Museum, Centreville, Cape Sable Island, Nova Scotia.

in order. Accompanied by a tug, the ship left the river. However, they were but twelve miles from port when an iron steamer ran across the bow, carrying away jib-boom, fore-royal, and top-gallant mast. "Being now in a partial-wrecked condition . . . I accordingly put up a signal . . . and soon had a steam-tug alongside." Back in Liverpool on the morning of 9 April, Captain Smith saw his agents about recovering damages from the iron steamer, and "sought out a spar-maker" to repair his own vessel. Three days later, he set sail again, this time uneventfully, and soon passed the coast of Ireland. Thanks to fine weather and light winds, the island of Madeira was sighted by 26 April.

Now 2,500 miles from Liverpool, the captain spent his days strolling up and down the deck, reading, singing, and playing the concertina. This easy life was a far cry from that which he had been used to, having been required more than once to do the duties of "Master, Mate, and all hands." The ship's steward, or cook, was Chinese, and Captain Smith said of him, "He understands his work and gives me great pleasure in the way he . . . serves up my dinners." By 12 May, Captain Smith had the "rigging all tarred down," and the ship freshly painted, noting in his journal that "The men are of as many colours as the ship," due to their clumsiness in painting: "I have a black pig on board that appears to know almost as much as some of the men . . . . Everything looks pretty comfortable about this ship except the men and the pig! "

On Monday, 18 May, the ship passed the Leeward Islands of St. Martin, Sombrero, and Virgin Gorda. The next day it passed between Frenchman's Cay and Buck Island, and "came to anchor" in St. Thomas at eight-thirty in the morning. The crew went on shore, the captain anxious for news of the American Civil War, and for letters from home. Happily, everyone on Cape Sable Island was well; there was a letter from his wife, and the older children, Norman, Maria and Judah, had written notes as well. As for the war, the latest news was of the North's defeat at Chancellorsville, and General Grant's siege of Vicksburg. Inquiries were made for freight, but nothing worth taking could be found. After checking with parties in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and coming up with still nothing, Captain Smith decided to depart for New York at once. Sailing at a good speed, he made Cape May, New Jersey in ten days, and docked in East River, New York, on 31 May.

Five sailors promptly ran away, leaving only four crew members. Undaunted, and having instructions to take a load of grain to Cork, Ireland, Captain Smith now had carpenters come on board to fit the ship's hold for the cargo. A steam-elevator then began to load the ship: "This is a machine that hoists the grain out of one ship, weighs it and discharges it into another ship at the same time, and can put in about fifty bushels a minute." Sixteen thousand bushels were stowed in the lower hold by the steam-elevator, but Smith and three sailors had to fill between decks with bags of grain all by themselves, since the local dock-workers were striking for higher wages. According to the journal, "such as *would* work, dare not for fear of being beaten by the others." Nevertheless, the work got done, and on 17 June, with a new crew, the vessel slipped her mooring and set sail in rain.

The journal records, "My ship's company consisted of three Scotch, one Irish, one Swede, one Prussian, one Gurk [Nepalese], one Turk, one East Indian Negro, and myself." This motley crew proved to be a trial to him during this voyage. Scarcely had the ship cleared the harbour when one of the sailors was "laid away dead drunk," and the second mate was also "perceived" to be intoxicated. At four in the afternoon, when it was time to be trimming the sails, the second mate ordered the drunken man to come out of the forecastle and go to work, but the man refused, and a "scuffle ensued, during which the Mate gave the seaman another pair of eyes, much larger than his former ones." To top it all off, a squall of wind came up, with heavy thunder. "The Second Mate was of no use, and some of the men [were] drunk, and hardly any of the others could understand English."

Captain Smith's fortieth birthday was on 22 June, and with these conditions on board, it is small wonder that his thoughts turned to "home and absent friends." It so happened that he was then sailing within 260 miles of Cape Sable Island, but he wrote grimly, "As I do not expect to see it very soon, I go past without wishing to get a look at it." The next day, unbeknown to the captain, his eldest son died at home. On board the *Howard*, meanwhile, the Prussian "came aft and complained of having a 'disorder' upon him." The medical book was consulted, and a decoction was prepared from some

ingredients in the medicine chest. Captain Smith welcomed the medical activity as a change from the routine. Next, Smith was able to aid a brig in distress, *The Three Sisters*. The brig's first mate brought a letter from its captain, Robert Hannos, stating that he was short of provisions. He was given two hundred pounds of bread and thirty pounds of split peas, and signalled that he was very thankful.

The second mate gave Captain Smith more trouble on 1 July, beating up the cook this time. The captain reprimanded him in front of the whole crew, and was pleased to refer to him in his journal as an "awkward, drunken little Scotchman." In fact, he expended considerable time and space in the journal that day deriding Scotsmen and Englishmen in general as sailors. The first mate was capable of nothing more than painting and stitching sails, and the rest did every task so slowly and so noisily that Smith longed to have some of his "good smart Cape Islanders on board . . . to show my mates how to work . . . . I verily believe an Old Country man cannot keep clean and tidy. . . . My pen is not capable of making them out any worse than they are." For the seafaring men of Britain, "rum and licentious habits is their all."

America's eighty-seventh birthday was on 4 July, and Smith recorded, "I must confess I glory with them on their Day of Independence, and can but think all lovers of freedom will." The next day being Sunday, hymns were sung and the Bible read, as always. On 9 July, Smith recorded that he was anxious to get to port, since two of his crew had a disorder of "the worst venereal kind," and also because his cook knew "but little about cooking! " The twelfth, Sunday, was lonesome for the captain, and he passed the day reading the Bible (being now as far as Kings in his attempt to read it through), and in singing hymns. The next week was dull, and the weather hazy. However, a heavy gale and high seas relieved the tedium on Monday, 20 July. Large quantities of water came in over the rail, which was at times immersed in four feet of ocean. Three days later, the west coast of Ireland was sighted, and on 24 July the ship docked at Queenstown, Ireland. On going to his agents, Stirling and Loam, Captain Smith received some letters, one bringing the sad news of his son Norman's death.

On 28 July, perhaps to assuage his sadness, Captain Smith took the train to Cork, to visit old acquaintances. One, Bridget, was found in the barroom, and two others, Mrs. Mack and Mrs. Sullivan, were in the dining-room. The latter two caught him by the neck, screaming, and kissed him by way of greeting. It wasn't long before they invited him to have a bottle of porter, but being, as he said, "strictly temperate," he declined. "Well,' said Mrs. Mack, 'Sure you will walk into the parlour and take a lunch of bread and cheese, and a bottle of ginger beer! ' " Wrote the Captain, "I accepted, and was at once waited upon by Mrs. Mack, where I enjoyed my bread and cheese and a friendly chat." Nothing was said about the bottle of ginger beer! A sorry sight met him back at the docks. Two of his men, whom he had ordered to remain on the ship, were found "drunk and rolling in the gutters." He got the "worthless drunken things" onto the boat, where he found a bottle of rum. This was instantly emptied into the sea.

The vessel then proceeded to Newry, where the cargo was discharged. While there, Smith went to nearby Warren Point, where he attended a meeting of Freemasons. The following Sunday, he went to the Presbyterian meeting and "heard a dry sermon" in the morning, but in the evening went with some friends to the Independent Church, where he heard "an excellent discourse" and sang as the closing hymn, "Greenville" (a tune now called "Rousseau," which bears a striking resemblance to "Go Tell Aunt Rhody the Old Grey Goose Is Dead").

On Monday, 24 August, Captain Smith went to Glasgow, Scotland, where he was reunited with his friend Captain Newell, and with his own brother, Alfred K. Smith, four years his junior. Meanwhile, his ship was moored at Ardrossan. Upon returning to the vessel, he discovered that two of his crew had absconded, and a third man had badly injured a leg in a scuffle. On Wednesday of that week, sixty tons of pig iron were taken in, and one hundred more were loaded the next day. On Friday the thirtieth, while Captain Smith was laid up in bed with a headache, four of the ship's company deserted. It was difficult to find seamen to replace them, and wages were as high as four pounds sterling per month. The first Sunday in September, there was another lifeless sermon at the Presbyterian Church, and on Tuesday the eighth, when the weather was clement, they left Ardrossan, all hands

sober due to their lack of money. The *Howard* was now bound for Naples, Italy.

By 14 September, they were crossing the Bay of Biscay. The crew this time consisted of an Irish steward, a Swede, and four Scotsmen, among whom was the second mate, "the most filthy thing in the ship. . . . I often wonder that some of the men don't give him what he often deserves, for his profane language to them." While mending his clothes during the week of the fourteenth, Captain Smith decided to amuse himself by making a Masonic flag. On the twentieth, Sunday, he read his Bible, and also began reading *Pilgrim's Progress*. That day, he wrote "I am now more than 3000 miles [from home] and increasing the distance five miles every hour, but I am content with my lot, and my trust is in God; if it pleases Him to spare me and to return me home, or if not, His will be done."

During the following week, at two-thirty one morning, the captain was to be found perched on the upper topsail yard-arm. It was a "thick" night, very cloudy and rainy, and he was anxiously searching for the Cape St. Vincent Light, at the most southwesterly tip of Portugal. Having sighted it, he was much more at ease. On 23 September the ship passed Cape Trafalgar, where Lord Nelson had fought his last battle; the Rock of Gibraltar; and then sailed on at ten miles an hour into the blue Mediterranean.

A week from when he began it, the Captain finished *Pilgrim's Progress*. His thoughts turned to an old preacher of the gospel on Cape Sable Island, Asa McGray, the founder of the Freewill Baptist denomination in Nova Scotia: "He used to labour with his hands by day to earn his bread, and often travel by night through storm and wind, to administer to the sick, and hold prayer meetings with the inhabitants; and was he paid for this? Yes, in the same way [as those who brought] Christiana and her sons [to the Celestial City were paid]." His attention was turned from the sublime to the ridiculous on Monday, when he had to do some rat-catching. But on 1 October, Naples came in sight. Smith went on shore as soon as they arrived, and was thrilled by the scenery: "The city, which is elevated, with its churches, convents, castles, palaces, etc., etc., together with the buildings, . . . trees, and hills around, all go to make up the splendour of

the place. . . . Priests. . .walk the streets in droves. . . . The inhabitants are generally polite. . . but [are] dirty, idle people." On Sunday, captain and first mate went to the museum, where they viewed the relics from Pompeii, and to the King's Garden, where they heard a band concert and later saw some "splendid" fireworks.

Another interesting event soon developed: "Twenty-first. Got notice from British Consul to sit with him, Vice-Consul, and two other captains in a Naval Court of Inquiry." The court, which opened the next day, dealt with the case of a captain who had stabbed a seaman twice with a dagger, the seaman being mad drunk, and the captain trying to subdue him. Smith was asked by the vice-consul if he had been in a court before, and he told him he had, and "further had presided over the same, and had the seal of Her Britannic Majesty's Government of Nova Scotia for [his] authority to do so." Upon learning this, the consul made Smith his right-hand man, and they brought in a judgement against the captain for court costs and the seaman's expenses.

The next Monday, Smith wrote, "Was much perplexed through the day, as my men acted as if they were stupid. Two of them were laid by drunk," just when they were needed to help load a cargo of "meadow roots." In one afternoon the captain, with the aid of two men, stowed thirty-five half-ton bales, and then he went ashore on business. When he returned at night, his crew had managed to stow only eight or ten additional bales, "in the old English style"--that is, by "main strength and stupidity."

The following week, the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, was in Naples; on Thursday, Smith took his station at the grand entrance of the palace, where he waited for four hours before seeing the sovereign. The next day, the *Howard* slipped her mooring and left Naples. By 7 December, Captain Smith was back in Liverpool, at the Inn, Number Five, Mersey Street, where he was delighted to find some of his acquaintances. His cargo discharged, he had time to spend ashore, and ample opportunity to observe English manners. The following were his comments, none of which were at all laudatory: "They all [sit] down to their ale and whiskey, and then they go into their raw meat like dogs. They will eat anything that a dog will, and swill which the pigs will not. . . . In the street they will not move aside

for anyone. . . . And I never was in any country where there was half of the crime and so little punishment." Christmas Day 1863 was spent on board the ship *Nictaux* with Captain Davis, James S. Cunningham, and Asa Doane, all gentlemen from his home area. They had dinner, and afterwards sang some tunes from *The Vocalist*.

While Captain Smith was sitting in the coffee-room of his hotel on 15 January 1864, an explosion occurred in the harbour: "The shock was fearful. . . . Particles of the ship were thrown more than a mile." Five days later, he and a crew of four blacks and four whites left for New York. These foreign seamen, Smith said, were the most "miserable beings I have travelled with. . . . Drunkenness and licentiousness is what they first attend to, and when all their money and credit is gone, they go to sea." There was one among them, however, a Patrick McGrath, to whom he took a liking, and who reciprocated the affection. On Saturday, 13 February, in a heavy gale, this same man was swept overboard and never seen again. The journal records, "At the time the sea boarded. . . the man that was lost was within reach of me." The sea came in, "and for a few seconds I could not get my breath, being so immersed in water. As soon as I could get above water, I discovered the man near me was gone. . . . This is the second narrow escape I have had within the last three years--near the same place [both times]."

Again on the twentieth, Captain Smith recorded "a tremendous sea" and a very heavy gale, to which the whole crew was exposed as they manned the pumps and put over an anchor and a ninety-fathom chain to steady the ship. While at one of the pumps, Captain Smith was swept off his feet by in-rushing water, and would have been carried overboard had he not been able to clutch on to some rope attached to the main mast. As it was, he escaped with only a badly injured foot. In this twenty-seven years at sea, the captain had never experienced such a storm: "It was only the hand of a kind Providence that saved me from a watery grave, with all on board." After the storm, it was his responsibility to go around with sail needle and marlinspike, attempting to get "ropes and sails put to rights," and noting that he "never saw rigging cut up in such a manner."

Shortly thereafter, they ran into large expanses of ice, through which, finding a narrow crack, they managed to sail. There was yet another narrow

escape when the *Eastern Light*, also bound for New York, nearly collided with them. The mate, complying with the naval "rules of the road," ordered the ship to port. But Smith quickly ordered, "Hard to starboard! " As he noted in his journal, "I mind my life more than [the orders of the Board of Trade]," and had they continued steering to port, they would have ended up in the middle of the other vessel: "[The] mode of [avoiding a] collision depends on the nature of the case, but Old Country men think as long as they go by the order of the Board it is all right." Most of the men on the Board "never saw salt water," so how could they be expected to know what to do?

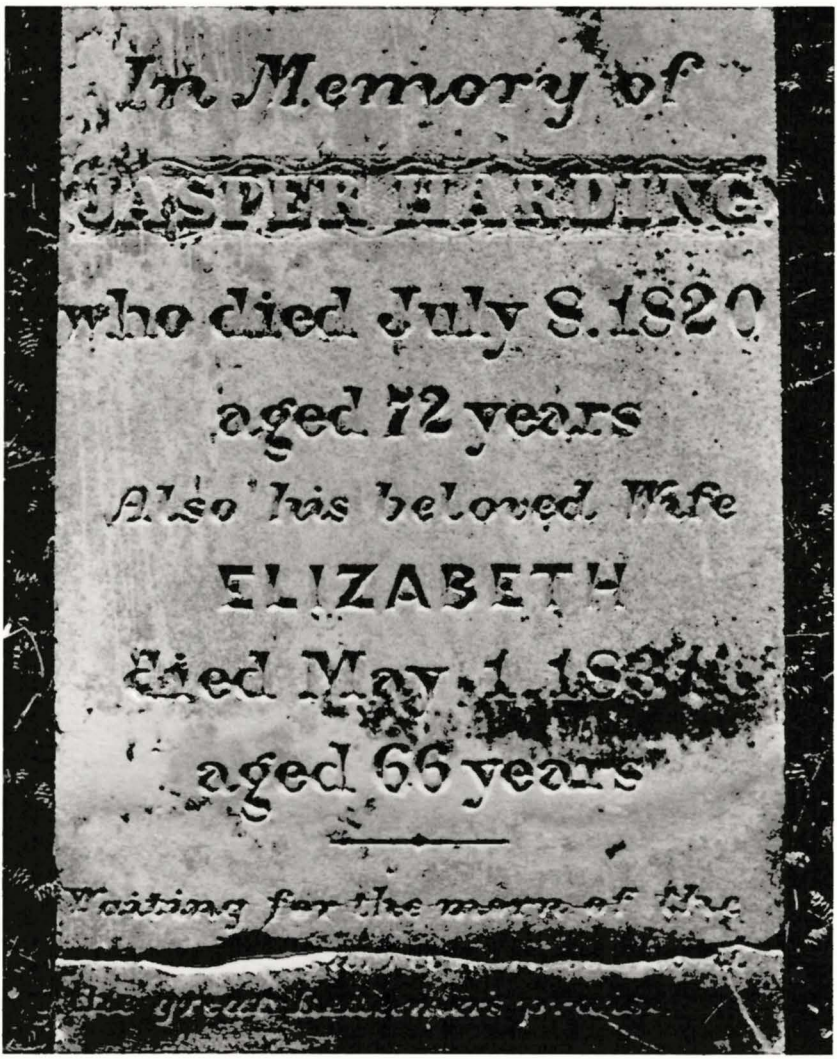
By 16 March, a year to the day since Smith left home, life on board the *Howard* was becoming dreary, as there was no one with whom to have an interesting conversation. By 24 March, New York was reached; he was soon to be back on Cape Sable Island, but the days seemed like weeks, in anticipation of that happy event. On the thirtieth, the cargo was discharged, again with the help of a steam-elevator. The first week of April was very busy. There were bills to be settled and luggage to be packed. Carpenters, blacksmiths and sail-makers were called on board to put the ship in good order. On Saturday, 9 April, the Captain took leave of the *Howard*. The steamer *Commonwealth* took him to Groton, Connecticut, where he boarded the train and went to Boston. Stormy weather prevented him from leaving by boat, so he took the train again to Portland, where a ship was to sail next day for Saint John, New Brunswick. From there, he presumably took a vessel to Nova Scotia, and made his way once more through the snowy roads to West Head.

Journals such as that of Captain William Smith are rich reminders of Nova Scotia's "golden age," when vessels and master mariners from this province were known the world over for their experience and integrity. Although Captain Smith retired from active marine duty soon after the closing pages of his journal, the sea continued to play an important part in his life. He served as agent for no fewer than thirteen American marine insurance agencies, and in 1885 was named president of the ferry company in Barrington.

After 1870, he served as a deacon of the Advent Christian Church in West Head. He also took an active role in the political life of southern

Nova Scotia, and at sixty-four became warden of the Municipality of Barrington. Moving from municipal to provincial politics six years later, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly as a Liberal in 1893, serving under Premier William S. Fielding. In 1894, he was appointed to the Legislative Council where, as a contemporary newspaper reported, he showed his "independent proclivities" by "giving his first vote in the Council against the party which had elevated him to that body."

Three years later, his forty-one-year-old son Judah drowned near West Head, and in 1899 his wife Irene passed away. Captain Smith remarried in 1900, his second wife being Esther Crowell. My grandfather, William E. Smith, can just remember visiting his grandfather, the old captain, at his home near the West Head wharf, not too long before the captain passed away--a venerable eighty-seven-year-old gentleman with a flowing white beard. He died in 1910, and is buried next to his wife, in the cemetery of the Advent Christian Church, with the sea roaring behind him.



Harding Family Cemetery, Port L'Hebert.
Photo by Eric Hayes.

The Descendants of Jasper and Elizabeth (Hanson) Harding

Eleanor Smith

On 17 January 1786, when George Harding appeared in Halifax before Commissioner Jeremy Pemberton to present his claim for property losses as a Loyalist refugee, his written and sworn testimony provided clues for interested genealogists. George, "a native of Ireland came to America in 1765" and settled in Philadelphia. As part of his testimony, he produced a "copy of [a] Memorial to Sir H. Clinton dated 23rd April 1779 from Richard, Jasper and Robert Harding requesting he would use his Endeavours to save their Brother's Life."[1] Thus we know Richard, Robert, Jasper and George were brothers, and the date on which at least one of them immigrated to America.

A number of researchers, including the present author, have tried unsuccessfully to trace the Harding brothers back to their birthplace in Ireland. The search continues, but in the meantime there is much of interest in the family's North American history.

Three of the Harding brothers had established their families and businesses in Pennsylvania--George and Richard in Philadelphia and Jasper in Middletown, Bucks County--while Robert lived in New Jersey. Their loyalty to Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution forced each brother to abandon his property and seek refuge in New York City. On 3 February 1780, in order to quit the State of Pennsylvania, Mary, wife of George, was granted "passes to New York for herself and two children, with her bed and clothing." To obtain these passes, she had to give security of £1000 and "Promise not to return without special permission of this Board."[2]

In New York, Jasper, Richard and Robert joined the Port Roseway Associates. Like most of the refugees, they faced two or more years of waiting. George Harding managed to reach the city and join his brothers and the Associates shortly before embarkation. Finally, the group set sail on 26 April 1783 and arrived at Port Roseway on 4 May. Surveyor Benjamin Marston described the arrival:

Eleanor Robertson Smith, C.G.(C), teacher and published author, has retired to her hometown of Shelburne, N.S., where she is the founding president of the Shelburne County Genealogical Society.

1 Province of Ontario, *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives*, (1904), pp. 517-518.

2 Pennsylvania Archives, *The Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council*, XII (Harrisburg, 1853).

> Sunday, May 4 [1783]. Ashore in the morning. About 4 o'clock p.m. some of the fleet from New York hove in sight. Weather fair, wind north westerly, fresh.
> Monday, [May] 5. Last night the fleet got in below, upwards of thirty sail in all, in which there are three thousand souls (as an agent tells me). [3]

The Hardings each received a town lot and a water lot and built homes in Shelburne. In addition, on 18 May 1784, George received a fifty-acre lot in Marston's Division, and Jasper fifty acres in Mason's Division. On 4 February 1790, each of the brothers received one-hundred-acre lots at Saville [Sable] River.[4] However, by this time Robert had drowned,[5] and George had gone to Ireland.[6]

This current paper is concerned with the genealogy of Jasper and his second wife, Elizabeth Hanson, to the fourth generation of their progeny. Information passed down through the family states that Jasper's first wife was Mary Stephenson. There were at least two children by this marriage: George, who came to Nova Scotia with his father, and a daughter believed to have been named Mary, who chose to remain with her deceased mother's family in Philadelphia. Neither the date of Mary Stephenson Harding's death, nor that of Jasper Harding's marriage to Elizabeth Hanson has yet been found.

Jasper was a tailor by trade, and his Loyalist claim included "book debts" for £120. Ten clients owing money were listed with their debts, which ranged from £1.12.0 to £17.1.0. The claim also shows that Jasper owned a four-and-one-half acre farm with two breeding mares and two cows.[7] On a muster roll of the Fifth Associates Company of Middletown Township, dated 21 August 1775, he is listed as "Private Gesper Harding." [8]

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3 W.O. Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," in *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, VII (1909), 210.

4 RG 20, Series E, Land Papers, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

5 Court of Probate, Shelburne Co., Estate A23.

6 Public Record Office, Dublin, Ireland, *Appendix to the 1895 Report*, p. 386.

7 Public Record Office, London, AO 13/96, Loyalist Claims, #1306, pp. 356-68.

8 Pennsylvania Archives; Military Service: Middleton Company; S2:14:149; Vol. 5, p. 308.

It is not surprising, considering that he owned farmland in Middletown, Pennsylvania and that there were thirteen tailors on the Port Roseway muster roll alone, that Jasper remained in Shelburne for less than two years. An advertisement for the public auction in June 1785 of his water lot and house reads:

> Public Auction
>
> TO-MORROW, at four o'clock in the afternoon, will be sold, That very eligible House and Water Lot, No. 46, Letter H, situate in the fourth Cove. The lot fronts the water, where vessels may ride in safety during the hardest gales, it is so well known as one of the best stands in that part of the town for public benefits, that it needs no further description, And on Wednesday will be sold, a House on public ground, joining the water a little off King St. where Mr. Jasper Harding lately lived.[9]

In the meantime, in his Family Bible Jasper wrote: "1785 Aprel 16 I com to Jons Harbour."

1 Jasper[1] Harding, b. Ireland ca. 1748; d. Port L'Hebert, Shelburne Co., 8 July 1820; marr. (2) Elizabeth **Hanson**, daughter of James Hanson. Elizabeth accompanied him from the United States, with at least one of the children of his first marriage. Elizabeth was b. ca. 1765 and d. 1 May 1831. They are buried along with a number of their descendants in the isolated family cemetery at Port L'Hebert.

In addition to farming, Jasper commanded "the first or Captain Jasper Harding's Company of the 22nd Battalion of Nova Scotia Militia." When he resigned in 1812 his son, First Lieutenant William Harding, assumed command.

Jasper's will, dated 5 June 1820, was not brought by the executor, John McDonald, to the Shelburne County Court of Probate until 2 Sept. 1823. The court, "taking into consideration the great length of time that has elapsed since the Death of the Testator. . .will not allow it [i.e. his will] to have full force." James Harding, son of Jasper, appeared before the same court on 8 Sept. 1823, however,

9 *Royal American Gazette* (Shelburne), 27 June 1785, p. 3, col. 4.

> and prayed the Administration of the Goods & Chattels & Estate of the said Jasper Harding would be granted unto him, and the said James produced a written paper from under the Hands & Seal of the Heirs of the said Jasper Harding wishing the said Estate to be Administered, in the same manner and form as was set forth in a certain Instrument of writing purporting to be the last Will and Testament of the late Jasper Harding. . .which prayer was on due consideration granted.

Jasper's will, which was probated 18 Oct. 1823, provided for his wife and each of his sons and daughters, and specified how his 840 acres of land were to be divided. He concluded:

> I wish for my sons James and Stephen not to raise more stock of their own than can be supported without infringing on their Mother's rights. It is my express wish that my sons will not bring a wife into the house with their Mother. After her decease they may act their pleasure. . . . I earnestly recommend to all my sons and daughters to be kind and affectionate to their Mother and support and protect her in her old age.

Issue of Jasper and Elizabeth Harding:

2 i. William, b. Port L'Hebert, 1 Mar. 1786.
3 ii. Jasper, b. 14 June 1788.
4 iii. Robert, b. 9 Jan. 1791.
5 iv. Richard, b. 17 May 1793.
6 v. Elizabeth, b. ca. 1796.
7 vi. James, b. 6 May 1799.
vii. Stephen, b. 20 Apr. 1801; n.f.r.
8 viii. Ann, b. 11 June 1802.
9 ix. Mary, b. 18 Aug. 1807.

References: Family Bible; Port Roseway Associates' Minute Book, Shelburne Co. Museum; Court of Probate, Shelburne Co., Will Book 2, pp. 255-256, Estate A 211; Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Deaths, Shelburne Co., £18, p. 27, £20, p. 83; PANS Assembly Papers, RG 5, Series A, Vol. 22; private cemetery.

2 William[2] Harding (Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, 1 Mar. 1786; d. before 1842, probably in Point Michaud, Richmond Co.; marr. Shelburne, 9 Dec. 1809, Catherine **Reilley**, daug. of Patrick and Catherine Reilley. The memorial of First Lieutenant William

Harding of Jones Harbour, Shelburne Co., 8 Dec. 1814, describes a melancholy accident which befell Harding in the course of his militia duty:

> . . .while standing in front of his company and at the very time of taking off[f] the lock of the said piece she accidentally went off and the whole charge, being a Musquet Ball and three back shots, went into and through the left leg of your Memorialist and at the ancle [*sic*] bone, which has caused him much pain and put him to the expense of nine pounds for a Doctor and many other expenses amounting to upwards of twenty pounds besides his job of labour and suffering of his wife and their small children and what is still worse your Memoralist must remain a cripple in that leg for life, as he is not able to do or perform any very active part of duty either for his King and Country or himself and family. Wherefore your Memoralist having ever active as a dutiful and Loyal Subject to his King and Country and with fidilite and industry to his wife and family and bring so deprived of so useful a member for life and having his small means for support he humbly prays that his Excellency will be graciously pleased to take his deplorable situation into his wise consideration and in his clemency to grant him such relief as in his wisdom and goodness shall see meet and as in great duty bound he will ever pray.

It is not known whether William's appeal for relief was successful. He and his family later moved to Arichat, Richmond Co., where his father-in-law Patrick Reilley had resettled. William bought one hundred acres of land at Point Michaud, 3 Sept. 1836. The 1838 census lists him as a farmer there, with one male over the age of fourteen in the household, and three females over fourteen. William died before the 1842 marriage of his daughter Jeanne, described in the parish records as "Jeanne Harding, fille majeur de départ William Harding et de Catherine Ryley."

Issue of William and Catherine Harding:

10 i. Jasper, b. 30 Jan. 1811.

11 ii. Jeanne.

iii. Elizabeth, b. 18 Apr. 1813; n.f.r.

iv. Robert, b. 31 July 1815; d. 29 Aug. 1855, Arichat. Robert sold land at Point Michaud in 1844 to his brother-in-law, Patrick Power.

References: Family Bible; Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; Notre Dâme de l'Assomption Church, Arichat; PANS Assembly Papers, RG5, Series A, Vol. 22, 22 March 1815; Registry of Deeds, Richmond Co., Vol. F. pp. 44-45, Vol. G, pp. 163, 164; Holy Guardian Angel Roman Catholic, L'Ardoise; Liverpool Methodist; Shelburne Methodist.

3 Jasper[2] Harding (Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, 14 June 1788; d. Jones Harbour, ca. 1870. The government death registration notes his death as occurring on 25 Dec. 1869, aged 82, the result of a fall; however, the codicil to his will is dated 22 Jan. 1870, and Probate Court records state he d. in Jan. 1870. He marr. Margaret **McMillan**, daug. of John and Mary (Pride) McMillan, at Shelburne, 15 May 1817; she was b. West Sable River, 3 Apr. 1797, and d. Jones Harbour, 16 Dec. 1868.

Jasper's will, dated 15 July 1866 and proved 31 Jan. 1885, left all his property to

> my grandson Jesse Harding Lewis the son of Robert and Malvina Lewis (which Malvina is my daughter)...and whereas my said grandson is now a Minor of the age of Six Teans or Thereabout...[the land was to be occupied and administered by Robert and Malvina, so as not to] commit any waste or do or perform any act in their tenantcy to lessen the value of the said real estate.

Jasper's son Allen was appointed executor and was to act as trustee of the estate for "the said grandson Jesse." In a codicil written before his death, Jasper confirmed his grandson as the chief heir, but added other bequests:

> I bequeath to my daughter Kessiah Harlow one milch cow also to Jeremiah Page one milch cow. I bequeath to my grandaughter Melissa Lewis five sheep, to my daughters Irene, Mariah, Dorinda one sheep each, to my granddaughter Irene Lewis a young cow by the name Glass and one sheep, also to each of the remaining children of my deceased daughter Melvina one sheep, and to Gael Harding the ewe sheep that was formerly hers.

His son Allen was given a cow, eight bushels of potatoes, two ewe sheep, and the western half of a parcel of land, while another grandson, David Lewis, received a calf.

Issue of Jasper and Margaret Harding:

12 i. John Byron, b. 13 June 1818.
ii. Margaret Ann, b. 6 Mar. 1820; possibly marr. Daniel **Lloyd.**
13 iii. Allen McMillan, b. 15 Oct. 1823.
iv. Mariah Morris, b. 24 Mar. 1825; n.f.r.
14 v. Malvina, b. 15 Apr. 1827.
15 vi. Irene, b. 30 Apr. 1829.
16 vii. Keziah, b. 10 Apr. 1831.
viii. David, b. 26 Apr. 1833; n.f.r.
17 ix. Dorinda, b. ca. 1840.

References: Family Bible; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Deaths, Shelburne Co., #18, p. 27 and #17, p. 20; Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; Court of Probate, Shelburne Co., Estate A781; Liverpool Methodist.

4 Robert[2] Harding (Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, 9 May 1791; d. Port L'Hebert, 10 Feb. 1854; marr. Mary **McMillan**, daug. of John and Mary (Pride) McMillan. She was b. ca. 1795 and d. 1 Feb. 1863, Port L'Hebert.

Robert was a farmer who lived his entire life at Port L'Hebert. His will was not probated, but his son George inherited the Port L'Hebert homestead, and in 1875 George paid his sister Letitia and his brother-in-law Fred Townsend, widower of Catherine, for their portion of land from Robert's estate.

Issue of Robert and Mary Harding:

18 i. Matilda, b. Oct. 1818.
19 ii. Stephen, b. 29 Sept. 1820.
iii. Robert James, b. 9 Mar. 1823; drowned.
iv. Elizabeth, b. 7 Sept. 1825; n.f.r.
v. Rebecca, b. 24 Dec. 1827; n.f.r.
20 vi. George, b. 9 Oct. 1830.
vii. Catherine, b. ca. 1835; d. 29 Oct. 1872; marr. (1) Capt. M. **Decker**, with issue; marr. (2) Fred **Townsend**, with issue.
21 viii. John McMillan, b. ca. 1836.
ix. Letitia Steward, b. 20 Sept. 1837; marr. 27 Dec. 1866, John C. **Ridgeway**. Issue.

References: Family Bible; PANS RG 5, Series P, Vol. 94, #93; Liverpool Methodist; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne Co., Vol. 21, pp. 230 and

251; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Deaths, Shelburne Co., #165, p. 50; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Marriages, Shelburne Co., #16, p. 11; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Births, Shelburne Co., #65, p. 47.

5 Richard[2] Harding (Jasper[1]), b. 17 May 1793, Port Hebert; d. 9 June 1856, Little Harbour, Shelburne Co. He marr., Shelburne, 5 Jan. 1822, Isabella **McDonald**, daug. of Murdock and Ann (McKenzie) McDonald; she was b. ca. 1794, Little Harbour, and d. 9 Oct. 1852, Little Harbour.

Richard and Isabella established themselves at Little Harbour where, on the 1827 census, Richard is listed as a farmer and a Methodist. His children were all baptized by the Liverpool Methodist minister, and in those records his occupation is noted as a fisherman. In Dec. 1851 and Jan. 1853, Richard purchased the land his spinster sisters-in-law had inherited from their father's estate.

Issue of Richard and Isabella Harding:

i. Elizabeth Ann, b. 18 Mar. 1823, Little Harbour; marr., 30 Nov. 1848, Capt. Wm. Ashley **Decker**; d. Sept. 1881, Northfield, Queens Co., d.s.p. When Elizabeth Ann and her husband visited Elizabeth's second cousin, the famed Pennsylvania publisher Jesper Harding, they were presented with a Royal Harding Bible, now a treasured family heirloom.

ii. Henrietta McDonald, b. 6 Mar. 1825; d. 29 Dec. 1914, unm.

iii. James Melvin, b. 11 Nov. 1826; d. 20 Jan. 1850, unm. In the heirloom Bible noted above is the following hand-written entry:

> James Melvin Harding was lost at sea on his return home from Trinidad, the 20th of January 1850 on Sabbath morning about 8 o'clock aged 23 years 2 months and 9 days; and on the Sabbath morning the 24th of February the occasion was improved by a sermon preached at Little Harbour Chapel from the words of the Prophet 'Prepare to meet thy God' Amos 4, 12 by the Reverend N.E. Crane, Wesleyan Minister, March 20, 1850.

iv. Mary Isabella, b. 11 Nov. 1928; d. 17 July 1913, unm.
v. John Campbell, b. 10 July 1830; d. 3 Dec. 1907, unm.
vi. William McKenzie, b. 17 Jan. 1833; d. 23 Nov. 1907, unm.
vii. Harriet, b. 1 Apr. 1836; d. 6 Sept. 1869, unm.
22 viii. Cornelius, b. 16 July 1838.
ix. Thomas Houston, b. 4 Aug. 1841; d. 12 Mar. 1873, unm.

Spinsters Henrietta and Mary Isabella followed their brother Cornelius and his family to Caledonia, Queens Co., where the sisters bought property and set up a business. Henrietta is listed in the 1871 census as a milliner, and Mary Isabella as a tailoress. In their old age they moved to Shelburne to live with their widowed sister-in-law, Mary Ann and her family. Cornelius was the only one of Richard's nine children to have issue.

References: Family Bible; Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; Liverpool Methodist; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne Co., Vol. 13, pp. 275 and 369; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Deaths, Shelburne Co., #110, p. 25; gravestones; *Liverpool Advance*, 18 Dec. 1907.

6 Elizabeth[2] Harding (Jasper[1]), b. Port Hebert, ca. 1796; d. East Sable River, 28 July 1862. She marr. Methodist preacher Hugh **Houston** at Christ Church, Shelburne, 15 Jan. 1824. He was b. 1798 and d. 1888 at the home of his grandson, Dr. Roland Chivers, Fall River, Mass. Following Elizabeth's death, Hugh Houston marr. 1865, Mary Jane Irwin **Cooper** and they lived for a number of years in Liverpool; his occupation is latterly given as a carpenter, both in the 1881 census and in his will.

Along the roadside at East Sable River, an elaborate and elegantly carved iron fence, with regularly inserted motifs of a weeping willow over a lamb, symbolizes the grief felt by Elizabeth and Hugh when their only son, Thomas, died in 1839, at the age of eight; it also encloses a gravestone for Hugh and Elizabeth and their only daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Chivers.

Issue of Hugh and Elizabeth Houston:

i. Elizabeth Moody Houston, b. 30 Oct. 1825; d. 30 July 1859; marr. 13 Dec. 1847, Thomas **Chivers**. Issue.
ii. Thomas Houston, b. 5 June 1831, d. 17 Oct. 1839.

References: Family Bible; Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 8 May 1824; Liverpool Methodist; 1871, 1881 Census; Court of Probate, Queens Co., Estate A-829; private cemetery.

7 James[2] Harding (Jasper[1]), b. 6 May 1799, Port Hebert; d. Port Hebert, 26 Oct. 1884. He marr. Catherine **McMillan**, daughter of John and Mary (Pride) McMillan; she was b. 29 Jan. 1803 and d. 22 Oct. 1877. The marriage of Catherine and James marked the third occasion on which a daughter of John and Mary McMillan married a son of Jasper and Elizabeth Harding.

James and his family lived on Jasper's homestead, and as indicated by the 1871 census, he was a successful farmer and Catherine a resourceful wife. Sixty of their ninety improved acres were designated pasture and supported seventy-five sheep, five horned cattle, five cows, a pair of working oxen, a horse, two swine, and one sow. During the census year, five cattle and one sheep had been slaughtered. The crop yield included two hundred bushels of potatoes from one-and-one-half acres, twenty-five bushels of hay, and five bushels of oats. Catherine and her daughter Elizabeth had produced three hundred pounds of butter, spun 250 skeins of wool and woven forty yards of homespun. Two barns, one carriage, two wagons, one plough and one pleasure boat were also noted on the census return.

Tragic deaths were frequent in James and Catherine's family, as is evident from the following list of their offspring.

Issue of James and Catherine Harding:

23 i. Hugh Houston, b. 12 Aug. 1826.

ii. Mary Elizabeth, b. 3 Oct. 1827; d. 13 Jan. 1909; marr. 29 Dec. 1848, David **Ferguson**, who was lost at sea, 1851. Issue: their only son, William, who on 5 July 1873 became a hero in the rescue of 667 passengers and men from the 2885-tonne *City of Washington* steamship. The grateful passengers later sent a letter of thanks:

> . . .we know that you, Mr. Ferguson, got up from a severe attack of protracted illness to guide your companion--Mr. Swansburg--through the intricacies of rocks and breakers, he being unacquainted with the coast at this point. We respectfully request that you will accept the accompanying purse [as a token of gratitude].

William's family believed that "this heavy exertion," accompanied by high fever, was the cause of his subsequent mental breakdown.

24 iii. Sarah Ann Bel, b. 3 Dec. 1829.

25 iv. Jane Snow, b. 7 Mar. 1836.

v. Emmeline, b. ca. 1838; d. 3 Dec. 1868, New Orleans; marr. George Washington **Holt**. A letter still in the possession of descendants informs the reader that:

> Mrs. George W. Holt Born Emma Harding a native of Nova Scotia and aged twenty-six years died on the third instant 1868 at her residence on Bayou Road Street in this city. Deceased was the lawful wife of George W. Holt a native of New York.

The same letter contains the birth certificate of Emma's son, George Washington Holt Jr., born 5 Nov. 1868.

vi. Jasper, b. 6 Aug. 1832; d. 9 Dec. 1857.

26 vii. Annie, b. 28 Feb. 1841.

viii. Catherine (Katie), b. ca. 1844; d. 8 Dec. 1871, following childbirth; marr. Cornelius **Swansburg**. Issue: at least one son, an infant who d. Dec. 1871, a few days after his mother.

On 5 July 1882, Elizabeth Harding Ferguson paid her father one dollar and received the 170 acres of land on which James Harding resided, plus the family home. Elizabeth later sold the property and bought a farm at Port Joli beside the stagecoach inn of her sister, Annie Harding Robertson. The widowed Jane Harding McIntosh also moved to Port Joli, where she delighted in telling her visiting Robertson nephews stories of their "roots."

References: Family Bible; Private Cemetery; Liverpool Methodist; 1871, 1881, and 1891 Census, Shelburne Co.; 1891 Census, Queens Co.; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne Co., Vol. 26, pp. 33 and 302; private papers of Marion Robertson, Shelburne County Museum.

8 Ann[2] Harding (Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, 11 June 1802; d. Louis Head, Shelburne Co., 18 Mar. 1877, of paralysis. Ann was the second wife of James **Giffin**, son of George and Margaret (Pride) Giffin; he was b. ca. 1794 and d. 28 Feb. 1881, Louis Head.

James signed a petition on 16 May 1846, requesting 150 acres of land which was lying waste and unoccupied at Port L'Hebert. There were five other signees, including his brother-in-law, James Harding. The request was granted and the land was purchased for the sum of £16.5.0 In *Henderson's Directory* for 1864-65, both James and his son Whitman are listed as farmers at Louis Head. In the 1871 census, James is described as a farmer and fisherman.

James and Ann's daughters, Henrietta and Lydia, who each became widowed young when their sea-captain husbands were drowned, ran the "Scotia House" in Shelburne for a number of years.

Issue of James and Ann Giffin:

i. James A., b. ca. 1826; marr. Elizabeth **McMillan**; d. 28 Dec. 1922, Louis Head. Issue.

ii. Catherine Ann, b. ca. 1827; marr. 31 Dec. 1862, Augustus **Freeman**; d. 19 Mar. 1904, Louis Head. Issue.

iii. Jane, b. Dec. 1831; marr. Capt. Colin **McDonald**; d. 23 Jan. 1905. Issue.

iv. Lydia, b. ca. 1834; marr. 17 Sept. 1857, Capt. John **Robertson**; d. 12 July 1925, Shelburne. Issue.

v. Henrietta, b. ca. 1838; marr. Capt. Simon **Giffin**, her first cousin and the son of George and Mary (Harding) Giffin (see below); d. 26 July 1901. Issue.

vi. Stephen Harding, b. ca. 1848; marr. Adelia **McMillan**; d. 13 Mar. 1899, Louis Head, d.s.p.

vii. Whitman, b. ca. 1843; marr. Katherine **Chadsey**; d. ca. 1891, Louis Head. Issue.

References: Family Bible; Martin F.G. Strange, *Simon Giffin and His Descendants;* Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; PANS RG 5, Series E; PANS RG 20, Series A, Land Grants, Vol. 14, p. 271; PANS RG 14, Vol. 58, #84, School Returns, 1840; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Shelburne Co., Deaths, #20, p. 83; Louis Head Cemetery; *Shelburne Gazette*, 26 July 1901.

9 Mary[2] Harding (Jasper[1]), b. Port Hebert, 18 Aug. 1807; d. Louis Head, 3 May 1885. Mary was the second wife of George **Giffin**, son of George and Margaret (Pride) Giffin; he was b. ca. 1796 and d. 25 Dec. 1869, Louis Head.

George served as a deacon of the Baptist Church, and that title is found on his tombstone. In the records of the East Ragged Islands Baptist Church (of which the Louis Head congregation was a part) on both 16 Mar. 1861 and 18 May 1862 are references to "the prevalence and fatality of diptheria in this place," in view of which "Judgement of God" extra prayer meetings and preaching services were held. Note that two children of Mary and George died within a day of each other in 1861, probably during such an epidemic.

Issue of George and Mary Giffin:

i. Priscilla, b. ca. 1830; marr. 4 Oct. 1855, John **Richardson**; d. 6 May 1856.
ii. Elizabeth Ann, b. 24 Nov. 1832; marr. Ira Pride **Abbot**; d. 13 July 1886, d.s.p.
iii. Margaret Ann, b. 6 Feb. 1834; marr. John **Freeman**. Issue.
iv. Simon, b. 20 June 1836; marr. Henrietta **Giffin**, his first cousin, and daug. of James and Ann (Harding) Giffin. Issue.
v. George Harding, b. 4 Dec. 1838; marr. 3 Feb. 1870, Elizabeth S. **Robertson**; d. 6 Nov. 1893. Issue.
vi. Dean, b. ca. 1842; marr. Berta **Giffin**; d. 25 June 1904. Issue.
vii. Jerusha, b. Sept. 1844; d. 30 Nov. 1861.
viii. Mary Emma, b. June 1847; d. 1 Dec. 1861.
ix. Lois, b. 4 Feb. 1849; marr. ca. 1876, Alfred **Harlow**; d. ca. Aug. 1935. Issue.

References: Family Bible; Strange, *Simon Giffin and His Descendants*; PANS RG 14, Vol. 58, #84, School Returns, 1840; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Marriages, Queens Co., #20, p. 26; *Shelburne Gazette*, 7 July 1904; Acadia Univ. Baptist Coll., "The First Ragged Island Baptist Church," Vol. 1, 1856-1868, pp. X21 and X26; Louis Head Cemetery.

10 Jasper[3] Harding (William[2], Jasper[1]), b. 30 Jan. 1811, Shelburne Co.; marr. 30 Jan. 1838, L'Ardoise, Richmond Co., Rosalie **Samson**, daug. of Martin and Marie (Pitre) Samson. In the marriage register, he is noted as "Jesse Harding fils majeur de William Harding et de Catherine Reilley."

In the 1838 census of the Township of Maitland, Richmond Co., "Jesse" Harding is listed as a fisherman with one dependent. He later moved to the vicinity of Little Dover, Guysborough Co., where the

1891 census lists two additional children, and a wife named Margaret. Living at that time with Jasper and Margaret were his daughter Catherine and sons James, Robert and Martin. The sons, like their father, were employed in fishing.

Issue of Jasper (Jesse) and Rosalie Harding (probably incomplete):

i. Patrick, b. 26 Oct. 1838; marr. and had issue.
ii. William, b. 18 June 1840; d. 5 Jan. 1842.
iii. Jean Guillaume, b. 24 June 1842; n.f.r.
iv. James, b. ca. 1844.
v. Catherine, bapt. 25 Aug. 1845.
vi. Marie Jeanne, bapt. 25 Aug. 1848; n.f.r.
vii. Robert, b. ca. 1852.
viii. Martin, b. ca. 1854.

References: Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; Holy Guardian Angel Roman Catholic, L'Ardoise; 1838, 1891 Census.

11 Jeanne[3] Harding (William[2], Jasper[1]), b. Shelburne Co.; marr. L'Ardoise, 7 Feb. 1842, Patrick **Power**, son of James and Nancy (Bolden) Power. On 2 Oct. 1844, Patrick paid £12 to his brother-in-law, Robert Harding, for Robert's Point Michaud land.

Issue of Patrick and Jeanne Power (probably incomplete):

i. Jacques, b. 8 Dec. 1842; n.f.r.
ii. Catherine, b. 13 Apr. 1844; n.f.r.
iii. Michael, b. 23 June 1848; n.f.r.
iv. Richard, b. 7 June 1850; bapt. 23 June 1850; n.f.r.

References: Holy Guardian Angel Roman Catholic, L'Ardoise; Registry of Deeds, Richmond Co., Vol. G, pp. 163-164; personal correspondence.

12 John Byron[3] Harding (Jasper[2], Jasper[1]), b. Jones Harbour, 13 June 1818; d. Liverpool, 10 Sept. 1896. He marr. (1) Alice ____, b. ca. 1812, d. Liverpool, 17 Mar. 1864; (2) Catherine Wright **Aberdeen**, daug. of Charles and Lydia Wright, Oct. 1866, Liverpool.

On 15 Oct. 1839, Jasper Harding and his wife Margaret sold, for £17.10.0, to their son Byron of Port L'Hebert, two parcels of land at Port L'Hebert, totalling approximately fifty acres. In turn, John sold this property to his cousin George in 1864, although the deed was not registered until 8 Apr. 1884.

John Byron is listed in *Hutchinson's Directory*, 1864-65, as a labourer residing in Liverpool. In the 1871 census, his occupation is day labourer, and in 1891 he is listed as a farm hand. In 1878, John bought a town lot in Liverpool for fifty dollars, but on 10 July 1895, he signed over his property, plus four hundred dollars, in a maintenance bond with Enos Sims, fisherman:

> To maintain and keep the said John B. Harding during the full term and period of his natural life in as comfortable and respectable manner as he has been accustomed to, supplying him with suitable board, lodging and wearing apparel and with necessary nursing and medical aid and attendance when sick and at his death give his body a respectable Christian burial.

He lived 14 months after signing the deed.

Issue of John Byron and Alice Harding:

i. Saphronia, b. ca. 1847; n.f.r.
ii. Ethanah, b. ca. 1855; n.f.r.
iii. Mary, b. ca. 1857; n.f.r.

References: Liverpool Methodist; *Liverpool Transcript*, 17 Mar. 1864, 6 Dec. 1866, 16 Sept. 1896; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne Co., Vol. 26, p. 306; Registry of Deeds, Queens Co., Vol. 37, pp. 17-19; PANS RG 32, Series M, Queens Co., 1866, #6, p. 10.

13 Allen McMillan[3] Harding (Jasper[2], Jasper[1]), b. Jones Harbour, 15 Oct. 1823; d. Enslow's Point, Shelburne Co., 22 Apr. 1900. He is buried, without a gravestone, in his grandson's plot at the old Anglican Church Cemetery, Jordan Falls. He marr., Jordan River, 15 Apr. 1847, Sarah Jane **Peterson**, daug. of William Peterson; she was b. ca. 1832, and d. Jordan River, 14 Nov. 1871, of consumption.

Allen began his teaching career in 1846. In 1849, at the Sandy Point School, he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and bookkeeping to a total of sixty-four students. For the nine months of teaching, he was paid £15.8.0 from the parents, and £10.5.0 from the provincial government. In 1854, Allen Harding, Jones Harbour, bought land from his brother-in-law, Robert Lewis, agreeing to pay back the mortgage within seven years. The property adjoined that of Robert Lewis, and the A.F. Church map of 1882 shows a schoolhouse on a section of the land.

In the 1871 census, Allen is listed as a schoolteacher and Sarah as a seamstress. The census also indicates that Allen farmed a portion of his seventy acres and had two men fishing part-time for him. In the years 1870, 1873 and 1875, Allen bought a total of fifty acres at Enslow's Point, later selling both his Port L'Hebert and Enslow's Point properties to his son, David Atwood Harding. Allen continued to teach school at the Point and in later life lived with his daughter Sarah Firth and family until his death.

Issue of Allen and Sarah Harding:

i. James Allen, b. ca. 1860, Port L'Hebert; d. ca. 1944, Enslow's Point; marr. 2 Feb 1882, Elizabeth **Firth**, daug. of Joseph and Rosanna Firth.

ii. Sarah Currie, b. 10 Nov. 1867, Port L'Hebert; d. 7 Feb. 1938, Enslow's Point; marr. 10 Aug. 1885, James William **Firth**, son of Joseph and Rosanna Firth.

iii. David Atwood, b. ca. 1862; lost at sea after 1891; unm.

References: Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; Lockeport Anglican; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Shelburne Co., Births, #4, p. 26, Deaths, #4, p. 42; PANS RG 14, Vol. 59, 28F, #47, School Returns; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne Co., Vol. 14, p. 126, Vol. 15, p. 355, Vol. 24, p. 306, Vol. 26, p. 619, Vol. 27, pp. 191, 193, 195, 276; 1871 and 1891 Census, Shelburne Co.

14 Malvina[3] Harding (Jasper[2], Jasper[1]), b. Jones Harbour, 15 Apr. 1827; d. Port L'Hebert, 12 May 1869, of consumption. She marr. at West Port L'Hebert, 16 July 1850, Robert **Lewis**, son of John and Jael (Roaker) Lewis; he was b. ca. 1816 and d. after 1891. It is believed the family is buried in the private Lewis Family burial ground on a point of land at Port L'Hebert; the graves have small upright stones as markers.

Robert Lewis was a fisherman who at various times provided mortgages for his in-laws. He did not remarry after his wife's death; his eldest daughter Melissa helped him raise his family, and later his widowed daughters returned with their children to share his home. A quote from the 1953 obituary of his son Farish gives an example of life from this era: "he [Farish] went to sea at the age of 13½ years and followed it for five years. . . . He was the last of a large family of early Shelburne County settlers."

Issue of Robert and Malvina Lewis:

i. Melissa, b. ca. 1851; marr. before 1881, Allen **Craig**; d. after 1891; d.s.p.
ii. Irenia, b. 6 May 1855; marr. Will **Coumans**. Issue.
iii. David, b. ca. 1858; marr. Abbie **McDonald**. Issue.
iv. Avery, b. ca. 1861; marr. Sarah **Prince**. Issue.
v. Jesse, b. ca. 1864; settled in Clatskanie, Oregon; marr., with issue.
vi. Robert, b. ca. 1867; unm.
vii. Farish, b. 18 Nov. 1868; marr. (1) ____ Jones, with issue; (2) Louise **Martin**, with issue; d. 3 Sept. 1953, Chester, New Hampshire.

References: Liverpool Methodist; 1871, 1881 and 1891 Census, Shelburne Co.; RG 32, Series WB, Deaths, Queens Co., #86, p. 24; *Shelburne Coast Guard*, 29 Oct. 1953; personal interviews.

15 Irene[3] Harding (Jasper[2], Jasper[1]), b. Jones Harbour, 30 Apr. 1829; d. 9 Mar. 1900, Jordan Falls, as indicated on her tombstone in Old Anglican Cemetery, Jordan Falls. She marr. at Christ Church, Shelburne, 29 Dec. 1856, James Nunn **Holden**, son of Thomas and Mary Ann (Baldwin) Holden; he was b. 16 Oct. 1832 and d. 16 Nov. 1916. James, a farmer and carpenter, and Irene brought up their family in Jordan Falls and were active members of Holy Trinity Anglican Church in that community.

Issue of James and Irene Holden:

i. Priscilla, b. 10 Feb. 1858; marr. 20 Aug. 1877, Archibald **McDougall**. Issue.
ii. Austin James, b. 3 Jan. 1860; d. 29 May 1891.
iii. Frank, b. ca. 1862.
iv. Sevilla, b. ca. 1866; marr. 19 May 1891, John F. **Geddes**. Issue.
v. Helena, b. ca. 1866.
vi. Hueston, b. 23 Aug. 1870; marr. Helena I. **Bower**; d. 27 Feb. 1939; d.s.p.
vii. Grace Darling, b. ca. 1874; marr. 6 Sept. 1904, Robert Ross T. **Bower**.

References: 1871, 1881 and 1891 Census, Shelburne Co.; Lockeport Anglican; Old Anglican Cemetery, Jordan Falls; Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; PANS RG 32, Vol. 91, #818, #14; Marjorie Bruce Collection, Chart #341, Shelburne Co. Museum.

16 Keziah[3] Harding (Jasper[2], Jasper[1]), b. 10 Apr. 1831, Jones Harbour; d. 8 Sept. 1899, Sable River, of inflammation. She was the second wife of Whitman **Harlow** of Sable River, son of James and Olivia (Chadsey) Harlow. They were marr. Port L'Hebert, 20 Oct. 1852. Whitman was b. Feb. 1816 and d. 1 July 1893. He was a lumberman, owned a saw mill, and he and his family were active members of the Sable River Baptist Church.

Issue of Whitman and Keziah Harlow:

i. Fannie, b. 30 Nov. 1853; marr. Josiah **Zwicker**.
ii. Hugh Huston, b. 7 Dec. 1855; marr. Susan **Harrington**; d. ca. 1935.
iii. Laura, b. ca. 1858; marr. ____ **Adamson.**
iv. John C., b. ca. 1863; unm.
v. Whitman Foster, b. 9 Feb. 1872.

References: 1871, 1881 and 1891 Census, Shelburne Co.; V.E. Freeman, *Freeman Families of Nova Scotia;* RG 32, Series WB, Births, Shelburne Co., #157, p. 103; *Liverpool Advance and Western Advertiser,* 13 Sept. 1889; PANS MG 1, T.B. Smith Collection, #15286.

17 Dorinda McMillan[3] Harding (Jasper[2], Jasper[1]), b. 4 July 1842; d. Mahone Bay, Lunenburg Co., 23 June 1915. She marr. Jordan Falls, 31 July 1866, Peter Benjamin **Zwicker**, son of George and Caroline Zwicker; he was b. Blockhouse, Lunenburg Co., 18 May 1843, and d. at Mahone Bay, 12 June 1930. Both Peter and Dorinda are buried in Bayview Cemetery, Mahone Bay. Peter was a teacher at Jordan Falls when they were married, but in the 1871 census his occupation is given as a merchant. They had moved from Shelburne Co. before the 1881 census.

Issue of Peter and Dorinda Zwicker:

i. Caroline August, b. 4 Sept. 1867; n.f.r.
ii. George A., b. ca. 1869; n.f.r.
iii. Nanetta H., b. ca. 1874; d. ca. 1965; buried at Bayview Cemetery, Mahone Bay; unm.

References: Shelburne Presbyterian; *Liverpool Advance*, 30 June 1915; South Shore Genealogical Society, *Cemetery Inscriptions*, Vol. 3; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Births, Shelburne Co., #76, p. 9.

18 Matilda[3] Harding (Robert[2], Jasper[1]), b. Oct. 1818, Port L'Hebert; d. Little Harbour, 28 Sept. 1886. She marr. Jacob S. **Decker**, b. ca. 1795, d. Little Harbour, 18 Apr. 1888. Jacob and Matilda were Wesleyan Methodists and he earned his living from fishing.

Issue of Jacob and Matilda Decker:

i. Mary Ann, b. 8 Oct. 1841; marr. Cornelius Harding, her first cousin, and son of Richard and Isabella (McDonald) Harding. Issue (see below).

ii. Eveline, b. ca. 1845; marr. Thomas **Mathews**; d.s.p.

iii. Rebecca, b. 15 Oct. 1847; marr. (1) 13 Oct. 1869, Cyrus **Newcombe**, with issue; (2) Henry **Hemeon**; d. 23 Apr. 1897.

iv. Peter S., b. ca. 1851; marr. Eunice _____; d. 24 Nov. 1904.

References: 1871, 1881 and 1891 Census, Shelburne Co.; RG 32, Series WB, Marriages, Shelburne Co., #85, p. 26; Liverpool Methodist.

19 Stephen[3] Harding (Robert[2], Jasper[1]), b. Jones Harbour, 29 Sept. 1820; d. Sable River, 27 Feb. 1868. He marr., 4 Feb. 1851, Cynthia **Anderson**, b. ca. 1830. Stephen farmed at Sable River, and after his sudden death, Cynthia continued to live on the farm. The 1871 census shows that on her seven acres she produced forty bushels of potatoes, six bushels of hay, and from her two cows, 150 pounds of butter.

Issue of Stephen and Cynthia Harding (probably incomplete):

i. Xercies, b. ca. 1864; marr. 17 June 1886, Henrietta **Pierce**, daughter of Enos and Cecelia Pierce; d. 6 May 1889, d.s.p. He was drowned when the rope he was using to pull up a lobster trap broke, pulling him into the ocean.

References: Liverpool Methodist; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Deaths, Shelburne Co., #83, p. 16; *Liverpool Advance*, 15 and 22 May 1889.

20 George[3] Harding (Robert[2], Jasper[1]), b. 9 Oct. 1830; d. Feb. 1909. He marr., Locke's Island, 17 Jan. 1860, Amelia **Giffin**, daug. of William and Elizabeth (Thorburn) Giffin; she was b. ca. 1839 and d. 12 June 1926. George and Amelia are buried in the Osborne Cemetery.

George farmed at Port L'Hebert and in 1871 produced one hundred bushels of potatoes, twenty-five of carrots, twelve of hay and two of spring wheat. Amelia put up one hundred pounds of butter, spun 160 skeins of wool and wove forty yards of homespun. Her daughters must have helped her, since she also gave piano and organ lessons. A deed dated 1 Mar. 1911 lists the heirs of the late George Harding Sr.; for the sum of one dollar, they sold their share of the property to their brother Stephen.

Issue of George and Amelia Harding:

i. William Edgar, b. 5 Oct. 1861; d. 6 Nov. 1941; marr., Port Mouton, 16 Nov. 1898, Margaret **Giffin**, daughter of Jacob Ringer and Penina (Abbot) Giffin. Issue.

ii. Mary Giffin, b. 28 Nov. 1864; marr. 27 Sept. 1898, William McQuahae **Dunlop**; d. 11 Mar. 1944; d.s.p.

iii. George Jr., b. 5 Dec. 1867; d. 2 Apr. 1937, Lockeport; marr. 25 Mar. 1896, Margaret **Stephens**, daughter of William and Susan Augusta (Murphy) Stephens. Issue.

iv. Stella Maria, b. 26 Feb. 1873; m. Austin **Dunlop**; d. Nov. 1953; d.s.p.

v. Stephen, b. 4 Mar. 1878; d. 14 Feb. 1937, Port L'Hebert. He marr. (1) 17 Jan. 1904, Helen **Moody**, daughter of William and Elizabeth Moody, with issue; (2) 10 Oct. 1929, Jane **Harlow**, daughter of Alexander and Edith (Dunlop) Harlow.

References: Lockeport Methodist Circuit; PANS RG 32, Series M, #59, Series WB, Births, #148, p. 33, #141, p. 119; Osborne and Sable River cemeteries; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne Co., Book 44, p. 385.

21 John McMillan[3] Harding (Robert[2], Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, ca. 1836; d. 1910, Osborne. He marr., Port Joli, 9 Feb. 1865, Emeline **MacDonald**, daug. of Robert and Experience (Ford) MacDonald; she was b. Sandy Bay, Queens Co. 8 Nov. 1838, and d. at Osborne, ca. 1933. John and Emeline are buried in the Osborne Cemetery, along with many of their descendants.

John was a boatbuilder. An item in the *Shelburne Budget*, 27 Dec. 1894, notes that John M. Harding was building boats and "Miss Janie Harding is home from Roseway." Under "Osborne Occurrences" in

the 2 Apr. 1896 issue, one reads: "People are stirring around a little. Harding & Co. have finished box and can making and have a boat under construction for Labrador parties."

Issue of John and Emeline Harding:

i. John Allen, b. 16 Jan. 1866; d. 14 Oct. 1931; marr. 17 May 1889, Boston, Florence **Coumans**, daug. of Capt. William James and Mary (Decker) Coumans. Issue.

ii. James B., b. ca. 1871; d. at sea, 1893; unm.

iii. Jane, b. 24 Oct. 1876; marr. 28 Dec. 1900, John **Perry**. Issue.

iv. Malcolm Kenmore, b. 22 Jan. 1877; marr. Mary **Thompson**, of Bridgewater, N.S. Malcolm taught in N.S., then was a school principal in Dauphin, Man. and Edmonton, Alb. and was subsequently the house master of a private boys' school on Vancouver Island. After retirement, he lived in Victoria with his daughter, Elaine Conrad, and her family. His son and five daughters all live on the west coast of Canada or the U.S.A.

v. Lillian F., b. ca. 1878; marr. (1) Frank **Whitney**, (2) George Hoyt; d.s.p.

vi. Russel, b. ca. 1881; d. Nov. 1917; unm.

References: Lockeport Methodist Circuit; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Vol. 84, #15, p. 2; Liverpool Methodist; PANS RG 32, Series WB, #277, p. 141, #54, p. 182; personal interviews.

22 Cornelius[3] Harding (Richard[2], Jasper[1]), b. Little Harbour, 16 July 1838; d. Shelburne, 12 Apr. 1907. He marr., 3 Jan. 1864, Port Mouton, his first cousin, Mary Ann **Decker**, daug. of Jacob and Matilda H. (Harding) Decker; she was b. 8 Oct. 1841, Port L'Hebert, and d. 4 Dec. 1922, Shelburne. They are both buried in Pine Grove Cemetery, Shelburne.

Cornelius and his family were adventuresome. He is listed as a farmer at Little Harbour in *Hutchinson's Directories*, 1864-67, while in the 1871 census he is a fisherman. In July 1880, residing in Northfield, Queens Co., he bought a farm, and is listed in the 1891 census as a farmer at Kempt, Queens Co. In 1895 he bought property in Liverpool, where he was already established as a butcher. He sold

out in 1897 and moved to Shelburne, where some descendants still live.
Issue of Cornelius and Mary Ann Harding:

i. Hedley Vicars, b. 1 Dec. 1865; d. after 1934. He marr., Kamloops, B.C., 12 Dec. 1917, Louisa **Coventry**, daug. of George William and Susan (Diamond) Coventry. She was b. London, Eng., 11 Sept. 1883, and d. Kamloops, 28 Mar. 1932. Issue.

ii. Isabel, b. 3 June 1876; d. 1 Sept. 1876.

iii. Elizabeth Ann, b. 10 Oct. 1880; marr. William **Bishop**, 7 June 1913; d. 28 Jan. 1960; d.s.p.

iv. James Havelock, b. ca. 1883, Northfield, Queens Co.; d. Shelburne, 10 July 1978. He marr. 22 Dec. 1915, Jordan Falls, Jennie Arnold **McKay**, daug. of Lauchlan and Harriet (Holden) McKay. Jim was a master shipbuilder responsible for a number of famous schooners, including the *Nellie T. Walters*, the *Haligonian*, and the *Cecil Jr.* Their only child is James McKay Harding, Q.C.

References: Liverpool Methodist; PANS RG 32, Series WB, p. 170, #158, p. 80, #15; Registry of Deeds, Queens Co., Vol. 28, p. 550, Vol. 36, pp. 377, 503, 520, Vol. 38, pp. 536, 537; *Liverpool Advance*, 24 Apr. 1907; *Kamloops Sentinel*, 28 Mar. 1932; personal correspondence.

23 Hugh[3] Harding (James[2], Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, 12 Aug. 1826; d. before 1867. He marr., Liverpool, 27 Feb. 1851, Elizabeth **Stubbs**, daug. of Thomas Stubbs; she was b. ca. 1826, and d. Liverpool, 15 June 1904.

Hugh was a student of Elizabeth's when she taught at the Port L'Hebert School in 1846. The information given below, regarding the accidental drowning of Hugh Jr., refers to Elizabeth as the widow of Capt. Harding. She continued to live in Liverpool, operating her home as a boarding house.

Issue of Hugh and Elizabeth Harding:

i. Hugh Houston, b. 1 May 1852; drowned 1 Oct. 1867, in the Mersey River, Liverpool.

References: Liverpool Methodist; PANS RG 14, Vol. 58, #152, School Records; PANS RG 32, Series M, p. 22, #1, Series WB, #22, p. 18; PANS RG 14, Series C, Vol. 1, #74; Chandler Funeral Records, Liverpool, #131; *Liverpool Transcript*, 3 Oct. 1867.

24 Sarah Ann Bel[3] Harding (James[3], Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, 31 Dec. 1829; d. Sable River, 8 Aug. 1875, of consumption. She was the second wife of Henry Allen **Harlow** and they were marr., Port L'Hebert, 11 Feb. 1852. He was the son of James and Olivia (Chadsey) Harlow; he was b. 1823 and d. Feb. 1918, aged 95 years. He is buried at Sable River beside his three wives, each of whom predeceased him. He was a ship's carpenter by trade, and owned in 1871 a ship yard worth $2,000 and a brig valued at $3,000.

Issue of Henry and Sarah Harlow:

i. Mary, b. ca. 1853; marr. 15 Oct. 1902, Thomas **Mackay**; d.s.p.
ii. Edgar, b. ca. 1854; marr. Ella **Harlow**. Issue.
iii. David Ferguson, b. ca. 1857; marr. Hattie **McKenna**. Issue.
iv. Alice, b. 17 Sept. 1860; marr. 9 Feb. 1881, George Snyder **Freeman**. Issue.
v. Eldora, b. 27 Aug. 1865; marr. 8 Apr. 1891, Eldred **Leslie**; d.s.p.
vi. Emma, b. 13 May 1869; marr. 2 Jan. 1895, John Edward **McDonald**. Issue.

References: Family Bible; 1871, 1881 Census, Shelburne Co.; *Liverpool Advance*, 20 Feb. 1918, 9 Jan. 1895; PANS RG 32, Series WB, Births, Shelburne Co., #181, p. 52; Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; Freeman, *Freeman Families of Nova Scotia*.

25 Jane[3] Harding (James[2], Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, 7 Mar. 1836; d. Port Joli, 6 Apr. 1915, d.s.p. She marr., Liverpool, 8 July 1884, widower Capt. Daniel **McIntosh**. He was b. 1842, Pictou, and was lost at Table Bay, South Africa, 1897. Daniel is buried in Liverpool beside his first wife, and Jane at Port Mouton beside her three sisters.

Jane had established herself as a merchant in Liverpool before her marriage. When a bankrupt store was auctioned off on 11 May 1882, Jane Harding, merchant, was the highest bidder, at $470. She soon sold that store to another merchant for $400, the mortgage to be paid off in four years at 6%, plus one hundred dollars in cash. In 1886 Daniel's three children, all still minors, legally chose their father as guardian and lived with him and their stepmother.

References: Family Bible; PANS RG 32, Series M, #38, p. 198; Registry of Deeds, Queens Co., Vol. 30, pp. 240, 242; Probate Court, Queens Co., Estate A789 and A662; Port Mouton Cemetery; *Liverpool Advance* 7 April 1915.

26 Annie[3] Harding (James[2], Jasper[1]), b. Port L'Hebert, 28 Feb. 1841; d. Port Joli, 15 Sept. 1929. She marr. 29 Jan. 1867, Port L'Hebert, Lewis **Robertson**, son of Michael and Jennet (McDonald) Robertson. He was b. Port Joli, 15 Apr. 1839, and d. 21 Jan. 1921. Lewis and Annie are buried in Port Mouton Cemetery.

They were Port Joli hotel keepers, first at the "Robertson House," and later at their newly built "Mountain House," which opened in 1886. Their grandson, Lewis Robertson, whose "memories of their home were the happiest of his childhood days," described some of the daily activities:

> The Shelburne coach left Hogg's stables on Charlotte lane at 6:00 a.m. and arrived at Port Joli at 11:45. The Liverpool coach travelling west left at 8:00 a.m. and arrived at 11:30. Passengers, mail, and light freight were carried. Dinner was at Robertson House at twelve noon. The menu was quite regular--roast beef or trout and two kinds of pie. The cost was thirty-five cents. Other meals were twenty-five cents and overnight accommodation was fifty cents. At noon fresh horses were provided for the return trip.

Both Lewis and Annie were very active in the Methodist Church. He was an elder and welcomed neighbours to Sunday morning Bible readings in his home. Annie's two widowed sisters, Elizabeth Ferguson and Jane McIntosh settled on the farm across the road, and extended family gatherings were frequent and memorable occasions.

Issue of Lewis and Annie Robertson:

i. Michael Stanley, b. 26 Oct. 1867, Port Joli; d. 7 Mar. 1958, Shelburne. He marr. 21 June 1893, Boston, Jessie **Hogg**, daug. of John and Annie (McKay) Hogg; she was b. Clyde River, 4 Aug. 1872, and d. Shelburne, 20 June 1941. M. Stanley was Shelburne's first town clerk and treasurer; owned a footware store; and then became president and general manager of Shelburne Fisheries Ltd. Issue: six children.

ii. James Currie, b. 30 Jan. 1870, Port Joli; d. 6 Feb. 1937; d.s.p. He marr. 1 June 1908, Elizabeth Wiley **Payzant**, daug. of Jazon and Emma (Gardner) Payzant; she was b. 23 Nov. 1876, and d. 15 Apr. 1923.

iii. Lewis Clifford, b. 9 Nov. 1876, Port Joli; d. 25 Feb. 1955, Shelburne. He marr. ca. Jan. 1906, Mabel Augusta **McKenzie**, daug. of Capt. John and Lydia (Doll) Hipson McKenzie. Cliff was a tinsmith; owner of L.C. Robertson Hardware; and an active member of Trinity United Church. Issue.

iv. Frank Aubrey, b. 8 Oct. 1879, Port Joli; d. Yarmouth, ca. 1969. He marr. (1) 4 Dec. 1900, Liverpool, Estella **Swaine**, daug. of John and Sarah Swain, with issue; (2) 6 June 1917, Shelburne, Edna **McKenzie**, daug. of Capt. John and Lydia (Doll) Hipson McKenzie, with issue. Aubrey founded a Port Mouton fish business, and then owned and operated Canadian Tire Stores at Wolfville and Yarmouth.

References: Liverpool Methodist; PANS RG 32, Series WB and Series M; interviews; personal papers; *Shelburne Budget*, 13 April 1894.

The author wishes to acknowledge, with thanks, information provided by the following: Marion Robertson; Anne Borden Harding; Mary-Lynne Harding (through the records of the Kamloops Family History Society); Pat Murray; Vivian MacMillan; Stephen A. White, C.G. (C); Jim Harding; and Edie Crowell, who assisted with countless cemetery searches.

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Book Reviews

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume VII (1836-1850), edited by Francess G. Halpenny. ISBN 0-8020-3452-7. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988. 1088 pages, indices, hardcover, $70.00.

The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume VII, the eleventh now in print, contains biographies of individuals who made contributions to Canadian life and who died in Canada and elsewhere between 1836 and 1850. This volume maintains the goal of the entire project to provide "readable and factual treatment[s]" which draw on primary sources. The achievements of individuals are placed against "the background of the period [and] the events in which they participated." Each entry by the 326 contributors is intended to be original research rather than a résumé of previous work.

Themes found within the 538 biographies are stories of settlement and war, of continental and international trade, of political and religious development, and of the shaping of regional and colonial identity. Individuals are selected from all classes and vocations.

Despite the attempt to be comprehensive one still wonders if this volume retains vestiges of élitism. For example, biographies are given of two prominent community leaders who were executed following the 1837 Upper Canada Rebellion. Yet two people who died in the initial clashes of the Rebellion are not included. Are they absent due to lack of source material or because they were too common?

In two ways, the strength of the book, its fresh interpretations, can also be its weakness. First is the length of time that existed between preparation of some entries and publication of the volume. Although all entries were intended to be fresh, access to previously unavailable manuscripts changes interpretations. Thus, entries that were considered adequate at the time of preparation a few years ago, no longer are.

Second, the entries are the interpretive work of scholars, rather than simply narratives. As a church historian, this reviewer found some of the interpretations in religious biographies debatable. Those working in other fields would no doubt have a similar response to entries in their specialties. This is not a negative criticism, but a reminder to the user of the *DCB* that, rather than being a dictionary of facts, it is a forum for research.

One of the greatest assets of the book is its Bibliography. Included are lists of archives referred to by contributors; of printed primary sources; of newspapers; and of reference works. Individuals are indexed not only

by occupation and group (e.g. women), but by place of birth and locale of career. Of particular value is the nominal index which includes, in addition to those with biographies, individuals mentioned in entries. The text is cross-referenced to biographical entries in other volumes of the *DCB*.

As magnificent as the indices are, an expansion of the cross-referencing is needed. For example, John Burton's prominence as a minister was as a community organizer of Nova Scotia Blacks following the departure of David George and others to Sierra Leone. Thus, ideally he should be cross-referenced in some fashion to Blacks. Perhaps when the project is completed, a supplementary volume with comprehensive cross-referencing for all volumes will be issued. Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood

Politics of Nova Scotia. Volume Two, Murray-Buchanan, 1896-1988, by J. Murray Beck. ISBN 0-920417-16-2. Four East Publications, Tantallon, N.S. 438 pages, illustrated, hardcover, $39.95.

It is ironic that Nova Scotia, with its rich historical and political past, has long suffered from a lack of survey studies. Professor J. Murray Beck has gone a long way to address this situation in his two-volume work, *Politics of Nova Scotia*.

Volume Two begins with W.S. Fielding's departure for Ottawa to join Laurier's new federal cabinet in 1896. His successor as premier of Nova Scotia, George Murray, held office for twenty-six years until his retirement in 1923. Twentieth-century Nova Scotia provincial politics is fascinating for a number of reasons, one being that it is dominated by premiers who held office for extended periods of time--Murray, Angus L. Macdonald, Robert L. Stanfield and John Buchanan.

Professor Beck traces the major issues facing governments in Nova Scotia in this century. The optimism which ushered in the Laurier government in Ottawa was equally felt in Nova Scotia. The coal and steel industries were rapidly expanding in the first decade of the twentieth century; railway construction was on the rise; and a weak Conservative Party, federally and provincially, fuelled Murray's success.

The decline in the provincial economy in the post-World War I period lasted throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Murray's retirement in 1923 and the Conservative Party's effective use of the Maritime Rights issue resulted in a provincial Conservative government in 1925. Its hold on office was

short-lived, as the Liberals regrouped under Angus L. Macdonald in the election of 1933. The slow rise from the economic woes of the long depression; the upturn created by the war and post-war economic activities; and the continued weakness of the Conservatives resulted in another long Liberal period of government. The slow but methodical rise of Robert Stanfield, in a changing Nova Scotia political culture, ushered the Tories back into power in 1956.

One may question Dr. Beck's decision to take this volume up to and including the 1988 provincial election. It may have been easier to stop with the election of the Buchanan government in 1978; however, as one would expect, Dr. Beck has treated this last decade with necessary sensitivity.

Dr. Beck was confronted with several major archival problems in preparing the second volume of *Politics of Nova Scotia*. Premier Murray's decision to destroy his political and personal papers has left a major void in the archival record for the first quarter of the twentieth century. Furthermore, for over one-third of the period, there was no full Hansard reporting of the Assembly's deliberations. There is also a significant gap in the Robert Stanfield papers. By consulting other archival records and printed sources, however, Professor Beck has mined a large amount of research material to provide us with this entertaining, informative, and highly readable narrative of twentieth-century Nova Scotia politics. The publisher should be commended for using acid-free paper, which will extend the life of the publication.

Studies of this type whet one's appetite for more. Necessarily, Professor Beck has had to give only passing notice to a number of important issues and individuals in twentieth-century Nova Scotia. The politics of our coal and steel industries require further study. A.S. MacMillan, the "highwayman" and Dr. A.S. Kendall, the social conscience of the provincial Liberal party in early twentieth-century Nova Scotia are obvious targets for more research. Scholarly studies of Angus L. Macdonald and Robert Stanfield await us.

Professor Beck has given over forty years of his life to the study of Nova Scotia's political culture. His contribution to scholarship in this province is well documented on library shelves. *Politics of Nova Scotia* will take its place as an indispensable reference tool for students, scholars and the general public.

Carman V. Carroll

The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, edited by Richard A. Davies. ISBN 0-8020-2628-1. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988. xxi plus 293 pages, hardcover, $40.00.

The publication of the collected letters of an outstanding Nova Scotian literary figure is such a rare event that it deserves more than passing interest. Despite greatly increased activity over the last few decades in recovering and interpreting our provincial past, the correspondence of most of our notable writers remains uncollected and unknown to all except the few historians and biographers mining it for their own purposes without any intention of emulating the labours of Professor Davies. One looks in vain for the published letters of such luminaries as Thomas McCulloch, James De Mille, Frank Parker Day, or Charles Bruce, and even the highly esteemed Joseph Howe is represented in print by only a small portion of his numerous private letters. Certainly the collection, transcription, and annotation of letters can be a daunting task when performed according to the highest scholarly standards. This Haliburton edition is a case in point: the editor required a decade to track down fugitive letters, reproduce them accurately, and find answers to hundreds of questions concerning the identification of persons and the meaning of obscure passages.

Two large collections totalling 143 letters, one in the Houghton Library at Harvard and the other in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, formed a solid base for this volume, but it turned out that the other letters discovered were widely dispersed--from California to Pennsylvania, from Ontario to Nova Scotia, from Scotland to Cornwall. Slightly over one hundred of the total collection had been previously published, but many of these only in part. It is unlikely that even a specialist in early provincial history and literature will have seen more than a third of the letters of this edition, in manuscript or print.

Professor Davies has arranged the letters in six chronological groupings that represent the various stages of Haliburton's career. The first group (1796-1829) is dominated by the writer's keen interest in provincial history as he wrestles with the difficulties of preparing his brief *General Description of Nova Scotia* (1823) and then his major *Historical and Statistical Account* (1829); the second (1829-1837) highlights Haliburton's activities as a judge and incidentally reveals some of his attitudes to crime and punishment and his conception of the humane administration of justice; the third (1838-1840) features the appearance of *The Clockmaker*, his extended visit to England,

and his dealings with the English publisher Richard Bentley; the fourth (1840-1856), which covers the period of Haliburton's emergence and prominence as a literary figure, includes most of the relatively few passages in the letters on specifically literary matters, the main themes being his falling out with Bentley and his negotiations for the publication of his various books; the last two groups (1856-1859 and 1859-1865) record glimpses of his life in England as a public speaker on colonial affairs, a member of Parliament, a businessman, and an active participant in polite society. Each group of letters is prefaced by a brief introduction describing the circumstances in which the letters were written and supplying information about the persons and events related to each stage of Haliburton's life.

This volume is a fine example of scholarly editing. Professor Davies's painstaking research and unremitting sense of responsibility to his task are evident at every turn--in the careful transcriptions of the letters, in his grasp of Haliburton's life and career, and in his determination to make the annotation as exact and thorough as possible. The University of Toronto Press has complemented his efforts by producing an impeccably printed and handsome book. M.G. Parks

Henry Alline: Selected Writings, by George A. Rawlyk, ed. ISBN 0-8091-0396-6. Paulist Press, Mahwah, N.J., 1987. vi + 343 pp., hardcover, $26.95. Available from the Anglican Diocesan Bookstore, 5732 College St., Halifax, N.S., B3H 1X3.

An Abiding Conviction: Maritime Baptists and Their World, by Robert S. Wilson, ed. ISBN 0-88999-384-X. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1988. v + 249 pp., softcover, $9.95.

The most dynamic area for historical research in recent years has been colonial Maritime religious development. Both the general reader and the academic can find profit in the many books which have come out of this research. Two recent contributions are George A. Rawlyk's *Henry Alline* and Robert Wilson's *An Abiding Conviction*. Although both have been in the bookstores for over a year, neither has received the notice which each deserves.

Rawlyk's collection of Henry Alline's known writings is the first such comprehensive selection of that evangelist's works. As a leading figure in eighteenth-century Maritime religious history, Alline (1748-1784) produced a fascinating body of letters, sermons, hymns, theological/metaphysical treatises and a spiritual autobiography. His impact on Maritime and northern

New England Baptists and Congregationalists prompted the editors of the 'Sources in American Spirituality' series to include him alongside of Elizabeth Seton and Walter Rauschenbusch. Rawlyk's main essay places Henry Alline both within the larger North American and the specifically Nova Scotian contexts. The continuity with the New England revival tradition, combined with Alline's own particular views on evangelical Protestantism, produced a uniquely Nova Scotian contribution to Canadian-American church history. Rawlyk's commentaries provide the reader with a valuable guide to Alline's thought and life. Nothing, of course, will substitute for actually reading Alline's own impassioned, lyrical and often mystical writings.

Rawlyk's *Henry Alline* can now serve as the starting place for anyone intrigued by this Falmouth resident who moved the hearts of so many men and women in the 1700s. The bibliography is an excellent introduction to Allinite scholarship. Curiously, the editor omitted Thomas Vincent's studies of Alline's hymnody and prose. Since both scholars reside in Kingston, Ont., the oversight cannot be excused.

An opportunity was missed by Rawlyk to confront the matter of Alline's unorthodox beliefs. The latter included denial of a bodily resurrection and rejection of the idea of the Atonement as a substitutionary act of salvation. There is evidence that some of these peculiar teachings survived well into the 1800s. An anthology of Alline's manuscript legacy was a forum in which to distill his thoughts on these areas and therefore a way to better see Alline in the general picture of Western Christian history. Nonetheless, *Henry Alline* is assured of a lasting place as a foundation text in colonial Nova Scotian studies.

Robert Wilson's *An Abiding Conviction* is a varied collection of conference papers all linked by the theme of Nova Scotia Baptist belief and experience. Daniel Goodwin's "Revivalism and Denominational Policy: Yarmouth Baptists in the 1820s" examines an on-going concern with the relationship between emotional revivalism and formal church structure. P.G.A. Griffin-Allwood's article on Acadia College carries the subject further. He looks at efforts to win Baptist rank and file to the idea of an educated ministry. Throughout the nineteenth century, Baptists wrestled with balancing their evangelical heritage and formal schooling to avoid being relegated to Nova Scotia's social and political fringe.

The Baptists' legacy of revivals and sense of mission helped to inspire the United Baptist Women's Missionary Union. H. Miriam Ross provides

an overview of the institution, beginning with Minnie DeWolfe's posting to Burma in late 1867. The British Baptist models are not ignored, though one could have wished for more comments on American missionary endeavours, since these actually attracted several Maritime men and women to work under their auspices. In contrast to this outreach of channeled revivalism, David Bell's paper on the New Brunswick Free Christian Baptists traces the loss of the strict Allinite tradition. Union and formal organization as 1900 neared was achieved only by the submergence of a more radical past.

History and education are picked up by David Brinton in "Joseph Crandall: Preacher and Politician," and Robert S. Wilson's excellent account, "John Mocket Cramp as a Church Historian." Alline's shadow remains in the background, yet recedes as Nova Scotia Baptists through men such as Cramp turned to British and American models of higher education. Margaret Conrad's "An Abiding Conviction of the Paramount Importance of Christian Education" goes further in contrasting how a Christian world outlook must accommodate a multi-faith society's demands. Her choice of Theodore H. Rand is an apt one, since as a Baptist he had to be sensitive to other denominations in his role as a provincial superintendent of education. The article by Allison Trites on the scholar Calvin Goodspeed reviews the life of an individual unrestricted by such obligations as Rand was under. Goodspeed, as Trites points out, was a theologian who melded trained intellectual competence with a subdued yet resilient piety.

As a conclusion to this collection there is Douglas Mantz's thoughtful paper, "Radical Conservatives: From Nova Scotia Toward an Aesthetic of Canadian Baptist Poetry." Kenneth Leslie as a poet and lay preacher is used by Mantz to establish a set of six criteria to define Canadian Baptist poetry. One may question how typical Leslie's work is as a basis for criteria. However, Mantz is consistent in applying his own rules when he goes on to examine the work of Watson Kirkconnell, Elizabeth Bishop and George E. Clarke. With the Mantz article we have come, as it were, full circle from the hymns and poetry of Henry Alline to the twentieth-century legacy of poetry which has not received its full due in the Baptist denomination itself. Then again, Alline has not been fully made known to Nova Scotian audiences in general either, so it is time to line out the praises of both Alline and church history--albeit with an ever-critical eye.

Allen B. Robertson

A Companion to the Royal Navy, by David A. Thomas. Harrap Ltd., London, 1988. xvi plus 443 pages, hardcover, £19.95. Available from the publisher, 19-23 Ludgate Hill, London, EC4M7PD.

David Thomas served in the Royal Navy as a seaman during World War II in home waters as well as in the Far East. He has authored eight previous books on various aspects of the Royal Navy and is a member of the Navy Records Society. Thomas's present book describes the development of the Royal Navy from its beginnings in the 1660s, when Charles II granted it the Royal prefix, until the present. He is quick to point out, however, that prior to 1660, England's navy had already experienced two centuries of parliamentary and monarchical involvement, and was regarded as the most powerful navy in Europe in 1660, comprising 109 ships.

A Companion to the Royal Navy is divided into five distinct sections, entitled: Admiralty (37 pages); Ships' Names and Badges (173 pages); Naval Battles (79 pages); Battle Honours (119 pages); and Naval Chronology (22 pages). There is no overall index to the book; however, each section, except the first, is arranged alphabetically or chronologically. For instance, Section II contains an alphabetical list of over sixteen hundred ships of the Royal Navy, while Section III includes an alphabetical list, and description, of all battles in which the Royal Navy had participated since the year 1588. The book is essentially a reference volume on the Royal Navy and consists, for the most part, of lists of Admiralty personnel, ships, battles, and honours. Needless to say, these lists can be valuable to any historian who is pursuing research on Canadian history.

The opening chapter on the Admiralty is too brief, and fails to explain the tenuous relationship between the Admiralty and the Navy Board. Secretaries of the Admiralty who had a great deal to do with North America during the French and American Wars, namely John Cleveland (Secretary, 1751-1763) and Philip Stephens (Secretary, 1763-1795), are only briefly mentioned, and Thomas does not comment on decisions which these two Secretaries made which could have influenced the outcome of the two wars.

In Section II of the book, one will not find information on every ship which has been used by the Royal Navy. In fact, in order to qualify for selection, the ship must have served during, or after, World War II. The ship is then given a list of predecessors which have born the same name, but this list has been pruned to include what can loosely be termed major ships, i.e. sloops or 6th rates and larger in the case of sailing ships. For

instance, only eleven of the twenty-three vessels in Vice Admiral Boscawan's fleet at Louisbourg in 1758 are included. It would also have been useful if Thomas had included the number of guns and complement of each of the sixteen hundred ships he does describe. In this section (page 43), Mr. Thomas provides a very valuable table which defines the rates of vessels. Ships of the line are shown to come under one of Rates 1 to 4, the latter having 50 to 59 guns, and a complement of between 350 and 490 men.

Probably the most interesting section of the book is the one on naval battles. Thomas includes many statistics, allowing one to draw comparisons between opposing forces, and for most battles provides a thumbnail sketch of the salient features of each encounter. His treatment of Louisbourg in 1758, however, is rather dissappointing: he devotes only one sentence to the battle, and includes it under the heading, "War of American Independence"!

Allan E. Marble

Dorchester Island and Related Areas, by Reginald B. Bowser. ISBN 0-919488-24-2. Privately published, 1986. vi plus 179 pages, illustrated, softcover, $12.95. Available from the author, 68 Bromley Ave., Moncton, N.B.

Handley Chipman, King's County Planter 1717-1799, by James D. Davison. ISBN 0-9691-287-1-1. Ronald E. Bezanson, New Minas, 1988. x plus 165 pages, illustrated, softcover, $10.00. Available from the author, P.O. Box 1092, Wolfville, N.S. B0P 1X0.

Attempts to evaluate local histories written by amateurs challenge a reviewer used to academic publications. A fair guide is at hand in, "Parish Perspectives: Recent Work in Community History Within Atlantic Canada," by D.A. Sutherland (*Acadiensis* 18, No. 1 [Autumn 1987]: 143-150). Dr. Sutherland was interested in an exchange of expertise between professionals and amateurs. He was at pains to highlight the fact that local historians had a ready public audience and often tackled subjects too long neglected by trained historians. In spite of the amateurs' lack of analysis, inattention to apparatus such as footnotes, and tendencies toward noting facts for facts' sake, their stories frequently pave the way for later researchers. Amateurs' writing flaws should not be allowed to detract from any positive contributions to overall Maritime historiography.

It is in the foregoing context that Bowser's and Davison's books can be judged. Both have stories to tell and have chosen topics begging for further study.

Reginald Bowser's *Dorchester Island* is a labour of love. It presents a look at community growth from colonial times to the twentieth century for the hamlets around this New Brunswick settlement. Much space is devoted to Planter and Loyalist residents who built up farming, coastal trade and ship-building. The last topic is especially engaging when Bowser details the activity in the Palmer, Hickman and Chapman yards. The author is equally attentive to the area's architectural past. Some Nova Scotia readers may be interested to note the presence on the Island of a trading post for the Shelburne-based merchant firm of A. & R. Barry.

Sketches by William Bowser (the author's son) and photographs enrich the book. Bowser has made ready use of letters, diaries and reminiscences to produce vignettes for various decades. Added to these intimate portraits are details on industry, ethnic relations and genealogies.

The narrative of *Dorchester Island* is at times disjointed and repetitious. In certain passages one is left wondering where a quotation ends and the author begins, though this seems more a fault of the typesetting format. While there is no list of sources, there are internal citations which substitute for footnote documentation. This feature saves the book from being merely an interesting essay. Instead, it points the way as a model for other amateurs to prepare histories of similar former ship-building centres along the coasts of the Maritimes.

Handley Chipman is both biography and local history. James Davison has written a "man and his times" account of a Rhode Island patriarch who in the 1760s moved to Cornwallis Township in Kings County, N.S. Handley Chipman, a former Assemblyman in his home colony, retained prominence here as a Judge of Probate, Justice of the Peace and active Congregationalist. His sons went on to become farmers, merchants, politicians and educators. One son, Thomas H. Chipman, became a Baptist minister and a founder of Acadia College.

The additional historical importance of Chipman comes from the survival of so many of his writings (diaries, a genealogy, Biblical commentaries, historical notes). His observations on eighteenth-century Nova Scotia and world events have been overshadowed by the extensive diaries of Liverpool merchant Simeon Perkins. Colonial church historians have only begun to tap the Chipman manuscripts. Davison's biography should help to bring this King's County Planter to better notice among historians in general.

Davison has supplied, in addition to biographical details, some interesting accounts about the 1760s Planter settlement of Nova Scotia, early politics, social life and religious concerns. The extensive bibliography is worth careful perusal. The author makes extensive use, too, of paraphrase and quotation based on Chipman's writings, to permit the latter to speak for himself. There is a decided tendency to antiquarianism, though, when asides distract from the central figure. Moreover, one is left feeling that the inner man of Handley Chipman has not been explored fully, nor have the driving motivations of his life been brought clearly to the fore.

Historians are confronted in Chipman's papers with an opportunity to re-examine Nova Scotia's early intellectual and religious formation. His concerns with educating his family ensured that his descendants survived as a socially prominent dynasty active into this century. Davison's book certainly is not the final word on Handley Chipman. However, it is a much needed foundation on which more analytical studies can be built.

Together, Bowser's *Dorchester Island* and Davison's *Handley Chipman* remind academics that research into colonial Maritime history is far from exhausted. Indeed, the creation of micro-studies of different community types (fishing, farming, industrial) would help in the re-evaluation of Nova Scotia's transformation from struggling settlement into a mature social-political entity. Group biographies of prominent families, occupational groups, and church members are needed to mesh with local histories. Some academic research along these lines has begun already. Yet it seems likely that it will continue to be interested amateurs who will be the first interpreters of this heritage for residents of town and country. Allen B. Robertson

A Bold Step Forward: The History of the Fundy Mental Health Centre, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, by Linda Cann. ISBN 0-9692534. Fundy Mental Health Foundation, Wolfville, N.S., 1986. 83 pages, illustrated, softcover.

Up until recently, few writings by historians have appeared that have contributed to an understanding of the development of psychiatry or of the services available for the early treatment of the mentally ill in Nova Scotia. It is encouraging therefore to observe the publication of a history of the Fundy Mental Health Centre of Wolfville, the first community-based mental health clinic of its kind in Nova Scotia. Arising at a time when a new era was dawning in the treatment of mental patients (with a shift in

emphasis to out-patient facilities and home-care programs), the Centre became a model for six other regional clinics in the province.

The book is largely a chronological account in five chapters, beginning with the Centre's founding in 1955 and concluding with its amalgamation with the Kentville-based Valley Health Services Association in 1983. Cann maintains that from its inception the clinic was highly successful, being owned and operated by the community it served. In Cann's view, it was able to overcome many negative public attitudes and to establish a good rapport with community groups because of the many dedicated and interested individuals on its staff and board of directors. As she notes, "[the Centre] became. . .a model of professional, volunteer and government teamwork in mental health services."

Perhaps the most important part of the book is Chapter Four, in which Cann describes the many social and educational reforms pioneered by Fundy. These included various counselling services, a summer camp for children with learning disabilities, workshops for the disabled, psychological testing in the schools, family planning, the rehabilitation of alcoholics, and many other innovations. In all of its programs, it aimed to treat patients early so that they could be kept out of hospitals.

In the 70s and 80s, a national trend developed toward the amalgamation of mental health services with regional hospitals, for greater financial efficiency. Fundy was one of the last holdouts, finally agreeing to amalgamation in return for alcoholism and day-care programs at the Miller Hospital in Kentville. The amalgamation resulted in a different delivery of Fundy's services, but the basic purpose remained similar to that of its earlier years.

The research for this book was funded by the Fundy Centre's own Foundation, and thus the result is a very favourable approach to the Centre's history and activities. Despite this, the text is lively and readable, and there are several photographs included of former staff members. For sources, Cann has relied mainly on the Centre's own records, such as reports and minutes of meetings, and has also interviewed many former staff and board members. As the book is intended for general readers rather than academics, it does not contain footnotes or a bibliography. It would have been wise, however, to have included an index for easier referencing.

Overall, the book is an informative and useful account of the role of medical institutions in the community in general, and of Fundy's impor-

tance in particular in the treatment of the mentally ill in the Annapolis Valley from the 1950s to the 1980s. Similar, though more objective, studies of other medical institutions in Nova Scotia are sorely needed.

Wendy L. Thorpe

Dear Old St. John's. A History of the Parish of St. John the Baptist, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, by Keith Boudreau and Michael MacMillan. Privately published, 1987. 84 pages, illustrated, softcover.

This is the second publication in a number of years to examine the growth and development of Roman Catholic parishes on the East River of Pictou County (see also M. Stephen Kirincich, *Our Lady of Lourdes Church, 1883-1983*). As such, the development of each parish can be compared and the interaction of a Catholic minority in a predominantly Scottish, Presbyterian milieu can be better appreciated.

The authors of this work have chosen a thematic/chronological approach to their parish history. The main themes consist of biographical sketches of the priests who have served the parish; an outline of the role of the Sisters of the Congregation de Notre Dame of Montreal, with particular emphasis on their educational and cultural impact upon the community; a review of the history of St. John's Academy; and finally, an analysis of various church groups and societies which have played an integral role in the wider Catholic community. The result is a sustained and coherent narrative which flows easily from theme to theme.

Thirty-five years before St. John's parish was founded in 1885, Father Hugh O'Reilly became the first priest to give consistent service (1840s and 1850s) to the Catholics of the New Glasgow area. Some writers have described O'Reilly as "tactless." Certainly his departing benediction to his Pictou congregation, "You're rotten!", might be considered undiplomatic. However, any priest who could walk the streets of New Glasgow, loudly abusing his three dogs, "Luther, Calvin and Knox," merits some marks for his sense of humour.

The Catholics, mainly resident in the north end of New Glasgow, survived O'Reilly and grew and flourished. The most contentious community issue was the double taxation faced by the parents of Catholic children as they were compelled to support both town and parish schools. This issue is addressed with admirable forbearance by the authors. No history of St.

John's could be written without extensive reference to Father D.R. "Dempsey" Chisholm, parish priest, 1941-1964. By the time of his death, "Dempsey" was a revered and legendary figure in Eastern Nova Scotia.

The book is well illustrated throughout with photographs. Identification of individuals in some of the group photographs would have enhanced the value of these documents.

We are prone to forget the important role the Catholic Church played in the daily lives of its adherents. This book reminds us of this heritage of church-community linkage. To the extent that this linkage has been weakened or fragmented, the story of St. John's alerts us to the fact that all change is not necessarily positive. Allan C. Dunlop

Department of Tourism and Culture

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