Nova Scotia Historical Review

Cover Illustration:
A View of Halifax from Fort Needham. Coloured Aquatint by George Isham Parkyns, 1801.

Courtesy Canadiana Department, Royal Ontario Museum.

To Our Readers

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

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* is indexed in the *Canadian Magazine Index* and the *Canadian Periodical Index*, and is available on-line in the "Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database." Back issues are available in microform from Micromedia Limited, 158 Pearl Street, Toronto, Ontario M5H 1L3.

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Quarterly / Review

Back Issues Available

Quarterly

Volume 2 — Number 4
Volume 3 — Numbers 3 and 4
Volume 4 — Numbers 1, 3 and 4
Volume 9 — Numbers 3 and 4
Volume 10 — Numbers 2, 3 and 4

Available at $2.00 each or $3.00 for two.

Review

Volume 3 — Number 2
Volume 4 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 6 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 7 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 8 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 9 — Number 1

Available at $5.00 per copy.

From:

Contents

Editorial

Just as the visitor to Fortress Louisbourg may be provoked into weighing the comparative scholarly and scientific merits of the partial re-creation of historic buildings against those of the complete excavation of a virginal historic site, so anyone interested in the preservation of architectural heritage may find himself pondering the relative merits of restoring, conserving or renovating historic buildings. Such an argument is academic, of course, when the built heritage continues to be deliberately destroyed--there have been at least three egregious examples of such vandalism in the City of Halifax in the past two years.

The *Heritage Property Act*, the stated purpose of which is "to provide for the identification, designation, preservation, protection and rehabilitation of buildings, streetscapes and areas of historic, architectural or cultural value," was assented to and proclaimed and came into force in 1980. As we in 1989 are observing the tenth year of its operation, the cautionary note sounded by architect Allen Penney in his recently published *Houses of Nova Scotia* should give us pause: "Present legislation is timid and fails to satisfy the conservers and the developers." Basic preservation of the built heritage and preserving the architectural heritage--the building in its original architectural style--may be two quite different and not necessarily compatible aims, as Professor Penney suggests in the introduction to his book.

On a housekeeping matter: over the years it has proved increasingly difficult to find persons not only willing to review books, but also able to submit their reviews on time if at all. We are therefore pleased to announce that Allen B. Robertson (Ph.D. candidate in History, Queen's University) has accepted our invitation to become "Book Review Editor"; he makes his début in this issue. Books for review and queries concerning them may henceforth be sent to him in care of the *Review*.

Our June 1990 issue will be general in content, while the December number following will have as its theme Cape Breton in the eighteenth century-- i.e., from the foundation of Louisbourg in 1713 to the annexation of the Island to Nova Scotia in 1820. Coordinating the issue is A.J.B. Johnston, historian at Fortress Louisbourg National Historic Park, to whom expressions

of interest may be directed. Potential contributors are invited to submit their manuscripts to the Literary Editor by 15 September.

Tear-Out
Subscription Renewal Page

NAME

ADDRESS

PROVINCE/STATE

POSTAL CODE/ZIP

☐ I enclose $10.00, 1 year, 2 issues

☐ Enter my subscription

☐ Renew my subscription

☐ Change my address

Send to:

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1W4

THE OSGOODE SOCIETY

FORTHCOMING, JUNE 1990
PUBLICATION OF THE OSGOODE SOCIETY

Essays in the History of Canadian Law
Volume III, Nova Scotia
Philip Girard and Jim Phillips, eds.

Please write or phone:

The Osgoode Society

Osgoode Hall

130 Queen Street West

Toronto, Ontario

B5H 2N6

(416) 947-3321

The Heritage Property Act: Ten Years Old

Brian Cuthbertson

In 1980 the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia passed unanimously the *Heritage Property Act*, which for the first time provided for the legal protection of heritage buildings. This act had not sprung Minerva-like from the sudden inspiration of our legislators; it was rather the culmination of over one hundred years of effort by numerous Nova Scotians to preserve our heritage. The year 1857 marked the beginning of legislative action, with the appointment of Thomas Beamish Akins as "Records Commissioner"--in effect Provincial Archivist--the first such appointment in what was in another decade to become the Dominion of Canada. It was both natural and fitting that the initial concern for the preservation of our historic buildings should have been Annapolis Royal, the site of the oldest European settlement in the nation. As so often has been the case, it was the wanton destruction of a piece of our heritage that aroused citizens to action. In 1882, the wooden blockhouse, which had stood there for well over 150 years, was torn down for firewood; the Dominion Government of the day even considered selling off the grounds of the ancient fort for housing lots. The citizens of the town banded together to protect their history and to attempt some restoration of the fort's buildings, then falling into ruin. The result was the 1917 decision to create the Fort Anne Historic Park and thus provide permanent protection for the site.

Some eleven years before this achievement by citizens and government acting together, the Government of Nova Scotia had passed its--and the nation's--first legislation to provide legal protection for an historic site not in the public domain. The inspiration behind this 1906 Act was Captain D.J. Kennedy, a Cape Breton industrialist of the day, who was determined to preserve what was left of the former glory of Fortress Louisbourg, where the two great empires had clashed in the great struggle for dominion in North America. Kennedy organized an international campaign to raise funds to restore the fortress; King Edward VII became its chief patron and G.H. Murray its president. Murray, as premier, has seen the Act through the Nova Scotia Assembly. Unfortunately Kennedy died soon after, but the task was taken up by Senator J.S. McLennan, whose *Louisbourg From Its*

Dr. B.C. Cuthbertson, formerly Head of the Public Records Division at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and founding Editor of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, has since 1984 been Head of Heritage in the Cultural Affairs Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture.

Foundation to Its Fall (London, 1918) remains the standard reference for the two sieges.

What was being attempted at Fort Anne (Annapolis Royal) in preservation and restoration was no more than what was being done elsewhere as the nineteenth-century conservation movement gained momentum in both Europe and North America. What Senator McLennan was proposing, however, was a significant departure in concept; he wanted to reconstruct-- not just preserve and restore--history by building anew the fortifications which the British, after their 1758 victory, had dismantled stone by stone. Some of that stone had found its way to Halifax, where Richard Bulkeley used it to construct his house, which is today in part incorporated into the Carleton Hotel on Argyle Street. What was perhaps more important for the history of heritage conservation was the senator's realization that private initiative and effort in themselves would not suffice; there would have to be government intervention on a substantial scale. It was McLennan, after the First World War, who got the federal government to purchase the site, though it was not until after the Second World War that his vision of historical re-creation was triumphantly realized. Today's visitors to Fortress Louisbourg no longer picnic among the ruins and chat nostagically of its past glories and struggles of arms, but are able to step back 250 years into living history. Louisbourg is more than a reconstructed eighteenth-century fortress; it is an unrivalled opportunity for people living in the supposedly post-industrial age to experience life in the pre-industrial. In another generation there will be no Canadians who will have any memory of a society in which technological invention did not nurture, sustain and pervade all aspects of life.

The reconstruction of Louisbourg was not, however, the first such venture in Nova Scotia. Before it came that of Port Royal, in the years immediately preceding World War II. At the original site of Champlain's Habitation, there was nothing except open farmland. Again, the initiative for preserving the built heritage came from local citizen involvement, in the form of the Historic Restoration Society of Annapolis Royal, encouraged and aided by American and French supporters. Together they persuaded the Canadian government to embark on the most innovative historical reconstruction project ever undertaken in the nation up to that time. In its reconstruction, based on Champlain's engravings and contemporary accounts, were

employed the last generation of Nova Scotian woodworkers who could handle an axe with the same skill as their forefathers.

Fort Anne, Fortress Louisbourg and Port Royal were all historic sites of national, if not international, importance. It was possible to galvanize public opinion and government to act when their historical significance could not be ignored; moreover, in the case of the latter two, government could justify expenditures on them as creative employment projects in depressed economic times. But what of the smaller, less visible historic sites and buildings which remained in every part of the province, in varying states of condition? Some were well cared for, but many were being neglected and threatened with demolition. The first efforts at what can best be described as local heritage conservation began in the midst of the Great Depression. Professor K.G.T. Webster of Harvard University, a native of Yarmouth, purchased the Ross-Thompson House in Shelburne in 1931, solely to leave it to posterity as an "historic document." Then in Liverpool, Thomas Raddall and others of the Queens County Historical Society managed, in those hardest of economic times, to raise $2,000 to save the Simeon Perkins House from "modernization" and potential destruction. Just as the twenty-year armistice with Germany was ending, concerned citizens of Windsor prevailed upon the provincial government to purchase "Clifton," the former home of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the last owner of which had abandoned it to the ravages of dereliction. Thus was created the basis for the public ownership and conservation of historic houses that are today open to the public from one end of the province to the other.

The conservation efforts of those few--significant as they would prove to be--needed a focus and encouragement that only legislative action could provide. This came in 1947, and directly resulted from the wartime report by the noted scholar and native of Bridgewater, Robert MacGregor Dawson, on post-war development and rehabilitation. In it he devoted a complete chapter to the need for a provincial historic sites and monuments board, similar to the national institution which still exists. Out of his recommendation came the Historic Sites Advisory Board, charged with the "care and preservation of historical structures and buildings." To this board the then premier, Angus L. Macdonald, appointed two novelists whose stories were firmly rooted in the Nova Scotian historical experience. Will R. Bird was employed in the nascent Department of Tourism and was fully

alert to the benefits that could accrue to the province from the marriage of history and tourism. It was during his years of government service that he wrote his well-known series of novels about the Yorkshire settlers of Cumberland County. Although its extent has never been fully understood, nor has it been given the recognition it deserves, the romantic view Canadians and Americans have of our history derives much of its imagery from novels by Thomas Raddall, such as *His Majesty's Yankees* and *Roger Sudden*. By their work on the Advisory Board and their writing of historical fiction, Will Bird and Thomas Raddall did much to ensure that neither the public nor the government could evade joint responsibility for heritage conservation.

As timely, innovative and commendable as these conservation measures were, the public ownership of selected restored buildings and historic sites was not viewed as integral and important to community development planning. These structures had been chosen solely for their relevance to Nova Scotian history and not for their contribution to the surrounding architectural landscape. That such buildings should have any social or economic relevance beyond their purely historical interest was ignored, or considered downright heresy in a society obsessed with the presumed benefits of modernization as the agent of progress. The centenary celebrations of 1967 did give an impetus to heritage conservation nationally, but in general, mounting opposition to the wanton destruction of the built heritage in the name of development was restricted to saving individual buildings or streetscapes; as yet, there was no conservation ethos that could offset the seemingly relentless pressure for new development.

It was the threatened demolition in 1959 of "Gorsebrook," the former Halifax residence of Enos Collins, privateersman, merchant and banker, who in his day was reputed to be the wealthiest man in British North America, that gave renewed vigour to the heritage movement. Although it failed to preserve "Gorsebrook," it did save downtown Halifax from a planning disaster that would have severed the city from its waterfront. The importance of Historic Properties and the preservation of the Granville Street façade lies not in any nostalgic or romantic notions--however valuable these may be for promotional purposes--but in the retention of an architecture that emphasizes human scale, proportion and even elegance. Above all, the success of this effort ensured that Halifax would continue

to have a focus, a centre of human activity, where the commercial, the religious, the governmental, the educational and the recreational could successfully be combined. At least momentarily the tide had turned in Halifax, and with the advent of the Mainstreet Programme there was good reason to hope that heritage conservation would be recognized as critical for imaginative downtown revitalization throughout the province.

It was also recognized that the purchase, generally by government, of every endangered heritage building, and its conversion into yet another museum was no longer sensible or viable. There was also a growing realization that there had to be a legislative answer which would provide for the legal protection of heritage buildings that were, and would continue to be, held in private ownership. The 1980 *Heritage Property Act* had as its purpose "to provide for the identification, designation, preservation, protection and rehabilitation of buildings, streetscapes and areas of historic, architectural or cultural value and to encourage their continued use." This broad-ranging purpose was to be implemented through a registration process by both the province and those municipalities which passed the necessary heritage by-law. Although planning and zoning regulations were becoming common instruments of local governments in their efforts to control new developments in the public interest, it was uncertain how Nova Scotians would accept aesthetic controls, or whether architectural taste could be enforced by law in the name of heritage conservation. After ten years of operation of the act, it is possible to draw some conclusions as to its effectiveness, and more importantly as to what changes in legislation and policy are needed to meet the challenges of the next decade.

In giving legal protection to buildings through the registration process, the act is succeeding better than perhaps expected when it was proclaimed. At the provincial level, well over one hundred buildings and landscapes--such as three sites of the Chignecto Marine Transport Railway--have been registered, the great majority of which are in private ownership. The registrations range from obvious public buildings to residences of architectural merit and historical interest; eighteenth-century burying grounds; large and small commercial establishments; and the most historic churches in the province. What is remarkable is that this has been achieved, in the vast majority of cases, with the unqualified cooperation of the owners,

although under the act the government has the authority--which it has used-
-to refuse permission for certain exterior alterations or demolition. In no
part of the province is the distinctive heritage property plaque--designed
by the noted Nova Scotian artist Tom Forrestall, and manufactured by
Annapolis Forge & Foundry--not now found on some historic building,
symbolizing protection in perpetuity.

Success at the provincial level should not disguise the fact that heritage
conservation can only be really meaningful when municipalities are prepared
to use the act to protect buildings and streetscapes that are of local, as
opposed to provincial, significance. In fact, the majority of provincial
registrations are in the very municipalities where the support for heritage
has been strongest. It is now apparent that while the province can show
leadership and give visible encouragement by registering buildings, municipal
governments must ensure that heritage conservation is an integral part of
the local planning process. Individual registrations, important as they may
be in their immediate setting, cannot in themselves assure imaginative,
balanced and sensitive community development. Such development must
recognize the importance of scale and context. In essence, there is little
point in citizens struggling, as is often the case, to protect a particular
building if the surrounding architectural landscape is allowed to be disfigured
by unsympathetic development.

Heritage building conservation, then, cannot serve the public purposes
expected of it unless it becomes an essential part of the overall strategy
for managing the inevitable and continually changing needs of our cities,
towns and rural areas. Dealing with change is an increasingly complex matter,
in which conservation must become accepted as a prerequisite for progress
that is judged to be in the overall public good. This applies equally to our
renewable resources and to our natural and built environments. The social
and economic consequences of neglecting conservation are becoming
apparent to all. Acceptance of conservation as more than a "motherhood
matter" or an avocation for heritage buffs is still difficult for many. To the
generation that has grown up in the belief that function and maximizing
economic return are the only criteria for evaluating new developments,
the whole notion of architecture as a public, visible declaration of a society's
values is utterly foreign and meaningless. There must be a partnership, a
linking of common values, between conservation and contemporary

architecture, that restores the aesthetic and classical belief in proportion and context to the architectural landscape of our cities, towns and even our countryside.

Philosophizing on the necessary revolutionary change in attitude to the importance of conservation is not, of course, a substitute for policy or government action. In the forthcoming decade, the development of policies and legislation will need to begin with a more encompassing view of what should constitute heritage. This will involve the establishment of conservation districts in both urban and rural settings, with varying controls over demolition, the building of new structures and alteration to the exterior of existing ones. These districts will generally complement and reinforce other land-use controls relating to both the natural and built environments. We shall have to find the will and the means to ensure that new buildings face architectural evaluations, as well as meet the usual planning requirements. This will result in a more profound role for architects in the approval process, while planners in turn will need greater architectural knowledge.

Since the introduction of the Mainstreet Programme, much effort and money has gone into revitalizing town centres, many of which were faced with commercial decline. Much has been achieved, particularly where heritage buildings or streetscapes became the focus of rejuvenation. Yet today there is hardly a town in the province without a major building that once served an important purpose, but which is not a redundant eyesore or likely to become so shortly. The most common, and generally also the most visibly prominent, are the nineteenth-century stone or brick post offices and railway stations. In the years following Confederation, the federal government sought, through the erection of architecturally imposing public buildings, to demonstrate the presence and purpose of the new Dominion in the everyday lives of Canadians. This belief in the social and politically important role that architecture could play was largely lost in the post-World War II love affair with function and utility. As the old post offices and railway stations, each of which had been individually designed for its selected site, were replaced by boxes, the most conspicuous of the new public structures were the provincial Liquor Commission retail stores; only very recently has there been any attempt to design such buildings with some architectural character related to their surroundings.

The surviving older public buildings in our towns present an opportunity and a challenge. The opportunity lies in realizing their architectural potential to play significant roles in the rejuvenation of town centres. The challenge lies in finding new uses for these buildings, uses which will be sufficiently attractive and economical to induce private capital and public funding. A recent, highly successful example is the restoration and renovation of the old Post Office in Sydney Mines (built 1904); in its reincarnation, it has become the Town Office and the focus once again for civic pride. Until the passage by Parliament last year of the *Heritage Railway Station Protection Act*, there was no legislative means to protect railway stations from demolition. Although those buildings specifically declared to be heritage stations cannot be demolished in the near future, ultimately their survival will depend on communities finding new commercial and public uses for them. If, in this generation, we lose many of our older public buildings, it will not be because the legislative means was not available, but because the lack of public will and--above all--imagination will have sounded their death knell. With their disappearance will go not just a little bit of nostalgia for by-gone days, but the very essence of the individuality and character of so many of Nova Scotia's towns.

There is no architectural form that so pervades our cities, towns and countryside than churches. There are over one thousand of them built before 1914 which are still standing, although a good many in rural areas have vanishing congregations and are in need of urgent repair. Unless action is taken, many of these churches will not survive into the next century. If this happens, the architectural landscape of the countryside especially will no longer glory in those distinctive white buildings, with their steeples aiming towards heaven. Instead, we shall leave to succeeding generations groups of box-like houses, mobile homes and "satellite dishes" as the most visible features of rural Nova Scotia. Yet in no aspect of heritage conservation is greater public and governmental concern developing.

The Advisory Council on Heritage Property, which advises the minister in charge of the *Heritage Property Act*--i.e., the Minister of Tourism and Culture (the Honourable Roland Thornhill)--has established special criteria for the provincial registration of places of religious worship. It has available to it a comprehensive inventory providing information on every church built

in Nova Scotia before 1914. The present government has committed itself to the creation of a special fund to assist in the restoration and, more importantly, in the repair and regular maintenance of those churches registered under the *Heritage Property Act*. Grants have been made for some years to provincially registered churches, and as of 1989, financial assistance can be provided to those registered by municipalities. The formation, also in 1989, of a " Church Conservation Society" will do much to bring together government and public involvement to ensure that conservation work is carried out to the highest standards.

One of the most encouraging chapters in the story of church conservation is the increasing involvement of private individuals and groups, who generally have no denominational connection with particular church buildings. They seek not only to preserve, but also to retain the religious function, if only with intermittent services. It is the commitment of such groups, who can be found in growing numbers throughout the province, that will determine the future of rural church conservation. Similar groups will also have to be formed within the towns and cities, because government assistance will be contingent on the potential of congregations to raise funds for the purpose of conserving church buildings.

The greatest challenge for heritage conservation in the next decade will not lie, however, in the implementation of particular measures; it will be in bringing Nova Scotians to realize and accept the ramifications of the fact that there is no alternative to conservation in the full sense of the word. It will not simply be a question of promoting attractive life-styles, or of portraying Nova Scotia in our tourism literature as a leisurely vacation-land; it will be revolutionary in its impact on our very social and economic well-being. It will necessitate innovative political and legal initiatives and the redefinition of the traditional relationship between the public good and the rights of private ownership. Furthermore, various legislative and regulatory means will need to be evolved which have as their object the reconciliation of conflicting interests. Above all, there will have to be recognition and acceptance of the fact that conservation of the built heritage ranks, by sheer intrinsic importance, at least equally with economic growth as a strategic planning priority in the foreseeable future.

Buildings Recorded in the Provincial Registry of Heritage Property

St. Paul's Anglican Church, Barrington St., Halifax
Government House, Barrington St., Halifax
Province House, Hollis St., Halifax
Old Halifax Court House, Spring Garden Road, Halifax
Quaker House, Dartmouth
Old Halifax Academy, Sackville St., Halifax
St. Mary's Basilica, Spring Garden Road, Halifax
Little Dutch Church, Brunswick St., Halifax
Universalist Unitarian Church, 5500 Inglis St., Halifax
Cole Harbour Heritage Farm, Cole Harbour, Halifax Co.
Bollard or Ballard House, 1597 Dresden Row, Halifax
Bank of Nova Scotia, 1709 Hollis St., Halifax
Prince Street Buildings: 5136-38 Prince St., 5140 Prince St.,
    5144 Prince St., 1695 Hollis St., Halifax
Benjamin Wier House, 1459 Hollis St., Halifax
Rose Bank Cottage, Musquodoboit Harbour, Halifax Co.
Allen House, Black Point, Halifax Co.
The Old Burying Ground, Barrington St., Halifax
The Rectory, Herring Cove, Halifax Co.
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 1741 Hollis St., Halifax
Thorndean, 5680 Inglis St., Halifax
Moirs Ltd. Power House, Bedford, Halifax Co.
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Brunswick St., Halifax
McCulloch House, Pictou
Bard John MacLean House and Cemetery, Glenbard, Antigonish Co.
Kirk Place, Antigonish
Manson House, North Lochaber, Antigonish Co.
The Stonehouse, Lyon's Brook, Pictou Co.
Old Guysborough Court House, 283 Church St., Guysborough
St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, Tracadie, Antigonish Co.
Marconi Towers, Birch Grove, Cape Breton Co.
Lyceum, George St., Sydney
Old Sydney Society (St. Patrick's Church), Esplanade, Sydney
Cossit House, Charlotte St., Sydney
(Wallace) MacAskill House, St. Peter's, Richmond Co.

Old Sydney Mines Post Office, Sydney Mines, Cape Breton Co.
MacRae-Bitterman House, Upper West Side, Middle River, Victoria Co.
Gilbert H. Grosvenor Hall, Chebucto St., Baddeck
St. George's Anglican Church, Charlotte St., Sydney
St. Mary's Polish Church, Wesley St., Sydney
Holy Ghost Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, West St., Sydney
St. Philip's African Orthodox Church, Hankard St., Sydney
Peter Smyth House, Port Hood, Inverness Co.
Richard Brown House, 32 Brown St., Sydney Mines
LeNoir Forge, Arichat, Richmond Co.
Campbell Heritage House, Strathlorne, Inverness Co.
Sydney & Louisbourg Railway, Louisbourg, Cape Breton Co.
Flynn-Cutler-Robichaud House, Arichat, Richmond Co.
Lawrence House, Maitland, Hants Co.
Uniacke House, Mt. Uniacke, Hants Co.
Chignecto Marine Transport Railway, three sites, Cumberland Co.
Yuill Barn, Old Barns, Colchester Co.
Rhodes-Steele Block, Victoria St., Amherst
Springhurst, Maitland, Hants Co.
Cannon House, Diligent River, Cumberland Co.
Layton's General Store, Great Village, Colchester Co.
St. John's Anglican Church, Lunenburg
Perkins House, Liverpool
Ritcey House, Riverport, Lunenburg Co.
Old Meeting House, Barrington, Shelburne Co.
Ross-Thomson House, Shelburne
Lunenburg Academy, Kaulback St., Lunenburg
(Benoni) d'Entremont House, Lower West Pubnico, Yarmouth Co.
Tusket Courthouse, Tusket, Yarmouth Co.
Alexander Kedy II House, Mahone Bay, Lunenburg Co.
Port Medway Meeting House, Brooklyn, Queens Co.
The Esker, Sable River, Shelburne Co.
Locke Homestead, South and John Streets, Lockeport, Shelburne Co.
William Stalker Homestead, South St., Lockeport
Jacob Locke Homestead, South St., Lockeport
Gurden Bill Homestead, South St., Lockeport

Ryer-Davis House, Glasgow Lane, Shelburne
John Henry Harlow House, Milton, Queens Co.
Gavelton Meeting House, Gavelton, Yarmouth Co.
Wecob House, Marriott's Cove, Chester Basin, Lunenburg Co.
Etherington-Robertson House, 144 Hammond St., Shelburne
John Henry Ernst House, Blockhouse, Lunenburg Co.
Knaut-Rhuland House, Town of Lunenburg
Morton House, Milton, Queens Co.
George Gracie House, Shelburne
At the Sign of the Whale, Dayton, Yarmouth Co.
Doane House, Coffinscroft, Shelburne Co.
Crowell-Smith House, Barrington Passage, Shelburne Co.
Shakespear House, Shelburne
Haliburton House, Windsor
Prescott House, Starr's Point, Kings Co.
Parker Farm, Belleisle, Annapolis Co.
Adams-Ritchie House, Annapolis Royal, Annapolis Co.
deGannes-Cosby House, 477 St. George St., Annapolis Royal
Belliveau House, Pointe de l'Eglise, Digby Co.
The Barracks, Starr's Point, Kings Co.
Goat Island Baptist Church, Upper Clements, Annapolis Co.
St. Edward's Anglican Church, Clementsport, Annapolis Co.
St. Mary's Anglican Church, Auburn, Kings Co.
Goodwin House, Habitant, Kings Co.
DeWolf House, 450 Main St., Wolfville
Randall House, 171 Main St., Wolfville
St. John's Anglican Church and Cemetery, Church St., Port Williams, Kings Co.
Centenary United Church, Granville, Annapolis Co.
Sanford Barn, Medford, Kings Co.
Stewart House, Grand Pré, Kings Co.
Covenanter Church, Grand Pré, Kings Co.
Dimock House, Pereau, Kings Co.
Kinsman-Salsman House, Buckley's Corner, Kings Co.
Smith Property, Belleisle, Annapolis Co.
Gowan Brae, Grand Pré, Kings Co.
Jeremiah Calkin House, Grand Pré, Kings Co.

Symbols of Change: The Legacy of Two Early Twentieth-Century Nova Scotian Builders

Peter Latta and Diane Tye

With the introduction of Macdonald's National Policy in 1879, the face of the Maritimes changed dramatically as the region embraced industrialization. Factories, public buildings and residences sprang up, transforming villages into promising towns and cities. As individual builders applied the lessons of industrialization to their trade, some established large companies that significantly influenced the nature of changes that were taking place. Two such builders to emerge in Nova Scotia in the late nineteenth century were Rhodes, Curry Company and Silliker Company, both of Amherst. In his study of Halifax carpenters during the period from 1885 to 1985, Ian McKay has commented on the success of these companies:

> They stood not only for a new way of organizing business, they represented an officially new way of organizing work. These men of the industry grew rich on the large number of massive public structures that were erected in the early twentieth century and the growth of a mass market for both company and private housing. Mechanization, prefabrication, and the use of new and inexpensive materials appealed to them.[1]

Quick to adopt the streamlined practices of their day, the two firms erected scores of buildings in both the public and private sector. Because the companies were so prolific, the men behind them--Nelson Rhodes, Nathaniel Curry and Clarence Silliker[2]-are interesting to examine in retrospect for the role they played in the region's move toward urbanization. The ideas these entrepreneurs held of appropriate housing for worker, industrialist and merchant, and their image of public architecture, have helped to underline class divisions and shape the character of many Maritime communities.

Peter Latta is Curator of Collections at the Nova Scotia Museum of Industry. Diane Tye is an Assistant Professor in the Centre for Canadian Studies, Mount Allison University.

1   Ian McKay, *The Craft Transformed: An Essay on the Carpenters of Halifax, 1885-1985* (Halifax, 1985), p. 29.

2   While outside the confines of the present article, it is important to note the political and religious activities of these men. All three subjects served as mayor of the Town of Amherst; both Rhodes and Curry were strongly supportive of the Baptist Church; Nelson Rhodes's son Edgar served as MP for Cumberland while on retainer for the company, and later was premier of Nova Scotia; and Curry was appointed Senator in 1912.

The following article sketches the business development of Rhodes, Curry Company and Silliker Company from small builders to large contractors. The article is intended only as an introduction to the evolution and activities of these two firms, focusing on the pre-World War I period during which the bulk of construction took place. Not only is it impossible in this space to explore the breadth and depth of questions which arise about these companies--their managers, personal and religious concerns, investors, workers, and the architecture of their buildings--but also the dearth of available sources inhibits larger exploration. The lack of records for, and references to, either company is indicative of the larger problem of recording the full history of building and buildings in Nova Scotia.

Rhodes, Curry Company

The development of Rhodes, Curry from one of the ubiquitous sash-and-door factories which were sprinkled throughout the Maritime Provinces, into one of the largest industrial plants in the region, is an intriguing story. It is not an exaggeration to state that this company changed the appearance of the Maritimes through the sheer number of buildings it erected and through the construction of some imposing public structures.

Nelson A. Rhodes (born in Amherst, 1845) and Nathaniel A. Curry (born in Cornwallis, 1851) both became apprenticed carpenters and separately moved to the United States as journeymen carpenters in their youth. In Boston, Nelson Rhodes became associated with an architect and later a building contractor. Nathaniel Curry went to Nevada, where he entered a railway-car manufacturing plant and after a period of time rose to the position of foreman. At some point, Nelson Rhodes met Sarah, Nathaniel Curry's sister, and they were married. The trio returned in 1876-77 to Nova Scotia, where they decided to set up business together in Amherst.

In 1877 the Intercolonial Railway had barely completed its link between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but already Amherst had become established as a small industrial centre. A boot-and-shoe factory and associated tannery, a foundry, and several carriage and woodworking shops were all in operation. A number of moderately wealthy merchants and regionally prominent lawyers and politicians provided the shiretown for

Cumberland with at least the air of a business centre. All of this, however, was within the boundaries of a town of 2300.

Initially, Rhodes and Curry established a sash-and-door factory in association with a man named Bayard Dodge. After less than a year, their business was burned out and Dodge exited the partnership for Boston. By this time, however, Rhodes and Curry must have been reasonably well established in the little community, and appear to have had no trouble in attracting a mortgage from Atcheson Moffatt, one of the older established merchants.[3] While character sketches for Nelson Rhodes and Nathaniel Curry do not exist beyond the standard laudatory comments about businessmen of this era, it becomes clear they made an impressive team which inspired local confidence. The small sash-and-door-factory was subsequently rebuilt, but within two years was destroyed again by fire. At this point, Rhodes and Curry undertook what was later to become a useful tactic, but at the time was probably exceptional for small producers. Through some connection, likely that of their solicitors Townshend and Dickey, they were able to attract offshore financing from Sir James Cochran, a Haligonian who had become Chief Justice of Gibraltar.[4] The amount of this mortgage was later paid off when another mortgage was taken out for new machinery. This latter mortgage, in 1881, also came from offshore money and was arranged by Townshend and Dickey for $7500 from Brenton H. Collins of Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England, heir to the fortune of Halifax financier Enos Collins.[5]

The system of individuals giving mortgages on property was widespread before the introduction of banks and building societies. A perusal through any registry of deeds index quickly reveals the names of the lawyers and merchants in the land business. That Brenton Collins was giving personal mortgages as late as 1881 when banks had already begun to finance operations such as Rhodes, Curry, is interesting. Even more intriguing is the fact that Collins was a major shareholder in the Halifax Banking

3   Registry of Deeds, Cumberland County, Book YY, p. 128.

4   Ibid., Book 3, p. 239.

5   Ibid., Book 4, p. 270; S.L. Shannon Papers, MG 1, Vol. 800, No. 17, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

Company and, after its absorption of the latter, the Canadian Bank of
Commerce. One possible answer for this type of financing may lie in the
use of the money. Industry's need for long-term capital, rather than for
the sixty-to-ninety-day loans favoured by merchants and bankers, might
have led manufacturers like Rhodes and Curry to wealthy individuals who
would be more willing than banks to risk their capital.[6] Although more
adventuresome with his money than others, Collins still required a guarantee
for his loan. The property owned by the partners, however, was not great
enough to provide adequate collateral. Subsequently, the Amherst merchant
élite, as well as a couple of local artisans, acted as guarantors, once again
indicating the further trust the partners had established in the local business
community.[7]

   With the consolidation of their debts and the new machinery bought
with Collins's money, Rhodes and Curry began a vigorous expansion of
their construction business throughout the Maritimes. This activity
continued with some success and the company began to diversify into a
logical extension of the construction business: railway-car manufacture. In
1893 they purchased a portion of the James Harris car company of Saint
John. With an expected life span of ten years, rebuilding wooden freight
and coal cars for the expanding railway system of Canada provided a lucrative
market for Rhodes, Curry Company.[8] The addition of the Harris equipment
meant that cars could now be built from scratch, with the one company
supplying all its own component parts from wheels to couplers and frames.
This expansion, however, necessitated that the partnership (that usual form
of nineteenth-century undertaking) now become a fully incorporated
company. That same year of 1893 saw a board of directors organised, but
control of Rhodes, Curry Company remained very much with the founding
families. The addition of a large plant for car building created a necessary
delineation of the duties of the principals, and they reverted to the roles
defined for them in the United States. Nathaniel Curry, president of the

---

6 For a good discussion on the role of banks in financing industry, see: James Frost, "The 'Nationalization'
of the Bank of Nova Scotia, 1880-1910," *Acadiensis*, 12 (1982), 3-38.

7 Shannon Papers, MG 1, Vol. 800, No. 11A, PANS.

8 *Halifax Herald*, 17 Sept. 1894, p. 5.

company, took charge of the car business, and Nelson Rhodes, as vice-president, was responsible for building construction.

The undertaking of large contracts, whether for a row of identical houses or for a stone and brick courthouse, required the organization of several components: materials, skilled and unskilled labour, an architect, and capital to absorb expenses until final payment was received. In each of these areas the firm appears to have been largely successful. Generally the company supplied all its own materials. As an integrated organization, Rhodes, Curry purchased and maintained early in their development large tracts of timber-land, sawmills, lime deposits, a brickyard, and may have had an interest in a stone quarry. The labour force was concentrated in Amherst and it seems that on the whole, relations between workers and management were stable. In 1919, when in the throes of a town-wide general strike, Albert S. Curry, Nathaniel Curry's brother and then vice-president of the company, wrote: "This is the first Labor trouble Rhodes, Curry Co. has had in its 42 years of Business Activity. If the men had been sensible there was no need for a Strike at the present time. The same unrest in Labor circles is all over the Country, so I presume we will have to bear our share."[9] Whether this same attitude of patience was exercised in dealing with construction work crews is unclear. The requirement for less skilled carpenters and masons to work on site would have been met by the local labour supply, although it seems that foremen and managers moved from job to job on behalf of the company.

Much of the finer joinery and carving for Rhodes, Curry Company was probably produced in Amherst. It is uncertain if the firm employed architects directly, although several did pass through the community. For the hundreds of houses the company built in industrial towns such as Glace Bay, Sydney and Springhill, only two or three floorplans were relied upon. Plans for railway stations were supplied from the railway headquarters, and banks were known to employ their own architects for their projects. When constructing more elaborate buildings such as courthouses and churches,

9 Rhodes Papers, MG2, Vol. 411, Rhodes, Curry file, PANS. For a further analysis of the role of Rhodes, Curry/Canadian Car and Foundry in the Amherst General Strike, see: Nolan Reilly, "Emergence of Class Consciousness in Industrial Nova Scotia: Amherst, 1891-1925," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1983.

Rhodes, Curry worked with a variety of architects, including some of the region's most prominent, such as J.C. Dumaresq, H.H. Mott, and L.R. Fairn. [See Appendix A for a selected list of buildings constructed by Rhodes, Curry Company.]

With branches established in Halifax, New Glasgow and Sydney, and headquarters in Amherst, Rhodes, Curry appear to have become the largest building contractor in the Maritimes during the period from 1880 to 1920. Through their branches in the larger industrial centres, the firm also had the advantage of appearing to be a local company which, in the oft-times parochial world of local politics, could be a distinct advantage.

The heyday of Rhodes, Curry Company was clearly during the time of Nelson Rhodes. Shortly after the latter's death in 1909, Nathaniel Curry agreed to the absorption of Rhodes, Curry into an amalgamation of other car manufacturers being organised by Max Aitken. The Canadian Car and Foundry Company was the result, and Nathaniel Curry left Amherst for Montreal as president of this new concern. The building construction part of the company continued until 1919, when it was reorganised as a separate entity altogether, but one which retained the style Rhodes, Curry Limited.[10] As a building contractor, Rhodes, Curry continued operation on a much-reduced scale until gradually being wound-up in the 1950s. At the time of their final departure from the construction industry, the firm left a legacy of thousands of buildings scattered throughout the Atlantic Provinces.

Silliker Company

In contrast to Nelson Rhodes and Nathaniel Curry, C.J. Silliker was a builder who exerted a more localized influence. While after 1908 Silliker erected buildings in Halifax, the vast majority of his work was limited to northern Nova Scotia and southern New Brunswick, in communities such as Springhill, Sackville, and primarily Amherst. When Silliker began in the building trade in the 1880s , Amherst was growing from a small market town into an industrial centre. By 1907, when Silliker moved his business

---

10   *Amherst Daily News*, 12 Feb. 1920, p. 5.

to Halifax, several of Amherst's manufacturers had grown to national signifi-
cance. As the builder of hundreds of residences and many public buildings,
Silliker was instrumental in determining the physical nature Amherst's
dramatic growth would take.

Clarence J. Silliker was born in 1861 in Baie Verte, New Brunswick to
Captain Jared Silliker (1819-1904) and his wife, Jane *née* Blanche (1835-1864).
The family was of United Empire Loyalist stock, and both Jared and his
father William were deep-sea captains. By 1880 Clarence Silliker was working
as a carpenter in Amherst. There he married Jennie P. Ward, the nineteen-
year-old daughter of Harmon and Mary Ward, a farming family of nearby
Tidnish. The Sillikers probably resided in the Amherst vicinity after their
marriage, but as they do not appear in either Amherst or Tidnish in the
1881 census, it is possible they moved briefly to Halifax. When speaking
to the Halifax Town Council in 1906, Silliker mentioned having worked
in the city as a carpenter in his younger years.[11] By 1891, the Sillikers were
firmly established in Amherst with three children: Elmore, thirteen; Lena,
ten; and Grace, five. In the next few years, two more sons were born: Ottie
A. (ca. 1892) and Victor R. (ca. 1899).

By 1891, C.J. Silliker was working as a builder and had entered into
contract work. The 1892 minutes of the Amherst Town Council contain
several vouchers made out to Silliker and MacKay, suggesting he may have
been in partnership at this point. The vouchers mention a number of small
projects, including repairs to the engine house, waterworks, fencing, and
lumber for streets. In 1893, he established a woodworking factory in Amherst
that employed fifteen to twenty men. By then, he very probably already
possessed two attributes highly valued by late nineteenth-century
industrialists: first-hand experience in business, and family capital. In 1896,
Silliker extended the factory, raising the assessment from $2750 to $4000.[12]
In 1904 the firm was incorporated as Silliker and Company Ltd. and
employed one hundred men. A published review of Silliker's success noted
that, "By great industry and energy he gradually increased his undertakings
until in 1904 a small company was organized consisting of members of his

---

11 *Halifax Herald*, 20 Dec. 1906, p. 1.

12 Assessments for the Town of Amherst 1900-1914, RG35-201, A10-24, PANS.

family, with a capital of $100,000."[13] By 1906, the company was doing a prosperous business: "During the past two years the growth of the business has been as phenomenal as the growth of the other Amherst industries. The number of men employed has increased fifty per cent: the volume of business last year aggregated a quarter of a million dollars, and the profits of the new corporation has [sic] averaged twenty per cent per year." The newspaper article described the product line as including "everything. . . for house building, store, bank and general office furnishings; and general building and contracting work. The output of the factory aggregated $120,000 a year."[14]

From the beginning, Silliker showed himself to be both eclectic in his endeavours and a risk-taker. In 1899, he teamed up with a competitor's former employee to form a funeral undertaking business as a sideline to the woodworking factory.[15] The partnership must have met with at least some success, because in 1902 C.J. Silliker's son, Elmore went to New York to complete a course in embalming before opening a woodworking factory in Sackville, New Brunswick.[16]

The real thrust of Clarence Silliker's business, however, remained the construction trade. Here he demonstrated a willingness to embrace new construction techniques--he is locally believed to have been the first contractor to introduce balloon-frame construction to northern Nova Scotia.[17] As plumbing and heating needs began to evolve, he opened his own plumbing and heating department.[18] In all aspects Silliker took the lessons of industrialization seriously: he streamlined his production; he modernized his plant; and he ensured the supply of inexpensive materials. Along with other Amherst entrepreneurs, he formed the Grand Lake

---

13 *Halifax Herald*, 1 Jan. 1907, p. 4.

14 *Ibid.*, 11 Dec. 1906, p. 2. At this time the company's property was valued at $28,285; see RG 35-201, A10-24, PANS.

15 *Amherst Daily News*, 20 May 1899.

16 *Ibid.*, 13 May 1902.

17 Interview with Carlton Baxter, 25 Jan. 1984.

18 *Amherst Daily News*, 4 June 1906.

Company, a large lumbering concern. In 1905 alone this company cut six million feet of lumber,[19] some of which undoubtedly supplied Silliker's construction projects.

Silliker had become a leader in housing construction and interior fittings. The editor of the *Amherst Daily News* commented in a 1902 year-end review that Silliker had built more houses in Amherst than all other contractors put together.[20] By 1906 his clientele had expanded beyond Amherst: "Silliker Company is making a name not only in Amherst, NS but in Upper Canada where they have lately been doing some business, particularly fittings for stores and offices and in silent salesmen."[21] A 1907 description of the Silliker enterprise offered an indication of the company's activities:

> Besides everything in wood required in ordinary house building, fine cabinet work has been produced for banks, offices, shops, buffets, mantels, etc. In addition to this, the company has not left to real estate agents the benefits derived from the enhanced value of land in town, but has carried on a large real estate business by buying eligible residential areas and building upon lots laid off on the same, with good streets intersecting many dwellings of good class, which are offered for sale and readily disposed of.[22]

How many industrial, commercial and public buildings Silliker constructed is uncertain, but over the years the *Amherst Daily News* reported on a variety of projects, including an 1897 mercantile block in Amherst; Charles Fawcett's foundry and pattern shop, Sackville (1903); the domestic science department, Mount Allison University, Sackville (1904); Acadia Street School, Amherst (1905); a fire station, Amherst (1905); the Two Barkers (now Margolian's) store, Amherst (1906); and the Amherst Brass Foundry (1906).

The "many dwellings of good class" were Silliker's primary concern. His houses appear to have been of three main types, the most modest of which were referred to as "cottages" in the newspapers of the day. From 1897 to 1905, the *Amherst Daily News* reported numerous such "cottages" being erected

---

19 *Ibid.*, 21 Sept. 1905.

20 *Ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1902.

21 *Ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1906. "Silent salesman" is a turn-of-the-century term for a glass display cabinet.

22 *Halifax Herald*, 1 Jan. 1907, p. 4.

by Silliker's company. In 1904 alone, he constructed forty. Priced from $500 to $800, the houses were of similar, if not identical design, with a gable-end entry plan and little or no ornamentation. One of the only extras was a veranda, which was on nearly all of the houses. Undoubtedly the plans came from pattern books, for by 1902 Silliker was advertising house plans.[23] As he built few tenements,[24] Silliker may have shared the view of the early housing reformers who lobbied for separate one-family dwellings without decoration for working-class families; or it could be that the simple plans and lack of ornamental detail characteristic of such pattern-book architecture represented the quickest and most inexpensive method of construction.

Larger homes, characterized by a square, box-like appearance and hip roof, offered a slightly more expensive alternative. These homes--many of which were purchased by residents employed in the managerial and commercial sectors--varied in size, amount of ornamental detail, and number and quality of incidentals such as stained glass windows and interior woodwork. With the purchase of at least one Amherst farm property conveniently located near schools, churches, parks, and the commercial district, Silliker subdivided the land, laid out streets and began to build homes. In 1907 he proposed seventy to seventy-five houses for this area, and the result of his efforts was the creation of a middle-class neighbourhood that consisted largely of homes built on this square, hip-roof plan. The house type became so associated with the builder that it was locally dubbed "the Silliker house." Even more interesting, by 1903 Halliday Homes were marketing a very similar house type known as the Amherst House.[25]

For the industrialists and others who comprised the town's élite, Silliker built large homes--specifically designed and furnished with beautiful wood trim, stained glass and fine mantelpieces--that stood in contrast to the simple

---

23 *Amherst Daily News*, 20 Aug. 1902.

24 The *Amherst Daily News*, 21 Apr. 1896 mentions Silliker's plans to build a tenement on Croft Street, Amherst and in 1902 he completed six seven-room tenements for Hewson Woollen Mills, Amherst (*ibid.*, 16 Dec. 1902).

25 Little is known about the origin of Halliday Homes' "Amherst House," for no company records seem to survive. The house is advertised in their 1923 catalogue and specifications for eleven Amherst Houses to be built in Canso, Nova Scotia in 1923 are on display in the Guysborough County Museum, Canso.

pattern-book architecture used for the labourers. Two of the local architects who worked with Silliker to create these fine homes were Willard Mitchell, who also served as Amherst's town engineer, and John C. Cove. These fine showpieces, many of which line the two main streets, Victoria and Church, are a lasting testament to the success of both the builder and his town.

While not much remains to document Silliker's relations with his employees, what evidence exists suggests he was no friend of labour. Some of his techniques met with opposition, such as his 1899 collaboration with Professor Max Sterne, a German music teacher/inventor, possibly to create and definitely to market, a device for woodgraining.[26] Ian McKay has explained that this device represented "another cheapening innovation. . .which served to transform cheap clear cedar into wood which resembled the most expensive quartered oak, bird's eye maple or French walnut."[27] Understandably, skilled workers resisted the implementation of such techniques.

At the peak of his construction career, Clarence Silliker's rapid success came to a sudden halt when fire destroyed his factory on 25 September 1906. The company's carpenters lost their tools and Silliker himself suffered burns when he attempted to rescue company records. The business, valued at $70,000, was insured for only $20,000.[28]

While Silliker talked publicly of rebuilding, word leaked out that he was considering a move. Amherst citizens held an informal meeting to encourage him to remain in town while Halifax, Sackville, and possibly Saint John, urged the builder to relocate there.[29] Approximately six weeks after the fire, Silliker announced his intention not only to move to Halifax, but also to establish a car works there.[30] The *Halifax Herald* of 11 December 1906

---

26 *Amherst Daily News*, 27 May 1899, p. 1.

27 McKay, *The Craft Transformed*, p. 29.

28 *Amherst Daily News*, 27 Sept. 1906. Despite Silliker's promise to Amherst residents that the woodworking factory would rebuild, by 1909 he was auctioning off land in Amherst and after that date the newspaper carried no mention of Silliker building starts.

29 *Ibid.*, 13 Oct. and 2 Nov. 1906.

30 *Ibid.*, 20 Dec. 1906.

stated that an expanded woodworking factory with the "latest improved machinery and increased transportation facilities. . .would only be a small feature of the business." They went on to quote Silliker, "Our main idea is the establishment of an extensive plant for the manufacture of railway cars--box cars, flat cars, coal hoppers, vans and baggage cars." In retrospect Amherst was blamed for not offering greater incentives and keeping Silliker at home,[31] but Halifax offered keen competition. The agreement leading to the Halifax move required the Halifax Board of Trade to supplement Silliker's contribution of $250,000 by raising an additional $125,000 through a bond issue. Although Silliker was relying on different sources of capital than Rhodes Curry, business responded positively to the efforts of both firms, offering investment and support. One wonders now, in Silliker's case, how the industrialist could garner a business community's trust when the soundness of the investment ought to have been questioned.[32]

By 1909 Silliker Car Works was in full operation, with C.J. Silliker as president and his son Elmore as secretary-treasurer.[33] The product line included "railway cars, machine work and castings, marine repairs and everything made of wood for buildings, including hard and soft wood finish, also office furniture and fittings, store, hotel and bank work, show cases and silent salesmen etc."[34] Although the focus of his business interest had shifted, Silliker continued to do some building construction in Halifax, including the erection of his own factory buildings; a family home on Coburg Road; and some homes for rent to employees.[35]

31   An unmarked clipping titled, "Former Mayor of Amherst Dies," supplied by C.J. Silliker's daughter-in-law, Isabel Silliker, states: "Following the destruction of his plant and the refusal of the town of Amherst to grant him certain industrial concessions, he moved to Halifax, where he established the Silliker Car Works."

32   It is possible that as we learn more about industry, and especially building construction in the region, we may well find firms sharing some of these traits.

33   Halifax Herald, 5 Apr. 1907, p. 1; 30 Apr. 1907, p. 8.

34   No author, Halifax, the Capital of Nova Scotia: Its Advantages and Interests (Halifax, 1909), p. 40.

35   It is unclear how much construction Silliker carried on. The Amherst Daily News, 8 May 1908, notes that he was building three homes on North Street for rent to employees. The homes were valued at $2,500 each.

By the time he moved to Halifax, Clarence Silliker had already earned
a reputation as an anti-labour employer; Ian McKay has noted that his arrival
in the city was "to the annoyance of the Halifax labour movement." Labour's
misgivings were born out in 1910, when the union began to negotiate for
the ten-hour day. McKay writes,

> Silliker who approached the Local to negotiate hours and wages prior to
> opening his Halifax works, lost whatever favour he might have won by literally
> slamming his door in the face of the union's president. The minutes on 15
> February 1910: 'The Bros. present thought that indignity offered to one of
> the Union, should remind us that we could not expect any great sacrifice
> on the part of Mr. Silliker, but that we should keep our lamps upon him,
> and get speech with the directors when ever possible.'[36]

The tax cuts, hard bargaining, and expected orders were not enough to
establish the car works securely. While once estimated to have had the
largest payroll in Halifax, historian R.D. Tennant has noted that within four
years after the company's incorporation, "it was in real trouble."[37] In 1910
Silliker turned the business over to J.R. Douglas, a long-time business
associate from Amherst, who reorganized the firm as the Nova Scotia Car
Works Ltd.[38] Despite Douglas's efforts, by 1922 the venture had failed.[39]

With the news of Silliker's plans to retire in 1910, Amherst residents rallied
together to invite him to return.[40] Several months later at a formal meeting,
some of the local industrialists further addressed the advantages of having
Silliker back in Amherst. The Board of Trade decided to "do all in its power
to discuss [with Silliker] the future industrial development of the town."
There was a desperate tone to the meeting's report, as the workers and
industrialists alike looked to Silliker to bring back the town's "glory days,"
which were then fading: "The utmost harmony prevailed at the meeting

---

36 McKay, *The Craft Transformed*, p. 34.

37 R.J. Tennant Jr., "The Silliker Car Company," *The Maritime Express*, viii, 4 (1976), 10.

38 *Amherst Daily News*, 15 Oct. 1910, p. 8.

39 Tennant names as reasons for the failure too stiff competition; inability to change from production
of wooden railway cars to steel ones; and insufficient capital.

40 *Amherst Daily News*, 3 Oct. 1910, p. 3.

and one and all were unanimously of the opinion that the return of Mr. Silliker to Amherst would mean better days for this town and a renewed era of prosperity."[41]

Ironically, Silliker's return to Amherst did not bring prosperity, but instead instigated the near financial ruin of several of the town's influential families. C.J. Silliker's newest scheme in 1911 was the sale of western real estate. He had profited from the subdivision of land in the Maritimes, and like others of his day believed there was money to be made in developing the Canadian West. After several speculative trips to Manitoba and Alberta, he invested heavily in land and persuaded others to do so as well. So confident was Silliker and his business partner, Marshall B. Vail, that they guaranteed their fellow investors their money refunded with interest after three years, if the properties had not sold. From 1917 to 1922, Silliker was challenged in the courts to uphold this guarantee.[42] Although the plaintiffs were not successful, the real estate venture turned out to be a costly one for both Silliker and his clientele.

After this serious financial setback, C.J. Silliker spent his last years selling truckloads of building supplies, such as British Columbia cedar doors and used goods ranging from car parts to machinery and furniture.[43] As almost a last gasp--and perhaps as a recognition that his real talent lay in construction--a notice appeared in the *Amherst Daily News* on 12 January 1927, announcing that Silliker intended to build houses in Sackville the next summer and "they will be to rent." There is no indication that these houses were ever erected and they may well have remained merely a dream of the man who had built hundreds of homes.

In 1929 Silliker died with little notice. Few then, and almost none in Amherst today, remember Clarence J. Silliker, the man who as much as anyone in his day helped to change the face of a town, and perhaps a region.

---

41 *Ibid.*, 6 Jan. 1911, p. 1.

42 Interview with Randolph Lusby, 14 Dec. 1983.

43 *Amherst Daily News*, 6 Mar. 1919, p. 3; 27 Apr. 1926, p. 4; 22 May 1926, p. 4.

Of the vast metamorphosis experienced in Nova Scotia and the Maritimes between 1879 and 1914, little is left in terms of real wealth or lasting employment figures. Yet, there are significant reminders in the region's architecture: streets of company housing in the coal-mining towns; neighbourhoods of modest workers' homes in industrial communities; grand homes once owned by members of the Maritime élite; as well as public buildings: banks, churches, post offices and railway stations. Constructed to attend to the needs of a newly concentrated population, many of the structures since have become so closely associated with a particular community, that they are considered landmarks and even civic symbols. In the architectural legacy left by companies such as Rhodes, Curry and Silliker there is a continuing testament to an important period within the region's history, when swift economic change helped to fashion the built environment as we have come to know it.

Appendix

Selected List of Buildings by Rhodes, Curry Company

The following dates are approximate, based on contract or construction notices.

1878	Wolfville, NS	Acadia College and Seminary
1880	Windsor, NS	Train Station
1882	Winnipeg, MA	Altar for Grace Church
1883	Moncton, NB	Intercolonial Railway [ICR] General Offices
1884	Amherst, NS	Engine House
1885	Amherst, NS	Boot and Shoe Factory
1886	Richibucto, NB	Summer Hotel
1887	Londonderry, NS	ICR Station
1887	Amherst, NS	Hickman (Commercial) Block
1887	Oxford, NS	ICR Station
1888	Yarmouth, NS	Opera House
1888	Amherst, NS	Court-house
1889	Halifax, NS	City Hall

1890	Fort Lawrence;	Engine Houses for
	Tidnish, NS	Chignecto Marine Transport Railway
1892	Yarmouth, NS	Bank of Nova Scotia
1892	Yarmouth, NS	Post Office
1892	Amherst, NS	Academy
1893	Yarmouth, NS	Grand Hotel
1893	Baddeck, NS	House for Alexander Graham Bell
		["Beinn Bhreagh"]
1893	Joggins, NS	Railway Office
1894	Amherst, NS	Baptist Church
1894	Glace Bay, NS	Fifty "Cottages" [miners' housing]
1895	Truro, NS	Black and Company (Commercial) Block
1895	Glace Bay, NS	Presbyterian Church
1896	Stanhope, PEI	House for Mr. MacDonald ["Dalvay"]
1896	Campbellton, NB	Bank of Nova Scotia
1897	River Hebert, NS	School
1898	Halifax, NS	Halifax Coal Company Plant
1898	Halifax, NS	Railway Wharves
1898	Halifax, NS	Administration Building,
		Pine Hill Divinity College
1898	Richmond	ICR Station
	[Halifax], NS	
1899	Dartmouth, NS	Mount Hope Asylum
1899	Saint John, NB	ICR Elevator
1899	Liverpool, NS	Post Office
1899	Sydney, NS	Commercial Bank of Windsor
1899	Sydney, NS	A.C. Ross (Commercial) Block
1899	Sydney, NS	One Hundred Houses for Dominion Iron
		and Steel Company
1900	Amherst Shore, NS	Summer Cottages
1900	Dominion, NS	Sixty Double Houses for Dominion
		Coal Company
1900	Stellarton, NS	ICR Round-house
1900	Campbellton, NB	ICR Round-house Extension
1901	Glace Bay, NS	Seven Hundred Houses for Dominion
		Coal Company

1901	Springhill, NS	Twenty "Cottages" and a Brick Lamphouse for Cumberland Coal and Railway Company
1901	Sydney, NS	Court-house
1901	Halifax, NS	Wellington Barracks
1902	Tablehead, NS	Marconi Towers
1902	Sydney Mines, NS	Fifty Houses for Nova Scotia Steel Company
1902	Sydney, NS	Fifty-six Houses for Dominion Iron and Coal Company
1902	North Sydney, NS	Voogt Building; Bank of Nova Scotia; and Union Bank
1902	Sydney Mines, NS	Bank of Nova Scotia
1902	Amherst, NS	Maritime Fair Building
1903	Amherst, NS	Hospital
1903	Parrsboro, NS	Union Bank of Halifax
1903	Kentville, NS	Sanitarium
1903	Moncton, NB	ICR Car Shop
1905	Amherst, NS	Rhodes Terrace
1905	Lower Cove, NS	Bank Head and Trestle for Fundy Coal Company
1909	Halifax, NS	Pulpit for an Anglican Church
1912	Amherst, NS	Nova Scotia Carriage and Motor Company
1912	Yarmouth, NS	Telephone Building
1913	Amherst, NS	Armouries
1915	Saint John, NB	Post Office
1925	Wolfville, NS	Administration Building, Acadia University
1928	Amherst, NS	Hospital
1929	Amherst, NS	Nurses' Residence
1953	Amherst, NS	Bus Terminal

Nineteenth-Century Wealth Transfers in Nova Scotia: The Administration of Probate

Fazley K. Siddiq

In 1982 Alice Hanson Jones, then Professor Emeritus of Economics at Washington University, St. Louis and at the age of seventy-six president of the prestigious Economic History Association, published an important article entitled "Estimating Wealth of the Living from a Probate Sample."[1] In 1969, when only sixty-five, she had published her first historical article, having completed her Ph.D. dissertation the year before at the University of Chicago, after an interruption of thirty-four years. Her thesis, entitled "Wealth Estimates for the Middle Colonies, 1774," with its innovative use of probate inventories, helped transform the writing of American colonial economic history.[2] From her we now know that, head for head in 1774, American colonists were perhaps the wealthiest people in the world at that time, as black slaves were considered property. We knew already that they were among the most literate people in the world and politically the most conscious. It is hardly surprising therefore that they--or many of them at least--had the temerity to challenge British imperial authority at that early date.

Jones's 1982 article referred to many new historical projects using probate inventories, and even to the first international conference, pompously named the "Leeuenborch Conference on Probate Inventories: A New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture, and Agricultural Development." Canadian scholars were not in attendance and have not been quick to adapt this new methodology to economic history in Canada or elsewhere. Perfectly aware of the source, as are genealogists of course, their

1 Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 13 (Autumn 1982), 273-300.

2 Her principal works are Wealth of a Nation to Be, The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution (New York 1980); American Colonial Wealth: Documents and Methods (1978); "Wealth Estimates for the New England Colonies about 1770," Journal of Economic History, 32 (1) (March 1972), 98-127; "Wealth Estimates for the American Middle Colonies, 1774," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 18 (4), pt. 2 (1970), 1-172. For an assessment of her work, see John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789 (1985), pp. 258-266 and Gloria Main, "American Colonial Economic History: A Review Essay," Historical Methods, 19 (Winter 1986), 27-31.

interests are focused elsewhere, especially on social history. Rarely have they been enticed to study probate inventories for wealth data.

Thus it will be of some interest to know that a major study has been completed using probate inventories to study wealthholding in Nova Scotia for the years 1871 and 1899. Prepared initially as a Ph.D. thesis in economics at Dalhousie University in 1986,[3] it has helped to inspire a second such study of Nova Scotian wealthholding in 1851.[4] From such sample studies of probate inventories, it is possible to make objective statements about wealthholding and its distribution in the second half of the nineteenth century. We can estimate its distribution, for instance, not only for all wealthholders in Nova Scotia, but also for each county and for various age-sex cohorts or occupational groups in the province. Various descriptive statistics and inequality measures can be calculated, as well as the proportion of wealth held by the richest five per cent, ten per cent and so on. This should help to reframe our views of the so-called "golden age," as well as of the economic impact of Confederation, and of the relative economic decline of Nova Scotia by 1900.

The purpose of this article is less ambitious. It is to explain the administrative structure of the Probate Court in late nineteenth-century Nova Scotia for those historians who might be attracted to the study of wealthholding. Such a system varied little from colony to colony, from province to province, wherever English administrative law was operative. The establishment of courts of probate in Nova Scotia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided an institutional system for the transfer of personal wealth and other assets held by the deceased to their surviving heirs. Such courts were organized at the county level. As we shall see, for testate decedents (those with wills) assets were divided in accordance with the provisions of the will if the assets were sufficient, after the debts and

---

3 Fazley Siddiq, "The Inequality of Wealth and its Distribution in a Life-Cycle Framework," Ph.D. thesis, Department of Economics, Dalhousie University (February 1986). See also Fazley Siddiq, "The Size Distribution of Probate Wealthholdings in Nova Scotia in the Late 19th Century," *Acadiensis*, 18 (1) (Autumn 1988), 136-147; Lars Osberg and Fazley Siddiq, "The Importance of the Relatively Poor," *Review of Income and Wealth*, Series 34 (2), (June 1988), 143-163.

4 Julian Gwyn, "Private Wealth and its Distribution in 19th-Century Nova Scotia," research undertaken at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and in several court-houses in Cape Breton and mainland Nova Scotia during the summer of 1989.

fees had been paid. For intestates (those without wills) the courts determined the amount of inheritable shares of the estate, in accordance with the then statutory laws of the province.[5] This paper will give attention to the procedures followed by the legal heirs of the decedent wealthholder to obtain title to their inheritance. The transfer of wealth from non-probated decedents to their legal heirs is also briefly discussed.

The custom in Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century was that while a man was living, he was generally the sole owner of all family wealth, and only after his death did it pass on to other members in his family. As well, since the property of women passed to their husbands at the time of their marriage, unless otherwise specified in a marriage contract, most weathholders were adult men and the few that were not were mostly widows and single women.[6] As a rough measure, it can therefore be assumed that each family had one potential wealthholder--the family head--so that the number of potential wealthholders approximated the number of families.[7]

As with other types of record-keeping, the system of filing and storing probate records was at a very primitive stage of development in the nineteenth century. The earliest records are for Halifax County, dating as

---

5   For men dying intestate, one-third of their personal assets by statute passed to their wives and the remaining two-thirds were divided equally among the children. The real estate was divided among the surviving children only. For those who died without leaving any children, the father and the widow of the deceased shared the real and personal assets equally. If the deceased died without leaving a surviving father, the father's share was divided among his mother and surviving brothers and sisters. These and other special cases of the division of the property of intestates are discussed in detail in the *Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia* (1864), Chapter 115, pp. 747-750.

6   *The Married Women's Property Act*, which enabled a married woman to own property in her own right, was passed in 1898. Prior to 1898, whatever property that was owned by a single woman was automatically transferred to her husband at the time of her marriage, unless some special provision was made that prevented such a transfer. Given the nature of the law at the time, most estate papers were those of household heads. Some ninety per cent of the time (in 1871) these were males. See *Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia* (Halifax 1900), Section 4, p. 234. See also Siddiq, "The Inequality of Wealth" pp. 22-26 for a discussion of the size distribution of the probated decedents of 1871 by sex and marital status.

7   This is not to imply that all wealthholders were necessarily family heads. For example, in rural communities it was not unusual for farmers to transfer their real estate to their sons before their deaths. Also, in a three-generation family there could easily have been more than one wealthholder--the family head (often the grandfather or grandmother) and perhaps a married son. In general, however, family heads were the guardians or controllers of family wealth, although some of them had zero or negative net worth.

far back as 1749, when the first court of probate in Nova Scotia was established. Thereafter, courts of probate were established in all the other counties, the last one being Victoria (1852).[8]

Certain general patterns are evident in all counties. For example, each probate court maintains two basic sets of records: will books and estate papers. The former are large, bound ledgers, usually well-indexed, into which individual wills are transcribed upon their date of presentation to the court for probate. The estate papers are files created to encompass all documentation--including the original will--generated during the settlement of an estate. Normally, some pattern of general organization is evident in the estate files. In some counties, they have been maintained in chronological order in accordance with the date on which they were first filed. In others, they are arranged in alphabetical groupings, i.e., surnames beginning with each letter of the alphabet in one group and so on, and within each alphabetical grouping the papers are filed chronologically. Provisions for indexing these estate paper files tend to be haphazard, varying from county to county. Indexing in some counties has been fairly good, with a master index for all probate material; in others an index is maintained within each specific volume of records; while in others still, there is no index whatever.

All the documents in the estate paper files follow standard, prescribed legal formats. The jumbled order within most files seems to be primarily a function of poor filing. The absence of particular documents in the probate sequence of an individual file can be attributed either to poor records management, resulting in the loss of documents over time; or to haphazard probate practices in an age when settlement procedures record the value of the estate of the decedent and include a copy of the will for those who died testate. While some of the estate papers are very detailed, giving an exact breakdown of the probate procedure for individual decedents, others are sketchy and contain few details. The complexity and sophistication of individual documents may reflect the size of the estate, and often the literacy

---

8   See Court of Probate, Finding Aid, RG 48, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS). During the late 1960s the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) microfilmed the holdings of all twenty probate courts in Nova Scotia. All available will books were filmed up to 1960; the estate papers were filmed up to 1900, with the exception of Halifax County, where--due to the size of the holdings--1871 was chosen as a cut-off date. Currently a copy of these films, totalling 1,310 reels, is held at PANS. The Mormon Church is now filming certain materials overlooked or reorganized since the initial project.

of those appointed to settle it. As has been correctly pointed out, "probate records never assumed the long-term significance of land records because subsequent litigation is unlikely once an estate is closed and settled."[9] Probably for this reason these records have been "poorly indexed, poorly filed and poorly maintained."

As established by provincial statute in 1758, each court of probate was headed by a probate judge, whose responsibility it was to direct "the executor to bring the will to the registry of probates for the county where the deceased was domiciled and to prove it and record it, or to refuse and renounce the trust."[10] If this was not done within thirty days after the death of the testator, the executor paid a penalty of £5 sterling for each month of delay. For an intestate, the widow or next-of-kin was expected to apply for administration, also within thirty days after death had occurred. The judge of probate, after receiving such an application, normally granted letters of administration to the applicant. If they failed to apply in that time the judge, "upon first citing such widow or next of kin and their refusal to accept the same, . . . shall grant administration to such person or persons as he shall judge fit."[11] This implies that the judge was expected to know about the deaths as well as the dates of such deaths of wealthholders in his county and take action accordingly. In the absence of any further clarification of the legal requirements for probate in Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century, it is difficult to say what sort of authority, if any, the probate judge exercised in this respect.[12]

One of the great values to the historian of probate documents is their use in estimating personal wealth. In most estate papers, the amount of claims on behalf of an estate is cited in an inventory listing the type and value of real and personal property owned at the moment of death. There is no corresponding inventory of liabilities owed by the decedent. Instead,

---

9   RG 48, Finding Aid, p. 2, PANS.

10   Beamish Murdoch, *Epitome of the Laws of Nova Scotia*, III (Halifax 1833), 39-43. See *The Statutes at Large of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax 1758), Chapter 11, Section 7, p. 11.

11   Murdoch, *Epitome*, p. 41.

12   Since approximately half of all potential wealthholders dying were not probated, it appears that judges only acted if approached.

the estate papers contain the actual claims by creditors, such as bills payable by the estate of the deceased, including outstanding loans in the form of notes of hand. Such papers were normally produced by the creditor in the Court of Probate for payment from the estate of the deceased. To obtain a final estimate of the net worth of an estate, the appropriate method is to add to the value of all real and personal property (including stocks and shares, cash and bank deposits) the claims due to the estate (bills receivable), and then to subtract from it the claims due against the estate (bills payable).[13]

It would be interesting if one could estimate the value of a decedent's estate bequeathed to each individual heir. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine accurately the split of an estate among potential heirs, because few estate papers identified the exact value of inherited non-cash items. In the case of testate decedents, the will normally stated the items bequeathed to an heir: for example, the western half of a farm to a son, the dwelling house to the wife, and so on.[14] The inventory, instead of attaching a value to each individual item as it was stated in the will, either lumped a number of items into one category or subdivided it, often into indistinguishable fragments that made it very difficult--if not impossible-- to identify how each item in the will corresponded to that in the inventory. In the case of intestates, aside from the problems associated with identifying the difference in the value of the estate as stated in the inventory and the actual amount received by heirs, the difficulty involved in identifying the actual number of heirs made it awkward to estimate the amount received by each heir.[15] Only for estates, testate or intestate, that required a full sale of all assets to settle the debts, was the executor or administrator able to establish an exact residual amount that was to be divided among the heirs, and a breakdown of how much each heir received. Such cases were rare; and most estates that required a full sale of all assets were normally those that were insolvent. For such insolvent estates, the probate judge

---

13   Siddiq, "Size Distribution of Probate Wealthholdings," pp. 136-147.

14   Sons would normally inherit the real estate; daughters would receive cash, and a selection of household articles and other movable property.

15   The total amount received by heirs is less than the inventory value of the estate, since the latter is net of all outstanding debts of the deceased, plus probate and funeral expenses.

in his decree, instead of stating the amount to be received by each heir, stated the amount payable to each creditor.

One can hardly grasp the notion of personal wealth in the nineteenth century in a meaningful way without actually referring to the wealthholding of the rich and the poor and of those who were neither rich nor poor. Among the very rich was Enos Collins of Halifax, a gentleman who, at the time of his death on 18 November 1871 at the age of ninety-seven, was reputedly the richest man in British North America. His Nova Scotia holdings alone, excluding real estate for which there is no clear account, consisted of $579,667 in stocks, shares and debentures, $686,019 in bonds and mortgages, and $13,030 in cash. We can only speculate as to how rich Collins really was, since the extent of his vast fortune in the United States and elsewhere in Canada is not known. His principal heir was his son Brenton.[16]

At the other extreme was Michael Killeen, a penniless lumberman of Halifax, who when he died on 14 April 1894 had debts totalling $236. It is not surprising that he died without a will, that he was probated at the urging of his creditors, all of whom were surely disappointed when the appraisers of his estate failed to identify a single item of value to include in his inventory.[17]

John Green of North Sydney, Cape Breton County, was what one might call an average farmer of modest means. When he died on 6 June 1871 at the age of seventy-four, his estate was appraised at $1,106.50, consisting of four head of cattle valued at $64, five sheep valued at $12.50, household furniture worth $30, and real estate appraised at $1,000. Not having a surviving male heir, he bequeathed his entire property to his daughter, Mary Jane Allan and wife Margaret.[18]

An interesting probate record is that of Elizabeth Grant of New Glasgow, Pictou County. A widow who was reasonably well off during her lifetime, she died on 17 February 1899, with a will dated 22 August 1893 and a codicil dated 3 April 1897. Her estate, which was valued at $2,978, consisted of

16 Probate Court, Halifax County, Estate No. 1887 (November 1871).

17 *Ibid.*, Estate No. 5149 (March 1899).

18 *Ibid.*, Cape Breton County, Estate No. W11 (April 1872).

$2,800 in real estate, $103 in cash, and the remainder in various forms of personal property. Her entire estate was bequeathed to institutions, among which were the British American Book and Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Young Men's Christian Society, and a variety of churches and other institutions.[19]

Elizabeth Hurley of Bayfield in Antigonish County was a married woman when she died without a will on 27 December 1898. It is not surprising that her estate, which was valued at $1,733, consisted almost entirely of cash ($1,598) and no real estate, since it is likely that the property which her family owned was in the name of her husband.[20]

By examining the estate papers of decedents it is possible to piece together the various steps and procedures that were involved in the process of probate and the transfer of wealth from a decedent to his heirs. The process of probate generally began with a family member or a close friend or relative of the deceased wealthholder reporting to the county Court of Probate that the deceased had lately passed away and had left behind real and personal property which had to be appraised. The informant did so by filing a petition for probate and requesting that he and/or some other person be granted permission to execute the will or administer the estate.

In the case of testate wealthholders, the person/s filing the petition for probate were normally the executor/s of the estate as stated in the will of the deceased. He/they provided proof of this by submitting a copy of the will. The court then appointed him/them to execute the will and he/they thereafter was referred to as the executor/s or executrix. If the will provided for more than one executor, the court normally appointed all of those mentioned in the will to act as executors. If the executor/s predeceased the deceased wealthholder or were unable to perform his/their duties due to illness or some other reason, then the court appointed some other person, usually a close relative, to administer the estate. Often a surviving executor, unable or unwilling to perform his duties, nominated another person who was subsequently appointed by the court to administer the estate. In short, if at least one surviving executor was able and willing to to the job, the

19 Ibid., Pictou County, Estate No. 2808 (March 1899).

20 Ibid., Antigonish County, Estate No. 1079 (January 1899).

court asked him to execute the will; otherwise some other person was chosen. A surviving executor, unable or unwilling to execute the will, was required to renounce in writing his right to execute the will before the court passed on the responsibility to the other executor/s, or appointed someone else in his place. If no chosen executor of the testate wealthholder was available to deal with matters of the estate of the deceased, the person/s chosen to perform this job were called administrator/s instead of executor/s.

In the case of intestates, once the intestacy of the deceased was established, the court appointed a suitable person/s, usually a close relative or friend of the deceased, to administer the estate.[21] Normally, the person/s who filed the petition for probate were appointed administrator/s. The heirs to an individual who died intestate leaving behind any reasonable amount of assets had a clear incentive to apply to the Court of Probate for settlement of the estate, in order to ensure clear legal title to any of the property of the deceased, and in particular to any land. In the case of intestates leaving behind substantial debts, it was often one or more of the creditors who filed the petition for probate and who was subsequently appointed to administer the estate.[22] For intestates, the person/s responsible for administering the estate of the deceased were called administrator/s.

With the matter of administering the estate settled, the court issued letters testamentary, in the case of testates, and letters of administration, in the case of intestates, outlining what the executors or administrators were required to do. The most important directive involved the signing of a bond by the executor, or administrator, stating the amount of money--usually depending on the size of the estate--which the executor/administrator was required to pay to the probate judge if he was unable to settle the matters

---

21 Intestacy of a decedent could be proved by a sworn statement of the widow or some other close relative of the deceased, saying that the deceased had died without making a will. This could only be overturned if evidence to the contrary could be given, to the probate judge's satisfaction, by another person.

22 Take, for example, the case of Philip Hornish [Harnish], a poor fisherman of St. Margarets Bay, in Halifax County, who was probated at the request of his creditors. When he died without a will at the age of 68 on 15 August 1871, his debts were found to be $1,356. Although his real and personal estate was initially appraised at $415, its sale yielded only $372, leaving him with a net worth of $984. Each of his creditors received less than 27 per cent of the amount owing them, since part of the sale value was used to pay for probate and funeral expenses. Probate Court, Lunenburg County, Estate Paper Files (August 1871).

of the estate to the satisfaction of the court. Satisfying the court normally involved dealing with estate matters in an honest and judicious manner, especially where auctioning a whole or part of the estate was concerned, or where large expenses were incurred for one reason or another. The other important task for the executor/administrator of the estate was to submit a detailed statement of accounts to the court, once all matters pertaining to the estate had been settled.

Upon acceptance of the petition for probate, the court also issued, in addition to letters testamentary or letters of administration, a warrant of appraisement which required two appraisers, also appointed by the court and independent of the executor/administrator, to submit to the Court of Probate, within ninety days from the date the warrant was issued, an inventory list stating the type and value of all the real and personal property which the deceased possessed at the time of death. The appraisers, after preparing the inventory, attached a monetary value to each item on the list and then signed and dated their estimate. This inventory, for which the appraisers received a small remuneration, was then submitted to the Court of Probate. Real estate comprised land and buildings, including residential as well as business quarters, while personal property included, among other things, household furniture, consumer durables and utensils, stocks and shares, securities, bonds, cash on hand and money in banks, and debts due to the estate. Three categories of wealth were to be excluded from this list:

> In making such inventory the following articles shall be omitted and shall not be considered as assets, nor be administered as such, notwithstanding the estate of the deceased should be insolvent: to wit. First, all the articles of apparel or ornament of the widow according to the degree and estate of her husband; and also the apparel of the minor children if there be any. Second, the wearing apparel of the deceased not exceeding ten pounds in value, which shall be distributed at the discretion of the executor or administrator among the family of the deceased. Third, such provisions and other articles as shall be necessary for the reasonable sustenance of the widow if any, and also of the family of the deceased, for 90 days after his death.[23]

---

23 *Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia* (1864), Chapter 127, Section 21, pp. 449-450; also reproduced verbatim as a footnote in the standard warrant of appraisement.

Insofar as the distribution of the assets of a deceased wealthholder was concerned, the three items listed above were first of all set aside; funeral expenses, court fees and appraisers' fees were paid; and only then were legal claims against the estate settled. If the funds remaining for settling debts were not sufficient to meet all the claims against the estate, the estate was declared insolvent and the creditors paid on a pro-rated basis. The amount outstanding after all debts were paid was distributed according to the will, again on a pro-rated basis, if the amounts bequeathed to heirs exceeded the amount left for distribution. For intestates, the net value of the estate was divided among all legal heirs by the judge, in accordance with the statutory laws and as stated in the probate decree. For an intestate decedent who left behind a widow and children, the widow received one-third of the personal estate left for distribution, while the children shared in equal amounts the remaining two-thirds. The real estate was divided equally among the children.

The three mandatory omissions from the inventory list guaranteed that, regardless of the amount of claims against the estate of a decedent, some provision was always made for the widow and minor children of the deceased from the proceeds of the estate. To meet the claims of legal creditors, personal assets were used first, including cash in hand and bank deposits, or the proceeds from the sale of personal assets. If the proceeds from the sale of personal assets, together with other available liquid assets, were not sufficient to meet all legitimate debts, then a portion of the real estate, to a value that just settled the balance of all outstanding debts, was sold at public auction by the executor/administrator. If the debts were equal to or greater than the value of the entire estate, excluding the mandatory omissions, funeral expenses and probate fees, then the whole of the estate was auctioned by the executor/administrator after due approval was obtained from the probate judge.

Many of the probated intestates were poor during their lifetimes; some even had a negative net worth at the time of death. Those intestates who died leaving behind substantial debts were invariably probated at the request of one or more of their creditors. In such situations, the creditor/s applied to administer the estate, and once appointed by the Court of Probate, sold a part of, or the whole of the estate if required, and then settled the accounts of all the creditors, including his/their own. The money and assets remaining

after meeting all debts and expenses were then turned over to the legal heirs of the intestate in a proportion determined by the probate judge.

Once all expenses such as funeral costs and probate fees were settled, all debts and various claims against the estate were paid, and claims by the estate received, the executor/administrator submitted a final account to the court. The probate judge reviewed this account and, if satisfied, passed a probate decree directing the manner in which the estate was to be divided among all legal heirs. In the case of insolvent wealthholders, the executor/administrator submitted the account to the court without paying any of the debts. The probate judge then checked the list of claims against the estate, and in his probate decree passed judgment as to how the proceeds of the estate should be divided among the legitimate creditors of the estate. In either case, the carrying out of directives as stated in the probate decree normally closed all legal proceedings of the estate.

An interesting feature of testate probated decedents is that they were normally people who actually had wealth to transfer to their heirs. On the other hand, those probated decedents who left behind sizeable debts, which were equal to, less than or greater than their assets, were mostly intestates. It appears that non-probates were mostly the very poor--those whose gross assets were so small and debts so few and insignificant at the time of death, that they escaped the interest of the Probate Court.

Some of the probated decedents who were subsequently declared insolvent by the court actually had wealth to transfer at the time of their deaths. The reason for this discrepancy is that the court ruling declaring insolvency was based on the final calculation, which also considered various expenses incurred after death and was therefore likely to be different from the net worth of an individual at the time of death.[24] Examples of such expenses are probate and funeral costs, the appraisers' fee, and expenses incurred

---

24   One such case which almost fits this situation is that of George Graves, a farmer of Chester, Lunenburg County, who died at the age of 59 on 8 May 1871. His estate was initially appraised at $376. However, since his total debts were found to be $449, including a $229 mortgage, his entire estate was sold. The sale yielded $386 which, strictly speaking, gave him a negative net worth of $63. But various expenses incurred after his death, including probate fees and the cost of selling his property, eventually left only $286 for distribution among his creditors, resulting in a collective loss for them of $163--not $63 as might initially be expected. It follows that even if Graves had had a positive net worth at the time of his death of an amount less than $100, his estate would still have been declared insolvent. Probate Court, Lunenburg County, Estate Paper Files (July 1871).

in supporting the family of the deceased for periods beyond the ninety-day statutory period after the death of the wealthholder. Money and resources required for supporting the widow and minor children for the first ninety days were deducted from the assets of the wealthholder when the inventory was drawn up by the appraisers. However, if the estate was not settled within the ninety-day period, the family was normally supported with money drawn from the estate. It is possible that before matters were finally settled, the amount available for distribution would have diminished to a value that was less than the outstanding debts, although the value of the decedent's assets was greater than the amount of his debts at the time of death. In situations such as this, the judge declared the estate insolvent.[25]

There are certain peculiarities in nineteenth-century probate records. For example, while the occupations of most decedent men were quite clearly stated, women were normally identified by their marital status. As a result, the occupation of women is often difficult to ascertain. The marital status of men can normally be established from the list of heirs.

What about non-probated decedents? Unfortunately, little is known about how much wealth non-probated decedents possessed and how such wealth was transferred. There is no record of their wealthholdings. Some of them were probably not probated because they transferred their major assets, especially real estate, to their heirs before they died. In any event, and in spite of the provincial statute of 1758 which required probate for all decedents, testate and intestate, leaving behind an estate, informal distribution of assets among heirs continued to prevail, especially among those intestates who made deathbed bequests or left prior instructions that were simple to follow and not likely to be challenged. In such situations, where the court of probate was bypassed, transfers were effected through informal means, perhaps with certain responsible friends or relatives

25   See Siddiq, "The Inequality of Wealth," pp. 36-39 for details.

26   Often social and religious traditions of the time would determine the division of assets among potential heirs. These could range from the right of inheritance of the eldest son (primogeniture), especially to the principal dwelling, to equal inheritance by each son with each daughter inheriting as much or a fraction of that inherited by the sons. Variations of these and other customs have also been known to exist. In most instances, the surviving spouse would receive a share of the assets or a life interest in the property which could be overturned only through marriage.

overseeing the actual division.[26] Needless to say, such mechanisms satisfactorily resolved only those wealth transfers where the estate was small and simple to execute and the wealthholder had died without leaving behind substantial debts. If they had large estates, it was difficult for their heirs to bypass the legal system unless the transfers were carried out before death. On the whole, it appears that non-probated wealthholders were likely to have had little wealth, which itself is an important reason why their estates were not probated. Indeed, some of them are unlikely to have ended up with positive net worth after the mandatory deductions. For decedents having a net worth less than the value of mandatory deductions, probate served little purpose. Therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that estates which were not probated but qualified for probate were, for the most part, relatively small in size and few in number.

Other reasons why some wealthholders were not probated ranged from a desire to avoid court fees and other related expenses, to a lack of knowledge and understanding of the legal process, and the inability--often due to poor health, or the unwillingness of legal heirs or relatives--to carry out the task of administering the estate.[27]

To conclude, probate records not only provide comprehensive documentation of how the wealth of the dead was disposed, but also give detailed, sworn wealth appraisals, for individual decedents. Few other historical records can match the availability of this fertile information source, especially with reference to the data on personal wealth year by year and county by county. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, until quite recently these records were poorly filed and poorly maintained. Perhaps, due partly to this reason, few scholars have felt encouraged to use such documents to investigate the patterns of historical wealthholding over time.[28]

---

27 See A.H. Jones, *Wealth of a Nation to Be*, p. 349. It has been estimated that in the late nineteenth century, court fees for estates that went through the process of probate were about fifteen dollars and appraisers' fees about four dollars. See Siddiq, "The Inequality of Wealth," p. 216, note 8 for details.

28 See F. Siddiq, "The Distribution of Wealth in Nova Scotia Following Confederation," Working Paper No. 85-06, Department of Economics, Dalhousie University (November 1985); and Osberg and Siddiq, "The Inequality of Wealth in Britain's North American Colonies," pp. 143-163.

That Incredible "Tinan": Louis F. Babine, Professional Building Mover of Yarmouth County, 1898 - 1938

Peter Crowell

The moving of houses and other large buildings is now a relatively uncommon occurrence in Nova Scotia. Although the age of technology has given us much of the machinery that would make such undertakings easier, such progress has brought with it the trappings of electrical and telephone lines, and highways that officials are reluctant to close for such operations. Throughout the 1800s, however, and well into the middle of this century, the moving of buildings was a very common practice.

"Haulings," as they were usually called, were often community events, carried out in much the same spirit as barn-raisings and chopping bees. Friends, neighbours and relatives would gather with their teams of oxen or horses, and once a building was raised off its old foundation, it would be hauled on skids to its new location. Many anecdotes are still related in the rural communities of Yarmouth County, concerning just how many kegs of beer or quarts of rum it actually took "to get a building moving." Such haulings were often somewhat rough and ready affairs, and if there was not someone experienced in charge, the risk of damage to the building was rather high. This type of community hauling was most successful when dealing with small houses or outbuildings.

In most areas of Nova Scotia there were also professional house-movers. These men knew a great deal about the art and science of moving buildings, and took their work very seriously. Anyone who wished to have a valuable house or larger building moved, and who wanted a minimum of damage to the property, would contract out the work to a professional mover. Some movers used methods similar to the one already cited, but a great deal more time and care went into the operation, since the total sum received for the job would obviously depend on the quality of the work. At least two professional movers in Yarmouth County, and a number of others elsewhere throughout the province, moved their buildings on large sets of wheels, again using teams of oxen to do the actual hauling.

Louis F. Babine of Belleville, Yarmouth County was one of the best-known professional house-movers in southwestern Nova Scotia. His methods were unique in the Yarmouth County area, in that he employed only one horse

Peter Crowell is Municipal Historian for the Municipality of Argyle, and is in charge of the Argyle Township Court House and Archives at Tusket. He is also the Heritage Property Inventory Co-ordinator, Municipality of Argyle, for the Department of Tourism and Culture.

and a capstan to move most of his buildings. The novelty of such a sight is not easily forgotten, and many people throughout this part of the province recall witnessing at least one of Mr. Babine's moves. He was not only the most prolific of Yarmouth County's professional movers, but the quality of his work was also exceptional. It is rare indeed to hear an account of any building that he moved where serious damage was incurred. Even plaster interiors remained whole and uncracked through his smooth manoeuvres. Many movers would not move a building with an ell attached, but insisted on moving that section separately. Louis Babine moved many buildings with ells, verandahs and other additions intact, even though it did complicate the job somewhat. Some movers also removed the chimneys from houses in order to lighten the structure. Louis Babine almost always moved his buildings with the chimneys in place.

Louis Ferdinand Babine was born on 4 August 1859, the son of Charles Vincent Babine and Catherine Bourque. Of old Acadian stock on both sides of his family, he was brought up in the picturesque community of Belleville, situated on Eel Lake, about four miles north of Tusket. He was best known throughout the Acadian communities of Yarmouth and Digby Counties by his nickname, "Tinan", which was a shortened form of his middle name, Ferdinand. In these same Acadian communities today, not everyone responds to the name of Louis Babine, but almost everyone remembers, "Tinan." In the English communities he is usually remembered as Louis Babine, or "Eddie Babine's father."

Louis Babine grew to manhood in the community of Belleville. His father, Charles Babine, died when he was quite young, and it seems likely that Louis was needed on the family farm, as he never attended school long enough to learn to read and write. Mandatory attendence was not enforced in the rural schools of Yarmouth County in the 1860s, and the level of education offered in some of those schools was not very high. This situation was further complicated in the Acadian communities, where, as Neil Boucher points out in his *Development of an Acadian Community: Surette's Island 1859 - 1970*, young Acadian women with not a great deal of formal education themselves, were sometimes attempting to teach their French students, in French, from an English curriculum and from English books. Such conditions were deplorable for the teacher and student alike, and even if Louis Babine had attended school for a year or two, it is no guarantee that he would have

been able to learn to read and write under such circumstances. He was sensitive about his illiteracy, and did not readily admit to this handicap. Many anecdotes are related regarding the various situations in which he found himself, where for one reason or another, reading was expected of him; he would always claim to be unable to do so without his glasses, which of course were always at home. Although many of these stories are still related, they are invariably followed by a sincere acknowledgement of the man's intelligence. He was, in fact, very intelligent. He was an exceptional engineer and mechanic, and his grasp of the laws of physics was highly refined, a fact that becomes obvious when one considers many of the principles involved in his moving techniques.

Louis Babine was married sometime around 1885 - 86 to Miss Rosalie Aimée Surette of nearby Eel Brook. Both their marriage and the birth of their eldest child probably took place in the United States. Neither event is recorded in the parish records. Mrs. Irene Babine of Tusket, a daughter-in-law, believes that Louis and Rose Babine lived in Massachusetts very early in their married lives. Louis Babine continued to travel to that state for seasonal employment for many years, but his wife refused to move there to live again. The couple had returned to Nova Scotia and established themselves in Belleville by 10 November 1889, when their second child, Louis Arthur Babine was born. The family was enumerated in Belleville in the 1891 census return, at which time "Fardinen Babin" was shown as a lumberman, aged 31 years.

Louis F. Babine and Rose Surette had six children, two daughters and four sons. All six emigrated to the United States and found employment there, the eldest son, Arthur Babine, becoming a well-known building contractor in Providence, Rhode Island. Their two youngest sons, Eddie and Vincent Babine, both worked in the United States, but returned eventually to Nova Scotia, Eddie sometime shortly after the end of World War I, and Vincent somewhat later in the 1930s. Both of these sons worked with their father in his moving business, both before their departure for the United States and after their return, and it was eventually Eddie Babine who continued with the business after his father's retirement.

Throughout most of the 1890s Louis Babine travelled each spring to Lynn, Massachusetts, where he remained employed throughout the summer as an iceman. He had his own ice-wagon and worked in the employ of a large

firm in that city. The autumn and winter would be spent in Nova Scotia working as a lumberman. He usually carried on his own lumbering operations with a crew of men hired to work under him. When this work was not located close to Belleville, it meant spending much of the winter in logging camps, again away from his family. These living arrangements were difficult for him, and probably even more so for his family. The cultivation of a garden during the summer, and the care of the farm livestock year round, had to be performed by his wife and children. Toward the end of the 1890s, tired of this situation, Louis Babine was ready to try some other means of making a living, some line of work that would enable him at least to remain in Nova Scotia all year. It was at this time that his career as a professional house-mover began.

Since Louis Babine could neither read nor write, no formal contracts as such were ever drawn up for any of his moving jobs. He was considered a highly honest man, and his word was regarded as contract enough for the many people with whom he did business. As such, the lack of written records makes it impossible to document much of Mr. Babine's career. Fortunately, however, some mention of his work found its way into the pages of the local press of the time. In 1890 a newspaper called the *Yarmouth Light* commenced publication. It was the first of the Yarmouth newspapers to adopt a policy of publishing community news columns for the many small rural communities throughout Yarmouth County, as well as for some communities in Digby and Shelburne Counties. Since much of Mr. Babine's work took place in these localities, the issues of this paper that still exist contain some of the only known documentation of his early work.

Louis Babine began his work as a professional house-mover in 1898, at the age of thirty-nine. In the *Yarmouth Light* of 20 October 1898, the Belleville columnist reported that "Mr. Louis F. Babine has gone to Pubnico to haul houses. It being a new enterprise, we wish him success." In the same issue of the newspaper, it was stated by the West Pubnico columnist that "Mr. Louis T. Amiro, tailor, has purchased the house formerly occupied by Mr. Louis N. d'Entremont and is having it hauled." Thus quietly began Louis F. Babine's career. Although many of the buildings that he moved are no longer extant, this first project still stands in West Pubnico, and may be seen on page 86 of *Nos vieilles maisons: Inventaire annoté des maisons de Pubnico-Ouest érigées avant 1930*, a book published in 1985 by Le Réveil de Pombcoup.

It is not known whether or not Louis Babine had any other moving contracts in 1898. It is possible that this house in West Pubnico was the only one he moved that year. He seldom worked during the snowy winter months, and spring projects had to await the drying up of muddy roads and fields. That the job went well in West Pubnico is proven by the fact that the next mention found of his work took place the following spring in Argyle Sound, a small community only a few miles to the north of the Pubnicos. In the 17 April 1899 issue of the *Yarmouth Light*, the Argyle Sound column stated that "The Baptist Church had been hauled down to a central part of the section. Mr. Louis Babine, of Belleville, had the contract for hauling it. We congratulate him on the good way he brought the building down."

The church was a fairly large building, and it must have taken considerable courage to take on such a job so soon after starting in the business. His daughter-in-law, Mrs. Irene Babine, says of her father-in-law, "He was daring. He took chances. He dared to take on jobs that other people wouldn't touch. He took risks, but he knew what he was doing too." Any risks taken on this job would have paid off, for word would have passed quickly about the successful hauling of a large church. This structure was taken down during the summer of 1975, but a photograph of the building can be seen in a small booklet, *The United Baptist Churches of Yarmouth County*, compiled by Robert B. Blauveldt, and published in 1974.

The week following the hauling of the Argyle Sound church, it was reported from Central Argyle that "Mr. A.M. VanNorden has removed his shop to the south side of the Free Baptist Church, which makes it much nearer his boarding house." Although Louis Babine's name is not mentioned, it seems highly likely that he was given the contract for this job, since he had completed such a successful move only the previous week, a few miles to the south. He probably moved a number of other buildings during 1899, but only one other was reported in the *Yarmouth Light*. On 7 December 1899 the columnist for "Sluice Point and Bourque's Cove" reported that "Mr. Henry Muise has moved his house about 600 yards from the old site. Mr. Louis Babine was the boss of the job."

The community news columns of the *Yarmouth Light* provide us today with valuable documentation for Louis Babine's work. At the time they were published, these same columns would have offered good advertising

value. The *Yarmouth Light* was read almost religiously in most households throughout rural Yarmouth County, and it was these very columns that were the paper's greatest attraction. The readers, isolated as they were, read these items in great detail to glean any mention of family or friends living elsewhere in the county. Word of Mr. Babine's work would have spread quickly through this medium.

In accepting any moving jobs, Louis Babine would first visit the village in which the hauling was to take place, inspect the building, decide whether or not he would take the job, and if so, give an estimate on the cost of the work. He would then instruct the owner of the building in the preparation of the new foundation on to which the house would be moved. Some owners preferred to pay more and have the new foundation included in the contract, in which case Mr. Babine would employ one or two of the skilled stonemasons from his own community of Belleville. If the owner wished to make his own arrangements for this work, that was equally acceptable. Louis Babine would usually not return to the village until the new foundation was completed.

This process can be discerned unfolding in the columns of the *Yarmouth Light* during 1908, in the few mentions made of a house that was moved in East Kemptville. On 19 March it was reported from East Kemptville that "Mr. Louis Babine of Belleville was here on business last week." On May 28 we learn that "Mr. Alonzo Roberts has workmen digging in the cellar for his new house which he intends to move." Finally, on 25 June it was reported that "Mr. Alonzo Roberts has moved a house owned by Heman Crowell. It is now on Mr. R.'s cellar and will soon be ready for occupation." On the same date, the Belleville columnist stated that "Mr. Louis F. Babine who has been hauling buildings in Kempt has returned home."

Although all of Mr. Babine's work would have never found its way into the pages of the *Yarmouth Light*, after 1899 even that source becomes spotty, with entire years of the newspaper missing. Eye-witness accounts make up a great deal, though not all of the remaining documentation for his moving activities. Germain Hubbard of Hubbard's Point, Yarmouth County, who was 103 years of age in 1988, and with sound mind, remembers when Louis Babine moved a rather large store, around 1899, from the southernmost part of the Village of Tusket, north to the central part of the community, where it was set on a new foundation on the western side of the main road,

directly across from the old Argyle Township Court House. This building was known for many years as "Elmer Hatfield's Store." It was taken down in 1984, and reassembled with amazing accuracy by Donald Pothier, on his property in Tusket, so this large building still exists in that place. Around 1899-1900 Louis Babine moved the large barn of Mrs. S.J. Hatfield at East Kemptville, about two hundred feet to a new site on the opposite side of the road. The barn is still extant. On 28 January 1902 it was reported in the *Yarmouth Light*, from Belleville, that "Dr. Landry has disposed of his land on this side of Eel Lake, better known as the Joseph M. White estate, to Henry Meuse, who has had his house removed to the site where Mr. White's house stood. Louis F. Babine did the moving." Mr. Albert Doucette of Belleville, who is now ninety-one years of age, recalls this building being moved with the capstan and one horse. The house has since been demolished.

In October 1902, Mr. Louis T. Amiro of Middle West Pubnico had a store moved. Since Louis F. Babine's very first moving job was done for this gentleman, it seems likely that Louis Babine moved this store as well in 1902. Several houses and other buildings were moved during this period in the communities of Argyle Sound and Lower Argyle--but if Mr. Babine did the work, his name unfortunately is not mentioned in the newspaper reports. In May 1907 Louis Babine was employed in Tusket, moving a store for Mr. Tracy G. Hatfield. In that year, Mr. Hatfield built a large new store at what was then called Lent's Corner. This new structure is now known as the "Hanging Oak Antique Store." The old building which had formerly sat on this site was built in the 1840s, and this Louis Babine hauled a short distance and placed on a temporary foundation on the opposite side of the main road, on the bank of the Tusket River. Mr. Hatfield kept store there while his new building was being completed. After moving into his new premises, Tracy Hatfield sold the old building to Mr. Reuben Hubbard of Hubbard's Point. In November 1908 Mr. Babine was hired again, this time to haul the building about a half-mile to the south, to Hubbard's Point. It has since been used as a dwelling house, currently owned by Mrs. Frances Doucette.

On 7 October 1909 it was reported at East Kemptville that "Mr. Reginald Gray is having his house moved on the cellar of the old homestead. Mr. Louis Babine of Belleville is doing the work." This large four-square house

was lost to fire many years ago. In November 1909 it was reported from Pleasant Lake that Mr. Andrew Jeffery had "purchased the building owned by Dickie and McGrath here and a party from Belleville are now engaged in removing it to his property." This building was used as a blacksmith shop by Mr. Jeffery, but has been gone now for many years. On 20 October 1910 it was stated by the columnist from Plymouth that "Mr. E.A. Gray has had the old Johnston house hauled and placed on the cellar where he was burned out last April, the work being done by Mr. Babine & men."

It was also around 1910-11 that Louis Babine moved a house in Hubbards Point, south of Tusket. Mr. Frank Dulong of that community purchased a very attractive home owned by Mr. Stephen Doucette, and had it hauled about a half-mile to the south, to a site where he had just lost a home to fire. This house was moved with its large ell attached. The building has been altered very little over the years, and can still be seen in that community; it is presently owned by Stephen Meuse and Andrea LeBlanc.

In 1913, Louis Babine contracted to move the largest building he would deal with in his forty-year career. In that year, Father Jean M. Deveau, the priest at Wedgeport, decided to press forward with the plans for a new and larger church in that community. The old church, built in 1867, was still in excellent condition and it was decided that, rather than demolish the building, it would be used to form the central part of the new structure, which was to take the form of the latin cross. The plans called for a substantial addition to be built at the rear of the church, and at the same time it was decided that the cemetery situated at that location could not be disturbed. Mr. Jacques R. LeBlanc, superintendent of the operation, soon realized that the only solution to the problem was to have the building moved. Louis F. Babine was given the contract.

The old church was a very large building, very close in size and style to the Roman Catholic Church in Saulnierville, Digby County. It was Louis Babine's job to raise the building and advance it sixty feet. No recorded information is available concerning the actual work done by Mr. Babine and his men. He did employ a large crew on this contract, and two of his sons, Eddie and Vincent, worked with him on the job. It seems safe to surmise that the number of jacks and other equipment used for this project would have far exceeded that needed for moving a house or smaller building. The work of moving the church commenced during the first week of July

1913, and by 24 July the job had been completed to everyone's satisfaction, as on that date the construction work on the church proceeded. An impressive photograph of this large building, in the process of being moved, can be found in Clarence J. d'Entremont's *Histoire de Wedgeport, Nouvelle-Ecosse, 1967.*

Between 1910 and 1920, Louis Babine's reputation for fine work and the demands for his services began to take him beyond the boundaries of Yarmouth County. His daughter-in-law, Mrs. Irene Babine of Tusket, grew up in the community of Grosses Coques in Digby County. She recalls that her future father-in-law moved the old schoolhouse in that village in November 1918. It was moved from its original position near the main road to a site nearer the beach. She recalls that this building was being moved on the day when word arrived in Grosses Coques that World War I had ended. All work on the hauling stopped for one day, while Mr. Babine and his men joined in the celebrations. A short time later, perhaps the following year, Louis Babine hauled what was known as the "Bennie Belliveau house" from Grosses Coques, south to the neighbouring community of Pointe de l'Eglise. This house is still extant and stands immediately to the south of the Royal Bank in that village. Irene Babine recalls that this structure was left for one night in front of her father's home, because an intersection of roads there made it possible for traffic to pass around the building. She was a young girl at the time, and she and some of her friends played on the verandah of the house during its brief stay in this location.

It was around 1920 that "Tinan" moved the house of Henry Muise on Rocco Point, in Eel Brook. The building was eventually remodelled and today serves as a barn for Abel and Henry Doucet at Rocco Point. It was also in 1920 that Mr. Claude Frost recalls witnessing the moving of a building in Brenton, Yarmouth County. This was actually a large ell taken from a house and after it was moved several hundred yards, placed on a new foundation for Mr. Murray Cann, who at that time worked and lived with his family in Cuba. The building was placed near his summer cottage, and was used as living quarters for the servants who accompanied his family to Brenton during the summers.

Irene Babine recalls her father-in-law stating that he moved the large house that served for many years as the Roman Catholic presbytery at Salmon River, Digby County. She does not know when this work was done, but

DIAGRAMS

Side view →
Front view

A

B

C

1. Cross timbers
2. Stringer
3. Rollers
4. Tracks
5. House

5–
6–
1–
2–
7–
3–
4—

D

6. Sill
7. Shoe
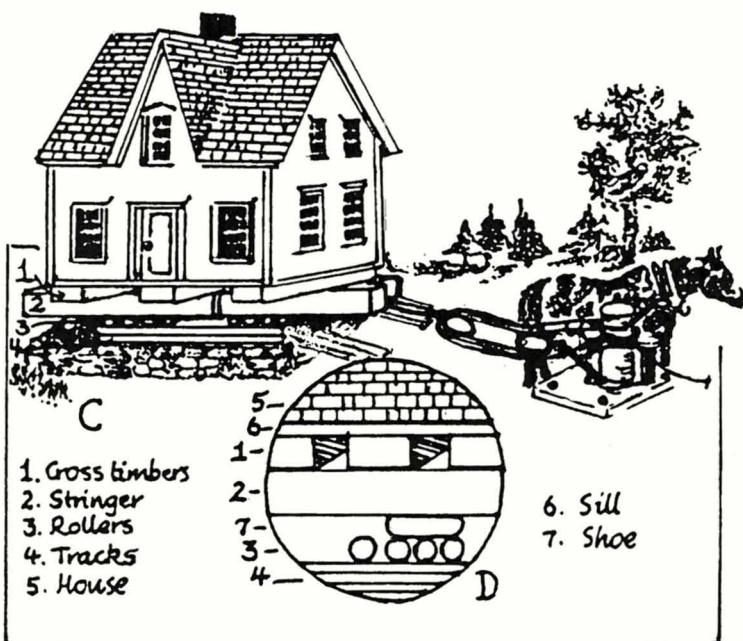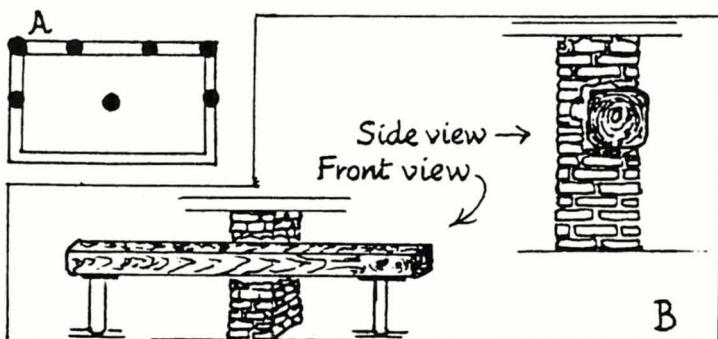
Diagrams drawn by Virginia Stoddard.

recalls that Mr. Babine used to complain that he had boarded in a home nearby where he had been served pork, "morning, noon and night." Father Leo Maillet, the current priest at Wedgeport, recalls that Louis Babine moved a large house in the community of St. Alphonse around 1932-34. This building, which was relatively new at the time, had been purchased by the Roman Catholic Church and was moved near the church in St. Alphonse to serve as the presbytery. Its original site was about a half mile to the south on the main road. Mrs. Bernadette Babine of Yarmouth confirms this report. She recalls being a passenger in an automobile that had to leave the road and drive through a field in order to get around this building while it was being moved. She did not know Louis Babine at the time, and had no idea that she would marry his son Eddie in 1935. Both of the above mentioned presbyteries are no longer extant.

It would be possible to go on listing the documented buildings that were moved by Louis Babine, but it is not the volume of his work alone that is worthy of attention. No accounts have surfaced to date that tell of unsatisfied customers, or of any buildings that were seriously damaged under his supervision. He was slow and methodical in his work, and the men who worked for him were trained in the same manner. He did not rush one job in order to hurry to another, and he took a great deal of pride in the manner in which he delivered a building to its new site. That his work was highly respected is proven by the many times he would return to various localities where he had made previous moves. The communities of East Kemptville and Kemptville, which are not large villages, have on their own eight documented buildings that were moved by Louis Babine, as well as two or three other buildings that he **may** have moved.

He moved almost all of his buildings with the use of a capstan and one horse. The house would first be raised from its old foundation with jacks, to a height where two large timbers, called "stringers," could be slid under the building. Then, four sets of hardwood rollers would be positioned under each of the four ends of the stringers. Cables or ropes would be made fast to these stringers, and then attached to a simple set of two pulleys, and the rope or cable threaded through these two pulleys would pass directly to the capstan. A horse harnessed to the capstan bar would walk slowly around the capstan, winding this rope around it and thereby slowly advancing the building on its rollers. When the building had been moved

as far as possible, the capstan would be taken up and reanchored at a further distance, and the process would be repeated. [This procedure is explained in more detail in "the Babine Method," found at the end of this article.]

The use of a capstan for moving buildings and other large objects was a very old practice, and was certainly widely known among professional building-movers. From Bear River, on the Digby/Annapolis County line, and on through the Annapolis Valley area, the use of the capstan for moving buildings was the rule rather than the exception with men in this profession. Louis Babine was the only professional mover in Yarmouth and Shelburne Counties, as well as in most of Digby County, to use this technique exclusively. Many movers in the Yarmouth County area spurned this method as being too slow. Time never seems to have been an issue for Louis Babine, although the quality of his work was of the utmost importance to him. My father, the late Russell Crowell of East Kemptville, once described a large barn which he watched being moved in that village in the 1920s. He was a young boy at the time, and stopped on his way home from school to watch the structure being inched down the road. He remembered that he had to place his forehead against the trunk of a tree and close one eye, before he could discern any movement at all. Not all buildings proceeded quite that slowly, but this is a good indication of just how carefully one had to proceed over rough ground, using this method. Louis Babine's moves were smooth enough that, on occasions when a house was not being moved a great distance, people would remain in the building. When Reginald Gray's home was moved about three hundred yards up the road in East Kemptville in 1910, Mrs. Gray remained in the house throughout the move, and her daughter, Carrie Gray of Wellington, recalls that her mother made bread as the house proceeded up the road. Another story is related of how a pan of milk left on a kitchen table in one of the houses being moved by Louis Babine, did not lose a drop throughout the move--and this house passed through fields and up a steep hill before being placed on its new foundation.

As well as moving houses by land, Louis Babine was also involved in floating a number of buildings by water. With these houses, the chimney would first be taken down in order to lessen the weight, and the building would then be floated, using barrels as floats, or on rafts, or sometimes even with boats strategically placed under the corners of the house or the stringers. The structure would be towed to its new location, and the horse

and capstan used on land to move it to the new foundation. Mr. Alvinie Surette of Yarmouth, formerly of Belleville, recalls working on just such a job in 1926. This involved floating a house from the "Bigette" on Morris Island to Surette's Island. He does not recall Mr. Babine being present on Roberts Island, but says that "The old man, 'Tinan,' was waiting for us on the shore at Surette's Island, with the horse and capstan." This is a fairly large house, currently owned by Mr. Kenneth Nickerson, and can still be seen on Surette's Island.

Louis Babine employed many men throughout his years in the moving business. For most of his career, if not the entire time, Mr. Louis Morris of Belleville was known as "Babine's boss mover." Mr. Morris had been trained by Louis Babine, and he was in charge of many moves on his own, while his employer would be elsewhere moving a second building, or giving estimates on an upcoming contract. Louis Morris continued to work in this capacity for at least a few years for Eddie Babine, after the latter took over his father's moving contracts. The names of some of the other men who worked on a regular basis for Louis Babine were Earl DeViller, Jerry Surette, Alvinie Doucette, John Pothier and "the Jacquard boys from Quinan." None of these men is alive today. There were many other men who worked on one or two, or perhaps several jobs, with Louis Babine. Since his work often took him and his men a good distance from home, he paid board as well as wages to his regular crews. It was therefore more profitable for him to hire all the casual labour that was needed in the village or town where the work was being done.

Today the idea of so many buildings being moved about strikes us as something of a novelty. Although such events always created excitement, it never occurred to the people involved that anything very unusual was taking place. There were contractors readily available and able to do such work. There were few electrical or telephone lines to hinder the movement of buildings. If a road had to be held up for a day or two, it was not considered any great hardship--people quite simply would detour around a building by driving through a field with their horse and wagon, or with the early automobiles, and often that terrain was no rougher than the road itself.

The reasons for moving buildings were as varied as the owners themselves. If a family lost a home to fire, an available house nearby would be purchased and moved on to the site. On Morris Island in Yarmouth County, a

community was gradually abandoned by families emigrating to the United States, and by others who simply wished to move to a more populated part of that island or Surette's Island. Some owners floated their houses, but more often it was other people who purchased the abandoned homes and had them floated and then hauled to new locations. As the automobile became more popular, many roads throughout the province were improved and often widened. Often these "improvements" made it necessary or desirable to have a house and other buildings moved back further from the road. Often when an owner of a building would decide to build a new home, or barn or store, the old building would be sold to another party who would have it hauled. Nova Scotians during the 1800s and early 1900s were not a people very inclined toward waste, and the hauling and reuse of serviceable buildings held a strong appeal for that frugal nature.

Since the expertise was so readily available, it was inevitable that not every moving job would be carried out for reasons as practical as the ones cited above. Sometimes a better view was all that was sought, and a fair number of examples exist where an ongoing dispute with a neighbour would result in a house being moved some distance, and re-established elsewhere in a community. Family tradition has it that Mrs. S.J. Hatfield of Kemptville had her large barn moved around 1900, because she felt it was not becoming for a lady to be seen crossing the road with a milkpail in hand. After her barn was moved some two hundred feet across the road and set on a new foundation, it was joined to her house by a series of sheds and a small catwall; she was then able to go about her work with a greater degree of dignity. In 1938 a house in Wedgeport was moved by Louis Babine for another reason entirely. Mr. and Mrs. Louis Pothier of that place moved into the large home of Mrs. Pothier's uncle, Stillman Jacquard, sometime around 1936. Mr. Jacquard had by this time moved to the United States. Unfortunately he had left behind debts, and in 1938 a merchant to whom he owed money collected by taking possession of the house. It was moved from its site on the Jacquard Road, where Mr. and Mrs. Pothier still reside, to its present site on the southeast corner of the New Road and the main road. One assumes that this manner of collecting on outstanding debts was not a common practice.

Throughout the 1930s Louis F. Babine, or "Tinan" as he was so widely known, gradually retired from active work. He and his son Eddie had been

working together, and it was this son who took over his father's moving contracts. The aforementioned Stillman Jacquard house was one of the last moved by Louis Babine. Sometime between 1936 and 1938 he also moved the old schoolhouse in Eel Brook to its present location near the Ste. Anne du Ruisseau School. He did not move any other buildings after 1939. In that year his son, Eddie Babine, hired Mr. Ernest Doucette of South Belleville as his "boss mover," and from that time onward it was Ernest Doucette who supervised and carried out all of the Babine moving contracts. They moved a great many buildings, but their work is better dealt with separately. Ernest Doucette is the only professional mover of buildings still living in Yarmouth County who worked with the horse and capstan. By the time he began work for Eddie Babine in 1939, heavy equipment such as trucks and bulldozers was being used to move buildings. Only once after 1939 was the horse and capstan used by him, this in the 1940s when a house in the community of Hebron was moved a short distance back from the road, when the highway was being widened.

Louis Babine's son Eddie was married in 1935 and at that time moved to Yarmouth to live. Shortly afterward, Mr. Babine's son Vincent and his wife Irene, who were then living in Massachusetts, decided to move back to Nova Scotia to live with his parents and take over the family homestead in Belleville. Louis Babine's wife, Rose, died on 8 July 1945, and after that time he continued to live with his son and daughter-in-law in Belleville. He died on 29 May 1956 at the age of 96 years and 10 months, and was buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Eel Brook.

Louis Babine is remembered as a small man, standing about five foot four in height. He was a Liberal in politics and worked for the party throughout his long life. He held strong political views, and felt that Prime Minister MacKenzie King was the greatest man who had ever lived--a man who could do no wrong. His best friends were almost always of the same political persuasion. Meticulous in his wardrobe, Louis Babine in his eighties and nineties would always be dressed in a suit and tie and hat when he made his weekly trip to Yarmouth. This weekly excursion usually consisted of a trip to his barber, and then a long walk to the north end of Yarmouth to visit friends, often to the home of friend and fellow Liberal, Donald Cann. He would go to lunch in Yarmouth at his son Eddie's house. Ernest Doucette, Eddie Babine's mover from 1939 onward, says that Louis Babine

never worked on any moves that he was involved in, but he recalls that "Tinan," in suit and hat, would occasionally come with his son Eddie and watch the moving of a building from his son's car.

Louis F. Babine was a quiet and serious man. He took a great deal of pride in his work, but never really felt that he had done anything extraordinary. When he took on the job of moving his first house in West Pubnico in 1898, he could never have imagined the repercussions of that act, or the kind of career that would unfold. His skills, as passed on to the men who worked for him, and subsequently passed on by them, would continue to influence the business of moving buildings in this part of Nova Scotia for many years after he himself had retired from active work. He was a remarkable man, and the name of "Tinan" in Yarmouth County still inspires awe among those familiar with his work. Through the many buildings that he moved, he made a significant mark on the landscape of this province, and the quality of his work will insure that the mark is a lasting one.

The Babine Method

[N.B. The following explanation of some of the basic mechanics involved in moving buildings, with the use of horse and capstan, has been entitled "The Babine Method," because these were the procedures employed by Louis F. Babine, and later by his son Eddie Babine. I do not mean to imply that the method was invented by Louis Babine. Many other men in this profession made use of the capstan, but specific techniques may have varied widely from one mover to another. So although the "Babine Method" may be similar or identical to the practices followed by other professional movers, this explanation remains idiosyncratic in that it vouches only for those methods employed by the Babines.

A grateful acknowledgement must be offered here to Mr. Ernest Doucette of South Belleville, Yarmouth County, for his assistance. He is the only "professional mover" remaining who worked with and for the Babines. He began work as Eddie Babine's "boss mover" in 1939. Although Mr. Doucette only moved one building in the 1940s with the horse and capstan, he is well acquainted with the principles and techniques involved. His information has been confirmed in part, or in whole, by the several other men throughout

Yarmouth County who worked for the Babines on one or two haulings. Mr. Doucette has been very generous with his time, and unusually patient in explaining some of these procedures over and over, until they were finally understood by someone with a great deal of interest, but little knowledge of things mechanical.--*Author*]

The first stage of any hauling consisted of raising the building off its foundation. Louis Babine accomplished this by using a series of strategically placed screw-jacks, about seven being employed on most jobs. First, holes would be made in the old foundation, so that the jacks could be fitted securely under the sill of the house. Four of these jacks would be placed under one of the long ridge walls, which for the sake of this explanation will be referred to as the front of the house. The jacks would be positioned as shown in **Diagram A**. One of the jacks would be placed at each end of the wall, while the other two would be positioned under the middle of the wall, at an equal distance from the ends of the building. Two more jacks would then be positioned, one on each gable end of the house. These would be secured under the sill, at the centre of these two walls. One other jack would be positioned at the very centre of the house, in the basement. This jack would sit on a solid set of blockings made by laying thick board planks, first one way, then the other, until the desired height was attained.

When these jacks were in place and secure, Mr. Babine would begin to direct the raising of the front part of the building. One man was assigned to each jack, and they would turn them according to Louis Babine's instructions. This jacking process required some attention on Mr. Babine's part, for although the men had to turn simultaneously on their jacks, the four jacks along the front of the house had to raise that part of the building to a higher level than did the two jacks on the gable ends and the jack in the basement. Usually the front part of the building would be raised at this time to a height of about six inches, although with some larger buildings it was never possible to raise any part of the structure more than four inches at a time. Louis Babine was an expert on how much strain a building could safely sustain, and knew when it was safe to proceed.

When the front part of the building had been raised as much as possible, it would then be blocked up with wooden blocks to maintain the height, and the four jacks would be removed from under the front wall of the house.

They would then be taken to the rear of the building, and placed in identical positions under the sill of that wall. The two jacks on the gable ends of the house, and the one located in the basement, would not be moved at all during this part of the raising process, but remained in their original locations.

When the four jacks had been secured under the rear wall, the crew would once again man the jacks, and proceed to raise the back part of the house. If possible, the rear of the building would be elevated a full twelve inches at this time. Once it had been raised to whatever height was possible, the rear of the building would be blocked up with wooden blocks, and the jacks would be removed and taken back to their original positions under the front wall, and that part of the building would be raised again. This process was repeated over and over, until the building had been lifted high enough for other work to proceed. This method of raising a building was slow, but it also meant that at no time throughout the process were the jacks required to lift the entire weight of the building. It also meant that fewer jacks were required for the work.

Louis Babine almost always moved his houses with the chimneys intact. If the chimney were a central one, as was often the case with older houses, this altered the above-cited arrangement with the centrally located jack in the basement. If a chimney were to be moved, work would begin in the basement, in partially detaching the chimney from its base. This was done a short distance beneath the first floor of the house. At the point where the chimney was to be separated from its base, a good deal of brickwork would be taken away, in order to make a cavity large enough to accommodate a large timber, measuring approximately eight by eight inches, or sometimes ten by ten for a larger chimney. This timber would be long enough to extend the width of the house--or, in the case of our example, from the front to the back of the house. This timber was inserted into the cavity in the brickwork, and rested under one half of the chimney [see **Diagram B**]. The remainder of the brickwork, which was still intact, was sufficient to support the chimney temporarily.

After this timber was in place, one screw-jack would be placed under each of the two ends of the timber. These jacks sat on solid plank blockings, of the type earlier mentioned. When the house was being raised, there would be a man stationed at each of these jacks. As the building was elevated,

the chimney too would be lifted. As this was done, the remaining brickwork that was attached to the chimney's base would simply break and fall away, while the timber positioned under the other half of the chimney was sufficient to hold the structure in place throughout the raising process. In turn, when the house was placed on its new foundation, this timber would be left in place while masons rebuilt the section of chimney beside the timber. When the masonry was dry and solid, the timber could be removed and the cavity where it had been would then be bricked in.

The house and chimney would be raised off the old foundation a sufficient height, so that two very large timbers, called "stringers," could be passed under the length of the house, from one gable end to the other. The stringers usually measured twelve by twelve inches or sixteen by sixteen. They were positioned some three or four feet in from the ridge walls and foundation, while the ends rested on the foundation at the gable ends. The stringers would therefore be running in the opposite direction to the cross-beam that was holding up the chimney. The stringers would be positioned underneath this cross-beam, and then additional cross-timbers of the same size would be placed along the tops of the stringers, at the appropriate intervals, so that when the building was once again lowered on to them the whole would sit perfectly level. After the house was lowered on to the cross-timbers and stringers, all of the jacks could be removed from their positions. One jack would then be secured under each of the four ends of the stringers, and henceforth the building would be lifted in this way, which distributed the weight of the house in a much better manner and took much of the strain off the jacks.

Once these four jacks were in place, the house, cross-timbers and stringers would all be raised again and blocked up with large blocks of wood. The track on which the building would be moved was then set in place. This track, which consisted of a series of six by six-inch timbers, would be laid down under the stringers. Since they too ran from one gable end of the building to the other, and were situated some three or four feet in from the long foundation walls, it was necessary to support these tracks from underneath in the basement. This was accomplished by building solid sets of blockings, one about every four feet, throughout the basement, under each of the two tracks. This track was also laid down on the ground leading away from the foundation in the direction which the building was to be hauled.

After the track was in place, a set of four hardwood rollers was placed about four feet in from each of the four ends of the stringers. These four sets of rollers acted in principle no differently from the four wheels on any cart, or for that matter on any modern automobile. The two sets of front rollers were also used for steering. At this time, a large rope or cable would be tied on to each of the two stringers, about a foot behind the rollers. The rope was held in place with a shackle to prevent it from slipping. These were the two ropes with which the building would be pulled. After these two ropes were in place, they would be passed out from under the gable end of the house [see **Diagrams** C and D], and then the building, cross-timbers and stringers would all be lowered down on to the rollers.

Since the building is now ready to be moved off the foundation, it is perhaps best to leave it and look at the equipment that will do the actual hauling. The capstan, an apparatus most familiar on ships for raising and lowering anchors, hoisting yards or lifting other heavy weights, was almost always used by Louis Babine to move his buildings. The capstan would be placed anywhere from fifty to one hundred feet away from the building, in the direction in which the structure was to be hauled. Exactly where the capstan was placed was often determined by the landscape, for solid ground was required to anchor it properly. Louis Babine's capstans were usually screw-bolted on to a platform, similar in size and style to the "stone-drags" common until recent years on most Nova Scotian farms. On each of the four corners of this platform were holes with metal eyes, through which were driven the iron pins used to anchor the capstan to the ground. Kenneth Mood of East Kemptville, who worked on one job for the Babines in the 1920s, recalls that these pins were about three-and-a-half to four feet long and were driven into the ground with large mauls. Three men would work together pounding each of these pins into the earth. Mr. Mood says, "They never looked at one another while they were doing this. As one man would come down on the pin and pull his maul away, the next man would come down with his. They would keep at it that way until they had driven it down far enough into the ground. They pounded them in at an angle too, not straight up and down like you'd think." If for some reason the ground was not firm enough to hold the capstan solidly in place, it would also be braced or anchored with additional cables. One end of these cables would be tied to the capstan, while the other ends were secured

to trees or some other solid object situated some distance away from the capstan, in the direction toward which the building would be hauled.

At the top of the capstan or "drumhead," were recesses or pigeon-holes into which the capstan bar could be inserted, this bar being the lever with which the capstan was turned. The bar was usually made of ash or hemlock and had cast-iron shoes fitted at the end, which was inserted into the pigeon-holes. This bar was usually from five to six-and-a-half feet in length. A horse harnessed to the capstan bar, and walking slowly around the capstan, was the only force needed to keep a building moving on its rollers and tracks.

Between the capstan and the building was a simple set of two pulleys or tackles. The first tackle, which was located nearer the capstan, was anchored to the base of the capstan by a rope or cable, referred to as the "deadman." The deadman was connected to the tackle through a hook or eye found on one end of the tackle. The second tackle was situated closer to the building, and several feet away from the first tackle. A hook or eye on the end of the second tackle was used to hook it up to the earlier mentioned ropes that were tied around the large stringers under the house [see **Diagram C**].

These two tackles were the type with several grooves or "shreaves," so that a rope could be wound around them several times. The rope that passed between the two tackles would be attached to the second tackle, nearer the building, and then taken to the first tackle, wound around one of its shreaves, and returned to the second tackle and wound around one of its shreaves. This procedure was repeated three times, or until there were six strands of rope between the two tackles. The basic principle involved was that each time the rope wound around the two sets of pulleys, the pulling capacity of the capstan was doubled.

The last time the rope was wound around the second tackle, nearer the building, it would be taken directly to the capstan, bypassing the first tackle. The rope would then be wound around the capstan once or twice, while a man stationed at the capstan held the end of the rope. This rope had to be kept taut in order to maintain the proper tension needed for the capstan to pull the building. When the horse began to walk around the capstan, winding the rope from the tackles around the capstan drum, the man who was maintaining the tension on the rope would at the same time unwind the rope from the capstan drum and throw it in a coil behind him.

When the capstan and the two pulleys were in place, the horse would be led around the capstan and the building would be moved slowly on its rollers, along the track and off the old foundation. When the building sat on solid ground, the moving would be temporarily stopped. At this point, jacks were placed under the four ends of the large stringers and the building was raised again. A large piece of thick hardwood planking called the "shoe," measuring approximately four by twelve inches, and being about four feet long, would be placed between the stringers and the rollers, about four feet in from the ends of the stringers. The shoes served better to distribute the weight of the building on the rollers, and could also be used as a steering mechanism with the front rollers--although the rollers themselves were more often used to do the steering. When the four shoes were in place, the building was lowered back down, and the hauling would proceed.

When the building was moving, only three of the hardwood rollers would be under any one of the four shoes at any given time. The fourth roller was always being picked up from behind the shoe, after the building had passed over it, and laid down again in front of the shoe. There was always one, and sometimes two men assigned to each shoe. Their main job was to be constantly advancing the rollers. They also carried large mauls with them, and would use these to pound the rollers back in line whenever they went slightly awry under the shoe, putting strain on the moving process. Any steering of the building was done with the front rollers. If the building had to be steered to the left or the right, this could be done simply by pounding the rollers in the opposite direction. It was also possible to do this by pounding the shoe itself with one of the large mauls, in which case it would turn along with all the rollers under it. The men assigned to the shoes and rollers also carried with them a series of wedges that could be used to block the rollers when on steep inclines, or when it was necessary to stop the building quickly for some reason.

In this manner, with the horse slowly proceeding around the capstan, the structure could be inched carefully along the tracks laid on the ground, toward its new destination. When the building had been advanced as far as possible at one time, the capstan--which weighed about 220 pounds-- would be moved and reanchored in a new spot further away. At the same time, the men would take up the tracks over which the house had already

passed, and lay them down again in front of the building. This was a very slow process, but its success in delivering buildings to their new site unharmed can be easily understood.

Many people marvel that the capstan would have been able to sustain the strain of moving a building and still remain anchored in the ground. There appears to have been little problem with this, as the pins anchoring the base of the capstan were about four feet long. The Babine method also had a very simple built-in safeguard. Kenneth Mood, who has been quoted previously here, states that sometimes when the rollers slipped out of place under the shoes, one would hear a great squealing of wood, and the resulting strain on the ropes and pulleys would cause the capstan to rock back and forth in the ground. When this happened, the man stationed at the capstan keeping the rope there taut, had only to give the rope some slack in order to relieve the problem.

When a building finally arrived at its new site, it would be moved on to its new foundation on a track that had been laid across the foundation and supported by blockings underneath. This was exactly the same type of track as the one earlier described, formed over the old foundation to remove the building. When the house was sitting perfectly square on its new foundation, jacks would be positioned under each of the four ends of the large stringers, and the house would be raised. The track, rollers and shoes would all be removed and then the building could be lowered. There were always two cavities or rectangular holes left open in the new foundation at each of the gable ends, so that when the house was lowered the large stringers would be situated in these cavities, and the house itself would be resting on, and supported by the new foundation. The stringers would remain in place for whatever length of time was necessary for any masonry work to be completed on the chimney, as the stringers still held the cross-beam that was supporting the latter. When the work was completed on the chimney, the stringers could simply be hauled out from under the house through the cavities. Sometimes these holes in the foundation were later bricked in, but more often they became basement windows.

In closing, it must be stated that this explanation remains by necessity a rough example of the Babine moving method. Many other factors could come into play at every stage of the moving process. This description, for the sake of simplicity, deals with a central chimney. If the chimney were

located elsewhere, it would still be raised in the same manner, but an additional jack would also be located at the centre of the house in the basement. The same applies to those houses moved with more than one chimney. The laying of the track for a house being moved with an ell attached would be much more complicated than the laying of track for the example given here. Sometimes the movers were required, for one reason or another, to turn a building completely around. When this was to be done, one corner of the house would be anchored, or left on the ground as the fulcrum point, while the remainder of the building was swung around. In such a process, all three of the other corners of the building would arrive at a different spot, making the laying of the tracks for such an operation a complex geometric exercise. Very large buildings might require a great many more jacks to raise the structure than the model given here, which is based on a medium-to-large house.

Each building presented its own peculiar problem and difficulties. Few appear to have been insurmountable for Louis F. Babine.

Interview with Mr. Gordon Purdy, Arcadia, 14 January 1988.

Miscellaneous information on buildings moved in the Pubnico area, supplied by Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Peters, Pubnico.

Interview with Father Maillet, priest at Wedgeport, 11 January 1988.

Various interviews with Mr. Germain Hubbard, Hubbards Point, 1986 and 1987.

Notes taken during all of the above interviews are held by the Argyle Township Court House Archives, Tusket, Nova Scotia.

The Acadian Seigneury of St-Mathieu at Cobequid

Joan Bourque Campbell

The seigneurial system in Acadia during the seventeenth century was a method of land ownership and development, and was a modified form of the rites and terminology of the feudal regime of France. As a colonizing medium of a country in its formative years, the seigneurial system created a solidarity whereby each and every person knew what was expected of him. Land was granted by the King of France through an intermediary-- the governor of a colony, the Ministre de la Marine, or a member of a development company such as the Compagnie des Cent Associés or the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France--to a seigneur or land-settling agent, who was then charged with reciprocal rights and duties toward both the state and his settlers (*censitaires*). The Intendant of New France held the most important position, that of monitoring the treatment of these intermediaries towards their seigneurs and, in turn, the seigneurs towards their *censitaires*.

The seigneur could be accorded his status by one of several means: through inheritance, as a member of the lesser nobility, by possessing a title, or for services rendered the crown. He was expected to *tenir feu et lieu*, that is, to maintain a manorhouse with a responsible tenant and to cede lands to anyone who applied; the seigneur was not allowed to refuse a request for land without good cause. He had to build and operate a flour mill, establish a court, and conduct roadwork, the last-mentioned under the direction of one of his *censitaires*, who was usually, in this case, a captain of the militia. He was also expected to pay homage to the state; present enumerations of his fief, including a statement of *cens et rentes*; reserve all oak trees, mines and minerals on the land for the King; and he was not allowed to transfer the seigneury, except in direct succession. If sold, he had to pay one-fifth of the proceeds to the State. In return he was granted a prominent place in church--usually the front right-hand pew; he was granted a burial plot--usually under his pew; and he received fealty, homage and *cens* (usually two *sous* per *arpent* of frontage) from his settlers.

The role of the *censitaire*, on the other hand, was to live on the land which the seigneur had conceded from his seigneury and to pay his dues on a specified day each year. He had to help with road improvements and land cultivation; he was also required to grant a right-of-way to his neighbours,

Joan Bourque Campbell, CG(C) is a researcher specializing in Acadian history, literature and genealogy.

give his land in succession, and help support the church. If the *censitaire* failed to meet these obligations, his lands would revert to the seigneurial *domaine*.

Although during the period from 1604 to 1707, grants were ceded all along the coastline of present-day Nova Scotia (see **Appendix A**), only four areas were extensively developed: Cap-Sable, Port-Royal, Les Mines (Minas Basin), and Beaubassin (Isthmus of Chignecto). The first concession granted in Acadia was at Port-Royal, which grant had loose and ill-defined limits around the Annapolis Basin. The grant was made by Pierre du Gua, the Sieur de Monts, to his intimate friend Jean de Biencourt, Baron of Poutrincourt, on 4 August 1604. That same year, Poutrincourt, de Monts, Samuel de Champlain and François Gravé Du Pont had explored the coasts of Acadia in search of a suitable area to establish a trading post and to colonize. They entered the Annapolis Basin, where Poutrincourt was attracted by the prospect of an abundant fur trade, the challenge of propagating the Christian faith for the King of France, and his innate desire to colonize. On 24 February 1606, Poutrincourt was given the title of Seigneur of Port-Royal by King Henry IV and was named Lieutenant-General of Acadia.

In true seigneurial fashion, Poutrincourt recruited about fifty settlers, including his son Jean de Biencourt and his first cousin Louis Hébert, and returned to Port-Royal. He then distributed tracts of land and constructed a fort--the Habitation at Port-Royal, situated at the mouth of the Dauphin (Annapolis) River. In 1636 this fort was removed to present-day Annapolis Royal. Within the walls of the first fort, Poutrincourt built a manor, a small chapel, a house for artisans, a large bake-oven, a forge and some barns. Approximately six miles east of the fort, above the Dauphin River and at a location later to be named Prée Ronde he, along with the help of his apothecary cousin Louis Hébert, cultivated a large area and planted wheat, french rye, vines, corn, oats, beans, peas and garden herbs. Hébert also gathered roots and plants with which he made medicines. On the Rivière du Moulin (Allain River), which flows into the Annapolis River, Poutrincourt had a mill built. Shortly after these first efforts Poutrincourt, along with his settlers, was ordered to return to France: the King had revoked his fishing and fur-trading rights. After two more unsuccessful attempts to settle the

area, in 1610 and again in 1614, Poutrincourt abandoned the idea and remained in France.[1]

A fourth attempt to settle Acadia was made by Commander Isaac de Razilly in 1632 at LaHève, near present-day Bridgewater. Razilly was Cardinal Richelieu's cousin, and the latter commissioned de Razilly to bring colonists to Acadia. Razilly left the port of Auray, Bretagne, on 4 July 1632, and arrived at LaHève with four vessels, three hundred hommes d'élites--including three Capuchin monks, members of the lesser nobility, habitants and soldiers--as well as Charles d'Aulnay and Nicolas Denys, who was in command of two vessels.[2] Added to the first contingent were one hundred persons who left France with d'Aulnay when he made another crossing on 9 May 1633. In 1634, Claude de Razilly, brother of Isaac, arrived at LaHève aboard the Catherine, with fifty-nine men. On 1 April 1636, ninety-eight passengers and eighteen seamen left France aboard the St-Jehan for Acadia.[3]

After the death of Isaac de Razilly in 1635, d'Aulnay became his successor as governor of part of Acadia. He recognized that LaHève had been an unwise choice because of its poor and rocky soil, and he decided to remove the settlers to Port-Royal, where Poutrincourt's remaining colonists had already cultivated a large area. Taking advantage of the arrival of the St-Jehan from France in 1636 with a new contingent of settlers, he had this vessel transport the two groups to Port-Royal. A few families remained at Petite-Rivière, near LaHève.

The period from 1636 to 1671, when the first census of the colony was taken, was politically stormy. The area changed hands between the English and French several times. Despite this, the Acadians settled along the Dauphin River, cleared land, built dykes and aboiteaux, and even attended a school taught by the Capuchin fathers.

The original number of settlers had actually decreased by 1641, when there were only 120 people in Acadia. Several of the Basque carpenters

---

1   Andrew H. Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Milwaukee, 1968), pp. 79-80.

2   Clarence d'Entremont, "Le 350e anniversaire de LaHève," in Les Cahiers de La Société historique acadienne, 13 (1), mars 1982, 12-13. See also Joan Dawson, "Colonists or Birds of Passage: A Glimpse of the Inhabitants of LaHave, 1632-1636," in Nova Scotia Historical Review, 9 (1), Spring 1989, 42-61; and Dawson, "Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce, LaHave, Nova Scotia, in ibid., 2 (2), Autumn 1982, 52-64.

3   d'Entremont, "LaHève," pp. 18-19.

and seasonal fishermen had returned to France after completing their work. The same is true for a number of single men, some of whom returned later with families.[4] However, most of the Acadians settled in the colony at this time--families by the name of Blanchard, Bourg, Denys, Doucet, Gaudet, Gautherot, Guérin, Martin and Terriot--were from the Poitou area of France. This number was augmented in the 1640s by new arrivals, with names such as Belliveau, Bertrand, Boudreau, Bourgeois, Brun, Cormier, Dugas, Dupuis, Girouard, Hébert, Landry, LeBlanc, Petipas, as well as Poirier, Robichaud and Savoie. In the 1650s, the Belle Isle, Brault, Comeau, d'Entremont, Forest, Granger, Melanson, Richard, Thibodeau and Vincent (Clement) homesteaders arrived in Acadia. In the 1660s, the Babin, Caissie, Corporon, Cyr, Daigle, Doiron and Pellerin families followed. By the time the first census was taken in 1671, the population of Acadia numbered approximately 368 persons.[5]

This census is a most important document of Acadian history, for several reasons. In it the Acadian names are listed, as well as the number of children, the number and type of livestock, and the amount of cleared land. At the end of the Port-Royal return, the compiler, Father Morin, made several pertinent notations. He stated that when the census was taken, one Pierre Melanson, tailor, refused to give any information. In brackets he noted that the tailor had a wife and seven children. Etienne Robichaud told his wife that he did not want to give the number of his cattle, nor the amount of his land. And Pierre LaNoue, cooper, sent word that he was feeling fine, but that he did not want to give his age. These examples verify what some authors have alluded to on different occasions: the Acadians were a stubborn and independent people.

In the 1686 census ordered by Jacques de Meulles, the Intendant of New France, there were ten families at Minas, ninety-six at Port-Royal, eight at LaHève, five at Pubnico and seventeen at Beaubassin, for a total of 885

---

4   Léopold Lanctôt, *L'Acadie des origines, 1603-1771* (Québec, 1988), pp. 37-44; Clarence d'Entremont, "LaHève," p. 20.

5   1671 Census of Acadia, Anciennes Archives des Colonies: Col. G¹ 466, no. 9 (mfm. at Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS]).

people. The second and third generations of Acadians had begun to settle along the Fundy coast.[6]

The Seigneur of Cobequid, Mathieu Martin, was born in 1636, son of Pierre Martin and Catherine Vigneau. He was a weaver by trade and never married. He died sometime between 1714 and 1724, when Joseph Dugas and Jean Bourg of Cobequid appeared before John Doucett, lieutenant-governor of the fort of Annapolis, complaining of having been mistreated by Pierre Triquelle (alias Patron), who claimed to have inherited Mathieu Martin's seigneury.[7] Martin was given this seigneury because he was the first-born son of European parents in Acadia. The other seigneurs received concessions along the coast of Nova Scotia either through inheritance (e.g., the heirs of Charles de la Tour, who received Port-Royal and Pisiquid [Windsor area]); by being a member of the lesser nobility (e.g., Michel Leneuf de La Vallière, who received Beaubassin; his daughter Marie received Shubenacadie); or as a reward for services rendered the Crown (e.g., Governor Jacques-François de Brouillon, who received Port-Mouton).

Mathieu Martin apparently plied his trade as a weaver, but he also became interested in the fur trade, both at Port-Royal where he had lived with his father, and at Minas. He named his seigneury St-Mathieu, but there is no evidence that it was named after a patron saint; perhaps he named it after himself. Prior to developing his seigneury, Martin had to overcome certain difficulties created by Mathieu de Goutin, lieutenant-general for justice at Port-Royal, who wanted the Cobequid seigneury for himself and his family so that he could establish an outlet for alcoholic beverages to promote the fur trade with the Indians.[8] This dispute obviously retarded the establishment of the Cobequid seigneury until 1699, when Martin finally allowed several of his relatives from the seigneuries of Port-Royal and Grand-Pré to settle in the area. These first pioneers were Germain Therriot (who had just married Anne Pellerin, Martin's niece); Germain's brother Pierre

---

6   1686 Census of Acadia, RG 1, Vol. 11 [transcript], PANS. See also Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie, I (Halifax, 1865), 168-173.

7   Clarence d'Entremont, Histoire du Cap-Sable de l'an mil au traité de Paris (1763), (Eunice, LA, 1981) iv, 1685. See also d'Entremont, "Martin, Mathieu," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, II (Toronto, 1969), 462.

8   Robert Rumilly, L'Acadie française (Montréal, 1981), p. 143.

Therriot (as yet unmarried); Martin Bourg (a brother to Jehan, who was married to Marguerite Martin, Mathieu's sister); Martin Blanchard; and Blanchard's nephew, Jérôme Guérin.

In 1703, there were nineteen families, or ninety inhabitants, twenty-two of whom were capable of carrying arms. In the census of 1714, there were twenty-one families. By 1748 the number had risen to approximately eight hundred persons,[9] scattered throughout the seigneury itself and beyond, but all within the boundaries of the wider Roman Catholic parish which had been established. It is difficult to define the exact boundaries of the seigneury and larger parish as they existed at the time. A literal translation of the original seigneurial concession describes the area as "land two leagues deep beginning at a point on the Bay of Fundy opposite the mouth of the Shubenacadie River from the south, south-east to the west, north-west shore."[10] The settlements at Noël, Stewiacke, Tatamagouche and present-day Five Islands were all included within the larger parish.

The Cobequid parish was visited by the missionaries Trouvé, Geoffroy, Beaudoin, Vaugelin, de Brisley and Descenclaves, who were all stationed in Acadia. The first resident priest, Père Pierre Verquaillie, a Recollect, served Cobequid as a mission of Beaubassin from the autumn of 1724 to April 1726. He may have had a small church built at the time, because it is known that in 1729 a notice was posted on a church door, proclaiming George II as King of England. The first known parish church was built at Cove d'Eglise, within the present-day village of Masstown, by the Abbé LeLoutre in 1738. It was one hundred feet long by forty feet wide, and was called Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The cemetery was directly across the road from the church. There is now a marsh extending from the shore to the building site. The marsh has been built up over the years by silt deposits and dyking. Apparently the original church site was only one-quarter of a mile from the shore and was accessible by a creek. Chapels

---

9 Census of 1703, Archives des Colonies, Series GI, Vol. 466, No. 25. Census of 1714, AC, Series GI, Vol. 466, No. 27C. For an estimate of the 1748 census of Cobequid seigneury and parish, see Clark, *Acadia,* p. 219.

10 Pierre-Georges Roy, *Inventaires des concessions en fief et seigneurie, fois et hommages, et aveux et dénombrements conservés aux Archives de la province de Québec (1927-1929)* (Beauceville, 1928), IV, 40. The original document is with the other Nova Scotia concessions at the National Archives of Canada, but is available on microfilm from the Fédération des familles souchés du Québec, Université Laval, Québec.

were also built at Shubenacadie and at Tatamagouche in the early 1700s. The first was built by the Abbé Antoine Gaulin and the second by the Abbé Jean-Louis LeLoutre. The Tatamagouche chapel must have been built after 1738, as LeLoutre did not arrive in the area until that year.[11]

Acadian houses were built by driving large vertical piles or *piquets* into the earth, and then filling the cracks with moss and clay. The posts, averaging nearly five inches in diameter, were driven into the ground and field stones were wedged against them. Chimneys were built with posts and pounded clay, and the roof was covered with bark and reeds.[12] The better houses were built *pièce sur pièce*, that is, with large logs, squared off, piled one on top of the other and interlocked at each corner.[13] These houses could still be abandoned or lost without much regret. Only the governor's house was covered with planks.

Martin left a will in favour of Noël Doiron of Trajeptick (present-day Noel), Jean and Louis Bourg, and Joseph Robichaud of Cobequid. These four Acadians came before Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong, who in turn took their cause before the Council at Annapolis, 13 October 1731. They wanted to receive rent from a René Martin, who had leased a farm at Cobequid from Mathieu Martin. However, the Council set aside this petition, because Mathieu Martin had never sworn allegiance to the Crown: although he had taken the oath of 1695, another had been expected after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. In 1732, the Seigneury of Cobequid reverted to the English Crown.[14]

One of the visually lasting achievements of the Acadians has been their dyke construction, or as present-day archivists and historians such as Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc and Yves Cormier refer to it, the Aboiteau System. *Aboiteau* is an Acadian word meaning a tidegate or dam used to prevent the overflow

---

11 Douglas S. Ormond, *The Roman Catholic Church in Cobequid, Nova Scotia, 1692-1755* (Truro, 1979), pp. 7, 8 and 11.

12 The first documented instance of this type of construction was recorded after the archaeological discovery of the Melanson settlement at Port-Royal in 1984. Andrée Crépeau and Brenda Dunn, "The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)," Environment Canada, Parks: *Research Bulletin* (Ottawa, 1986).

13 Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 137-138.

14 d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, IV, 1684-1685.

of water. This tidegate was a part of the dyke system used by the Acadians to dry out their marshlands, in preparation for agricultural use. The idea of drying out marshlands can be traced back to the Poitou area of France where, in the tenth century, Benedictine monks cultivated small areas of the seashore and islands off the western coast. The first concession of marshland in France was given in the twelfth century to the Abby of Luçon, a Benedictine Order, by Henry II, King of England, and his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Building canals and drying out marshlands were mainly done as a means of protection from marauders and invaders; harvesting fodder from the marsh was secondary. During the latter part of the sixteenth century, a Dutch engineer, Humphrey Bradley, was engaged by Henry IV as "master of the dykes and canals" in the Poitou area. In this way, the knowledge and influence of the Netherlands were added to the French dyke-building techniques brought to Acadia by the early colonists.[15]

The idea of recovering the marshlands in Acadia was an excellent one. It entailed placing a valved sluice along a small river leading to the sea, thus preventing the sea water from entering at high tide, yet allowing the water from the high land to wash out. At the same time, a long high dyke or *digue* was built not far from, and parallel with, the river bank, preventing the tidal water from entering the marsh. The *levée*, dyke or *digue* was usually about ten feet wide and five feet high. Drains leading to a *contre-ceinture* or trench along the *levée* served to eliminate water from the marshes. The dyke was made of large sods or cut-up marsh, and the top was commonly used as a footpath. The *aboiteau* itself consisted of the sluice and its valve.

The building of such a system required a well-organized work-force. This usually consisted of a person who directed the enterprise--an *entrepreneur*--and perhaps two assistants; a team of labourers with oxen; and three or four other observers who were responsible for deciding whether the *aboiteau* was out of danger from the tides, and whether it was capable of lasting the winter. Men wore thick wooden shoes while working on the marsh. Women were on hand to serve food, while children helped or watched from nearby.[16]

15 Jean-Paul Billaud, *Marais Poitevin: Rencontres de la terre et de l'eau* (Paris, 1984), pp. 30-38.

16 Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, "Documents sur les Acadiens," in *Les Cahiers*, 19 (1,2), 1988, 41-42. Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 240-241.

The building period was exactly at midsummer, between the high tides of the summer solstice and the autumn equinox. This is when the tides are at their weakest, and the days long enough to complete the project. About a dozen men would have to work throughout one or more nights in order to *placer la dalle*, i.e., implant the sluice and its *clapet*. This was, of course, subject to the size of the system; the average time required to construct an *aboiteau* was twelve days.[17] Upon completion, each *habitant* had his particular section of marshland determined by the drawing of lots. This is the same way as the pews in church were allotted. If well constructed, an aboiteau system could last from seventy-five to one hundred years. In the Acadian seigneury of St-Mathieu at Cobequid, large sections of tidal marsh were reclaimed in this way, from Noel around to present-day Masstown.

Except for *Mémoirs* written by colonial governors concerning the Acadians, there are few references to them as a people. The most comprehensive picture of their everyday life has come from the writings of Dièreville who, although he did not visit the Cobequid area, did travel through Minas, Port-Royal and Beaubassin, and wrote extensively of life in the colony. Dièreville, a surgeon, classical writer and keen observer of man--whose Christian name and place of origin remain unknown--journeyed from La Rochelle on the vessel *Royalle Paix* and spent one year in Acadia, from October 1699 to October 1700. When he returned to France, he published the *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France*. He wrote his *Relation* in poetry and prose. His writing is rich and diversified, his observations often humorous but artistic, and always sensitive. The everyday life which he captured on paper was that of a culture in its formative years, a culture detached from both France and Québec--a new people, the Acadians. Dièreville recorded how the people worked, lived and dressed, as well as their customs and what they ate. The vivid descriptions he has provided enable us to picture, nearly three centuries later, what life was like in the seigneury of St-Mathieu.

Dièreville had been sent to Acadia for two reasons: to supervise a cargo of merchandise and to study the plant life and gather rare specimens for the Royal Garden, which after the French Revolution became the Museum

17   LeBlanc, "Documents," pp. 40-41.

of Natural History, and today is part of the Garden of Plants in Paris.[18] Louis XIV had suggested sending a man who might also be interested in observing the people. In his writings, Dièreville did not mention the wars with the English, nor did he stress the geography of Acadia, as most writers of the time did, but instead he spoke of the richness and beauty of the country. He did not write about the role of the Catholic Church, nor did he comment on the language. His only reference to the political situation was to note the fidelity which the Acadians held for France, and the superiority that England held in commerce. He pointed out that the French authorities were not well informed as to how Acadia was governed, nor were they sufficiently interested in competing with the English for commerce, especially with the New Englanders. He felt that there was a need to develop the timber and fishing industries, as well as trade with the French Antilles. He came to the conclusion that, had the Acadians been more interested in commerce, they would not have been so idle during the long winter months. Instead, he found that they chose to pass that time hunting martin, otter, deer and moose.[19]

Winter survival, however, depended to a large extent on the use of firearms, bats, eel-traps (called *nigagens*, a word borrowed from the Micmacs), snares, hunting dogs and axes--all in an effort to trap and kill live game for food. Dièreville has given us some superb description of the Acadians at work, hunting and trapping. In observing the seal hunt, he described how the large animals congregated on rocks to give birth to their young; the Acadians, armed with large bats, would then club them on their noses, rendering them senseless. Though the seals had large teeth, they did not attempt to defend themselves. Seal lard was melted down and used for oil, while the skin was used for shoes, and for covering chests and sideboards. Seal meat was not popular as food; it made what the Acadians considered a very unpleasant stew.

Dièreville was enthusiastic about the partridge. He described its plumage, including its wonderful little "parasol" and the fine duvet on its feet, as well as the "necktie" worn by the males. He could not understand why

---

18 Melvin Gallant, "Dièreville: Voyage à l'Acadie 1699-1700," in *Les Cahiers*, 16 (3,4), Note 29, p. 148.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

this game bird, twice as large as its counterpart in France, and superior in flavour, was not a favourite food of the Acadians. He described the rabbits as smaller than those in France, and concluded that they changed colour in winter because they were reduced to eating spruce. They then took on the taste of this softwood, and apparently as a result, the inhabitants disliked rabbit stew.[20]

Dièreville could not comprehend why the Acadians did not eat succulent lamb or veal, but instead waited until these animals became fatted beef and sheep. Beef cattle roamed freely in the woods, eating all sorts of herbs, which according to Dièreville, enhanced their flavour. Killed at the end of autumn, the beef was salted down in pieces that lasted all winter. Pork was the Acadians' favourite meat, and pork skin their favourite delicacy, though they also enjoyed chicken and sturgeon, when served with a sauce. The colonists, however, refused to touch mushrooms, believing them to be poisonous, and when Dièreville cooked and ate them, he was watched attentively and with pity, as though he were about to pass on. The Acadians also would not eat fresh salad, though except for artichokes and asparagus, they had all varieties of tasty vegetables. They grew an abundant supply of cabbage, which they left in the fields during the winter, bottoms-down, letting the snow cover and preserve them. Turnips were always served with cabbage, and when cooked in a large pot with lard, made a very nourishing stew. Turnips were also roasted over the coals, much as chestnuts were in France.

Dièreville admired the tenacity, courage and spirit of helping one another that existed among the Acadians, but otherwise found them lazy and lacking in ambition. They worked to live and either celebrated or languished, depending on the weather. He wrote of them as a serene, contented people, among whom there existed a sense of social equality. Young women of marriageable age did not remain long at home, and once married they tended to remain faithful and had large numbers of children.[21] They were well provided for because of the richness of the harvest.

---

20 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

21 d'Entremont, *Histoire du Cap-Sable*, III, 931-932. Our most celebrated young married woman was Anne Muis d'Entremont, who was a widow for the first of three times at the age of thirteen years.

Because Dièreville spent four seasons in Acadia, we are rewarded with visions of fishing for smelt, gaspereau, trout and salmon on the Saint John River; duck and goose-hunting with dogs; the gathering of wild blackberries, raspberries and strawberries, despite the insatiable appetite of the mosquitoes; beer-making with spruce tips, yeast and molasses; the wonderful natural gift of liquid maple sugar, gathered in large buckets and boiled down; and the sight of flying squirrels, and tiny birds as small as bees, that flitted from flower to flower at a tremendous speed.

Dièreville returned to France in late 1700 aboard the *Advenant*, which had stopped at Port-Royal to pick up some forty masts made by the inhabitants for the King of France.[22] He brought back with him rare plants, and one in particular, the *Dièrvilla acadiensis fructiosa flore luteo*, a shrub of beautiful yellow flowers, was subsequently named in his honour. He enjoyed his year in Acadia, the country and its resources, and it is certain that the Acadians who settled Cobequid three centuries ago did so as well.

Appendix A

Original Seigneuries of Acadia

Seigneurs	Seigneuries	Granted
1. Jean de Biencourt, Charles de la Tour, and Alexandre de Belle Isle	Port-Royal	1604 et seq.
2. Nicolas Denys[23]	Cap Canseau to Cap des Rosiers [Québec]	1653
3. Philippe Muis-d'Entremont	Pobomcoup [Pubnico]	1653
4. Emmanuel Le Borgne Du Coudray[24]	LaHève	1664
5. Michel Leneuf de La Vallière	Beaubassin	1676

22 Melvin Gallant, "Dièreville," p. 149.

23 L'Association des Sociétés historiques acadiennes de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, *Commentaires Historiques* (Yarmouth, 1985), p. 144.

24 d'Entremont, *Cap-Sable*, III, 1353.

6.	Hugues Randin	Minitiguic [Mirligueche] to Petite Rivière	1679
7.	Clerbaud-Bergier, Gabriel Gauthier et al.	Chedabouctou	1682
8.	Mathieu Martin	Cobequid	1689
9.	Marie Leneuf de La Vallière	Chicabenacady [Shubenacadie]	1689
10.	Mathieu Des Goutins	Musquodoboit	1691
11.	Pierre-Noël Legardeur de Tilly	Tatamagouche	1697
12.	Boissellery Noël	Cap St-Louis [Pictou]	1697
13.	Charles Denys de Vitré	Antigonish West	1697
14.	Jean Outlas	Antigonish-Canso	1697
15.	Marc-Antoine de Cottentré	Outlas-Canso	1697
16.	Claude-Sébastien de Villieu	Chipoudy	1700
17.	LaTour heirs	Pisiquid	1703
18.	Jacques-François de Mombeton de Brouillan	Port-Mouton	1704
19.	Jean-Chrysotome Loppinot[25]	Cap-Forchu [Yarmouth]	1706
20.	François de Beauharnois de La Boische, Baron de Beauville (Intendant of New France)[26]	Port-Maltais [Port Medway]	1707

Appendix B

Seigneurial Terminology

arpent	=	0.85 of an acre
cens et rentes	=	fixed tax paid to a seigneur for use of a fief
censitaire	=	resident of a seigneury
domaine	=	land of a seigneury reserved
fief	=	seigneury
intendant	=	most important colonial agent; assures that the censitaires and seigneurs are being fair to one another
ligue	=	land measurement equalling three miles
seigneur	=	land-settling agent; could be king, governor, Company of New France, or recipient of land grant
seigneurie	=	lands of a seigneur: fief, duchy, viscounty, barony (as Pubnico or Port-Maltais), with powers and rights

25 *Ibid.*, 1229.

26 *Ibid.*, 239.

Appendix C

Census of 1714, Cobequid

Husband	Wife	Sons	Daughters
Martin, Mathieu, Seigneur	---	---	---
Aucoin, Alexis	Bourg, Anne-Marie	3	1
Aucoin, Michel	Bourg, Jeanne	4	2
Benoit, Jean	Brault, Anne	1	5
Blanchard, Martin	LeBlanc, Françoise	4	3
Bourg, Abraham	Dugas, Anne	2	3
Bourg, Ambroise	Melanson, Elizabeth	---	---
Bourg, Jean	Barriot, Marie	---	---
	Aucoin, Marguerite, m. 1720	1	3
Bourg, Martin	Potet, Marie	3	---
Bourg, Pierre	Blanchard, Marguerite	4	---
Breau, Antoine	Dugas, Marguerite	1	---
Doiron, Noël	Henry, Mary	4	1
Dugas, Joseph	Bourg, Claire	4	3
Gauthreau, François	Aucoin, Louise	3	1
Guérin, Jérôme	Aucoin, Isabelle	1	6
Hébert, Jean	Landry, Mary-Magdeleine	5	2
Henry, Martin	his wife [unnamed]	3	3
Henry, Robert	Godin, Marie-Magdeleine	1	3
Terriot, Germain	Pellerin, Anne	5	5
Terriot, Pierre	Bourg, Marie	4	5
Turpin, Jean	Bourg, Catherine	1	3
widow of Longuepee, Vincent	Rimbault, M.	1	5

Source:

Les archives des colonies, Series G1, Vol. 466, No. 27c (mfm. at PANS). Wives' names taken from Bona Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens* (Ottawa, 1977), IV, 1465-1532, *passim*.

Appendix D

Resettlement of 1714 Cobequid Acadians

Name	Year	Location
Aucoin, Alexis	1752	Ile St-Jean (P.E.I.)
Aucoin, Jean	d. 1730	a son Pierre was at St-Malo, France, 1772
Aucoin, Michel	1752	Rivière du Nord-Est, Ile St-Jean
Benoit, Jean	1752	Grand-Narrows, Ile St-Jean
Bourg, Jean	1752	Ile St-Jean, with three sons, Alexandre, François, Charles
Doiron, Noël	1752	Pointe-Prim, Ile St-Jean
Gauthereau, François	d. 1759	St-Malo, France
Guérin, Jérôme	1752	Ile St-Jean
Hébert, Jean	1758	family in Bristol, England
Henry, Robert	1766	Trois-Rivières, Québec
Terriot, Germain	d. 1750	Ile St-Jean
Turpin, Jean	1745	Ile St-Jean with a son

Source:
Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie*, IV, 1465-1532, *passim*.

Appendix E

Aboiteau Terminology

aboiteau	=	tidegate or dam
clapet	=	valve
contre-ceinture	=	canal from where earth is taken to make the *levée*
dalle	=	sluice
doucin	=	water from high ground
ferrée	=	long-handled shovel
levée	=	dyke, embankment
levée boit	=	"dyke is drinking," i.e. water has entered dyke wall through facing
mottes	=	lumps of sod, roots and weeds used to fill facing
parements	=	*levée* facing
redans	=	arc inside *levée*, made to stop high seas from further eroding embankment

St. Paul's Church, Halifax: The Contracts for Building the Addition and New Steeple, 1812-1813

J. Philip McAleer

The earliest view of St. Paul's Church--the 1764 engraving made after the sketch of Richard Short--depicts the church from the southeast.[1] As a result, its rear or south elevation, not its front or north façade is shown, which means there are some uncertainties about the latter's design. Clues can be derived from the front of the church now known as St. Peter's, Vere Street, in London, because the south and east elevations and the steeple of St. Paul's as seen in the 1764 engraving are clearly based on that building, a design of the celebrated architect, James Gibbs (1682-1754), which design he published in 1728.[2] The most prominent feature of St. Peter's main front is a projecting porch in the form of a miniature temple front, with pairs of columns at the angles supporting a pediment. That St. Paul's possessed such a porch in the eighteenth century is revealed by entries in the minute books of the warden and vestry, most especially one detailing its rebuilding in 1783.[3]

The first pictorial description of the north façade dates only from 1820, the second from ca. 1834-39. They are both watercolours, the earlier by Joseph Partridge (b. 1797), the later by William Eagar (1796-1839).[4] Each

J. Philip McAleer is an architectural historian at the Technical University of Nova Scotia (Halifax).

1 Altogether, Richard Short made six sketches of Halifax in May 1759. St. Paul's appears distantly in three of the views and is the subject of one, "The Church of St Paul and the Parade of Halifax in Nova Scotia," engraved by John Fougeron. This engraving, like the others after Short's sketches, was first published (by Short himself) in London on 1 March 1764; the series was later reissued in 1777 by John Boydell of Cheapside. Both Short's original sketch of St. Paul's and the painting after it by Dominique Serres (1722-1793), from which the actual engraving was done, are now lost.

2 James Gibbs, A Book of Architecture (London, 1728), plates XXIV, XXV. St. Peter's, originally built as a proprietory chapel for the new estate north of Oxford Street around Cavendish Square and at first known as Marybone Chapel, was constructed between 1721 and 1724. It now serves as the headquarters of the London Institute for Contemporary Christianity.

3 In June 1783, the vestry agreed to the need for extensive repairs to the "north portico," which included the erection of four new columns, a new landing, and the fixing of mouldings, steps, and risers. See Minute Books, II (10 Oct. 1759-16 Aug. 1784), p. 284. Work was to be carried out by Messrs. Kelly and Blinkensop "upon the same moddle [sic] as it had been formerly done."

4 Partridge was active in Halifax as a drawing master from ca. 1819 to 1821. His watercolour, "St. Paul's Church, the Rectory, and the National School, Halifax," is now in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Eagar opened a drawing academy in Halifax in 1834. His watercolour, now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (acc. no. 955.218.5), was published as a lithograph ("Argyle Street, Halifax") by Jenkins and Colburn, Boston, ca. 1840.

The West Front

The Section from South to North
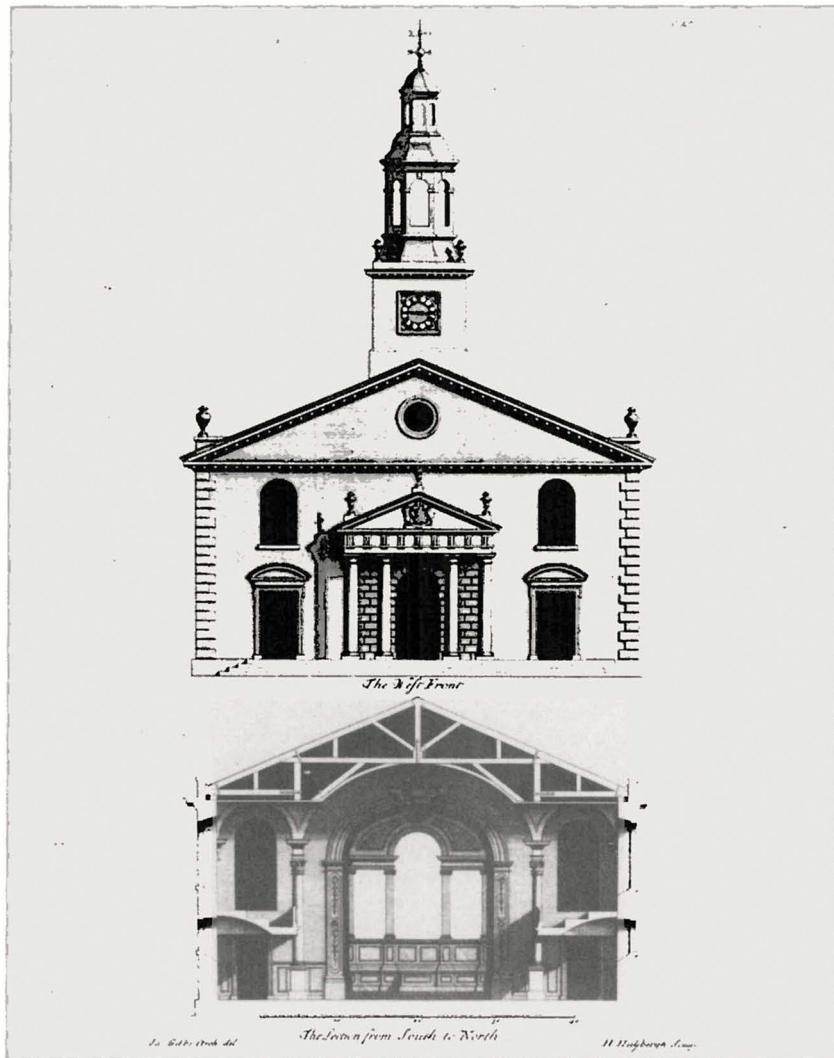
shows a small pedimented porch with single-angle columns, and a large Venetian window above it. Porch and window are flanked by two windows, one above the other--the lower short, the upper tall. Compared to the front of St. Peter's, the porch of St. Paul's is smaller, and its Venetian window is absent from the London building.

We know, however, that the façade shown in the Partridge and Eagar watercolours is not the original façade, as St. Paul's was enlarged in 1812 by the addition at the north of a large vestibule containing stairs to the galleries and large flanking rooms to serve as vestries.[5] The construction of the extension, therefore, has left certain aspects of the original design uncertain. The chief of these regarding the exterior is the existence of a Venetian window, and the major one concerning the interior is the arrangement of the stairs leading to the galleries at north, west and east.

Unfortunately, since the minute book for the years 1801 to 1824 has been missing since the end of the last century, contemporary evidence of the discussions leading to the new construction is also missing.[6] Fortunately, the contracts for its construction, in the form of "memoranda," with estimates written in the hand of the contractor-builder, Charles Dunbrack, have survived amongst the churchwardens' accounts at St. Paul's.[7] The contracts are quite detailed and specific, although it must be admitted that, even so, their wording is not precise enough to solve beyond doubt certain features of the original design, especially the two mentioned above. Nevertheless, even if we are left in doubt about some points, the memoranda and estimates provide interesting evidence about the process of construction and the concerns of the vestry, as well as about the original form of the addition,

5 According to a letter written by the rector, the Reverend Robert Stanser, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the new vestibule allowed the addition of fifty-five pews, which could accommodate 330 people, in the main body of the church: see C.E. Thomas, "Robert Stanser, 1760-1828," in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 35 (1966), 17-18.

6 The Minute Book for the period Oct. 1801 through Feb. 1824 was already noted as missing in 1897 and again in 1899 ("for many years"): see VII (6 Apr. 1886-27 Mar. 1899), 19 Apr. 1897 (Memo of Documents, etc., in the Possession of the Vestry Clerk), and VIII (3 Apr. 1899-Apr. 1906), p. 10 (15 May 1899).

7 The contractor-cum-builder, Charles Dunbrack (1771/72-1844), a carpenter by trade, was a native of Edinburgh who resided in Halifax for many years before moving to Saint John, New Brunswick, and thence to New Hampshire, where he died: see Morning News (Saint John), 18 Mar. 1844.

which has not remained unaltered. And, of course, they provide the actual dates for the construction, from March 1812 to May 1813.

From the first estimate or contract, dated 20 March 1812, we learn that work and payment were to proceed in three major stages: the erection of the frame; the construction of the new steeple and the shingling of the whole; and, finally, the installation of windows, door and exterior details. The total cost would be £748, with £198 retained until all the work had been completed.

The memorandum of the same time, returned by Dunbrack with his estimate, spells out in greater detail the nature of the work to be done in these stages. Perhaps the most interesting aspect is the emphasis placed upon matching the forms of the new addition with those of the old structure. Apparently, the vestry wanted the new addition to look as if it had always been part of the church. Hence, emphasis was placed on the fact that the windows on the west and east elevations were to be like the other side and gallery windows, and so too were those on the north face flanking the portal. We learn that there was to be one pair of doors, as there had been before. This establishes that there had been a north doorway, and only one--in contrast to the three portals in the front of St. Peter's, Vere Street.

Reference is also made in both the estimate and the memorandum to the "rusticks" or rustication of the corners of the main box (and of the window frames). This apparently refers to the fabrication in a wooden building of forms imitating the use of large stone blocks or quoins at the angles of stone buildings, and as a feature of window surrounds. Such quoins do appear in the 1764 engraving and Partridge's watercolour, but in the watercolour by Eagar, they have been replaced by pilaster forms. The window frames had also apparently been altered by that later date, for they lack quoins as well.[8] Dunbrack's reference to them, albeit as "rusticks," confirms that the quoins were an original feature which was perpetuated in the new construction.

Interestingly and curiously enough, there is no reference to the porch before the portal. And while a Venetian window of the "Dorick Order"

8 Most likely these changes had been made during extensive repairs to the church in 1824, at which time it is stated that all the east and south windows had to be replaced and the siding renewed: see Minute Books IV (1 Mar. 1824-4 Dec. 1843), 1 Mar.; 25 May; 14 June; 10 July; 6 Sept.; 7 Dec. 1824. Altogether, the large sum of £979.1.4 was spent.

is specified, there is no suggestion that it was a feature of the original. Somewhat puzzling, too, is the inclusion of a window "of the same dimension of those in the Gallery story," to be placed over the Venetian. This must be a reference to the window in the tympanum, as there is no room between the top of the Venetian window and the horizontal cornice for another window. Yet this tympanum window was not a long vertical one like those in the gallery; rather it was a circle--as in the south tympanum originally, and as appears in the Partridge and Eagar views.

With regard to the steeple, it clearly emerges from the documents that it was to duplicate exactly the original. There is even the suggestion of leaving the old steeple in place while the new was being built, to serve as a model and a means of judging the accuracy of the new. Whether this was actually done is not known, but the idea of a moment when St. Paul's might have possessed two identical steeples is rather beguiling. In any case, the constant reference to a "new" steeple, the suggested process of construction, and the explicit statement that after the old steeple and tower were taken down they were "to be at the disposal of the person undertaking the work," all confirm that a totally new steeple was erected in 1812.[9] We also learn that the outside of the church was clapboarded, although shingles may have been used on the tower.

The second contract or memorandum of agreement is dated 21 October 1812. It concerns work on the interior of the addition, and alterations to the north end of the church as a result of the extension of the east and west galleries. The estimate for this work was £135. The most interesting part of this memorandum concerns the alterations to the north end of the church, especially at gallery level. The "arched ceiling" or plaster false barrel vault was to be extended over the north gallery to the original north wall (the organ was in the north gallery), which involved removing two centre columns and constructing two new elliptical arches--one on each side--

9   During the recent (1988) re-coppering of the steeple, the writer was able to examine its framework. The timbers showed no sign of having been reused: there is no evidence of a numbering system as would be necessary if the steeple had been taken down with the intention of its being reassembled; nor is there any evidence of disused holes or cuttings, which might suggest old pieces adapted to a new position or different fit.

continuing the line of the gallery arcade to the original north wall.[10] Thus
at first, the gallery arcade must have crossed the north end in three bays,
with a flat ceiling over the north gallery as over the side ones.

On a point of particular interest, the second contract provides no specific
information. That is the original arrangement of the gallery stairs. They
must have been located at the north end of the present inner aisles, under
the intersection of the north gallery with the east and west ones. There
is no mention of their being removed, or of the floor opening in the galleries
being boarded over (as is described, for instance, for the tower). We learn
only that there were probably two ("those now in use"), and that their
banisters were to be reused in the new stairs "as far as they will gow &
are soficent."

The exact form of the new stairs is also in some doubt, especially as
the plan referred to in the memorandum is now lost. The description suggests
that the existing staircases are not the ones built in 1812.[11] The side walls
were to be lined with boards to "sublass" height.[12] This could be taken to
mean that the railing to the outer side was solid, rather than a row of
balusters. A balustrade along the passage or landing--presumably at the top
of the stairs leading to the gallery--is mentioned, but it too was to be lined
with boards. It may be in this section that the banisters from the old stairs
were to be reused.

Otherwise, at this stage, the main entrance vestibule was to be finished
on the interior, the floor laid, the Venetian window framed on the inside

10   The interior elevation of St. Paul's, consisting of square piers with Tuscan capitals supporting a
second range of fluted piers, also square, at gallery level, owes nothing to St. Peter's, Vere Street, or
to any other of Gibbs's churches. Rather, it belongs to a tradition derived from Christopher Wren's
London churches, as do also Christ Church ("Old North"), Boston, 1723, and Trinity Church, Newport,
1725-26. For a detailed discussion of these churches, see J.P. McAleer, "St. Paul's, Halifax, Nova Scotia
and St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, England," in *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, 7, no. 2 (1984), 113-37,
and, due to an editor's carelessness, partial list of errata, 8, no. 1 (1984), 140.

11   I suspect the existing stairs date to the 1860s, but I could find no specific reference in the minute
books to their rebuilding. In 1866, it was reported that "a thorough alteration and improvement in the
vestibule at the northern end of the church" has been effected, but the nature of the alteration and
improvement was not specifically stated: Minute Books, V (8 Apr. 1844-13 Apr. 1871), 2 Apr. 1866.

12   I have not been able to find "sublass" in any dictionary: "surbase," the (moulded) upper edge of
a dado, may have been meant.

and the doors to the two side rooms hung. It is worthy of note that the function of the side rooms is not given.

The third contract, dated 23 February 1813, is in the form of an estimate for inside work costing £165. The work was to focus on two areas: the side rooms and the north end of the nave. The work in the side rooms involved the addition of "single cornis single architrive" to the doors and windows and, rather unexpectedly, the removal of two doors leading into the rooms-- presumably from the vestibule--to a position connecting the rooms with the side aisles. The latter would seem to be an alteration in the plans, suggesting that initially there was only one entrance into the main body of the church and the side rooms were accessible only from the vestibule and did not lead into the aisles.[13]

The work at the north end of the nave concerned the area under the north gallery, around the former main entrance from the outside. Apparently, the floor inside this doorway had sagged and was now to be corrected by being raised and straightened. In addition, there seems to have been an inner porch which probably had been built to help keep winter winds from blowing directly into the church.[14] This was to be removed; it was no longer necessary, because the door was now protected by the new enclosed vestibule. Finally, two pillars were to be removed from under the gallery. They were no doubt square columns like those still under the east and west galleries, and corresponded to the two removed at gallery level in an earlier stage, when the false vault was extended to the north wall.

Tantalizingly, there is another reference to the old stairs, but because of the doubtful and uncertain nature of Dunbrack's grammar and spelling,

---

13 Double-leaved doors still lead from the side rooms (now several times altered later on) into the inner aisles: these doors and the frames on their north face match the doors at the south end of the aisles and their north-facing frames. The doors from the vestibule to the side rooms are shorter, single-leaved, with a different panel design from those leading to the aisles (which are also hung with large iron strap-hinges); their framing mouldings which face the side rooms match the mouldings of the north-aisle doors facing into the church; their mouldings which face the vestibule are only slightly different. This suggests that the north-aisle doors are pre-1812, reset, with new frames added on the south faces, and that the doors from the vestibule to the side rooms are of 1812 (although possibly reduced in height subsequently).

14 Later in the century, the open projecting porch or portico was enclosed. Just when this was first done is not clear, but it was after 1853--the date of a daguerreotype view by David J. Smith (now Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, acc. no. 75.70.2), which shows it still open.

it does not clarify the number and location: "[to] close up the opening whare the ould stairs stood." Was there indeed only one opening rather than two to be closed up? Should he have written 'openings' and should 'stairs' be taken to mean a single flight of stairs or two staircases?[15]

Lastly, reference is made in a note that a space will be left for the King's Arms to be inserted on the north gallery front. The carving of the (new) coat of arms was not part of the contract and was to be done by some other agent.[16] All the work was to be completed by May 1813. The total cost of the construction carried out by Dunbrack amounted to £1048.

It was remarked earlier that the contract contains no mention of a porch, either of the one which certainly existed prior to 1812, or of the one which appears in the later watercolours. This omission is partly explained by the existence of a contract for its construction dated four years later.[17] Only then, it seems, was the porch rebuilt, and then by a different contractor. Its shrunken scale--evident in the use of only single corner columns--was a necessary result of the position and size of the Venetian window, which reduced the potential height of the porch and thus, proportionally, its width.[18] The Venetian window itself must have been an insertion--a deviation from the original façade design--made necessary by the need to light directly the new vestibule. Formerly, a window in this location would have opened only on to the north gallery, where it would have been blocked by the

15   One would expect there to have been two staircases, one in each corner, as there are, for instance, in Christ Church (Boston), where they are in two very steep, narrow, parallel flights which stand completely free of the walls. The removal of such stairs would require no structural modification or repairs other than closing up the opening in the gallery floor.

16   The bill for the original coat of arms, rendered by The Ornamental and Stone Manufacturing Company, Lambeth, London, dated 4 July 1804, is in the churchwardens' accounts. The coat of arms was installed by Thomas Fenerty in October of that year. The acquisition and installation of the existing coat of arms is not documented.

17   Churchwardens' Accounts: contract with William and Michael Brown, dated 19 Feb. 1816. The builders agreed to "put up an Open Porch at the North end of the said Church with handsome turned Columns, close [sic] pediment and plastered ceiling. . . ."

18   The porch of 1816 survived until the late 1920s, when it was completely replaced by the existing structure. I have not been able to discover the exact date from the Minute Books (X, 20 Jan. 1919-19 Nov. 1928), but it was certainly replaced by 1931, when a photograph of the church with the present porch first appeared on the cover of the St. Paul's Parish Magazine.

organ. Therefore, it is likely that the initial façade of St. Paul's more closely followed that of St. Peter's, Vere Street, which has a larger porch and no Venetian window.

The major difference between St. Peter's and both the 1750 and 1812 façades of St. Paul's was the latter's lack of side entrances flanking the main portal. This is due to the differences in the original ground plans of St. Peter's and St. Paul's. The latter was, internally, until the later addition of the outer side aisles and the projecting chancel, a single box of space. The east and west galleries ran the full length of the building between the north and south walls. By contrast, in Gibbs's London church, which was oriented, there are four corner rooms, the two at the east flanking a separate (non-projecting) chancel space, while the two at the west, flanking a narrow entrance vestibule, contain the large staircases leading to the galleries, as well as doors giving access to the aisles. The north and south aisles and galleries at St. Peter's ran between these corner rooms. The result was a smaller interior space--a nave of only five bays, instead of the seven at St. Paul's.[19]

The addition of the vestibule structure of 1812 was not based on Gibbs's plan, for the function and size between the centre and side spaces was reversed. At St. Peter's, the main entrance vestibule was a low, narrow space between the larger, higher side "rooms" mostly filled with the gallery stairs. At St. Paul's, contrarily, the main entrance vestibule was a wide, two-story space containing the two staircases to the gallery, left and right of the entry door, plus doors to the centre nave and to smaller, single-story side rooms.[20]

The work carried out by Charles Dunbrack in 1812 and 1813 was the first of three campaigns of additions to the box of 1749/50 which would ultimately eliminate all of the original peripheral fabric of the church.[21] Its style was meant to perpetuate that of the initial design, even though

19 The addition of the projecting chancel to St. Paul's in 1872 brought the interiors disposition of space closer to the model of Gibbs's church.

20 These side rooms were, of course, altered when the outer aisles were added in 1868. At that time, they were extended across the width of the new aisles, and subdivided by the addition of an east-west wall, thereby creating a corridor from the new lateral entrances to the doors leading into the inner aisles.

21 Or nearly all--as the 1750 north wall still stands between vestibule and nave, and small bits of the south wall remain around the south entrances into the east and west aisles.
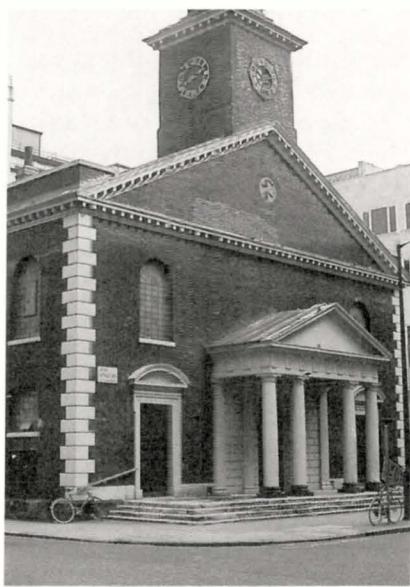
St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, England. *Photographs courtesy J. Philip McAleer.*

the façade design itself was altered by the introduction of the Venetian window and, subsequently, the reduction in the size of the porch. The later additions, of the side outer aisles in 1868, when the gallery windows were also changed, and of the chancel and its flanking rooms in 1872, departed from both the spirit and the letter of the structure of 1749/50. They introduced heavier neo-Romanesque and neo-Renaissance forms typical of the later nineteenth century. As the windows--with the exception of the Venetian window--of the 1812 addition were also altered in 1868, not even it, despite the good intentions of the vestry and Dunbrack's faithful labours, truly perpetuates the delicacy and grace of the initial eighteenth-century proportions and detailing. Only the steeple remains, too triumphant in its copper cladding, which would surely rattle the sensibilities not only of James Gibbs but also of Charles Dunbrack.[22]

The Documents
There are three contracts for the work of constructing the new addition to St. Paul's Church, dating between March 1812 and February 1813. The first two consist of a "memorandum" and an estimate; the third comprises an estimate only.[23] The memoranda are written in two different hands, the first hand larger and more florid than the second. It is not clear whether these were written by a vestryman of St. Paul's or a clerk in Dunbrack's office, or by a professional scribe; the first is more likely. The three estimates are all by a third hand and appear to have been written by Dunbrack himself: their grammar and spelling is noticeably less standard than that of the memoranda. Each of the documents is signed by Dunbrack, the signatures in all cases being nearly identical. The contracts themselves, which remain in the archives of St. Paul's Church, were written on long sheets of paper varying slightly in length and width. Each contract has been folded in half width-wise, and then in half again. On the resulting verso (i.e., the back

---

22   The upper cupola was first covered in copper in 1902 and the entire steeple in 1926: see Minute Books, VIII (3 Apr. 1899-16 Apr. 1906), pp. 227-28, 230, 233, 238; and X (20 Jan. 1919-19 Nov. 1928), pp. 392, 393-394, 398, 399, 423.

23   Whether there was a third memorandum, now lost, is not known. By this stage of the work, it was probably quite clear what remained to be done, and so the wardens conveyed their instructions verbally--instructions which are reflected in this estimate, which is more specific as to the actual work to be done than are the other estimates.

of the sheet on which the contract is written), the documents were identified in a fourth hand--except the first memorandum, which is labelled in Dunbrack's hand. Folded thus into slender oblongs, they conform to the manner in which all receipts and invoices of the churchwardens' accounts were handled, in order to provide a bundle of uniformly sized items for each year. The receipt for the final payment, i.e., for the third phase of the work, is also in the fourth hand.[24]

First Contract
[*On outside: on front fold*, Charles Dunbrack/Contracted/£748.---; *on back fold* (*written across width*), Halifax 12 June 1813 Received of/Hibbert N Binney & Henry H Cogswell/Esqs Church Wardens the Sum of Seven/Hundred & forty eight pounds Currency/in full for the within Estimate & contract/£748.---[signed] Charles Dunbrack.]

[*On outside, on front fold*: No. 2/A discription of work/for building a new addition/and Steeple to St. Pauls Church/to which my estimate refers/C. Dunbrack]

Memorandum for Building an addition of Sixteen feet (The Frame) to the North end of Saint Pauls Church, New Steeple &c ---
    To frame and raise the addition entire, the Tower or Square of the Steeple connected with the body of the framing, agreeing to the present form, and dimensions of the Church, and to the plan and bill of scantling, that has been approved of, taking down the present covering of the end if thought necessary, and securing the Building to the Church, by suitable screw nutt bolts, suppose 16 in number, about 3 feet long.
    To Board the sides with suitable boards feather edged, Dry, and free from blemish --- connecting it to the Church, by taking down the old rusticks,[25] and some of the boarding, so as to let the new boards run on, and break the upright or heading Joint, to have one window in each story in each side, the frames and sashes made of the same dimensions and plan, agreeing with those now in the Church, to which they are to correspond, the outside

---

24   In the transcription of the texts, the original spelling and punctuation--or lack thereof--is followed.

25   "Rusticks": the imitation quoins at the angles of the building. See note 31, below.

covering or clapboarding to conform exactly, and connect to the present covering of the Church.

The Water Tabling, corners, cornish[26] &c to be of the same dimensions, and the manner of finishing, the same as the Church now appears.

The North end to have one pair of doors corresponding to those now in the end, and one Window, on each side of the door, with plain architreve,[27] the sashes of the same size, as those in the side of the building to have two Windows with plain Architreves in the Gallery Story, corresponding to those in the sides of the building, and a Venetian Window of the Dorick Order in the Centre, to have one Window over the Venetian, of the same dimension of those in the Gallery Story, as described in the plan the rough covering of this end, of boards in the same manner, as those described in the sides, the outside covering of the Weather boards, prepared in the usual manner, free from blemish, and to shew not more than five inches to sight.

The Roof, to be rough boarded with suitable boards and shingles, with clear of sap shingles of the first Quality, and connected with the present roof, as has been described for the sides.

The tower or square above the roof to have one round Window in each side, to be rough boarded in the same manner as the building is, and the outside covering to be either plain boards, Weather boards or shingles, and connected to the roof of the building in the most substantial manner.

The present Steeple and Tower, to be taken down even with the roof, of the Church at any time most convenient, and to be at the disposal of the person undertaking the work, and the opening to be made good with timber, boards, shingles &c, agreeing with the roof of the Church.

The Steeple to be framed and finished with Cornish &c in the same manner, dimensions, and materials, as the present one is, which will be better seen by inspection than can be described, it may be advisable, to let the old remain, until the new one is erected.

---

26 "Cornish": the cornice or overhanging eaves of the building. At the north front, a horizontal cornice defined the gable in the manner of a Greek (or Roman) temple tympanum.

27 Architrave: in the Greek and Roman orders, the lowest element of the entablature, that is, the beam that spans from column to column, directly over the capitals.

What has been recited, being intended as a Remembrancer, the persons contracting, in their estimate, is not to be confined to the particular remarks, as it is to be understood, the whole of the outside of the addition, or building, with the suitable connection to the Church, and the framing of the timber, for each floor &c is to be finished complete, and that the Tower and Steeple, is to be finished outside and inside complete, in the same manner as the one now standing, has originally been done.

The party contracting, to do all the labour and furnish all materials, at their own expense of the first quality, to be approved by the Committee (except the Timber, which is already agreed for the Glass, the Glazing, the paint and painting.)

as my Estimate Refers to the above I have thought it proper to Subscribe this and deliver it with my estimate, and Should my preposual be the Lowest, I will require a Coppey of the above.[28] Halifax March the 20 1812

[signed] Charles Dunbrack

A Estimate for building a new addition and a New Steeple to the north eand of St. Pauls Church, agreable to a plan and bill of Scantlen[29] and a writen description of the work wanted to be dun at preasent, and as the Said plan and discriptcion points out evry thing required for Completing Said work, I refer to them in evrey pirticular, and ofer to finish Said work, agreable to its trew intent, finding all meterials except (the timber and Scantlen which compose the frame the paint and painting and glaising foundation and diging and covering the floor under the bell with led or Copper)[30] the preasent apears to be covered with pitch paper and gravel and I have estimated to finish the new one in Like maner and the whole of the New addition for the Sum of Seven hundred and fortey Eight pounds

---

28   These final three lines were added in the hand of Dunbrack.

29   Scantling can refer variously to the dimensions of building material, a small beam or timber, a small upright timber, especially as in the frame of a structure, or small beams or timbers collectively. The term is used here probably in the last sense.

30   According to present convention, it would seem that the opening and closing parentheses have been misplaced: they should perhaps have appeared before "except" and after "glaising," with the phrase "the preasent appears...and gravel" also in brackets.

Curencey to be payed as folows when the frame is raised exclusive of the Steeple part 150 is to be payed and when the Steeple is finished and new addition Shingled 350 more and when the window frames door wattertablin and corners are rusticated[31] 50 pounds more and the remaning 198 pounds to be retained in the hands of the commite to Such time as the whole of Said work is finished then to be payed   the whole of the timber & Scantlen to be delivered and Layed inside of the Railing pirmision to be given for framing the addition and Spire on that level Spot on the east side of Church Likewise for irecting a temporery work Shed against the railing on west Side and for pileing Lumber along side the railing at North Eand the work when finished to be inspected by Mr Cunard Mr NiPrier and Mr Rigbey[32] if Required.

Second Contract
[*On outside, front fold:* Charles Dunbrack/2d Contract/£135.--]

Halifax October 1812
Memorandum of Alterations and Carpenters work to be performed in St Pauls Church.

To alter the ceiling over the Organ by taken away the present one, and the two center columns down to the Pedestal, securing the Roof, and putting up proper framing &c for continuing an Arched ceiling agreeing with the Present one of the body of the Church --- to put up eliptick arches on each side between the Columns in the same manner and agreeing with those in the same Range, to have the rubbish &c taken away so as not to be an impediment to divine Service.

To finish the Carpenter work of the center part or Entrance of the addition complete, Viz --- To lay the floors in the principal Story, (Passage and each side Room) with two thickness of boards the under boards laid Rough the upper boards plaind and laid in whole widths, to make case and hang the two side Room doors putting on a good sufficeint Thumb latch.

31 "Rusticated" here seems to refer to the construction of imitation quoins, which are known to have been a feature of the 1750 building, rather than the imitation or rusticated masonry, i.e., masonry carved to look rough and "natural."

To put up the Stairs to the Gallery as described in the Plan, (or as may be agreed on) lining the side walls sublass[33] height with board and finishing the whole in the same manner as those now in use --- to continue a ballustrade along the passage or landing from Newel to Newel lining inside the banisters[34] with boards.

To put up Stairs or ladders to the Bell in the most convenient situation (that may be approved of) enclosing the same with boards --- to lay a single Rough floor in each Gallery, & case the Doors on the passage side, --- To case the Posts, projecting inside the studs, to case or finish the inside of the Venetian window, with Pilasters Cornice &c to fur the side walls and ceiling fit for Plaistering and put up a facia and single Cornice, to be understood that the whole of the Carpenters work in the center Part is to be finished complete the Contractor to furnish the Materials of every discription.

[signed] Charles Dunbrack

Third Contract
[*On outside, front fold*: Estimate for/St Pauls Church/3r Contract/£165.---]

Estimate for finishing the pasage & Sundrey Carpenter work at St Pauls Church agreeable to a written direction, finding all lumber Nails Hinges latches &c of a good Soficent qualitey & performing the work fitting for its true intent for the Sum of one hundred & thirty five pounds curencey, thirty five pounds thare-of to be retained to such time as the work aluded to is finished and inspected. Such enspection to take place as Soon as the work is finished, the Ould banisters of the ould Stares to be used for the new Stares as far as they will gow & are Soficent, a Sail or paint Cloth to be procured for covering the Organ which I will return in Saftey Except Such injurey as it may Sustain from Dust & plasterers Morter.

[signed] Charles Dunbrack
1812 Halifax Octr. 21

---

32 Presumably these individuals were members of the vestry forming the building committee. As the Minute Book for the years 1801 to 1824 is lost, it is impossible now to determine their exact role.

33 "Sublass": possibly surbase; see note 12 above.

34 As "baluster" and "banister" are synonyms, it is not clear whether some particular distinction was intended. Both terms refer to the vertical posts supporting a railing.

Estimate for St Pauls Church Halifax as folows ---
To --- rais and Straighten the Lower floor at the North Entrence puting in
Such new Joists as may be Soficent, remove the iner porch and the two
Centre pillars, put in Such timber in the Gallery floor as will be Soficent
for its Support and close up the opning whare the ould Stairs Stood, finish
two rooms in the new addition with Single Cornis Single architrives to
doors & windows plain Scirten floors plained remove two doors leding from
the Same to enter the centre of Side Aisles, to finish the Gallery to the
plan agreed upon make benches for the acomodation of the Singers &
Orgenest in front of Orgen, make good all the mouldings that is deficent
about the Orgen, make eight pews on the Lower floor and two wall pews,
it is the Contractors intencion that this Estimate Shal include the whole
of the Carpenter & Joiners work and meterials for completing the repairs
and alterations of North eand and new addition agreable to its true intent
in the inside (except Locks) eney Locks that the Committe may pleas to
furnish I will put on to the princaple Doors or room Doors The whole
of the above to be finished in all may next insewing for the Sum of one
hundred Sixtey five pounds Curencey to be payd as the work advances
if required
                                                        [signed] Charles Dunbrack

All Ould meterials that is taken downe to belong to Contractor and Such
of them as is Soficent, to be used in the work again Namley Doors hinges
and boults, the panel work in front of orgen to be built anew and a proper
Space, and place Left for the Kings arms, and as I Dow not profess the
carving business the carved orniment preposed is not understood to be
in my Contract
                                                        CD
Halifax february 23 1813

[On back of page, at top, written across width: Halifax, 22^d July 1813 Received/of
Hibbert N Binney & Henry H/Cogswell Esq^s. Church Wardens the Sum/of
One hundred & Sixty five/pounds in full for completing/the work done
to St Pauls Church as (?) within Contract ---/£165.---/[signed] Charles
Dunbrack]

South wall of Croscup Room. Oil on plaster, artist unknown. Date ca. 1848. *Collection National Gallery of Canada.*
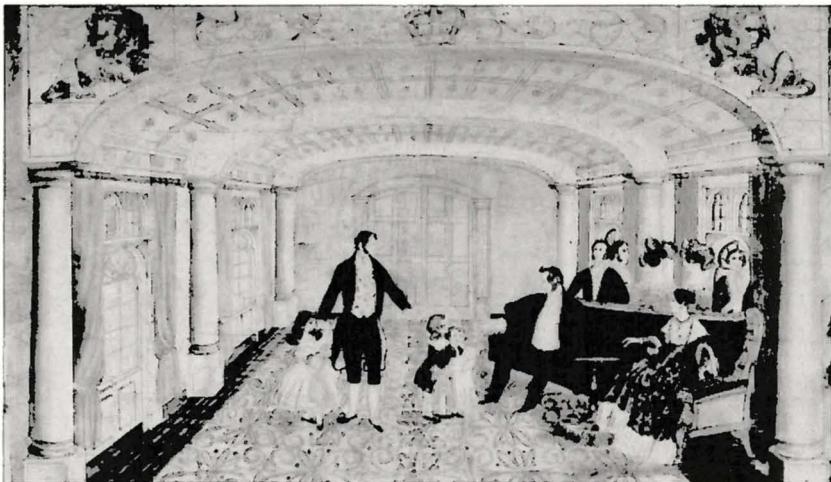
Overmantel painting, east wall of Croscup Room. Queen Victoria introducing her three children, the Princess Royal, the Prince of Wales and Princess Alice to King Louis Philippe of France. *Collection National Gallery of Canada.* See *Illustrated London News,* 12 Oct. 1844, p. 233.

The Croscup Family of Karsdale, Annapolis County, and Their "Painted Room"

Cora Greenaway

In the collections of the National Gallery in Ottawa is an exhibit that holds a special interest for Nova Scotians. It is the Croscup Room or, as it was known in the family, the "Painted Room." In 1976 this room in its entirety was purchased by the National Gallery and transported from Karsdale, Annapolis County to Ottawa. Its plastered walls are covered from ceiling to baseboard with scenic murals depicting Trafalgar Square in London, St. Isaac's Cathedral in Leningrad, the launching of a ship, MicMac Indians, a Scotsman playing the bagpipes, Queen Victoria, and a woman holding an infant. The mantel is marbleized, the woodwork grained, and the baseboard has, at regular intervals, a decorative motif. The skill of the artist, the bright colours, and the lively scenes make it an enchanting room. Gilbert Gignac and Jeanne L'Esperance, in an article published in the *Journal of Canadian Art History*, have commented: "The most striking feature of the Croscup murals is their lighthearted innocence."[1] Today the Croscup Room is recognized as one of the treasures of early Canadian art. Two questions arise: who were the Croscups and how did these appealing murals get painted in Karsdale?

In 1783, at the close of the American Revolution, a flood of Loyalists came to Nova Scotia from the Thirteen Colonies. For many it was the second time they had endured such a drastic upheaval. The first time, they had decided on immigration to North America in the hope of a better life; now they were faced with evacuation for political reasons. Ludwick Croscup, a farmer from New York, was about fifty-three years of age when he, his wife Mary, and their eight children joined the refugees bound for Nova Scotia. Anglican church records, deeds, wills and cemetery surveys have proved helpful in tracing the genealogy and family history of the Croscups after their arrival from New York; what happened before remains obscure. Family tradition relates that they were of German origin. The publication in 1981 of an alphabetical list of immigrants arriving in North America during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave the first

Cora Greenaway is a researcher specializing in local history, a radio commentator, and a former teacher. In 1986 she was guest curator for the exhibit, Interior Decorative Painting in Nova Scotia, sponsored by the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia.

1   *Journal of Canadian Art History*, II (1982), 137.

clue.[2] On the assumption that Ludwick Croscup was the Anglicized version of a German name, the process of elimination led to a Ludewijk Krauskop, no age or place of origin given, who had arrived at New York. The German name *Krauskopf* (meaning "curly head") could easily have been transformed into Croscup and Ludeqijk, not a common first name, into Ludwick. Where did he come from?

Many of the German-speaking immigrants from continental Europe in the eighteenth century came from the Neuwied-Westerwald area,[3] a part of the country that was a frequent battleground for advancing or retreating armies. When an opportunity presented itself to leave, many decided to take advantage of it--but there were no known Krauskopfs among them. More than a hundred years later, another Krauskopf family immigrated to the United States. They came from Blasbach, a village near the town of Wetzlar, which is located in what today is called Bundesland Hesse on the northeast bank of the Rhine.[4] Did Ludwick Croscup have his roots there? Again, no satisfactory answer has yet been found.

Ludwick Croscup was born in 1730/31. The exact date of his arrival in New York cannot be determined. It appears he travelled alone. The first surviving record is in the registers of New York marriages, on the occasion of his marriage to Mary Krous on 3 March 1762.[5] No further information on Mary Krous is available. From the inscription on Mary's headstone in Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale, we can deduce that she was born in 1740/41; no place of birth is mentioned. Birth registers for New York during the period following the Croscup's marriage are not available, but their eight children--four sons and four daughters--were all born in New York between 1763 and 1783. This is borne out by an entry in the "List of

2   P. William Filby and Mary K. Meyer, *Passenger and Immigration Lists Index* (Detroit, 1981), p. 1163. A wide variety of spellings for both the surname Croscup and the Christian name Ludwick have been found, due to illiteracy of the family and the phonetic spellings adopted by clerks and registrars.

3   Henry Z. Jones Jr., "Emigrants from Germany to Colonial America 1720-1760. Traced in their Ancestral Villages," in *The Palatine Immigrant*, IV, 1 (1977).

4   Bernd R. Lindenthal, *Emigrants to America from the City and Surrounding Area of Wetzlar, 1850-1869* (Wetzlar, n.d.).

5   *New York Marriages Prior to 1784* (1860; reprinted Baltimore, 1981), p. 218.

Disbanded Officers, Soldiers and Loyalists taken in Annapolis County in 1784."[6]

On 20 June 1769, "Ludwick Kranskoop, Farmer P[aid]" was made a Freeman of the City of New York, a valued distinction which indicated his standing in the colony.[7] On 7 April 1773, Ludwick Croscup applied to the Common Council of the City of New York for a lease of land. The minutes read as follows: "The Clerk produced to this Board the engrossed Lease to Ludowick Croskoop for the Lots of Ground on Inklawenbergh distinguished by Lot No. 25 and 26 for 33 years from the 1st of May next under the yearly rent of £8.15 which being read was approved & Signed." Two years later, on 2 June 1775, he petitioned the board to "lease to him Ten Acres of the Commons on Inklenbergh adjoining to the Lot of Land he now possesses there." However, the board decided "the Consideration thereof be deferred to some future Common Council."[8] It is interesting to note that from this information it would appear that Ludwick Croscup had no inkling of the troubles that lay ahead. One wonders whether the Common Council felt differently and therefore deferred the decision. Information gained from the minutes makes it possible to determine the location of the Croscup farm. In the *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, the position of Inklawenbergh or Inklenbergh is described as follows: "From 3rd Avenue to Broadway, from 34th st. to 42nd street"[9]-an area which is known today as Murray Hill, in central New York.

In 1776, hostilities broke out and civilians with Tory sympathies were harassed by Patriots. Officers and soldiers began to leave and civilians soon followed suit. In Nova Scotia, the sudden influx of large numbers of new settlers posed many problems. In October 1782, nine transports arrived at Annapolis Royal, bringing five hundred Loyalists. In 1783, one thousand refugees arrived in October and fifteen hundred more in November, taxing

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

7   Michael Tepper, ed., *Immigration to the Middle Colonies, a Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists and Associated Data from the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (Baltimore, 1978), p. 123.

8   *Minutes of the Common Council of New York*, Vol. 7, p. 413; Vol. 8, p. 33.

9   *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, p. 966.

the housing in the town to the limit. In Granville, 137 families settled with their slaves, making a total of 399 persons.[10]

Ships' passenger lists have not survived, but it appears that the Croscups arrived at Digby sometime in 1783. The Reverend Edward Brudenell, chaplain to the *Atalanta*, noted in his letterbook that the town of Digby had been laid out in squares, with eight lots to a square. He listed all squares with the names of the grantees: Ludwick Croscup was given Lot No. 6 in square B, containing half an acre. Not every grantee availed himself of his grant, and the Reverend Brudenell duly marked the appropriate name with a "D" (dead) or an "L T" (left town). Beside the name "Croscob," he merely put "gone."[11]

The Croscups had moved to Granville Township, where on 21 January 1784, Ludwick Croscup, "Gentleman, late of New York, bought from Nathan Woodberry for 142 pounds, eighteen shillings and ten pence Lot No. 155 (containing 500 acres) with four Acres of the Marsh Lot No. 9 and Basin Lot No. 22."[12] No mortgage was required to close the transaction. The property was located in the area soon to become designated within the township as Lower Granville, and today known as Karsdale. Over the years, Ludwick continued to buy property in the Lower Granville area in a judicious manner, without ever having to take out a mortgage. While in New York, he had never owned land, but had leased it from the city. Had he been wise or just lucky?

On the "Muster Roll of Disbanded Officers and Soldiers and Loyalists taken in the County of Annapolis between the 18th and the 29th of June 1784," appear the following entries: "Croscob, Ludevick, 1 man, 1 woman, 4 children above 10, 3 children under 10; Croscob John, 1 man."[13] They were described as Loyalists and settled in Granville. John, the eldest child, being twenty or twenty-one years of age, was counted as an adult.

On 30 May 1785, Ludwick Croscup bought Basin Lot No. 25 for £9 from Isaac Foster of Granville. That same day, he bought Basin Lot No. 26 for

10   Coward, *Bridgetown*, p. 30.

11   Rev. Edward Brudenell, Letterbook, mfm., Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

12   Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 5, pp. 1, 2.

13   A.W. Savary, *Supplement to the History of Annapolis County by W.A. Calnek* (Toronto, 1913), p. 107.

£6 from George Troop of Granville. Basin Lots contained 50 acres. On 16 July 1785, he bought Fish Lot No. 19 for £4.11s.9d from Elias Weare of Granville. On 14 October 1785, he bought Fish Lot No. 27 for £4.13s.4d from Patrick Roach of Granville. On 23 February 1786, he sold Fish Lot No. 97 for £6.15s to Walter Wilkins. On 2 October 1786, he bought Fish Lot No. 27 for £6 from John Prince of Saint John, N.B., merchant. On 5 December 1785, he sold Fish Lot No. 71 for £4 to Stephen Thorn of Granville. It is uncertain when he acquired some of the properties, as not all transactions have been recorded.[14]

On 26 January 1786, Charles Morris, Surveyor-General of Lands, was ordered by His Excellency John Parr, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia to "admeasure and lay out unto John Perrot and 121 Others agreeable to the Annexed List [a] Plantation containing sixteen thousand seven hundred and eighty-two acres." Among the grantees were "No. 67: John Crooscupt, 100 acres; Ludavick Croscupt, 100 acres."[15] In his report, Charles Morris stated that he had laid out the tract of the road leading from Annapolis to Halifax-- "all Wilderness Lands." Neither Ludwick nor John appears to have taken possession of his grant, as both were escheated in 1819.[16]

In official documents, Ludwick Croscup was first referred to as "Gentleman," then later as "Yeoman" or "Farmer." Ludwick, his wife Mary, and their eight children were all illiterate. By religion they were Anglican and must have been pleased when a church was erected in Lower Granville. Construction was begun in 1791 and St. Paul's (later Christ Church) was consecrated by Bishop Charles Inglis on 1 September 1793. Erection of a church was hastened by the fact that children and youth were "exposed to some extravagant fanatics, who profess themselves Anabaptists and take the additional appellation of New Lights; but whose principles and practices

14   Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 5, pp. 339, 340, 359, 402-403; Vol. 6, pp. 37-38, 75; Vol. 8, p. 21.

15   RG 20, Series A, John Perrot and others, 1786, PANS.

16   Marion Gilroy, *Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1934; reprinted 1980), p. 21.

are subversive of all sober and rational religion."[17] The eloquent Reverend Henry Alline was clearly no favourite.

On 29 October 1796, Ludwick Croscup made an outright gift of the Fish or Basin Lots No. 18, 19, 20 and 21 to his son John. His second son Daniel witnessed the transaction by making his cross. On 26 August 1802, Ludwick sold the western half of Farm Lot No. 156 to his son John, for £100. Two years later, on 6 February 1804, he sold the remaining half of the same lot to his son Daniel, also for £100. Each half contained 250 acres.[18] On 1 July 1808, Ludwick Croscup made a will, leaving his entire estate to his wife, with the standard provision that on her death or remarriage the property was to be divided. To John he left five shillings "for his birthright [he] having had his part or proportion" each daughter was to receive £25 before the other sons could touch their inheritance.[19]

Ludwick Croscup died on 18 April 1819.[20] When the will was proved, it was discovered that it had not been correctly entered in the records by Judge Winniett. A petition to this effect was signed by Darby Cronin, one of Ludwick's sons-in-law, who was able to read and write.[21] Mary Croscup survived her husband by nine years, dying on 27 March 1828. They are buried side by side in the graveyard of Christ Church at Karsdale. Their graves are marked by slate headstones that have the fine lettering and "shoulders" typical of the work of the "Annapolis carver," an unknown tombstone sculptor who worked in Annapolis Royal and Saint John, New Brunswick.[22] No written document, no portrait, household item or piece of jewellery remains of the first Croscups to settle in Nova Scotia.

Little is known of Ludwick's four daughters. His will was damaged by fire and the name of the first daughter mentioned is only partly legible.

---

17 *Two Hundred and Fifty Years Young, Our Diocesan Story 1710-1960* (Kentville, 1960), p. 80.

18 Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 12, pp. 249, 250-251; Vol. 13, pp. 280-281.

19 Court of Probate, Annapolis County, Estate Papers, "C".

20 Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale, in Dr. Allan E. Marble Collection, Cemeteries of Annapolis County, Micro: Cemeteries, PANS.

21 Court of Probate, Annapolis County, Estate Papers, "C".

22 Deborah Trask, *Life how Short, Eternity how Long* (Halifax, 1978), pp. 22, 23.

[Cat?]herine Sullivan had married before her father made his will in 1808; no further information about her has been discovered. Elizabeth, perhaps the second daughter, married Luke Lambertson or Lamberson, son of John, a Loyalist from Digby. The third daughter, Mary, sometime between 1799 and 1808 married Darby Cronin, son of Loyalist Dennis Cronin from New York. In 1799, when Darby Cronin bought Lot No. 139, the deed did not mention a wife; [23] but when Ludwick Croscup made his will in 1808, he cited Mary by her married name of Cronin. The fourth daughter, Ann, married John Quereau, son of Joshua, in 1812 and had four children.

The eldest Croscup son, John (1764-1844), married twice. His first wife was Hannah Fowler, probably a daughter of Jonathan Fowler. She was born in 1771 and died in April 1804. They had three sons and two daughters, including John Jr., baptized in 1791, and Esther, baptized in 1794. A curious document states that "on 14 July 1796, Jonathan Fowler sold for five pounds to John Cusscup and his Heirs and Assigns for ever a female Negro Child named Catherine about two years old."[24] Any further information on the subsequent fate of this child is not available. John became a prosperous farmer, and at his death left an estate of £619.13s., as well as considerable land.[25]

The second son, Daniel, was about thirteen years old when he arrived in Nova Scotia. He also became a farmer, but was less successful then either his father or brother John. In 1804, he paid £100 for half of Farm Lot No. 156. In 1819, he had to take out a mortgage of £25, perhaps to pay his sister's legacy.[26] Instead of increasing his estate, he had to sell part of it. His first wife, Lucy Hall, whom he married in 1808, died young; they had six children. By his second wife, Sarah Quereau, he had two daughters and a son.

Ludwick's third son, George, born in New York, also became a farmer. He married Martha Hall on 11 October 1809; they had two sons. The fourth

23   Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 11, p. 150.

24   Chesley Papers, MG 1, Vol. 177, No. 75, PANS.

25   Court of Probate, Annapolis County, Estate Papers, "C".

26   Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 13, pp. 270-281; Vol. 18, pp. 75-78.

son was Ludwick Jr. He married Elizabeth Calkins on 19 October 1807 and had six children.

The first generation of Croscups remained in the Granville area, but by the 1840s several family members had moved to Bear River, immediately across the Annapolis Basin. William Croscup, son of Daniel, was about the same age as his cousins who had moved to Bear River, Ludwick Zebediah and Ezekiel Henry, sons of Ludwick Croscup Jr. These three were often partners in shipbuilding ventures. The first Croscups had been farmers; following generations soon combined this shipbuilding and seafaring in their coastal trading vessels. Today the name is rarely encountered in the Granville/Bear River area, since family members later moved to Maine, Boston and California, while others settled in Ontario.

The pivotal figures in connection with the "Painted Room" are William Croscup and his wife, Hannah Amelia Shaffner. William, born in 1811, was the fourth child of Daniel and Lucy (Hall) Croscup. Nothing is known of his childhood. He became a farmer-cum-shipbuilder. His earliest venture appears to have been the 56-ton schooner *Congress* in 1836, built with Daniel Bohaker for Joseph and David Gilliatt. In all, William Croscup has been identified as a partner in the following fifteen vessels: 1836, *Congress*, 56 tons, schooner; 1849, *Cyrene*, 112 tons, brigantine, (William, 21 shares); 1851, *Chieftain*, 69 tons, two-masted schooner, ((William, 32 shares), run down at sea in 1852; 1853, *Amazon*, 94 tons, two-masted schooner, built by William who owned 43 shares, lost at sea in 1858; 1855, *George Prescott*, two-masted schooner (William, 8 shares); 1857, *Dasher*, two-masted schooner (William, "shipwright," 16 shares), sold in 1863; 1862, *Neva*, two-masted brigantine (William, 16 shares); 1863, *J.A. Pierce*, two-masted brig (William, 4 shares); 1865, *Estello*, 335 tons, two-masted brig (William, 4 shares); 1867, *Rialto*, three-masted barque (William, 4 shares); 1871, *William Croscup*, three-masted barquentine (William, 5 shares); 1872, *James H. Shafner*, two-masted brigantine (William, 4 shares); 1872, *A. Porter*, two-masted brigantine (William, 4 shares); 1873, *Medina*, two-masted brigantine (William, 4 shares); 1876, *Transit*, three-masted barque (William, 2 shares), sunk in 1889.[27]

27 Information concerning these vessels was taken from Shipping Registers, Digby, Vol. 4; Vol. 260, pp. 22, 178; and Vol. 5; and from Board of Trade, Ships' Registry Papers, Annapolis extracts, Vol. 2 (1862); Vol. 2 (1863); Vol. 2 (1865); Vol. 1 (1867); Vol. 1 (1871); Vol. 1 (1872); Vol. 1 (1873); and Vol. 1 (1876); all records Micro: Miscellaneous "S" : Shipping Registers, PANS.

William Croscup's descendants refer to him as a shipbuilder who farmed on the side. From the above list, it is clear he was much involved in shipbuilding. In 1961, one could still see the remains of pilings on the shore of the Annapolis Basin directly across from his house. Many vessels were built there. Sometimes the ships were insured, more often they were not. In 1868, William Croscup was sworn a Justice of the Peace. His name in that capacity continues to appear in *Belcher's Almanac* and *McAlpine's Directory* on the annual list, even after his death in 1888. In politics he was a Liberal.

William Croscup was born in 1811; the exact date is not recorded. He was baptized a few weeks before his death. This was not unusual; his wife was baptized as an adult, when she was forty-one. He bought his first piece of property in 1839--about four acres, south of the highway and part of Lot No. 156. A year later, he sold this to his cousin, Ezekiel Croscup.[28] In November 1843, an "Assessment List of Real and Personal Property" taken in Granville Township, noted William Croscup as holding real estate worth £75 and personal estate worth £250; the tax levied was 1s.½d.[29]

On 15 August 1844, he married Hannah Amelia Shaffner, a daughter of James Shaffner and his wife, Esther Croscup. On 15 January 1845, he bought from Robert H. Foster "the Western part of the half mile Lot, formerly so called," containing about 250 acres, for £437.10s.[30] It is not clear whether there was a house on the property; if no dwelling existed, William must have constructed or had one built shortly afterwards, in which house he lived until his death in 1888. It is known that a very similar house was built in 1846 in Bridgetown for John FitzRandolph, at a cost of £160.11s.6d., including materials.[31]

The William Croscup home in Karsdale is a simple one-and-one-half-story Cape Cod cottage with a central gable. The front door is flanked by two windows, one on either side. Originally, a pillared porch ran along the entire front of the house; this was removed at some later time. The

28 Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 33, pp. 519, 520.

29 *Ibid.*, Vol. A1.

30 *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 250.

31 Elizabeth Coward Papers, MG 1, Vol. 238, No. 64, PANS.

round-headed door in the gable gave on to a balcony that had a wrought-iron railing; after the removal of the "Painted Room," the house was altered and now has a picture window on either side of the front door. The extension on the right side of the house and the huge kitchen at the back are later additions.

In almost all rural homes of the nineteenth century, most activities took place in the kitchen, the hub of the house. The parlour was reserved for special occasions--weddings, christenings, wakes and visits from the clergy. To protect the fine furnishings, the blinds were kept lowered and children were not allowed to play there. This was particularly true of the Croscup parlour. Oral history relates what happened there one winter to make this room special above any other parlour. It is a romantic and mysterious tale, mysterious because so many details are missing.

On a dark winter's night, a young man knocked on the door of the Croscup home, asking for asylum. He explained that he was an Englishman who had jumped ship at Annapolis. Why did he jump ship? Had he been a victim of the infamous press-gangs? No one knows. Be that as it may, the Croscups took him in. He remained one winter, returning to England in the spring. During that winter, and to pay for his board and lodging, he decorated Mrs. Croscup's parlour with scenic murals. He did not sign his work and his name is not remembered. In fact, nothing more is known about this anonymous artist. He spent a few months in Nova Scotia, leaving behind a rich legacy and fame as the unknown painter of the Croscup Room.[32]

The writer of this article visited the Croscup Room for the first time on a sparkling day in October 1961, as the guest of Mrs. Marion Beard, a great-granddaughter of Hannah Amelia Croscup. The first impression of that joyful room is as vivid as if it had happened yesterday. There was no furniture in the room--only some sacks containing grain or animal feed, and a pair of skis which leaned against a wall. The murals were dusty and flaking in places, but nothing could detract from the freshness and liveliness of the scenes. One could only observe with astonishment, delight and admiration.

---

32 Information from Mrs. Marion Beard, Middleton, N.S.

Who was this artist who drew with such skill and vivid imagination? His sense of perspective would indicate that he had had drawing lessons. Had he perhaps attended the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where topographical design was an important subject? It is now known that he drew much inspiration from the engravings published in the *Illustrated London News*, which began publication in 1842 and was popular in Nova Scotian households. Probably the artist was fairly young, although we do not really know. However, the Croscup Room is real and has miraculously survived unscathed from when it was first painted, about 1848.

William Croscup died in 1888. In his estate papers, the homestead was valued at $1,500 and another house, "in which lives my son Joseph," at $600.[33] The wonderful parlour is not mentioned and does not seem to have added to the value of the dwelling. His widow continued to live in the house until her death in January 1913, at the age of ninety-two. Till the very last, the parlour was sacrosanct and no children were ever allowed to set foot in it--they had to stand on the threshold and look in. The late Mr. Reginald W. Bishop (1891-1987), one of her great-grandsons, often stayed with Mrs. Croscup when he was a little boy. He remembered with glee how he used to sneak into the forbidden room, "to look at the pictures," when sure that his great-grandmother was busy elsewhere in the house. Imagine a small boy's delight when looking at the lively scenes of MicMac Indians, boys fishing, the launching of a ship, cities he had never seen, and Queen Victoria--who was still on the throne--above the mantelpiece. When asked whether he owned a likeness of his great-grandmother when young, he replied, "No, but she is on the wall."[34] Obviously this can only be the young woman holding an infant, and who is depicted on the left side of the mantelpiece. Mrs. Marion Beard (1902-   ), Mr. Bishop's sister, remembers her great-grandmother clearly. She describes her as a small, formidable lady, dressed in black with a lace cap on her head and carrying a cane.

After Mrs. Croscup's death, the house became the property of Mr. Joseph Croscup, last surviving child of William and Hannah Amelia Croscup. As stipulated in William Croscup's will, the homestead was then to be the

---

33   Court of Probate, Annapolis County, Estate Papers, "C".

34   Information from Mr. Reginald W. Bishop, 1986.

property of Howard Truesdale Croscup, Joseph's son. He was a bachelor and lived there until the death of his mother, Julia Robblee Croscup, in March 1924. The house with its "Painted Room" was then bought by Noble and Florence Wheelock, whose daughter Mrs. Roy Hall still lives there.

For many years the parlour with its story-book walls remained forgotten. There was no interest in decorated walls and it is fortunate indeed that they were never wallpapered or painted over. Age had not adversely affected the Croscup Room, but the addition of an efficient central-heating system was deadly. The National Gallery saved and carefully restored the Croscup Room, but it was Mrs. Croscup's pride in her unique and wonderful parlour that preserved it for posterity. Nothing is known about the runaway sailor who painted the walls, but he will always be remembered as the artist of the Croscup Room from Karsdale, Nova Scotia.

Croscup Genealogy

Ludwick[1] Croscup, b. 1730 in Germany; d. 18 Apr. 1819; bur. at Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale; m. 3 Mar. 1762 at New York, Mary **Krous**. She was b. 1740 in Germany; d. 27 Mar. 1828; bur. at Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale.

They had four sons and four daughters. Dates for four sons and one daughter, Ann, were taken from inscriptions on headstones, but these are missing for three daughters.

(1)   John, b. 1764, New York; d. 19 Dec. 1844; bur. at Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale; of whom later.

(2)   Daniel, b. 1770, New York; d. 24 Dec. 1863; bur. at Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale; of whom later.

(3)   ____herine [Catherine?], b. New York; m. _____ **Sullivan**.

(4)   Mary, b. New York; m. Darby **Cronin** after 1799 and before 1808. There is one burial at Port Wade of a Mary Cronin on 9 Oct. 1882, aged 72 years, perhaps a daughter.

(5)   Elizabeth, b. New York; m. Luke **Lamberson**, son of John, in 1803, at Lower Granville. They had one daughter, Mary Ann, b. 18 Jan. 1805.

(6)   George, b. 1778, New York; d. 12 Mar. 1849 at Lower Granville; of whom later.

(7)   Ann, b. 1780/81, New York; d. 5 Apr. 1877 at Lower Granville;
      m. 1812, John **Quereau**, son of Joshua, b. 1787, d. Apr. 1868 at
      Lower Granville. Their children were:
      (1a) Martha, b. 12 Jan. 1813.
      (2a) Elias, b. 7 Sept. 1815.
      (3a) Stephen, b. 15 Nov. 1820.
      (4a) William, b. 22 Aug. 1824.
(8)   Ludwick, b. 1782, New York; d. 17 Sept. 1863 at Lower Granville;
      of whom later.
We shall follow the lines of the four sons, John, Daniel, George and
Ludwick.

John Croscup

John[2] (Ludwick[1]), b. 1764, New York; d. 19 Dec. 1844, and is bur. at
Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale. He was a farmer and on his death left
a considerable estate. About 1789, he m. Hannah **Fowler**, daughter of
Jonathan. She was b. 1771; d. 15 Apr. 1804. In 1805, he m. Ann **Quereau**,
daughter of Joshua. She was b. 1773; d. 10 Apr. 1855. By Hannah Fowler
he had five children:
      (1a) John[3] (John[2], Ludwick[1]), b. 1790 at Karsdale; bpd. 27 July 1791;
            d. 17 July 1873 at Karsdale; m. 3 Dec. 1816, Sarah **Hall** Bohaker,
            daughter of John and Elizabeth Pirtchard Hall. She was b. 1792;
            d. 6 June 1863 at Karsdale. She had first been married to Daniel
            Bohaker, son of Andreas; he d. 1812. John and Sarah Croscup had
            six children:
            (1b) Martha Caroline, b. 28 Apr. 1820; m. 11 Feb. 1847, John
                  Greenwood.
            (2b) Mary Emmeline, b. 27 July 1822; bpd. 5 Nov. 1841; d. 10
                  Nov. 1847; bur. at Granville Beach Cemetery.
            (3b) Moses Hall, b. 1828; d. 25 Aug. 1848; bur. at Granville Beach
                  Cemetery.
            (4b) Sybil Ann, b. 10 Aug. 1831.
            (5b) Albert Jr., b. 18 Nov. 1836; d. 24 Mar. 1858; bur. at Granville
                  Beach Cemetery.

(6b) James H., b. 1845; m. firstly, 11 Aug. 1861, Sarah Ann **Croscup**, b. 3 Jan. 1842, d. 28 July 1868, bur. Kardale Cemetery; m. secondly, 7 Oct. 1895, Georgina **Winchester** Croscup, b. 1856.

(2a) Esther, b. 1792; bpd. 28 Sept. 1794; d. 21 Apr. 1884; m. 26 Jan. 1815, James **Shaffner**, son of Ferdinand and Barbara Hawbolt Shaffner. He was b. 1792; bpd. 4 Aug. 1873; d. 3 Feb. 1874.

(3a) Benjamin, m. 24 Apr. 1822, Mary Anne **Healey**.

(4a) Hannah Elizabeth, bpd. 17 Oct. 1841; m. 16 Mar. 1843, James **Robblee**, Jr.

(5a) Edward Fowler, m. 20 Mar. 1828, Catherine **Shaffner**. They had six children:

  (1b) William Henry, b. 13 Oct. 1828.
  (2b) Frances Ann, b. 21 July 1830; bpd. 21 Sept. 1846.
  (3b) Benjamin Knowlton D., b. 18 Jan. 1833.
  (4b) Mary Emmeline, b. 21 May 1836; bpd. 22 June 1852.
  (5b) Colin Campbell, b. 11 Jan. 1838.
  (6b) James H., b. 1845; m. firstly, 11 Aug. 1861, Sarah Ann **Croscup**, b. 3 Jan. 1842, d. 28 July 1868, bur. Karsdale Cemetery; m. secondly, 7 Oct. 1895, Georgina **Winchester** Croscup, b. 1856.

John² Croscup had three children by his second wife, Ann Quereau:

(6a) Sarah Ann, b. 1805; d. 24 June 1865 at Digby; m. 17 July 1826, George Barber **Dexter**, M.D. He was b. 4 Sept. 1779 at Malden, Mass., U.S.A.; d. 4 Sept. 1863 at Digby. They had nine children.

(7a) Stephen DeGros, b. 1810; d. 15 Mar. 1873; m. 1 Dec. 1836, Sarah **Anderson**. They had six children:

  (1b) Julia Ann, b. 6 July 1838; bpd. 16 Sept. 1838.
  (2b) John, b. 12 Aug. 1840; bpd. 17 Oct. 1841; m. 11 July 1861, Melissa **Croscup**, daughter of George³ (Daniel², Ludwick¹).
  (3b) Matilda Catherine, b. 2 Sept. 1842; bpd. 18 Mar. 1843; m. 19 Dec. 1861, William Asa **Porter**.
  (4b) Isaac, b. 7 Oct. 1845; bpd. 30 Aug. 1846.
  (5b) Sarah Elizabeth, b. 18 July 1850; bpd. 20 Oct. 1850.
  (6b) Ellagenia, b. 13 Oct. 1853; bpd. 19 Oct. 1854.

(8a) Joshua Quereau, b. 1813; d. 16 Dec. 1897; m. 7 Jan. 1834, Rebecca
      Ann Hicks, daughter of Archibald and Helen (Henson) Hicks. She
      was b. 1817; d. 26 Nov. 1889. They had two sons and four daughters:
      (1b) John Henry, b. 6 Jan. 1835; bpd. 7 Aug. 1836; m. Eliphet
            (Eliphal) _____. She was b. 1836; d. 5 Aug. 1879; after which
            time the family moved to Boston. John Henry Croscup was
            a mariner, and later a teacher. They had five children:
            (1c) Ira Oscar, b. 1862.
            (2c) William Archibald, b. 1869; listed in the *Boston Directory*,
                  1891, as a "Fresco-Painter" ; not listed after 1895.
            (3c) Edward Louis, b. 1872.
            (4c) Annie Caroline, b. 1874.
      (2b) William Hicks, b. 24 June 1837; bpd. 17 Sept. 1837; d. 6 Apr.
            1865, unm.
      (3b) Helen Theresa, b. 23 May 1839; bpd. 19 Mar. 1843; d. 20
            Mar. 1925; m. 3 Jan. 1865, Phineas L. Chesley.
      (4b) Sarah Ann, b. 3 Jan. 1842; bpd. 19 Mar. 1843; d. 28 July 1868;
            m. 11 Aug. 1861, James H. Croscup.
      (5b) Elizabeth Lucy, b. 6 Dec. 1845; bpd. 24 Oct. 1847; m. 14
            Dec. 1871, Calvin Corbitt, widower, b. 1832.
      (6b) Caroline, b. 1847; m. 27 Nov. 1878, Wallace Covert, master
            mariner, b. 1849.

Daniel Croscup

   Daniel[2] Croscup, Ludwick's second son, was b. in New York, 1770 and
d. 24 Dec. 1863; bur. at Christ Church Cemetery, in Karsdale. He was
a farmer. He married twice. In 1808, he m. Lucy Hall, daughter of John
and Elizabeth Pritchard Hall. She was b. 1787; d. 1815; bur. at Stoney Point
Cemetery. On 5 Aug. 1824, he m. Sarah Quereau, daughter of Joshua
Quereau. She was b. 1792; d. 19 Feb. 1882. He had six children by his first
wife:
      (1a) Mary, m. 31 Jan. 1823, Joseph Anderson, son of Isaac.
      (2a) Atalanta, b. 1809; bpd. 25 Sept. 1839; m. 9 Dec. 1828, Isaac Bogart
            of Saint John, N.B. He was b. 1806. They had three children:
            (1b) George William, b. 7 July 1830; bpd. 6 Oct. 1839.

(2b) Lucy, b. 21 July 1831; bpd. Sept. 1839; d. 6 Oct 1839.

(3b) Joseph Henry, b. 9 Mar. 1835; bpd. 6 Oct. 1839.

(3a) George, a sea captain, b. 1810; bpd. 16 June 1864; d. 14 June 1886;
m. 10 Jan. 1833, Maria Jane **Bogart**, daughter of Luke and Eva
(Helms) Bogart. She was b. 1811; d. 7 Jan. 1900. They had three
daughters:

(1b) Lucy Elizabeth, b. 15 Apr. 1834; bpd. 31 Jan. 1839; m. 3 Jan.
1854, Samuel **Fowler**.

(2b) Atalanta, b. 21 Aug. 1841; bpd. 1 May 1842; m. 13 Sept. 1861,
John **Boaker** [Bohaker?].

(3b) Melissa, b. 30 Nov. 1844; bpd. 9 Nov. 1845; m. 11 July 1861,
John⁵ **Croscup** (Stephen⁴, John³, John², Ludwick¹).

(4a) William, b. 1811; bpd. 19 Feb. 1888; d. 7 Mar. 1888; bur. at Christ
Church Cemetery, Karsdale; m. 15 Aug. 1844, Hannah Amelia
Shaffner, daughter of James and Esther³ (Croscup) (John², Ludwick¹)
Shaffner. She was b. 6 June 1820; bpd. 19 June 1861; d. 10 Jan.
1913; bur. at Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale. They had four
children:

(1b) Lucretia, b. 8 Feb. 1846; d. 17 Apr. 1906; bur. at Paradise
Cemetery; m. 2 May 1867, Captain Israel L. **Delap**. He was
b. 1841; d. 1891 of yellow fever on the West Coast of Africa;
bur. at Paradise Cemetery. They had one daughter:

(1c) Mary, b. 1880.

(2b) Mary Hester (Esther), b. 22 Dec. 1847; d. 24 May 1871 of
consumption at South Williamston; m. 13 June 1867, William
Judson **Shaffner**, son of John and Rebecca (Bishop) Shaffner.
He was b. 20 Jan. 1838; d. 26 May 1914 at South Williamston.
They had two children:

(1c) Edgar Croscup, b. 25 Aug. 1868.

(2c) Caroline, b. 1 Jan. 1871; d. 21 Jan. 1956; m. 22 Oct.
1890, Frederick William **Bishop**, son of William and
Martha Jane (Durgin) Bishop. He was b. 10 Apr. 1866;
d. 17 Nov. 1959; bur. at Paradise Cemetery. They had
four children:

(1d) William Reginald, b. 3 Dec. 1891; d. Nov. 1987;
provided oral information to the author of this
article, concerning the Croscup Room.

(2d) Edgar Stanley, b. 16 Jan. 1894; d. 22 Sept. 1956.

(3d) Marion Esther, b. 16 Jan. 1902; m. 24 May 1924,
Ralph Henderson **Beard**. He was b. 28 Feb. 1897
at Natick, Mass.; d. 24 Aug. 1978 at Middleton.
Mrs. Beard also provided much oral information
concerning the Croscup Room.

(4d) Frederick Irving, b. 27 July 1904.

(3b) James Johnston, b. 2 Apr. 1850; bpd. 14 June 1852; d. 27 Oct.
1885; m. 12 Jan. 1876, Georgina **Winchester**. They had a
daughter:

(1c) Mildred May, b. 21 Jan. 1883.

(4b) Joseph Howe, b. 15 July 1854; d. 1 Mar. 1918; m. 4 Jan. 1877,
Julia Drew **Robblee**. She was b. 13 July 1859; d. 9 Mar. 1924;
bur. at Christ Church Cemetery, Karsdale. They had several
children, including:

(1c) Howard Truesdale Croscup, b. 1878; d. 1958; bur. at
Round Hill Cemetery.

(2c) James W., b. 1884/5; d. 22 May 1898; bur. at Karsdale
Cemetery.

(5a) Daniel, b. 1811; d. 1824.

(6a) Lucy, b. 1814; m. 29 Oct. 1833, Horatio Nelson **Bogart**, son of
Luke and Eva (Helms) Bogart; he was b. 1807.

Daniel had three children by his second wife, Sarah Quereau:

(7a) Sarah Elizabeth, b. 1825; d. 20 Apr. 1849; m. 3 Oct. 1848, Edward
Shaffner, b. 10 Oct. 1818.

(8a) Daniel, b. 1826; d. 3 Oct. 1902, unm.

(9a) Susan Ann, b. 1832; d. 21 May 1912; m. 1 Jan. 1852, Robert **Purdy**,
son of Elijah and Mary Elizabeth Henrietta (Schenk) Purdy. He
was b. 1825; d. 20 Apr. 1858.

George Croscup

George Croscup was b. in New York in 1778 and d. 12 Mar. 1848 at Lower
Granville. He was a farmer. On 11 Oct. 1809 he m. Martha **Hall**, daughter
of John and Elizabeth Pritchard Hall; she was b. 1790 and d. 20 Sept. 1875.
They had two sons:

(1a) John William, b. 1810; m. Armanilla **Ricketson**.
(2a) John Henry, b. 1812; d. 1893; m. firstly, Eliza **Hall**, who d. Aug. 1877; m. secondly, 2 May 1886, Mary E. **Duers**, widow, b. 1848/49. Issue by Eliza Hall, probably incomplete:
  (1b) Joshua Cogswell, b. 26 Nov. 1837; m. 7 Jan. 1858, Elizabeth **Bogart**. They had three children:
    (1c) Eliza Teresiti, b. 3 Jan. 1861; bpd. 5 May 1861.
    (2c) Emma Jane, b. 1 Jan. 1863; bpd. 19 Jan. 1863.
    (3c) Horace Basil Sr., b. 23 Feb. 1866; bpd. 23 Aug. 1876; m. 9 Aug. 1893, Fannie Wallace **Knowles**, b. 1870/71. They had four children:
      (1d) Horace Basil Jr., b. 14 Mar. 1894, bpd. 15 May 1909; m. Marie Thecla (**Bonin**) Ryan. Family moved to Ontario.
      (2d) Mildred Elizabeth, b. 15 June 1895; bpd. 15 May 1909; d. 1 Dec. 1917, unm.
      (3d) Lillian Wentworth, b. 6 May 1897; bpd. 15 May 1909.
      (4d) Paul Cogswell, b. 5 Dec. 1900; bpd. 15 May 1909.

Ludwick Croscup

Loudavick or Ludwick Croscup was b. in New York, 1782 and d. 17 Sept. 1863; bur. at Lower Granville. He was a farmer. On 19 Oct. 1807 he m. Elizabeth **Calkins**. She was b. 1778 and d. 27 Apr. 1864 at Lower Granville. They had six children:
(1a) George Simpson, b. 25 Nov. 1808; d. 10 Nov. 1874, unm.
(2a) Lodiwick Zebediah, b. 9 Nov. 1810; d. 3 Aug. 1883 at Bear River; m. Mary **Bogart**. She was b. 1816; d. 24 July 1897; bur. at Bear River. He was the Customs Collector at Bear River.
(3a) Ezekiel Henry, b. 18 Sept. 1813; d. 14 Oct. 1898; bur. at Bear River; m. firstly, 31 Jan. 1839, Anne **Bent**, who was b. 1820 and d. 28 June 1843, by whom he had a son:
  (1b) William Henry, b. 14 Dec. 1839; bpd. 15 Nov. 1840.
  Ezekiel m. secondly Eliza Ann **Crouse** Chute, daughter of John H. Crouse and Sarah E. (Beeler) Crouse from Bear River. She was

b. 7 Oct. 1816; d. 15 Mar. 1900 at Bear River. Ezekiel was Eliza's second husband; she had previously been married to Nelson Chute, who died. Ezekiel and Eliza had four sons.

(4a) Joseph William, b. 1 Oct. 1818; d. 27 Dec. 1908; m. Hannah W. **Cutten**. She was b. 1830; d. 20 Jan. 1887. They had two sons:

(1b) Howard L., b. 1853; bur. at sea 13 Oct. 1872.

(2b) Fenwick Williams, b. Jan. 1857; d. 6 June 1861.

(5a) Mary Ann, b. 1822; d. 28 June 1877, unm.

(6a) Caroline Elizabeth, b. 24 May 1829; bpd. 1 Nov. 1841; m. 22 Jan. 1852, Captain John Henry **Bogart**. He was b. 1829; d. 4 Mar. 1881 at Rotterdam. They had a son:

(1b) John Bron Bogart, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S., b. 19 Sept. 1859; d. 17 Jan. 1939.

Select Bibliography

The preceding genealogy was developed using the following sources, available at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia:

MG 4.   Records of Granville Township, 1779-1876, including Anglican registers (BP 1790-1800, 1828-1918; M 1814-1882; BU 1828-1918).

MG 5.   A.E. Marble Collection, Annapolis County Cemeteries.

Calnek, W.A. *History of the County of Annapolis.* 1897.

Chute, W.E. *A Genealogy and History of the Chute Family in America.* 1894.

Dexter, Ormonde P. *Dexter Genealogy.* 1904.

Book Reviews and Notes

Allen B. Robertson

Annotated Bibliography of Genealogical Works in Canada/Bibliographie annotée d'ouvrages généalogiques au Canada, by Kathleen Mennie-de Varennes. ISBN 0-88902-911-3 (Vol. 1). 6 volumes. Fitzhenry & Whiteside, Markam, Ont., 1986. Co-published by the National Library of Canada, hardcover, $50.00 each volume.

Baptists in Canada 1760-1990: A Bibliography of Selected Printed Resources in English, by Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood, George A. Rawlyk, Jarold K. Zeman. ISBN 0-88999-399-8. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1989. xix + 266 pp., softcover, $8.95. Volume 10 in the series Baptist Heritage in Canada.

Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History, ed. by Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Ralph J. Crandall. ISBN 0-86554-168-X. Mercer University Press, Macon, GA, 1986. xv + 332 pp., hardcover, $28.50.

Impressions of Cape Breton, ed. by Brian Tennyson. ISBN 0-920336-36-1. University College of Cape Breton Press, Sydney, N.S., 1986. xxiii + 291 pp., softcover, $14.95.

Tempered By Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces, ed. by James H. Morrison and James Moreira. ISBN 0-919001-54-8. Pottersfield Press, Porter's Lake, N.S., 1988. 159 pp., illustrated, softcover, $13.95.

Work, Ethnicity, and Oral History, ed. by Dorothy E. Moore and James H. Morrison. ISBN 0-921793-02-2. International Education Centre, Halifax, N.S., 1988. xii + 242 pp., softcover, $13.95. Issues in Ethnicity and Multiculturalism Series, No. 1.

Anyone who has found it necessary to do special research appreciates the value of bibliographies or collections of articles on a common theme. The increasingly frequent practice of publishing conference papers together in a single volume both permits ready access to new scholarship and creates a bibliography for the main subject at the same time. Genealogists and writers of local histories have made less use of such resources than should be the case. Academics have availed themselves of these guides as a matter of their professional training either in history, sociology or even

in the sciences. The books chosen for this review, it is hoped, will intrigue the general reader. If he comes away convinced that something is missing in his personal library next to the dictionary and/or Julie Morris's *Tracing Your Ancestors in Nova Scotia*, then he will be the richer for knowing how to learn more about this province.

The six-volume *Annotated Bibliography of Genealogical Works in Canada* does go along way to meet its author's intention. Kathleen Mennie-de Varennes as a reference librarian recognized the need for a national genealogical bibliography. It provides easy access for any researcher in any province to a list of published family histories across Canada. The citizens of this country have been very mobile, even during the colonial era. A history of an Ontario family may add missing branches to the founding family line still in eastern Canada. The value of Mennie-de Varennes's, work soon becomes obvious.

Professional genealogists have at their finger-tips in the *Annotated Bibliography* a cross-country checking system. Librarians in the university or community setting similarly can refer their growing number of family historians to as comprehensive a guide as has been published to date. Volume 1 provides an appropriate introduction to the set, explains the symbols and arrangement employed, and sets forth the compact author/title listing. The remaining five volumes permit one to look up a specific family name and to see at a glance articles or books which have been written about it.

No bibliography is ever complete. The time-lag between research and publication always leaves the most recent addition to research on a family to be included--in the case of the *Annotated Bibliography*--in a future supplemental volume. In this specific instance, no work after 1980 will be found in Mennie-de Varennes's volumes. One learns, however, to ignore such inconvenience. Not so easily overlooked is a particular deficiency in the original bibliographic search. Libraries and the *Union List of Manuscripts* were consulted for selected holdings on family histories. There is no mention, however, of contact with any provincial archives in Atlantic Canada. From a Nova Scotian perspective, this means that the published *Inventory of Manuscripts for the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* (1976), with its list of holdings in Manuscript Group 1, Papers of Families and Individuals, has been omitted.

The *Annotated Bibliography* does contain (Vol. 1) a list of periodicals and genealogical societies. Though the *Collections* of the Royal Nova Scotia Histor-

ical Society were tapped for genealogical material, one will look in vain for family histories which have appeared in the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly* or *Nova Scotia Historical Review*. As a result, one will locate some useful entries for several Nova Scotian families, yet be disappointed at many gaps. A supplemental volume would certainly be needed to correct this deficiency.

One can turn from the flawed though highly valuable Mennie-de Varennes volumes to a bibliography both Maritime-based and national in scope. *Baptists in Canada 1760-1990* was created to make available to scholars and the general laity a resource guide for Baptist studies. Input was received from Baptist centres from the east to west coasts. The three editors, Griffin-Allwood, Rawlyk and Zeman had to be selective to avoid producing an unwieldy book; local church histories and brief newspaper articles therefore had to be excluded. Nonetheless, *Baptists in Canada* is a true handbook for researchers. Topical arrangement and a name index increase its ease of use.

Historians and genealogists alike can mine this denominational publication for biographies. The latter are contained in general histories such as E.M. Saunders's *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (1902), or individual studies. The choice of the latter list is selective, and one wonders on what criteria the individuals were chosen. It may surprise some readers to find John G. Diefenbaker's three-volume *Memoirs* included in the "Bibliographical Sources" section. This is one of the bonuses of using a check-list such as *Baptists in Canada*.

Bibliographies are the foundation of any proper approach to research. *Baptists in Canada*, as the first source guide of its kind for the denomination in Canada, and the *Annotated Bibliography* both fill a very real need. It is unfortunate that bibliographies are not published frequently enough to meet the demands of researchers. An alternative has been to consult collections of articles which in their documentation provide insightful guides to source materials. Often these books are the result of conferences on specific themes. Three volumes which provide those sources, while at the same time presenting Nova Scotians with thought-provoking articles, are *Generations and Change, Tempered By Rum* and *Work, Ethnicity and Oral History*.

Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History is an American publication which brings together the expertise of social historians and family researchers. The result illustrates the value of exchanging methodologies of related fields which can offer new insight into the family, local

communities and cultural traditions. The applicability of some of the methods employed is worth serious consideration in the Nova Scotian context.

The reader should be drawn to the book by its three main internal divisions: "Bridging History and Genealogy," "Genealogical Approaches to Community and Family Research," and "Genealogy in Migration Research." Historians of pre- and post-Confederation Nova Scotia, concerned with settlement patterns and the various waves of immigrants can appreciate May, Bean and Skolnick's, "The Stability Ratio: An Index of Community Cohesiveness in Nineteenth-Century Mormon Towns," and Virginia Anderson's, "Migration, Kinship, and the Integration of Colonial New England Society." So often the assumptions of popular or academic histories can be corrected only by in-depth analysis of a community or groups of families. The ebb and flow of a town's population reveal much about that community's ability to absorb increases in labourers, the availability of physical space for housing, and the degree to which the community as a whole is willing to make new-comers welcome.

"The Stability Ratio," for example, contrasts the high degree of population stability in a Mormon centre compared to seventeenth-century colonial Andover, Massachusetts. The latter, in a study by Philip Greven Jr. (*Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts,* 1970), revealed the pressures imposed on limited land by an agricultural society, and the resulting solution achieved through the hiving-off of new settlements away from the old centre. The authors of the "The Stability Ratio" saw the missionary zeal of Mormonism as a strong influence in curbing settlers' desires to move on to California or to the industrial northeastern Atlantic coast.

Nova Scotian communities could be placed--and a few have been--under scrutiny, using similar methodology as in "The Stabiltiy Ratio." One can consult Alan A. Brookes's two articles in *Acadiensis* on the out-flow of citizens in the nineteenth century ("The Golden Age and the Exodus: the Case of Canning, Kings County," 11, no. 1 [1981]: 57-82; "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900," 5, no. 2 [Spring 1976]: 26-55). Here the work of genealogists, as well as collections of family papers in archival repositories, waits to be tapped by social historians. Just how strong were kinship ties in maintaining links among families whose members scattered

to different provinces or countries? The great nineteenth-century migration to the "Boston States" by Maritimers offers additional scope for exploration, in its effects on those generations who chose to stay at home.

Anderson's study of migration and kinship suggests that the exchange of marriageable couples among communities in a state (compare this to a province, or a county in Nova Scotia) helped to create an integrated, regional identity. Studies of Halifax Methodist merchants by this reviewer, for example, show that in our own province the countryside and city in the 1800s were linked in a familial and denominational network. Far more needs to be done, of course, to verify the universality of this finding for all communities or time periods in Nova Scotia.

Finally, though this review cannot list all the articles in *Generations and Change*, mention must be made of David H. Fischer's contribution. His "Forenames and the Family in New England: An Exercise in Historical Onomastics" is a delight to read. The article focuses on the reasons for choosing forenames (that is, Christian names). Religious and political beliefs, changes in fashion, and the desire for continuity of tradition all play a part. Fischer is a serious scholar, yet he can be forgiven for having fun with certain unforgettable choices. The Boston family which included the children *Cannon* Ball, *Pistol* Ball and *Gun* Ball surely ranks as an unusual household.

Topics bearing directly on Maritime history can be found in *Tempered By Rum* and *Work, Ethnicity and Oral History*. The former brings together several articles on the more than three hundred years in which rum has figured in the provincial economy. West Indian trade, naval traditions (the rum 'tot') and Prohibition are all discussed, giving an indication of the range of topics included in this well-illustrated collection. The strictly economic aspects of the rum trade are examined in detail by D.A. Sutherland ("Canada and the Caribbean Connection: The Post-Confederation Era"), Julian Gwyn (" 'The End of an Era' : Rum, Sugar and Molasses in the Economy of Nova Scotia, 1770-1854") and in "Rum in the Maritimes' Economy during the Prohibition Era," by Ernest Forbes. Nor should one neglect the relationship of the Temperance movement to the rum trade, as outlined in contributions by Gary Hartlen, John MacLeod and Judith Fingard. Naval architectural students will be taken with D.A. Walker's "Rum-Running and Vessel Design." Finally, the items by Peter Latta, Max Reid, C. Mark Davis and James Morrison round out this multi-faceted volume.

The reader must determine for himself where to begin reading *Tempered By Rum*. As a personal choice, this reviewer recommends Hartlen's " 'From a Torrent to a Trickle' A Case Study of Rum Imports and the Temperance Movement in Liverpool, N.S." In choosing one community, Hartlen has been able to trace the decline of rum importation and the rise of Total Abstinence societies. He is justifiably cautious in not attributing to the latter movement the sole reason for a decrease in the rum business. His observation that various Abstinence or Temperance members, particularly merchants, belonged to evangelical denominations is crucial in any account of the transition from private temperance to community consensus in favour of Total Abstinence.

Liverpool was not the only Nova Scotia community to be overtaken by the Total Abstinence Movement. " 'From a Torrent to a Trickle' " offers, therefore, a comparative base for investigations of the phenomenon in other towns or villages. In the same way that Hartlen's article and those of his colleagues provide food for thought, the contributions to *Work, Ethnicity and Oral History* raise important questions in the three areas addressed by that particular conference.

The twenty-seven articles in *Work, Ethnicity and Oral History* vary from advanced studies to preliminary investigations. Seven thematic sections form the book's framework. These include papers on ethnicity in Nova Scotia, special concerns of the Black community, work and gender, the role of religion in ethnic communities, oral and written sources for specialized history, song as the workers' expression of self, and ethnicity in Canada at large. One can say that there is a feast of scholarship in the exploration of Nova Scotia's labour and minority heritage.

Most of the articles in *Work, Ethnicity and Oral History* are quite brief (4-5 pages). The participants at the Baddeck, N.S., conference obviously were challenged to be concise and compact in their presentations. One might have wished for greater expansion on a number of topics, however; quality is not necessarily an advantage if 'brevity' is translated as 'snippets' of information. In addition, although the papers cover a wide variety of subjects relevant to ethnic groups, in keeping with the multiculturalism theme of the conference, one is struck by a major omission. Once more the English have been ignored in the definition of 'multicultural'. The Scots receive attention in the context of language and custom (a Gaelic people), as do the Irish. But what of those inhabitants of the province descended from

English or New England immigrants? A truly inclusive definition of multi-culturalism must be employed in future to correct this oversight.

Having stated reservations about this collection, it can yet be praised for bringing together articles on more recent immigrants to Nova Scotia. Eastern European Jewish immigrants, Italians and Greeks are more a part of twentieth-century history of the province than earlier waves of settlers; histories of the province tend to ignore them, then, unless these surveys are post-Confederation studies. Even here one must exercise caution. Western (Sephardic rite) Jews have been associated with Halifax, for example, almost from its founding in 1749. Individual Polish settlers are known to have been in Nova Scotia since the early 1800s; the Wrobleicki name, for example, was in the Liverpool area prior to Confederation. *Work, Ethnicity and Oral History* is a necessary starting point to push backward into the past. It reminds us as well that memory, both oral and written, is the only way to carry that inheritance into the future.

Brian Tennyson's collection of travel descriptions and related documents of Cape Breton from 1634 to 1942 is a marvellous way to travel in time. *Impressions of Cape Breton* is a commendable set of excerpts, in which visitors and inhabitants alike discuss everything from geography to customs. Tennyson's scholarly format in no way detracts from enjoyment of the book, nor indeed should sound editing and documentation be lessened to increase 'reader appeal.' If anything, there is a pressing need for source citations, bibliographies and thematic organization in many recent local histories (including several genealogies) published in the Maritimes.

Impressions of Cape Breton carries the reader over the centuries. Through the eyes of French explorers, English cartographers, the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia and the wife of a Governor-General, a multitude of impressions are left for us with which to glimpse the past--keeping in mind, of course, that such vignettes can be just as revealing of the authors' own backgrounds, prejudices and interests. Here is a book which can be read from the beginning, end or middle with equal enjoyment. It earns the highest praise.

In the foregoing six collections, the reader is invited to explore new contributions to local history, investigate examples of past Nova Scotians' experiences, and use helpful resources available to further studies in both those areas. These books have only to be taken down from the shelf to open doors to Nova Scotia's rich and varied cultural heritage.

Book Notes

The Bench: The History of Nova Scotia's Provincial Courts, by R.E. Kimball, with Timothy T. Daley. ISBN 0-88871-122-0. Province of Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1989. xv + 210 pp., illustrated, hardcover, $25.00.

Kimball provides an engaging account of judicial activity (1938-88) at the municipal level. It is well documented and offers a "Who's Who" of Provincial and Family Court judges. Timothy Daley's brief Family Court essay compliments the lead article. Both authors have created a fine tribute for the Provincial Courts' anniversary.

The Great Naval Battle of Ottawa, by David Zimmerman. ISBN 0-8020-2687-7. University of Toronto Press, 1989. xii + 250 pp., illustrated, hardcover, $24.95.

A thoughtful reassessment of Canadian naval technology during W.W. II. The author faults struggles between the National Research Council, politicians and RCN administrators for hobbling Canadian naval potential. Angus L. Macdonald and Halifax will draw Nova Scotians to this in-depth study.

History of Cape Negro & Blanche, by Joseph R. Ross. 2nd ed., revised. Passage Print & Litho, Barrington Passage, N.S., [1987]. ii + 233 pp., illustrated, softcover, $14.95. Available from the author, or A Pair of Trindles Bookshop, Halifax.

Ross's volume provides an informal local history of these communities in Shelburne County. Reminiscences, historical vignettes and family sketches provide several enjoyable sections. Church records and a house-by-house description of past residents are bonuses for the researcher, in addition to the old photographs and maps.

Island Keepers, by Allison Mitcham. ISBN 0-88999-383-1. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1989. 181 pp., illustrated, softcover, $9.95.

Two exceptional brothers, James and Philip Dodd, and two notorious ships' graveyards, Sable and Scatarie Islands, are the subjects of Mitcham's ninth book. A revealing look at life-saving stations in the early 1800s and decidedly alternative life-styles.

Israel Longworth's History of Colchester County, Nova Scotia circa 1886, ed. by Sandra Creighton. ISBN 0-9693757-0-0. Bob and Ada Mingo, Truro, N.S., 1989. 183 pp., softcover, $12.95.

Mount Allison University permitted Creighton to edit this little-known history for all to enjoy. Longworth's *Colchester* joins familiar Nova Scotian county histories, to be mined by genealogists and historians. A 'must' for the local history section of any library.

Land of My Fathers: Shelburne County, Nova Scotia's Early Welsh Families, by Heather D. Atkinson and Eleanor R. Smith. ISBN 0-9691913-2-4. Stoneycroft Publishing, Yarmouth, N.S., 1989. 136 pp., illustrated, softcover, $12.95 + $2.00 postage and handling, from The Shelburne County Genealogical Society, Box 688, Shelburne, N.S. B0T 1W0.

This project of the Shelburne County Genealogical Society is both a community and a genealogical study. The Davis, Jones, Richards and Thomas names are researched in scholarly fashion by the authors. A publication of which to be proud.

Nova Scotia
Department of Tourism and Culture