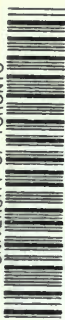


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Chapters in the History of Halifax

Nova Scotia

Rhode Island Settlers in Hants County

Nova Scotia

Alexander Mc Nutt the Colonizer

By

Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton

M.A., D.C.L.

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Captain General and Governor in Chief, etc., of the Province
of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and Colonel of
one of His Majesty's Regiments of Foot

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Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

NO. I—THE FOUNDING OF HALIFAX IN 1749

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

When England's power at last would be complete
On all the tide-washed shores of Acadie,
She sent Cornwallis with a friendly fleet
To found this goodly city by the sea.

Acadian Ballads.

THE history of Nova Scotia has an interest wholly disproportionate to the size and remote geographical position of the small peninsula which with the island of Cape Breton constitutes the present province bearing that name. Of the nine British provinces that compose the Dominion of Canada, Nova Scotia stands lowest but one in point of size, but on the stage which her comparatively small land area presents have been enacted some of the most striking events which find place in the drama of American history.¹ It was the peninsula of Nova Scotia that formed the chief part of the ancient French province of Acadia, it was here that the first permanent European settlement except Jamestown, Virginia, was made, and it was from the wooden walls of this new world Port Royal, that the white flag of the Bourbons, proclaiming France's ownership of Acadia, long flew to

1. The province of Nova Scotia (with the island of Cape Breton) comprises 21,428 square miles, or 13,713,771 acres. It has a total population of 492,338. Of this number, 122,084 are in the island of Cape Breton, 370,254 in the peninsula. The city of Halifax, together with Dartmouth, its main suburb (across the harbour), has a population of 51,677. The city itself, however, has only 46,619. Of other towns, Nova Scotia has but six that have populations of over five thousand, these are: Sydney, 17,723; Sydney Mines, 7,470; New Glasgow, 6,383; Truro, 6,107; Springhill, 5,713; North Sydney, 5,418.

the breeze. In the island of Cape Breton, which for many years now has been part of Nova Scotia, though it was originally not comprehended in Acadia, France reared her strongest fortress in the new world except Quebec, and it was in the present province of Nova Scotia at large, as at Louisburg and Beauséjour, that some of the most vigorous military movements which resulted in the complete overthrow of French power on the continent were pursued.

In the tragedy of the expulsion of the Acadians from the shores of Grand Pré in 1755, Longfellow found the theme for a narrative poem of remarkable beauty, the world-famed *Evangeline* , but almost from the beginning of New England, Boston enterprise had found play at various spots on the Acadian seacoast, and at last in 1760 a tide of New Englanders, from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, swept into Nova Scotia and made the desolate Acadian farms and many never previously cultivated places in the province blossom as the rose. At the Revolution, between 1775 and 1783, from thirty to thirty-five thousand Loyalists for a longer or shorter time found refuge in Nova Scotia, and here, in the old province, or in that part of it that in the latter year, on the demand of the Tories was set off as the province of New Brunswick, a very considerable number found all the scope that remained to them for the rest of their days for the distinguished abilities they had manifested in their native provinces—abilities which, directed in favor of England, had made them supremely hateful to the leaders of the American cause.

In the year 1749 George II. was on the throne of England and Louis XV. on the throne of France. On the eighteenth of October of the preceding year the long, wasteful struggle between France and England known as the “war of the Austrian Succession,” which began in 1744, had come to an end, and by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which signaled its close, the strong fortress of Louisburg, won to England chiefly by the fierce determination of New England militia troops in 1745, in exchange for Madras had been blindly restored by the British plenipotentiaries to France. In England the inglorious Pelham ministry was in power, and in France Madame de Pompadour

was at the height of her influence over the volatile king, whose subjects were having a short breathing spell before the beginning of another seven years war. In New England, William Shirley, the most powerful Englishman in America, whose influence as an adviser of the crown and a director of American affairs had been conspicuously felt here before the beginning of the then recent war, and had contributed more than that of any other public servant of the crown to the final overthrow of French power on the continent, was governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay.

At the head of Annapolis Basin, on the Bay of Fundy shore of Nova Scotia, stood the scattered village and dilapidated fortress of Annapolis Royal, which since the destruction by a French force from Louisburg under Du Vivier, in May, 1744, of the small garrison at Canso, and the removal of the men as prisoners to Louisburg, had been the only important centre of English influence in the whole province. Of other inhabitants of English extraction and speech, save about the fort of Annapolis Royal, there were very few, and these scattering New England fishermen and small traders and in Cumberland, miners, who probably, for the most part, in winter returned to their New England homes.

The successful campaign, which included in its scope every position where the French had strongly entrenched themselves throughout America, was planned and in large measure carried out under the direct supervision of Shirley. In Cape Breton the fortress of Louisburg frowned threateningly not only on the British ownership of Acadia, but on "his Majesty's interest and the security and prosperity of the colonies of New England," and second in importance to that, within the confines of Nova Scotia, was Fort Beauséjour, near the isthmus of Chignecto, in what is now the county of Cumberland in this historic province. The destruction of both forts was in Shirley's plan of campaign, and inspired by his determination and roused to greater action by racial antagonism and religious zeal, New England militia troops, assisted at Louisburg by British war-ships, in 1745 effected the overthrow of Louisburg, and ten years later made successful capture of the lesser fort. To determine prop-

erly the direct responsibility for the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, it is necessary to read carefully the correspondence of Shirley with his superiors in England and his fellow crown officials in the various American colonies. The question of how best to neutralize the influence of the French in Nova Scotia, so that in any future designs France might have on the new world they should be harmless, was frequently in Shirley's mind, and, as is well known, his proposal for a long time was to distribute people of British allegiance among the French in Nova Scotia so thickly that through intermarriage and in other ways the loyalty of the latter to France should be weakened and the hold of England upon them gain greater strength.

That it was Shirley's immediate suggestion that determined the home government finally to establish a civil government and create a strong strategic military centre at the Nova Scotia point where Halifax stands we are not explicitly told, but we can hardly believe that the plan was first presented to the British ministers by any one else. In any case, in 1747 the ministry requested Shirley to draw up a plan for civil government for Nova Scotia, and in February, 1748, the governor submitted to the Duke of Bedford such a plan. His plan was of a charter government, and was not accepted, but a year later, in February, 1749, Louisburg again being in French hands, and the French ministry having by no means given up the idea of some day recapturing Acadia, the government did adopt a plan, which in the meantime had been devised, for establishing such civil government, for that purpose sending out a large body of colonists to Chebucto Bay, as Halifax Harbour was then called, to create a town. In pursuance of this plan, the following March the Lords of Trade published in the *London Gazette* an advertisement calling for volunteers for the enterprise.

The substance of the proclamation was also soon published in French and German newspapers, the terms offered being briefly, a free passage and support for twelve months after landing; arms and necessary utensils; the establishment of a secure civil government; lands in fee simple, free from payment of quit-rents or taxes for the period of ten years,—fifty acres to be awarded every private soldier or seaman, with ten acres for

every person in his household, eighty acres to be given every officer under the rank of ensign in the land service, and of lieutenant in the sea service, and fifteen acres to each person in his household, while ensigns were to receive two hundred acres each, lieutenants three hundred, captains four hundred, and officers above the rank of captains six hundred, all the members of the households of these various officers to receive thirty acres apiece. Surgeons, it is declared in this prospectus, whether they have been engaged in his Majesty's service or not, are to fare in the distribution of lands as ensigns in the service. For the expense of this scheme parliament voted a subsidy of forty thousand pounds sterling.

The special encouragement given soldiers and sailors in this proclamation of the Lords of Trade was of course due to the fact that at the termination of the war with France a large number of both had been thrown out of employment and needed to have some provision made for them. The advertisement in the *London Gazette* begins: "A proposal having been presented under his Majesty, for establishing a civil government in the province of Nova Scotia, in North America, as also for the better peopling and settling the said Province, and extending and improving the fishery thereof, by granting lands within the same, and giving other encouragement to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed his Majesty's land and sea service, as shall be willing to settle in the said province; and his Majesty having signified his Royal approbation of the purport of the said proposals, the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by his Majesty's command give notice that proper encouragement will be given to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed from his Majesty's land and sea service, and to artificers necessary in building or husbandry, as are willing to accept of grants of land, and to settle, with or without families, in the province of Nova Scotia."

Chebucto Bay, now Halifax Harbour, lies on the southeast coast of Nova Scotia. It is a magnificent harbour, about six miles long by a mile wide, with excellent anchorage in all parts, and in spite of its northern latitude is open for navigation all the year round. In the north, a narrow passage connects it with

what is called Bedford Basin, a lovely sheet of water, six miles long by four wide, and deep enough for the largest men of war to enter, and on this harbour it was proposed to locate the new Nova Scotia town. Chebucto Bay was of course well known to European voyagers to the province, and only recently, in 1746, it had been the refuge of the melancholy fleet of M. de la Rochefoucauld, Duc d'Anville, when, on its way to seize the forts of Louisburg and Annapolis, attacked by storm and pestilence, it had been forced to anchor in Bedford Basin until, though wretchedly depleted, it had regained strength to return to France. In anticipation of the settlement, the government had taken pains to acquaint itself intimately with the harbour and the coast near it, shortly before the project took final shape employing Captain, afterwards Admiral, Philip Durell, who had commanded one of Warren's ships at Louisburg in 1745, in making a careful survey of both.²

Command of the new expedition was given to the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, M. P. for Eye (a borough long in the hands of the Cornwallis family), sixth son of Baron Charles Cornwallis, and his wife Lady Charlotte Butler, whose father was Richard Earl of Arran. Colonel Cornwallis, who was born February 22, 1713, had served as major of the Twentieth regiment in Flanders in 1744 and 1745, and in the latter year had been appointed lieutenant-colonel of his regiment. On the decease of his brother Stephen he was chosen for Eye, and during the session of parliament following was made a groom of his Majesty's bedchamber. On the ninth of May, 1749, he became colonel of the Twenty-fourth regiment, and received the appointment of

2. In a letter of Governor Cornwallis to the Duke of Bedford of July 23, 1749, we find Cornwallis saying: "As perhaps no copies were taken of the Plans sent me of the Harbour, I send along with this a copy of Durell's plan." Of this plan of Durell's, Cornwallis in another letter says, "the two points that make the entrance to Bedford Bay are marked as the places proper to fortify." In his correspondence with the Lords of Trade the governor also refers to "a copy of Durell's Plan of the Harbour and Bay."

Admiral Philip Durell, as "Captain Durell," commanded the *Eesham*, one of Warren's ships at the first taking of Louisburg. In Boscawen's fleet at Halifax, in May, 1758, we once more find him as commander of the *Princess Amelia*, 80 tons. April 4, 1759, General Jeffery Amherst writes to Governor Lawrence: "I wish Admiral Durell had had the men he wanted for his ships from the Massachusetts Government in the manner I desired, which Mr. Pownall I thought readily consented to; I fear it will fall on the Regiments to give him men to get out or he will be too late, and the regiments will suffer by it."

Governor of Placentia, in Newfoundland, and Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia or Acadia.³

To the government's proclamation so large a number of people responded, not only soldiers and sailors retired from active service, but mechanics of various sorts, and farmers, that early in May, 1749, a fleet consisting of thirteen transports and a sloop of war, carrying in all 2,576 persons, set sail from England for Chebucto Bay. In about a month some of these anchored at Chebucto, some, however, not arriving until late in June. The ships in the fleet were the *Spinx*, war sloop, which brought Cornwallis and his suite, the frigates *Charlton* and *Cannon*, and the ships *Winchelsea*, *Wilmington*, *Merry Jacks*, *Alexander*, *Beaufort*, *Roehampton*, *Everly*, *London*, *Brotherhood*, *Baltimore*, and *Fair Lady*. Of the settlers conveyed in these ships there were two majors in the army, one foot-major and commissary, six captains, nineteen lieutenants, and three ensigns. Of retired naval men and others there were three lieutenants, five lieutenants of privateers, twenty-three midshipmen, one cadet, one artificer, five volunteers, one purser, one engineer, fifteen surgeons, one lieutenant and surgeon, ten surgeon's mates and assistants, one surgeon's pupil, one clergyman (Rev. William Anwyl), one "gentleman and schoolmaster" (John Baptiste Moreau), one commissary, one brewer and merchant, one attorney, several "gentlemen," four governor's clerks, and one clerk of stores. Of the total number of settlers the number of adult males was 1,546, five hundred of these being former men-of-war sailors. Among the names of the colonists that in the progress of the settlement became more or less prominent were Richard Bulkeley, Alexander Callendar, John Collier, John Creighton, Robert Ewer, John Galland, Archibald Hinchelwood,

3. In 1757, Colonel Cornwallis was advanced to the rank of major-general and in 1760 to lieutenant-general. On his retirement from Nova Scotia he went to England and was unanimously elected to parliament from Westminster, which constituency he represented for a few years until he was appointed Governor of Gibraltar. Edward Cornwallis was an uncle of Charles Cornwallis, first marquis and second earl, who from 1776 until the close of the American war was in command of British troops in America, and later was Governor General of India. Edward Cornwallis married in 1753, Mary, daughter of Charles, second Lord Viscount Townsend, and died, without issue, December 29, 1776. See Collins's Peerage, Vol. 2.

William Nesbitt, Lewis Piers, and John Pyke, the last of whom is believed by his descendants to have been private secretary to Cornwallis.

Before reaching Chebucto, Cornwallis touched at Lunenburg, or Merligueche as it was called by the French. There he found a small French settlement, the people living in "tolerable wooden houses, covered with bark." They had a good many cattle and had cleared more land than they needed to cultivate, and Cornwallis says they were favourable to English rule and heard of the new settlement to be made at Chebucto with unfeigned joy.

The first site chosen for Halifax was "Sandwich Point," near the end of Point Pleasant, that spot being considered, as it was, very favourable for defence, especially since the North-West Arm, which the settlers named Sandwich River, was navigable for war ships to its very head. For at least a day the settlers worked there, cutting down trees, but the depth of water in front of the place, the exposure of the spot to the south-east gales, and "other inconveniences," led them to abandon it for the present site. The city of Halifax to-day extends, north, south, and west, far beyond its original limits, but in the beginning, Buckingham Street on the north and Salter Street on the south marked its utmost bounds. Regarding the location of the town Governor Cornwallis writes to the Duke of Bedford: "Your Grace will see that the place I have fixed for the town is on the west side of the harbour—'tis upon the side of a Hill which commands the whole Peninsula, and shelters the town from the Northwest winds. From the shore to the top of the hill is about half a mile, the ascent very gentle, the soil is good, there is convenient landing for Boats all along the Beach, and good anchorage within Gunshot of the shore for the largest Ships." On the spot finally chosen, John Brewse or Bruce, the English engineer who had come with the settlers, and Mr. Charles Morris, of Massachusetts, the government surveyor, were ordered to lay out the town. By the fourteenth of September the plan was completed and the lots appropriated to their respective owners. The town, says Dr. Akins, "was laid out in squares or blocks of 320 by 120 feet deep, the streets being 55 feet in width. Each block contained 16 town lots, 40 feet front

by 60 feet deep, and the whole was afterwards divided into five divisions or wards, called Callendar's, Galland's, Ewer's, Collier's, and Foreman's divisions, after the names of the persons who were appointed captains in the militia, each ward being large enough to supply one company." "Foreman's new division was afterwards added as far as the present Jacob Street. The north and south suburbs were surveyed about the same time, but the German lots in the north were not laid off till the year following."

For the first few weeks after reaching their destination, many of the colonists either remained on board the transports which had brought them, or found shelter under canvas or tarpaulin tents. In some instances, it is said, the trunks and boxes in which their goods had come "served as a temporary floor to protect them from the dampness of the ground." By the last of October about three hundred small one-story houses were scattered up and down the rocky hillside, between what are now Buckingham street on the north and Salter street on the south. Many of these houses were built of pickets, set up vertically in rows close together, on which boards were nailed, but for at least the governor's house and St. Paul's Church the frames were obtained from Boston. By the last of October also two forts were finished and a barricade around the town was completed. By March, 1750, Cornwallis had had the frame of a hospital erected, the sick until this time having been cared for on one of the ships. He had also in process a schoolhouse for orphan children, where these unfortunate little ones should be cared for until the boys were old enough to be apprenticed to fishermen. He was expecting soon from New England the frame of the church, which was to be an exact copy of Marylebone Chapel in London, and was to cost, by the estimate that had been sent him from Boston, a thousand pounds. In October, 1749, the town was named, with what formal ceremonies we do not know, for the Earl of Halifax, a nobleman then at the head of the Board of Trade.⁴

4. The Council of Trade and Plantations, created in 1695, and lasting until 1782, exercised an important control over mercantile matters at home and the settlement and trade of the colonies wherever they existed, and in 1748, George Montagu, Earl of Halifax, of not particularly happy memory, became president of this body. The exact date of the naming of Halifax is clear from the Governor's dispatches. Until the 17th of October, 1749, Cornwallis sends his letters from "Chebucto"; on the above date he first uses the name Halifax.

On the thirteenth of August, 1749, a sloop arrived from Liverpool, England, after nine weeks voyage, bringing a hundred and sixteen more settlers to the town. For these people two new streets were added, and more lots were assigned. In August, 1750, the colony was still further increased by the arrival of three hundred and fifty-three more English settlers in the ship *Alderney* (a vessel of five hundred and four tons), whom it was considered best to settle on the east side of the harbour, where until then there had been no settlement made. For these new arrivals, therefore, in the autumn of 1750, the town of Dartmouth was laid out, its name being given in honour of William Legge, first Earl of Dartmouth, a nobleman high in the favour of Queen Anne, who had made him in 1710, one of her principal secretaries of state, and in 1713 Lord Privy Seal.⁵

July 13, 1750, three hundred and twelve German Protestants from the Palatinate arrived in Halifax in the ship *Ann*. The British government had engaged a Rotterdam merchant, Mr. Johann Dick, to make contracts with such families or persons as he could find willing to settle in Nova Scotia, and to arrange for their transportation thither, and these German emigrants had been sent from Rotterdam by him.⁶ The provision made by government for maintaining the colony was not sufficient, and the coming of these new settlers gave Cornwallis and his council no little anxiety. As cold weather drew near the problem of their support became very serious, and through the long hard ensuing winter they were undoubtedly very poorly housed and fed. When spring opened they were set to work clearing land, building a

5. The Earl of Dartmouth died December 15, 1750, very soon after the Nova Scotia settlement bearing his name was formed.

6. Johann or John Dick, the Rotterdam merchant mentioned here, undertook to send over a thousand continental Protestants, at a guinea a head, and he seems to have fulfilled his agreement in a most unscrupulous way. He was later accused by Governor Hopson of having advised the poor emigrants whom he engaged, probably in order to secure more room on the ships, to sell even their bedding, before they embarked. On this account they were obliged during the whole tedious voyage to sleep on the bare decks or elsewhere without any beds or proper bed-coverings. Among the people he sent to Halifax were "many poor old decrepid creatures, both men and women, who were objects fitter to have been kept in almshouses than to be sent as settlers to work for their bread." When the people were landed there were over thirty of them who could not stir from the beach, eight of these being young orphans, who had to be put in an orphanage as soon as one was established.

battery and fort on George's Island, and constructing a palisade around the settlement of Dartmouth.

In 1751 and 1752 some thirteen hundred more foreign settlers came, the greater part of them Germans, but some Swiss, and some French from Montbelliard or Mumpolgärter, the capital city of an *arcndissement* in the French department of Doubs. Some Germans who came in the spring of 1751 the Council proposed to place at Dartmouth, opposite George's Island, and in preparation for locating them it sent Captain Charles Morris to survey the land. For some reason, however, the Germans were not located there. Six of the ships in which the settlers of 1751 and 1752 came were the *Pearl*, *Gale*, *Sally*, *Betty*, *Murdoch*, and *Swan*.

On the 28th of May, 1753, 1,453 of the German and French emigrants were sent by Governor Hopson, Cornwallis's successor, to Merligueche, where already, as we have seen, there were a few French settlers of the old Acadian population, favourable, however, to British rule. The fourteen transports on which they sailed from Halifax were under convoy of the provincial sloop *York*, commanded by Sylvanus Cobb, a New England sea-captain, who in 1755 was engaged in the removal of the Acadians, in 1758 conveyed General Wolfe to a reconnoitre at Louisburg, later made his home in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, but died at Havana in 1762. The first company of Germans who came to Halifax were from Lüneburg, the chief town of a district in the Prussian province of Hanover, and in recognition of their native place the settlement of Merligueche (or "Malagash") was now re-named *Lunenburg*.⁷ "I pitched upon Merlegash for the settlement of the foreigners," writes Governor Hopson to the Lords of Trade in July, 1753, "it was preferable to Musquodoboit, as there is a good harbour, which is wanting at Musquodo-

7. The departure of these German settlers from the Duchy of Lüneburg, in Hanover, says the Rev. Mr. Roth, a Lutheran clergyman once settled in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, is at once interesting and pathetic. "On the eve of departure they were summoned by the bell to their church and there for the last time they sang sacred songs of faith and trust, united in the prayers that were offered for their guidance and protection by the power of the Almighty, listened to the exhortations of their faithful pastor, and then amid the tears and farewells of their dearest friends took leave of the home of their childhood, the associations of their youth, and the land they were destined never to see again. Some of them came in extreme destitution and their sufferings in their new home were not few nor light."

boit. Had it been possible to have sent the settlers by land it would have been a great satisfaction to me to have saved the expense of hiring vessels, but on inquiring, found it absolutely impossible, not only as they would have had at least fifty miles to go through the woods but there is not any road."

The removal of the Halifax Germans in general to Lunenburg did not, however, take all of these foreigners who had come to the town. It is difficult to say how many remained, but the Rev. Dr. Partridge, historian of St. George's Parish, says that some twenty or twenty-five families who had received grants in the north and south suburbs of Halifax made their permanent homes there.

In a letter to the Lords of Trade, written August 20, 1749, Governor Cornwallis says that a good many people from Louisburg have settled in the town, and "several" from New England, and that he is told that over a thousand more New England people desire to come there before winter. "I have ordered," he says, "all vessels in the Government's service to give them passage." To his letter the Lords of Trade reply that they are very glad to hear that such numbers of people are preparing to come down from New England, and that they approve the measure he has taken to enable them to get a ready passage. Every acquisition of people, they say, will be an acquisition of strength, and they hope that the design of "the French Protestants from Martinico" to settle in Halifax may likewise take effect.⁸ In July, 1752, the governor had a census of the town taken, the various divisions being the North Suburbs, the South Suburbs, within the Town, within the Pickets, within the Town of Dartmouth, on the several islands and harbours employed in the fishery, and at the block house and the isthmus.⁹

As one reads the names of the citizens of Halifax as given in this census, one is struck by the number of New England, gen-

8. Cornwallis writes, August 20, 1749: "A French merchant has been here and proposed to bring some Protestant families from Martinico, with their effects, if I would give them encouragement, protection, and land. He has given me a list of their names, with what each of them is worth—he makes their fortunes amount to above £50,000 sterling. I have promised all kinds of protection and he is gone to get a passport at Louisburg. From thence he goes to Martinico, and thinks they shall be able to get here before winter." The Martinique Protestants never came. See Nova Scotia Archives, Vol. I, p. 579.

9. The whole number of the population as given in this census is 5,134.

erally Boston, names. Among such are, Fairbanks, Fillis, Gerish, Green, Lawson, Morris, Prescott, and Salter. That this should be so is not, however, at all strange, for ever since the final capture of Port Royal in 1710, which capture had been effected largely through New England troops, there had been constant close communication between Annapolis and Boston, while Canso, the extreme eastern point of the Nova Scotia peninsula, had long been a New England fishing and trading station, with warehouses for the storage of fish. At other places on the shores of Nova Scotia, and notably at Chebucto itself, single men, and perhaps families, from New England, had been more or less permanently located, gathering fish in summer, and selling goods in small quantities to the Acadians in return for the products of their toil. One Boston firm, indeed, had before 1749 secured a grant of four thousand acres at Chignecto, in what is now Cumberland county for the purpose of coal mining, and when Cornwallis came were more or less vigorously digging coal. By the lease granted this Boston company by the military government at Annapolis Royal, the firm receiving the privilege was required to pay the government a quit rent of one penny an acre.¹⁰ Of Malachy Salter of Halifax, who was a Boston born man, and who in the progress of the town came to be one of the most important men in trade, politics, and social life, the tradition is well established that he, and perhaps his family, had been settled at Chebucto some time before Cornwallis came.

Describing rather graphically the earliest condition of Halifax as a town, Dr. Beamish Murdoch in his valuable documentary history of Nova Scotia says: "Halifax in the summer and autumn of 1749 must have presented a busy and singular scene. The ship of war, and her discipline, the transports swarming

10. It is said that in 1733 no less than forty-six thousand quintals of dry fish were exported from Canso, and that at the most prosperous time of the fishery there in the summer season from fifteen hundred to two thousand men were employed in fishing. Even whale fishing, it is said, was carried on at Canso, though in a limited way; and the trade of enterprising New Englanders at this point with the French on the peninsula and Cape Breton shores, must have been very considerable, dry goods, and other articles of British or American manufacture for domestic use, as well as prints, vegetables, oats, shingles, bricks, flour, meal, and biscuits, being given in exchange for fish, oils, and furs.

Our statement concerning mining operations at Chignecto we have found in Brown's "History of Cape Breton."

with passengers who had not yet got shelter on land, the wide extent of wood in every direction, except a little spot hastily and partially cleared, on which men might be seen trying to make walls out of the spruce trees that grew on their house lots, the boats perpetually rowing to and from the shipping, and as the work advanced a little, the groups gathered around—the Englishman in the costume of the day, cocked hat, wig, knee-breeches, shoes with large glittering buckles; his lady with her hoop and brocades; the soldiers and sailors of the late war now in civilian dress, as settlers; the shrewd, keen, commercial Bostonian, tall, thin, wiry, supple in body, bold and persevering in mind, calculating on land grants, saw-mills, shipping of lumber, fishing profits; the unlucky *habitant* from Grand Pré or Piziquid, in homespun garb, looking with dismay at the numbers, discipline, and earnestness of the new settlers and their large military force,—large to him as he had known only the little garrison of Annapolis; the half wild Indian, made wilder and more intractable by bad advisers who professed to be his warmest friends; the men-of-war's men; the sailors of the transports, and perhaps some hardy fishermen seeking supplies, or led thither by curiosity,—of such various elements was the bustling crowd composed."

The arrival of Cornwallis at Chebucto with the commission of captain-general and governor-in-chief of the province brought to an end Nova Scotia's thirty-nine years military rule. The military governor of the fort at Annapolis Royal since 1740 had been Major Paul Mascarene,¹¹ and this excellent official had been duly apprised beforehand of the sailing of the Cornwallis fleet. Shortly after his arrival, the new governor sent the transport *Fair Lady*, whose passengers had been landed on George's Island, to Annapolis Royal to bring Mascarene and a quorum of his council to Halifax to be formally dismissed from office. On the 12th of July the Annapolis officials arrived and Cornwallis displayed to them his own commission and took the oaths of office in their presence. On the 14th, Friday, on board the *Beaufort*,

11. For an account of Major Mascarene see the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. 9, p. 239; and the "Correspondence of William Shirley," Vol. 1, pp. 337, 338.

in the harbour, he chose a new council, and thus formally organized the civil government. The members of the new council were: Paul Mascarene, Edward Howe, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salusbury,¹² and Hugh Davidson, the last of whom became the first secretary of the province under civil rule.

Very soon William Steele, Peregrine Thomas Hopson (who on account of his higher military rank at once took precedence of Mascarene), John Horseman, Robert Ellison, James Francis Mercer, and Charles Lawrence, were added to the list, the number thus being raised to the full complement of twelve, the number of the earlier military council. The formation of the council was announced to the people by a general salute from the ships in the harbour and the day was given up to general festivity. The table around which the first council sat on the *Beaufort* is now in the small Council Chamber in the Province Building, and is one of Nova Scotia's most famous historical relics. On the 18th of July Cornwallis appointed John Brewse or Bruce, Robert Ewer, John Collier, and John Dupont, Esquires, justices of the peace, for the township of Halifax, thus organizing a minor town government for the new settlement, in addition to the government-in-chief.

By his commission, Governor Cornwallis, "with the advice and consent of his Council *and Assembly*, or the major part of them respectively," was given full power and authority to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the province, these laws to be submitted to the home government for its approbation or disallowance within three months after making. It will thus be seen that the home government from the first contemplated the establishment, as soon as circumstances should make it possible, of some form of representative government for Nova Scotia, but it was not until 1758, nine years after the settlement under Cornwallis began, that a representative assembly was formed. Until then the governor and his council exercised un-

12. John Salusbury, who returned to England in the spring of 1753, and died in 1762, was of a Welsh family, and was a friend of Lord Halifax. His wife, a Miss Cotton, is said to have brought him a fortune of £10,000, "which he spent in extravagance and dissipation." His daughter was Mrs. Thrale, afterwards Mrs. Piozzi, famous as during her first marriage the friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

limited control in the province, and it was naturally not without much unwillingness that these functionaries suffered any part of the government of the province at last to pass out of their hands. The interests of the newly appointed council of Nova Scotia and the governor-in-chief were many and varied. The French and Indians had to be promptly dealt with, the defences of the town and suburbs vigorously pushed, conditions of trade determined, the sale of liquor regulated, offenders against the law tried and punished, houses, wharves, a church, a hospital, and an orphanage built, allowances to needy settlers granted, Sunday traffic kept in check, the town divided into wards, a ferry to Dartmouth established, a light-house placed at the entrance to the harbour, and an efficient militia established and trained,—these were some of the many tasks that at once claimed the attention of the newly formed government and taxed its executive powers.

In November (1749) the council ordered that all trees remaining within the forts or barricades should be left standing for ornament or shelter for the town, none to be cut down or “barked.” For each tree destroyed in defiance of this order, the penalty was forty-eight hours imprisonment and a fine of one pound. The order, however, did not hinder any one from cutting trees on his own lot. In December, housekeepers were ordered to give notice within twenty-four hours to one of the clergymen of the town of any deaths that had occurred in their houses, the penalty for failure to do this likewise being imprisonment and fine. Persons refusing to attend a corpse to the grave, when ordered to do so by a justice of the peace, were to be imprisoned, and it was strictly enjoined that “Vernon the carpenter” should mark the initials of every deceased person on the coffin in which his body was inclosed. In June, 1750, a market place was ordered to be set apart for the sale of black cattle and sheep. In July the proprietors of lots were ordered to clear the ground in front of their lots to the middle of the streets which ran before them. January 14, 1751, it was ordered that the town and suburbs be divided into eight wards, and that the inhabitants be empowered to choose annually the following officers for managing such prudential affairs of the town as

should be committed by the governor and council to their care, namely, eight town overseers, a town clerk, sixteen constables, and eight scavengers.¹³

Regarding the settlement of French in the environs of Halifax before the coming of Cornwallis's fleet, we have not very much knowledge, but we do know something. June 22, 1749, Governor Cornwallis writing from Chebucto to the Duke of Bedford says: "There are a few French families on each side of the Bay [the name he always uses in speaking of Bedford Basin], about three leagues off; some have been on board." A month later, the 23rd of July, he writes the Duke: "'Tis twenty-five leagues from hence to Minas and the French have made a path by driving their cattle over." In the same letter he says: "Another company I shall send to the head of the Bay, where the road to Minas begins." Indeed, among the older residents of Halifax in recent times a clear tradition existed that before Cornwallis came there was a scattered settlement of French on the southwest shore of Bedford Basin, near what is now Rockingham, which continued on the opposite shore, near what is now Navy Island. As in King's and other further western counties of the province it is not many years since the foundations of what are said to have been French houses could plainly be seen on the Bedford Basin shores, between Rockingham (Four Mile House) and Fairview (Three Mile House), a certain point here being very well known as "French Landing." There is also a tradition that a few French houses, probably of settlers who were occupied in fishing, were scattered along the shore of the Northwest Arm.¹⁴ That the French in the environs of Halifax when Cornwallis came were very few, and the settlement at Bedford, if such existed, very inconsiderable,

13. When Halifax was founded, New York was a hundred and twenty-eight years old, Boston a hundred and fifteen, and Philadelphia sixty-seven.

14. These last interesting facts have been given us by Harry Piers, Esq., the able Nova Scotia archivist and curator of the Provincial Museum, who says that "French Landing" may have been the place where D'Anville disembarked his men to recuperate, in 1746. "Is it not likely," says Mr. Piers, "that D'Anville landed his men close to these French houses, in order to get fresh vegetables for which his men were suffering? D'Anville's men who died were buried near by, in what is now woods. There is an old cemetery (I have unearthed there many bones myself) which plainly antedates the settlement of Halifax, at Birch Cove, a couple of miles above French Landing. The cemetery has no stones."

is proved by a statement made by the Rev. William Tutty to the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in a letter written by him on board the *Beaufort* in Halifax Harbour, September 29, 1749. Mr. Tutty says: "The nearest of the French settlements lie at the distance of about forty miles from the Town of Halifax, so that 'tis very difficult to have any communication with them, at least such communication as might convince them of the errors of their faith."

Of the number of Indians located near Halifax we know still less than we do about the French. "The Indians," says Governor Cornwallis in a letter to the Duke of Bedford dated July 23, 1749, "are hitherto very peaceable, many of them have been here with some chiefs. I made them small presents, told them I had instructions from his Majesty to offer them friendship and all protection, and likewise presents, which I should deliver as soon as they could assemble their tribes and return with powers to enter into treaty and exchange their French commissions for others in his Majesty's name." "The Indians of this Peninsula, when we first arrived," says the Rev. Mr. Tutty, "came frequently amongst us with their wives and children, traded with us and seemed not in the least dissatisfied with our settling here. But they vanished all at once, summoned as we learned afterward by their priest at Chignecto, who was endeavoring to stir them up to arms, and has himself now, as he did in the last war, appeared about Minas at the head of some of them. But as an officer is posted there with an hundred men, and is so fortified as to be a match for all the Indians of the Peninsula, there is no danger to be apprehended on that side."

Any favourable opinion Cornwallis may have formed, of the Indians, however, he was destined soon to change. No later than October of the year of the settlement he felt obliged to publish a proclamation authorizing all his Majesty's subjects "to annoy, distress, take or destroy the savages commonly called Micmacks wherever they are found, and all such as are aiding and assisting them," and to offer a reward of ten guineas for every Indian taken or killed. The occasion of this proclamation was several depredations committed by the Micmacs short-

ly before, some of them on the settlers of Halifax itself.¹⁵ The worst of the earlier atrocities committed by the natives was an attack on the people located at Dartmouth, in May, 1751, in which a number of white people, one of whom was Mr. John Pyke, were killed and scalped, and others carried off as prisoners. The Indians concerned in this tragedy were not, however, drawn from anywhere near Halifax, they are said to have collected first "in great force" on the Basin of Minas, then to have ascended the Shubenacadie river in canoes, and at last through the almost trackless woods to have come stealthily on their prey.

The administration of Governor Cornwallis, as we have seen, lasted only three years. His task in organizing and firmly planting a new colony and in directing all its pressing affairs was one of great difficulty and he discharged it in the main with comprehensive and wise judgment and with singular force of mind. For a short time, between him and the Lords of Trade a certain lack of harmony existed, but whatever fault this body had to find with him was clearly due rather to a failure on his part to understand fully the proper conduct of financial business than to an obstinate determination to have his own way, and in the end his English masters must have been well satisfied with his management of the difficult enterprise they had entrusted to his hands. That the colonists themselves for the most part approved of and liked him we are strongly assured, the only serious complaint that we know of against him having been made by a Jewish trader, Joshua Mauger,¹⁶ whose unscrupulous smuggling of goods into Halifax he made determined efforts to stop.

Somewhere between the middle of June and the last of July, 1752, Cornwallis, worn out with his labours, resigned and went home,¹⁷ and on the 3rd of August Major-General Peregrine

15. Nova Scotia Archives, Vol. I, p. 582.

16. In the February issue of *Americana* we have said that Joshua Mauger, whose name figures prominently in early Halifax history, had a daughter who became the wife of the Duc de Brouillan. This is incorrect. We are indebted to Mr. George Mullane of Halifax, an indefatigable and accurate student of Halifax local history for the fact that Miss Mauger was married to a Captain D'Auvergne, R. N., a native of the island of Jersey, who became heir to a Duc de Brouillan, of whom he is said to have been a left-handed relative. At the peace of Amiens, D'Auvergne went to Paris to urge his claims to the Brouillan title, but he was arrested at the instance of Napoleon, who was angry with him for the part he had taken in an expedition against the French coast in connection with the emigrés.

17. Shirley's correspondence (Vol. I, p. 503) informs us that when Cornwallis

Thomas Hopson was sworn into office as Governor of Nova Scotia. When Louisburg was restored to the French under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Hopson was the English commander of that fort; after the delivery of the fort he came up with the troops to Chebucto, and was sworn in senior councillor, taking precedence, as we have said, of Paul Mascarene, governor of Annapolis Royal, because of superior military rank. As governor he resided in the province a little more than a year, on the first of November, 1753, sailing for England, whence he never returned. On his departure from Halifax, Colonel Charles Lawrence, another English officer from Louisburg, was appointed to administer the government, a formal commission as lieutenant-governor under Hopson being given him the next year.

was given his commission he was promised that he should be relieved in two years. March 28, 1750, Shirley asks that he may be appointed governor of Nova Scotia, in addition to his Massachusetts governorship, if Cornwallis should leave before the two years, as he seems to think he might possibly do.

[The following slight changes should be made in our articles entitled "Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia" in *AMERICANA* for January and February, 1915. In the January number, p. 21, note, we have stated that only Falmouth and Newport sent members to the legislature. This is not true, Windsor also had representation. On pp. 36, 37 the name Winckworth, of Col. Tonge's estate, is said to be in late years "incorrectly spelled Wentworth." The fact no doubt is that the name Winckworth was by design (and legitimately) changed to Wentworth by the Cunningham family when they acquired the estate. This correction has been kindly suggested to us by Mr. Harry Piers, the able archivist of Nova Scotia, who is likewise a very accurate local historian. In the February issue, p. 92, we have said that Joshua Mauger's only daughter was married to the Duc de Brouillan, this, as Mr. George Mullane has shown us, is not true. Proper correction of the statements appears elsewhere in this issue. On p. 97 we have said that Perez Morton Cunningham died unmarried. This, Judge Savary informs us, is also incorrect. The facts of Cunningham's marriage, however, we are at present unable to give. A. W. H. E.]

ers of lands thereon from 11th Street southwardly to 4th Street and from 20th Street northwardly to 23rd Street to reset (at their own expense) the curb and gutter so as to reduce the carriage way to the same width of 40 feet and to grant permission to such owners, between 4th and 23rd Streets to enclose 15 feet of the sidewalks within court yards, as had been permitted in the case of Fifth Avenue, of 23rd Street, etc., etc., and if necessary to obtain from the Legislature an Act authorizing such enclosures. The Corporation further agreed to place a fountain, equal to that in Union Square, in each of the enclosures aforesaid, the same to be under the control of the City officials. (*Mins. C. C.*, Vol. XVII:3). The release is not of record.

On August 4, 1849, the "widening [sic] of the sidewalks in Second Avenue, from 60 to 45 feet" and the resetting of the curb and gutter in the Avenue from 11th to 20th Streets were authorized and the question of building fountains was referred to the Croton Aqueduct Board with instructions to procure plans and estimates and submit them to the Common Council. Said Department was directed on October 11 to erect the fountains and \$7,500 was appropriated to cover the expense.

Considering the above action it is rather disconcerting that the Mayor should have approved resolutions, Jan. 5, 1850, opening as a public square the triangular piece of ground lying between and contained by the Bowery, Third Avenue and 7th Street, (Vol. XVII:566) and that the Legislature should have passed a law, March 16 of that year laying out a public place on the above plot to be known as Stuyvesant Square, (Chap. 65.) This has now become Cooper Square and lies just south of Cooper Union.

Many people of note settled around the original square. Those families which inherited parts of the Stuyvesant farm were anxious to live thereon and built substantial brick mansions along the broad stretch of Second Avenue. Their following went with them and a great deal of the social gaiety of the City was transferred away over to the East Side. There still remain many of these fine old houses where people live in comfort and it is yet a highly respectable place of residence which, although fashion has passed by, clings tenaciously to its old home charms.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

No. II—THE COMING OF THE BOSTON TORIES

By ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

“Time was when America hallowed the morn
On which the lov’d monarch of Britain was born,
Hallowed the day, and joyfully chanted
God save the King!
Then flourish’d the blessings of freedom and peace,
And plenty flow’d in with a yearly increase,
Proud of our lot we chanted merrily
Glory and joy crown the King!

“But see! how rebellion has lifted her head!
How honour and truth are with loyalty fled!
Few are there now to join us in chanting
God save the King!
And see! how deluded the multitude fly
To arm in a cause that is built on a lye!
Yet are we proud to chant thus merrily
Glory and joy crown the King!”

Loyalist Poem by the Rev. Jonathan Odell, M. D., on the King’s birthday, June 4, 1777. Printed in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*.

OF THE several provinces that constitute the Dominion of Canada, Quebec and Nova Scotia were the only ones at the time of American Revolution that could be considered settled. The nearest of the provinces to the colonies engaged in revolt was Nova Scotia, and the fact that her population had in great part only recently been drawn from New England, and that her trade was still most largely with Boston, gives this province a significance in the great strug-

gle for independence that is second only to that of the revolting colonies themselves. Political sympathies are usually most strongly determined by racial connection and commercial interest, and with a large proportion of the people of Nova Scotia at the period of the Revolution, near ties of blood and the necessities of trade naturally combined to produce a feeling of sympathy with the revolt, that showed itself strongly throughout the province, particularly in the two important but widely separated counties of Yarmouth and Cumberland. That in the Revolution the political fate of Nova Scotia "hung upon a very slender thread" is a statement that has recently been boldly made in Nova Scotia itself, and strong as the statement to many people may seem, the facts in the case we believe fully warrant the historian in making the charge that his statement implies.¹

Geographically, Nova Scotia and the adjoining province of New Brunswick, which until 1783 was reckoned as part of Nova Scotia, belong with New England, and in the commissions of several of the governors sent out as the chief executives of Massachusetts, Nova Scotia was included as part of the territory over which these officials were empowered to exercise control.² For two-thirds of a century before the Revolution, ever since England had gained the final undisputed right to rule Acadia, intercourse, political and social, between the two provinces had been of the closest kind. Massachusetts, indeed, for much of this time had been in a military way much more than a friendly

1. Edmund Duval Poole in "Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington," page 1.

2. Sir William Phips's commission, in 1692, gave this governor control of "the Old Colony, the Colony of New Plymouth, the Province of Maine, of Nova Scotia, and all the country between the last two mentioned places." See Sparks's American Biography, Vol. 7, p. 77. William Shirley's commission, in 1741, reads: "Whereas by a Royal Charter under the Great Seal of England, bearing date the Seventh day of October in the 3rd year of the Reign of King William the Third, the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, the Colony of New Plymouth, the Province of Main in New England, the Territory of Acadie or Nova Scotia, and the Lands lying between the said Territory of Nova Scotia and the Province of Main aforesaid were United, Erected, and incorporated into one real Province, by the name of Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. . . . We reposing Especial Trust and Confidence in the Prudence, Courage, and Loyalty of you the said William Shirley. . . . do Constitute and Appoint You the said William Shirley to be Our Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over Our said Province of the Massachusetts Bay." "The Correspondence of William Shirley," edited by Charles Henry Lincoln, Ph.D., Vol. 1, pp. 28-36. The "seventh day of October in the third year of the Reign of King William the Third" was October 7, 1691.

neighbor to the more easterly province, she had, primarily of course for her own protection, used her forces unsparingly in guarding the interests of Nova Scotia against the machinations of the common foe of all the eastern American colonies, the papistical French.³ In the matter of trade the two provinces had been extremely valuable to each other, important commercial intercourse between them having begun even earlier than the time that De Razilly's warring lieutenants, D'Aulnay Charnisay and Charles La Tour, were waging their petty wars for supremacy in the Acadian woods.

As we have seen, there was no attempt at British settlement of Nova Scotia until 1749, and thereafter no further attempt until 1758, so that the political grievances of which long settled Massachusetts had come to complain had had no chance to develop in the former province. But the population of Nova Scotia, wherever population existed in the districts outside of Halifax, had been largely drawn from New England, and as has been said, and as we should expect, these Nova Scotian New Englanders soon after the outbreak of the Revolution showed unmistakable signs of close sympathy with the cause to which their relatives and friends in the colonies they had left behind had given their passionate support. At Halifax, however, matters were different, many of the most influential inhabitants of the town, it is true, were New Englanders, but society there had begun on a distinctly aristocratic plan, the governor was an Englishman, the council, into which several New England men had already been admitted, was a body which stimulated and gave exercise for the love of power which most men possess, and already a considerable number of the Boston Congregation-

3. In 1747, Governor Shirley wrote the Duke of Newcastle that "New England had furnished for years the only succour and support the Garrison at Annapolis Royal had received, and that the General Assembly of Massachusetts were growing tired of having the burden of defence thrown upon them, and desired his Majesty's more immediate interposition for the protection of Nova Scotia." Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D., in "Nova Scotia under English Rule; from the Capture of Port Royal to the Conquest of Canada, A. D. 1710-1760," published in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Third Series 1910, p. 68.

March 28, 1750, Shirley writes the Duke of Newcastle that Nova Scotia having long been the object of his attention, appears to him "immediately to affect the safety of all his [Majesty's] other Northern Colonies, particularly those of New England, and in its consequences the interests of Great Britain itself in a very high degree." "The Correspondence of William Shirley."

alists settled in the town had conceived an attachment, stronger or weaker, for the Anglican Church. When the Revolution began, therefore, self interest for most of the Halifax men seemed to demand that whatever might come they should keep loyal to England, hence the strong censure with which any disaffection towards British control was visited at Halifax from first to last through the whole continuance of the war.

The Revolutionary conflict started in Massachusetts on the nineteenth of April, 1775, by the march of some eight or nine hundred royal troops from Boston towards Concord to seize stores of ammunition and food the provincials had collected there for use in the impending certain strife. The attempt was unsuccessful, and before long Boston, where the British forces were gathered, was completely surrounded by provincial troops and all supplies for the King's army were cut off. As soon as this fact became known in Nova Scotia, Governor Legge of this province ordered shipments of provisions from the Bay of Fundy, and likewise dispatched four companies of the 65th regiment, then stationed at Halifax, to assist the royal troops in the beleaguered town. In the Massachusetts Archives is a mass of documents which reveal with great clearness the unhappy conditions which existed both in Nova Scotia and in Massachusetts, from the prohibition of all intercourse between the two provinces by the patriot authorities of Massachusetts, throughout the progress of the strife, until the enactment of the resolve of July fifth, 1792, by the Massachusetts Great and General Court abolished privateering and put trade relations once more on a friendly basis.

Fear that the interruption of trade relations, and more especially that the close relationship that existed between a great part of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and the people of New England, might produce a feeling of sympathy in Nova Scotia with the revolting colonies, caused the government at Halifax to bestir themselves vigorously almost as soon as the Revolution began to check any outward demonstration of disloyalty the Nova Scotians might be disposed to make. At the opening of the Legislature in June, 1775, Governor Legge in his speech said diplomatically: "On so critical a conjuncture of

affairs in America I cannot forbear expressing the great pleasure and satisfaction I receive from your steady and uniform behaviour in your duty and allegiance to the King, and in your due observance of the laws of Great Britain. Nothing can more advance the good and welfare of this people, nor render us more respectable to Great Britain, nor be more subservient to procure the favour and protection of our Royal and most gracious sovereign; as on the continuance of his protection our safety, our prosperity, and the very existence of this colony depends." The replies of the Council and the Assembly to this speech were as loyal in tone as could be asked, but the Governor soon began in letters to the Home Government to charge disloyalty to England on most of the people under his rule, clearly insinuating that even members of the Council itself were tainted with treasonable feeling.⁴ Positive orders issued both by the revolted colonies and the Governor and Council of this province prohibiting intercourse between Nova Scotia and the other colonies soon pro-

4. At Halifax the restraint of trade was of course severely felt, and a few persons there were charged by name with unfriendliness towards the English cause. A quantity of hay had been bought from Mr. Joseph Fairbanks for the King's troops at Boston, but by some means it was burned before it could be got away. Responsibility for destroying it was publicly laid on two Massachusetts residents of the town, John Fillis, formerly of Boston, and William Smith. They stoutly denied the charge, however, and the council exonerated them. In October, 1777, an order was passed in council for the arrest of Mr. Malachy Salter, one of the most prominent merchants of the town, also a native Bostonian, on a charge of correspondence of a dangerous tendency with parties in Boston, and a prosecution was ordered against him for unlawful correspondence with the rebels. In the next session of the Supreme Court Mr. Salter was tried but he too was honourably acquitted.

The Eddy rebellion in Cumberland county in 1776, led by Jonathan Eddy, John Allan, and Samuel Rogers, all of whom had been members of the Nova Scotia Legislature, is a conspicuous matter of Revolutionary history. How the news of this rebellion affected the government at Halifax a minute of the council books shows. This notable entry is as follows:

"At a council holden at Halifax, on the 17th Nov., 1776, Present the Honourable the Lieut. Governor, the Hon. Charles Morris, Richard Bulkeley, Henry Newton, Jonathan Binney, Arthur Goold, John Butler.

"On certain intelligence having been received that Jonathan Eddy, William Howe, and Samuel Rogers have been to the utmost of their power exciting and stirring up disaffection and rebellion among the people of the county of Cumberland, and are actually before the fort at Cumberland with a considerable number of rebels from New England, together with some Acadians and Indians. It was therefore resolved to offer £200 Reward for apprehending Jonathan Eddy and £100 for apprehending John Allan, who has been deeply concerned in exciting said rebellion."

A fact never entirely lost sight of by historians of Halifax is that in this Eddy rebellion in Cumberland a young Irishman, Richard John Uniacke, who in later life was to hold high positions in the local government and to found in Halifax a family of the first importance, took part against the British authorities.

duced a most unhappy state of feeling all over the province; Nova Scotia had lost her markets, privateering on both sides was rampant on the seas, so large a number of prisoners were being brought into Halifax that the prison ship in the harbour and the jail in the town were full to overflowing, and to crown all an order had gone out from Governor Legge for the enrollment of a large body of militia in various parts of the province for immediate service, if necessary in the field. Legge, who was a relative of the Earl of Dartmouth, was the most unpopular governor Nova Scotia has ever had, he was autocratic and suspicious, and in the three years that he spent as head of the government, he managed hopelessly to antagonize not only the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Michael Francklin, and the members of the Council, but the people at large of perhaps every settled township in the province under his rule. His order to the militia was received throughout the province with marked disapprobation; "Those of us who belong to New England being invited into this province by Governor Lawrence's proclamation," say the people of Cumberland, "it must be the greatest piece of cruelty and imposition for them to be subjected to march into different parts in arms against their friends and relations." Protests from Onslow and Truro speak of the hardships of the militia law, since it takes men from their avocations, and also leaves the parts of the country from which they come exposed to attack.

The movement of Loyalists from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia began very soon after the skirmish at Lexington. Many persons of comfortable fortune, in and near Boston, foresaw that if the provincials triumphed their own fortunes must lie elsewhere than in their native province, and cast their eyes on Nova Scotia as a place of refuge. Early in May, 1775, therefore, several vessels arrived in Halifax harbour with families that were glad to escape thus early from the scene of what clearly threatened to be a miserable and protracted civil war.

The first Massachusetts Loyalists that we know to have arrived in Halifax were a group who embarked at Salem on the twenty-ninth of April, 1775, in the brig *Minerva*. This group comprised Mr. George DeBlois, a local Salem merchant, a first cousin of Gilbert and Lewis DeBlois, the well known Boston

Tories who died in England,—Dr. John Prince, a Salem physician, Mr. James Grant, and a Mrs. Cottnam and her family.⁵ A little over a month later, on the eighth of June, 1775, Edward Lyde and his family of Boston left their native city, in some vessel, and sought refuge in Halifax. Edward Lyde was a prosperous iron merchant, a man of the first social position, who had managed to make himself highly offensive to the patriots, and his flight from his native town at this early period seems to have been necessary for his safety. Precisely where in Halifax he lived during the year he spent there we do not know, but when his friends from Boston arrived with General Howe, as we shall presently see, he met Chief Justice Peter Oliver, and at once took him to his house, where he kept him during his stay. Some time in 1776, Mr. Lyde embarked for London, though he did not long stay abroad. In 1779 he came to New York, where he had important business interests, and in that city he spent most of the remainder of his life.⁶ When Howe's fleet reached Halifax, among the Refugees that came with it were Mr. Byfield Lyde of Boston, Edward Lyde's father, and two or three sisters of Edward Lyde. Of these sisters, Sarah, became in 1777, in Halifax, the second wife of Dr. Mather Byles.

Very soon after the battle of Lexington, Major John Vassall of Cambridge and Boston, and his family, and Colonel Isaac Royall of Medford, sailed for Halifax, and with the latter probably went also Sir William Pepperrell, 2nd, Colonel Royall's son-in-law, and Lady Pepperrell. In Halifax Lady Pepperrell died, her funeral taking place there October eighth, 1775. Late in 1775, or early in 1776, Rev. John Troutbeck, who had been for about twenty-one years assistant minister of King's Chapel, also took refuge in Halifax, and with the exception of the Pep-

5. See the writer's "Old Boston Families, No. 1, the DeBlois Family," in the N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register for January, 1913. Mrs. Cottnam afterward kept a school for girls, first in Halifax, then in St. John. She and her daughter are occasionally referred to in the Byles correspondence.

6. Edward Lyde's movements are clearly learned from the deposition he made before the commissioners appointed to receive petitions from Loyalists for compensation for their losses in the Revolution. See "Ontario Sessional Papers," Vol. 37, Parts 11 and 12 (2 Vols., 1905).

perrells these persons were all in Nova Scotia when Howe's fleet arrived in March and April, 1776.⁷

Almost immediately after the battle of Lexington, as we have said, Boston came into a state of siege, General Gage promptly ordering the inhabitants of the town to have no communication whatever with the country around. Just before the battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775), General Howe said to his troops: "Remember, gentlemen, we have no recourse if we lose Boston, but to go on board our ships, which will be very disagreeable to us all." On the seventh of March, 1776, Howe's situation "was perplexing and critical. The fleet was unable to ride in safety in the harbour. The army, exposed to the mercy of the American batteries and not strong enough to force the lines, was humiliated and discontented. The Loyalists were expecting and claiming the protection that had so often been guaranteed to them."⁸ In

7. Rev. John Troutbeck was in Boston as late as October, 1775, when he signed the address from the gentlemen and principal inhabitants of Boston to Governor Gage. When Dr. William Walter, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, arrived in Halifax we do not know, but it was probably earlier than the coming there of Howe's fleet.

Colonel Isaac Royall left his beautiful mansion in Medford (which is standing still) with great sorrow, three days before the battle of Lexington. He expected to go to Antigua, but he soon decided to go to Halifax, and in that town he remained until the Spring of 1776. Probably in May, 1776, he embarked for England, and there without ever revisiting his native country, he died in 1781. One of his daughters was the wife of Col. George Erving, another the wife of Sir William Pepperrell, 2nd.

Of Colonel Royall's house at Medford, Mr. Stark writes: "The mansion itself was indeed one of the finest of colonial residences, standing as it did in the midst of elegant surroundings. In the front, or what is now the west side, was the paved court. Reaching farther west were the extensive gardens, opening from the courtyard, a broad path leading to the summer house. The slave quarters were at the south. . . . The interior woodwork of the house is beautifully carved, especially the drawing room, guest chamber, and staircase. The walls are pannelled, and the carving on each side of the windows is very fine."

This notable mansion was the scene of great hospitality. "No home in the colony," continues Mr. Stark, "was more open to friends, no gentleman gave better dinners, or drank costlier wines." Colonel Royal was a kind master to his slaves, a charitable man to the poor, and a friend to everybody. From Halifax, March twelfth, 1776, he wrote from Halifax to Dr. Simon Tufts of Medford, directing Tufts to sell some of his slaves. See Stark's "The Loyalists of Massachusetts," pp. 293, 294; and Brooks's "History of Medford," p. 173.

8. Public acts of the Massachusetts Loyalists that were particularly offensive to the patriot party were, a respectful address of the merchants and others of Boston to Governor Hutchinson, May 30, 1774, before Hutchinson's departure for England; an address of the barristers and attorneys of Massachusetts to Governor Hutchinson on the same day; an address of the inhabitants of Marblehead to Governor Hutchinson, May 25, 1774; an address to Governor Hutchinson from his fellow townsmen in the town of Milton shortly before the Governor sailed; an address presented to his Excellency Governor Gage, July 11, 1774, on his arrival at Salem; a loyal address from the gentlemen and principal inhabitants of

addition, the belief was general that no despatches had been received from the government since October." Accordingly, on the 7th of March, 1776, Howe convened his officers in Council, and in a speech, impassioned and forceful, told them that in spite of the humiliation which the action would involve, and of the losses that the Loyalists under his protection must inevitably suffer, in order to save the army he must evacuate the town. Ten days later the formal evacuation came. On Sunday the 17th, very early in the morning, the troops began to embark. "About nine o'clock," says Frothingham, "the garrison left Bunker Hill, and a large number of boats, filled with troops and inhabitants, put off from the wharves of Boston." How soon after his final decision was made to leave Boston Howe notified the majority of the Loyalists under his protection, we do not know, but the Rev. Henry Caner, Rector of King's Chapel, tells us that he himself had only a few hours given him to prepare for his flight.

Although the formal evacuation occurred on the seventeenth of March, the whole fleet did not leave Boston harbour for several days, and Frothingham says that during that time the British officers wrote many letters to their friends. On the day of the evacuation, one wrote from "Nantasket Road": "The dragoons are under orders to sail tomorrow for Halifax,—a

Boston to Governor Gage, October 6, 1775, shortly before he sailed for England; and a "loyal address to Governor Gage on his departure, October 14, 1775, of those gentlemen who were driven from their habitations in the country to the town of Boston."

In September, 1778, was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts the Banishment Act of the State, "an Act to prevent the return to this state of certain persons therein named, and others who have left this state or either of the United States, and joined the enemies thereof." In this were included many gentlemen in various professions and businesses prominent in several towns of the State. The second section of the act reads: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons, who shall be transported as aforesaid, shall voluntarily return into this state, without liberty first had and obtained from the general court, he shall on conviction thereof before the superior court of judicature, court of assize and general gaol delivery, suffer the pains of death without benefit of clergy." On the 30th of April, 1779, was passed the "Conspiracy Act," or Act of Confiscation, "an Act to confiscate the estates of certain notorious conspirators against the government and liberties of the inhabitants of the late province, now state, of Massachusetts Bay." (The term "notorious conspirators" was highly insulting to men who were honestly convinced that whatever the mistakes the British Government was then making, it was wrong to throw off allegiance to the mother land. Private letters of Harrison Gray in the writer's custody show how indignantly they resented it, and how inappropriate it really was).

cursed, cold, wintry place, even yet; nothing to eat, less to drink. Bad times, my dear friend." On the twenty-fifth of March, another wrote: "We do not know where we are going, but are in great distress." On the twenty-sixth, still another wrote: "Expect no more letters from Boston. We have quitted that place. Washington played on the town for several days. A shell, which burst while we were preparing to embark did very great damage. Our men have suffered. We have one consolation left. You know the proverbial expression, 'neither Hell, Hull, nor Halifax,' can afford worse shelter than Boston.⁹ To fresh provision I have for many months been an utter stranger. An egg was a rarity. Yet I submit. A soldier may mention grievances, though he should scorn to repine when he suffers them. The next letter from Halifax."

The whole effective besieging force that withdrew with Howe, says Lossing, including seamen, was about eleven thousand, and the number of Refugees about eleven hundred, but a list of the latter in the handwriting of one of them, Mr. Walter Barrell, Inspector General of Customs, which was long ago printed in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society," gives the number as nine hundred and twenty-seven.¹⁰ In Barrell's

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9. "There is a proverb, and a prayer withal,
That we may not to three strange places fall:
From Hull, from Halifax, from Hell, 'tis thus,
From all these three, good Lord, deliver us!"

John Taylor (the "Water Poet"), 1580-1654; in "News from Hell, Hull, and Halifax."

The siege of Boston had been in progress for ten months when Howe evacuated the town.

10. "Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc.," Vol. 18, p. 266. Also Stark's "Loyalists of Massachusetts," pp. 133-136. In his "Siege of Boston," Richard Frothingham, Jr., gives the number of Refugees with Howe as "more than a thousand." Of members of Council, commissioners, custom-house officers, and others who had occupied official positions, he says, there were a hundred and two; of merchants and other inhabitants of Boston two hundred and thirteen; of persons from the country a hundred and five; of farmers, traders, and mechanics three hundred and eighty-two, and of clergymen eighteen, all of whom "returned their names on their arrival at Halifax." About two hundred others, he adds, did not return their names. Where the "return" made at Halifax, that Frothingham speaks of, was ever deposited we do not know. Nor can we feel at all certain that Frothingham's summary is correct. It is impossible, for instance, that there can have been eighteen clergymen among the Refugees. The only Massachusetts clergymen that the fleet can possibly have carried were Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, Rector of King's Chapel, Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, who had been Rector of Christ Church, Rev. Moses Badger, whose home was in Haverhill, and possibly though not at all likely, Rev. Dr. William Walter, Rector of Trinity Church. When Dr.

list we find besides Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver and his servants, six persons in all, eleven members of council, and a clerk of the courts, they and their households numbering in all seventy-three,—a group of custom house officials numbering no less than thirty-seven, they and their families aggregating a hundred and thirty-two, and two hundred and twenty-eight other men, with their families, these comprising the greater number of the Bostonians in private life who were regarded as occupying the most prominent positions in the town. Among the Refugees were Hon. Harrison Gray, Receiver General of the province and member of council, Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles, Hon. Foster Hutchinson, Col. John Murray, Col. Josiah Edson, Mr. Richard Lechmere, Col. John Erving, Mr. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Messrs. Abijah Willard, Daniel Leonard, Nathaniel Hatch, George Erving,—and leading representatives of the families of Atkinson, Brattle, Brinley, Cazneau, Chandler, Coffin, Cutler, DeBlois, Dumaresq, Faneuil, Gardener, Gay, Gore, Gray, Green, Greenwood, Holmes, Hutchinson, Inman, Jefferies, Johannot, Joy, Loring, Lyde, Oliver, Paddock, Perkins, Phips, Putnam, Rogers, Saltonstall, Savage, Sergeant, Snelling, Sterns or Stearns, and Winslow. That several other important Boston men like Thomas Apthorp, and Major John and William Vassall, are not found in this list of Refugees with the fleet is to be accounted for by the fact that they had left, either for Halifax or directly for England, some time before.¹²

Walter went to Halifax, we have nowhere found recorded, it may have been with the fleet, or it may have been, as was the case with Rev. John Troutbeck, a little earlier. There may have been several army or navy chaplains on Howe's ships, there were no Massachusetts clergymen except those we have mentioned.

11. On page 136 of his "Loyalists of Massachusetts" Mr. Stark gives the names of thirty-six mandamus councillors appointed August 9, 1774. Of these, several, like Foster Hutchinson, Timothy Ruggles, and Nathaniel Ray Thomas, going with the fleet, settled permanently in Nova Scotia.

12. Judge Curwen, of Salem, one of the most important Massachusetts Loyalists, landed at Dover, England, July 3, 1775, and after visiting the castle there, at once took coach for London. The next evening, at seven o'clock, he arrived at the New England Coffee-House, on Threadneedle Street. He remained in England until 1784, when at the urgent solicitation of his old friends, "the principal merchants and citizens of Salem," he returned to New England. At Salem he says, "not a man, woman, or child but expressed a satisfaction at seeing me, and welcomed me back." His affairs were in so bad a condition, however, that he thought he might have to "retreat to Nova Scotia," but he staid in Salem, and died there in 1802. April 24, 1780, he writes:

"This day, five years are completed since I abandoned my house, estate, and effects and friends. God only knows whether I shall ever be restored to them,

On the thirtieth of March, 1776, so tradition has it, the Halifax people, who had had no previous notice of the action of Howe, were startled to see a fleet sailing into their harbour.¹³ Their first thought was that another French fleet bent on re-conquest of Nova Scotia had suddenly surprised the town, but the truth was soon learned, and then the greatest perplexity arose to know how to house the thousand civilians who wished to disembark from the ships, and to provide food for the more than eleven thousand soldiers and sailors that General Howe's forces comprised. To supply shelter every available spare room in the town was quickly secured and tents were thrown up on the Parade, and for food, cattle were rapidly driven in from the suburbs and slaughtered, and all shops and storehouses were taxed to the limit of their supplies. So great was the demand for food that as in all such crises the price of provisions rose to what was then an exorbitant figure, and this went on until the Governor was obliged to issue a proclamation fixing the price of meat at a shilling a pound, milk at sixpence a quart, and butter at one and six-pence a pound.

At this time, it will be remembered, Halifax was only twenty-seven years old, and its regular inhabitants numbered not more than between three and four thousand, and we can well imagine the excitement that must have prevailed in all ranks of society at the sudden descent of such a force on the town, and at the prospect of such a permanent increase to the population as the remaining there of a large number of the Bostonians would make. Towards the troops and the people who accompanied them, however, there seems to have been generally the kindest feeling shown, and however limited the hospitality the Halifaxians were able to offer, the Boston people were no doubt thankful to their hearts' core to receive it, for they had been living for months previous to their enforced embarkation in a

or they to me. Party rage, like jealousy and superstition is cruel as the grave;—that moderation is a crime, and in time of civil confusions, many good, virtuous, and peaceable persons now suffering banishment from America are the wretched proofs and instances." See Curwen's "Journal and Letters," and Stark's "Loyalists of Massachusetts," pp. 246-254.

13. This is the tradition, but it is also said somewhere in print that when General Howe found that he must leave Boston he dispatched Brigadier-General Robertson to Halifax to make ready for the troops.

state of apprehension and in some cases of real physical discomfort. The distress of the troops and inhabitants of Boston during the siege, some one wrote at the time, "is great beyond all possible description. Neither vegetables, flour, nor pulse for the inhabitants; the King's stores are so very short none can be spared for them; no fuel, and the winter set in remarkably severe. The troops and inhabitants absolutely and literally starving for want of provisions and fire."¹⁴

Details of the voyage of these Boston Tories to Halifax are not entirely wanting. In the Journal of Chief-Justice Peter Oliver, as quoted in Thomas Hutchinson's "Diary and Letters,"¹⁵ we have one prominent Bostonian's account of it. On the seventeenth of March, the day of the embarkation, Judge Oliver writes: "The troops at Boston embarked, and about 20 sail fell down into King's Road by 11 o'clock this morning." On the twenty-seventh, then well at sea, he writes: "I sailed from Nantasket, at 3 o'clock, afternoon, in the 2nd and last Division of the fleet, about 70 sail, for Hallifax, under convoy of the *Chat-ham*, Admiral Shuldham, and of the *Centurion*, Captⁿ Braithwaite—28th, A good wind. 29th, Ditto. Were on Cape Sable Bank. 30th, Wind about N. E. A tumbling sea, supposed to be occasioned by the indraught of the Bay of Fundy. 31st, Ditto. April 1st, A tumbling sea: wind at N. E. 2nd, A southerly wind and smooth sea. Made land, on a north course, about 3 o'clock afternoon, and came to anchor before Hallifax at half an hour past 7 at night. 3d, Landed at Hallifax. Edward Lyde, Esq. invited me to his house, where I tarried till I embarqued for England. I was very happy in being at Mr. Lyde's, as there was so great an addition to the inhabitants from the navy and army, and Refugees from Boston, which made the lodgings for them very scarce to be had, and many of them, when procured, quite intolerable. Provisions were here as dear as in London. The rents of houses were extravagant and the owners of them took all advantages of the necessity of the times, so that I knew of three rooms in one house w^{ch} house could not cost 500£ Sterl^g, let for £250 Sterl^g p year. Thus mankind prey upon each other. . . .

14. We can understand from this account how it was that the Old North Church, the Church of the Mathers (Dr. Increase and Dr. Cotton Mather), with about twenty other buildings, was torn down for fuel during the siege.

15. "Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson," Vol. 2, pp. 46-54.

I pitied the misfortunes of others, but I could only pity them: for myself, I was happily provided for, and was the more happy, as I had been very sea-sick during my 6 1-2 days voyage, so that I could not enjoy to my wishes, the grand prospect of the ocean covered with ships in view, and some of them so near as to converse with our friends on board them."

How Halifax appeared to the Refugees we also learn from Judge Oliver's journal. "Halifax," Oliver writes, "is a very agreeable situation for prospects, and for trade: it is situated on a rising ground fronting the Harbour and ocean. There are 6 or 7 streets parallel to each other on the side of the hill, of about 1 1-2 or 2 miles in length, very strait, and of good width. There are many others which ascend the hill, and intersect the long streets. On the top of the hill there is now a most delightful prospect of the harbour, Islands near the entrance of the harbor, and of the ocean, so that you may see vessells at a very great distance at sea: and when the woods are cleared off, there will be a most delightfull landscape, but at present there is not a great deal of cleared land.

"The harbor of Hallifax is a most excellent one, capable of containing the whole English navy, where they may ride land-locked against any storms; at this time there are 200 sail before the town; and when L^d Lodoun was here in the year 1757, there were above 300 sail of vessells in the harbor. It is above a mile wide for 3 or 4 miles, and it is deep with good anchorage, and a bold shore. Above the harbor there is a Basin which empties into it; it is 5 or 6 miles broad, and 7 or 8 miles long; a good shore, and in some places 50 fathom deep. In this Basin Duke D'Anville retired out of observation in y^e year 1745 [sic], and here he left one of his 70 gun ships, which is now at the bottom of this Basin.

"The houses of Hallifax seem to have been sowed like mushrooms in an hot-bed, and to have decayed as fast; for although they have been built but a few years, yet there are scarce any of them habitable, and perhaps a conflagration might occasion a Phoenix to rise out of its ashes."¹⁶

16. Chief Justice Oliver further says: "During my stay at Hallifax, as well as during my residence in Boston, I was treated with y^e utmost politeness, not to

Until early in June Howe's fleet lay at Halifax, the general up to this time having undoubtedly been waiting for the arrival of his brother, Admiral Lord Richard Howe, with instructions for his further movements. In June the fleet sailed for New York, and there in July the general was joined by his brother, who brought with him a large force, and came armed with the King's authority to the general and himself to treat with the rebels, who it was fondly believed could yet be cajoled into more complaisancy towards the mother country.¹⁷

Of the high standing in Boston of these Refugees with Howe's fleet, a writer in the "Memorial History of Boston," giving the names of a hundred and forty of the Loyalists proscribed in 1778 as inveterate enemies to the State, says: "When it is considered that forty-five of the above were termed esquires, nine were ministers and doctors, and thirty-six were merchants, we can form some idea of the great social changes produced by the Revolution. . . . It can easily be seen that this forced emigration must have had the effect to destroy the continuity of the social history of the town. The persons who adhered to the Crown were naturally the wealthy and conservative classes. They composed the families which had prospered during the preceding century and which had been gradually forming a local aristoc-

say friendship, by General Howe, who offered and urged me to every assistance I might wish for, and assured me, now at Halifax, of being provided with a good ship for my passage to England; but the *Harriot Pacquet*, Capⁿ Lee, being sent to carry home Gov^r Legge of Hallifax, Mr. Legge invited my niece Jenny Clarke and myself to take passage with him; not suffering us to lay in any stores for ourselves, but to partake in his, of which he had made ample provision."

Judge Oliver then proceeds: "We accordingly embarked in the s^d Packet on y^e 12th May, having as passengers in the cabin Gov^r Legge, James Monk, Esq., Solicitor General of Hallifax, and his lady, Mr. Birch, Chaplain of a Regiment, and Miss Clarke and myself. We embarked at 8 o'clock in the morning, and came to sail at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. There were six sail more in company, convoyed by the *Glasgow* Man-of-War, Capⁿ How." the voyage to England was made in three weeks, the ship reaching Falmouth harbour about midnight of the first of June.

It is probable that in the "six sail" Judge Oliver mentions went to England most of the Tories who did not wish to remain in Halifax, or that did not a few weeks later continue with Howe to New York.

17. In Dr. Ezra Stiles's Diary (Vol. 2, p. 168) we find recorded a dispatch from Halifax of June 13, 1776. The dispatch reads: "The British Fleet is gone from this place for New York; great Dissention prevailed on their Departure, among officers and soldiers. This morning about 2 o'clock two Transports foundered in a gale of wind near this place and about 300 troops perished."

racy. The history of the times which should omit these families would be fatally defective."¹⁸

A considerable group of Boston Loyalists, among these some who sailed with the fleet to Halifax, for a longer or shorter time afterwards, settled in Bristol, England. In a letter to William Pynchon, Esq., of Salem, written April 19, 1780, Judge Curwen enumerates these as follows: Miss Arbuthnot, Mr. Barnes, wife and niece, Mrs. Borland, a son and three daughters, Nathaniel Coffin, wife and family, Miss Davis, Mr. Fanëuil and wife, Robert Hallowell, wife and children, Nicholas Lechmere, wife and two daughters, R. Lechmere, brother of Nicholas, Colonel Oliver and six daughters, Judge Sewall, wife, sister, and two sons, Samuel Sewall, "kinsman to Mr. Faneuil," Mr. Simpson, John Vassall, wife and niece, and Mr. Francis Waldo.¹⁹ Some of the Boston Loyalists also seem to have located for a time, at least, in Birmingham, England, but the majority settled in London, where many of them spent the rest of their days. In London in 1776, they formed a club for a weekly dinner at the Adelphi, Strand, the members being Messrs. Richard Clark, Joseph Green, Jonathan Bliss, Jonathan Sewall, Joseph Waldo, Samson Salter Blowers, Elisha and William Hutchinson, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Quincy, Isaac Smith, Harrison Gray, David Greene, Jonathan Clark, Thomas Flucker, Joseph Taylor, Daniel Silsbee, Thomas Brinley, William Cabot, John Singleton Copley, and Nathaniel Coffin. To these names also must be added, Thomas Hutchinson, previously governor of Massachusetts, Samuel Porter, Edward Oxnard, Benjamin Pickman, John Amory, Judge Robert Auchmuty, and Major Urquhart.²⁰ In May, 1779, the Loyalists in London formed an association, evi-

18. William H. Whitmore in the "Memorial History of Boston," Vol. I, pp. 563, 564.

19. "Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, etc.," pp. 237, 238.

20. "Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, etc. (1842), p. 45. Later the members of this club must have met regularly for their weekly dinner at the New England Coffee House. On the 4th of July, 1782, Judge Curwen writes in his journal: "Went to London to the Thursday dinner at New England Coffee-House." July 11th he writes: "Dined as usual at New England fish-club dinner." July 27th: "Dined at New England Coffee-House on fish, in company with Mr. Flucker, Francis Waldo, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Goldthwait, etc."

dently for united political action, or for the improvement of their own condition, composed of representatives from all the New England colonies, and made Sir William Pepperrell, second baronet of the name, who was a leading one of their number, president.²¹

The unhappy condition of probably a good many of the Boston Refugees when they reached Halifax, is reflected in a letter of Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, of King's Chapel, written to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, shortly after the Loyalists arrived. Under date of May tenth, 1776, Dr. Caner says: "I am now at Halifax, but without any means of support except what I receive from the benevolence of the worthy Dr. Breynton. Several other clergymen, Dr. Byles, Mr. Walter, Mr. Badger, etc., are likewise driven from Boston to this place; but [all] of them have some comfortable provision in the Army or Navy as Chaplains, a service which my age²² and infirmities will not well admit of. I have indeed greatly suffered in my health by the cold weather and other uncomfortable circumstances of a passage to this place; but having by the good providence of God survived

21. The Loyalists who went to England did not lose sight of Nova Scotia. On the 18th of January, 1784, Chief-Justice Oliver writes from Birmingham: "Nova Scotia populates fast—60,000 already." February 9th he writes: "Parson Walter is arrived from Nova Scotia; many other Refugees are come. America is in a bad plight—they will lose their whale and cod fishery, and Nova Scotia will ruin the four New England governments." March 5th he writes from London: "Mr. Winslow and family are there [Halifax]. Mr. Walter is here, having left his family at Port Roseway. Col. Ruggles hath built him a large house near to Annapolis: they settle there very fast. The whalemens are leaving Nantucket for Nova Scotia, and the New Englanders will suffer extremely by overacting their importations, and English merchants will suffer by them." Again he writes: "A new Province is made on St. John's river, and called New Brunswick. Gen^l Carleton's brother, Col. Carleton, is the Governor, and the General to be Gov^r General of Canada and all. Col. Willard with a thousand Refugees, I hear, is embarking for Nova Scotia, so that that they will encrease rapidly, and I suppose that our Province will sink as they rise, for none can return to it without the expense of Naturalization." "Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson."

22. Dr. Caner was then seventy-six. He too went to England in the Spring of 1776, and when he reached there, the S. P. G. appointed him at his own request, to the mission at Bristol, Rhode Island. Whether he ever came to Bristol or not we do not know. At some time after he left Boston he married a young wife, and at one time lived with her in Wales. He died in England in 1792. In one of the record books of King's Chapel which he took with him from Boston, he wrote: "An unnatural rebellion of the colonies against His Majesty's government obliged the loyal part of his subjects to evacuate their dwellings and substance, and take refuge in Halifax, London, and elsewhere; by which means the public worship of King's Chapel became suspended, and is likely to remain so until it shall please God, in the course of his providence, to change the hearts of the rebels, or give success to his Majesty's arms for suppressing the rebellion."

the past distress, I am in hopes some charitable hand will assist me in my purpose of proceeding to England, where the compassion of the well-disposed will I hope preserve me from perishing thro' the want of the necessaries of life. If otherwise, God's will be done." A letter has reached the Society from the Rev. Dr. Byles, writes the Secretary of the S. P. G. in the Society's report for 1776, who is "now at Halifax with five motherless children, for a time deprived of all the means of support." But towards these clergymen, as indeed towards all the Refugees that needed help, not only by Dr. Breynton, but by all the leading secular officials and private gentlemen of Halifax, unremitting and thoroughly appreciated kindness seems to have been shown. "Two letters have been received in the course of the year from the Society's very worthy missionary, the Rev. Dr. Breynton," writes the secretary of the S. P. G. in the report mentioned above, "lamenting the unhappy situation of affairs in America; in consequence of which many wealthy and loyal families have quitted New England, and in hopes of a safe retreat have taken up their residence at Halifax, thereby becoming a great acquisition to the province, and a considerable addition to his congregation. For many of them, tho' Dissenters in New England, have constantly attended the service of the church since their arrival in Halifax."

Of the social life of Boston, from which these Halifax Tories were so unwillingly obliged to flee, we get glimpses in the "Annals of King's Chapel," that admirable history of the mother Episcopal parish of New England, of which so many of the Tories were members. King's Chapel, says the annalist, "saw all the rich costumes and striking groupings of that picturesque age gathered in that ancient day, within its walls. Chariots with liveried black footmen brought thither titled gentlemen and fine ladies; and the square pews were gay with modes of dress which must have brightened the sober New England life—as the ruffled sleeves and powdered wigs, and swords; the judges, whose robes were thought to give dignity and reverence to their high office as they set upon the bench; the scarlet uniforms of the British officers in army and navy,—all mingling with the beauty and fashion which still look down from old family portraits the

special flavour of an age very different from our own.”²³ At the chapel, says the historian, writing of two decades before the Revolution, “worshipped not a few of the first gentlemen of the Province, now at the meridian of success and distinction, who in twenty years were to be swept away in the vortex of the Revolution.”²⁴ “We see again the Royal Governor in his pew of state. . . . we recall the British officers of the army and navy crowding here as honoured guests; we hear the familiar prayers for King and Queen and royal family repeated by loyal lips. The Church as it was, seemed to be in some sense a part of the majesty of England. Then the sky lowers, as the blind and senseless oppressions of the British ministry change a loyal colony to a people in rebellion. For a time the church brightens more and more with the uniforms of the King’s troops, as the church is changed into a garrison; till, on a March Sunday in 1776, they hurriedly depart, never to return, and the dutiful prayers vanish, to become a dim vision of the ancient world, so different from ours. A large part of the congregation went also; and at their head went their aged rector, whose pride and life-work had been with unwearied pains to ensure the erection of the noble structure to which he bade farewell as he followed his convictions of duty to his King.”²⁵

Nor was the noble gravity and dignity of King’s chapel as a building at all out of harmony with the character of the houses in which these Loyalists of Boston lived. On King Street, and Queen Street, and Beacon Street, and Tremont Street, as on Milk and Marlborough and Summer streets, stood fine colonial houses, that had rivals, indeed, in Roxbury, and Cambridge, and Medford, and Milton, in all which there was architectural beauty

23. “Annals of King’s Chapel,” by Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, Vol. I, p. 549.

24. On the registers of King’s Chapel most of the names prominent in Boston before the Revolution are sooner or later to be found. Many strictly Congregational families as they rose to wealth and influence gave the Chapel more or less support. Some families of importance, however, were from the first Episcopalians, not Congregationalists. Among the King’s Chapel worshippers were families of Auchmuty, Brattle, Brinley, Coffin, Cradock, DeBlois, Gardiner, Greenleaf, Hallowell, Hutchinson, Lechmere, Lyde, Minot, Oliver, Royall, Sewall, Shirley, Snelling, Vassall, and Winslow. A notable family was the large family of Mr. Samuel Wentworth, originally a Portsmouth, New Hampshire, man, but long one of the most prominent merchants of Boston. He died before the Revolution, but his wife lived, we believe, with her son, Benning in Halifax, near her daughter Lady Frances Wentworth, wife of Governor Sir John.

25. Annals of King’s Chapel, Vol. II, p. 336.

and stately elegance. Some of these houses were large, two or three story mansions, with handsome approaches, dignified hall ways, wainscotted drawing-rooms, fine stair-cases with carved balusters, ample tiled fireplaces, classic mantelpieces, and walls hung with portraits and landscapes by the best American painters before the Revolution. Lady Agnes Frankland, as is well known, up to the time of the siege lived chiefly at Hopkinton, but her house in the North End of Boston, to which she came early in the siege, is minutely described by James Fenimore Cooper. The Frankland house was of brick, heavily trimmed with wood, and had a spacious hall, off which led the drawing-room, the panels of whose walls were painted with imaginary landscapes and ruins. The walls were also "burdened with armorial bearings," indicating the noble alliances of the Frankland family. "Beneath the surbase were smaller divisions of panels, painted with various architectural devices; and above it rose, between the compartments, fluted pilasters of wood, with gilded capitals. A heavy wooden and highly ornamental cornice stretched above the whole, furnishing an appropriate outline for the walls. . . . The floor, which shone equally with the furniture, was tessellated with small alternate squares of red cedar and pine. . . . On either side of the ponderous and laboured mantel were arched compartments, of plainer work, denoting use, the sliding panels of which, being raised, displayed a buffet groaning with massive plate."

In 1766, John Adams wrote in his diary: "Dined at Mr. Nick Boylston's—an elegant dinner indeed. Went over the house to view the furniture, which alone cost a thousand pounds sterling. A seat it is for a nobleman, a prince. The Turkey carpets, the painted hangings, the marble tables, the rich beds with crimson damask curtains and counterpanes, the beautiful chimney clock, the spacious garden, are the most magnificent of anything I have ever seen."²⁶

As early as 1708 John Oldmixon, an English author, after visiting Boston wrote: "A gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their houses, their furniture, their tables,

26. "Memorial History of Boston," Vol. 2, p. 452.

their dress and conversation, which perhaps is as showy as that of the most considerable tradesmen in London." Thirty-two years later, in 1740, Mr. Joseph Bennett, another Englishman, writes: "There are several families in Boston that keep a coach and pair of horses and some few drive with four horses, but for chaises and saddlehorses considering the bulk of the place they outdo London. . . . When the ladies ride out to take the air, it is generally in a chaise or chair, and then but a single horse; and they have a negro servant to drive them. The gentlemen ride out here as in England, some in chairs, and others on horseback, with their negroes to attend them. They travel in much the same manner on business as for pleasure, and are attended in both by their black equipages. . . . For their domestic amusements, every afternoon, after drinking tea, the gentlemen and ladies walk the Mall, and from thence adjourn to one another's houses to spend the evening,—those that are not disposed to attend the evening lecture; which they may do, if they please, six nights in seven the year round. . . . The government being in the hands of dissenters, they don't admit of plays or music houses, but of late they have set up an assembly, to which some of the ladies resort. . . . But notwithstanding plays and such like diversions do not obtain here, they don't seem to be dispirited nor moped for want of them, for both the ladies and gentlemen dress and appear as gay, in common, as courtiers in England on a coronation or birthday. And the ladies here visit, drink tea, and indulge every little piece of gentility to the height of the mode, and neglect the affairs of their families with as good grace as the finest ladies in London."

"I remember," says Miss Dorothy Dudley of Cambridge, writing after the Revolution of her beloved Christ Church, in the university town, "the families as they used to sit in church. First, in front of the chancel, the Temples, who every Sabbath drove from Ten Hills Farm; Mr. Robert Temple and his accomplished wife and lovely daughters. . . . Behind the Temples sat the Royalls, relatives of Mrs. Henry Vassall, the Inmans, the Borlands, who owned and occupied the Bishop's Palace, as the magnificent mansion built by Rev. Mr. Apthorp, opposite the President's house, is called. The house is grand in

proportions and architecture, and is fitted in every respect to bear the name which clings to it. It was thought that Mr. Apthorp had an eye to the bishopric when he came to take charge of Christ Church, and put up this house of stately elegance. . . . Among his congregation were the Faneuils, the Lechmeres, the Lees, the Olivers, the Ruggleses, the Phipses, and the Vassalls. Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Lechmere, and Mrs. Vassall the elder, are sisters of Colonel David Phips, and daughters of Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips. The 'pretty little, dapper man, Colonel Oliver,' as Reverend Mr. Sergeant used to call in sport our sometime lieutenant-governor, married a sister of Colonel John Vassall the younger, and Colonel Vassall married his. Mrs. Ruggles and Mrs. Borland are aunts of John Vassall's. These families were on intimate terms with one another, and scarcely a day passed that did not bring them together for social pleasures. . . . I well remember the train of carriages that rolled up to the church door, bearing the worshippers to the Sabbath service. The inevitable red cloak of Judge Joseph Lee, his badge of office in the King's service, hung in graceful folds around his stately form; the beauty and elegance of the ladies were conspicuous, as silks and brocades rustled at every motion, and India shawls told of wealth and luxury."

From Copley's portraits, painted in Boston during the ten or fifteen years preceding the year 1774, when the painter finally left for Europe, we can see how richly the Boston people dressed. One of Copley's woman sitters is in brown satin, the sleeves ruffled at the elbows, a lace shawl and a small lace cap, and is adorned with a necklace of pearls. Another has a bodice of blue satin, and an overdress of pink silk, trimmed with ermine. One is in olive-brown brocaded damask, one in white satin, with a purple velvet train edged with gold, one in blue satin, a Marie Stuart cap, and a sapphire necklace, one in pink damask, open in front to show a petticoat of white satin trimmed with silver lace, and one in yellow satin, also with silver lace, and with a necklace and earrings of pearls. Hardly less richly dressed, also, are Copleys men. One full-wigged gentleman wears a brown broadcloth coat and a richly embroidered satin waistcoat, one a gold-laced brown velvet coat and small clothes,

one a blue velvet doublet with slashed sleeves and a large collar trimmed with white lace (evidently a fancy costume), one a brown dinner coat, a blue satin waistcoat with silver buttons, and ruffles at the neck and wrists, and one a crimson velvet morning gown, with white small-clothes, and a rich dark velvet cap.²⁷

Before the Revolution, as we have seen, a very considerable group of New England families were permanently settled in Halifax, the Brentons, Fairbankses, Fillises, Gerrishes, Gorhams, Greens, Lawlors, Lawsons, Monks, Morrises, Newtons, Prescotts, Salters and others; when the Revolution was at its height, or had passed, we find the New England element permanently increased by such important families as the Bloworses, Brattles, Brinleys, Byleses, Gays, Halliburtons, Howes, Hutchinsons, Lovells, Lydes, Minots, Robies, Rogerses, Snellings, Sternses, Thomases, Wentworths,²⁸ and Winslows, with others besides.²⁹ Among well known Boston Loyalists who died at Halifax were William Brattle, Theophilus Lillie and Byfield Lyde, who died in 1776, John Lovell, the Tory schoolmaster, in 1778, Jonathan Snelling, in 1782, Christopher Minot, in 1783, Jeremiah Dummer Rogers and Edward Winslow, Sr.,³⁰ in 1784, Jonathan

27. See Mr. Frank W. Bayley's "The Life and Works of John Singleton Copley," Boston, 1915.

28. Sir John Wentworth, Bart., who was governor of Nova Scotia from 1792 until 1808, was from New Hampshire, but his wife, who was his first cousin, was a daughter of Mr. Samuel Wentworth of Boston. Lady Wentworth's brother Benning was also one of the Refugees in Halifax and for some years was secretary of the province. To this position Sir John's only son, Charles Mary, was likewise appointed, but he probably never assumed the office.

29. In a letter to his aunts in Boston, written from Halifax December 24, 1783, Mather Byles, 3d, eldest son of Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, 2d, writes: "The final evacuation of New York has taken place and many New England gentry arrived here from that place are appointed to the first offices in the Garrison. Messrs. Brinley, Townsend, Coffin, Winslow, and Taylor are among the number, so that our Refugee party will be very strong this winter." From other records we know that some of the Loyalists who settled permanently in Halifax went on to New York with General Howe, but several years later returned to Halifax. This was true of Edward Winslow, Sr.

30. Mr. Edward Winslow's funeral at Halifax in June, 1784 (he died June 8) was conducted with great ceremony. The pall-bearers were Mr. John (afterwards Sir John) Wentworth, General Edmund Fanning, then lieutenant-governor (under Governor Parr), Hon. Arthur Goold, Brigadier-General John Small, Hon. Judge Foster Hutchinson, and Henry Lloyd, Esq. The chief mourner was Colonel Edward Winslow, Jr., who was followed by the family servants in deep

Sterns or Stearns in 1798, Judge Foster Hutchinson in 1799, George Brinley in 1809, Archibald Cunningham in 1820, and Chief-Justice Sampson Salter Blowers in 1842. Of Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, the ninth governor of Nova Scotia from Colonel Cornwallis, a New Hampshire man but with a Boston wife, we shall have much to say in a later chapter of this series. Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles, previously of Hardwick, Massachusetts, one of Gage's mandamus councillors, died in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia, in 1795, and Hon. Nathaniel Ray Thomas of Marshfield, Massachusetts, another mandamus councillor, died at Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1791.

When we come to follow the fortunes of Halifax in detail after the arrival of the Boston Loyalists, we shall see how greatly the large, energetic group of these people that settled permanently there stimulated the town's activities and gave fresh colour to its social life. But the prominence in the Nova Scotia capital of these new comers was not by any means viewed with entire complaisance by the earlier settlers. There had been at the very first beginning of the settlement of Halifax," says Murdoch in his History of Nova Scotia, "something like a division between the settlers from England and those who joined them from New England, but this difference died out shortly after, without occasioning much mischief, the people being united to defend themselves against the French and their Indian allies. Now, however, circumstances had brought into the country a new and numerous population from New England, New York, etc., and a rivalry of interests sprang up between their prominent men and the older inhabitants. . . . The party division

mourning. After this walked in pairs, Sampson Salter Blowers and William Taylor, Esq's. their excellencies the Governor and the General of the forces, Gregory Townsend, Esq., and Lieutenant Hailes of the 38th Grenadiers, William Coffin, Esq., Captain Morrice Robinson, Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, Captain Addenbrooke, the Governor's aid-de-camp, and Lieutenant Gordon, major of brigade. Next came the members of his Majesty's Council, "a number of the respectable inhabitants," and many gentlemen of the army and navy. The funeral service was rendered in St. Paul's Church by the Rev. Dr. Breynton and the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, and the burial was in the town burying-ground in Pleasant street, which bears the name "St. Paul's." In this cemetery a stone was erected to Mr. Winslow, which bears a lengthy inscription. See Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., 2nd Series, Vol. 3.

thus originated extended for some years to the house of assembly, and it was long before it was quite allayed. An anonymous correspondent of the *Nova Scotia Gazette* at this time alludes to it as a division into 'old comers and new comers,' or 'loyalists and ancient inhabitants.' "

One of the most serious local issues of this strife was a severe charge of maladministration of justice, brought by two attorneys, Messrs. Jonathan Sterns or Stearns and William Taylor, refugees from Massachusetts with Howe's fleet, against the Nova Scotia chief-justice, Isaac Deschamps, and an assistant judge of the supreme court, Judge James Brenton. Deschamps was of Swiss extraction and had long been in the province, Brenton was from Newport, Rhode Island, and he too had early settled in Halifax. The attorneys publicly charged that cases brought by Loyalist settlers could not get fair trial at the hands of these judges, and so strongly did they press their charges that the judges were finally impeached. For a time the lawyers bringing the charges were disbarred, but the Chief Justice resigned his office, and Judge Brenton like him for some time remained under a cloud. At last, however, in 1792, when the case had dragged along for between four and five years, the Privy Council in England, to whom it had been appealed, acquitted the judges and the matter was finally set at rest. In a letter to his sisters in Boston, in May, 1788, the Rev. Dr. Mather Byles writes: "From this day [April 2nd] to the 21st, my time was entirely engrossed by the dispute between the old inhabitants of this Province and the American Loyalists. The flame, which has been so long kindling, now blazes with the utmost violence. I first joined in a remonstrance to the Governor signed by more than two hundred inhabitants of Halifax, and when this was not properly attended to, I wrote several letters to my English correspondents recommending Sterns and Taylor, who on the 21st sailed for England as our agents, to seek that redress at White-Hall which it was impossible to obtain from a corrupt junto. They are both gentlemen of the law, my particular friends, and men of the most unblemished character; they have been grossly injured, and I hope God will graciously succeed

them. The case was so perfectly plain that I thought myself obliged to be open, active, and fearless; and I have the pleasure to learn that remonstrances similar to ours signed by many hundreds, are constantly arriving from all parts of the country.”

The coming of thousands of New York Loyalists to Nova Scotia in 1783 furnishes material for a highly interesting chapter of Loyalist history, which, since the facts all have a close bearing on Halifax history, we shall feel it necessary to give in some detail as this narration proceeds. Among the vast number of New York Tories, who finally settled in New Brunswick a considerable number of Massachusetts Tories also settled, and some of the historic families of New Brunswick, like the Blisses, Chalners, Chipmans, Coffins, Paddocks, Sewalls, Uphams, and Winslows, have been of this stock. The most influential New York Loyalist that settled in Halifax was the Right Reverend Charles Inglis, D. D., previously Rector of Trinity Church, New York City, who in 1787 came to Halifax as the first incumbent of the newly erected Nova Scotia Anglican See. Until 1816, when he died, Bishop Inglis continued to exert an influence in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in religious and educational matters, that has not ceased to be felt to the present day.³¹

31. "An Occasional," writing in the *Halifax Acadian Recorder* newspaper for March 21, 1914, says:

"Let me remind you that Charles Inglis, the first Episcopal bishop of Nova Scotia; Sir John Wentworth, governor of this province at the beginning of this century; Edward Winslow, a member of a distinguished Massachusetts family, whose death at Halifax, in 1784, was followed by funeral ceremonies of unusual distinction; Sampson Salter Blowers and Ward Chipman, chief justices, the first of Nova Scotia, and the second of New Brunswick; Judge Sewall, of New Brunswick, an early and intimate friend of John Adams; Foster Hutchinson, judge of the supreme court of Nova Scotia; Jonathan Bliss, attorney-general of New Brunswick, and Benning Wentworth, provincial secretary of Nova Scotia, were all Loyalists, and all, with two exceptions, graduated at Harvard; that Sir Brenton Halliburton, whose life story has been well told by the Rev. Dr. Hill; Egerton Ryerson, founder of the well-known school system of Ontario; Joseph Howe, of whom no Nova Scotian can be ignorant; and Judge Stewart, of the Supreme Court of this province, were sons of Loyalists; that Sir John Inglis, the brave defender of Lucknow; Sir Frederick P. Robinson and Sir W. H. Robinson, both knighted on account of their military services; Lemuel Allan Wilmot, like Joseph Howe, a leader in the struggle for responsible government, and, like him, at one time a governor of his native province; Sir George Cathcart and Major Welsford, who fell in the Crimea . . . were grandsons of Loyalists. The late Sir Robert Hodgson, lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island, was also of Loyalist descent. Let me remind you of these and of many others living or dead, whose names may occur to you, with the suggestion that a study of the history of the Loyalists at large would swell the brief list given to an almost indefinite ex-

In the next chapter of this history we shall discuss the social life of Halifax after the war of the Revolution, giving also some account of the striking physical features of the town.

tent, and you may form some idea of the value of the men and of the descendants of the men who were driven abroad by the bitterness of the revolutionary victors."

In this enumeration the writer makes the mistake of supposing that it was Judge Foster Hutchinson of Massachusetts who became a judge in Nova Scotia. The Nova Scotia Judge Foster Hutchinson was son of the Massachusetts judge.

Housekeeping was conducted on unalterable rules, and no work that could be avoided was done on Sunday. All meals were served cold. A member of Groton Church. Every year for fifty-six years she read the Bible through. In 1813, Commodore Decatur was blockaded in New London Harbor by an English fleet. Inhabitants feared battle. Women fled into the country taking their children and valuables. "Mother Bailey" sent her effects, but remained to face the danger. Supply of flannel being short for wadding, a search was made in the village for some but not half enough was obtained. After a moment's hesitation, "Mother Bailey" seized her scissors, which every matron of that day carried at her side, quickly clipped the strings of her flannel skirt and stripping the garment from her person handed it to the messenger saying: "It is a good heavy one, but I do not care for that." The martial petticoat and its patriotic donor have ever since been renowned in our local annals.

She was honored with visits from distinguished soldiers and statesmen. Lafayette and suite called upon her in 1824. Presidents Monroe, Jackson and Van Buren, Colonel R. M. Johnson and General Cass. She was noted for her qualities as a nurse.

Mr. Bailey died in August, 1848, it is said he was the last survivor of the Fort Griswold massacre, first postmaster of Groton office held till his death and thereafter Mrs. Bailey held the office till her death three years later, January 10, 1851, aged ninety-two years.

The foregoing is a copy of some of the facts contained in an article written for the Anna Warner Bailey Chapter by Mrs. H. T. Palmer and Miss M. E. Benjamin, and published by Connecticut Chapters D. A. R. and sent to the magazine by A. A. Thomas.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

NO. III

SOCIAL LIFE OF HALIFAX AFTER THE REVOLUTION

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

"All hail to the day when the Britons came over
And planted their standard, with sea foam still wet,
Around and above us their spirits will hover,
Rejoicing to mark how we honour it yet.
Beneath it the emblems they cherished are waving,
The Rose of Old England the roadside perfumes,
The Shamrock and Thistle the north winds are braving,
Securely the Mayflower blushes and blooms."

—HON. JOSEPH HOWE.

(On the hundredth anniversary of Cornwallis's landing at Chebucto.)

"Be aristocracy the only joy:
Let commerce perish, let the world expire!"

—ANONYMOUS SATIRICAL POEM.

IN the landscape of Nova Scotia at large, to the cultivated traveller as to any impressionable native of the province, there is a strongly compelling if never wholly definable charm, that stirs deeply the romantic and poetic elements in the mind. If the romance of the early settlement of the country, which was one of the most conspicuous and treasured of the colonies of ancient Bourbon France, is ever exaggerated in the mind of the historian or the poet,—the romance of Port Royal, Pisiquid, Beauséjour, and Grand Pré,—there is yet in the varied natural charm of the landscape enough to cast an unusual spell over the imagination and quicken the soul to poetic fervor. The Nova Scotia landscape has great variety, we find in it the verdant luxuriance and apparently exhaustless fertility of the broad dyke-lands about the Bay of Fundy, the deep Italian blue of Minas Basin, the sweet, sheltered grace of the Valley of the



THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON



Gaspereau, the gray lights and purple shades and wraith-like mists that pass over the steep slopes of the North Mountain, the stern aspect of Blomidon, as it looks out coldly on the restless tide, the marvellous orchard-bloom that rolls, pink and perfumed, in great waves across the landscape in early June, the red glow of the laden apple trees in October, the wide-spreading fields of red clover, the ridges of flaming goldenrod, the splendid patches of purple wild asters,—with on the Atlantic seaboard and along the rivers that flow thither, in contrast to the drowsy islands that dot the bays where these rivers empty, a tumbled wealth of rugged scenery that gives virility and strength to the whole.

Of the situation and natural setting of the capital of Nova Scotia, the city of Halifax, a graceful Canadian writer, Dr. Archibald MacMechan, has recently written: "One feature must be plain even to the least observant, the unmatched magnificence of the setting. 'Beautiful for situation,' the phrase of the Psalmist for his sacred city, fits the capital of the Mayflower Province. Before her feet lies the great land-locked harbour, where the old three-deckers used to swing at their anchors; on her right hand extends the long picturesque fiord we call the 'Arm;'¹ on her left is a second inner haven, twenty miles in circuit, called Bedford Basin. In the very centre is the hill crowned with a citadel. From this point of vantage you can see how the peaceful roofs huddle close around the base of the projecting stronghold, and how the dark blue water washes all sides of the triangular peninsula on which the city stands."

In general aspect Halifax is a gray, smoke-coloured town, largely built with wooden houses, but containing likewise a good many substantial buildings of brick and stone, the most historic

1. The "Northwest Arm" extends inward from the sea perhaps more than a mile, and is lined on both sides with comfortable cottages, occasional club-houses, and tiny bungalows for summer use. Near the head of the Arm is an islet known as Melville Island, which one reaches by a road called the "Dingle drive." On this island stands the little naval prison, where after the war with France, numbers of French sailors who had been captured on ships-of-war, privateers, and merchant vessels were for months confined. These sailors were cheerful, industrious fellows, who employed themselves by making bone boxes, dominoes, and other small articles, and it became the fashion to row over to the island in summer, or skate across in the winter, to purchase trinkets from the men. The war with the United States, of 1812, brought crowds of American prisoners also here.

of which are the Province Building and Government House. The first of these buildings Frederic Cozzens, an American author of the last generation, in his book "A Month with the Bluenoses," describes as a structure of great solidity and respectability, and this emphatically the building is. There can be few more solid or better proportioned buildings on the continent. It is constructed of rich brown freestone, its corner-stone was laid August 12, 1811, and the structure was completed in 1819, at a cost of \$209,400. For two or three decades after it was built it was often said to be the finest building, architecturally, in North America. Within its walls are the House of Assembly, the Legislative and Executive Council Chambers, and the combined Provincial and Nova Scotia Historical Society's libraries, which contain not only many valuable books, but a great wealth of manuscript records of priceless value for purposes of history. On the walls of the Legislative Council Chamber hang portraits of King George II, King George III, and King William IV; Queen Charlotte and Queen Caroline; Sir John Eardley Wilmot Inglis, the "Hero of Lucknow;" Sir Fenwick Williams, the "Hero of Kars;" Sir Charles Hastings Doyle, Sir Brenton Haliburton, Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the author of "Sam Slick," and a portrait by Benjamin West of Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, in scarlet gown, and wig.² This Province Building is distinguished not only as the home of the Provincial Legislature, but as having been the scene of several historic balls, one as early as 1826, in honour of Sir James Kempt, an English governor of the province, one in 1841, in

2. There are other portraits in this building besides the ones we have mentioned, notably a recently acquired one of the late King Edward. In private houses in Halifax there are also a few notable portraits, the finest being a Copley of the elder Dr. Mather Byles, of Boston, painted in 1774, it is believed, the year Copley finally left Boston for England. This distinguished Copley belongs to W. Bruce Almon, Esq., M. D., and has been reproduced, by its owner's kind permission, in the writer's latest book, "The Famous Mather Byles." In Halifax also, in the possession of Major William B. Almon, is an interesting portrait of Miss Catherine Byles, daughter of Dr. Byles, senior, which was painted by Henry Pelham, Copley's half-brother. This also, by the owner's kind permission has been reproduced in the writer's book.

A highly important and very complete resumé of paintings and engravings done in Halifax by Robert Field, William Valentine, and others, who worked in this province, has lately been published by Mr. Harry Piers, the able archivist and local historian of Nova Scotia, in the eighteenth volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

honour of Prince de Joinville, and one, the best remembered of all, in 1860, in honour of his late Majesty, King Edward Seventh, then Prince of Wales.

The first Governor's House in Halifax was a small wooden building, the frame of which, as we have seen, was ordered from Boston, which stood on the site of the present Province Building, its primitive defences being cannon mounted on casks or hogsheads filled with gravel. Whether this house was completed as early as October, 1749, we do not know, but by the fourteenth of that month Governor Cornwallis had removed from his ship to the shore, and the Council was meeting in his "apartment." In 1758 Governor Lawrence built a new residence on the same spot, to which Lord William Campbell added a ball-room, later governors still further enlarging and beautifying the house. In 1800, on the site of an old wooden building on Pleasant Street long used to shelter field officers and for other military purposes, the corner-stone of the present Government House was laid, and here ever since it was finished successive governors have kept their little courts, holding state levees, giving state dinners and balls, and more quietly entertaining hospitably not only native Nova Scotians but many distinguished foreign guests as well. This Government House is an exact copy of the famous London Lansdowne House, and for many decades it was naturally the chief centre of Nova Scotia's smartest social life.³

3. The governors of Nova Scotia in succession, from 1749 to 1800, all of course during their terms of office residing at Government House, were: Col. the Hon. Edward Cornwallis; Col. Peregrine Thomas Hopson; Col. Charles Lawrence; Henry Ellis, Esq.; Col. the Hon. Montagu Wilmot; Rt. Hon. Lord William Campbell, fourth son of the fourth Duke of Argyle; Major Francis Legge; John Parr, Esq.; Sir John Wentworth, Bart. From 1800 to 1900 they were: Sir John Wentworth; Lt. Gen. Sir. George Prevost, Bart; Gen. Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, K. B.; Lt. Gen. George Ramsay, ninth Earl of Dalhousie; Lt. Gen. Sir James Kempt, G. C. B.; Gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland, K. C. B.; Major Gen. Sir Colin Campbell; Viscount Falkland; Sir John Harvey, K. C. B.; Hon. Augustus Constantine Phipps, 2nd Marquis of Normanby and Earl Mulgrave; Sir Richard Graves Macdonnell, K. C. M. G.; Sir William Fenwick Williams, Bart., K. C. B. a native Nova Scotian, hero of Kars; Sir Charles Hastings Doyle, K. C. M. G.; Hon. Joseph Howe, a native Nova Scotian, whose father was John Howe, the Boston Loyalist; Hon. Sir Adams George Archibald, K. C. M. G., a native Nova Scotian; Matthew Henry Richey, Esq.; Archibald Woodbury McLelan, Esq.; Hon. Sir Malachy Bowes Daly, K. C. M. G.; and Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones, a Nova Scotian of New England descent, who was appointed August 7, 1900, and died in office March 14, 1906.

In a later chapter of this history detailed account may be given of the defences of Halifax, the great Citadel, surrounded with its moat, the various shore batteries along the harbour, the forts on McNab's and George's islands and at Point Pleasant, Fort Clarence, on the Dartmouth side of the harbour, and York Redoubt, far out in the bay. Until about 1870 two regiments of the line were always stationed here, but Egypt and Ireland needing more troops, one was finally withdrawn, and for perhaps thirty years before the Imperial troops were removed there was but one Line Regiment, with the force of Artillery and Engineers about equal in number to a full regiment. There has always been, likewise, in Halifax, a corps of Submarine Engineers specially trained by Imperial officers for manning the harbour defences. As a matter of course there are in the vicinity of the Citadel extensive barracks for the accommodation of soldiers and their families, and quarters for those officers who, unmarried, are not living in rented houses in the town. Not far from the centre of the city, towards the South, is Bellevue, now an officers' mess, a large wooden house which was long the residence of the General in command, and in the far northern part of the town, overlooking the Dockyard, stands what was "Admiralty House," where until the Dockyard was closed, from May to December of every year the Admiral of the Fleet on the North American station gave a succession of agreeable dinners and balls. The beginning of the Citadel was a block-house with a parapet, built in 1753, on the summit of the hill, then eighty feet higher than now, that overlooks the town. This block-house has port-holes in its sides for cannon, and all around it a ditch and ramparts of earth and wood, strengthened by palisades or pickets driven close together. In 1795 his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent caused the old fortifications to be removed and began the erection of the present Citadel, which has accommodation within for a regiment, and has always had ready signal communication with the harbour forts. For many decades in the past, with measured march, from the eastern entrance of the fortification little companies of soldiers would often be seen issuing, while on extraordinary occasions, as for church parades, the greater part of the regiment, with its band playing,

would magnificently march down the side slope of the hill. Below the glacis, directly facing the middle of the town, is still the old square clock-tower, another conspicuous memorial of the residence in Halifax of the Duke of Kent.

The Dockyard, which was begun in 1758, nine years after Halifax was founded, occupies half a mile of the harbour front, and within its guarded walls anciently stood the Commissioner's residence and other houses for the several employees whose official duties included the landing and shipping of naval stores. The final inclosure was made, as the figures over the central gate announce, on the line of the present wall, in the year 1770. In 1815, one of the historic loyal celebrations of Halifax took place here, after the victory of Waterloo, and many a time the Dockyard has been the scene of brilliant aquatic contests, of which many have been held in Halifax harbour, in earlier or later times. Until late in the nineteenth century, throughout the summers there was hardly a week that several war-ships of the British fleet were not flying their flags in the harbour, hardly an evening when the music of magnificently trained ships' bands did not float from mid-stream across the water to the Halifax or Dartmouth shores. Halifax, as we have intimated, was the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the North American Naval Station, from the middle of May till the latter part of October; then the war-ships took their departure for Bermuda, Nassau, or Jamaica. During their stay society was always in a whirl of dinner giving and dancing, and this gayety was often still further increased by the visit, for longer or shorter time, of some German, French, or American man-of-war.

The closing of the Garrison Chapel in the north end of Halifax made one of the greatest losses the town suffered by the removal of the Imperial troops. From the time when it was opened, the year 1846, until 1905, it was the authorized place of worship for the British soldiers who were not Roman Catholics or Presbyterians, and nothing could exceed the heartiness of the service performed there.⁴ From the Wellington Bar-

4. The corner-stone of the Garrison Chapel was laid in October, 1844, the Rev. Dr. John Thomas Twining then being chaplain. The chapel was closed in 1905, and the next year was purchased by the congregation of Trinity Church, which until 1907 worshipped in a church in Jacob Street. This congregation

racks, from Artillery Park, and from the Citadel, on Sunday mornings, the troops, with bands playing, would march to the church for a crisp military service, for when the twelve o'clock gun fired the prayers and the short sermon must promptly be done. To civilian worshippers it was always an inspiration to hear the soldiers' firm responses, and their hearty singing, as accompanied by the organ and several instruments of the band they rendered the familiar chants of the Prayer-Book and the "Ancient and Modern" hymns. Soldiers who were Presbyterians as a rule went to St. Matthew's Church, and Roman Catholics to St. Mary's Cathedral, on Spring Garden Road. Not infrequently in the quiet Halifax streets would be heard the dull beating of the muffled drum which headed the sad funeral procession of some private soldier or soldier's wife or child, who as the waning sun threw purple shadows round the Citadel, in barracks or hospital had breathed his last on earth and gone into the unseen. On a low gun-carriage the still form would now be passing to Camp Hill Cemetery, or the Military Burying ground at Fort Massey, or to the Cemetery of the Holy Cross, there to be laid away to moulder slowly to dust. From the burial, the band, according to custom, would always return, playing no longer the "Dead March in Saul," but the liveliest popular airs the bandsmen knew. In these Halifax burying grounds where soldiers and soldiers' families lie are touching inscriptions to the memory of men of all ranks in the service, lieutenant-colonels, captains, ensigns, colour-sergeants, staff-sergeants, and corporals, and to many a hard-working soldier's wife or sweet little one, who in the long, cold Halifax winter, perhaps rendered more susceptible to the climate by previous residence in Bermuda or India, had sadly drooped and died.

has occupied the Garrison Chapel since 1907. A newspaper notice at the time of the laying of the corner-stone of the chapel reads: "Yesterday afternoon, October 23d, 1844, at three o'clock, the corner-stone of the new Military Chapel was laid. The troops were in attendance, accompanied by the band of the Royals. Sir Jeremiah Dickson, Colonel Calder, Colonel Bazelgatte, and Major Tryon, and other officers belonging to the military department were in attendance.

"A part of the 90th Psalm was sung, and the Reverend Doctor Twining offered prayer. Sir Jeremiah Dickson performed the ceremony of laying the stone, on which was a suitable Latin inscription. Reverend Doctor Twining remarked in the course of his address that he had held services in no less than eleven different buildings." For a brief sketch of Dr. Twining, see Eaton's "History of King's County, Nova Scotia," p. 851.

A highly picturesque feature of Halifax has always been the "Green Market," held on Wednesday and Saturday mornings on the sidewalks, near the Post Office and the Market Slip. All summer through, as regularly as these mornings came, a mixed company of "Chezzetcookers" and negroes, the former some of the dark-skinned descendants of the old Acadians, have been accustomed to troop into town, across the Dartmouth Ferry, their rude wagons laden with farm produce, poultry, flowers, and domestic small wares of various sorts, and ranging themselves along the side-walks unobtrusively offer their goods for sale. The negroes, descended from slaves who at the time of the Revolution or in the war of 1812 escaped from the Southern States, are so like those one may see still in Portsmouth, Virginia, or Charleston, South Carolina, that watching them squatted on the pavement in motley garments and gay head coverings, and listening to their thick negro dialect, one might easily imagine one's self in far more southern climes. Describing the buyers at this open-air market, some writer of early in the nineteenth century whose name is unknown to us said: "Here we can see the regimental mess man, the smart gun-steward from the Dockyard, the caterer for the ships, and the natty private soldier who has just set up housekeeping with a newly made wife from the servant class of the town, jostling gentlemen's servants in livery and eager-eyed boarding house keepers, or even the mistress of some aristocratic mansion, who in fresh morning gown has thriftily risen early to do her own marketing for the day."

The Halifax fish market, too, has always been liberally supplied and well patronized,—salmon, cusk, halibut, pollock, mackerel, lobsters, herring, gaspereaux, and trout being abundant and cheap. A story is told of a certain naval captain of old days, new to the station, who, probably better accustomed to the prices which ruled at Billingsgate than at Halifax, once gave his steward a sovereign to buy lobsters for the cabin dinner. The man returned with a small boat load of the crustaceans in two or three wheelbarrows and presented them to the captain, whose surprise can be easily imagined.

The residences of the wealthier Haligonians have in large part been built on the sloping wooded shores of the beautiful

“Arm,” but they have not by any means been confined to these charming outskirts of the town, they have been scattered through the city, some even daring to show themselves far in the mostly unfashionable extreme “north end.”

Another interesting feature, added to Halifax in the nineteenth century, is the large park, at Point Pleasant, in the south part of the city, the point where the Arm opens in from the Atlantic below the steep, heavily wooded shore. The Park comprises several hundred acres in an almost natural state, but with nature's primeval ruggedness judiciously softened and refined. The Halifax Public Garden, too, has been for years a spot of unusual beauty, in artistic arrangement and marvellous wealth of shrubbery and floral bloom easily rivalling the finest public gardens of the old or the new world.⁵

These were some of the attractive physical features of the Halifax of the nineteenth century, as they are of the Halifax of to-day,—who, it will be asked, were the people who actually created and gave character to the finished town? The negative answer to that question is that they were not, save in a few cases, the original British settlers that came with Colonel Cornwallis in 1749.⁶ To no small extent they were native-born Bostonians, or other New Englanders, who almost immediately after Halifax was founded, drawn thither through previous knowledge of the province, or by the fresh fame of the Cornwallis enterprise, brought their families here, and in official positions, or in trade,⁷ or both, soon rose to influence, and in some cases to a

5. The able director of the Halifax Public Garden for many years has been Mr. Powers. One often wishes that the Boston Public Garden could have had the benefit of his artistic skill.

6. The character of many of the settlers of Halifax Governor Cornwallis brought with him from England was not by any means pleasing to this eminent leader in the British colonization of Nova Scotia. On the 24th of July, 1749, he writes the Lords of Trade that the number of men among the colonists fitted to carry on the settlement creditably is very small. Some were “idle and worthless persons who had embraced the opportunity to get provisions for a year without labour, or sailors who only wanted a passage to New England” and had embraced the opportunity afforded by the expedition to obtain passage free to American shores.

7. Almost immediately after his arrival at Halifax, though the precise date we do not know, Governor Cornwallis entered into an agreement with Messrs. Charles Apthorp and Thomas Hancock, influential merchants of Boston, to furnish the new colony with supplies, and this contract evidently lasted for years. At some early period, Messrs. De Lancey and Watts, of New York seem to have shared in furnishing Halifax with supplies.

much wider prosperity than had found opportunity to gain in their native provinces. The great migration of Bostonians to Halifax, as we have seen in an earlier chapter of this history, came when Boston was evacuated by the British in March, 1776, but from 1749 to that period probably not a year had passed in which some native of Massachusetts, usually of Boston, had not transferred himself, and his family if he had one, permanently to the new Nova Scotia capital. Among very early influential families in Halifax, it is true, were such families of immediately British origin as Best, Bulkeley, Collier, Nesbitt, Piers, Pyke, Wenman, etc., but from Massachusetts, chiefly from Boston, much before the Revolution came the Belchers, Binneys, Blagdons ("Blackden"), Clevelandes, Fairbankses, Fillises, Gorhams, Grays, Greens, Howes, Lawlors, Monks, Morrises, Newtons, Prescotts, Salters, Sandersons, Shaws, Tidmarshes, and others, almost all which families had been people of excellent standing among the New England commercial gentry to which they belonged. At, or following in the wake of, the Revolution came another for the most part highly connected group of permanent settlers from New England, families named Blowers, Brinley, Brown, Byfield, Byles, Clarke, De Blois, Gay, Greenwood, Halliburton, Hart, Howe, Lawson, Minns, Nutting, Robie, Sawyer, Snelling, Stayner, Wentworth, Winslow, and Wylde; while in the same movement came from New York the Inglis family, and the Lynch, Pryor, Thorne, Tremaine, and Wilkins families; from New Jersey the Boggs, Cunard, and Odell families; from Maryland the Stewarts; from Virginia the Wallaces; and from Georgia, through the island of Jamaica, the Johnstons. A large number of Halifax families of note in the nineteenth century did not trace to the United States, but came independently and singly at intervals, before the end of the eighteenth century or in the early part of the nineteenth, directly, or in some few instances through other British colonies, from Great Britain or Ireland. Such were the Allans, Allisons, Andersons, Archibalds, Beckwiths, Blacks, Bowies, Bremners, Breyntons, Brymers, Bullocks, Butlers, Campbells, Cochrans, Crawleys, Creightons, Crichtons, Cunninghams, Dalys, Donaldsons, Doulls, Duffuses, Fancklins, Francklyns, Frasers, Georges, Grahams, Grassies, a second

family of Grays, the founder of the Hare family, the Henrys, two families of Hills, the Hostermans, Kennys, Macleans, McDonalds, McNabs, Mitchells, Morrows, Murdochs, Oxleys, Parkers, Richardsons, Richeys, Ritchies, Slayters, Stairses, Sterlings, Thomsons, Tobins, Twinings, Uniackes, Woodgates, and Youngs, some of whom, however, like the Archibalds, Macleans, and Ritchies had settled first in other counties of the province. Of important American names that came into Halifax through the migration from New England to other parts of Nova Scotia in 1760, we have Albro, Chipman, Cogswell, Collins, De Wolfe, Harrington, Hunt, Longley, Starr, Troop, Whidden, and Wier. The Almon family, always of high social standing in Halifax, was founded here by Dr. James William Almon, a physician, born probably in Newport, Rhode Island, though on his father's side of Italian origin, who married after the Revolution the eldest daughter of the noted Tory clergyman, who fled here from Boston, the younger Dr. Mather Byles.

The character of the social life of Halifax throughout the town's whole history, has depended of course very largely on the town's commercial prosperity, and for a small, remotely situated eastern American town the prosperity of Halifax for many decades was rather unusually great. Along the water front of the city stand many staunch granite warehouses, where before the days of steamships not a few considerable fortunes were made in the United-States or the British-West-Indian trade. In Halifax, as is well known, the Cunards early established a business that laid the foundation of their world-renowned enterprise, the great steamship line that bears their name.⁸ In

8. Mr. Frederick P. Fairbanks, a native Haligonian, from whom this chapter will hereafter quote liberally, writes:

"In 1838 Samuel Cunard was a prominent merchant in Halifax and agent for the East India Company. In response to certain circulars sent out by the British government he went to England and became associated with George Burns and David MacIver; and together they raised money and started the Cunard Service. Then they made a contract with the government to carry the mails for seven years between Liverpool and Boston, and Halifax and Boston; and they got a subsidy of \$80,000 per annum for this service. They were to employ four steamers; these were at first the *Britannia*, *Acadia*, *Calendonia*, and *Columbia*. The *Britannia* sailed from Liverpool on Friday, July fourth, 1840 and inaugurated the service. The facts connected with this service are very interesting; the above ships were followed by the *Hibernia*, *Cambria*, *America*, *Niagara*, *Europa*, *Asia*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Scotia*. These ended the paddle wheelers. The *Britannia* took 14 days and eight hours to cross.

1825 a group of merchants of local note, of whom Samuel Cunard (afterward Sir Samuel Cunard, Bart.) was one, founded here the first joint-stock banking house in the province, and one of the founders of this bank, the Honorable Enos Collins, of a Cape Cod, Massachusetts, family, son-in-law of Sir Brenton Halliburton, finally died in the town worth six and a half millions of dollars, a very great fortune for the days in which it was acquired.⁹ Nor did the town's commercial prosperity cease when sailing ships gave place to steamships on the busy seas, after that period, as is true of it to-day, Halifax became a chief distributing port for almost the whole of British America.

Given a certain amount of commercial prosperity, the overshadowing and largely controlling influence in the social life of Halifax in the nineteenth century was undoubtedly exerted by the presence of the army and navy. But even this influence, strong, and foreign to practical American social ideals, as it was, could not change the fact that fundamentally Halifax was, as it had been from the beginning, essentially an American town. Up to the Revolution, Boston had been virtually an English provincial community, but with an independence of spirit and a power of creating fresh ideals that belonged strictly to the new world rather than the old. From the start, Halifax drew much of its best life directly from Boston; its earliest trade was with the Massachusetts capital, and the frames of its first public buildings came from there, from Boston shops the necessary household stores of its people were replenished, and almost immediately after its founding, as we have seen, Boston people of

"In my younger days the arrival of what was then generally designated 'the English steamer' was a matter of public importance. All vessels were signalled from the citadel. The first signal was by balls signifying a large or small steamer, then would come the Cunard private signal showing that it was coming to the Cunard firm, then the distinctive flag denoting the 'English Mail'; so the people would breathe sighs of relief. This experience would be repeated every fortnight right along through the year."

9. The other founders of the bank besides Cunard and Collins were John Clarke, Joseph Allison, William Pryor, James Tobin, Henry Hezekiah Cogswell, and Martin Gay Black. (Eaton's "History of King's County, Nova Scotia, p. 481). Sir Samuel Cunard died worth five millions of dollars, Mr. William Murdoch worth over a million and a half, and Mr. Charles Murdoch worth a million. Many persons in Halifax in the 19th century accumulated from seven or eight hundred thousand down to a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers (a Boston born man) died worth four hundred thousand, and Chief Justice Sir William Young worth three hundred and fifty thousand.

influence poured into the town. When a judiciary needed to be established for the province, as of course was quickly the case, an able Boston born lawyer of eminent family, Mr. Jonathan Belcher, was called to be the chief justice, and in the determined movement of the Halifax people soon after for representative government, Mr. Belcher, in opposition to the governor, as became a man reared in a province where representative institutions largely prevailed, was the chief mover. When the first Assembly was actually created, an overwhelming number of the members elected were, like Mr. Belcher, Boston born men.¹⁰

In structure and general tone, Boston before the Revolution was much more aristocratic than it was after the struggle. And it is a great question whether with the passing of the town's control into the hands of men steeped in the democratic spirit, Boston did not suffer forever the loss of some of her very finest ideals. In Halifax there was no Revolution, and here we may say emphatically, the best social ideals and most hospitable customs of pre-Revolutionary Boston, for many decades after the Revolution continued to prevail. It is quite true that the general intellectuality, that increased rather than diminished in Boston after the Revolution, was always sadly lacking in Halifax, and that the people, divorced from libraries and having little to stimulate them to think world-problems out, absorbed themselves largely in business and pleasure and petty politics, and that in religion, when they felt the power of religion, they accepted without question common traditional orthodox views. For a long time, both before and after the Revolution, we know, strict moralists deplored the frivolity of Halifax, and censured in scathing terms the low moral standards of its smart social life.

Of the controlling power of the army and navy in Halifax, no visitor to the town in the whole of the nineteenth century could fail to be aware. About the time of the Crimean war, probably

10. The strength of the New England element in Halifax in 1758, is shown by the fact that probably no less than twelve of the nineteen members elected in that year to the first House of Assembly were from either Massachusetts or Connecticut. These were: Jonathan Binney, Robert Campbell, Joseph Fairbanks, Henry Ferguson, John Fillis, William Foye, Joseph Gerrish, Philip Hammond, Henry Newton, William Pantree, Joseph Rundle (probably Randall), and Robert Sanderson. The last of these, Sanderson, was elected Speaker. From the first appointment of members to the Council, Boston men figured largely in that body also.

very soon after the fall of Sebastopol, when Nova Scotia, always, to the present moment, staunchly loyal to England, was more than usually aglow with military ardor, Frederic Cozzens of New York, visiting Halifax, wrote of the town: "Everything here is suggestive of impending hostilities, war in bur-nished trappings meets you at the street corners, and the air vibrates from time to time with bugles, fifes, and drums." "But O," he adds, "what a slow place it is. Even two Crimean regi-ments, with medals and decorations, could not wake it up."¹¹ Though Cozzens speaks strongly in praise of the hospitality of Halifax, the morals of the place, so far as we remember, he does not criticize. It is a matter of common knowledge, how-ever, that popular British military and naval stations, for ob-vious reasons, are universally places where superficial love of pleasure and often easy virtue in social relations, among the commoner classes at least, are apt to prevail. Of the com-parative slowness of Halifax in anything besides pleasure, Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, a quarter of a century earlier than Cozzens, had made his Yankee "Clockmaker" in answer to the question "What do you think of the present state and future prospects of Halifax?" Say: "If you will tell me when the folks there will wake up, then I can answer you; but they are fast asleep."¹²

The only important connected study of Halifax social life in the first half century of the town's history that to our knowledge

11. Frederic Swartout Cozzens, "Acadia, or a Month with the Bluenoses." New York, Derby and Jackson, 1859. "That the Haligonians are a kind and good people, abundant in hospitality," Cozzens says, "let me attest. One can scarcely visit a city occupied by those whose grandsires would have hung your rebel grandsires (if they had caught them) without some misgivings. But I found the old Tory blood of three Halifax generations yet warm and vital, happy to accept again a rebellious kinsman, in spite of Sam Slick and the Revolution." (Cozzens does not remember that some of the Massachusetts patriots would have hanged the Tories with right good will; it is not at all clear that the reverse was the case).

12. "The Clockmaker: Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville," first printed as a series of sketches in the *Nova Scotian* newspaper in 1835, soon afterward published in book form. Judge Haliburton, whose books are many, was of New England descent, but was born at Windsor, Nova Scotia. His family in Nova Scotia belong to the New England migration to that province in 1760. A United States author who has mentioned the external features of Hal-ifax is Charles Dudley Warner, in his "Baddeck and That Sort of Thing." This book "a narrative of a journey to New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton," was published in Boston by James R. Osgood and Co. in 1874.

has come into print was made about 1860 by the Rev. Dr. George William Hill, then and for long after, Rector of St. Paul's Church in Halifax, in his memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton, Kt., the seventh chief justice of Nova Scotia.¹³ After describing the public buildings and the external features in general of Halifax, and giving some important facts of the town's

13. Sir Brenton Halliburton (who was knighted when he was very old) was born in Newport, Rhode Island, and came to Halifax with his parents at the Revolution. His father, John Halliburton, was born in Scotland, but married in Newport Susannah Brenton, whose brother (Judge) James Brenton settled early in Halifax, as did also did her sister Mary, wife of Hon. Joseph Gerrish. The importance of Hon. Jahleel Brenton and his family in Newport has often been mentioned in print. Mr. George Champlin Mason in his "Reminiscences of Newport (1884)" says: "Jahleel Brenton was fond of society and kept an open house, both at the homestead [on Thames Street], and at Hammersmith [near Fort Adams], where he was always prepared to entertain a large number of guests. He was public-spirited, gave the clock that hangs in Trinity Church steeple, was one of the original members of the Artillery Company, and one of the committee to build the State House. But however well off in landed property, he was at times crowded for ready money, and when he died, in 1767, his estate was encumbered" (p. 369).

Of Dr. Halliburton, Mr. Brenton's son-in-law, Mr. Mason writes: "At the foot of the Parade, where there is now a modern brick building, there stood until within a few years a large gambrel-roof house that dated far back in the last century. When the ground on which it stood was wanted for other purposes it was removed to Bridge Street, where it still does service for shops and tenements. On its old site it was occupied in succession by a number of physicians, all of whom doubtless found it a good location. The first was Dr. Thomas Rodman, who came from Barbadoes in 1680, and here resided up to the time of his death in 1827. His son Thomas, also a physician, was his successor. After him came Dr. William Hunter, a Scotch physician, who was eminent in his day, and whose worth has been frequently dwelt upon. Dr. John Halliburton was the next physician to occupy the house. He was residing here when the war broke out, took sides with the Crown, and in 1781 was suspected of keeping up a secret communication with the enemy. So strong was the evidence against him that he left hastily in a boat and made his way to New York early in 1782; for in one of his letters now before me, dated New York, March 17, 1782, he speaks of his sudden departure and expresses regret at having to leave one of his very sick patients, Mr. William Tweedy. In this letter he urges his friends in Newport to see that his wife and children were sent to him by the first flag. When his family joined him, he removed to Nova Scotia and settled there; but for a time at least his position in his new home was not a comfortable one, for in a letter dated at Halifax, September 8, 1782, he writes: 'A few casual acts of civility I have now and then experienced, but that sincere and generous hospitality that was formerly practised in Rhode Island is seldom to be met with in any country. . . . There are a few agreeable and courteous people here, from whom we have received some civilities, but whether for want of a proper knowledge of us, or from whatever cause, they want that cordial and generous confidence, that smiling ease and cheerful communication which alone make civilities palatable.' In time this feeling was changed; there was a better understanding between the doctor and the people of Halifax, who had learned to know and esteem him highly. He died in 1807. Mrs. Halliburton, who was a daughter of Jahleel Brenton, died in 1818. Their son Brenton Halliburton, chief justice of the province, was honored with Knighthood." (pp. 28, 29).

Rev. Dr. George Hill's "Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton" (207 pp.) was printed in Halifax by James Bowes and Sons in 1864. It may be found in Boston libraries.

history, Dr. Hill says: "The private dwellings were usually small, covering a very limited area, and seldom more than one story in height, finished above with an attic. Although the town was laid out in squares, each containing sixteen lots, of forty feet in width and sixty feet in depth, each individual obtained, if he could, except in the central part, more lots than one. Thus the residences of many were quite detached, and ample scope afforded for gardens, which were assiduously cultivated by the proprietors. . . . Not a few planted trees before their doors, under the shade of which the dairy cow loved to ruminate during the hot days of summer, and to lie down at night, to the inconvenience and danger of the pedestrian.

"The furniture in the dwellings of those who possessed means was of a far more substantial character than that now used by persons of the same class, and was considerably more expensive. . . . It was usually made of a mahogany wood, of a rich, dark color; the dining-room table was plain, but massive, supported by heavy legs, often ornamented with the carved resemblance of a lion's claw; the side-board was high, rather narrow and inelegant; the secretary, or covered writing desk, was bound with numberless brass plates at the edges, corners, and sides; the cellaret, standing in the corner, which held the wines and liquors brought up from the cellar for the day's consumption, was also bound elaborately with plates of burnished brass; the chairs, cumbrous, straight-backed, with their cushions covered with black horse-hair cloth, were as uncomfortable as they were heavy; the sofa, though not common, was unadorned but roomy; the great arm-chair deserved its title, for it was wide enough and deep enough to contain not only the master of the household, but, if he pleased, several of his children beside. These for the most part comprised the furniture of the dining-rooms of the upper classes. That contained in the bed-room was built of the same wood, and of a corresponding style. The bedsteads were those still known as four-posted, invariably curtained, and with a canopy overhead. . . . The chests of drawers and the ladies' wardrobes were covered with the ubiquitous brazen plates, and being kept bright, gave the room an air

of comfort and cleanliness. In almost every hall stood a clock, encased by a frame of great size. . . .

“The kitchen department in those early times was of the greatest importance. The day’s labor began at early morning with the often unsuccessful attempt to produce fire from flint and steel; baking and brewing, as well as ordinary cooking, were for the most part attended to at home, and all was done for many years at the open hearth, on which hard wood was burned for fuel. . . .

“It was the habit to dine at an early hour, and take supper between eight and nine o’clock. The fashionable dinner hour was three o’clock, and on some state occasions it was made as late as four.¹⁴ As a consequence of this custom, business ceased to be transacted, at least by the public offices, soon after mid-day. It was too late to return when the somewhat lengthened meal was over. In the ordinary course, a custom prevailed of walking on a fine day, after dinner, sometimes towards the Point, sometimes to the North, and in less favorable weather to the Market, for a promenade beneath the balcony. On returning home, those whose resources in themselves were small, usually played cards until supper was laid; while among the more intellectual it was the admirable custom that the gentlemen should read aloud while the ladies worked at embroidery. The standard English authors were their text books on these occasions; they had but few, but these were the works of the ablest historians and the more distinguished poets. Few are aware how well informed, in spite of many disadvantages, were the upper classes of society in those early times. . . . The full and accurate acquaintance of many ladies with History, ancient and modern, with Milton and Shakespeare, with Pope and Dryden, and with others of equal fame, may yet be traced through a few of their daughters who survive—themselves old ladies now—to adorn their native land. Many of them learned the French language, and both wrote and spoke it fluently.”

Later in his description Dr. Hill says: “It is quite indicative of the general ease and lack of urgent business in the community

¹⁴. Speaking of food, Dr. Hill tells us that porcupines were much used as game.

that even as late as 1796, . . . there were no less than twenty-four holidays, during which the public offices were closed." Levees at Government House, he adds, were very frequent, on which occasions the streets leading to the executive mansion were filled with gentlemen in powdered hair, and silk stockings, and with silver-hilted swords.

Full dress for the women of the period was commonly a stiff brocaded silk or heavy satin gown, with a long prim waist, from which the ample hooped skirt spread off like a balloon, the sleeves being tight to the arm. Over the neck and bosom a lace handkerchief was likely to be spread, fastened by a heavy jewelled pin. For church a richly wrought apron, and spangled white kid shoes, with peaked toes and high heels were worn. The hair, dressed with pomatum, was drawn over a cushion perhaps twelve inches in height and sprinkled thickly with powder, a white rosebud or other natural flower crowning this extraordinary dome. In these days there were few hair dressers in Halifax, so people were obliged to begin very early in the day to prepare for afternoon or evening entertainments, and very clever must the fashionable hair-dresser have been who managed to keep all his patrons in good humour as he went his slow rounds from house to house. Full dress for men consisted of knee-breeches, silk stockings, shoes with silver buckles, a white neckerchief of great thickness, a straight-collared coat with large buttons, a brilliantly coloured waistcoat, and the silver-hilted sword or rapier we have spoken of.

Many of the large dinners of early Halifax were given at a three-story wooden hotel at the corner of Duke and Water streets, known as the "Great Pontac," a house built before 1757. For dinners the cooks of the war-ships were often called into requisition, and when naval officers themselves were the hosts the dishes would be brought up to the windows of the hotel by ships' stewards, rowed by sailors in spotless white, and handed in for the several courses. In 1757, before the second taking of Louisburg, Generals Wolfe and Amherst were entertained at the Great Pontac, and for many years thereafter few distinguished men visited Halifax who did not find accommodation within its hospitable walls.

About 1790 there was but one closed carriage in Halifax, and the owner of this vehicle was so gallant that on the evening of grand balls he was accustomed to send his servant round for many of the ladies of the smart set, in turn. For a long time sedan chairs were commonly used in the town. An advertisement in a newspaper in 1794 announces that sedan chairs may be ordered in Barrington Street at one shilling, one and three-pence, and sixpence a ride. For church on Sundays the price was an eighth of a dollar; to Dutchtown, near the Arm, the price was a shilling.¹⁵

In a former chapter we have described in some detail the remarkable accession to the population of Halifax that came with the exodus from Boston in 1775 and 1776 of almost the whole of that town's acknowledged aristocracy. As the Revolutionary spirit in Massachusetts grew, the position of those who felt compelled to take strongly the British side became more and more intolerable, and as early as the spring of 1775, singly or in small groups, Boston and Salem families of importance began to seek shelter in the Nova Scotia capital. When the formal withdrawal from Boston of General Howe's troops was positively determined on, the British sympathizers who had always lived in the town, and those who from other places had recently sought refuge there, also hastily prepared to leave, and on the seventeenth of March, 1776, families and single men to the number of between nine and eleven hundred persons embarked with

15. As we have shown in the first chapter of this history, a considerable number of Germans came to Halifax in the wake of the Cornwallis English settlers. Many of these removed to Lunenburg, but a considerable group remained in the north end of Halifax. Among these Germans some picturesque social customs prevailed. At their weddings the bridal party walked to church in procession, led by the bride and groom elect, the women dressed in white with white caps and ribbons, the men wearing white trousers and round blue jackets. At the conclusion of the ceremony all went to a tavern, and partook of refreshments, after which they went home for two or three days' feasting and dancing. For one German wedding, in Halifax, the good things provided, included several sheep, eighteen geese, soups, hams, puddings, pies, cakes, and wines in abundance. The best fiddler that could be found was secured and the people danced all night and perhaps all the next day. It is said that the host and hostess generally insisted on the guests staying until all the food was eaten up. One quaint custom observed at these weddings was for some guest at the wedding supper, on the first day of feasting, to ask the bride to take off one of her shoes, which he then passed round to each of the party for a coin as a gift to the lady. Usually guests gave a dollar apiece, and sometimes the shoe was sold at auction to the highest bidder, who returned it to the bride, together with the purchase money.

the fleet. The arrival in Halifax of this bruised and heart-sick multitude, the straits to which they were put to find even temporary comfortable lodgment on shore, the departure of many of them in a few weeks for England, and of some of them later with the fleet for New York, their reinforcement before long by others of their sort from the middle and southern colonies, the introduction of many of those who settled permanently in the town into the highest public positions, and the natural jealousy felt towards such by the older inhabitants—these are incidents in the progress of the history of Halifax that we have already tried to describe. The establishment of an Episcopate in Nova Scotia, and the consequent founding there of a college in which Anglican principles should be taught, were two of the results of the coming of the Loyalists, and the appointment in 1787 of Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis as bishop, and in 1792 of Mr. John Wentworth as governor, tended soon to make these later comers to Nova Scotia well nigh supreme in the councils of church and state.

What gave especial brilliancy to the social life of Halifax in the last decade of the eighteenth century was the presence there for part of this time of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, later Queen Victoria's father, who was then in chief command of the King's forces in British North America. To this residence of Prince Edward in Halifax we shall devote an independent chapter as this history goes on. Giving, as it did, a great and lasting stimulus to the loyalty of Nova Scotians to the British Crown, it likewise tended strongly to stimulate gayety in Halifax, and the accounts of social entertainments, in the town while it continued are highly interesting to read. John Wentworth was governor from 1792 until 1808, and for much of that period of sixteen years he made Government House the scene of great festivity. Early in 1795 he was created a baronet, and after that notable event in his career, as before, he, and his wife Lady Frances, a woman of unusual charm and accomplishment, devoted themselves with energy to making Halifax social life as hospitable and gay as they could. "There have dined at Government House between 12 December, 1794, and 29 October, 1795," writes young Nathaniel Thomas, a cousin

of Lady Wentworth (son of Nathaniel Ray Thomas, the well known Massachusetts Loyalist, who spent the rest of his life after 1776, and died, in Windsor, Nova Scotia), "two thousand, four hundred and thirty-seven persons." On the evening of Thursday, December twentieth, 1792, says a newspaper of the day, "the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Wentworth gave a ball and supper to the ladies and gentlemen of the town and the officers of the army and navy, which was altogether the most brilliant and sumptuous entertainment ever given in this country." Describing in detail the features of the entertainment, the newspaper pays a highly enthusiastic tribute to the "elegance and superiority of manners" of Mrs. Wentworth, and the "hospitality, perfect good breeding, and infinite liberality, which so distinguish the character of our beloved and adored governor." On this magnificent occasion, says the article, "everything tended to promote one sympathizing joy, and never was there a night passed with more perfect harmony and luxurious festivity."

From year to year, as the history of Halifax in the time of the Wentworths goes on, we read of social events that surprise us with their luxury and brilliancy, for the town was then, we remember, less than fifty years old. The visits of royal personages were always the signal for elaborate functions and great display. On the fourth of October, 1786, Prince William Henry, afterwards King William the Fourth, arrived in H. M. ship *Pegasus*, and his visit was twice afterward repeated in 1787, Magnificent, indeed, were the doings on these occasions, the presence of a son of the Sovereign making the people almost wild with joy. Notable also were the celebrations of the birthdays of royalties, especially of that of King George's rather staid and exceedingly proper queen. On the eighteenth of January Queen Charlotte was born, and every year as the day came round, Halifax echoed with the thunders of cannon, while levees and balls, with brilliant illuminations of the houses, enlivened the cold and somewhat dreary town. In 1794, the birthday of Prince Edward, the exact date of which was November second, came on Sunday, and the popular customs precluded any gayety on that sacred day. Accordingly there was only a salute from

the citadel and a quiet levee at Government House. Monday night, however, there was a magnificent ball and supper at the Governor's, for which three hundred invitations were issued. On Tuesday night the town was illuminated, and over the gate of Government House appeared a crown and the initials P. E., "enclosed by a blaze of lights." On the twelfth of August, 1796, the Prince of Wales's birthday was celebrated, with parades, salutes, and all the military pomp possible. A banquet at Government House, "at which Prince Edward, the army and navy officers, and chief gentlemen of the town were guests of Sir John Wentworth, concluded the festival."

On Tuesday, the thirteenth of September, 1796, Lady Wentworth gave a ball and supper at Government House to Captain Beresford, of one of his Majesty's war ships, who had "successfully beaten off a superior French ship, supposed to be a vessel of the line." "Most of the ladies and gentlemen of the town," Murdoch says, "were invited, and the officers of the army and navy. As a compliment to the captain, all the ladies wore navy blue cockades, and many had on *bandeaux* and ornaments of blue, on which his name was inscribed in gold letters. Splendor and taste were predominant, and gayety reigned supreme. The merry dance was not deserted till the small hours of the morning came on."

Nor did the loyal celebrations of Haligonians lose any of their fervor after the nineteenth century opened. On Friday, April seventh, 1820, George the Fourth, who had been nine years regent, was proclaimed King at Halifax. "At half past ten, A. M., the governor went in state to the council chamber. The members of His Majesty's council, the speaker and several members of the assembly then residing or remaining in town, the justices of the peace in Halifax, grand jurors, and many of the inhabitants, and the officers of the army and navy, had previously assembled there. The governor having taken his chair, the provincial secretary read the official despatches notifying the demise of the late king and the accession of his eldest son and heir. A proclamation of the new king's reign was signed by the governor, councillors, and other chief persons present. His Excellency having appointed David Shaw Clarke, Esquire, to

be herald at arms, that gentleman read the proclamation aloud in a distinct and clear voice. At this time the Royal standard was hoisted upon citadel hill. The herald proceeded from the council chamber in a carriage, accompanied by the sheriff, to the front of the Province House, to the market square, to the door of St. Paul's Church, and to the new parade on Brunswick Street, near the North Barracks, escorted by troops and attended by the populace, and at every place repeated the proclamation. At the North Parade the garrison were drawn up under arms, and a salute of twenty-one guns fired from six field pieces. The procession then returned to the Province House, and the proclamation was again read in the Supreme Court room, now the Legislative Library. At one P. M. the Royal standard was lowered to half mast, and minute guns were fired from the fort on George's Island, which was continued the remainder of the day, in memorial of the deceased sovereign. On Sunday, sermons suited to the occasion were delivered in the different places of public worship."

In 1830 was published by Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, in New Burlington Street, London, an interesting volume, called "Letters from Nova Scotia, Comprising Sketches of a Young Country," by Captain William Moorsom, of the Fifty-second Light Infantry, which was written in Halifax in 1829, while the author was officially engaged "in various tours undertaken for the purpose of gaining some military information relating to the province."¹⁶ In describing Halifax the author says: "The garrison forms about one-eighth of the population, and of course materially influences the tone of society. A young officer in whose head conceit has not previously effected a lodgment stands every chance of undergoing a regular investment, siege, and assault from this insidious enemy on joining his corps in Halifax. He finds himself raised at once to a level above that accorded to the scarlet cloth at home—his society generally sought, frequently courted, and himself esteemed as a personage whose opinions are regarded with no little degree of attention. It is not the fault of the inhabitants if Halifax be not a pleasant quarter for a stranger, and particularly for a military

16. The book has nineteen chapters. It also may be found in Boston libraries.

stranger. Hospitality, unbounded in comparison with that which such a person will experience in England, is offered to his acceptance. . . . The general tone of intercourse is somewhat analogous to that we meet with in Ireland; it is in fact such as naturally prevails where the circle is not very extended, where the individual members have been long acquainted, and where military have long been stationed with few internal changes. . . . There are no regular public assemblies in Halifax. A theatre, conducted by amateurs, is opened five or six times during the season, but a dearth of female performers renders it not particularly attractive. Quadrille cards have lately been issued every fortnight by one of the regiments in garrison, and have been received in the light they were intended, as an earnest of social harmony and amusement. Picnic parties in summer and sleighing excursions in winter complete the scale of *divertissemens*. . . . Whenever a fine day and a well-formed road combine their attractions, from a dozen to twenty of the members of the sleigh club may be seen with tandem, pair, four-in-hand, or postillions *à l'Anglaise*, first making the tour of the streets, to the open-mouthed admiration of all the little truant ragamuffins, and the dashing out of town along the fine 'Bason road' to partake of a *dejeuner à la fourchette* at some country inn a few miles off. Each *preux chevalier* is accompanied by the lady of his choice, while some in double sleighs are so unconscionable as to monopolize three or four. The only *sine qua non* of propriety seems to be that the *signorine* shall be matronized by some one. Strange as it may appear, while hosts of the *unqualified* are ready to the moment, matronly volunteers are rarely to be found; and the one who is eventually pressed into the service usually finds her numerous charge as perfectly beyond all control, as the necessity for which control is perfectly trivial."

Elsewhere Moorsom says: Were an Englishman "placed in the midst of the party at the Governor's weekly soireé, he would not conceive himself to be elsewhere than in some English provincial town with a large garrison. In fact there cannot be any town out of Great Britain where this similarity is so complete as at Halifax." "The winter is here," he continues,

“as in other places, the season for gaiety similar to that we find prevalent elsewhere, in the shape of dinner and evening parties, rational and irrational, festive, sober, and joyous, insipid, dull, and stupid. How far individual *gout*, or rather *dégout*, may act to give a ‘jaundiced eye’ I know not, but it seems to me the general tone of these social meetings indicates a stage of luxury rather than of refinement, of gaiety rather than its combination with that intellectual foundation which renders such gaiety truly delightful.”

In 1842 and '43, an educated Italian named Gallenga, who afterward wrote many books under the pseudonym of L. Mariotti, spent some time in Nova Scotia and saw much of Halifax society. In a very entertaining book he wrote called “Episodes of my Second Life,”¹⁷ he says, evidently with great pleasure in the recollection: “Picnics at the Duke of Kent’s Lodge, reunions at Government House, balls given in turn by the officers of the garrison at the Assembly rooms or by the naval officers on board the Admiral’s frigate, were almost daily occurrences—balls with such a show of beauty as hardly any other town of the same size and pretension could exhibit, and to the charms of which, I,

17. In 1842, “Luigi Mariotti” came out from England, where he had just declined the position of private secretary to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, to be professor of modern languages in King’s College, at Windsor. Lord Falkland was then governor of the province, and Dr. John Inglis, bishop of the diocese, and Mariotti gives very graphic pictures of these dignitaries and of the other chief personages of the Province at that time. The Bishop, he says, was a dapper little man with a lively face on which the sense of what was due to his prelatial dignity was perpetually struggling to check the impulse of his bustling activity. There was in him something of the look and manner of Dean Stanley. The Bishop’s wife and “four thin, and not very young daughters,” he describes as having stateliness enough for the whole Episcopal bench in the House of Lords. The new professor seems not to have been the most contented person in the world, and he was very much disappointed in King’s College, his position for one thing proving far more of a sinecure than he either expected or desired, but he soon set up a modest establishment, bought a horse, engaged a black groom, and embarked on the sea of Windsor and Halifax society. With Dr. McCawley, the president of the college, and his wife, he was at once on good terms, and speaking of some of the girls he met at Windsor, he says that the Miss Haliburtons, the Miss Heads, and the Miss Unickes “wanted neither prettiness nor animation and showed no invincible objection to a little flirting.” He does not deign to tell us to whom it was, but he confesses that he lost his heart in Windsor, and when later he settled in Halifax, and was a frequent guest at Government House (although the beautiful Lady Falkland was then “in deep mourning for her brother, the Earl of Munster”), at the officers’ mess, and at assembly balls, and hops on the Admiral’s frigate, he used regularly on Saturday to saddle his horse and ride forty miles over a rough road to spend Sunday in the college town with the fair captor of his affections.

An edition of “Episodes of my Second Life,” was published in London by Chapman and Hall, in 1884. The book may be found at the Boston Public Library.

though I never danced, could not be blind—the charms of the acres of dazzling-white bare necks and shoulders of the Arch-deacon's strapping daughters, of the bright eyes and elegant figures of the four Miss Cunards, of the fair complexions and sweet expression of the four Miss Uniackes, two of them stars of the first magnitude—all of whom whirled before me as creatures of another orbit, happy in the arms of the red-coated or blue-jacketed gallants encircling their waists."

In recollection of his boyhood and young manhood in Halifax, Mr. Frederick P. Fairbanks,¹⁸ a bachelor of arts of King's College, Windsor, much of whose later life has been spent in the neighborhood of New York City, has written the following pleasant description of the social life, as he remembers it, of his native town. "Halifax," he says, "had exceptional advantages for social recreation. Being the summer headquarters of the fleet of the British and North American squadron and being garrisoned by two regiments of infantry, several batteries of artillery and a corps of engineers, the military and naval element were largely in the ascendant, and aided to a considerable degree in the entertainment of the citizens. This element brought with it as residents the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in America, and the Admiral of the fleet, with their respective staffs, and Halifax being the place of residence of the Governor of the Province, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and all the executive officers of the government, as well as the Bishop of the Diocese, naturally furnished excellent material for tea parties and other social events. The respective regiments and ships of war offered a lavish hospitality to the townspeople, to which the latter did not fail to make satisfactory response, and hardly a week passed that cards were not out for a General's, Admiral's, or Governor's ball, or a dance on board ship, or by invitation of the military officers or some one of the prominent citizens.

"Then to fill in, there was a constant round of driving parties,

18. Mr. Frederick Prescott Fairbanks, Barrister, of Passaic, New Jersey, a warm friend of the writer, is one of the few Haligonians who have ever taken the trouble to describe the social life of their native town as it was about the middle of the nineteenth century. His manuscript is a notable one and we are glad to reproduce so much of it here.

yachting, garden, skating parties, or picnics, the participants in which generally returned to the house of the patron for an improvised dance. Military reviews and parades, and sham fights, too, were very frequent, concerts by the military bands were given twice a week at the public gardens during the summer, and all kinds of out door sports were in vogue, which were largely attended by spectators. For example, it was not uncommon on a fine winter day, when the ice was good on the North West Arm, to find assembled there on skates the best representatives of all classes of society. High officials of the government, judges, lawyers, rectors, and curates, and even the dignified Bishop joined hands with the crowd; colonels, majors, captains, and middies were all on skates, and naturally the fair sex of the city were out in force to greet them. When the sun shone and the ice was smooth, there was good fellowship and enjoyment which could hardly be excelled.

“In all social festivities, the heads of the house of Fairbanks indulged and encouraged their children to indulge. They accepted invitations and made bounteous return. For many years at Briar Cottage they kept open house and entertained freely, until all the daughters but one were married and that one had retired from society. Briar Cottage was seldom quiet in the evening. Both parents and children were fond of company and liked it best at home. Large and small dances, family dinners, dinners to politicians, high teas to clerical friends and the people of the church, card, charade, round game, and children’s parties were interspersed with an occasional ball, when everybody in the Army, Navy, or Citizen force considered properly entitled to an invitation would get one. A feature of these receptions was the absence of formality. Our parents made no pretension to style, the ladies wore no dazzling jewels or costly attire, and a man’s income was never regarded as the measure of his eligibility. Everything, however, was comfortable and pleasing. The girls looked well, the military came in full dress uniform with plenty of scarlet and blue and gold-lace, so attractive to the feminine fancy, and the young men of the city were so well looked after that they could not feel otherwise than at home during the whole of the event.

“On such occasions the two back parlours were opened for dancing, the drawing room was reserved for *tete-a-tetes* and conversation, and the supper was served in the front sitting room, where it was laid early in the day, the room not being opened till midnight or thereabout. During the evening, refreshments were served from the pantry or the sideboard in the dining room. Wine and ale were always provided, and the supper was of a substantial character, generally comprising boned turkey, chickens, salads, and sweets of various kinds.

“The greater part of the time the daughters had friends visiting them, and as men callers were always welcome in the evenings, many improvised dances were often got up. Every night before retiring we had supper, even when the family were alone, and a good bottle of ale was considered, both at supper and dinner a *sine qua non*. In these days a guest was never allowed to depart without partaking of some refreshment—a very good custom, and one which our children would do well to observe.

“At Christmas there was always a family gathering at Briar Cottage. On such occasions the little front sitting room was made to do duty for the children, and the recollection of that room can never fade from their minds. While the children were allowed their stockings in bed in the morning, they had to wait until after breakfast for any further inspection of their Christmas gifts. Then the family adjourned to the sitting room, where on a round table (trees were not in vogue with us in those days) the presents were displayed. This little front sitting room could tell many a tale, if it had a voice, for it was the room reserved, as well, for the daughters of the house when they were about to be married. Often at such momentous times the boys would receive the strict injunction: ‘Don’t come in without whistling.’ ”

In a later manuscript Mr. Fairbanks writes:

“The principal public functions of Halifax were held at Government House, Admiralty House, the Commandant’s residence, the Provincial Building, and Masonic Hall. The balls on shore had no distinctive feature, but were like all balls; it may be noted, however, that by whomsoever the entertainment was given one was sure to be treated most lavishly as far as the inner man was

concerned. The hospitality of Halifax is proverbial, and one's host was never lacking in his desire to regale one with the very best that the market afforded or that the most pronounced epicure could desire.

“The most popular of all the social events that took place in those days, were, I think, the hops on board the ships of war. This was possibly owing to some extent to the fact that they possessed certain novel features not met with on shore. The ships lay out in the stream some distance off the dockyard, and a constant stream of boats manned by the sailors in holiday dress, and commanded by midshipmen, moved back and forth taking the guests from the dockyard to the ship. Once on board, the most diffident could not but feel at home; he was free to dance, smoke, sleep, eat or drink, or amuse himself by doing nothing; there was simply no restraint, and abundant opportunity was furnished for having a good time in the way one wished. There was a beautiful deck in the finest condition for the dance; there were the ward room and gun room below for those who desired to indulge in mild dissipation; and there were numerous nooks all over the vessel to be used as desired. There was most deferential attendance, there were eatables and drinkables in profusion; and you were away from the hum of the city, floating serenely on the placid waters of the great harbour, with some of the finest ships of the British navy in close proximity, and your surroundings in all ways pleasing. The water of the harbour was often an intense blue which enhanced the beauty of the vista from the shore, and there was plenty to look at in the stream from the deck of the man-of-war.

Of certain popular regiments, Mr. Fairbanks says:

“I remember the arrival of the 62nd and 63rd regiments which came directly to Halifax after the Crimean war. They presented a very ragged appearance as they disembarked from the troop ships and marched to their barracks. The 62nd was very popular in Halifax and a number of its officers married Halifax girls. Another very popular regiment was the 78th, which took part in the relief of Lucknow. It was customary at that time, and I believe still is, to have concerts by a military band in the Public Garden (then the ‘Horticultural Garden,’

once or twice a week). There was a musical composition entitled 'The Relief of Lucknow' if I remember rightly, which the 78th's band used sometimes to perform. One part of the band occupying the stand was supposed to be in the fort, and while it was playing, another portion of the band was heard a long distance off in a remote part of the garden playing 'The Campbells are Coming.' As soon as this became distinct, the band on the stand took up the air and the two divisions played it in unison till the relief party marched into the 'fort,' when there was tremendous enthusiasm among the spectators. The Fourth (King's Own) was also a very popular regiment in Halifax.

"A feature of the arrival of troops in the city was that the town crier turned out, ringing his bell and 'crying down credit'—that is crying to the effect that all persons were prohibited from giving credit to the members of her majesty's —th regiment, and that the government would not be responsible if they did. I remember one of the town criers very well, I often heard him cry 'Lost; Strayed; or Stolen!' etc., etc.

"An extremely popular social organization in my day," this writer adds, "was the Halifax Archery and Croquet Club, a large and interesting club to which many of the army and navy men as well as civilians belonged. A portion of the Horticultural Garden was set apart for its use, and on field days the gathering was most animated and gay. At that period tennis had not come into vogue. A few years ago when in Halifax I saw an aquatic carnival on the Arm. It was said that there were about a thousand boats on the water. It was one of the prettiest sights I ever saw. The Governor General of Canada, Earl Grey, was then on a visit to Halifax, and this and many other interesting social events were arranged in his honour."

In another manuscript by a native Nova Scotian we read: "When an old regiment was ordered off the station there was always sorrow in the drawing rooms and deep regret in the Halifax Club, while on the part of the private soldiers and their sweethearts there were presumably many tender farewells indulged in and many bitter tears shed. When the last echoes of 'The Girl I Left Behind Me,' however, had died on the air, and

the new regiment, after disembarking from the ships, with flying colours had marched into the town, a fresh round of acquaintanceships, usually equally pleasant with the old, began to be made, fresh dinners and dances loomed on the near social horizon, and the feminine heart, in high circles and low, was athrob with the anticipation of new triumphs in the matrimonial line. While imperial troops continued to visit Halifax, the general ambition of girls in the smart set was to marry officers, and few families of fashion in the town but succeeded, sooner or later, in allying themselves with families of greater or less note in England by marrying their daughters to young officers of the army or navy. Of these two sets of officers, the latter, on the whole, had more popularity than the former, for there is usually a more open confidingness in sailors than in soldiers, and it used to be felt that naval officers at large had the higher breeding of the two departments of the British service of public defence.

“The entertainments common in Halifax in the nineteenth century were tennis, badminton, polo, lobster-spearing, tobogganing, skating, dinners, luncheons, hops, kettledrums, balls, picnics, and fairs. The balls given by the naval or military officers were often especially brilliant affairs, the uniforms in evidence including those of the line regiments, the artillery, the engineers, and the various war-ships then on the station.”

In one of his essays, Charles Dudley Warner says of the dramatic social plantation life of the southern States before the abolition of slavery: “Already, as we regard it, it assumes an air of unreality, and vanishes in its strong lights and heavy shades like a dream of the chivalric age.” The old picturesque eighteenth and nineteenth century life of Halifax has largely disappeared too. For better or for worse, probably much for the better industrially, certainly much for the worse in point of dramatic interest, under the influence of insistent modern practical demands, it has utterly changed. One of the things that helped give it and that helps it still retain a certain flavor of the old England which it loves to copy, and in whose traditions it has a persistent feeling of somehow having a right to share, was and is the bestowal of occasional knighthoods on Halifax

men. For special service to the Empire, Britain has always thus rewarded her sons, and thus she will probably long continue to reward them. Of such easily given honours, that very likely tend to keep dignity in the popular life, and that even in a thoroughly democratic province such as Nova Scotia now is, cannot at least do much if any harm, Halifax will always, probably, as long as Britain remains in name a monarchical country, receive and welcome from the sovereign a modest share.

APPENDIX

Nova Scotians, many of them Haligonians, who have received titles. Several of these names appear in the Dictionary of National Biography.

SIR ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD, K. C. M. G., June 6, 1885 (C. M. G., 1872, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territory, 1870-1873; of Nova Scotia, 1873-1883).

SIR EDWARD MORTIMER ARCHIBALD, K. C. M. G., Aug. 26, 1882, British Consul for some years at New York.

SIR THOMAS DICKSON ARCHIBALD, Kt. Bachelor, Feb. 5, 1873, Judge of the Queen's Bench, London and Baron of the Exchequer, brother of Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald.

GENERAL JOHN CHARLES BECKWITH, C. B., ITALIAN KNIGHTHOOD (order of Sts. Maurice and Lazarus, received from King Charles Albert, of Italy, Dec. 15, 1848. He was born at Halifax, Oct. 2, 1789, a nephew of Sir Brenton Halliburton, Kt. Bach.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD BELCHER, R. N., K. C. B., March 13, 1867 (Kt. Bach., 1843). He was born at Halifax, in 1799, son of Hon. Andrew Belcher, M. E. C., and his wife, Marianne Geyer (of Boston), his grandfather being Chief-Justice Jonathan Belcher, of Nova Scotia, and his great-grandfather Governor Jonathan Belcher, of Massachusetts and New Jersey.

SIR FREDERICK WILLIAM BORDEN, K. C. M. G., 1902, born in King's County, Nova Scotia, May 14, 1847. He was for some years Minister of Militia in the Dominion Parliament.

RT. HON. SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN, K. C. M. G., 1914, born in King's County, Nova Scotia, June 26, 1854. Premier of Canada at the present time.

SIR JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, K. C. M. G., May 21, 1898, born Oct. 24, 1857, died Oct. 13, 1902. He was Clerk of the Dominion House of Commons, and a literary man of distinction.

SIR JAMES COCHRAN OR COCHRANE, Kt. Bachelor, March 12, 1845. He was born at Halifax, June 2, 1794, and was Chief-Justice of Gibraltar from 1840 to 1877. He was an uncle of Sir John Inglis, K. C. B. He died at Gibraltar June 24, 1883.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WILLIAM GEORGE COCHRAN OR COCHRANE, C. B., brother of Sir James Cochran, was born in Halifax April 19, 1790. He was a distinguished military man, serving in the Peninsular War.

- SIR SAMUEL CUNARD, BARONET, March 9, 1859, was born in November, 1787. In 1840 he successfully inaugurated ocean travel by establishing the Cunard Steamship Line. His son SIR EDWARD CUNARD, born January 1, 1816, succeeded to his title April 28, 1865 and died in 1869. SIR BACHE EDWARD CUNARD, born May 15, 1851, succeeded as third baronet in 1869.
- SIR MALACHY BOWES DALY, K. C. M. G., was Governor of Nova Scotia from 1890 to 1895, and again from 1895 to 1900.
- SIR JOHN WILLIAM DAWSON, K. C. M. G. September 11, 1884 (C. M. G., 1881), was an eminent geologist and President of McGill University. He was born at Pictou, Nova Scotia, Oct. 13, 1820.
- COLONEL SIR WILLIAM F. DE LANCEY, K. C. B., a native of New York (son of Stephen De Lancey) came with his father to Nova Scotia about 1783. He entered the army, died at Waterloo, and was buried at Brussels. His father became Chief-Justice of the Bahamas, and later Governor of Tobago. Sir William's daughter, Susan, was the wife of Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena when Napoleon was captive there.
- SIR SANFORD FLEMING, K. C. M. G., 1897 (C. M. G., 1877) was born in Scotland, but was for many years a summer resident of Halifax, where he owned valuable property. Sir Sanford was long one of Canada's most useful public men. He died at Halifax in July, 1915.
- BARON HALIBURTON, 1898, (SIR ARTHUR LAWRENCE HALIBURTON), youngest son of Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, was C. B., 1880, K. C. B., 1885, and G. C. B., 1887, and was raised to the peerage in 1898. He died childless and the peerage is extinct. Lord Haliburton was born at Windsor, Nova Scotia, Sept. 26, 1832.
- SIR BRENTON HALLIBURTON, KT. BACHELOR, April 13, 1859, was a son of Hon. John Halliburton, M. D., and his wife, Susannah Brenton (of Newport, R. I.). He was Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia from 1833 to 1860, when he died.
- SIR JOHN EARDLEY WILMOT INGLIS, K. C. B. January 21, 1858, was a son of Bishop John Inglis and grandson of Bishop Charles Inglis. He was born November 15, 1814, and was knighted for successfully defending the Presidency of Lucknow in the Crimean War, in 1857. He is popularly known in Nova Scotia as the "hero of Lucknow."
- SIR EDWARD KENNY, KT. BACHELOR, Nov. 3, 1870, was born in Ireland in 1800, but was long a resident of Halifax. He was successively President of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, Receiver General of the Province, President of the Privy Council of Canada, and a member of the Dominion Senate.
- SIR JAMES MONK, KT. BACHELOR, born in Boston in 1746, removed with his parents to Halifax early in the history of the town, and by 1774 became Solicitor General of Nova Scotia. After 1777 he removed to Montreal and there became Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. He was knighted late in life.
- SIR WILLIAM JOHNSTONE RITCHIE, KT. BACHELOR, May 24, 1881, Chief-Justice of the Dominion of Canada, was born at Halifax Oct. 28, 1813.
- SIR THOMAS ANDREW STRANGE, KT. BACHELOR, March 14, 1798, was Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia, June 6, 1791, to Sept. 9, 1797. He was afterward Chief-Justice of Madras, India.

- SIR JOHN SPARROW DAVID THOMPSON, K. C. M. G., Sept. 10, 1888, was Minister of Justice for the Dominion of Canada, and later Premier.
- SIR CHARLES JAMES TOWNSEND, KT. BACHELOR, was eleventh Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia, from Nov. 2, 1907 until some time in 1915.
- RT. HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BARONET, 1888 (C. B., 1867, K. C. M. G., 1879, G. C. M. G., 1886). Sir Charles was the most distinguished statesman Nova Scotia has produced. Like several others in this list he was of New England origin. He died in England, October 30, 1915.
- SIR CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER, K. C. M. G., 1893, son of Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., was born August 3, 1855, and became Minister of Justice for the Dominion of Canada.
- REAR-ADMIRAL SIR PROVO WILLIAM PARRY WALLIS, G. C. B., May 24, 1873 (K. C. B., 1860), was born at Halifax, April 12, 1791, and died February, 1892. He had a distinguished career in the Navy, and was long known as the "Father of the Fleet." It was he who conducted the Chesapeake into Halifax in 1813.
- SIR ROBERT LINTON WEATHERBE, KT. BACHELOR, 1906, tenth Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia, from 1905 to 1907, was born in Prince Edward Island, April 7, 1836, and died at Halifax in 1915.
- SIR JOHN WENTWORTH, BARONET, 1795, was Governor of Nova Scotia from 1792 to 1808. He died at Halifax April 8, 1820, when his son, Charles Mary succeeded to the baronetcy. The latter died childless in England, April 10, 1844, when the title became extinct.
- VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE AUGUSTUS WESTPHAL, K. C. B. (?), April 7, 1824. He was born July 26, 1785, and died January 11, 1875. He was wounded at the battle of Trafalgar.
- MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS, R. A., G. C. B., May 20, 1871 (C. B., 1852, K. C. B., 1856), was distinguished in the Crimea. He is known as the "hero of Kars." He was born at Annapolis Royal, probably in 1799, and died unmarried in London, England, July 26, 1883.
- SIR WILLIAM ROBERT WOLSEY WINNIETT, R. N., K. C. B., June 29, 1849, was born at Annapolis Royal, in 1794.
- SIR WILLIAM YOUNG, KT. BACHELOR, 1868 or 1869, was Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia from 1860 to 1881. He died at Halifax May 8, 1887.

[Since this list was compiled, another Haligonian, Dr. Charles Frederick Fraser, has been knighted for conspicuous public service. He was made Kt. Bachelor, June 3, 1915.

Our list does not include either New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island men who have received titles].

wealth; let Rome tell of her devout Numa, the law-giver by whom the most famous commonwealth saw peace triumphing over extinguished war and cruel plunders, and murders giving place to the more mollifying exercises of his religion. Our New England shall boast and tell of her Winthrop, a law-giver as patient as Lycurgus, but not admitting any of his criminal disorders; as devout as Numa, but not liable to any of the heathenish madness; a governor in whom the excellence of Christianity made a most improving addition into the virtues wherein even without those he would have made a parallel for the great men of Greece or of Rome which the pen of Plutarch has eternized."

(To be continued)

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

SIR JOHN WENTWORTH AND THE DUKE OF KENT

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. IV

Here Wentworth and his Tory compeers came
When fierce rebellion rent the neighboring land,
Foes to the foes of England and her King.

Acadian Ballads.

A woman of fashion and wit and grace,
The Governor's wife, of Portsmouth town,
From Copley's canvas still looks down
Beautiful Lady Wentworth's face.

Acadian Ballads.

IN September, 1775, after proroguing the New Hampshire Assembly at the Isles of Shoals, Mr. John Wentworth, last royal governor of this New England province, found it necessary to flee in haste from his home in Portsmouth to the shelter of the King's troops in Boston. Among the notable families of New England before the Revolution not a single one stands out more conspicuously than the New Hampshire Wentworths. Descended from the finest English stock they early planted themselves in America, and here brought into exercise the high qualities of intelligence, energy, dignity, and courtesy that by nature, the heritage of generations of high-bred ancestors, were theirs. Both Longfellow and Whittier have celebrated the family in charming verse, Whittier, especially, in his "Amy Wentworth," of whom he says:



EDWARD, DUKE OF KENT AND STRATHEARN, K. G.,
K. T., K. St. P., Etc.

“Her home was brave on Jaffrey Street,
 With stately stairways worn
 By feet of old Colonial knights,
 And ladies gently born.

“Still green about its ample porch
 The English ivy twines,
 Trained back to show in English oak
 The herald’s carven signs.

“And on her from the wainscot old
 Ancestral faces frown,—
 And this has worn the soldier’s sword,
 And that the judge’s gown.”

The romantic second marriage of Benning Wentworth, first Royal Governor of New Hampshire as a separate colony, furnished the subject, also, for Longfellow’s poem, “Lady Wentworth,” the poet’s tale in “Tales of a Wayside Inn.” In this poem Longfellow followed closely the account given by Brewster, which runs thus: “The Governor invited a dinner party, and with many other guests, in his cocked hat comes the beloved Rev. Arthur Browne [Rector of Queen’s Chapel, Portsmouth]. The dinner is served up in a style becoming the Governor’s table, the wine is of good quality, etc. In due time, as previously arranged, Martha Hilton, the Governor’s maid servant, a damsel of twenty summers, appears before the company. The Governor, bleached by the frosts of sixty winters, rises: ‘Mr. Browne, I wish you to marry me.’ ‘To whom?’ asked the Rector in wondering surprise. ‘To this lady,’ was the reply. The Rector stood confounded. The Governor became imperative: ‘As the Governor of New Hampshire I command you to marry me.’ The ceremony was performed and Martha Hilton became Lady Wentworth.”¹

With a poet’s license, Longfellow has given Martha Hilton Wentworth a title that was never hers, Lady Frances Wentworth was the only “Lady Wentworth” this continent has ever known. Moreover, the Wentworth family history says that Mar-

1. This second marriage of Governor Benning Wentworth took place March 15, 1760. On the 19th of December, 1770, two months after her elderly first husband’s death, Martha Wentworth became the wife of a retired English army officer, Col. Michael Wentworth, one of the English Wentworths, who settled in New Hampshire and the rest of his life shared the comfortable fortune his distant relative, the Governor, had left.

tha was not servant but young housekeeper to the Governor, she being only twenty-three while her elderly lord was sixty-four.

John Wentworth's grandfather, John, was Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire before that Colony became separated from Massachusetts. Among his sons were Governor Benning Wentworth, born July twenty-fourth, 1696, graduated at Harvard College in 1715, who became as we have said the first royal governor of New Hampshire as an independent colony; Mark Hunking Wentworth, an eminent merchant in Portsmouth and a representative to the legislature, whose son was Governor John Wentworth of Portsmouth and Halifax; and Samuel Wentworth, father of Governor John's wife, Lady Frances.

Governor John Wentworth was born at Portsmouth, August ninth, 1737, graduated at Harvard College, in the class with President John Adams, in 1755, took his master's degree in 1758, and in a short time became, like his father and his uncle Benning, a leading merchant in Portsmouth. From the standing of his family in New England and with the administration in England, and through strong qualities in himself, having already acquired political influence, when in 1767, on account of age and infirmities his uncle Benning resigned the governorship, he was at once appointed in his place; to the governorship being added the office of Surveyor of the King's Woods for all North America. On the 11th of November, 1769, at Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, the Rev. Arthur Browne united in marriage Governor John and his first cousin, Frances, the remarkable fact being that exactly a fortnight before the lady had become the widow of another first cousin of both her and John, young Theodore Atkinson, to whom she had been married less than eight years.²

For nine years John Wentworth administered the government of New Hampshire, entertaining lavishly in his comfortable town house on Pleasant street, Portsmouth, and his roomy cottage at Wolfeborough, and until his Tory sympathies showed themselves was generally liked by the New Hampshire people. At last, how-

2. It is said that on the day he married Frances (Wentworth) Atkinson to her cousin, John Wentworth, Rev. Arthur Browne fell down some stone steps and broke his arm. Until the appointment of his son, Marmaduke Browne, as assistant missionary he was the only Anglican clergyman in New Hampshire. Rev. Arthur Browne was an Englishman.

ever, his quick response to Gage's appeal for workmen from his province to help build barracks at Boston for the British troops, which appeal had become necessary by the refusal of the Boston carpenters to assist in the work, sealed his own fate and that of his government, and he had to leave Portsmouth by the back entrance and through the garden of his house. With his wife and infant son, on the frigate *Scarborough* he fled to Boston,³ and from Boston, in 1776, sailed with Howe's fleet for Halifax, his wife and child having previously left on the ship *Julius Caesar* for England.

In April, 1776, Mr. Wentworth was at Halifax, in November he was at Long Island; in January, 1777, he was in New York City, and in May of the same year he was at Newport, R. I. In February, 1778, he went to England, and there he remained until August, 1783,⁴ when as Surveyor General of all the woods in North America that remained to the King, with a salary of seven hundred pounds a year, he sailed for Halifax, which he reached on the 20th of September. On the 25th of November, 1791, Governor Parr died at Halifax, and late in April or early in May, 1792, Mr. Wentworth was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia. At this time he was in England, and Saturday, May 20th, he reached Halifax in his Majesty's frigate *Hussar*, commanded by Rupert George.⁵ On Sunday he disembarked and was received by a de-

3. "His Excellency John Wentworth, Esq., Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, with his Lady and son, is arrived here in his Majesty's ship, *Scarborough*, Captain Berkley." *Massachusetts Gazette*, and *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*, for September 7, 1775.

"Governor Wentworth has left his retreat at the mouth of the Piscataqua river, and taken refuge at Boston, with the rest of the Tories." *Boston-Gazette and Country Journal*, September 11, 1775.

In a letter from Halifax, dated September 23, 1783, Dr. Mather Byles says that Governor Wentworth and Lt.-Governor Edmund Fanning arrived at Halifax from England, September 20, three days before. December 30th, of the same year, Dr. Byles dined with Governor Wentworth.

4. It is said that in 1778 Mr. Wentworth was also in Paris, and that one night on leaving the theatre he encountered President Adams. The latter soon recognized his Harvard classmate, but it is pretty clear, as we may well believe, that he did not give him a very cordial greeting. Friendship, however, proved stronger than political rancour, and the two men, in spite of the antagonism in their political views, whenever they met afterwards met as friends. On this particular occasion, "not an indelicate expression," writes President Adams, "to us or to our country or our ally escaped him. His whole behaviour was that of an accomplished gentleman."

5. It seems impossible that his commission as Governor could have been issued May 14th, since he reached Halifax May 20th, "after a voyage of five weeks from Falmouth," but so a printed record reads.

tachment of the 21st Regiment, and by the Royal Artillery, who saluted him with field pieces on the Grand Parade. To Government House he was escorted by the acting secretary of the Province, Mr. J. M. Freke Bulkeley, and on Monday at one o'clock was sworn into office, a salute of fifteen guns being fired by a party of Royal Artillery drawn up on the Parade. Addresses of congratulation and welcome were then presented him by the magistrates, the bishop and his clergy, and many societies and individuals.

In May, 1795, Governor Wentworth was created a baronet,⁶ and on Sunday, the 31st of that month, the Duke of Kent with all the officers of the garrison attended a levee at Government House, where congratulations were showered upon Sir John first, and then on Lady Wentworth in her drawing room. Sir John's administration, of the Nova Scotia Government lasted until 1808, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Sir George Prevost, Bart. From the time of his retirement until his death, April eighth, 1820, at the age of eighty-three, he enjoyed a pension of five hundred pounds a year. Although Sir John was a native of Portsmouth his wife, Lady Frances, was not. Her parents, Samuel and Elizabeth (Deering) Wentworth, were important members of the aristocratic society that on occasion "trooped in full tide through the wainscotted and tapestried rooms, and up the grand old winding staircase with its carved balustrades and its square landing places" of the famous Province House, of Boston, "to do honor to the hospitality of the martial Shute, the courtly Burnet, the gallant Pownall, or the haughty Bernard," and that knelt with proper reverence on Sundays in the high-walled square pews of King's Chapel, where the Rev. Henry Caner, D. D., or his assistants the Rev. Charles Brockwell, or the Rev. John Troutbeck, said Morning or Evening Prayer. Samuel Wentworth, who was a merchant of prominence, died in 1766, but in the Revolution his whole family were Royalists, and their lives generally after the evacuation of Boston may be learned from the Wentworth family history.

During most of Sir John's governorship of Nova Scotia Lady

6. The Wentworth family history says that at this time he was "further honoured with the privilege of wearing in the chevron of his arms, two keys, as the emblem of his fidelity."

Wentworth was with him in Halifax, her charms lending not a little colour to the somewhat sombre social life of this cold provincial capital. In England, however, both she and Sir John had attached themselves to the well known titled English Wentworth families, the Rockinghams, Straffords, and Fitzwilliams, and with the last of these, the Earl and Countess Fitzwilliam, Lady Frances, and her son Charles Mary, had a long and intimate friendship. In England, in close intercourse with these noble kinsmen of hers, much of Lady Wentworth's later life was spent, and it is said that Sir Charles Mary in his last years lived with the Fitzwilliams.

In July, 1798, Lady Frances Wentworth was presented at court by Countess Fitzwilliam, and Queen Charlotte was so charmed with the handsome Colonial that she had her appointed lady-in-waiting, at a salary of five hundred pounds a year, with the privilege of residing abroad if she wished.

Sir Charles Mary Wentworth, Sir John's only legitimate child, named for his God-parents, the Marquis and Marchioness of Rockingham,⁷ spent very little of his life in Halifax. He was graduated at Oxford, acted as private secretary to Lord Fitzwilliam when the latter was Lord of the Treasury, and at his father's death succeeded to the baronetcy. He died unmarried, at Kingsland, Devon, April tenth, 1844, and the baronetcy granted

7. Sir Charles Mary Wentworth, Bart., was born at Portsmouth, January 20, 1775. On that event, his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Samuel Wentworth, wrote her sister, Mrs. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, then in Boston, the following letter.

"Portsmouth, February 2, 1775.

"My Dear Sister,

"I had the pleasure to receive your favour of the 10th December, in which you make no mention of any from me. I wrote some time past and trust it met your hand. Mrs. Wentworth is safe in bed with a fine, hearty boy, with another blessing added, in being able to nurse him herself. I need not attempt to tell you the pleasure this child has brought with it to all its connections. The Governor's happiness seems to be complete; and had a young prince been born there could not have been more rejoicing. The ships fired their guns. All the gentlemen of the town and from the King's ship came the next day to pay their compliments. The ladies followed, and for one week there were cake and caudle wine, etc., passing. I forgot to mention that this young gentleman made his appearance on the 20th January, and this house has been full ever since. Adieu, my dear sister, and be assured you have not a more affectionate one than

"ELIZABETH WENTWORTH.

"To Mrs. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Boston."

Mrs. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, it will be remembered, with her husband and family, came at the Revolution to Windsor, Nova Scotia, and there spent the rest of her life and died.

his father then became extinct. Sir John had ambitions for his son in Nova Scotia and June sixteenth, 1801, had the latter, then in his twenty-sixth year, sworn as a member of the council. In this dignified body the young man sat in 1801, 1802, and 1803, but in March, 1805, his father reported his seat vacant, and it is doubtful if he was ever in Nova Scotia after that. When his uncle Benning died in Halifax in 1808, Charles Mary was appointed to the vacant Provincial Secretaryship and the Registry of Patents and Deeds, Mr. Michael Wallace being appointed Deputy Provincial Secretary. Three months after his appointment Sir John retired from the government and the son never personally assumed the office.⁸ When Sir Charles Mary died he left his cousin, Mrs. Catherine Gore, the authoress, twenty-three thousand acres of land in Nova Scotia, including the famous "Prince's Lodge," and also the papers, plate, and pictures he had inherited from his father.

Sir John Wentworth's town house in Portsmouth, as we have said, was on Pleasant Street. It is yet standing, a comfortable old Colonial house, still pointed out with pride by the Portsmouth people. His house at Wolfeborough, burned the year of his death, was a hundred feet long, and forty-five feet wide, with five barns near it, and a large farm about it in which Sir John took great pride. In Portsmouth Sir John lived in much state, his stable containing the very considerable number of sixteen horses. In Halifax he and Lady Wentworth made Government House the centre of a social life on the whole more brilliant than Halifax has probably ever had since. As we have said in a pre-

8. In place of Charles Mary Wentworth, Mr. Samuel Hood George was made Provincial Secretary in 1808. Mr. George held the office until 1813, when he died. See the writer's monograph on the Cochran family, p. 8. Admiral Sir Rupert George, then a junior officer in the navy, a young Irishman, married in Halifax, in 1782, Margaret, eldest daughter (by his first wife) of Hon. Thomas Cochran of Halifax. The Georges had eight children, of whom Samuel Hood, born in 1789, was the eldest, and Rupert Dennis, born October 9, 1796, was the third.

As has been mentioned above, Sir John Wentworth was graduated at Harvard in 1755, and took his Master's degree there in 1758. He was also made a Master of Arts by Princeton College in 1763; an LL.D. by the University of Aberdeen in 1764, and by Dartmouth College in 1773; and a D. C. L. by Oxford University in 1766. Sir Charles Mary Wentworth, received his A. B. from Oxford in 1796, and his A. M. from the same university later. An honorary A. M. was also given him by Harvard in 1801. He was further created a D. C. L. by Oxford in 1806.



HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, VICTORIA-MARY-LOUISA,
DUCHESS OF KENT

vious chapter, Lady Wentworth's cousin, young Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Jr., once wrote: "There have dined at Government House between December 12, 1794, and October 29, 1795, two thousand, four hundred, and thirty-seven persons." There is a story told of Governor John in Portsmouth, that one day a countryman met him among his horses. "They say," said the rustic, "that Johnny is short and thick and fond of wine, but on the whole a pretty clever sort of fellow. How I should like to see him!" The Governor soon asked him to step into the house, where the man to his great confusion learned who his companion was. Among the early entertainments given by the Wentworths at Government House, in Halifax, was one on Sunday, August 12th, of the year of Sir John's appointment. On that day, the birthday of the Prince of Wales (afterward King George the Fourth) Governor Wentworth gave a grand dinner to the officers of the army and navy and many gentlemen of the town. During the evening, Government House was brilliantly illuminated.

December 20th of the same year, from the *Gazette* newspaper we learn that, "On Thursday evening, the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Wentworth gave a ball and supper to the ladies and gentlemen of the town and the officers of the army and navy, which was altogether the most brilliant and sumptuous entertainment given by the Wentworths. The company being assembled in the levee room at eight o'clock, the bands which were very numerous and excellent, played 'God save the King' three times over, after which the country dances commenced, two sets dancing at the same time. The whole house was open—every room illuminated and elegantly decorated. There was a room set apart for cotillions, above stairs, for those who chose to dance them, and a band provided on purpose for it. During the dancing there were refreshments of ice, orgeat, capillaire, and a variety of other things. At twelve the supper room was opened, and too much cannot be said of the splendor and magnificence of it; the ladies sat down at table and the gentlemen waited upon them. Among other ornaments, which were altogether superb, there were exact representations of Hartshorne and Tremain's new flour-mill, and of the windmill on the Common. The model of the new lighthouse at Shelburne was incomparable, and the tract of the new road

from Pietou was delineated in the most ingenious and surprising manner, as was the representation of our fisheries, that great source of the wealth of this country. To all these inimitable ornaments corresponding mottoes were attached, so that not only taste and elegance were conspicuous, but encouragement and genius were displayed. The viands and wines were delectable, and mirth, grace, and good humor seemed to have joined hands to celebrate some glorious festival; but this was only for the friends of the Governor and Mrs. Wentworth. When the ladies left the supper-room the gentlemen sat down to table, when the governor gave the several loyal toasts, with three times three, and an applicable tune was played after each bumper, which had an admirable effect. At two o'clock the dancing recommenced, and at four the company retired. That ease, elegance, and superiority of manners, which must ever gain Mrs. Wentworth the admiration of the whole community; and that hospitality, perfect good breeding and infinite liberality which so distinguish the character and conduct of our beloved and adored Governor never shone with more lustre than on this occasion, when every care of his and Mrs. Wentworth's mind seemed to be to give one universal satisfaction. Everything tended to promote one sympathizing joy, and never was there a night passed with more perfect harmony and luxurious festivity."

At some time early in his official career in Halifax Governor Wentworth purchased land and erected a small villa a few miles north of the town. To the villa he gave the name, suggested by Romeo and Juliet, "Friar Laurence's Cell," and there, until the Duke of Kent came, he probably in summer lived. This place was leased by his Royal Highness on his arrival, and the house greatly enlarged, and in it in considerable state, with Madame de St. Laurent, during his stay the Duke for the most part lived. Of the Prince's Lodge, as the place came to be called after the Duke left, the late Dr. Thomas B. Akins has given the following graphic account: "This beautiful little retreat," he says, "had been erected by Prince Edward on the land of the Governor, Sir John Wentworth. The grounds were laid out and improved at considerable expense under his direction. The Rotunda, or music room, on the opposite side of the road, next the water, surrounded

by the rich foliage of the beech groves, and surmounted by a large gilded ball flashing in the sunlight, presented a beautiful and picturesque appearance on the approach to the Lodge. The villa was built altogether of wood, consisting of a centre of two stories containing the hall and staircase, with a flat roof. There were two wings containing the Duke's apartments. In the rear was a narrow wooden building with pointed gothic windows, resembling a chapel, containing the kitchen and offices, which extended some distance southward beyond the main building. The grouping of the beech and birch trees around the house was well arranged. They were the original forest trees, selected and permitted to stand in clearing away the space for the buildings. The rooms were not spacious and the ceilings were low, as appears to have been the fashion of building in Halifax at the time.

“The woods around were very beautiful. They were traversed by walks, and in several places by a carriage road with vistas and resting places where little wooden seats and several imitation Chinese temples were erected. Several of these small summer houses were in existence in 1828 and probably later, and portions of them could be seen through the openings in the trees on passing the main road. The Duke erected a range of low buildings on the edge of the Basin, a little to the north of the Rotunda, which were occupied by two companies of his regiment, and contained the guard-room and a mess-room for the officers. This building was afterwards known as the Rockingham Inn, a favorite resort in Summer, when tea and ginger beer were to be had under the piazza which ran along the edge of the water.”⁹

In September, 1795, Sir John and Lady Wentworth made a tour of the western part of Nova Scotia and on this occasion some now forgotten poet of Granville, Annapolis County, composed and printed the following poem.

9. The Rockingham Club was established either while the Duke of Kent was resident in Halifax or very soon after his leaving for Canada. Its members were Sir John Wentworth, the whole of his Majesty's Council, the Admiral on the station, several of the principal military officers, and a number of leading civilians. One of these latter was the Rev. Dr. Stanser, Rector of St. Paul's, another the Hon. Andrew Belcher, both of whom had villas on the Basin. The club was partly literary and party social. The members dined together at the hotel, about this time named the “Rockingham House,” a building erected near the Prince's Lodge for the accommodation of the two companies of his regiment that the Duke of Kent had stationed near him. The name “Rockingham” was in compliment to Sir John's English connexions.

“ON SEEING HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN WENTWORTH PASSING THROUGH GRANVILLE ON HIS WAY TO ANNAPOLIS.

“When Tyrants travel, though in pompous state,
 Each eye beholds them with indignant hate;
 Destroying angels thus are said to move,
 The objects more of terror than of love;
 For grandeur can't, unless with goodness joined,
 Afford true pleasure to the virtuous mind.
 But when our loyal Wentworth deigns to ride
 (The Sovereign's fav'rite and the subjects' pride)
 Around his chariot crowding numbers throng,
 And hail his virtues as he moves along.
 Such high respect shall be conferred on him
 The King delights to honor and esteem,
 Whose loyalty unshaken, spotless fame,
 And social virtues shall endear his name
 In every loyal bosom long to live,
 As our lov'd Monarch's representative.”

The last years of her life Lady Wentworth spent in England, and from the spring of 1810 to at least the summer of 1812 Sir John was with her there. She died at Sunning Hill, Berks, twenty-four miles out of London, on the fourteenth of February, 1813, but Sir John was then in Halifax. His own last days Sir John spent in lodgings at Mrs. Wentworth Fleiger's, on the east side of Hollis Street.¹⁰ He died April eighth, 1820, aged eighty-three and his remains were deposited in a vault under St. Paul's Church. In the church was erected a mural tablet to his memory, bearing the following inscription: “In memory of Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, who administered the Government of this Province for nearly sixteen years, from May, 1792, to April, 1808. With what success, the public records of that period, and His Majesty's gracious approbation will best testify. His unshaken attachment to his Sovereign and the British Constitution was conspicuous throughout his long life.” Governor Wentworth

10. From a letter of Lady Wentworth's written from Morin's Hotel, London, to her nephew, Samuel Henry Wentworth, and dated March 1, 1810, we learn that she and Sir John had recently crossed the Atlantic and had had a hard voyage. On their arrival they had been met by their son. Other letters prove that up to July 24, 1812, at least, Sir John was with his wife in England, but on her death at Sunning Hill, Berks, February 14, 1813, if not earlier, he returned to Halifax and took lodgings at Mrs. Wentworth Fleiger's.

left nine manuscript volumes of copies of his correspondence, extending from 1767 to 1808, a period of forty-one years, which are now in the Provincial Archives at Halifax. Like many of the most prominent Loyalists of the American Revolution, a complete history of his life has never yet been written, but it is to be hoped that at least his correspondence may some day come into print.

Of Sir John's character, the Nova Scotia historian, Mr. Beamish Murdoch in a private letter once wrote: "One thing has impressed me distinctly in my examinations, viz., that although Sir John was ardently attached to the Royal Government, he had a great and sincere love for his native land, and disapproved of most of the measures that incensed the people and produced revolt. At every step I have been more and more impressed with his candor, hospitality, urbanity, constancy, and the affectionate nature of the man, evinced toward his kinsfolk, friends, neighbors, and his country (America), of whose future he was ever sanguine. I found the task of following his career as Governor of New Hampshire a very pleasing one. The confiscation of his estate must have been very painful to him, as he had taken great interest in its improvement."

There are Copley portraits in existence of both Sir John and Lady Frances Wentworth. That of Sir John is a fine crayon, 22 by 18 inches in size, made in 1769. In it Sir John wears a white wig and a light coat and waistcoat. Lady Wentworth's portrait was painted in 1765, when she was nineteen years old. It is a three-quarters length portrait and an excellent specimen of Copley's work. In it Miss Wentworth sits by a small table holding a delicate chain, to which is attached a flying squirrel. This portrait is in the gallery of the New York public library.¹¹

The youngest brother of Lady Frances Wentworth was Benning Wentworth, and he too, and his family were long distinguished residents of Halifax. Benning Wentworth was born March sixteenth, 1757, and baptized at King's Chapel the first of the following May, Governor Benning Wentworth, Charles Pax-

11. Mrs. Archibald McPhedris (Sarah Wentworth), an aunt of Lady Frances, was also painted by Copley. Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, another aunt of Lady Frances, and Mr. Atkinson (second husband of this aunt), with their son, Theodore, cousin and first husband of Lady Frances, were painted by Blackburn.

ton, Esq., and Mrs. Penelope Vassall, being sureties. He was graduated at Oxford, married at All Saints Church, Hereford, to Anne, daughter of William Bird, of Drysbridge House, and after 1788, like his sister, Frances, removed to Halifax. In the north part of this city he owned a small place known as "Poplar Grove," the place becoming later the property of Col. John Starr, M. P. P.,¹² and finally having a street cut through it, which was named "Starr Street." Before coming to Nova Scotia, Benning Wentworth must have lived in New Hampshire, for by an Act of Attainder, in 1778, he was proscribed and banished and his estate confiscated in that Province. In Nova Scotia, November 12, 1796, he was made a member of H. M. Council, thereafter becoming Treasurer of the Province. In 1800 he was appointed Master of the Rolls, Registrar in Chancery, Captain and Paymaster in the King's Nova Scotia Regiment, and Provincial Secretary, in which last important office he died, February 18, 1808. Benning Wentworth and his wife had eleven children, all of whom survived their father and went to England with their mother. One of these was Benning William Bentinck Wentworth, R. N., who died in England in 1810, aged twenty-one. Mrs. Benning Wentworth died at Hereford in 1812. About the Wentworths in Halifax clustered a group of their distinguished Boston connexions, families of Brinleys, Goulds, Monks, and Thomases, some of whom came before the Revolution, some about the time that the Wentworths themselves came.

The extraordinary social brilliancy of Sir John Wentworth's administration of the Nova Scotia government was enhanced in no slight degree by the residence in Halifax during part of the period that it covered of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, fourth son of King George Third, who while he was stationed in Nova Scotia was created Duke of Kent.¹³ In 1790, at Gibraltar, the Prince was given command of the 7th regiment of foot (Royal

12. Colonel John Starr was the writer's great-great uncle. He was father of Hon. John Leander Starr, M. L. C. who married for his second wife a Miss Throckmorton of New Jersey. A granddaughter of Mr. Starr by this second marriage is Mrs. John DuFais, of Newport, Rhode Island, and a grandson, Mr. John Starr Hunt, a lawyer in Mexico City.

13. Prince Edward was born November 2, 1767, he was therefore less than twenty-seven years old when he took up his residence in Halifax. When he married he was between fifty and fifty-one.



SIR JOHN WENTWORTH, BART
Governor of Nova Scotia, 1792-1808



LADY FRANCES WENTWORTH
Wife of Sir John Wentworth

Fusiliers). In 1793 he was at Quebec, the next year, February sixth, he arrived at Boston¹⁴ on his way to the West Indies, where he had been ordered to assume chief command of the troops. In the West Indies he remained but a short time, for on Saturday, May tenth, 1794, after a voyage of eleven days from St. Kitts, he landed at Halifax to take command of the troops on the North American station. The afternoon of his arrival, at six o'clock, his Excellency Governor Wentworth waited on His Royal Highness on his ship and congratulated him on his safe arrival, then the Prince and the Governor landed under royal salutes from the *Blanche* and the *Earl of Moira*, warships, and the great fortress above the town. The next Monday a salute was fired from the Grand Parade, which was answered by the garrison batteries, and on Wednesday there was a crowded levee at Government House, and in the evening a brilliant illumination of the town. At the levee flattering addresses were presented to the Prince, in which he is described as the "heroic offspring of highly revered parents, of a king the undoubted father of his people, of a queen the unrivalled pattern of her sex," and as himself having "noble and engaging qualities of active valour and condescending courteousness"—with much else of a like extravagant eulogistic sort. On Saturday His Royal Highness, attended by General Ogilvie, military commander, Commodore George of the Royal Navy, and other officers, reviewed the troops stationed in Halifax, behind the citadel Hill. On Monday the 26th, Bishop Charles Inglis presented the Prince with an address on behalf of himself and his clergy, by which we see how completely the Bishop also had lost his head in the presence of royalty, and how far gone he had got

14. A fact of sufficient local interest to be remembered is that on the thirteenth of February, 1794, Miss Nancy Geyer's marriage in Boston to Mr. Rufus Amory was graced by the presence of Prince Edward, who on his way from Canada to the West Indies was detained in Boston for a few days. Miss Geyer's father, Frederick William Geyer, who lived in Summer street, was a merchant of much social prominence in the New England metropolis, and his daughter's wedding was no doubt a brilliant affair. How the Geyers knew the Prince sufficiently well to invite him to the wedding we do not know, but it is recorded that they did invite him and that he came with his aides. It is also recorded that he claimed the privilege of kissing the bride and bridesmaids. Another daughter of Mr. Geyer, Mary Anne or Marianne, was married in 1792 to Hon. Andrew Belcher, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, son of Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher, and became the mother of Rear Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, K. C. B., and of Catherine, wife of Charles Maryatt, M. P., and mother of Captain Frederick Maryatt, the English novelist.

from the possibility of expressing himself in unexaggerated prose. "Your progress Sir," he says "to this part of His Majesty's American dominions, has been marked by a variety of hazards. Whilst we admired that heroic ardor and intrepidity, which at the call of duty and honour led you to spurn every danger from fatigue through inhospitable wilds, from the extremes of climate, from armed enemies, and from others who were secretly hostile, we were greatly agitated, and felt the utmost anxiety for your safety. Like the celebrated Roman, who is equally memorable for the number of his victories and for the celerity of his military movements, you flew to the embattled hosts of your enemies; like him, you came, you saw them, you conquered."

Prince Edward was, as we have said, the fourth son of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte, this royal family comprising no less than seven sons,—George the Fourth, Frederick Duke of York, William the Fourth (Duke of Clarence), Edward Duke of Kent, Ernest Duke of Cumberland, Augustus Duke of Sussex, Adolphus Duke of Cambridge; and besides the King's favorite daughter, the Princess Amelia,¹⁵ and we believe four other daughters who died young, Charlotte, wife of Frederick, King of Wurtemberg, Elizabeth, wife of Frederick, Prince of Hesse Homberg, and Mary, wife of William Duke of Gloucester.¹⁶ Of the coming to Halifax of Prince Edward, the historian Murdoch says: "As our colonists were gratified and felt deeply honored by the repeated visits of Prince William Henry (afterwards King William the Fourth, who came here first as a young naval officer, and after that in command of a frigate, and were charmed with his frank, genial, and simple manners¹⁷ [so] they were dazzled and

15. Miss Frances Burney speaks affectionately of this child as "that endearing child . . . the lovely little Princess Amelia."

16. In all, this prolific royal pair brought into the world fifteen children. "Farmer George" may therefore be pardoned, perhaps, for the rigid economies with which he is commonly credited.

17. On Wednesday, October fourth, 1786, Prince William Henry arrived at Halifax from St. John's, Newfoundland, in the war-ship *Pegasus*. On Thursday morning he landed at the King's Slip, "where the people thronged joyfully to see him." He was welcomed on shore by Major-General Campbell and Governor Parr, who conducted him to Government House. On Thursday, June twenty-eighth, 1787, he came again, this time from Jamaica, in the *Andromeda*, and was received with great applause. On Wednesday, October twenty-fourth, 1787, he came the third time, now from Quebec. Beamish Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 3, pp. 50-53, 55, 61.

On one of Prince William Henry's visits he rode through Windsor and

impressed greatly by the residence of the young prince, Edward, who brought with him the personal reputation he had earned for great activity and zeal in his military profession. Independently of the eclat which his rank gave him, he gained the hearts of the civilians by his affability, benevolence, and liberality. His generosity was displayed in many ways. He gave employment to workmen of every kind—laborers, painters, carpenters, etc. He interested himself sincerely in the welfare of families and individuals, and this feeling continued during his life; for long after he bade a final adieu to Halifax, his exertions and influence were often used to procure commissions, pensions, or employment for persons whose parents he had known while here. He remained, in fact, the ready patron of Nova Scotians until his death.”

Soon after the Prince came to Halifax he leased from Sir John Wentworth the property out of town we have referred to, which ever since the Duke's stay in Nova Scotia has been called the “Prince's Lodge.”¹⁸ The house in town in which he first placed his establishment, and to which he probably from time to time returned, was a dwelling in the North End that chroniclers describe as a handsome structure, with a portico on the front resting on Corinthian pillars. After he went away this house became an army hospital, the stables in connection with it, which were roomy and large, being used as a barracks storehouse and for a garrison library. The villa, seven miles north of the town, which His Royal Highness rented from Sir John Wentworth, originally comparatively small, the

Kentville to Annapolis Royal, accepting hospitality from several private citizens along the way. He left a quieter record in Nova Scotia than in Barbadoes, for Leigh Hunt tells us of a certain landlady in Barbadoes who became famous “in Barbadian and nautical annals” for having successfully drawn up a bill of damages against His Royal Highness to the amount of seven hundred pounds. The Prince, then a wild young naval officer, in a fit of ultra joviality begun at the mess of the 49th Regiment had demolished all the good woman's furniture, “even to the very beds,” and as a concluding act of good nature had upset the staid woman herself as he left the house.

18. In a private letter to John King, Esq., under secretary of state, written September 27, 1799, Sir John Wentworth says: The Prince “has entered upon his command with infinite activity, and ideas extremely enlarged, since his departure from here. The arrangement in contemplation promises a plenteous circulation of money, and improvement in this province. He is now residing chiefly at my house near town, which he requested to reoccupy, and I have accordingly lent it to him during his stay in Nova Scotia, though I have not another place to go to for a day's retirement. However, it must be so! for he wrote to me, and now says he has more pleasure in that villa than in any other place out of England.” Quoted by Murdoch in his “History of Nova Scotia,” Vol. 3, p. 181.

Prince enlarged until it became, as we see by engravings of it that have come to us, and the description we have already given, a spacious residence, somewhat in the Italian style, with extensive wings at the north and south, and drawing-rooms in the centre. The Lodge stood in the middle of a fine open lawn, about two hundred yards from the post road which winds around Bedford Basin, and was flanked by large and well appointed stables. Dr. Akins's pleasant picture of it and its surroundings which we have reproduced is added to or given a little differently by other historians. The Lodge grounds, they say, though rustic and retaining a great deal of their primitive wildness, had many charming surprises, among these an artificial lake, and several little pagoda-like summer houses and "Greek and Italian" imitation temples which stood on elevated mounds among the thick-growing trees. In the neighborhood of the Lodge were dwellings for mechanics and workmen of various sorts employed on the estate and in directly military service, so that the place was like a small feudal town. The little Rotunda, containing a single room, which was richly frescoed and hung with paintings by the Prince himself, was built especially for dancing, and under the narrow portico which surrounds this building the Prince's regimental band used to play in the afternoons. From the house, gravelled walks used to stretch in all directions, and there the household and their guests used to stroll at leisure on every fine day. On an adjoining hill the Prince had a signal station erected, by means of which he could send his orders into town, a responsive signal having been erected by his orders on Citadel Hill.¹⁹

19. Writing of Halifax about 1828, Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton says: "At a distance of seven miles from the town is a ruined Lodge, built by H. R. H. the late Duke of Kent, when Commander in Chief of the forces of this Colony, once his favorite summer residence and the scene of his munificent hospitalities. It is impossible to visit this spot without the most melancholy feelings. The tottering fence, the prostrate gates, the ruined grottoes, the long and winding avenues cut out of the forest, overgrown by rank grass and occasional shrubs, and the silence and desolation that reign around, all bespeaking a rapid and premature decay, recall to mind the untimely fate of its noble and lamented owner, and tell of affecting pleasures and the transitory nature of all earthly things. It is but a short time since this mansion was tenanted by its Royal Master; and in that brief space how great has been the devastation of the elements. A few years more and all trace of it will have disappeared forever. The forest is fast reclaiming its own, and the lawns and ornamental gardens, annually sown with seeds scattered by the winds from the surrounding woods, are relapsing into a state of nature, and exhibiting in detached patches a young growth of such trees as are common in the country."

When Prince Edward came to Halifax he was unmarried but he brought with him from the West Indies a lady who as much as she was permitted by society shared his social responsibilities, and who, sincerely attached to his interests and to his person, assiduously ministered to his wants. In Martinique, it is said, the Prince found Madame Alphonsine Therèse Bernadine Julie de Montgenet de St. Laurent, Baronne de Fortisson, and this noble Frenchwoman was his companion during his stay in Halifax, and afterwards until nearly the time of his marriage to the widow who was to become through her alliance with Prince Edward the mother of Victoria, England's illustrious and greatly beloved queen. In Quebec the Prince had formed the acquaintance of a French family named De Salaberry, and this acquaintance ripened into a very close intimacy, cemented by Edward's patronage of and continued regard for two of the De Salaberry boys, Maurice and Chevalier. As a result of this friendship we have a small volume of the letters of the Prince to Monsieur de Salaberry, which contain as frequent and familiar references to Madame de St. Laurent as if the lady had been the Prince's legal wife. When Prince Edward first landed in Halifax he wrote De Salaberry regretting that his friend Madame de St. Laurent had not yet come, and in almost every succeeding letter written during his stay he freely couples her name with his own. How the Wentworths, at Government House, treated the Prince's mistress we have never been informed, but there are still historic echoes heard in Halifax of the disapproval with which Mrs. Michael Francklin, and other conventional ladies (probably like Mrs. Francklin of Boston antecedents) regarded the lady who presided over the household and assisted in dispensing the hospitalities of the royal establishment.

In 1818 the Duke of Kent married, and in that rarely interesting gossippy narration entitled the "Creevey Papers" we find a conversation recorded between him and Mr. Creevey which took place at Brussels the year before, from which we get a glare of light on His Royal Highness' state of mind towards matrimony and towards the lady who had so long and affectionately shared his varied fortunes. Apropos of the future succession to the British throne, Prince Edward says: "As for the Duke of York,

at his time of life and that of the Duchess, all issue of course is out of the question. The Duke of Clarence, I have no doubt, will marry if he can, but the terms he asks from the ministers are such as they can never comply with. Besides a settlement such as is proper for a Prince who marries expressly for a succession to the Throne, the Duke of Clarence demands the payment of all his debts, which are very great, and a handsome provision for each of his ten natural children. These are terms that no Ministers can accede to. Should the Duke of Clarence not marry, the next prince in succession is myself, and although I trust I shall be at all times ready to obey any call my country may make on me, God only knows the sacrifice it will be to make, whenever I shall think it my duty to become a married man. It is now seven and twenty years that Madame St. Laurent and I have lived together; we are of the same age, and have been in all climates and in all difficulties together, and you may well imagine, Mr. Creevey, the pang it will occasion me to part with her. I put it to your own feeling—in the event of any separation between you and Mrs. Creevey. . . . As for Madame St. Laurent herself, I protest I don't know what is to become of her if a marriage is to be forced upon me, her feelings are already so agitated upon the subject. You saw, no doubt, that unfortunate paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle*, which appeared within a day or two after the Princess Charlotte's death, and in which my marrying was alluded to. Upon receiving the paper containing that article at the same time with my private letters, I did as is my constant practice, I threw the newspaper across the table to Madame St. Laurent and began to open and read my letters. I had not done so but a very short time when my attention was called to an extraordinary noise and a strong convulsive movement in Madame St. Laurent's throat. For a short time I entertained serious apprehensions for her safety; and when upon her recovery I enquired into the occasion of this attack she pointed to the article in the *Morning Chronicle* relating to my marriage.

“From that day to this I am compelled to be in the practice of daily dissimulation with Madam St. Laurent to keep this subject from her thoughts. I am fortunately acquainted with the gentlemen in Bruxelles who conduct the Liberal and Oracle newspa-

pers; they have promised me to keep all articles upon the subject of my marriage out of their papers, and I hope my friends in England will be equally prudent. My brother the Duke of Clarence is the elder brother, and has certainly the right to marry if he chooses, and I would not interfere with him on any account. If he wishes to be King—to be married and have children, poor man—God help him! let him do so. For myself, I am a man of no ambition and wish only to remain as I am. . . . Easter, you know, falls very early this year, the 22d of March. If the Duke of Clarence does not take any step before that time I must find some pretext to reconcile Madame St. Laurent to my going to England for a short time. St. George's day is the day now fixed for keeping the birthday, and my paying my respects to the Regent on that day will be a sufficient excuse for my reappearance in England. When once there it will be easy for me to consult with my friends as to the proper steps to be taken. Should the Duke of Clarence do nothing before that time as to marrying, it will become my duty, no doubt, to take some measures upon the subject myself.

“You have heard the names of the Princess of Baden and the Princess of Saxe-Coburg mentioned. The latter connection would perhaps be the better of the two, from the circumstance of Prince Leopold being so popular with the nation; but before anything is proceeded with in this matter I shall hope and expect to see justice done by the Nation and the Ministers to Madame St. Laurent. She is of very good family and has never been an actress, and I am the first and only person who ever lived with her. Her disinterestedness, too, has been equal to her fidelity. When she first came to me it was upon a hundred pounds a year. That sum was afterwards raised to four hundred pounds, and finally to a thousand pounds, but when my debts made it necessary for me to sacrifice a great part of my income, Madame St. Laurent insisted upon again returning to her income of four hundred pounds a year. If Madame St. L. is to live amongst her friends, it must be in such a state of independence as to command their respect. I shall not require very much, but a certain number of servants and a carriage are essentials. Whatever the Ministers agree to give for such purpose must be put out of all doubt as to its continuance. I

shall name Mr. Brougham, yourself, and two other people, on behalf of Madame St. Laurent for this object.

“As to my own settlement, as I shall marry (if I marry at all) for the succession, I shall expect the Duke of York’s marriage to be considered the precedent. That was a marriage for the succession, and twenty-five thousand pounds for income was settled, in addition to all his other income, purely on that account. I shall be contented with the same arrangement, without making any demands grounded upon the difference of the value of money in 1792 and at present. As for the payment of my debts, I don’t call them great. The Nation, on the contrary, is greatly my debtor.”

Mr. Creevey’s reporting this remarkable declaration of the Duke’s which was clearly not intended for other ears than the first hearer’s, causes the editor of his memoirs to say: “It must be confessed that his Royal Highness was not very discreet in choosing Mr. Creevey as the repository of his confidence in such a delicate matter. Creevey seems to have had no scruple in communicating the tenour of the conversation to some of his friends. He certainly told the Duke of Wellington.” Mr. Creevey himself says somewhat later than the conversation: “The Duke of Wellington’s constant joking with me about the Duke of Kent was owing to the curious conversation I had with the latter at Brussels in the autumn of 1817, the particulars of which had always amused the Duke of Wellington very much.”

It would be interesting to know the details of the tragical parting between the Duke and Madame de St. Laurent when at last Prince Edward determined fully for state reasons to sacrifice inclination to duty and give up his mistress for a wife, but no such details have been vouchsafed to the world. The last notice we have of Madame de St. Laurent is in 1819. Sometime in that year Major-General de Rothenburg writes Lieutenant-Colonel de Salaberry sententiously: “Madame de St. Laurent has retired to a convent.”

In 1798 the Duke of Kent had a troublesome accident in Halifax. On the eighth of August of that year he was riding fast across a little wooden bridge somewhere in the town, when a plank gave way and his horse fell, coming with all his weight on the rider’s leg and thigh. Prince Edward suffered much from

the fall, but continued to perform his military duties until October, when on the urgent advice of Dr. John Halliburton, the physician of the naval hospital, and Dr. William James Almon, the leading civil doctor, in concurrence with a Dr. Nooth of Quebec, he decided to go to England for treatment. On the thirtieth of November he reached Portsmouth, and in England he remained until August, 1799. On Friday the sixth of September of this year he once more reached Halifax, and here he stayed until early in August, 1800, when with many expressions of good-will towards the people, and attended by sorrowful regrets on their part, he finally sailed away. On Sunday, August third, he embarked in the warship *Assistance*, the garrison forming a double line through which, attended by the Governor, the members of the Council, and the naval, military, and civil officials, he passed to the King's wharf. As he went through the town salutes echoed and people crowded to the tops of the houses to cheer the departing royalty on his way. On the thirty-first of August he landed at Portsmouth, England, again. On the 29th of May, 1818, he married at Coburg her Serene Highness Victoria Mary Louisa, widow of Emich Charles, Prince of Leiningen, the ceremony being repeated on Monday, the thirteenth of the following July, in the Queen's drawing room in England, in presence of many members of the Royal family. On the same occasion the Duke of Clarence married the Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Coburg Meiningen.

In Prince Edward's life at Halifax there is much to remind one of the simple homeliness of the life at Windsor of his father, plain "Farmer George." The King used to get up at unseasonable hours and march round in his shovel hat to poor people's cottages, he played backgammon every evening regularly with the dull people of his dull court, while the equerries "yawned themselves to death in the ante-room"—Prince Edward, we are told, used often in Halifax to put his own hand to the jack-plane and drive the cross-cut saw, and there was little in the doings either of his troops or his ordinary workmen that he did not personally oversee. If he was deficient in the strict virtue of his mother, who Thackeray tells us regarded all deviation from the strict path of conventional morality with absolute disfavor and "hated poor sinners with a rancour such as virtue sometimes has," he at least

had a large share of his father's energy and his father's simple, homely tastes.

The great and lasting service the Duke of Kent did for Halifax was to put its defences on a solid foundation. He had not been a great while in Halifax when through the governor he called for help from the militia in constructing the great citadel and strengthening and rendering more impregnable the various harbour forts, and these works, with other industries which he stimulated, soon told greatly on the prosperity of the town. Mingling freely and affably with the citizens, at the entertainments at Government House and probably in other social ways, he gained the thorough good-will of the Halifax people, and when he finally left the Province his going was attended with much more than perfunctory regret on the part of all classes in the maritime town. Whether he did anything in Halifax for the education of the children of the soldiers there we do not know, but he is said to have been the first commander of a regiment in the whole British army to establish a regimental school. So highly were his efforts for the education of soldiers' children appreciated, that in 1811, at the Free Masons' Tavern in London, the following resolution, moved by Lord Lansdowne and seconded by Lord Keith, was unanimously adopted: "That the respectful thanks of this meeting be presented to H. R. Highness the Duke of Kent, whose friendship to soldiers' children has been shown in that princely liberality with which H. R. H. has established a school in the Royals, as Colonel of that Regiment, and set an example which it is hoped will be universally followed by military commanders, and thereby promote the welfare of and do honour to the character of the British army."

In spite of the general amiability which won Prince Edward an enduring place in the affections of the Halifax people, and has done much to keep his memory fragrant in Nova Scotia even to the present time,²⁰ in his military discipline the Duke of Kent

20. Prince Edward is said to have had the faculty, (as had also his daughter, Queen Victoria) of never forgetting a face. He was always ready to return, with apparent friendship, the greetings of any persons he met. At his dinners, though of course much of the recognized royal etiquette was observed, every one felt comfortable and at home. In Halifax he encouraged dramatic performances, and Murdoch says that during the winters of his stay in the town plays seem to have been given about once a fortnight. As an evidence of his amiability, DeGaspé tells

was a martinet, and sometimes, one cannot help believing, in his punishments almost criminally severe. In the journal of Dr. Alton, who was the leading medical practitioner of Halifax at the time of the Prince's stay, we find mentions of an appalling number of cases of illness and death among the soldiers of the Seventh Royal Fusiliers, the direct result of the severe punishments inflicted by his orders, and at the Lodge is still shown a burrow or cave in which tradition says he kept a soldier confined for two or three years until he died. It is recorded that he ordered for one poor fellow a thousand lashes on his bare back, and that once or twice in Halifax a soldier committed suicide from fear of the terrible punishment he had sentenced him to undergo. In the use of cards and drink in the army the Duke was very strict, in order to discourage gambling he never touched cards himself, and to promote temperance both in the army and in civil society he used great moderation in wine. To prevent drunkenness in his regiment he used to make his men get up at five o'clock in the morning for drill, which regulation of course precluded their being away from barracks in Halifax bar-rooms late at night. At this early morning drill he used to be present regularly himself.

The severity of the Duke of Kent's discipline we may attribute partly to inherited traits, partly to the inflexible training he had received in Hanover, and partly to the almost utter lack of sympathy he seems to have found in his royal father and his carousing brothers. The Dukes of Clarence, Cumberland, and Cambridge, all appear to have received from Farmer George some proper share of consideration, but poor Prince Edward was early sent away from home, and during his fourteen successive years of foreign service, in the Mediterranean, Canada, the West Indies, and Nova Scotia, was kept on a starvation income, and allowed to contract debts which for many years made life for him a burden. He was, we believe, one of the best of George the Third's sons, and why the old King or indeed Parliament, should

us that once, when His Royal Highness was in Quebec he went to the Isle of Orleans to see an old woman, a centenarian. Having talked to her for some time he asked her if he could confer any pleasure on her. "Yes," said the old lady, "I should like to have you dance a minuet with me, that I may be able to say before I die that I have danced with the son of my Sovereign." The Prince at once complied with her wish and after the dance, conducted her to her seat and bowed gallantly, the old lady curtseying low in return.

have permitted him to live most of his life under a heavy burden of debt it is quite impossible to tell. It is stated in a pamphlet published sometime after 1815, called "A detailed statement of the case of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent," that Mr. Pitt shortly before his death became thoroughly aroused to Prince Edward's necessities and took great blame to himself for not having considered his case earlier. Mr. Pitt's death, however, put an end to any hope the Prince may have had from that quarter, and so, appeals to his spendthrift brother the Prince of Wales being met with prompt refusal, at last in 1815 he tried to get permission to sell by lottery Castle Hill, the only piece of property he owned, in order to raise sorely needed ready cash. From first to last he seems to have had a hard time. His earliest military training was received in Hanover under an execrable man, Baron Wagenheim, whom his father persisted in keeping as his tutor, but whom the Prince himself, no doubt quite properly, once characterized as a "mercenary tyrant." When he was twenty, he was removed from Hanover to Geneva, a better place, but one he found so utterly uncongenial that as soon as he came of age he resolved to go to England (without leave) and try by personal remonstrance to get that consideration which his father had hitherto wholly denied him. Accordingly, he went to London and took up his quarters at an hotel, where he was at once visited by his brother the Prince of Wales. Together the two went to Carlton House, and were there joined by another brother, the Duke of York, who undertook to communicate Prince Edward's arrival to the King. The King's anger was terrible. He refused to see the Prince, and in a few days sent him written orders to proceed within twenty-four hours to Gibraltar. On the night before he left, his royal father deigned to see him for a few minutes, and this was the first time the King and his son had met for six years.²¹

21. Of George the Third himself, Leigh Hunt says: "He was a very brave and honest man. He feared nothing on earth, and he acted according to his convictions. But, unfortunately, his convictions were at the mercy of a will far greater than his understanding; and hence his courage became obstinacy, and his honesty the dupe of his inclinations." He possessed "an extraordinary mixture of domestic virtue with official duplicity; of rustical, mechanical tastes and popular manners, with the most exalted ideas of authority; of a childish and self-betraying cunning, with the

In spite of the Duke's extreme severity with his soldiers and his strictness regarding their conduct, the following amusing story is told of him. One evening in one of the Halifax streets he suddenly came upon one of his men who was much under the influence of drink. Staggering towards his colonel, the soldier jocosely said: "Aha Neddy, you've caught me at last!" The Duke was amused at hearing once more his old nursery name, and laughing a little to himself passed on without even reprimanding the man. Prince Edward had a special fondness for young men, and many a youth who afterward rose to high rank in the army owed his earliest promotion to the good offices of the Duke.²² It is said that the 7th Royal Fusiliers needed severer regulations than other regiments, for the Duke had filled it with good looking fellows, many of whom had little but their fine physical appearance to recommend them.

The friendship of Prince Edward for Sir John and Lady Wentworth was of a very intimate and enduring character. When Mr. Wentworth received his baronetcy in 1795 the Prince, as we have seen, with all the officers of the garrison, went to Government House in due form to offer his congratulations, and it is evident that no important function given by Sir John while the Duke was in Halifax was neglected by this royal soldier. When the ocean came to divide the Wentworths and him the correspondence between the friends

most stubborn reserves; of fearlessness with sordidness; good nature with unfor-
givingness; and of the health and strength of temperance and self-denial, with the
last weaknesses of understanding, and passions that exasperated it out of its reason."

22. One of Prince Edward's protegés and warmest admirers in Halifax, among
the young men of the period, was Brenton Halliburton, who began life as a lieuten-
ant in the Duke's regiment, the 7th Fusiliers. In later life, as Chief-Justice of
Nova Scotia, Sir Brenton wrote of the Prince: "A tale of woe always interested
him deeply, and nothing but gross misconduct could ever induce him to abandon any
one whom he had once befriended." Another Nova Scotian who was taken into the
7th Fusiliers was young Charles Thomas, son of Hon. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, one
of the Boston refugees in Halifax (who finally settled in Windsor, Nova Scotia).
Charles Thomas was accidentally shot by a brother officer in a road-house near Hal-
ifax, in August, 1797, and the Prince mourned him as a personal friend. At Lieuten-
ant Thomas's funeral his commander is said to have shown much feeling, and a
little later he had a tombstone erected in St. Paul's burying-ground, bearing the fol-
lowing inscription:

This Stone | sacred to the memory of | Lieut. Charles Thomas | of | His
Majesty's | Royal Fusilier Regiment | who departed this Life | on the 16th of Au-
gust, 1797 | aged 24 years | is placed as a Testimony of | His Friendship and Es-
teem | by | Lieut. General His Royal Highness | Prince Edward | his Colonel.

did not cease, and when at last the Prince had married and his illustrious daughter was born, Sir John sent his own and Lady Wentworth's congratulations in due form. To Sir John's letter the Duke replied: "I have received your kind congratulations on the birth of our little girl, which you may be sure I highly appreciate, as coming from the heart of one of my best and oldest friends. You will, I am sure, be pleased to hear that the Duchess has been able to suckle her child from the first to the present moment, and that both are doing wonderfully well." When Lady Wentworth died, the Duke wrote Sir John expressing his sorrow, and ending with: "I look forward anxiously to the time when I shall receive you again at Castle Hill, and retain you there as a guest."

world. That is what absolute protection has done for that great American industry. It is the wonder of the shipping world and yet, some men actually propose to destroy this business by opening it to the competition of our rivals!

Here is a vast business performed by Americans for Americans, under government protection from foreign competition by laws that are never violated and a vast business that is done better and cheaper than any similar business in all the world; done better and cheaper than upon the Seven Seas where ocean traffic is carried on under free trade conditions and with less than half the wages. The commerce upon the Great Lakes saves the American people the vast sum of \$250,000,000 a year over the cheap rail rates, notwithstanding the fact that the American railroads carry freight cheaper than any other railways in the world.

With these facts before us shall we legislate for America or for Europe and Asia? Shall we continue to play into the hands of our commercial rivals or shall we play the game for our own people?

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

No. V

THE COUNCIL OF TWELVE AND THE JUDICIARY

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

NO history of Halifax could properly be written that did not treat at some length of the governmental and judicial institutions of Nova Scotia, that had and continue to have their source and fountain head in the capital of the province, and that did not give some account of the Halifax men who brought these institutions into being. In the first of our present series of sketches we have shown that almost immediately after he reached Chebucto, Governor Cornwallis chose a Council of twelve members, whom he associated with himself in the government of the new colony to which he had been sent. This Council, which has passed into history conspicuously as the "Old Council of Twelve," had a long and varied history, the first check to the oligarchical power it exercised being the creation of a Representative Assembly, whose very existence its members frequently felt to be an impertinence, and from whose jurisdiction it persistently withheld all the governmental interests of the province it could.

In this Council were vested legislative, executive, and often judicial functions. Its members, who by common custom were styled "honourable," sat with closed doors, and in the order of precedence early established took rank next to the Governor, while at the chief executive's death or in his absence from the province, the eldest of them as president for the time being administered the government. To the Executive this body stood in

nearly the same relation as the Privy Council in Great Britain stands to the sovereign. In its legislative capacity it sometimes deliberated as a distinct body apart from the executive, but as a privy council it was always convened by the governor, who was present at its deliberations. "Dissimilar," says Judge Haliburton in 1832, "as this body is in many important particulars to the House of Lords, any nearer approach to the original appears from the state of the country to be very difficult." "Mr. Pitt," he adds, "seems to have entertained the idea of creating an order of hereditary nobility in Canada, for the purpose of assimilating the condition of that province as nearly as possible to Great Britain."

In the creation of a House of Assembly the power of the Council of course received a considerable check; but this body still continued to exercise almost absolute sway over the affairs of the province, appointing the magistrates, who were thus the creatures of its will, and often vetoing the most serious and best considered measures of the Assembly, the people at large being left wholly without redress. The laws of Nova Scotia explicitly recognized all forms of religion save Roman Catholicism as having a right to exist in the province, but the members of the Council for the most part distinctly favored the Church of England, and when at last Nova Scotia was erected into the first Colonial Anglican See, the bishop also became a member of the Council, his appointment henceforth giving the body a closer interest in the ecclesiastical affairs of the province, and naturally leading it to throw its influence almost entirely on the side of the church of England and against "dissent." With an intelligent and steadily growing population, the opinions of four-fifths of whom were not represented in the Council, and who were properly growing more and more jealous of their rights, it was impossible that sooner or later there should not come a stout conflict between these two branches of the legislature. Between 1830 and 1840, such a strife did come, but it was not by any means confined to this province, the governments of both Upper and Lower Canada were constructed similarly to that of the Maritime Provinces, and in all the provinces the people discovered that they had the same causes of discontent. In Upper Canada, as early as 1820, it was publicly charged

that the council was averse to every liberal measure, and that its policy was selfish and narrow throughout. Its members were reproached as "land-grabbers," bigots, and the enemies of public schools; and fierce complaints were made that the people were prohibited by law from meeting to talk over their grievances and frame petitions for the redress of their wrongs. Nor did the Canadian people complain only of the councils and their direct acts. The magistrates throughout the country districts in all the provinces were responsible to no one but the councils, and everywhere, it was charged, neglect, mismanagement, and corruption were clearly to be seen.

Regarding the Nova Scotia Council in the year 1762, Mr. Murdoch says: "It may not be amiss to notice, that although it was given as the opinion of the crown lawyers in England that the Governor and Council had not a right to the legislative powers they had for some time exercised, and that although an Assembly had now been constituted for four years to supply this constitutional defect, yet the Governor and Council continued on many occasions to dispose of the moneys raised under the ordinances of earlier dates, without seeking the concurrence of the representative body. It will be seen by and by that at subsequent periods larger funds still were virtually appropriated and disposed of by the Council without any reference to the House. These being duties collected under acts for the regulation of trade by the English parliament, were in point of form controlled entirely by the English authorities, but in effect the opinion and recommendation of the Governor and Council were almost invariably adopted and sanctioned in such matters. The consequence was that the influence and standing of the Assembly was diminished and rendered insignificant, as that body had but a very small revenue under its control, while the Council had not only much public money to give away, but held all the best local offices themselves, and exercised the almost exclusive patronage of all others, whether of honor or emolument. This anomalous and unconstitutional state of things endured far into the present century." Later, speaking of a conflict between the two branches of the legislature in 1808, Mr. Murdoch says: "The error of all the old colonial constitutions, which combined in one small body of men

all kinds of offices and powers, some quite incompatible with others, was at the bottom of the mischief. The same men were a Privy and a Cabinet Council and a House of Lords. They also held most of the executive and judicial offices, and their tenure of all these functions was practically for life; also, on a vacancy in their number by death or removal they had it much in their own hands to nominate the person to fill it. Thus a distinct oligarchy was established. How could they help undervaluing the men sent for a short period as deputies to the Assembly, who had little influence as individuals except in the immediate locality of their homes! How could they brook being opposed, censured, or called to account, by parties comparatively so humble!"

The first open break between the Governor and Council and the House of Assembly, in Nova Scotia, occurred at the close of the elections in 1799. Hitherto the representation of Halifax, the metropolitan county, had been held by residents of the city of Halifax; in this election the city candidate, Mr. Michael Wallace, a man of high social standing, was opposed by a Hants County man, Mr. William Cottnam Tonge, a gentleman of excellent education and of well known liberal sentiments, who had already by his ability and eloquence made himself a power in the House. When the returns were counted, Mr. Wallace was found to be defeated by Mr. Tonge by several hundred majority, but it being shown that Mr. Tonge had not sufficient real estate in the county to qualify him as a member, upon a petition he was unseated for Halifax and relegated to his return for Newport, for which township also he had been elected. In the previous session of the House Mr. Tonge had been chosen speaker, now when he was again presented for this office Governor Wentworth's strong Tory prejudices and hatred of liberal sentiments led him to exercise the prerogative, long unused in Great Britain and entirely without precedent in Nova Scotia, of vetoing the choice of the Assembly, and commanding the House to choose another speaker. From Sir John's arbitrary decision there was no appeal, and the House most unwillingly retired, to elect presently to the speakership Mr. Lewis Morris Wilkins, a son of Dr. Isaac Wilkins, the old Westchester Tory lawyer and clergyman, who about 1798 had returned from Nova Scotia to his native land.

As may be supposed, the temper of the Assembly was not materially improved by this high-handed act of the executive, and there was besides at the time another cause of discontent in the minds of the people and the people's representatives. Soon after the erection of Nova Scotia into the first Colonial Diocese of the Church of England, an exclusive and narrow charter had been secured for a Church College at Windsor, for the education of such Nova Scotia students as were in a position to take a college course. The restrictions of the statutes of this college were an outrage on the intelligent people of the province, four-fifths of whom were not adherents of the Church of England and had not the slightest idea of ever becoming so. In 1805, the Rev. Mr. McCulloch, an able young Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, well known through a long and busy life in Nova Scotia as the Rev. Dr. McCulloch, conceived the idea of founding an academy at Picton, that should be open to the whole province without any restriction of creed. For this purpose an appeal for funds was made to the legislature, in the popular branch of which it naturally met with a cordial response. In the Council, however, it was bitterly opposed and for fifteen long years this opposition was vigorously kept up. At last, however, the Home Government was obliged to step in and administer to the Council a stinging rebuke, and the body thereupon yielded through fear what it had so long refused on the ground of justice and right.

During this protracted struggle some of the best speeches of the House of Assembly were made in favor of the undenominational academy, and in its progress the people and the people's party learned not only to understand but boldly to claim their inalienable rights. The men who, as representatives of the people, may be named as constituting the earliest nucleus of the liberal party in Nova Scotia, besides Mr. Tonge, were Samuel George William Archibald, Edward Mortimer, Simon Bradstreet Robie, and William Lawson, but as time went on other notable men became its champions and friends.

In the ten years between 1830 and 1840, popular feeling in all the provinces of what is now the Dominion of Canada ran very high. In Ontario, which had been settled chiefly by Loyalists, a life and death struggle went on between the two branches of the

legislature, which was made still more bitter by the controversy over the Clergy Reserve Fund, the Loyalists generally having a bigoted attachment to the English Church. In Quebec large and excited meetings were held, the young French Canadians banding themselves into societies called "Sons of Liberty," whose aim was to limit the Council's prerogative and extend the people's power. At last the struggle passed into the rebellion of 1837, which culminated in the attempt of the liberals to seize Toronto, and the fierce engagements of St. Denis, St. Charles, and Bois Blanc. In the Maritime provinces the opposition, though not conducted with outward violence, as we have said, was no less persistent and strong.

In 1836 Sir Colin Campbell was governor of Nova Scotia. He was a stern, arbitrary soldier, accustomed to command, unused to argue, and so very poorly fitted to govern a province where such a fire of popular discontent had already begun to burn. His sympathies were naturally with the Council and against the people, and under his administration things rapidly got worse and worse. At this juncture, in 1837, the Honourable Joseph Howe was elected to the House of Assembly, and his commanding abilities, his utterly fearless championship of all liberal measures, and the determined scorn with which he treated the prerogatives of the Council raised him at once to a position of eminence in the politics of the province such as no party leader before his time had ever had.¹

Mr. Howe's actual leadership of the liberal party in Nova Scotia began with the publication in his newspaper the *Nova Scotian* of an article charging the magistrates of Halifax with gross corruption and neglect of duty. Being prosecuted for libel

1. The Hon. Joseph Howe, Nova Scotia's ablest statesman, was the son of the Loyalist, John Howe, of Boston, who before the Revolution was editor with Mrs. Draper of the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter*. Coming with Howe's fleet in 1776, John Howe settled permanently in Halifax, where in 1781 he established the *Halifax Journal* and became King's Printer. He died in 1835, in his 82d year. His other sons besides Hon. Joseph Howe were William, who was Assistant Commissary General at Halifax, John, Jr., who became King's Printer and Deputy Post-Master General, and David, who published a newspaper at St. Andrews, New Brunswick.

A very important biography of Hon. Joseph Howe was published by the Hon. Mr. Justice James Wilberforce Longley, D. C. L., of the Supreme Bench of Nova Scotia, in 1906, in a series known as "Makers of Canada." Morang and Co., Toronto; pp. 307.

he ably conducted his own defence, and on his triumphant acquittal by the jury at once proceeded to attack still further the venerable abuses in the government. In a short time he boldly arraigned the Council itself, and for many years, even after responsible government was secured, continued eloquently and ably to fight for reform and to advocate progressive measures, as against the party of ancient privilege, who nowhere believe that "the voice of the people is the will of God." From this time, on all popular questions, whether national or local, questions of the reconstruction of government, the opening of mines, the building of railways, education, the tariff, confederation, Mr. Howe was the acknowledged leader of the people's party, and his views the conservatives found it hard to combat. Unless it be the late Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., whose statesmanship was undoubtedly of a very high order and whose political career was exceptionally able, no Nova Scotian has so distinguished himself in political life as the Honourable Joseph Howe.

In the session of 1837, the Assembly, led by Mr. Howe, formulated an address to the throne, in which with many professions of loyalty to the Supreme Authority, its members stated the grievances of the colony they represented and proposed a remedy. In the infancy of this colony, they said, its whole government was necessarily vested in a Governor and Council; and even after a Representative Assembly was granted, the practice of choosing members of Council almost exclusively from the heads of departments, and from among persons resident in the capital, had been still pursued. With a single exception, they added, this course had been continued for thirty years, and the practical effects of the system had been in the highest degree injurious to the best interests of the country, "inasmuch as one entire branch of the legislature had generally been composed of men, who, from a deficiency of local knowledge, or from the natural bias incident to their official stations, were not qualified to decide upon the wants or just claims of the people; by which the efforts of the representative branch were, in many instances, neutralized, or rendered of no avail." Among the many proofs that might be adduced of the evils arising from the imperfect structure of the upper branch of the legislature, they said, it was only necessary

to refer "to the unsuccessful efforts of the Assembly to extend to the out-ports the advantages of foreign trade; to the enormous sums which it was compelled, after a long struggle, to resign, for the support of the Customs establishment; to the difficulties thrown in the way of a just and liberal system of education;" and to recent abortive attempts it had made "to abolish the unconstitutional and obnoxious fees taken by the judges of the Supreme Court."

After setting forth the injustice of the Anglican Church alone having representation in the Council, the Bishop having since 1809 belonged to the body while no other denomination of Christians had been allowed representation therein; and in other ways illustrating the evils that existed, the address still further urged that while the House had a due reverence for British institutions, and a desire to preserve to the people the advantages of the constitution under which the inhabitants of the British Isles had enjoyed so much prosperity and happiness, its framers were obliged to feel that Nova Scotians participated but slightly in these advantages. The spirit of the British constitution, the genius of British institutions, was complete responsibility to the people, by whose resources and for whose benefit they were maintained. But in Nova Scotia the people were powerless, since even with a Representative Assembly, upon the actual governing body of the province they exercised very little influence, and over its final action had absolutely no control. In England the people by one vote of their representatives could change the ministry and alter any course of policy they found injurious to their interests; in Nova Scotia "the ministry were his Majesty's Council, combining legislative, judicial, and executive powers, holding their seats for life, though nominally at the pleasure of the Crown, and often treating with entire indifference the wishes of the people and the representations of the lower house." As a remedy for the evils under which they groaned the petitioners implored the King "to grant them an elective legislative council; or to separate the executive from the legislative, providing for a just representation of all the great interests of the province in both, and by the introduction into the former of some members of the popular branch, and by otherwise securing responsibility

to the representatives, to confer upon the people of the province what they valued above all other possessions, the blessings of the British constitution.

Upon the British government and upon Lord Glenelg, then at the head of the Colonial Office, this address had the desired effect, and in answer, the Colonial minister forwarded two dispatches to Sir Colin Campbell, in which he declared the sovereign's cheerful assent to the greater part of the measures of the House, and stated that his Majesty was convinced that they would be conducive alike to the honour of the Crown and to the welfare of his faithful subjects.

Having no alternative, the Governor now set to work to reorganize the legislature, and before the opening of the session of 1838 the old Council of Twelve had given place to a Legislative Council, including nineteen members, sitting with open doors; and an Executive Council, consisting of the old number of twelve. Of the latter Council, four sat in the lower house, and two or three in the upper, but the body which "after a fashion was charged with the administration of affairs,"² acknowledged no responsibility whatever to the Assembly.

Through some mistake of the Home Government, the instructions sent to Lord Durham, the Governor-General, on the matter of the Council, differed materially from those sent to Sir Colin Campbell. By Lord Durham's commission, the Executive Council was to be limited to nine members, and the Legislative Council to fifteen. Consequently, before the close of the session, the two councils were dissolved, and two others by proclamation appointed in their stead. When the appointments to these new councils became known, it was found that Mr. Huntington, the only liberal in the Executive had been left out, and that the Legislative Council contained a "packed and determined" majority hostile to responsible government.

Nothing could have been more flagrantly opposed to the spirit of Lord Glenelg's dispatches than such a policy as this, and the liberal party, with Mr. Howe at their head, at once began to wage relentless warfare upon it. In 1839 Lord Durham's famous report as Governor-General of Canada suggested to the Home Gov-

2. Hon. William Annand, in "Howe's Speeches and Public Letters."

ernment a union of all the British American provinces, and the establishment throughout this confederation of responsible government. The same year Lord John Russell became Colonial Secretary and entered at once with vigor into the affairs of his department, one of his first acts being the appointment to the governor-generalship of Canada of Mr. Poulett Thompson (afterwards Lord Sydenham), in place of Lord Durham, who had suddenly withdrawn. Soon after Mr. Thompson came out, Lord John sent him dispatches relative to his government of the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces, which under Lord Dorchester, in 1786, had all been included in one general government. These dispatches were dated October 14th, 1839, and two days later were followed by further dispatches from the Colonial Secretary to all the governors of the British North American colonies, laying down certain rules thereafter to be enforced, regarding the tenure of office of colonial officials. These new dispatches which were wholly in the spirit of Lord Durham's report, and were much less guarded than those sent two days earlier to Mr. Thompson, declared that offices were no longer to be held for life, that all officials were expected to retire from the public service as often as any motives of public policy might seem to make such a course expedient, and that a change in the person of the governor would be considered as sufficiently warranting the removal of any one from office. The new policy was not to extend to ministerial or judicial offices, but was distinctly to apply to heads of departments.

In New Brunswick the dispatches of Lord John were commended by Sir John Harvey, then governor of that province, although they displeased his Council, but in Nova Scotia Sir Colin Campbell shamelessly suppressed them. It is true he introduced three new members of the House of Assembly into the Council, but they were from the party of the minority in the House, and their elevation tended rather to increase than to lessen the popular bitterness. When the House met in 1840, led by Mr. Howe its members passed resolutions stating their grievances and declaring that the Council as it was then constituted did not possess the confidence of the House. These resolutions were sent to the governor, who as might have been expected treated them with lit-

tle respect, in the course of correspondence taking occasion to affirm his own entire satisfaction with his advisers of the Council. The House had now gone too far to recede, and accordingly felt that it must take the strong measure of asking the Home Government for Sir Colin's recall. In the course of the summer of 1840, the Governor General came to Halifax to look into affairs, and in September Sir Colin Campbell was summoned home and Viscount Falkland (whose wife was Amelia Fitz-Clarence, one of the natural daughters of King William the Fourth) was sent out in his place. A few weeks later five of the members of the Executive Council sent in their resignations, and three liberal members of the Assembly, selected by the Colonial Office, Messrs. S. G. W. Archibald, James B. Uniacke, men of rather moderate views, and Joseph Howe, were appointed in their place.

In November a general election came on, which was fought along the old lines of the Council and the Assembly, but the compromise that had lately been effected robbed party feeling of somewhat of its usual virulence, and in the election returns it was seen that the constitution of the new Assembly differed very little from that of the one that had sat for the past four years. Mr. Howe's acceptance of a place in the Executive Council while that body was still irresponsible, has been variously commented upon by his biographers, but the truth undoubtedly was that he felt the necessity of accepting any concession that could be wrung from the party of the Council, while he still hoped and intended to agitate for better things. Lord Falkland's administration began favorably for the liberal party, but before long it was discovered that the governor was much more in sympathy with the opponents than with the friends of responsible government. Accordingly, party strife ran even higher than in the time of Sir Colin Campbell, for with every year the people of the province at large had become more imbued with liberal sentiments and more bitter against exclusiveness and ancient prerogative in the administration of public affairs. After three years, Mr. Howe and his sympathizers resigned from the Council, and it was not until Lord Falkland had left the province he had so sadly misgoverned, and the much wiser Sir John Harvey had taken his place, that order began to come out of the political chaos that had

so long reigned. During the last years of his rule Lord Falkland was continually the butt of Mr. Howe's brilliant sarcasm, while by the people at large, in several portions of the province, he was respectfully but pointedly told in public addresses that his influence as governor was completely gone.

At last, in August, 1847, another general election was held, and a strong majority of liberals was returned. The administration was defeated in Halifax, and in many of the more populous and important counties of the province, and when in January the session of 1848 began, the contest over the speakership resulted in a victory for the liberals, Mr. Young, afterwards Sir William Young, being elected to the chair. Almost immediately a motion of want of confidence in the Executive Council was made by Mr. Uniacke, the debate on which lasted for two days; then the house divided and the motion was carried by a majority of twenty-eight to twenty-one. In accordance with the practice in the English Parliament, a new cabinet was now formed, the members of which were, the Honourables James B. Uniacke, Michael Tobin, Hugh Bell, Joseph Howe, James McNab, Herbert Huntington, William F. DesBarres, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, and George R. Young. On Mr. Howe was conferred the office of provincial secretary, which for some time previously Sir Rupert Dennis George had filled, while to Mr. Uniacke was given the attorney-generalship, and to Mr. DesBarres the solicitor-generalship. For the first time in Nova Scotia history the liberals now surrounded the lieutenant-governor and had free access to the Colonial Office, and at last and forever the old system of prerogative was done. "Responsible government," says Mr. Annand, "was secured to British America. Principles and rules of administration, defined and illustrated by the conflicts of the past four years, were clearly apprehended, and could be mis-stated and mystified no longer. The right of any party commanding a parliamentary majority to form a Cabinet, and administer public affairs; the right of ministers to be consulted, to resign when they were not, and to go into opposition without injury to the prerogative; in fact, nearly all the points upon which there had been so much controversy, were now settled and disposed of."

So came into being Nova Scotia's present system of local gov-

ernment, the Legislative Council being appointed for life, indeed, by the executive head of the province, but with greatly limited powers; the Executive Council being drawn chiefly from the upper and lower houses; the heads of departments, who correspond to the Cabinet in the government of the United States, unlike the members of the United States Cabinet being also representatives of the people and in the event of a defeat of the government being obliged to refer again to the polls.

The leading opponent of Mr. Howe in the long struggle between the two branches of the legislature was Mr. James William Johnstone, successively a member of the House of Assembly, a member of the Council, Solicitor-General, and Judge in Equity. Like Mr. Howe, in his last days when the heat of party strife was past, he was appointed to the governorship of the province, although he did not live to take office. He was the son of Captain William Martin and Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston, formerly of the State of Georgia, but long settled in the island of Jamaica, in which West India island, on the 29th of August, 1792, James William Johnstone was born. Coming to Nova Scotia in early life he studied law and was admitted to the bar, and when at last he rose to the Council, from his position on that board he watched eagerly the movement in favour of responsible government. Conservative by nature and a thorough aristocrat, he soon came out boldly in opposition to the popular movement, and from that time on, for many years, he and Mr. Howe were bitter opponents in general political affairs.

One of the earliest acts of Governor Cornwallis after his arrival, with the approval of the Council he had appointed, was to make provision for an established Judiciary. In pursuance of this measure he appointed a Committee of Council to examine the various legal systems in force in the other American Colonies and report on their fitness for Nova Scotia's needs. On the thirteenth of December (1749), Hon. Benjamin Green reported that after careful investigation the committee had decided that the laws of Virginia were most applicable to the case in hand, and his report was adopted. This report, says Dr. Akins, "referred principally to the judicial proceedings in the General Courts, the County Courts, and other tribunals." "The first thing I set about after the de-

parture of the *Charlton*, writes the Governor in March, 1750, was to establish the courts of judicature," and later in the year he says that it gives him great satisfaction to find that the Lords of Trade approve of the way in which he has established the courts. These earliest Nova Scotia courts were three: a Court of General Sessions, having powers like those of similar courts in England; a County Court, having jurisdiction over the whole province, which then comprised but one county, the members of which were men in the Commission of the Peace at Halifax; and a General Court, or Court of Assize and General Jail Delivery, in which for the time being the Governor and Council sat as judges. The County Court sat monthly, and except in criminal matters was invested with all the powers of the Court of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, without limitation of sums, or restriction as to the nature of the action; either of the litigating parties, however, having the right, after judgment, to carry the cause by appeal into the General Court and there obtain a trial *de novo*. The General Court was held twice a year, in April and October, and with a jury tried all criminal offences, and appeals from the County Court in which the sum in dispute exceeded five pounds. It lasted, however, only until 1752, when a Court of Common Pleas was erected in its stead upon the plan of Inferior Courts of Common Pleas in New England.³ This Court sat four times a year, its judges being selected from those judges who had presided in the County Court. Inconveniences soon arising from the peculiar construction of the General Court, in 1754, a Chief Justice was appointed, and a Supreme Court, of which the Chief Justice was the sole judge, was established in place of the General Court. This Supreme Court was also a Court of Assize and General Jail Delivery, and its jurisdiction was in all other respects similar to that of the court whose place it took.

In 1758, when the House of Assembly was created by a temporary act of the legislature, the practice of the Court of Com-

3. The first persons appointed judges of the Court of Common Pleas were Messrs. Charles Morris, James Monk, John Duport, Robert Ewer, and Joseph Scott. John William Hoffman and Leonard Christopher, Esquires, were at the same time appointed justices of the peace. Of the first list, Charles Morris and James Monk were Bostonians.

mon Pleas was changed and a new mode was prescribed, compounded partly from the practice of Massachusetts, and partly from that of England. Two years later New England people in large numbers settled in various parts of the province and then new counties were formed and new courts of Common Pleas were established. As thus constituted the Nova Scotia Judiciary remained until 1764, when on the advice of the Assembly, seconded by the Council, Governor Wilmot appointed two assistant judges for the Supreme Court, with salaries of a hundred pounds each, which amount was afterward reduced to fifty pounds. The persons appointed were the Honourable Charles Morris, a Bostonian now active in Nova Scotia, and the Honourable John Duport, both members of the Council and conspicuously able men. The powers of these new judges were, however, very limited, they were not permitted to try a cause except with the Chief Justice, or even to open or adjourn a court without his presence or concurrence. In 1770, Judge Duport was created Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island, and Mr. Isaac Deschamps, one of the first judges of the Court of Common Pleas for King's County, was appointed to the judgeship he had left. Mr. Morris, however, retained his judgeship until his death in 1781.

In 1774 an act was passed for the establishment of circuits in the province, which authorized the holding of courts at Horton, Annapolis, and Cumberland, to sit not beyond five days at each of these places. At these courts two judges were required to be present. The terms at Halifax were fourteen days each, the court, however, having liberty to continue six days longer if necessity required. Another act of the legislature, in 1809, raised the salaries of the assistant judges of the Supreme Court from four hundred to five hundred pounds currency each, besides travelling fees, and increased their number from two to three. Accordingly, the next year the Governor, Sir George Prevost, appointed as the third assistant judge, Mr. Foster Hutchinson, another Bostonian, now senior barrister of the Nova Scotia bar and a member of the House of Assembly. In 1816 an act was passed to appoint an associate judge on the circuits of the Supreme Court, and in pursuance of the act, Peleg Wiswall, Esquire, also of a New England family, was given a judgeship. At the same

time Mr. Lewis Morris Wilkins, a native of New York, was appointed to a judgeship of the Supreme Court in place of Judge George Henry Monk, who had resigned.

In 1758 there were also in existence in Halifax a Probate Court, an Admiralty Court of Appeals, and a Court of Vice Admiralty, of which the Hon. John Collier was the judge. The judges of the Court of Common Pleas in this year were Charles Morris, James Monk, John Duport, Joseph Gerrish, and Edmund Crawley, the first of whom received a salary of sixty pounds, the others forty pounds each. Three years later Joseph Winniett, George Dyson, and Henry Evans, Esquires, were named as judges of a similar court for Annapolis County, and Isaac Deschamps, Henry Denny Denson, and Robert Denison, Esquires, for the County of King's. The first Halifax court house stood at the corner of Buckingham and Argyle streets, but the building was destroyed by fire in 1783.⁴

In reading of the appointments to chief places in the early Nova Scotia judiciary, we see at a glance how preponderatingly large is the number of New England names in the list. Charles Morris, James Monk, Joseph Gerrish, and Foster Hutchinson, were all representatives of important Boston families. Henry Evans, Peleg Wiswall, Robert Denison and others, in various parts of the province, were also all conspicuous New England born men.⁵

Of Judge Foster Hutchinson, it is interesting to note that he was a son of Judge Foster Hutchinson of Boston, one of the five judges of the Superior Court of Massachusetts at the outbreak of the Revolution; and a nephew of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. The senior Judge Foster Hutchinson, who married, April twelfth, 1750, Margaret Mascarene, daughter of Major Paul Mascarene, came to Halifax with his family in 1776, his son Foster, being then probably in his fifteenth year. The Senior Judge Hutchinson died at Halifax in 1799, but his son rose to as great

4. A tablet has lately been placed on a building now on the spot, to commemorate the fact of the court-house having been there. The statement, however, has been made in print that "as late as 1803" the courts, and the legislative assembly as well, met in a large wooden building owned by Hon. Thomas Cochran and his brothers, which stood where the Post Office now stands.

5. Judge Lewis Morris Wilkins, however, as we have said, was of a noted New York family, his father being Mr. (afterward the Rev.) Isaac Wilkins, the Loyalist, whose life as a clergyman was spent at Westchester, New York.

prominence in Nova Scotia as his father had enjoyed in Massachusetts, serving as representative in the legislature for Halifax town, as senior member of the bar receiving a judgeship in 1810, and being admitted to the Council in 1813. The testimony of Sir George Prevost, the governor, concerning Hutchinson was, that he was "learned in the law, of good estate, and irreproachable character," and Mr. Beamish Murdoch exalts him as "a polished and truly amiable gentleman and a man of remarkable integrity," his tastes also being "classical and refined." Hutchinson, however, was not robust and he did not live long to enjoy the dignity of the bench. He died in Halifax, unmarried, in 1815, in his fifty-fourth year, and his seat on the Supreme Court bench was given to the Solicitor-General, Mr. James Stewart.⁶

The complete organization of the Nova Scotia Judiciary was effected, as we have seen, in 1754, by the appointment of a Chief Justice and the establishment of a Supreme Court. The first Chief Justice of the province was a Boston born lawyer, Mr. Jonathan Belcher, second son of the Honourable Jonathan Belcher, of Boston, who was successively governor of Massachusetts and New Jersey, and his first wife, Mary Partridge, daughter of a lieutenant-governor of the province of New Hampshire. The Nova Scotia Chief Justice was born in Boston, July twenty-third, 1710, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1728, after this going to the Middle Temple in London to study law. In January, 1733, still of the Temple, he was made a master of arts by Cambridge University, and sooner or later he seems to have gone to Ireland to practice his profession there. In the *Halifax Gazette* of Saturday, June eighth, 1754, we find a dispatch from Boston which gives an extract from a letter from London, dated March nineteenth of that year, containing the announcement that "Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Son of his Excellency Governor Belcher, is appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, with a Salary of Five Hundred Pounds Sterling per

6. Of Judge Foster Hutchinson, Senior, Murdoch says (Vol. 2, pp. 575, 576): "Mr. Hutchinson, late a judge in Massachusetts, who came here on the evacuation of Boston, had some very treasonable addresses reprinted in the Halifax newspaper, thinking to excite the resentment of the people of Nova Scotia by showing the openly avowed rebellion of New England. The Council disapproved of this course and Mr. Hutchinson apologized. A proclamation was then ordered to forbid the reprinting treasonable documents."

Annum, and is expected here [Boston] from Ireland very soon, to embark for that Place." On Monday, October fourteenth, having arrived from Boston, Belcher was sworn in Halifax a member of the Council, and a week later he took the oath of office as Chief Justice.⁷

"On Monday, 14th October," says Mr. Beamish Murdoch, "Jonathan Belcher, the newly appointed Chief Justice of the Province, was (by his Majesty's mandamus) sworn in as a member of the Council; after which the Council adjourned to the Court House, where, after proclamation made for silence, the King's commission appointing Charles Lawrence lieutenant-governor was read in public. He was sworn in and took the chair. The Council addressed him in congratulation and he made a suitable reply. A commission by patent for the Chief Justice was prepared, and on the 21st October (Monday) it was read in Council, and the Chief Justice took the usual oaths and oath of office. On the first day of Michaelmas term, Chief Justice Belcher walked in a procession from the governor's house to the *Pontac*, a tavern. He was accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor, Lawrence, the members of the Council, and the gentlemen of the Bar in their robes. They were preceded by the Provost Marshal, the Judge's tipstaff, and other civil officers. At the long room of the *Pontac* an elegant breakfast was provided. The Chief Justice in his scarlet robes was there received and complimented 'in the politest manner' by a great number of gentlemen and ladies and officers of the army.

"Breakfast being over they proceeded, with the commission carried before them, to the church (St. Paul's), where the Reverend Mr. Breynton preached from this text: 'I am one of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel.' A suitable anthem was sung. After this they proceeded to the Court House, handsomely fitted up for the occasion. The Chief Justice took his seat under a canopy, with the Lieutenant-Governor on his right hand. The

7. Various brief sketches of Chief Justice Belcher have from time to time appeared in print, but a much longer and by far the most valuable sketch of him is by the Hon. Sir Charles Townshend, Kt., whose own Chief-Justiceship of Nova Scotia lasted from 1907 until 1915. Sir Charles was the eleventh Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. His successor is the Hon. Chief Justice Graham. Sir Charles's biography of Chief Justice Belcher will be found in the eighteenth volume of the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," pp. 25-55.

Clerk of the Crown then presented the commission to Mr. Belcher, which he returned. Proclamation for silence was made. Belcher gave some directions for the conduct of practitioners. The grand jury was sworn and the Chief Justice delivered his charge to them. After this the court adjourned and his Honor the Chief Justice, accompanied and attended before, went back to the Governor's house."

A few days after these elaborate ceremonies, the Chief Justice went in his judge's robes, attended by the members of the Bar, the Grand Jury, and the various court officers, to Governor Lawrence's house and in his own name and the names of those who were with him congratulated Lawrence on his appointment to the governorship. To the address Lawrence replied that the Judiciary would have his full support in the performance of their functions, the law, he said, being "the firm and solid basis of civil society, the guardian of liberty, the protector of the innocent, the terror of the guilty, and the scourge of the wicked."

The influence of Chief Justice Belcher in Nova Scotia was far-reaching and wide. The early enactments of the legislature which form the groundwork of the statutes of the province and make the basis of the legal order which has been in force there ever since, were all prepared by him, and there was no important question of government during his control of the Judiciary that he did not in some way influence. On the death of Governor Lawrence in October, 1760, as president of the Council he for a short time administered the government, and then, the newly appointed governor, Henry Ellis, formerly Governor of Georgia, for some reason not coming to his post, on the twenty-first of November, 1760, he was formally created lieutenant-governor. Chief Justice Belcher's greatest achievement for Nova Scotia, however, apart from his able control of her Judiciary, was his successful appeal to the Home Government for a Representative Assembly for the province. As early as 1755 the question of the legality of statutes made for the province by the Governor and Council alone was vigorously raised by Mr. Belcher. "Lawrence and his predecessors in office," says Sir Charles Townshend, "with the approbation of the Council had passed large numbers of laws, or as they were styled ordinances, for the government of the settlement. They had

furthermore put these ordinances in force as a Court, and adjudicated on the rights and controversies of the settlers so far as these ordinances applied to them. They had even tried, convicted, and hanged one man under such authority. All these acts and proceedings were in good faith believed by them to be authorized by the Governor's Commission and the Royal Instructions. Belcher took exception to such a construction, and contended that laws could be made only by the representatives of the people duly elected, and urged upon the Council the necessity of calling a Representative Assembly for that purpose. Lawrence and presumably other members of the Council were opposed to that view. Finally the whole matter was referred to the Home Authorities."

As a matter of course the Lords of Trade gave the matter under such serious discussion in Halifax their immediate attention, and on the seventh of May, 1755, they wrote Governor Lawrence that they had received from both the attorney-general and the solicitor-general of England an unqualified decision that laws as then made in Nova Scotia were not valid, and they directed the governor to take steps to call a representative assembly. Fearing that such an assembly would embarrass him in his government of the province, Lawrence remonstrated, but at last, after much debate, in January, 1757, a detailed plan⁸ was resolved on in

8. The chief provisions of the submitted plan were as follows:—"That a House of Representatives of the inhabitants of this province be the Civil Legislature thereof, in conjunction with H. M. Governor or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and His Majesty's Council of the said province.

"The first House to be elected and convened in the following manner and to be styled the General Assembly, viz: That there shall be elected for the province at large, until the same shall be divided into counties, sixteen members; four being for the township of Halifax, two for the township of Lunenburg.

"That until the said township can be more particularly described, the limits thereof shall be deemed to be as follows, viz.: That the township of Halifax comprehend all the lands lying southerly of a line extending from the westernmost head of Bedford Bason across to the northeasterly head of St. Margaret's Bay, with all the islands nearest to the said lands, together with the islands called Corn-Wallis', Webb's and Rous' islands. That the township of Lunenburg comprehend all the lands lying between Lahave river and the easternmost head of Mahone Bay, with all the islands within said bay, and all the islands within Mirligash Bay, and those islands lying to the southward of the above limits.

"That when fifty qualified electors shall be settled at Pisiquid, Mines, Cobeguid, or any other township which may hereafter be erected, each of the said townships so settled shall, for their encouragement, be entitled to send two representatives to the General Assembly, and shall likewise have a right of voting in the elections of representatives for the province at large.

"That the house shall always consist of at least eleven members present, besides the speaker, before they enter upon business. That no person shall be chosen as a member of the said house, or shall have the right of voting in the

Council, and the second of October, 1758, nineteen duly elected representatives of the people, pursuant to a summons from the Provost Marshal or Sheriff, convened in the first Nova Scotia Assembly. The newly elected members were: Joseph Gerrish, Robert Sanderson, Henry Newton, William Foye, William Nesbitt, and Joseph Rundell, *Esquires*; and Jonathan Binney, Henry Ferguson, George Suckling, John Burbridge, Robert Campbell, William Pantree, Joseph Fairbanks, Philip Hammond, John Fillis, Lambert Folkers, Philip Knaut, William Best, and Alexander Kedie, *gentlemen*,—five of whom in the first group, Gerrish, Sanderson, Newton, Foye, and Rundell (as seems probable), and at least six in the second, Binney, Campbell, Pantree, Fairbanks, Hammond, and Fillis, were New England, chiefly Boston born, men. Of the remaining eight, some were Englishmen, and some were Germans who had come to Halifax shortly after the first group of English settlers came. The speaker chosen

election of any member of said house, who shall be a Popish recusant, or shall be under the age of twenty-one years, or who shall not at the time of such election, be possessed in his own right, of a freehold estate within the district for which he shall be elected, or shall so vote; nor shall any elector have more than one vote for each member to be chosen for the province at large, or for any township, and that each freeholder present at such election, and giving his vote for one member for the province at large, shall be obliged to vote also for the other fifteen."

The scheme proposed four members for the township of Halifax, two for Lunenburg, one each for Dartmouth, Lawrencetown, Annapolis, and Cumberland, and twelve for the province at large. (See Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 234). The correspondence between the Governor and the Lords of Trade relative to the Assembly will be found in the first volume of the "Nova Scotia Archives." The proposed plan was formally accepted by the Governor and Council, but the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor being about to leave for Louisburg, it was agreed that the Assembly should not be convened until October. The nineteen members, immediately after they convened elected three of their number, Messrs. Nesbitt, Newton, and Rundell, to wait on the Governor. The latter then appointed two members of the Council, Messrs. Green and Morris, to swear them in. After the oaths had been administered his Excellency requested the presence of the members at Government House, where they found the Governor sitting with the Council. They then proceeded to choose a speaker. The minor officers of the House were David Lloyd, clerk, William Reynolds, doorkeeper, and John Calbeck, messenger.

The New England members in the Second Assembly of the province, which met for the first time in December, 1759, were: Henry Newton, Jonathan Binney, Malachy Salter, Benjamin Gerrish, Capt. Charles Proctor, Col. Jonathan Hoar, John Newton, Capt. Simon Slocumb, Col. Joseph Fry, and John Huston.

Among Governor Cornwallis's first councillors, it will be remembered, were at least three Massachusetts men, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, and Edward How. By 1758, two others from Massachusetts had been added to the list, Messrs. Jonathan Belcher and Charles Morris. For Charles Morris, see the writer's sketch of him in the "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," Vol. 67, pp. 287-290. For Hibbert Newton and his family, see the writer's sketch in the same periodical, Vol. 68, pp. 101-103.

was Robert Sanderson, who had been a merchant in Boston and was now a merchant and ship-owner in Halifax. He was without doubt a grandson of Robert Sanderson, silversmith, of Boston, a deacon of the First Church, who with John Hull was given charge of the first coinage of shillings, sixpences, and threepences in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in 1652.

Chief-Justice Belcher's tenure of office as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia lasted only from November, 1761, until September twenty-sixth, 1762, when Col. the Honorable Montague Wilmot assumed the office. But until his death, which occurred on the twenty-ninth of March, 1776, the Chief-Justice's interest was unremitting in public affairs. In the expulsion of the Acadians from the province in 1755, and the subsequent settlement of the lands from which they had been removed and the lands never previously occupied by European inhabitants; in defending Halifax from possible attack by the French; in regulation of Nova Scotia's commerce; and in the settlement of no end of local disputes, Mr. Belcher's voice was persistently raised and his influence strongly felt. "Although from all that is known of him," says Sir Charles Townshend, "it would seem that he was a man of strong will, and possibly of despotic temperament, against that it must be remembered that in the rude and unsettled state of the Province, and the constant peril and danger surrounding the country, first from the French and Indians, and afterward from the outbreak of the American Revolution, a strong and fearless man in office was required." I think it is a fair deduction from all we know of him," he continues, "that he was a man of pure and elevated character, that he devoted himself to the land of his adoption with zeal and energy, and that to his great learning and his determination we are largely, perhaps chiefly, indebted for our constitutional rights and for the law and order which have prevailed in Nova Scotia from the first."⁹

Chief-Justice Belcher's house in Halifax, was somewhere in Argyle Street, but he also owned a farm at Windsor, which was known as "Belvidere Farm." He was more or less interested in shipping, and he had grants of land at Sheet Harbour and possi-

9. "Jonathan Belcher, the First Chief Justice" by Sir Charles Townshend, in the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 18, pp. 35, 52.

bly other places, but he never amassed wealth and sometime after his death his only surviving daughter was granted for her partial support a pension of fifty pounds a year. On the thirty-first of March, 1776, he was buried under St. Paul's Church. It is commonly believed that in the Revolution, of which he lived to see the earlier events, his sympathies were decidedly with his New England friends who had espoused the patriot cause. He was succeeded in the office of Chief Justice by Bryan Finucane, Esq., an Irish barrister, who assumed the office early in 1778, but between his death and the arrival in Halifax of Mr. Finucane the office was temporarily filled by the Hon. Charles Morris.¹⁰

Between 1778 and 1797 four Chief Justices in succession administered the chief judicial affairs of Nova Scotia, Messrs. Bryan Finucane, Isaac Deschamps, Jeremiah Pemberton, and Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange, none of whom were New England men, but in the latter year a Boston born lawyer once more became head of the Provincial Judiciary. On the ninth of September, 1797, Judge Strange's resignation was placed before the Council,¹¹ and Sir John Wentworth, who was then governor, stated that he had His Majesty's approval to make the Attorney General, Mr. Sampson Salter Blowers, Chief Justice. Sampson Salter Blowers, son of John Blowers, goldsmith, and his wife Sarah Salter, was born in Boston, March tenth, 1742 (of our

10. In his interesting sketch of Chief Justice Belcher, Sir Charles Townshend speaks of the handsome equipment of the Chief Justice's house and of the valuable library he owned. "We can fairly presume," he adds that at his hospitable board many of the notable men who lived in and visited Halifax were worthily entertained."

The Belcher family was continued for some years in Halifax by the Chief Justice's only living son, Hon. Andrew Belcher, who married in Boston Mary Ann or Marianne Geyer, and among whose children was the distinguished Rear Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, K. C. B. In the 18th volume of the "Coll. of the N. S. Hist. Soc." the writer has given the name of Mrs. Andrew Belcher as *von Geyer*, this is a mistake which has repeatedly been made in print, the name was not a German but a New England name and sometimes was spelled Gaier, Geier, etc., as well as Geyer. For Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, see the "Dictionary of National Biography."

11. For the life of Chief Justice Strange, see the "Dictionary of National Biography." Strange was knighted March 14, 1798, in which year he was removed for important judicial service to Madras, India. He was born in England and educated at Oxford. A portrait of him by Benjamin West was painted for Halifax, and one for Madras by Sir Thomas Lawrence. Strange died in England, July 16, 1841. A more definite account of his appointment in India than that given in the Dictionary of National Biography says that he left Nova Scotia having accepted the appointment of recorder in the fort of St. George, Bombay. Before he left Nova Scotia he made a present of his law library to the province. This became the nucleus of the present library of the Bar at Halifax.

present calendar), the youngest but one of five children, four of whom were girls. For the rather remarkable name he bore he was indebted to his maternal grandfather, Sampson Salter, who when he died in 1778 mentioned him conspicuously in his will.¹² At the age of eleven Blowers entered the Boston Latin School and after spending six years there, one year less than the full course in that school in preparation for college, entered Harvard. In 1763 he graduated, the twenty-first member in social rank of a class the whole number of which was thirty-nine, among his classmates being Jonathan Bliss, afterward Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, Nathan Cushing, Judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, Dr. John Jeffries, a notable Tory, remembered for his balloon flight across the English Channel on the seventeenth of January, 1785, Nathaniel Noyes, Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State for the United States, Josiah Quincy, and Joshua Upham, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick. After leaving college Blowers studied law in the office of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, and probably in July, 1766, was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar.

Blowers's activity as a lawyer in Boston is declared by the large number of cases in which the Suffolk Court records show him to have been concerned, a conspicuous one of these being the defence of Captain Preston, a British officer, and some other British soldiers, who had taken part in what is known as the Boston massacre, in 1770. His colleagues in this case were Messrs. John Adams and Blowers's Harvard classmate, Josiah

12. In the Boston fire of 1760, Sampson Salter had a brew-house burned in Quaker Lane. Mr. Salter made his will March 31, 1778, (proved April 4, 1778). It was understood in Boston that he originally intended his grandson to have much more of his estate than he finally left him, but that he feared that all Blowers had would be confiscated by the Patriots. For the Blowers family at large, see Paige's "History of Cambridge, Mass.," p. 489. The Blowers descent of Sampson Salter Blowers was: John¹, Rev. Thomas², Captain Pyam¹. John Blowers and Sarah Salter were married by Rev. Joshua Gee of the Second Church, Nov. 27, 1735, and had children: Sarah, born Sept. 3, 1736; Martha, Dec. 19, 1738; Emma, March 12, 1740; Sampson Salter, March 10, 1742; Martha, April 8, 1744. The baptisms of the first three of these children will be found on the Register of the Second Church, the baptisms of the last two we have not anywhere found. Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers was a second cousin once removed of Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher of Nova Scotia, and was related, but perhaps even more remotely, to Malachy Salter, one of the most considerable merchants of Halifax in early times.

Quincy.¹³ When the Revolution came, Blowers's sympathies were strongly with the British cause and on the thirtieth of May, 1774, with other barristers and attorneys of Massachusetts he signed a complimentary address to his friend Governor Hutchinson, shortly before the latter's departure for England. In this year the Massachusetts courts were suspended, and in November Blowers himself left for England, where with other Loyalists besides Hutchinson we find him from shortly before the first of January, 1775, until August, 1777. Under date of January third, 1775, Governor Hutchinson records in his diary: "Three gentlemen from New England, Ingersoll, Bliss, and Blowers, came to my house in the evening, with a great number of letters and papers from my friends." Of the fourth of January Hutchinson says: "In the morning accompanied the New England men to L^d Dartmouth's, who made a particular enquiry into the affairs of the Province. Bliss gave the fullest account. He was clear, upon Lord D. asking whether any concession would be like to satisfy, that it would not, and that nothing but a force sufficient would bring them to order."¹⁴

Under date of January first, 1776, Judge Samuel Curwen, the Salem, Massachusetts, refugee, writes in his journal kept in England: "To the Adelphi, Strand, where by appointment met twenty-one of my countrymen, who have agreed on a weekly dinner here, viz. Messrs. Richard Clark, Joseph Green, Jonathan Bliss, Jonathan Sewall, Joseph Waldo, S. S. Blowers, Elisha Hutchinson, William Hutchinson, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Quincy, Isaac Smith, Harrison Gray, David Greene, Jonathan Clark, Thomas Flucker, Joseph Taylor, Daniel Silsbee, Thomas Brinley, William Cabot, John S. Copley, and Nathaniel Coffin. Samuel Porter, Edward Oxnard, Benjamin Pickman, John Amory, Judge

13. For the prominence of Mr. Blowers as a lawyer in Massachusetts, see "Record Book of the Suffolk Bar," in the 19th Vol. of the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (1st Series), pp. 145, 147, 148, 151, 152. See also Vol. 8, p. 440, and Vol. 15, pp. 184, 397. See further Suffolk Court Records unprinted; and Blowers's own testimony before the commissioner on Loyalist claims at Halifax, in 1785.

14. David Ingersoll, a lawyer, born in 1742, was graduated at Yale College in 1761. He like Blowers addressed Hutchinson in 1774. He was the third son of Capt. David Ingersoll of Great Barrington, Mass., and practiced law in that town. He died in England Nov. 10, 1796. Jonathan Bliss, born Oct., 1742, graduated at Harvard in 1763, and like Ingersoll and Blowers practised law. He settled in New Brunswick about 1784, and became Chief Justice of that province. He was the father of Judge William Blowers Bliss of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court.

Robert Auchmuty, and Major Urquhart, absent, are members of this club, as is also Governor Hutchinson.”¹⁵ On the eighth of June, 1776, Judge Curwen writes: “Dined with Judge Sewall at Brompton Row; and with him his wife and sister, Mr. Blowers and wife, Samuel Sewall, and William Browne, was admitted to the queen’s palace in St. James’s Park.” March twenty-seventh, 1777, Curwen writes: “Walked out with Judge Sewall and Mr. A. Willard to Cromwell’s garden, which is in ill repair; drank tea at the house of the former, and passed the evening with the New England Club, say ‘Brompton-Row Tory Club,’ at Mr. Blowers.”¹⁶

The date of Blowers’s return to America from his sojourn in England has usually been given in print as some time in 1778, but his own statement before the commissioner on Loyalist claims in Halifax, in November, 1785, is that he left England for New York in August, 1777.¹⁷ From New York he soon went to Rhode Island, where the British troops were still in control, and in Newport he remained until April, 1778. On the eighth of December, 1777, his father-in-law, Mr. Benjamin Kent of Boston, petitioned the Massachusetts Council that his daughter Elizabeth might be permitted to go to Newport to see her sister, who, he says, had been absent from her family “above three years,” and bring her back to Boston with her. The next day the Council granted Miss Kent permission “to depart this State for Newport in the state of R^{de} Island to see her Sister who has lately arrived there from Great Britain and to return with her said Sister to this State, provided the Hon^{ble} Major Genl. Spencer in-

15. A document printed in Vol. 3, of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register (pp. 82, 83) gives the form of agreement made by these gentlemen to dine at the Adelphi Tavern, every Thursday. There are twenty signatures given to this agreement, of which Sampson Salter Blowers’s is the nineteenth. The expense of the dinner, exclusive of liquors and waiters is to be two and sixpence each person present, and no more. The month and day on which the agreement was signed are not given, but the year was 1775.

16. Judge Curwen tells us that Jonathan Clarke, Thomas Danforth, Edward Oxnard, Judge Sewall, and himself all lodged in Brompton Row, Kensington, but he does not tell us whether Mr. Blowers lived there or not.

17. The commissioner who took his evidence in Halifax on the 30th of November, 1785, was Mr. Jeremy Pemberton, previously a barrister of Lincoln’s Inn, who had been sent out from England to take evidence in the cases of Loyalists who had lost property in the Revolution. He sat for this purpose in Halifax in 1785-86. He became in August, 1788, fourth Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, but his incumbency terminated before May, 1790, when he was succeeded by Thomas Andrew Lumisdén Strange.

dulges her with a Flag for said purpose, she engaging to carry no papers or letters detrimental to this or any other of the United States.”¹⁸ That Mrs. Blowers did return to Boston with her sister we know from her husband’s declaration before the commissioner in Halifax, for in that he details rather minutely his movements during the Revolutionary struggle.¹⁹ In April, 1778, he says, he went from Newport to Boston to visit Mrs. Blowers, who was ill, he having previously “obtained a written leave from General Sullivan” to do so. On his arrival in his native town, “he was immediately thrown into a Gaol with 4 or 5 Conn. felons and kept a close prisoner for 8 days and then sent off in a flag of Truce to Halifax.”²⁰ Of this indignity Mr. Edward Winslow, at Halifax, on the thirteenth of November, 1778, writes to Major Barry: “I’ve been listening this day with great satisfaction to the observations of my friend Blowers, made during his barbarous confinement at Boston. . . . The harsh treatment which he received during his stay at Boston was most unparalleled and cruel. You may one day hear the particulars from him, I will only tell you that the dampest, dirtiest hole in the common gaol was the place allotted him.”²¹

From Halifax Mr. Blowers returned to Newport, and on the twenty-ninth of April, 1779, was appointed there Judge of the Rhode Island Court of Vice Admiralty. Newport was evacuated by the British on the twenty-fifth or twenty-seventh of October, 1779, and he then sailed for England to seek compensation for his financial losses. The next year he came back to America, this

18. “Revolution Petitions,” in the Massachusetts Archives, and also the “Kent Genealogy.”

19. See “Second Report of the Bureau of Archives of the Province of Ontario” (1905), part I, pp. 490, 491.

20. The fierce act of proscription of the Loyalists who had left the State was not issued in Massachusetts until September, 1778, so that Mr. Blowers violated no statute in returning to his native State. This act declared that if any of the absentees should voluntarily return from exile they should “on conviction thereof by the Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Jail Delivery, suffer the pains of death without benefit of clergy.” It is said that this visit of Mr. Blowers to Boston was the last he ever made to his native town.

21. The “Winslow Papers,” edited by Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D. Some time in 1778 Edward Winslow wrote Jonathan Sewall: “The conduct of our dearly beloved cousins at Boston towards Blowers gives one a pretty little idea of the present government. . . . Blowers tells us many extraordinary stories relative to the improvement of the Bostonians in what a certain lady calls ‘the liberal arts.’ Would you realize that the sons of some of our true old charter saints publicly roll in chariots with kept mistresses, and that many of our former meek and lowly Christians, now freed from restraint, are rioting at great rate.”

time with the appointment of Solicitor General for New York.²² Early in September, 1783, with Mrs. Blowers and her sister Elizabeth Kent, Blowers sailed for Halifax, although the evacuation of New York did not take place until November twenty-fifth of that year.²³

In an interesting letter to Ward Chipman ("My dear Chip") which he writes from Halifax on the twenty-fifth of September, 1783, Mr. Blowers says of his voyage from New York and his reception at Halifax: "Our passage was as well as we had room to expect, and we are now comfortably lodged at a Mrs. Whittys, where we have three rooms and a kitchen for eight pounds a month, and are now all three of us, sitting in tolerable health and spirit round a good fire. I have been politely received by the Governor, and have seen several of the great men here, and am told by them all that my coming among them is agreeable and that I shall soon find business. This last I am inclined to doubt in any extreme degree." The first employment of a public sort he seems to have obtained was at military headquarters, for on the tenth of October, 1783, Winslow writes to Chipman: "Gen'l Fox has been very civil to Blowers, and on looking about he seems tolerably well satisfy'd. He is appointed one of the Board of Accounts here."²⁴ In the early part of 1784, as we see by the *Nova Scotia Gazette* and *Weekly Chronicle* of February third and February tenth, where we find published an extract from "General Orders issued from headquarters by order of General Campbell," he was acting as military secretary at Halifax.²⁵

In a note to the "Winslow Papers," Archdeacon Raymond says that in 1784 Blowers was named as Attorney General for New

22. The date of Mr. Blowers's appointment by the Lords of the Admiralty to the Rhode Island judgeship was April 29, 1779. Blowers was appointed by Governor Robertson of New York to the Solicitor-Generalship of New York, "under Seal of the Province," March 13, 1781. He served also as secretary to the Board of Loyalists at New York all the time that that Board existed.

23. Hon. Ward Chipman, a close friend of Blowers, writes Edward Winslow, July 29, 1783: "Blowers with his family mean to embark in the course of the next month for Halifax." Major Upham writes Edward Winslow from New York, August 21, 1783: "We shall all soon be with you—everybody, all the World, moves on to Nova Scotia—Blowers, etc., will soon be there." "Winslow Papers," pp. 111, 124. October 18, 1783, Sarah Winslow, at Halifax, writes Benjamin Marston. In this letter she says that her family and the Blowers family arrived at Halifax in the same vessel, on the 14th of September, 1783. "Winslow Papers," pp. 141-143.

24. "Winslow Papers," pp. 139, 140.

25. This extract from General Orders is signed "S. S. Blowers, Secretary."

Brunswick, but that he relinquished this position immediately on receiving a similar appointment for Nova Scotia.²⁶ In a letter to Ward Chipman from Halifax, written January fourteenth, 1785, Blowers says: "You will have heard before this reaches you that Gov. Parr has made me Attorney General here. I am now in the full execution of the office. The warrant has not yet arrived, but I have letters from Sir William P., of the 4th September, acquainting me that Mr. N. was to write me at once.

"Nothing is said respecting my successor in New Brunswick, but as Matthews' warrant for Louisburg was forwarded by the same opportunity, I think it probable he is not the man. I wish you may be.²⁷ In the meantime, would it not be well to get an order from your Governor and Council for you to do the duty, and let it be known in England that you are doing it. It will be necessary to have such appointment when grants are to be made, for the King's instructions require the *Attorney General's* fiat. I will furnish you with the form whenever you want it."²⁸

On the twenty-fourth of December, 1784, Blowers was appointed Attorney General of Nova Scotia; in 1785 he sat in the Assembly for the County of Halifax, and on the fifth of December of this year he was unanimously chosen Speaker of the House. January third, 1788, he was made a member of the Council, and on the ninth of September, 1797, he was sworn in sixth Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, in succession to Chief Justice Strange.²⁹ On the same date he also took his seat as President of the Council.

In a note on Chief Justice Blowers printed in the "Diary and Letters" of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, which is signed "W.

26. This note is on page 208 of the "Winslow Papers." Archdeacon Raymond also refers here to Lawrence's "Footprints or Incidents in the Early History of New Brunswick," p. 13, and to "Canadian Archives" for 1895, under "New Brunswick." Blowers undoubtedly never lived in New Brunswick and how often at this early period of his residence in the Lower Provinces he may have visited there we do not know.

27. Ward Chipman, born in 1754, another of the many able Massachusetts Loyalists who settled in the Maritime Provinces, acted as Attorney General of New Brunswick for some little time, but was never appointed to that office. He was, however, appointed Solicitor General of New Brunswick, August 19, 1784. In 1809 he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the same province. He died in 1824.

28. For this letter, see Lawrence's "Footprints," and (in an imperfect form) the "Kent Genealogy."

29. The annual salary he received as Chief Justice was eight hundred and fifty pounds.

J. Stirling," we find a much more intimate account of Blowers given than we have ever been able to get elsewhere. Blowers, says Mr. Stirling, "was of great ability. He had untiring industry, vast legal knowledge, sound judgment, impartiality, and patience. He had little eloquence; no wit nor imagination. His mind was grave, deliberate, and cautious. But on one occasion he showed an irritable temper. Uniacke, the Attorney General of Nova Scotia after Blowers, a very able, but ruffianly man, had a street fight with Jonathan Sterns, a Boston Loyalist. Uniacke, a very strong man, beat so savagely Sterns, a weak and sickly man, as to cause his death. Blowers, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Sterns, was so angry that he challenged Uniacke to fight a duel. Uniacke accepted the challenge, but secretly sent his wife to inform the police Magistrate. So the two officers of the law in the Colony were bound over to keep the peace.³⁰ Blowers had the greatest esteem for Foster Hutchinson, Jr., [nephew of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, and son of Judge Foster Hutchinson, Sr., of Massachusetts], and was greatly grieved by his death. Blowers retained his faculties to the last. He kept up his College studies, and always read with pleasure the Greek and Latin classics. In his latter years he was silent and gloomy and would not speak of the scenes he had witnessed many years before. He destroyed all his papers: no letters nor memoranda of any kind were left by him. In person he was very short and rather thin: his face had some resemblance to that of Washington; a portrait of him is in the Legislative House at Halifax, but does not in the least resemble him. He had no children, and his property, after his widow's death, went to a Mr. Bliss." Another note in the same volume says that in the political and personal disputes be-

30. Accounts which we have of Hon. Richard John Uniacke, Sr., one of the ablest public men in Nova Scotia, in her whole history, describe the long rivalry which existed between him and Blowers for public position. Uniacke's bitterness rose to its highest pitch when Blowers was appointed to the Chief-Justiceship instead of him. It was probably in 1797, shortly before Blowers was appointed Chief Justice, and Uniacke succeeded to the Attorney-Generalship, as he did, that this duel was proposed. It is said that the duel was prevented by the Chief Justice (Strange). Uniacke took the oath as Attorney General on the same day, September 9th, that Blowers took the oath of office as Chief Justice. Blowers had filled the office of Attorney General, as we have seen, from December 24, 1784. Jonathan Sterns, another conspicuous Massachusetts Loyalist, died in Halifax May 23, 1798. Except as Stirling's account gives it, we have never known the cause of his death. Sterns was a lawyer and his public career in Halifax is well worth tracing.

tween Loyalists and the "Old Inhabitants," which for several years after the Revolution raged in government circles in Halifax, Blowers was the acknowledged leader of his fellow refugees. In the thirty-five years that he served as Chief Justice of Nova Scotia "he outlived every person [of his contemporaries] in public life in the Colony. The Governor and two of his successors; the two Judges, and four of their successors; the forty Members of the Assembly, and many who had succeeded to their seats—all these passed away while Blowers was Chief Justice. He lived ten years after retiring from the Bench, and died at Halifax, from the effects of a fall, in October, 1842."³¹

Of the legal acts or opinions of Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers during his leadership of the Nova Scotia Judiciary we have few records anywhere remaining. His opinion on the question of the legality of slave-holding in the British Colonies, however, we find recorded. The question was agitated during the chief-justiceship of Blowers's immediate predecessor, Strange, and for several years after Blowers himself became Chief Justice, and both Strange and Blowers decided against it. Chief Justice Ludlow of New Brunswick, previously of New York, took his stand on what he called "the Common Law of the Colonies," by which he said the right to hold slaves had been uniformly recognized and established without any act ever having been passed directly authorizing slavery. In opposition to him, Blowers held strongly that the Common Law of England was that of the Colonies, that these had none other, and that slavery being declared illegal by the Common Law of England, its illegality in the Colonies was undoubted. The difference in the opinions of these two Maritime-Provincial Chief Justices, it has been said, may have been in some measure due to the fact of Ludlow's training in New York, and Blowers's in Massachusetts, in which province "slavery had obtained but a weak foothold and died early and quietly," while in New York it "had an earlier establishment and a more extensive development."³²

31. "The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.," Vol. 1, p. 341. It is said that to the end of his life Chief Justice Blowers was accustomed to take long walks for his health. It is also said, in print, that the Hon. Joseph Howe in some speech said that Blowers never wore an overcoat in his life.

32. See "The Slave in Canada," by Rev. T. Watson Smith, D. D., in the tenth volume of the "Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections," pp. 97-103.

Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers married in Boston (the Rev. Dr. William Walter of Trinity Church officiating) on the fifth of April, 1774, Sarah Kent, born May nineteenth, baptized May twenty-seventh, 1758, her parents being Benjamin and Elizabeth (Watts) Kent. In the same year as her marriage Mrs. Blowers went to England with her husband, and when he returned three years later, came with him to New York. Late in 1777, as we have seen, she received permission to revisit Boston, and there for a short time she remained. After this we suppose she was with her husband continuously to the close of his life. Outliving the Chief Justice a little while, she died in Halifax some time in July, 1845, having never, so far as we know, borne any child.³³

33. For a minute account of Benjamin Kent and his family, see "Genealogies of the Different Families bearing the name of Kent in the United States," by L. Vernon Briggs, Boston, 1898, pp 38-48. Benjamin Kent, third son of Joseph and Rebecca (Chittenden) Kent, was born in 1708, and after graduating at Harvard in 1727, entered the Congregational ministry. In 1731 he was chaplain of the garrison at Fort George, Brunswick, Maine, and October 27, 1733, he was installed minister of the church at Marlborough, Mass. In 1735 he withdrew from this charge and in time took up the study of the law. He is said in the Kent Genealogy to have been "a humorist, not sufficiently reverent of things divine to please his straight-faced contemporaries. He was full of fun, drollery, humor, and had an unmethodical, irregular head, but his thoughts were good and [his] expressions happy. After leaving the ministry he studied for the bar, where he became celebrated for his eccentricity and wit." During the years 1757-67 he practiced in Worcester County, but later he became prominent in Boston, where he rose to be attorney-general of Massachusetts. Whether Mr. Kent's sympathies in the Revolution were strongly with the British does not seem to be known, but somewhere between June, 1783, and January, 1785, probably influenced by his son-in-law, with his wife Elizabeth he went to Windsor, Nova Scotia, and then to Halifax, where he and his wife spent the rest of their lives and died. On a tombstone in St. Paul's burying-ground, Halifax, is the following inscription: Sacred to the memory of *Benjamin Kent, late of Boston, New England, barrister-at-law*, who died on the 22nd day of October, 1788, in the 81st year of his age; and *also his wife*, who departed this life on the 2nd day of August, 1802, in the 80th year of her age." Elizabeth Kent, eldest sister of Mrs. Blowers, born Jan. 6, 1745, baptized by the minister of the West Church, Boston, Jan. 13, 1745, was with her sister, Mrs. Blowers, in New York, for in June of that year her father petitioned the Massachusetts legislature that she might return to Boston, as she was ill and he feared greatly that the sultry weather of New York in midsummer would prove fatal to her. Whether she did return or not we do not know, but apparently the Great and General Court failed to act on her father's petition. (See "Revolution Petitions," Mass. State Documents, Vol. 188, p. 90. Connected with the petition in this volume is a draft of the desired permission for Miss Kent to return, but the draft is unsigned and was never acted on by the Court. The draft bears date June 3, 1782.)

When the Blowerses finally left New York for Nova Scotia Miss Kent was with them, and she was living in Halifax at least as late as 1818. On the 26th of May, 1793, Elizabeth Kent, widow of Benjamin Kent, Sampson Salter Blowers and his wife Sarah, and Elizabeth Kent, single woman, at Halifax, deeded to William Burley of Boston, for six hundred pounds, a brick dwelling house and land on the north side of State Street (earlier known as King Street), formerly the dwelling house of Benjamin Kent, late of Boston, deceased.

Chief Justice Blowers resigned the position of chief of the Nova Scotia Judiciary in the year 1833, his successor in this high office being Mr. Brenton Halliburton, born in Newport, Rhode Island, (the son of Dr. John Halliburton, another notable Loyalist), who received knighthood shortly before his death, which occurred in 1860.³⁴ Sampson Salter Blowers died at Halifax October twenty-fifth, 1842, his life having covered, as we have said, a little more than a full century.³⁵ He was buried in Camp Hill Cemetery, as was his widow a little less than three years later, and there are tombstones to their memory. The most conspicuous monument, however, erected to the memory of Chief Justice Blowers, rests on the east wall of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, in which church the Chief Justice for many years worshipped. The monument is a beautiful piece of sculpture, and bears the following notable inscription:

In Memory of
 The Honourable Sampson Salter Blowers
 For Five and Thirty Years President of H. M. Council
 And Chief Justice of Nova Scotia
 A Learned, Careful, And Impartial Judge
 An Able and Faithful Servant of the Crown
 And a True Friend to this Province
 Of a Strong and Discriminating Mind and Sound Judgment
 Amiable and Benevolent in Manners and Disposition
 Exemplary in Conduct and of the Strieted Integrity
 After a Long Career of Labour and Usefulness
 Honoured and Esteemed by All
 He Resigned His Office
 And Passed the Decline of Life in Peaceful Retirement
 And Died on the 25th Day of October, A. D. 1842
 At the Age of One Hundred Years

Chief Justice Blowers's will was executed at Halifax, November twenty-ninth, 1833, and was filed and recorded in Boston, November thirteenth, 1843. In it he gives to Sarah Ann Bliss, wife of William Blowers Bliss, two thousand pounds current

34. An interesting Life of Sir Brenton Halliburton was written many years ago by the Rev. Dr. George William Hill, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, and will be found in the Boston Public Library and elsewhere. An important assistant judge in Nova Scotia, was Judge James Brenton, an uncle of Sir Brenton Halliburton.

35. The exact length of Mr. Blowers's life was one hundred years, seven months, and fifteen days.

money of Nova Scotia, and also his house and grounds at Windsor, known as "Fairfield Cottage," with the furniture, cattle, and implements thereto belonging. To Mrs. Ann Anderson, mother of Mrs. Bliss, he leaves two hundred pounds current money, and to Mrs. Ann Kidston, a like sum of two hundred pounds. Other legatees by his will are his sister Mrs. Martha Pritchard, "now or late of Boston," and her children, and the children of his late sister Elizabeth Rhodes. The rest and residue of his estate he leaves to his dear wife, "for her use and behoof during her life," after her decease the whole residue of his estate to go to Mrs. Sarah Ann Bliss and her heirs. His executor and executrix are William Blowers Bliss and his wife Sarah Ann.³⁶

In Boston, Chief Justice Blowers lived in Southack's Court, now Howard Street, for on the sixth of September, 1784, he and his wife sold through Dr. Samuel Danforth, to whom Blowers had previously given power of attorney, to Elisha Sigourney, for five hundred pounds, a wooden house, which had formerly been their dwelling, and the land about it, in the westerly part of Boston, "situated on Southack's Court."³⁷ The affluence of the Blowerses

36. William Blowers Bliss was the third son of Jonathan Bliss, a classmate of Chief Justice Blowers at Harvard, a Loyalist and an early Chief Justice of New Brunswick, and his wife, Mary Worthington. He was born at St. John, New Brunswick, August 28, 1795, graduated at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, studied at the Inner Temple, London, practised law in Halifax, and in April, 1834, was elevated to the Supreme Bench, in place of Judge Richard John Uniacke (son of the first Richard John Uniacke). He is regarded as one of the ablest judges Nova Scotia has ever had. He had a handsome residence at Fort Massey, Halifax, where he died March 16, 1874, aged 79. He resigned his seat on the Bench in 1869. The "Mrs. Ann Anderson," mother of Mrs. William Blowers Bliss, is said to have been related in some way to Mrs. Sampson Salter Blowers; what the relationship was, however, we do not know. Mrs. Blowers had a sister Ann Kent, but she probably died in Boston (see the burial records of Trinity Church) early in September, 1782. Judge William Blowers Bliss and his wife Sarah Ann had in all seven children, three sons and four daughters. One of these daughters, became the wife of the Rt. Rev. Hibbert Binney, Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, and one the wife of Hon. Senator William Hunter Odell. Chief Justice Jonathan Bliss of New Brunswick died at Fredericton, N. B., October 1, 1822. For a valuable memoir of Judge William Blowers Bliss, by Hon. Chief Justice (of N. S.) Sir Charles Townshend, see Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, Vol. 17 (1913), pp. 23-45.

37. The instrument appointing Blowers's "good friend," Samuel Danforth, of Boston, physician, his attorney, was first issued at Halifax, August 7, 1783, and was affirmed at Halifax, May 8, 1784. It was once more affirmed October 13, 1784, Mr. Blowers then declaring himself as residing in the city of New York. The instrument was first signed, with seals, by Mr. and Mrs. Blowers, in presence of Samuel Winslow and John Amory, Jr. The Blowers's property in Southack's Court is fully described in the Suffolk County Registry of Deeds. Blowers's losses in the Revolution are carefully detailed in his deposition before the commissioner on Loyalist claims.

in Nova Scotia is amply testified to by the way in which they lived, they had their town house in Halifax, and their country place at Windsor, "a handsome country seat," as tradition styles it, whither they drove every summer, with a coachman and two liveried footmen, from the capital town.

The portrait of Chief Justice Blowers, of which Mr. Stirling makes mention in the note in Governor Hutchinson's Life, was painted in 1820 by request of the "Quarter Sessions and Grand Jury" of Halifax made to Mr. Blowers on the twenty-first of December, 1819. The painter of the portrait, Mr. Harry Piers tells us, was John Poad Drake.³⁸

38. See Murdoch's documentary "History of Nova Scotia" under the year 1819. Mr. Piers speaks of the portrait in his valuable paper in the eighteenth volume of the Nova Scotia Historical Society's "Collections," entitled "Artists in Nova Scotia." The portrait now hangs in the Halifax County Court House. It is reproduced in the "Winslow Papers," edited by Archdeacon Raymond, opposite page 614.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. VI

MIGRATIONS FROM NEW ENGLAND IN 1749 AND 1760.

"The present population of Nova Scotia is not the development of a single primitive nucleus or germ. Neither has it resulted from a gradual and almost imperceptible sifting in of promiscuous elements. It is mainly the product of certain well-defined immigrations of considerable size, capable of being more easily traced because as a rule they have occurred consecutively rather than simultaneously." Dr. David Allison, in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. VII.

IN any important addition to its population that the province of Nova Scotia at large has at any time received, the permanent capital of the province, Halifax, has naturally sooner or later come to have a considerable share. The two strains that by all means predominate in the present population of Nova Scotia are the New England and the Scotch, the latter of which is the product of a series of migrations direct from Scotland that began in 1772 and ended somewhere about 1815. Of the close political relations between New England and Nova Scotia from the time of the capture of Port Royal (Annapolis Royal) by New England troops in 1710 to the war of the Revolution, far too little has hitherto been written. Nor is it generally recognized, even in Nova Scotia itself, much less in New England, how largely the province of Nova Scotia, and the adjoining province of New Brunswick, which until 1783 was part of Nova Scotia, were in the eighteenth century settled by New England people, and how closely allied by ties of blood a great part of the native Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers today are to many of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island families whose names are identified with the history of

the progress, politically, religiously, socially, of these various New England States.

The most widely known of the migrations from New England to the Maritime Provinces is of course the Loyalist migration of 1775-1783, but the most permanently influential migration, and the one now most effective in the general progress of at least Nova Scotia, was not the Loyalist migration, important in point of numbers and in some quarters of political and social influence as that was, but the migration, comparatively little known to United States historians, of New England families of the best stock from the three states we have mentioned chiefly in the years 1760 and 1761. Of the importance of this migration, Dr. David Allison, who has written much on Nova Scotia history, says: "The settlement during the years 1759-61 of a large part of Nova Scotia, and that as a rule the most fertile part, by groups of colonists from New England, is one of the most important events in the history of our Province. Until recently this event has unquestionably not received the attention due to its importance. As a movement of population from west to east it was a reversal of the usual order, and has quite generally been confounded with the Loyalist migration to the Provinces, which it preceded by nearly a quarter of a century, and which in influence on the political and industrial development of what is now Nova Scotia it undoubtedly surpassed. . . . As a rule this element has been the most tenacious of all our English speaking stocks."¹

1. See Dr. Allison's article in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 7, p. 63.

In a pleasantly written article entitled "The Military Traditions of Canada," by A. G. Bradley, printed in the *Cornhill Magazine* for December, 1915, occurs the following entirely inaccurate statement: "The Maritime Provinces were virtually annexed *en bloc* by the United Empire Loyalists, as the exiles proudly called themselves. The small groups of Acadians on the west and British, etc., around Halifax on the east were numerically and yet more, morally, overwhelmed by the influx and count for little in the ethnology of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The United Empire Loyalist element, though their early sufferings in the woods were great, once these were overcome, enjoyed a comparatively unclouded future. In every sense they dominated the province. There was no geographical contact or semi-partnership with French Canadians, no serious influx of doubtful American emigrants such as kept the loyalists of Upper Canada in a constant state of uneasiness, and their hands metaphorically always on their sword hilts. . . . It may safely be affirmed today that at least every second 'Blue Nose' is directly descended from those brave, unfortunate people, whose devotion to the Empire forced them to start life afresh in the wild woods of the then dreaded and

Elements of considerable importance in the present Nova Scotia population, apart from the New England and the Scottish, are the Scotch-Irish, a strain which was introduced either from Londonderry and other neighboring towns of New Hampshire in 1760, or directly from the North of Ireland in 1761 and 1762; the German and French elements, which as we have seen in our chapter on the founding of Halifax were introduced in 1749 and 1750; the Celtic Irish element which has filtered into the province as it has into all American colonies in sporadic migrations during many years, and has had especial influence in Halifax; and the Acadian French, a strain which antedates all the others, but which since the expulsion of all of the people of this blood that could be found in 1755, has had like the German comparatively little influence in the development of the province at large in any way.

Migration for settlement in Nova Scotia of New England people actually began at the capture of Annapolis Royal in 1710, and of this slight movement, which is interesting but which was too limited in extent and for the most part too transitory to be considered more than an incident, we shall give some account when we come to treat of the earlier capital of the province, the ancient town of Annapolis Royal. But the year 1749 brought a very large New England element to the town of Halifax, and the people who came to Nova Scotia at this time were almost without exception Bostonians. How largely Halifax business and social affairs for many years after the Revolution were controlled by Loyalists from not only New England but New York,

unknown North." Whatever truth there may be in this statement as made of New Brunswick, it is far wide of the truth in its reference to the Province of Nova Scotia. It is quite true that between 30,000 and 35,000 Loyalists, as is estimated, came into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick between 1775 and 1783, by far the larger portion of them sailing from New York in the latter year, but there were very few counties of Nova Scotia as it is today that received permanently any considerable number of them. Where they finally went is a fair question, the Province of New Brunswick got as permanent settlers a large share of them, but it seems almost certain that many of them in longer or shorter time returned to the United States. In his article on the Shelburne Loyalists, in the sixth volume of the *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Dr. T. Watson Smith says: "Numbers of these exiles found their way to Britain, the West Indies, and the Canadas . . . Few records of their wanderings and sufferings have been preserved." It is rather surprising how comparatively few well known Nova Scotians today are of Loyalist stock. The Nova Scotians who rise to conspicuous positions in this age, like the present Premier of Canada, are much more frequently descendants of the New Englanders who came in 1760 or '61.

New Jersey, and other colonies from which Tories had fled, is a matter of current knowledge, but the predominating influence until a late period of the Bostonians who came in shoals at the town's beginning is a fact that is comparatively little in the minds of people today. The truth is, that from 1749 to the middle of the nineteenth century the blood that coursed through the veins of Halifax was largely New England, and of that chiefly Boston, blood.

Of United States historians who have dealt with the expansion of New England's population, not one, we believe, has shown more than the most superficial knowledge of any movement whatever of population, except the Loyalist movement, from the other colonies to Nova Scotia at any time.² The great fortress of Louisburg, as we know, was captured by New England troops, and after the capture a considerable number of people either in military or in civil occupations remained at the place. In 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the fortress was given back to France, and this extraordinary diplomatic arrangement compelled the speedy withdrawal of the English garrison and naturally of the civilian office holders and traders who had for three years found it convenient to live there. As we have already shown, Colonel Cornwallis had been but a few weeks at his post on Chebucto Bay when he wrote the Lords of Trade who directed the enterprise in pursuance of which he had come that a group of civilians from Louisburg had arrived to settle in the new town. Other settlers also, he said, had come direct from New England, and in the course of the summer and autumn he expected that over a thousand more would come. The interest felt in Boston in the Cornwallis enterprise is strongly indicated by references to it in the Boston press of the time. In

2. Probably the fullest consecutive treatment of the "expansion" of New England's population is that of Lois Kimball Matthews in her "The Expansion of New England, etc., 1620—1865." (Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1909, pp. 303). The extent of this writer's knowledge of the several migrations to Nova Scotia that we shall in this chapter detail is shown by the following note to page 118 of her book. Miss Matthews says: "There is no room in this study for the investigation of the New England migrations to Canada following the French and Indian War. Fishermen from Cape Cod and Nantucket took advantage of the proclamation of the Governor of Nova Scotia in 1756 [sic], and as early as 1757 the movement to Cape Sable began. In 1761-62 a number of families founded Barrington. See the *Doane Family*, 75, 76." Later in this chapter we shall show the importance of the migration of 1760 and '61.

the *Boston Weekly News Letter* of June 7, 1750, appears the following dispatch from Europe:

“Franckfort, March 25

“Printed advertisements have been stuck up and dispersed in this city, inviting all, who, with permission of their sovereigns, intend to settle in *Nova Scotia*, to apply as soon as possible to a commissary, who is arrived here from Rotterdam to treat with them for their passage.”

Underneath this dispatch are printed the following stanzas from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1750, the reader being referred by this magazine to the *Weekly Entertainer* for the whole poem to which they belong:

NOVA SCOTIA. A NEW BALLAD

To the Tune of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury

Let's away to *New Scotland*, where Plenty sits queen
O'er as happy a country as ever was seen;
And blesses her subjects, both little and great,
With each a good house and a pretty estate.
Derry Down, etc.

There's wood, and there's water, there's wild fowl and tame;
In the forest good ven'son, good fish in the stream,
Good grass for our cattle, good land for our plough,
Good wheat to be reap'd, and good barley to mow.
Derry Down, etc.

No landlords are there the poor tenants to teaze,
No lawyers to bully, nor stewards to seize:
But each honest fellow's a landlord, and dares
To spend on himself the whole fruit of his cares.
Derry Down, etc.

They've no duties on candles, no taxes on malt,
Nor do they, as we do, pay sauce for their salt:
But all is as free as in those times of old,
When poets assure us the age was of gold.
Derry down, etc.³

3. For an important notice of the settlement of Halifax, see the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1749. On page 441 of the volume containing this number of the magazine a plan of the town is found.

In the third year after Halifax was founded, the year 1752, a census of the town was taken and the population probably accurately ascertained.⁴ In this census the names of families residing in the various sections of the town, and the outlying districts, are scrupulously given, and almost everywhere we find New Englanders in considerable force. The population is stated as numbering 906 families, or, with unmarried men, 4,249 souls, and while only a critical comparison of the names with those that appear in the long lists of people who came from England with Cornwallis could make us sure of the exact strength of the New England contingent in the town at this date, we see at a glance that a large proportion of the names there are New England names.

In the "North Suburbs," for example, we find such familiar names as Caverly, Cox, Bowden, Brewer, Dwight, Gerrish, Gilman, Harris, Hoar, Ives, Proctor, Rundell, Storer, and Tongue. In the "South Suburbs" we find Brooks, Chapman, Child, Clarke, Cleveland, Ferguson, Gerrish, Greenfield, Hammond, Hardin, Harris, Hurd, Ives, Jackson, Kent, Lamb, Marshall, Mason, Monk, Pierce, Pierpont, Poor, Porter, Rigby, Rogers, Salter, Shatford, Steele, Taylor, Trefoy, and Wallace. Within the Town "we find Cotton, Gerrish, Greenwood, Potter, Saul, and Steele. "Within the Pickets" we find Blackden, Codman, Fairbanks, Fillis, Fogg, Foye, Green, Lee, Little, Morris, Rous, and Scott.^{4½} In a census of the province made a little less than

4. "A list of the Families of English, Swiss, etc., which have been settled in Nova Scotia since the year 1749, and who now are settlers in places hereafter mentioned." (Halifax, July, 1752). *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. 1, pp. 650-670. In this census no account of the people's origins is given, but there must have been in the town somewhere between one and two hundred New England families. Of the departure of these people from Boston we have not found any record in New England Archives. They were not as a rule among the most important people of Boston, though some like William Foye were members of families of the first standing, but they were industrious and energetic, and a number of them rose to great influence in Halifax. They left Boston, it is probable, as single families or in small groups. Besides those who had come before the census of 1752 was taken there were no doubt some who came at later dates. The lists of settlers who came from England with Cornwallis in 1749 are given in the *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. 1, pp. 506-557.

^{4½}. The German emigrants, 1,450 of whom in May, 1753, were removed by the Governor's orders to Lunenburg were almost exclusively settled in the North Suburbs. A few straggling families or persons engaged in fishing lived on the islands in the harbour, and a few more were settled at "the Block House and the Isthmus."

fifteen years later, however, under the direction of the lieutenant-governor, Michael Francklin, where the population of Halifax is given as only 3,022 (a little over twelve hundred less than fifteen years before), we find 1,351 persons given as Americans, while but 302 are ranked as of English origin.⁵

Writing of the Halifax population at this early period, Dr. Thomas B. Akins says: "After the evacuation of Louisburg the population received a considerable accession; a number of the English inhabitants came with Governor Hopson, and many from New England were daily arriving, and upwards of a thousand more from the old provinces had expressed themselves [as] desirous of joining the Settlement before winter. The Governor therefore gave orders to all vessels in the Government service to give them a free passage. The New England people soon formed the basis of the resident population, and are the ancestors of many of the present inhabitants. They were better settlers than the old discharged soldiers and sailors who came on the fleet; most of whom died or left the country during the first three or four years, leaving, however, the most industrious and

5. It has been stated in print that in this census of Lieut. Governor Francklin's, which bears date January 1, 1767, and is of the whole of Nova Scotia, including what is now New Brunswick, as well as the islands of Cape Breton and St. John (P. E. I.), all people born in America, whatever the origin of their parents may have been, are ranked as "Americans." To what extent this is true we cannot tell, the part of the population of Halifax that numbers most largely next to "Americans" is "Irish," and these people we suppose are chiefly Scotch-Irish who came with Alexander McNutt in October, 1761 and November, 1762, from the North of Ireland direct. Whether any of their children or the children of the first settlers from England are ranked as Americans in this census we do not know, but it is quite certain that in Truro, where the *whole population* (301) is given as "Irish," a great many of the people had been born in New Hampshire, while some had been born in Truro after the New Hampshire Scotch-Irish emigrants came there. The Halifax population in 1767 is distributed according to origin as follows: 1,351 Americans, 853 Irish, 302 English, 264 Germans and other foreigners, 200 Acadian French, and 52 Scotch. The whole population of Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton and St. John islands, is given in this census as 13,374. Of these people, 6,913 are given as *Americans*, 2,165 as *Irish*, and only 912 as *English*. For the Scotch-Irish immigrations to Nova Scotia in 1761 and 1762, see the writer's monographs on the "Settlement of Colchester County," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, Vol. 6, section 2 (1912); and "Alexander McNutt the Colonizer," in *Americana* for December, 1913.

"In 1752," says Professor Walter C. Murray, LL.D. (*History of St. Mathews Church, Halifax*, in *Coll. of the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 16, p. 166. 1912), "there were 4,249 persons in Halifax, of which Mr. Breynton [Rector of St. Paul's] estimates one half as members of the Church of England. In 1755, the number of inhabitants had fallen to one half. The census of 1767 gave Halifax 3,022 persons, of whom 667 were Roman Catholics. In 1769 the number was much reduced, and in 1791 the population of the town was 4,897. The exodus during Revolutionary times made serious inroads on the Dissenting Congregation."

respectable among them as permanent settlers.”⁶ Of the two elements in the population, Dr. David Allison writes in the same vein: “While Cornwallis’s transports brought over a limited number of persons of means, energy, and character, the great bulk of their passengers were just such people as a rosy-colored advertisement in the *London Gazette* would be likely to attract in a time of great business dulness. They were in no proper sense of the term settlers. As ‘birds of passage’ they did not purpose to continue long in one place. A large proportion were men without families. Over five hundred had been man-of-war sailors. They were in great part the very kind of persons to whom the novelty of such an enterprise would be attractive and its practical hardships distasteful. So long as rations were the order of the day they remained. When these were suspended and men were expected to work for a living, the place knew most of them no more.” But of the small group of “influential” New England families that accompanied or closely followed the departing troops from Louisburg and the much larger group that soon after came from Boston, he says, the persons who composed this element of the population in a short time “drew into their hands a large part of the business of the place, and filled many of the most important positions in the Colony.”⁷

To these testimonies of older writers to the strength of the New England element in the early Halifax population, Professor Walter C. Murray adds his voice. Akins, he writes, says that “‘the New England people soon formed the basis of the resident population,’ and Tutty in 1750 nearly doubles his estimate of the population given the preceding year. The increase is due to the influx of New Englanders. . . . It is perhaps unnecessary to say but little more in support of the opinion that

6. Dr. Thomas Beamish Akins’s “Prize Essay on the History of the Settlement of Halifax,” enlarged and published as the “History of Halifax City,” in the 8th volume of the “Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society” (1895), p. 16. Dr. Akins says further that many of the adventurers who came with Cornwallis “caused him and his successors much trouble and annoyance, in demoralizing the people by the illicit sale of bad liquors, and in other ways.”

7. “The Settlement of the Early Townships, Illustrated by an Old Census,” by David Allison, LL.D., in “Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society,” Vol. 7 (1889-1891), pp. 45-71. See chiefly pp. 59, 60.

the main current of life in Halifax in the early days was New England in origin."

Of the English settlers with Cornwallis in 1749, a few from the start held prominent places in the official or social life of the town, but these for the most part were persons who were in close touch with the Governor, some of them indeed having come out as members of his suite. Such men, as we can see by following the subsequent history of the town, were Richard Bulkeley, John Collier, John Creighton, John Duport, Archibald Hinchelwood, William Nesbitt, and Lewis Piers.⁸ Of New England men on the other hand, we find many who on account of business energy or military prestige or breeding and education almost immediately came to rank as among the first citizens of the town. Among these New Englanders of high standing may be mentioned Jonathan Binney, Samuel Blackden or Blagdon, Judge James Brenton (from Newport, Rhode Island), Rev. Aaron Cleveland and his brothers, Josiah and Samuel, Preserved Cunabell, Joseph Fairbanks, John Fillis, William Foye (a Harvard graduate, son of the Receiver General of Massachusetts who immediately preceded Harrison Gray), the brothers, Joseph and Benjamin Gerrish, both members of the Council, John and Joseph Gorham, Joseph Gray, Hon. Benjamin Green, Edward How, Jacob Hurd, William Lawlor, William Lawson, Otis Little, James Monk, Hon. Charles Morris, Hon. Henry Newton (whose father, however, had long lived at Annapolis Royal), Jonathan Prescott, John Rous, Malachy Salter, and Robert Sanderson.

If distinct proof were needed of the preponderating influence

8. Brief sketches of some of these men, as well as of the English settlers who occupied prominent places in early Halifax, will be found given in valuable notes by Dr. Akins in the first volume of *Nova Scotia Archives*, which he edited. Of Englishmen, Dr. Akins discusses, for example, Captain Edward Amhurst, Richard Bulkeley (whose escutcheon hangs in St. Paul's Church, Halifax), John Collier, Captain William Cotterell (the first provost marshal of Halifax), John Creighton, Hugh Davidson, John Duport, Archibald Hinchelwood, William Nesbitt, and John Salusbury. Richard Bulkeley came out as aide-de-camp to Governor Cornwallis, and from about 1759 to 1793 filled the office of Secretary of the Province. John Collier, a retired army officer, became one of the earliest justices of the peace, a captain in the militia, and finally a member of the Council. Still other men of this English migration were William Best, John Burbidge, and John Pyke. Thomas Cochran, who became a member of Council, came from the North of Ireland with McNutt, the Tobins and Kennys were Roman Catholic Irishmen, who came later from Ireland.

of New England men in the early life of Halifax we should find it sufficiently in the constitution of the first Representative Assembly of Nova Scotia, which was brought into being largely through the determined efforts of Chief Justice Belcher. In this first Assembly there were nineteen members elected by the people, six of whom technically ranked as *esquires*, thirteen as *gentlemen*. Of the six *esquires* we find five to have been New England men,—Joseph Gerrish, Robert Sanderson (who was chosen Speaker), Henry Newton, William Foye, and Joseph Rundell. Of the thirteen ranked as *gentlemen*, we find at least six to have been from New England,—Jonathan Binney, Robert Campbell, William Pantree, Joseph Fairbanks, Philip Hammond, and John Fillis. Of the remaining eight members, six seem to have been Englishmen, and two Germans from among the Continental settlers who were temporarily or permanently settled in the North Suburbs of the town. In the second assembly, which met for the first time in December, 1759, we find of New England men, Henry Newton, Jonathan Binney, Malachy Salter, Benjamin Gerrish, Capt. Charles Proctor, Col. Jonathan Hoar, John Newton, Capt. Simon Slocomb, Col. Joseph Fry, and John Huston.⁹

Before passing on to the second large migration to Nova Scotia from the earlier settled American colonies to the west and south, we may properly say a little more about some of these New England men and their families who largely controlled the early destinies of Halifax.

JONATHAN BINNEY, originally of Hull, Massachusetts, before coming to Halifax had been a merchant and ship-owner in Bos-

9. Professor Murray ("History of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax") goes on to say: "The Governor in 1758 unconsciously paid a tribute to the power of the New England element when he says that 'too many members of the Assembly are such as have not been the most remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to His Majesty's Government here, or indeed that have the most natural attachment to this Province.' Lt. Col. Morse in 1783 estimated the number of old inhabitants (exclusive of disbanded soldiers and Loyalists) to be about 14,000 out of a total of 40,000, and he added 'it may not be improper to observe that a great part of the old inhabitants, especially the wealthy ones, are from New England, and that they discovered during the late war the same sentiments which prevailed in that country. I think it necessary to add that the Legislature is principally composed of these men and that some of the higher public offices are at present filled with the most notorious of these characters.'" (*Coll. of the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 16, pp. 148, 149.)



HON. JOHATHAN BELCHER,
First Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. Born in Boston in 1710. Died in Halifax in
1776. Portrait by John Singleton Copley. Photograph loaned by
Hon. Sir Charles Townshend, Kt.



ton, where his first wife, Martha Hall, had died. An uncle of his, Dr. Joseph Binney, had been a surgeon at the capture of Louisburg, and in the siege or not long after had died at that place. The nephew had not, so far as we know, served in the siege, but it is possible that his uncle's service and death at Cape Breton had aroused his interest in this eastern province. At any rate, in 1753 he left Boston and came to Halifax, and here he married secondly, in 1759, Hannah Adams Newton, daughter of Hibbert Newton, and sister of Henry Newton, and so founded the Halifax Binney family, from which came the fourth Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, and other locally important men.

AARON CLEVELAND was the first Congregational minister of Nova Scotia, and he and William Foye, both of the class of 1735, and Otis Little, were the first Harvard graduates to settle in Halifax. The presence of so many Bostonians in the town at the start drew a Congregational church together almost as soon as an Anglican parish, and of this church Aaron Cleveland, who had come with his brothers Josiah and Samuel in 1749, became the first minister. Cleveland was "a man of distinction and a scholar," he staid in Halifax only three years, then he went to England and took orders in the Anglican Church. "On his way out the vessel sprang a leak. His heroic endeavors to help save the leaking ship injured his health. After a short time in mission charges he died at the house of his friend Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia."¹⁰ The Rev. Mr. Cleveland's brother, Captain Samuel Cleveland, met a violent death at the hands of Indians in May, 1753.

LIEUTENANT JOSEPH FAIRBANKS saw service at the first siege of Louisburg, and in 1752 we find him settled in Halifax with a family (and servants) consisting of ten persons. He was born in Sherborn, Massachusetts, September seventeenth, 1718, and his second wife was Lydia Blackden, sister of the second wife of

10. "The History of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax," by Professor Walter C. Murray, M. A., LL.D., in *Coll. of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 168, 169. For a very valuable sketch of Rev. Aaron Cleveland, in which the facts of his brother Samuel's death are also given, see the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January, 1888. The sketch is by Benjamin Rand, M. A., Ph.D., of Harvard University. It is published also as a reprint. Rev. Aaron Cleveland was great-grandfather of the late Hon. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States.

Dr. Jonathan Prescott, surgeon and captain of Engineers at Louisburg, who founded the Prescott family, so distinguished in Halifax County and in King's.

Joseph Fairbanks left no children by either of his wives. The well-known and much respected Fairbanks family of Halifax was founded here by Rufus Fairbanks, his nephew, who was born at Killingly, Connecticut (where his father was a Congregational clergyman), October twentieth, 1759, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1784. Rufus Fairbanks married November seventeenth, 1785, Ann Prescott, daughter of Dr. Jonathan Prescott, and inheriting his uncle Joseph's property was one of early Halifax's comparatively wealthy men. His son, Hon. Charles Rufus Fairbanks, one of the ablest lawyers Nova Scotia has produced, in 1832 was appointed Solicitor General, and in 1834 Judge of Vice Admiralty and Master of the Rolls.

JOHN FILLIS had been in some kind of mercantile business in Boston, where he was born, and at the founding of Halifax he also with his family removed to Nova Scotia. In the new maritime-provincial town he became a highly prosperous merchant and ship-owner, and among the Congregational families of Halifax at least his family occupied a foremost place. He married first, in Boston in 1747, Elizabeth Stoddard, second, in Halifax, not long after his settlement there, another Boston woman, Sarah, widow of Samuel Cleveland, whose first husband was one of the earliest emigrants from Boston to die. For many years John Fillis with his son John was engaged in a general mercantile business in Halifax, and he owned a wharf and no doubt vessels in which he traded with Boston. It would seem that for some years until the Revolution he may have had a branch business or agency in Boston, for his son, who married Louisa, daughter of Byfield Lyde, was stationed in Boston when the Revolution began. In 1775 some hay belonging to Mr. Joseph Fairbanks that was intended for the British troops in Boston was burned before it could be shipped, and Messrs. John Fillis, Sr., and another New Englander, Mr. William Smith, were popularly accused of having been the secret agents in its destruction. On the sixteenth of June of this year Fillis and Smith made formal complaint to the Assembly that they had

been maligned in the accusations, and being unable to detect their "vile traducers," begged relief from the House. In a formal resolve of the Assembly both men were completely exonerated of the charge, the government declaring that it believed the accused persons to be "dutiful and loyal subjects of His Majesty King George."¹¹ Fillis died in Halifax on the sixteenth of July, 1792.

WILLIAM FOYE was a son of William Foye, Esq., who was Treasurer and Receiver General of the province of Massachusetts Bay from 1736 to 1759, and grandson of Joseph Foye, mariner. His mother was Elizabeth Campbell and he had two sisters, one of whom, Mary, was married as his second wife to Rev. William Cooper of Boston. William Foye was born November 1, 1716, graduated at Harvard College in 1735, and came to Halifax in 1749. Almost immediately after coming there he was appointed by Colonel Cornwallis provost marshal or sheriff of the province. Of his family, if he had any, we at present know nothing. He died at Halifax in 1771, for in the *Boston Evening Post* of September 23, 1771, we find:

"Died at Halifax, William Foye, Esq., aged 55, son of the late Treasurer. He was Provost Marshal of that Province 22 years and Lieutenant Colonel of the City of Halifax."¹² By his father's will, which was made in Milton, Massachusetts, March 17, 1759, and proved April 10, of the same year, he inherited valuable properties in Boston. As we have said, William Foye and Aaron Cleveland, both of the class of 1735, and Otis Little of the class of 1731, were the earliest Harvard graduates to settle in Nova Scotia.

JOSEPH GERRISH—Among pre-Revolutionary families in and about Boston, as further east in the colonies of New Hampshire and Maine, few families were better known or socially more influential than the Gerrish family, who were intermarried with the Sewalls, Waldrons, and Greens. An important member of

11. Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 539; and the *Nova Scotia Gazette* of June 20, 1775.

12. See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, Vol. 19, pp. 207, 8. The elder William Foye's estate seems to have been very large and he must have been known as an extremely rich man. He left a house in Mackerel Lane, Boston, a house in Hanover Street, Boston, where he had lately lived, and a "mansion house" in Milton. He left also several slaves.

the family was Captain John Gerrish, of Boston, one of the owners of Long Wharf, a merchant of note, and a captain in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery. With a large number of daughters he had two sons, the elder of whom, Joseph, after his father's death, seems to have closed the Boston business, in which he had a share, and when the call for volunteers for Louisburg came, joined the Third Massachusetts Regiment and went to Cape Breton. After the capture he remained in military service in Nova Scotia, and in the winter of 1746-7 was in command at Minas, where he received a severe wound. Before 1759 he was appointed Naval Storekeeper at Halifax, with a salary of a hundred pounds a year, and on August sixteenth, 1758, was made a member of the Council, in which position he remained till his death.

BENJAMIN GERRISH, younger brother of Joseph, also settled in Halifax, sometime before 1752. He married in Boston in April, 1744, Rebecca Dudley, a daughter of the Hon. William Dudley, granddaughter of Governor Joseph Dudley, and great granddaughter of Governor Thomas Dudley; and in Halifax founded the important shipping firm of "Gerrish and Gray." Benjamin Gerrish, like his brother Joseph, was admitted to the Council and was a member of that body when he died. His death occurred at Southampton, England, May sixth, 1772, and after he died his widow was married to John Burbidge, Esq., of Cornwallis, another member of the First Assembly, who had come out with Governor Cornwallis, from the Isle of Wight.

COLONEL JOHN GORHAM, eldest son of Colonel Shubael Gorham of Barnstable, Massachusetts, was born at Barnstable December twelfth, 1709, and married March ninth, 1732, Elizabeth Allyn, daughter of James and Susannah (Lewis) Allyn. He lived at Barnstable until 1742, when he entered on military service. In 1744 we find him in command of a company of militia troops at Annapolis Royal, and the next year, in Boston, raising a company for the expedition against Louisburg. His father was colonel of the Seventh Massachusetts regiment, and as captain of the Second Company of that regiment he took part in the Louisburg siege. Shortly after the siege he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and on the death of his father was made

full colonel of the Seventh. When Louisburg was taken he returned to Annapolis Royal in chief command of the troops stationed there. When civil government for Nova Scotia was established, Governor Cornwallis gave him a place on his new Council, but he must have died late in 1751 or early in 1752. His widow soon after married Captain John Stevens and removed to Gloucester, Massachusetts.¹³

*A. Wood
in the
year 1750
of his*

MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH GORHAM, brother of Colonel John, was born at Barnstable, May twenty-ninth, 1725, and was probably a lieutenant at Louisburg. In 1749 he was lieutenant in the "Rangers" sent from New England to Nova Scotia, and this position he still held in 1758 and 1759. In 1761 the Rangers were established as regular troops, and in 1770, as an officer of the British army he was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor of Placentia in Newfoundland in place of Lt.-Col. Otho Hamilton. In 1766 he also was admitted to the Nova Scotia Council, and on the twenty-eight of April, 1790, was made major-general in the army. He married at Halifax December thirtieth, 1764, Anne Spry, sister of William Spry, judge of the newly established Court of Admiralty at Halifax, an Englishman, who with his two sisters had come to Halifax about three months before. At the time of his marriage he owned a house in Halifax and a place which he called "Gorham Hall," near the town of Lunenburg. Both he and his brother received grants of land in the province. His governorship of Placentia did not require his continued residence in Newfoundland and he still lived mostly in Halifax, where in his house on Sundays the Rev. Thomas Wood, curate of St. Paul's Church, frequently instructed the Micmac Indians, in their own tongue. He died at Halifax probably in 1790, or soon after that year. Of his children, Joseph William, born September twenty-fifth, 1765, and Amherst, born in Sep-

13. In Parsons's "Life of Sir William Pepperrell," (p. 240), we find a letter from Col. John Gorham to Pepperrell, dated Halifax, July 5, 1751, describing the important part Gorham took in the Louisburg siege. The *Boston News-Letter* of June 28, 1750, has an account of a wound Col. Gorham had received at Pisiquid, Nova Scotia, in a skirmish with the French shortly before. Gorham lay for some time in "the first house in Pisiquid," then he was taken by water round the shore to Halifax.

A memoir of Major Joseph Gorham will be found in the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 2, (1879-1880), pp. 26, 27. He sailed from New York, June 30, 1762, for the capture of Havana.

tember, 1766, were in the British army. He had also a daughter, Charlotte Spry, who was married twice.

BENJAMIN GREEN—One of the first members of the Council appointed by Governor Cornwallis was Benjamin Green, a son of the Rev. Joseph Green, minister of the Congregational Church at Salem Village, now Danvers, Massachusetts. Before 1745, Mr. Green was for some years in business in Boston, but when the expedition against Louisburg was organized he was given the position of secretary with military rank to Sir William Pepperrell. After the capture of Louisburg he remained at the place in some public position or other until 1749, when like so many other New Englanders there he removed to Halifax. In 1757 he was appointed military secretary to the commander-in-chief of the forces, Governor Charles Lawrence, and also colonel in the militia. His wife was Margaret Pierce of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and she bore him seven children, two or three of whom intermarried with the family of Hon. Henry Newton. Hon. Benjamin Green was a second cousin of Hon. Joseph and Hon. Benjamin Gerrish, both like him, as we have seen, members of the Nova Scotia Council.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JONATHAN HOAR was a son of Lieutenant Daniel and Sarah (Jones) Hoar, and was born at Concord, Massachusetts, where his family always lived, January 6, 1707. He is recorded as having graduated at Harvard in 1740, although thirty-three years is a very unusual age for men to reach before leaving college. We are puzzled likewise with other facts in his record. In 1755 he went as a major to Fort Edward (Windsor), Nova Scotia, probably in connexion with the expulsion of the Acadians. It may be also that a little earlier he assisted in the capture of Fort Beauséjour. The next year (as lieutenant-colonel) he went with Major General Winslow to Crown Point, and in 1758 he was at the second capture of Louisburg. In 1759, having received a grant of land at Annapolis, he was elected to the legislature for that township, his election from this constituency being repeated in 1765. In the Massachusetts Archives we find records of military service performed by him in 1762 and 1763, his residence then being given as Concord, Massachusetts. But in 1762,



MRS. JONATHAN BELCHER

Born in Boston in 1727. Died in Halifax, October 9, 1771. From a painting by Copley. Reproduced from a photograph loaned by the Nova Scotia Historical Society

the History of Annapolis tells us, he was a judge there of the court of common pleas, and active in organizing the militia. In 1767, also, the same History says, he was appointed judge of probate at Annapolis. In 1771, we learn from Bond's History of Watertown, where many other facts concerning him are given, he was in England, whence, having been appointed "governor of Newfoundland," he sailed for that island. On the way thither, this record says, he died. The estate he owned at Annapolis was sold in 1782.¹⁴

JACOB HURD, member of a useful and more or less influential family in Boston, received a water lot in Halifax on the twentieth of July, 1752. For many years he was a prosperous member of the Halifax trading community and a little street there known as Hurd's Lane commemorates his name. He married in Boston on the twentieth of May, 1725, Elizabeth Mason, and on the register of the New South Church the baptisms of no less than fourteen children born to him and his wife in Boston are to be found. How many of these lived and how many accompanied him to Halifax we do not know. His son Nathaniel, however, a well known engraver, whose portrait was painted by Copley, spent his life and died in his and his parents' native town.¹⁵

THOMAS LAWLOR and his wife, Susanna, who were connected with the New Brick Church in Boston, do not seem to have been especially noted in the Boston community, but their descendants, if not themselves, came to have considerable prominence in Halifax, where they removed, although it would seem not earlier than 1757. In Boston they had five children baptized, the second of whom, William, became an important officer of the Halifax mi-

14. Lt.-Col. Otho Hamilton, governor of Placentia, in Newfoundland, died in Ireland, February 26, 1770, and very soon after Major Joseph Gorham, of whom we have given a brief sketch, was appointed his successor. It is probable that Lt.-Col. Jonathan Hoar was appointed immediately after Lt.-Col. Hamilton's death, and that as the record says, he died before assuming the duties of the office. See Bond's "Genealogies and History of Watertown," p. 298; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, Vol. 53, p. 197; and "History of Annapolis," pp. 323-326.

15. Nathaniel Hurd, born in 1730, died in Boston in 1777. He was one of the earliest important engravers in America, and he also painted a few miniatures on copper. "He engraved the seal of Harvard College, and the seals for most of the thirteen original colonies." His portrait by Copley, which went to Halifax after his death and remained there for about a hundred years, was probably painted about 1770. At the present time it is owned in the United States.

lita. Their elder daughter, Susanna, became in Halifax, first the wife of William Read or Reid, then third wife of the eminent Loyalist Anglican clergyman, the younger Dr. Mather Byles. A grandson of William Lawlor was the famous Haligonian, Admiral Sir Provo William Parry Wallis, who when he was only twenty-two years old took command of the British frigate *Shannon* after her victory over the *Chesapeake*, and brought both vessels into Halifax harbour, in 1813.¹⁶ Admiral Wallis who lived a little more than a full century was for many years known in British circles as "Father of the Fleet. He died in England in February, 1892.

WILLIAM LAWSON, son of John and Sarah Lawson of Boston, born March 27, 1720, with his wife Elizabeth, whom he married in 1743, and several children, came to Halifax in or soon after 1749. The family he founded in Halifax, during the whole of the nineteenth century enjoyed much social prominence. There were of course continual intermarriages among these Halifax families of Boston origin.

OTIS LITTLE, of Marshfield, Massachusetts, born January 29, 1711, was graduated at Harvard in 1731, and then studied law. We find no record in the Massachusetts Archives of military service performed by him, but Dr. Akins says he was "Captain of one of the Independent Companies raised in New England for Colonial service." In 1748 in London and in 1749 in Boston he published an octavo pamphlet entitled "The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies considered; with an Account of their Produce, and a particular description of Nova Scotia," extracts from which are given in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, volume 9, pages 105, 106. When the Cornwallis enterprise was set on foot he was in England, and joining it he came out in the *Channing* frigate, and in the new town acted for a little while as "commissary of stores." From this office Cornwallis removed him, but in 1753 we find him "the King's attorney" or attorney-general of the province. He died, we believe some time before 1758. Of his family we know nothing except

16. Admiral Wallis's mother was Elizabeth Lawlor and his father Provo Featherstone Wallis of the Halifax Dockyard. His grandfather, William Lawlor, was major of the First Battalion of the Halifax Regiment. For Admiral Wallis see the Dictionary of National Biography.

that he had, as it is reported, a daughter who died, we suppose in Halifax, unmarried. Mr. Little, Rev. Aaron Cleveland, and William Foye, were the first Harvard graduates to reside in Halifax.

JAMES MONK—Before coming to Halifax, James Monk seems to have been a merchant in Boston, where he had lived for some years, but before long in Halifax he seems to have practised and had good standing as a lawyer.¹⁷ In 1752 he was named as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1760 “King’s Solicitor.” His wife was Ann Deering, a sister of Mrs. Samuel Wentworth (mother of Lady Frances Wentworth) and Mrs. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, and of his children, born in Boston, and most of them, at least, baptized at King’s Chapel, James was appointed Solicitor General at Halifax in 1774, and George Henry in 1801 was raised to the Nova Scotia Supreme Bench. In 1777, probably, James Monk, Jr., went to the province of Quebec, and in that part of what is now the Dominion of Canada in time became Chief Justice of the Court of Queen’s Bench. After he retired from the Bench he was knighted. He died in England in 1826. Judge George Henry Monk was long a resident of Windsor, Nova Scotia, where his relatives the Nathaniel Ray Thomases lived. Late in his life he went to Montreal, and in that city died in 1823.¹⁸

CHARLES MORRIS—No man in the early history of Halifax save the governors filled higher positions, or had a more active career, than Charles Morris, who was born in Boston in 1711. Morris was captain of one of the six companies sent by Governor Shirley to Annapolis Royal to protect that place against recapture by the French in October, 1746. The following December he was sent to Minas, in King’s County, to guard the settlement there during the winter, and the next month he helped repel the attack made by French and Indians on the place, in which Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Noble and his brother Francis, from Maine, lost

17. Whether James Monk was nearly related to George Monk, of Boston, a well known resident and inn keeper there for many years we have not been able to make out.

18. Judge George Henry Monk’s descendants were for many years in the 19th century very conspicuous in political life in the Province of Quebec. Sir James Monk died childless.

their lives. When Halifax was founded, Morris, who had been trained as a surveyor, was employed by Governor Cornwallis as one of two men to plan and lay out the town. After this he became Surveyor General for the province, was made a judge of the Superior Court of Common Pleas, although he was not a lawyer rose to a judgeship of the Supreme Court, became a member of the Council, and after Chief Justice Belcher died, for two years acted as Chief Justice. His wife was a daughter of Attorney General John Read of Boston, and his eldest son Charles, who also became a member of the Council and a judge of the Supreme Court, was his successor in the Surveyor-Generalship. The office thus filled by two generations of the Morris family became indeed hereditary in the family, it did not pass from Morris hands until two generations more of the family had discharged its functions and enjoyed its emoluments. The Surveyor General in the third generation was Charles Morris, 3d, his successor was his son John Spry Morris.¹⁹

HENRY NEWTON was one of the three sons of Hibbert Newton, Esq., only son of Judge Thomas Newton of Boston, to whom a tablet was placed on the walls of King's Chapel in 1853. The inscription on the tablet describes Thomas Newton as one of the original founders of King's Chapel parish, a member of its first Vestry in 1699, and a Warden in 1704. "He was many years," it says, "one of the principal lawyers in the Province [of Massachusetts] and filled various places of honour and trust here, and at the time of his death was Attorney-General, Comptroller of the Customs, and had been a Judge of the Admiralty Court. He was a gentleman of exalted virtues, and greatly beloved and respected, both in this country and in England, where he was born and educated." Hibbert Newton, early settled at Annapolis Royal, and there and at Canso served as Collector of Customs long before Governor Cornwallis came. Henry Newton, son of Hibbert, was the first Collector of Customs at Hali-

19. See the writer's sketch of Hon. Charles Morris, 1st, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July, 1913. This sketch is the first of a series of sketches of "eminent Nova Scotians of New England birth." The second, a sketch of Hibbert Newton, will be found in the *Register* for January, 1914. The writer has also published in the *Register* genealogical sketches of the Gerrish, DeBlois, and Byles families.

fax, and this important office he filled honorably for fifty years. On October 24, 1761, during Chief Justice Belcher's administration of the Government, he was appointed to the Council, and in February, 1790, he became President of this body. He died at Halifax, January 29, 1802, aged seventy, and a tablet to his memory was later placed on the walls of St. Paul's Church. His first wife was Charlotte, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Green, and his second, Anne Stuart, only sister of Gilbert Stuart the painter, whose father had settled on his grant at Newport, Hants County, in 1775. After her husband's death Mrs. Newton opened a school for young ladies in Medford, Massachusetts. The Newton family in Halifax were intermarried with the Binneys and Uniackes.

DR. JONATHAN PRESCOTT. The surgeon-general of Massachusetts troops at Louisburg was Dr. Edward Ellis of Boston, an assistant surgeon (and captain of Engineers) was Dr. Jonathan Prescott, who was born at Littleton, Massachusetts, May 24, 1725. Dr. Ellis settled in Hants County, although not until 1760. Dr. Prescott came to Halifax probably in 1749. Receiving important grants of land in Lunenburg County Prescott settled at Chester and conducted a prosperous business there, but he had always a close and intimate connexion with Halifax. He died at Chester January 11, 1802. He married, first, Mary Vassall, a daughter of William Vassall, Esq., of Cambridge and Boston. Mrs. Prescott died in 1757, and he married, secondly, Ann Blackden, born in London, England, March 21, 1742, died in Halifax in February, 1810. The family Dr. Prescott founded in Nova Scotia had much social distinction throughout the province. An important sketch of it will be found in Eaton's *History of Kings County*, pp. 783-785.

CAPTAIN JOHN ROUS or ROUSE may have been born at Marshfield, Massachusetts, but of what Massachusetts town he was a native we are not sure. The chief biographical sketch of him that has yet come into print will be found in John Charnock's "Biographia Navalis" (vol. 5, pp. 412-414). In that sketch he is said to have probably early become a lieutenant in the navy, but the important beginning of his career is placed at the first siege of Louisburg, in 1745. At the siege he so distinguished himself

as to attract the attention of Sir Peter Warren, who commanded the sea force in the attack. Before this attack on the Cape Breton fort he had been master of a Boston privateer, which after the capture became the *Shirley* galley. Of the *Shirley* he now became captain, and this position he retained when the vessel was hired to be a ship of war "on the sloop establishment," and later when she was put on the higher plane of post ship or frigate. In 1749, as captain of the *Albany* and in England, he sailed with the Cornwallis fleet, but in 1755 he commanded another ship, the *Success*. In the last ship he was at Beauséjour, and then at Annapolis Royal, at the expulsion of the Acadians from that place, in 1755. At the second siege of Louisburg, in 1758, he commanded a fourth ship, the *Sutherland*, but he died at Portsmouth (probably England) April 3, 1760. October 1, 1754, he was made a member of the Council at Halifax. Of his family we know nothing except that a daughter of his, Mary Rous, became the first wife of Hon. Richard Bulkeley. Mrs. Bulkeley, who died in June, 1775, bore a son Freke Bulkeley, who succeeded his father as the second secretary of the province.

MALACHY SALTER, JR., of Boston, son of Malachy Salter and his wife Sarah Holmes, was born February twenty-eighth, 1714, and married July twenty-sixth, 1744, Susanna Mulberry (both families belonging to the Old South Church). As we have said in a previous chapter he was probably the most conspicuous Boston trader on Nova Scotia shores before Cornwallis came. How early he moved his family to Halifax we do not know, but he and they soon became their important people in the town. Salter was one of the most active and apparently prosperous merchants in early Halifax and he and Robert Sanderson owned at least one vessel together. This was the armed schooner *Lawrence*, which sailed from Halifax November sixteenth, 1756, "on a six months cruise to the southward against the enemy." Salter had a number of children, and his family were always prominent in the Halifax Congregational Church. At one time the various Congregational churches of Nova Scotia received aid from their sister churches in Massachusetts, and the distribution of the money raised for their help was given into Mr. Salter's hands. It is probable that in the early history of Mather's, later St.

Matthew's Church, Salter and Fillis were the two most important men. Salter's house stood at the corner of the present Hollis and Salter streets. It was afterward for a long time occupied by William Lawson, then it passed into the hands of John Esson.

ROBERT SANDERSON—The first Speaker of the Assembly, as we have seen, was Robert Sanderson. Like so many other Bostonians in Halifax he was a general merchant and ship-owner. He was without doubt a grandson of the Robert Sanderson, silversmith, of Boston, a deacon of the First Church, who with John Hull was given charge of the first coinage of shillings, sixpences, and threepences in Massachusetts, in 1652

A Boston woman of the widest social influence in Halifax and Windsor, from the time of her marriage to her death, was *Mrs. Michael Francklin*. The husband of this lady was a highly successful merchant of Halifax, who began life there in 1752. He was a Devonshire man, who came out from England in the ship *Norfolk* late in the year mentioned, having previously, we are told, had some business experience in London, and in the beginning he sold liquor at retail in Halifax. His education and breeding, however, were evidently such as to commend him at once to the people of best culture in the town, and very soon he widened his business and rose to great local prominence. Ten years after he landed in Halifax he married in Boston (February 7, 1762) Susannah Boutineau, a daughter of Mr. James Boutineau, attorney, and his wife Susannah Faneuil, sister of Peter Faneuil, the princely Boston merchant who built Faneuil Hall. In the public affairs of Nova Scotia no citizen of Halifax in the eighteenth century was more active, and in the local government none had a higher place than he. March 28, 1766, he was commissioned lieutenant governor of the province, and this position he held until 1776. The chief home of the Francklins was at Windsor, where they had a fine farm, but they naturally spent much time in Halifax. They reared a large family, who married well, some of them living in Nova Scotia, some abroad. One or two of their sons, notably James Boutineau Francklin, occupied prominent public positions in the province. Both in Windsor and in Halifax Mr. and Mrs. Francklin were staunch supporters of the Anglican Church.

At the time of the Revolution, Mrs. Francklin's parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Boutineau, her aunt, Mary Ann Faneuil, who was then the widow of Edward Jones, and her cousins, Peter and Benjamin Faneuil, were all Loyalists. Mr. and Mrs. Boutineau went, possibly via Halifax, to Bristol, England, where we believe they remained until Mr. Boutineau's death, which occurred some time before February 20, 1784. For a while after the evacuation of Boston, Mrs. Edward Jones resided (we suppose with the Francklin's) in Halifax and Windsor. The rich Peter Faneuil of Boston died intestate in 1743, and no doubt Mrs. Francklin with the rest of his nieces and nephews shared in his large wealth. Mrs. Francklin died at Windsor, April 19, 1816, in her seventy-sixth year. The date of her birth is given in the Boston Town Records as February 22, 1740.²⁰

Of the settlement of Dartmouth, on the east side of Halifax harbour, the most important suburb of the capital town, a few words should here be said. A history of Dartmouth, written by Mrs. William Lawson, was published (after the writer's death) in 1893. From this history we learn that the "township" was not settled until 1786-87, when the vacant lands there were granted to a small company of Nantucket whalers, bearing such familiar names as Coleman, Folger, Starbuck, etc., all of them Quakers in religion, and all expecting to make Dartmouth a basis for the industry to which they had been accustomed in their island home. A frugal and industrious people, peace-loving, God-fearing, says Mrs. Lawson, these Nantucket whalers were, but the failure of a large business house in Halifax that had encouraged the whale fishing here gave the Dartmouth settlement

20. Mrs. Francklin's mother was Mary Bowdoin, of Boston. We find this introduced into Nova Scotia the blood of two of the notable group of Huguenot families that were so thrifty and rose to such high positions in Boston in the 18th century. Such families were the Boutineaus, Bowdoins, Brimmers, Faneuils, and Johonnots. The founder of the Boston De Blois family was of Huguenot stock, but he came at a later time than the others. His descendants and collateral descendants in the De Blois name came also (at the Revolution), to Halifax. For an interesting letter from James Boutineau to Mrs. Edward Jones at Halifax, in 1778, and from Mrs. James Boutineau to her nephew Edward Jones at Boston, in 1788, and her sister Mrs. Jones at Boston in 1785, see "Sabine's Loyalists," under the name James Boutineau. For Lieutenant Governor Francklin, see a very important sketch by Mr. James S. McDonald in the Nova Scotia Hist. Coll., Vol. 17, pp. 7-40. For the Francklin family, see the writer's article on the settling of Windsor, Nova Scotia, in *Americana* for February, 1915.

its death blow, and in 1792, the greater part of the Nantucketers left the province, never to return. A few, however, remained, for a longer time, one of these being Seth Coleman, a man whom the historian describes as "a model of piety, industry, and general philanthropy."²¹

The second notable migration from the earlier settled American colonies to Nova Scotia occurred between 1759 and 1762, chiefly in 1760 and '61. Early in 1755 the French fort Beauséjour, which stood near the isthmus which connects Nova Scotia with New Brunswick, was captured, as Port Royal had been in 1710 and Louisburg in 1745, by New England troops, and before the end of 1755, in vessels furnished by New England, the expedition having been put in command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow, a Marshfield, Massachusetts, man, the greater number of the Acadian French throughout Nova Scotia were forcibly removed and the unfortunate people set down as paupers in little groups wherever they were allowed to land on the American coast from Maine to Georgia. The complete destruction of French power in the province now being effected, the government was left free to invite British settlers to the unpeopled lands which the French had tilled, and to those parts of the province which had never been settled, and very soon the governor, then Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Lawrence, began to discuss projects for settlement with the Lords of Trade. In the

21. "History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown, Halifax County, Nova Scotia," edited by Harry Piers. This book was published at Halifax by Morton & Company, in 1893. Mrs. Lawson says (pp. 17, 18): "In 1758, a return was made by the Surveyor-General, the first Charles Morris, to Governor Lawrence, giving a list of the lots in the town of Dartmouth, and the names of the proprietors who had complied with the Governor's request regarding settlement and improvement. The number was small, and from this period the township was almost derelict. The Indians still collected in force in the vicinity of Shubenacadie, and were always sending out scouts in search of plunder. The unhappy inhabitants, in constant dread of an attack, passed a miserable existence, and were anxious to escape from a place where there was neither assurance of safety nor promise of prosperity. For nearly thirty years, only these few straggling families held the unfortunate town. The government did nothing to induce later arrivals of emigrants to settle among them, nor took any measures to assist the discouraged occupants in the improvement of the village."

In a note to the above copied by Mr. Piers from "A Description of the Several Towns in the Province of Nova Scotia, with the Lands Comprehended in and bordering upon said Towns, drawn up . . . Jan'y 9, 1762, by Charles Morris, Esq., Chief Surveyor" we find: "The Town of Dartmouth, situated on the opposite side of the Harbour, has at present two Families residing there, who subsist by cutting wood."

winter of 1756-7 Governor Lawrence made a visit of some length to Boston, and when he returned to Halifax wrote the English authorities that he had learned that a group of New Yorkers had been planning a settlement at Cape Sable, the extreme southwestern end of the province, but as no recent attempt had been made to recapture the French fortress of Louisburg they had given the project up as unsafe. From what he knew of the country about the Bay of Fundy, he said, he felt sure that at least twenty thousand families might be "commodiously settled" in the parts of the province that have since then become the counties of Cumberland, Colchester, Hants, Kings, and Annapolis, and that if the fear of French aggression were entirely removed, substantial and useful settlers would flock thither from every part of the American continent. People at Cape Cod, he added, were very anxious to settle, as New Yorkers had proposed to do, at Cape Sable, and though he himself had no knowledge of that remote spot he believed that it might be a suitable place to make the base of a flourishing fishery. While he was in New England he had taken every occasion to discover how New Englanders felt about emigrating, and he had found that it was largely owing to the lack of a representative assembly in Nova Scotia that they had not already made some movement towards asking for grants of the evacuated Chignecto and Minas and Annapolis lands.²²

Determined efforts to attract settlers from New England to Nova Scotia began to be made by the Government in the autumn of 1758. At that time the Governor and Council prepared a proclamation, the terms of which they had probably for the most part if not entirely already discussed with the Lords of Trade, inviting settlers from New England to the lands formerly occupied by the French and to the hitherto unsettled lands in the province, and sent it to Boston for publication. In the *Boston Gazette* of October 12, 1758, formal announcement is made that the enemy who had so long been disturbing and harassing the province and obstructing its progress had been compelled to

22. Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, pp. 330, 331. Lawrence's letter to the Lords of Trade, giving this information was written November 9, 1757.

retire to Canada, and that thus a favorable opportunity was presented for "peopling and cultivating as well the lands vacated by the French as every other part of this valuable province." The French lands are glowingly described as comprising "upwards of one hundred thousand acres of interval and plow lands, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, etc." "These have been cultivated, for more than a hundred years past, and never fail of crops, nor need manuring. Also, more than one hundred thousand acres of upland, cleared, and stocked with English grass, planted with orchards, gardens, etc. These lands with good husbandry produce often two loads of hay per acre. The wild and unimproved lands adjoining to the above are well timbered and wooded with beech, black birch, ash, oak, pine, fir, etc. All these lands are so intermixed that every single farmer may have a proportionate quantity of plow land, grass land, and wood land; and all are situated about the Bay of Fundi, upon rivers navigable for ships of burthen." Proposals for settlement, it is stated, "will be received by Mr. Thomas Hancock of Boston [uncle of Governor John Hancock], and Messrs. De Lancey and Watts of New York, and will be transmitted to the Governor of Nova Scotia, or in his absence to the Lieutenant Governor, or the President of the Council."

The interest which this proclamation aroused in New England seems to have been immediate and widespread. A great many men from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had taken part in the first capture of Louisburg, not a few Massachusetts soldiers and sailors had made themselves acquainted with the Nova Scotia peninsula by serving in the capture of Beauséjour and in the expulsion of the Acadians, and fishermen, especially of Cape Cod, were thoroughly familiar with the opportunities for successful fishing in the waters that washed the shores of the sea-girt province to which New Englanders were now invited. Consequently, as soon as the proclamation appeared the agent in Boston was plied with questions as to what terms of encouragement would be offered settlers, how much land each person would receive, what quit-rent and taxes were to be exacted, what constitution of government prevailed, and what freedom in religion settlers would enjoy. The result of these in-

quiries was that at a meeting of council held on Thursday, January 11, 1759, a second proclamation was approved, in which the Governor states that he is empowered to make grants of the best lands in the province. That a hundred acres of wild wood-land will be given each head of a family, and fifty acres additional for each person in his family, young or old, male or female, black or white, subject to a quit-rent of one shilling per fifty acres, the quit-rent to begin, however, not until ten years after the issuing of the grant. The grantees must cultivate or inclose one-third of the land in ten years, one-third more in twenty years, and the remainder in thirty years. No quantity above a thousand acres would at first be granted to any one person; on fulfilment of the terms of the first grant, however, the person receiving the grant would be entitled to another on similar terms. The government of Nova Scotia, it was stated, was constituted like that of the neighbouring colonies, its several branches being a Governor, a Council, and an Assembly. As soon as people were settled, townships of a hundred thousand acres each, or about twelve miles square, would be formed, and each township would be entitled to send two representatives to the Assembly. The courts of justice were constituted like those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other northern colonies; and as to religion, both by his majesty's instructions and by a late act of the Assembly, full liberty of conscience was secured to all "persuasions," Papists only excepted. Settlers were to be amply protected in their homes, for forts garrisoned with royal troops had already been established in close proximity to the lands of which grants would be made.

The first formal movement in New England towards responding to Governor Lawrence's proclamation seems to have been made in eastern Connecticut and Rhode Island. About the middle of April, 1759, several agents from these two colonies arrived at Halifax, commissioned by groups of intending settlers to ascertain the exact condition of the offered lands and to put to the Council questions the proclamation had not entirely answered. On the 18th of April the Council convened at the Governor's house and the agents met its members there. Questions put by the New Englanders being satisfactorily answered, the Council invited the agents to go in a government vessel round the south-

ern shore to Annapolis Basin and up the Bay of Fundy to Chignecto and Minas basins, that they might make a thorough inspection of the chief lands from which the French had been expelled. After nearly a month, the agents, who had been accompanied by Mr. Charles Morris, the government surveyor, one of their own countrymen and as we have seen a highly important official at Halifax, returned, greatly pleased, to the Council, and requested that grants to them and their constituents might immediately be made. Accordingly, on the 17th of the month the Council ordered two grants to be prepared, of a hundred thousand acres each, in what is now the county of King's, these grants including a large part of what had previously been one of the richest and most productive spots in the whole Acadian country. The "townships" with which the grants were synonymous were to be called respectively Horton and Cornwallis, and the large tracts they comprised were to be distributed in individual parts of from 750 to 250 acres (a share and a half to half a share) by some equitable process of division as soon as possible after the settlers should arrive.

On the 27th of June a grant was made of the township of Granville, in Annapolis County, and in July, other agents came and were received by the Council. In August that energetic colonizer Alexander McNutt appeared and applied for lands for a company of Scotch Irish, his own nationality, who or whose fathers had come to the colony of New Hampshire from ten to forty years before. In the end we find a large group of townships, which are comprised now in nine of the fourteen counties in the Nova Scotian peninsula and two or three of the counties of New Brunswick settled by people from New England who had responded to Governor Lawrence's proclamation. In the census of the province (including what is now New Brunswick, and the islands of Cape Breton and St. John (Prince Edward Island), which was made under Lieutenant Governor Francklin's directions in 1766, we find "Americans" given as constituting about half of the entire population of 13,374, and if we add to this number the population in the two townships of Truro and Onslow which is ranked as "Irish," this meaning Scotch Irish from New Hampshire, we shall see that the New Englanders in these prov-

inces number considerably more than the people of all other origins combined.

Of the New England people in this migration of 1760-61, those who settled in Amherst, Annapolis, Barrington, Chester, Cumberland, Granville, Liverpool, Maugerville, Onslow (in part), Sackville, Wilmot, and Yarmouth, were chiefly from Massachusetts, but from widely separated towns in that flourishing province. The settlers in Horton and Cornwallis, the first established townships, were with very few exceptions from the chief townships of eastern Connecticut. The settlers in Hants County, the townships of Falmouth and Newport, were almost wholly from the several Rhode Island towns bordering on Narragansett Bay; while Truro and in part Onslow, in what is now Colchester County, were settled by Scotch Irish, who had lived in Londonderry, New Hampshire, and neighbouring New Hampshire towns. In Onslow, however, a large number of the most important of the permanent settlers were Massachusetts-born people of strictly English descent.

It is surprising how few mentions have been made by New England local historians of this large widespread migration to Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761, but three interesting notices of it, though slight ones, we do find. In her history of the ancient town of New London, Connecticut, Miss Frances Mainwaring Caulkins says: "The clearing of Nova Scotia of the French opened the way for the introduction of English colonists. Between this period [1760] and the Revolution, the tide of immigration set thitherward from New England, and particularly from Connecticut. Menis, Amherst, Dublin, and other towns in the province, received a large proportion of their first planters from New London County." And in her history of Norwich this author says: "Nova Scotia was then [1760] open to immigrants, and speculation was busy with its lands. Farms and townships were thrown into the market, and adventurers were eager to take possession of the vacated seats of the exiled Acadians. The provincial government caused these lands to be distributed into towns and sections, and lots were offered to actual settlers on easy terms. The inhabitants of the eastern part of Connecticut and several citizens of Norwich in particular, entered largely

into these purchases, as they did also into the purchase made at the same period on the Delaware River. The proprietors held their meetings at the town-house in Norwich, and many persons of even small means were induced to become subscribers, in the expectation of bettering their fortunes. The townships of Dublin, Horton, Falmouth, Cornwallis, and Amherst were settled in part by Connecticut emigrants. Sloops were sent from Norwich and New London with provisions and passengers. One of these in a single trip conveyed a hundred and thirty-seven settlers from New London County." Mention is also made of the migration in Macy's *History of Nantucket*. "It would seem by the preceding account of the whale fisheries," it says, "that the [Nantucket] people were industrious and doing well and that business was in a flourishing state. No one would suppose that under the circumstances any of the inhabitants could feel an inclination to emigrate with their families to other places; yet some, believing that they would improve their condition, removed to Nova Scotia, some to Kennebeck, some to New Garden, in the State of South Carolina, etc."

In several Nova Scotia local histories, however, accounts of the migration of much greater importance will be found. The most complete county histories of Nova Scotia are the histories of Annapolis and Kings, and in both of these much light will be found on the advent of these New Englanders to the province in 1760 and '61, and on the method pursued of distributing lands to them. Another work of special interest dealing with the migration is a volume by Ven. Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D., entitled "The River St. John, its Physical Features, Legends, and History, from 1604 to 1784." In his account of the settlement of Maugerville (in what is now New Brunswick), Dr. Raymond says:

"At the time the grant of this township was being made out the obnoxious Stamp Act was coming into force in America and the Crown Land Office at Halifax was besieged with people pressing for their grants in order to save stamp duties." "Nearly all the first settlers of the township of Maugerville were from Massachusetts, the majority from the single county of Essex. Thus the Burpees were from Rowley, the Perleys from Boxford,

the Estexs from Newburyport, while other families were from Haverhill, Ipswich, Gloucester, Salem, and other towns of this ancient county, which antedates all others in Massachusetts but Plymouth.”

As we have seen, the people who came chiefly for fishing to the southwestern shore of the province, were in great part from Cape Cod and Nantucket,²³ while those who chose farms in the interior were from a variety of towns where agriculture was the chief occupation. By the History of Annapolis we find that the people who settled that important county were from such widely separated, for the most part agricultural, Massachusetts towns as Barnstable, Byfield, Cambridge, Dorchester, Groton, Haverhill, Lunenburg, Marlborough, Medford, Mendon, Plympton, Sherborn, Shirley, Taunton, Westborough, Worcester, and Wrentham. Settlers in Onslow came from Brookfield Dudley, Spencer, Western (now Warren), and perhaps Worcester, in Worcester County; Brimfield and Palmer, in Hampden County; Medfield in Norfolk; Malden, Reading, and Woburn, in Middle-

23. “The first people of English descent to fix their abodes at the head of caves and harbours around the shores of southwestern Nova Scotia were fishermen mostly from Cape Cod and Nantucket in Massachusetts. They were not refugees for loyalty’s sake but ‘hard liners’ and net men, who had found out by their fearless cruises in ‘pink stern’ craft that fish abounded in those waters. The proclamation of the Nova Scotia Colonial Governor inviting settlers from New England and elsewhere to occupy the vacated lands followed immediately the expulsion of the Acadians, and as early as 1757, Governor Lawrence writes of having received ‘application from a number of substantial persons in New England for lands to settle at or near Cape Sable.’ A first company for some reason or other failed to make a settlement, but in 1761-1762 a large number representing the best families of Cape Cod and Nantucket removed to the Cape Sable district and formed a settlement at what is now the town of Barrington. They were for the most part a lot of intelligent and so far as the times allowed, educated men.” “The Doane Family.” Boston, 1902. See pp. 75, 76.

“In 1760-1763, Barrington was settled by about 80 families from Nantucket and Cape Cod, and in 1767 the township was granted to 102 persons.” “Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A sequel to Campbell’s History,” by George S. Brown, (1888) p. 127.

“In 1764 the population of Liverpool was 500. These persons had arrived at this place in 1762-3-4. There were, however, some arrivals as early as 1759.” “History of Queen’s County,” by James F. More, Esq. (1873), p. 13. Mr. More also says that the first warrant of survey for a grant in Liverpool was made some time in 1759. The first effective grant of the township was made in 1764.

The people of Yarmouth, Barrington, Liverpool, Chester, and Dublin “came with scarcely any exceptions from the Nantucket and Cape Cod districts of the Colony of Massachusetts, and save Chester and Dublin these townships are still mainly peopled by descendants of the original families.” Dr. David Allison, in *Coll. of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 7.

“For many years before any families settled in this County, our harbours of Yarmouth and Chebogue were the resort of American fishermen.”

Rev. J. R. Campbell in “History of the County of Yarmouth,” p. 25.

sex; and North Bridgewater, in Plymouth. By the History of King's County we see that the settlers in Cornwallis and Horton had previously lived in such Connecticut towns as Bolton, Canterbury, Colchester, Danbury, East Haddam, Fairfield, Greenwich, Groton, Guilford, Hebron, Killingworth, Lebanon, Lyme, Middle Haddam, New London, Norwich, Preston, Saybrook, Stonington, Tolland, Wallingford, Windham, and Windsor. The earlier homes of the settlers in Falmouth and Newport, we shall find to have been in the Rhode Island towns of East and West Greenwich, Little Compton, Middletown, Newport, North and South Kingstown, Portsmouth, and Warwick.

In the census of the province made under the direction of Lieutenant-Governor Franklin in 1766, of which we have already spoken, the nationalities of the people in the several townships for the first time are given, and in that census we see that in the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and that part of the province that since 1784 has been known as New Brunswick, with Cape Breton Island also, and Prince Edward Island as well, of a total population of 13,374, the number ranked as "Americans" is almost 7,000. The nationality that figures most largely next to American is "Irish," and this of course means Scotch-Irish, of which people 401 are given as in the two townships of Truro and Onslow. But the people of these two townships though, as we have seen, of Scotch-Irish stock, had many of them been born in New Hampshire, in which colony their parents or grandparents had settled, in some cases as much as forty years before. A considerable number of these, therefore, we may properly regard as Americans, but even with such addition we do not think it likely that seven thousand comes anywhere near the true number of the original immigrants from New England in 1759-61. Not a few who were granted lands and came to the province before 1762 soon became dissatisfied and returned to New England, and we cannot feel absolute certainty that the census of 1767 reports with entire accuracy the full number of the people that remained after these were gone. The most reasonable guess we could make concerning the actual numerical strength of this migration would fix the number who came from New England

in 1759-61 as somewhere between seven and ten thousand souls.²⁴ Of these seven to ten thousand it is probable that something like two thousand settled in five or six townships of what is now the province of New Brunswick, on the St. John river or near the isthmus which connects the two provinces. It is evident that few settled either in Cape Breton or in Prince Edward Island.

Of the superior intelligence and high moral worth of these settlers in Nova Scotia in 1759-61 too much cannot possibly be said. Many of them were people of influential standing in the New England towns from which they had come, their willingness to emigrate arising from the common wish, especially with people of English stock, to be considerable owners of land. One has only to know intimately the character of the institutions they reared in Nova Scotia, their interest in education and in religion, their strong self-respect and the generally high moral worth that underlay that self-respect, to hold these New England settlers in Nova Scotia in the highest esteem. From the people of this migration have come such men as the noted Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the Honourable Samuel George William Archibald, the Right Honourable Sir Charles Tupper, Baronet, Professor Simon Newcomb, the astronomer, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, the present premier of Canada, and many other distinguished public men. In every sort of industrial and professional life, members of these notable New England families have held foremost places, a great many such naturally finding spheres of distinction and usefulness in those States of the American Union which were originally the colonies whence their ancestors had migrated. Known the continent over are such names as Archibald, Borden, Chipman, Collins, Dimock, Eaton, Haliburton, Irish, Longley, Morse, Newcomb, Rand, Starr, Tupper, Woodworth, Young, and many others.

24. In 1783, according to the report of Lieut-Col. Morse to Sir Guy Carleton, there were in the peninsula of Nova Scotia and that large part of the present province of New Brunswick that was called the County of Sunbury, 14,000 "old British inhabitants," one thousand of whom Morse gives as within the present New Brunswick limits. It is almost certain that the actual number of these *old settlers* was much larger than Morse reported it, but at present we have no means of knowing what it really was.

NOVA SCOTIA TOWNSHIPS SETTLED FROM NEW ENGLAND BETWEEN
1760 AND 1765, WITH DATES OF THE EARLIEST LARGE GRANTS

AMHERST, 1763.

History in part given by W. C. Milner in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 15.

ANNAPOLIS, August 4, 1759.

History by W. A. Calnek and Judge A. W. Savary in "History of Annapolis County," 1897.

BARRINGTON, December 4, 1767.

History, in part, given by George S. Brown in "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A Sequel to Campbell's History," 1888. See p. 127. Also "Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington, in the Revolutionary War," by Edmund Duval Poole, 1899, pp. 133.

CHESTER, October 18, 1759.

The township first called "Shoreham." History given in "History of Lunenburg County," by Judge M. B. Des Brisay, 1895.

CORNWALLIS, May 21, 1759.

History given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, in "History of King's County," 1910.

CUMBERLAND, 1763.

History in part given by W. C. Milner in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 15.

FALMOUTH, July 21, 1759.

History of settlement given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton in *Americana* (magazine), January, 1915.

GRANVILLE, June 27, 1759.

History given by W. A. Calnek and Judge A. W. Savary in "History of Annapolis County," 1897.

HORTON, May 21, 1759.

History given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton in "History of King's County," 1910.

LIVERPOOL, 1759.

MAUGERVILLE, October 31, 1765.

History given by Ven. Archdeacon W. O. Raymond, LL.D., in "The River St. John, Its Physical Features, Legends, and History from 1604 to 1784."

NEWPORT, July 21, 1761.

History of settlement given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, in *Americana* (magazine), January, 1915.

ONslow, July 24, 1758.

History of settlement given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, in "Settling of Colchester County," etc., in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada"; Third Series, Vol. 6, 1912.

SACKVILLE, 1763.

History in part given by W. C. Milner, in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 15.

TRURO, November 24, 1759.

History of settlement given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, in "Settling of Colchester County," etc., in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada"; Third Series, Vol. 6, 1912.

WILMOT, 1764.

History given by W. A. Calnek and Judge A. W. Savary, in "History of Annapolis County," 1877.

YARMOUTH, September 1, 1759.

History given in "History of the County of Yarmouth," by Rev. J. R. Campbell, 1876, pp. 200; and in "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A sequel to Campbell's History," by George S. Brown, 1888, pp. 524.*

Of especial interest is "The River St. John, Its Physical Features, Legends, and History, from 1604 to 1784." By Rev. William O. Raymond, LL.D., F. R. S. C., 1910, pp. 552.

APPENDIX

The Province of Nova Scotia has eighteen counties, fourteen of which are in the Peninsula of Nova Scotia and four in the Island of Cape Breton. Of a few of these counties detailed Histories of great interest and value have been published; of others no complete Histories have been put in print, but published monographs of value, or yet unpublished manuscripts, may be found in various quarters. Such Histories and monographs are as follows:

ANNAPOLIS. "History of the County of Annapolis," by W. A. Calnek and Judge A. W. Savary, 1897, pp. 660. "Supplement to the history of the County of Annapolis," by A. W. Savary, M. A., D. C. L., 1913, pp. 142. See also "Memoir of Governor Paul Mascarene," by J. Mascarene Hubbard, printed as a third appendix to "Historical Records of the 40th Regiment," published in 1894.

ANTIGONISH. No history, far as we know, written.

COLCHESTER. History in part written by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, but still chiefly in manuscript. That part relating to the settlement of the county however, published in "The Settling of Colchester County by New England Puritans and Ulster Scotsmen," in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Third Series, 1912, pp. 221-265. Also, "Historical and Genealogical Record of the First Settlers of Colchester County," by Thomas Miller, 1873, pp. 400.

CUMBERLAND. Of this county no history has been written, but a valuable monograph entitled "History of Beau Séjour," by W. C. Milner (representative of the Dominion Archives at Halifax) was published in Coll. of the N. S. Soc., Vol. 15, and reprinted as "Records of Chignecto." A small volume exists entitled "The Chicnecto Isthmus and Its First Settlers," by Howard Trueman, pp. 268. See also N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, Vol. 63 (1909).

*The "thirteen old townships," commonly so called, were probably: Annapolis, Barrington, Cornwallis, Cumberland, Falmouth, Granville, Horton, Liverpool, Newport, Onslow, Sackville, Truro, Yarmouth.

DIGBY. "A Geography and History of the County of Digby," by Isaiah W. Wilson (1900), pp. 471.

GUYSBOROUGH. A history of this county has been written by Mrs. James E. Hart (Harriet Cunningham Hart), which, still in manuscript, is in the custody of the N. S. Hist. Soc.

HALIFAX. Many monographs on Halifax city will be found in the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," the most important being Dr. Thomas Beamish Akins's chronicles. Of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown, a valuable history by Mrs. William Lawson was published in Halifax in 1893, (pp. 260). See also "Footprints Around and about Bedford Basin," by George Mullane (reprinted from the *Acadian Recorder*), pp. 49.

HANTS. The chief monograph on Hants county that has been written is found in a series of three articles in *Americana*, entitled "Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761." (*Americana* for Jan., Feb., and March, 1915). By Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton. See also a sketch (bound as a small volume) by Ray Greene Huling, entitled "The Rhode Island Emigration to Nova Scotia," 1889, pp. 49. The chief facts in this sketch are included in Dr. Eaton's articles in *Americana*, and mentioned above. See also a pamphlet by Henry Youle Hind, entitled "Old Parish Burying Ground of Windsor, Nova Scotia," 1889, pp. 99. The chief facts in this pamphlet also are included in Dr. Eaton's articles in *Americana*.

KING'S. "The History of King's County, Nova Scotia, Heart of the Acadian Land," by Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton (the Salem Press So., Salem, Mass., 1910), pp. 898.

LUNENBURG. "History of the County of Lunenburg," by Judge Mather Byles DesBrisay, 2nd edition, 1895, pp. 585. Historical work of great value, it is understood, is now being done in the county.

PICTOU. "History of the County of Pictou," by Rev. George Patterson, D. D., 1877, pp. 471.

QUEENS. "History of Queen's County," by James F. More, Esq., 1873, pp. 250.

SHELburne. Facts in the history of Shelburne are given in Brown's "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A sequel to Campbell's History," pp. 129-131, and 134, 135. Several articles of great value in the Collections of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Historical Societies, especially one on the Loyalists of Shelburne by the Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith, in the 6th volume of the N. S. Hist. Coll.

YARMOUTH. "History of the County of Yarmouth," by Rev. J. R. Campbell, 1876, pp. 200. "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A sequel to Campbell's History," by George S. Brown, 1888, pp. 524. "Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington, Nova Scotia, in the Revolutionary War," by Edmund Duval Poole, 1899, pp. 133.

The above are all the counties of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia; on the four counties of the island of Cape Breton—Cape Breton, Inverness, Richmond, and Victoria, so far as we know little has been written except in Brown's History of the whole island.

GENERAL HISTORICAL WORKS ON NOVA SCOTIA

"An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia." By Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Esq. 2 vols., Halifax, 1829.

"A History of Nova Scotia or Acadia." By Beamish Murdoch, Esq., Q. C. 3 vols. Halifax, 1865, 1866, 1867.

Nova Scotia in its Historical, Mercantile, and Industrial Relations." By Duncan Campbell, Halifax, N. S., pp. 548. Published in Montreal in 1873.

army chaplains, receiving army pay. When the founding of Halifax was projected, the Society appointed two clergymen, the Rev. William Tutty, M. A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who had been ordained in 1737, and the Rev. William Anwyll, B. A., a naval chaplain, of the diocese of Chester;¹ and a schoolmaster, Mr. Edward Halhead, to accompany the expedition. To minister to the continental French speaking people who it was learned would follow in the wake of the English settlers, they appointed also a highly educated French clergyman, the Rev. Jean Baptiste Moreau, who had been a Roman Catholic, and prior of the Abbey of St. Matthew, near Brest, but had been converted to Protestantism and received into the Church of England.²

The first ships that came from England brought Mr. Anwyll and Mr. Moreau, and a few weeks later, probably about midsummer, Mr. Tutty appeared. On the twenty-first of June, 1749, which is regarded as the birthday of Halifax, Mr. Anwyll conducted the first service on shore, undoubtedly under the open sky, and for a little while, when the weather served, services continued to be held out doors. When Governor Cornwallis's house was built, on the spot where the Province Building now stands, the modest drawing-room of this official dwelling was used for worship, but a little later, until a church building could be erected, the rude warehouse of a certain half-pay officer, a Mr. Callendar, who had begun some kind³ of business in the town, was engaged.

Among the first acts of the governor after he landed was to send to Boston for the frames of two or three buildings. One of these was his own house, another was St. Paul's Church. In a letter to the Lords of Trade dated March nineteenth, 1750, Corn-

1. Before coming to Halifax, Mr. Tutty had been curate in a parish in Hertford. For some reason, but what we do not know, very soon after the settlement of Halifax the Society became dissatisfied with Mr. Anwyll and recalled his license for this mission. The poor man, however, did not get away from Halifax, but died there, and was buried February 10, 1750.

2. The Rev. Mr. Moreau's son, Cornwallis Moreau, is said to have been the first male child of the new settlers born in Halifax. Moreau (whose name Judge Des Brisay in his "History of Lunenburg" spells *Morreau*) came out in the frigate *Canning*, Captain Andrew Dewar, in the first group of ships that came from England. The French who formed his chief congregation came later, but it must have been well understood by the S. P. G. that they were coming. Moreau preached in Halifax first, Judge Des Brisay says, September 9, 1750.

3. In a letter to the Lords of Trade written September 16, 1750, Cornwallis says that he had had service performed in Mr. Callendar's warehouse three times a week for some time. *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. I.

wallis writes: "I expect the frame of the church will be here the next month from New England." The church, built of oak and white pine, at probably the estimated cost of a thousand pounds, the model for it being St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, was formally opened for worship on the second of September, 1750, Mr. Tutty alone conducting the service, for before this time Mr. Anwyll had died.

The biographers of Mr. Moreau take pains to tell us that he could speak three languages, and from the fact that on the fourteenth of October, 1752, this missionary writes the Society that his congregation numbers eight hundred adults and two hundred children, we suppose that he was able to minister to the German speaking people in Halifax as well as the French. But the Germans, who were at least in part Lutherans of the Confession of Augsburg, seem to have brought with them, or imported soon, a minister of their own faith, a Mr. Burger, and pastoral work among them seems to have been performed by him, as well as the Rev. Mr. Tutty and the Rev. Mr. Moreau. Before long, however, Burger was won to the Anglican Communion, and with Mr. Tutty's and Mr. Moreau's and the Governor's recommendations, sailed for England to apply for Orders. Whether, had he returned, he would soon have led most of his Lutheran friends into the Church of England we do not know, but he was probably lost at sea on his return voyage, for the town of Halifax never saw him again. On the eighth of June, 1753, the larger part of the foreign settlers, both Germans and French, were removed to Lunenburg, and with them the French clergyman Moreau.⁴ Af-

4. It is not easy to tell the relative number of Germans and French in Halifax or Lunenburg. The Germans evidently greatly outnumbered the French, but among the grantees in Lunenburg were many French names. Such for example, were Beautillier, Bissane, Contoy, Darey, Deauphinee, Emonout, Jeanperin, Jodery, Leangille, Masson, Morash, Pernette, Risser, Spannagel, Vienot, etc. The Germans were largely from Lunenburg, in Hanover, but some we believe were from Switzerland. The French came largely from Montbeliard, the capital city of an arondissement in the French department of Doubs. All these people were Protestants, the Germans being divided in religion between Lutheranism and the German Reformed faith, the French being attached to their own form of Protestantism. The latter, it would seem, more easily conformed to the Anglican Church than the former. French Protestantism as a separate religion in Lunenburg seems to have disappeared soon under the influence of Mr. Moreau, Lutheranism, however, and the German Reformed faith (although in 1837 this was transformed into Presbyterianism), have lasted there until the present day. Mr. Moreau continued to minister in Lunenburg as an Anglican clergyman until 1770, when he died.

ter this there were left in the town of these foreign people only from fifteen to twenty-five families of Germans, numbering it is probable at most not more than a hundred and fifty souls, and to them Mr. Tutty, who had learned the German language sufficiently well to preach in it, continued to minister when his duties to his English parishioners would permit.

In 1752, two more Anglican clergymen came to Halifax, the Rev. John Breynton and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Wood. The first of these was an Englishman, a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who had been a naval chaplain for several years, the second was a man who had been "bred to physic and surgery" in the province of New Jersey, and had served as a surgeon to troops at Louisburg, but from Louisburg, in 1749, had gone to England for ordination to the priesthood of the Anglican Church. For between two and three years after graduation, we suppose, Dr. Wood had ministered to churches in New Brunswick and Elizabethtown, New Jersey, but in the autumn of 1752 he came to Halifax. His long, valuable service to the cause of religion in Nova Scotia we cannot here take time to describe, in Halifax and at Annapolis Royal, to the English speaking people, and to the Micmac natives, whose language soon after coming to Nova Scotia he took pains to learn, he gave faithful ministry until his death at Annapolis Royal in 1778.⁵ Mr. Breynton came out from England to assist Mr. Tutty at St. Paul's, but early in 1753 Mr. Tutty went home to attend to some private business, and before

5. The following letter testimonial which Dr. Wood took with him to England when he went there to apply for ordination throws light on Wood's history from 1746 or '47 until June, 1749. The letter reads:

"Louisburg, 3rd June, 1749.
 "This is to certify that Mr. Thomas Wood, late surgeon of the Regiment of Kent, commanded by Capt. William Shirley, during his residence in this place, which was for the space of two years and upwards, hath lived a sober, regular, and blameless life, nor hath he written or maintained, as far as we know or believe, anything contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

"P. HOPSON,
 ROBT. ELLISON,
 J. J. L. BASTION,
 JOHN BREYNTON."

After receiving Orders Dr. Wood probably gave up the practice of medicine and devoted himself to the ministry, and until he came to Nova Scotia (in the autumn of 1752) was S. P. G. missionary at New Brunswick and Elizabethtown in New Jersey. See the writer's notices of him in "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution"; and Canon Vernon's "Bicentenary Sketches" (published in Halifax in 1910).





THE REV. HENRY CANER, A. M.
Minister of King's Chapel, Boston

the year ended he had died in his native land. Mr. Breynton was then appointed Rector of St. Paul's, and in this position, an active, conscientious, and useful clergyman, he ministered to the Halifax people for thirty-two years.

The distinction of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, the parish, which was first fully organized in 1759, and the church building, still standing, which was erected in 1750, as the mother church of the Anglican body in all Canada, must render this church an object of distinction in the thought of all the generations to come. The church has a further distinction in that its deed of endowment, dated January fourth, 1760, describes it as a "Royal Foundation and of Exempt Jurisdiction," which means that it is, from its peculiar foundation, not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop, since its authorization was directly by the King or by a subject especially commissioned by him.⁶ When St. Paul's was established, the nearest Anglican parishes to it, besides whatever of a parish existed at Annapolis Royal, were: the Queen's Chapel at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, whose rector was Arthur Browne; St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, Massachusetts, whose rector was Matthias Plant; St. Michael's, Marblehead, whose rector was Alexander Malcolm; St. Paul's, Salem, whose rector was William McGilchrist; the King's Chapel, at Boston, where Dr. Henry Caner was the chief clergyman; Christ Church, Boston, whose minister was Dr. Timothy Cutler; and Trinity Church, Boston, the rector of which was the Rev. William Hooper. In December, 1755, Mr. Breynton informs the Society that the church building "is completely finished without, and makes a very handsome appearance, and is aisled and plastered within and pewed after a rough manner by the inhabitants." Five years later he writes: "The church at Halifax (called St. Paul's) is almost finished in a neat and elegant manner;" which statement of course refers chiefly to the interior of the building.

Concerning the progress of the parish of St. Paul's in the earliest years of its history we have much information. Its boundaries for a good while were coterminous with those of the

6. See an interesting note on this subject by the present Rector of St. Paul's, Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, Ph.D., in the parish year book for 1910.

town, and as the general population increased or diminished the duties of its rectors and curates became greater or less. The presence of the military, in larger or smaller numbers of course added vastly to the responsibility and the labours of the busy clergy, for although, at least after the Revolution, a special garrison chaplain nominally ministered to the troops, the regiments in great part, and until a spacious garrison chapel was built in 1846, the chief military and naval officers, must have regarded St. Paul's as their proper religious home. In October, 1750, Mr. Tutty writes the Society that the civilian population of Halifax then numbers four thousand, but in July of the next year he places it at about six thousand. In June, 1753, as we have seen, a large part of the French and German settlers and some few English were removed permanently to Lunenburg, and this with the exodus of many of the less desirable English who had come with Cornwallis, to other parts of the continent, so reduced the population that in December, 1755, Mr. Breynton writes the Society that the town has then but thirteen hundred civilians. Of these thirteen hundred the rector claims eight hundred as adherents of the Anglican Church.

If Mr. Tutty's estimate of the population in the two successive years, 1750 and 1751, is correct, between these two dates some two thousand persons must have arrived from abroad, and from New England to join their countrymen who had come from Louisburg or directly from Boston in 1749.⁷ These New Englanders

7. In the *Boston Gazette* of August 1, 1749, appears the following: "We learn by the latest Accounts from Chebucta that his Excellency Governor Cornwallis hath appointed a new Council to assist in the civil Government of that Infant Settlement, most of the old Council being left out (as we learn) on Account of their Distance from that place, as Chebucta is now to be the Metropolis." In the issue of the same paper of August 15, 1749, appears an advertisement for carpenters to go to Chebucta. Persons desirous to go are directed to apply to Charles Apthorp and Thomas Hancock. The passage of men will be paid and provisions found for them at the government's expense.

In the issue of August 15, appears an advertisement for settlers for Halifax. All persons will be welcome that have been in His Majesty's service by sea or land, and "all tradesmen, artificers, and fishermen who have a mind to go." New England settlers "will be on the same footing and have the same encouragement as those who come from England." The advertisement is inserted by Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock, by Governor Cornwallis's orders. Another advertisement to the same effect appears in the issue of August 29.

The issue of October 10th contains an extract from a letter from a gentleman in Halifax saying that the day the letter was written, "Governor Cornwallis to our great joy came on Shoar from the *Beaufort* under the discharge of near a hundred

with a few exceptions were Congregationalists, who had been reared in Boston Congregational churches, and as we should expect and hope, preferring their own religious organization and mode of worship to the Anglican, they soon took measures to establish a Congregational Church. In a communication to the *Boston Weekly News Letter* of April twelfth, 1750, a Halifax correspondent whose name is not given says: "We shall soon have a large church erected, and for the encouragement of Protestant Dissenters a handsome lot is laid out for a Meeting-House and another for a Minister, in a very pleasing situation." In another letter in the same newspaper, probably the same correspondent writes: "Yesterday the Governor laid the Corner Stone of the Church [St. Paul's] which is now building, and which I believe will be the handsomest in America. And as soon as we can get a Dissenting minister settled here we shall have a handsome Meeting-House with a good Dwelling-House for the Minister, built at the Public Expense. I have subscribed to the support of Mr. Cleveland for two months, as have the Governor and most gentlemen here; and I believe we have Dissenters enough here at present for four ministers."⁸

In June, 1750, the Congregationalists called a young New England minister, Rev. Aaron Cleveland, a graduate of Harvard, of whom we have already spoken, to minister to their spiritual needs, and the liberal spirit of Anglican Colonial churchmanship in that day is commendably shown in the fact that until a Congregational meeting-house was built, this being probably from one to three years later than the call to Mr. Cleveland, the whole Congregational community, and no doubt their pastor, worshipped comfortably at St. Paul's on Sunday forenoons, while in the afternoons they were hospitably given the use of the church for

Cannon from the Ships in the Harbour to reside in his own House, which now makes a very pretty Appearance."

In the issue of January 30, 1750, announcement is made that the sloop *Endeavour*, John Homer, master, lying at Long Wharf, will take freight or people to Halifax. March 13, 1750, a similar announcement is made regarding the schooner *Wealthy*, Joseph Rose, master. April 24, 1750, a similar announcement is made regarding the brig *Dolphin*, Ebenezer Rockwell, master, lying at Hought's wharf, in the North End. (In the last chapter we should have given William Lawson and his family, five persons, as living in the South Suburbs of Halifax in 1752).

8. This is quoted in the writer's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution," p. 272.

their own non-liturgical service. In July, 1751, Mr. Tutty writes the Society: "There is perfect harmony between the Church of England and the Dissenters;" even the most "biggotted" of whom, he says, "seldom fail to come to church every Sunday morning."

The history of St. Paul's Church has been interestingly sketched for us by the Reverend Dr. George Hill in an early volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the history of "Mather's" Congregational Church, by Professor Walter Murray, in a late volume of these Collections. On the registers of these churches, which fortunately are well preserved, will be found most of the names of the early settlers of Halifax of British or American birth, for until the introduction of Wesleyanism in 1781-1785, the Protestant people of Halifax, except the foreigners in the North End, belonged for the most part to one of these two churches.⁹

Of the moral and spiritual condition of the people of Halifax generally in the forty years between 1750 and 1790, in spite of the enthusiastic local support which the two chief churches received, we find a great many depressing accounts. One of the more thoughtful New Englanders in the town wrote the Rev. Dr.

9. In 1786, shortly after his removal from Amherst to Halifax, the Rev. William Black, the noted Wesleyan missionary, wrote: "There is [in Halifax] one large English Church, one small Dutch Church, one Presbyterian Meeting House, one R. C. Chapel, one of Sandemanians, and one of the followers of Swedenborg; together with a few of Lady Huntingdon's Society, and a great swarm of Infidels." Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith's *History of the Methodist Church within the Territories embraced in the late Conference of Eastern British America* (2 vols. Halifax, Toronto, and Montreal, 1890. Vol. 1, p. 173). Of the "Dutch Church" of which Mr. Black writes we shall give the history later, but of any Swedenborgian chapel we have no knowledge at all. Of the introduction of Roman Catholicism into Halifax, Dr. Thomas B. Akins says: "The Penal Statutes [against Roman Catholics] had been repealed in 1783. The Roman Catholics in the town, chiefly emigrants from Ireland, having become numerous, purchased a piece of ground in Barrington Street, where they built a Chapel, which was dedicated to St. Peter. The frame was erected on the 19th of July, 1784, and many of the inhabitants, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, attended the ceremony. This building stood in from the street, directly opposite the head of Salter Street. It was painted red, with a steeple at the western end." Coll. of the N. S. His. Soc., Vol. 8, p. 86.

A sketch of the history of the Church of England in Nova Scotia by Dr. Thomas B. Akins, published in Halifax somewhere about the middle of the nineteenth century; Eaton's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution," published in New York in 1891; and "Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church in Nova Scotia," by Canon C. W. Vernon, published in Halifax in 1910, are other sources to be appealed to for information concerning St. Paul's Church. Many of the most important facts for the history of the church are naturally to be found in the first instance in the Reports of the S. P. G.



THE REV. GEORGE WILLIAM HILL, D. C. L.
Fifth Rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, 1865-1885

Ezra Stiles, the well known Puritan divine, laconically in 1760: "The business of one-half the town is to sell rum, the other half to drink it. You may from this simple circumstance judge of our morals, and infer that we are not enthusiasts in religion." "Unhappily," writes the Rev. Dr. Hill in his *Life of Sir Brenton Halliburton*, speaking of the time immediately subsequent to the Revolution, "these days were eminently irreligious days. The laxity of sentiment and the disregard to the doctrine and precepts of the Gospel were painfully manifest. Noble exceptions there were, bright spots amid the murky clouds, refreshing cases in the desert. But the testimony left on record by those whose opinions is worthy of trust is that religion was treated with indifference by the many, with scorn by some, and with reverence but by few. To cite none others, the first Bishop of the Diocese was so impressed with the fearful condition of the community, the general tone of society, and the debasing tendency of the opinions prevailing, that he wrote a letter to some in high places, which is still extant, bewailing in no measured terms the terrible degeneracy of the day, and urging that some step should be taken to erect barriers against that impetuous torrent, which threatened to overwhelm religion and morality."¹⁰ In June, 1781, the Wesleyan minister, Rev. William Black, preached for two days in Halifax. His sermons fell, he says, on stupid ears, "few seemed to care for their souls. There was scarce the shadow of religion to be seen."

Services, nevertheless, in the two churches went regularly on, and there is almost unvarying testimony to the faithfulness to his ministry of the Rev. Dr. Breynton of St. Paul's. In the ministry of Mather's Church the Rev. Aaron Cleveland remained only until the summer of 1754, then, like the German minister Burger, he became enamored of Anglicanism and going to England was ordained a priest. After his resignation the Congregationalists, for what reason we do not know, suffered themselves to go without a settled minister for almost, if not quite, the space of fifteen years. During this time they were ministered to by a succession of either Congregational or Scotch Presbyte-

10. "Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton," by Rev. Dr. George W. Hill, p. 62.

rian clergymen, who seem for the most part if not wholly to have served merely as longer or shorter but still temporary "supplies." Before the end of the eighteenth century, Mather's Congregational Church, owing to a variety of causes, chiefly the incoming to Halifax of Scottish settlers, the political separation between Nova Scotia and New England occasioned by the War of the Revolution, and very likely the permanent attachment of themselves of a good many of the Congregational families to St. Paul's, had become frankly a Scotch Presbyterian Church of the order of the Established Church of Scotland, its old name being changed to "St. Matthew's," the name it still bears.

A notable religious service in St. Paul's in the earliest years of this church's history was an event to which we have already alluded, the inauguration of Mr. Jonathan Belcher as the first Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia, on Monday, the twenty-first of October, 1753. After Mr. Belcher had taken the oaths of his high office, and a reception and breakfast had been given him at the *Great Pontac* inn, in his scarlet robes, accompanied by Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence and the other chief public and private men of the town, the Chief-Justice, with his commission carried before him, proceeded to the church. There, to a deeply impressed congregation Mr. Breynton preached from the declaration of the "wise woman" in Second Samuel,¹¹ "I am one of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel." A few years later, on Tuesday, the seventeenth of February, 1761, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the president and members of the Council, the officers of the army, and the "chief inhabitants," dressed in mourning, went in procession from Government House to St. Paul's to observe the recent death of King George the Second. To memorialize the sad event the pulpit, reading-desk, and governor's pew were hung with black, and while the prayers were being said and the sermon preached, minute guns were fired from the fortifications of the town.

By 1766, the Rev. Thomas Wood had become sufficiently skilled in Micmac to conduct service and preach to the native Indians in their own language. On a certain Sunday in July, 1766, he

11. 2d Samuel 20:19.

gathered a large number of the red men into St. Paul's, and there in the presence of Lord William Campbell, the governor, most of the officers of the army and navy, and the leading citizens, said the prayers of the church and preached to these people of the woods. Before the service the Indians sang an anthem, and then, it is said, a chief came forward and kneeling down prayed that God would bless his Majesty, King George the Third, "their lawful king and governor," Mr. Wood at the close of his prayer interpreting it to the white congregation. The natives now sang a second anthem, and at the end of the whole service "thanked God, the Governor, and Mr. Wood for the opportunity they had had of hearing prayer in their own tongue."

The arrival at Halifax with Howe's fleet in the spring of 1776 of the Boston Loyalists was a highly important event in the progress of St. Paul's Church, as it was of course in the general progress of the town. The larger proportion of the refugees who settled in the town were either Episcopalians or had no unwillingness to become so, although a good many of the most ardent Boston Tories were people who had been reared in the Congregational faith. Of any special activity on behalf of these new-comers to Halifax shown by the then Presbyterian pastor of Mather's Church, we are not informed, but Dr. Breynton (for in 1770 in England this clergyman had received an honorary doctorate in divinity) was indefatigable in his attention to the Loyalists's needs. The responsibility of finding adequate shelter on shore for those who wanted to leave the cramped ships made it necessary to set up canvas tents on the Parade in front of the church, and these not being adequate, and every house being taxed to its utmost to give people shelter, Dr. Breynton, we believe, ordered St. Paul's to be opened for a short time to give those who could not find accommodation elsewhere a covered place to sleep.

Of the Loyalists who remained permanently in the town, as a very considerable number did, the DeBloises, who had come from Salem in 1775, the Blowereses, Brattles, Brinleys, Byleses, Coffins, Cunninghams, Gays, Halliburtons, Hutchinsons, Lovells, Lydes, Robies, Snellings, Sternses, Wentworths, Winslows, and others, all connected themselves with St. Paul's. "Two letters have been received in the course of the year," says the secretary

of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in his report for 1776, "from the Society's very worthy missionary the Rev. Dr. Breynton, lamenting the unhappy situation of affairs in America; in consequence of which many wealthy and loyal families have quitted New England, and in hopes of a safe retreat have taken up their residence in Halifax, thereby becoming a great acquisition to the province, and a considerable addition to his congregation. For many of them, though Dissenters in New England, have constantly attended the services of the church since their arrival at Halifax."¹² And in his report for the next year, 1777, he says: "Three letters have been received from the Rev. Dr. Breynton, acquainting the Society that the number of inhabitants (which usually amounts to five thousand) is greatly increased in that mission; as it hath been for some time the only asylum for loyalists; and many of these refugees, from being rigid Dissenters, were become regular communicants."

The appearance St. Paul's congregation must have presented on Sundays, after the Revolution had passed and Halifax with its population increased with a good deal of the best blood and breeding of Boston had settled into something like quiet ways, we may easily picture to ourselves. The Rev. Henry Wilder Foote in his *History of King's Chapel* has given us alluring glimpses of the outward brilliancy of the pre-Revolutionary congregation that on Sundays thronged that historic church. In an earlier chapter we have quoted exactly much of Mr. Foote's description of the scene King's Chapel commonly presented. At the time of service, chariots with liveried black coachmen and footmen (for most of Boston's pre-Revolutionary aristocrats kept slaves) would be seen rolling up to the church door on Tremont street, bearing fine gentlemen merchants or judges or councillors or other officers of the Crown, in powdered wigs and rich brocaded waistcoats and lace ruffles and velvet knee-breeches and swords and gold or silver buckled shoes. Beside them would be their wives and daughters, only slightly more magnificent than

12. The report goes on to say: "The peculiar situation of those unhappy fugitives, who had been obliged to leave their friends, part of their families, and most of their substance behind them, justly claimed all his [Dr. Breynton's] attention; and from a principle of duty he hath exerted himself in a singular manner to soften and alleviate their banishment by every civility and consolation in his power."

the men, the heavy silks or satins in which they were arrayed rustling stiffly or hanging in rich folds as they passed from their carriages into the church. From their necks and elbows rare lace would be falling, on their heads would rest plumed bonnets of great elegance, surmounting their high-dressed coiffures. In the Governor's raised pew, on the School Street side of the church, with its red curtains and canopy-roof would be seen the chief representative in the province of royalty, in brave uniform, some visiting titled Englishman or British army officer of rank, in red tunic, gold lace, and epaulets, very likely sitting beside him. In various pews along the middle and side aisles would be the families who composed the most important set of the local aristocracy, the James Apthorps, Robert Auchmutys, Thomas Brinleys, Gilbert and Lewis DeBloises, George Ervings, Sylvester Gardiners, Robert Hallowells, John Jeffries', Richard Lechmeres, Charles Paxtons, Isaac Royalls, John and William Vassalls, and Samuel Wentworths.¹³

After the Revolution St. Paul's congregation was permanently enriched by not a few of the same people who had frequently, if not regularly, worshipped at King's Chapel. But from the first, the St. Paul's congregation had embraced the chief aristocracy of the town. Governors, lieutenant-governors, provincial secretaries, the chief-justice, most if not all of the members of council; and as well, the officers of the army and navy in their brilliant uniforms, had habitually worshipped in the church. The English settlers who came with Cornwallis were, we presume, all Anglican Churchmen, but a considerable number of the pre-Revolutionary Bostonians who migrated thither, even though they had been reared Congregationalists, soon identified themselves with the parish of St. Paul's. Chief Justice Belcher, for example, belonged to a family whose principal place of worship in Boston was the Old South Church, but he, no doubt in England, had

13. See the plan of the pews of King's Chapel and their owners in 1775, "Annals of King's Chapel," Vol. 2, p. 328. James Apthorp had pew 75, Judge Robert Auchmuty pew 25, Thomas Brinley pew 79, Gilbert DeBlois pew 72, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner pews 7 and 8, Robert Hallowell, pew 29, Richard Lechmere pew 82, Charles Paxton pew 4, Isaac Royall pew 10, John Vassall pew 76, William Vassall pew 109, and Samuel Wentworth pew 9, all on the middle isle. Lewis DeBlois had pew 66, George Erving pew 65, and Dr. John Jeffries pew 67, all on the left aisle. The canopied state pew was of course on the right aisle. Almost all these owners of pews mentioned were on Howe's fleet, but almost all went to England, from Halifax.

adopted the Anglican faith. In Boston, after his Halifax life began, he married at King's Chapel, his wife, Abigail Allen, and until the last member of the Chief Justice's family disappeared from Halifax the Belchers were devoted members of St. Paul's. The Binney family, which gave the fourth bishop to the diocese of Nova Scotia, was another of the Massachusetts Puritan families that in Halifax conformed to Episcopacy. Joseph Gerrish was reared a Congregationalist, though his wife was a Brenton of Newport and an Episcopalian, and he, too, naturally connected himself with St. Paul's.¹⁴

Of other New England settlers in Halifax, Judge James Brenton, a Rhode Islander, not a Massachusetts man, a brother of Mrs. Gerrish, had been reared in Trinity Church, Newport; Miss Mary Cradock (who must have been visiting in Halifax before her marriage took place), the second wife of Hon. Joseph Gerrish, was a daughter of George Cradock, one of the early prominent supporters of King's Chapel; James Monk (probably an Englishman by birth) and his family had belonged to the same church; the elder Charles Morris, although of a Congregational family, had married a daughter of John Read, who was likewise a supporter of King's Chapel; and the Newtons also were sprung from a notable founder of this historic parish.

After the Revolution, we find in the St. Paul's congregation such familiar Loyalist names as Blowers, Brinley, Brown, Byles, Clarke, Coffin, DeBlois, Gay, Halliburton, Hutchinson, Lynch, Pryor, Robie, Snelling, Sterns, Stewart, Tremain, Wentworth and Winslow. A dignified and well-bred throng indeed, it was, that trod the church aisles every Sunday when the Revolution was past, performing their devotions with reverence within the now ancient walls. As great wealth as that of the King's Chapel Faneuils and Royalls and Vassalls the St. Paul's congregation

14. It is uncertain to us whether Benjamin Gerrish and his wife Rebecca Dudley (daughter of Hon. William Dudley of Roxbury) were in Halifax chiefly Episcopalians or Congregationalists. Joseph Fairbanks was connected with St. Paul's, though the Fairbanks family generally in later generations were identified with St. Matthew's. Such families as the Lawlors, and probably the Hurds and others, though previously Congregationalists, in Halifax belonged to St. Paul's. The Fillises and Salters, however, prominent Boston-Halifax people, seem never to have conformed to Episcopacy. The persistently evangelical character of St. Paul's to the present day may very well be due to the strong Congregational, moderate Calvinistic, influence of a large part of its early congregation.

perhaps never had, but Halifax has usually had a rather remarkable share of business prosperity and incomes have frequently been sufficiently large to afford of a good deal of luxury. Especially after the Wentworths were established at Government House and the Duke of Kent was in residence in or near the town, expensive modes of living and a great deal of elegant display seem to have been characteristic of the town's social life. Writing of Halifax in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Dr. Thomas B. Akins says: "Sunday presented a gay scene in Halifax in those days. There being then no garrison chapel for the troops, the regiments in garrison preceded by their bands playing, marched in full dress to St. Paul's and St. George's churches, amid the ringing of bells and the sound of martial music. The carriage of the Governor (who was then always a general officer) bearing his Excellency in full military costume, with his aids-de-camp, drove up to the south door of St. Paul's, the whole staff having first assembled under the portico, which then ran along the southern end of the church. His Excellency, followed by a brilliant display of gold lace and feathers, the clank of sabres and spurs, and the shaking of plumed hats of officers, many of whom were accompanied by their ladies, on entering the church presented a most brilliant spectacle. All this was followed by the old Chief Justice Blowers in his coach and livery, the carriage of the Admiral, and the equipages of the several members of the Council.

"All being seated in the body of the church, full of fashion and dress, the peal of the organ began to be heard, and the clergy in surplices and hoods (he who was about to preach, however, always in the black gown) moved from the vestry up the east side aisle to the pulpit, preceded by a beadle in drab and gold lace, carrying a large silver headed mace, who after the clergy had taken their seats deliberately walked down the aisle again to the vestry with the mace over his shoulder. . . . The sermon in the morning being concluded, the troops marched back to the barracks, and the General and Staff returned to Government House." After luncheon, Dr. Akins says, at three o'clock, the General, attended as in the morning, always reviewed the troops on the Common.

In St. Paul's all the brilliant weddings of Halifax in early days took place, many of these being of Halifax girls of directly British or New England stock to young army or navy officers, not rarely men expecting some day to inherit titles. Of imposing funerals, too, there are many on record in the church's annals. One of the earliest of these, a funeral of solemn state, was of Governor Charles Lawrence, the next governor but one to Colonel Cornwallis, who died on the eleventh of October, 1760, and was buried beneath the church. In May, 1766, another governor's obsequies were held here, this governor being the Honorable Colonel Montague Wilmot, whose immediate successor in the governorship was Lord William Campbell, youngest son of the fourth Duke of Argyle. In November, 1791, Governor John Parr's funeral was held here, and in 1820, Sir John Wentworth's; and besides these were Chief Justice Belcher's in 1776, Hon. Michael Francklin's in 1782, Chief Justice Finucane's in 1785, Bishop Charles Inglis's in 1816, Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers's in 1842, and Chief Justice Sir Brenton Halliburton's in 1860. The funerals also of all the Boston Loyalists who died in Halifax probably without exception took place in the church,—General William Brattle's, Theophilus Lillie's, and Byfield Lyde's in 1776, John Lovell, the "Boston Tory Schoolmaster's," in 1778, Col. Jonathan Snelling's in 1782, Christopher Minot's in 1783, Jeremiah Dummer Rogers's and Edward Winslow, Sr.'s, in 1784, Jonathan Sterns's in 1798, Judge Foster Hutchinson, Sr.'s, in 1799, George Brinley's in 1809, and Archibald Cunningham's in 1820. Of Mr. Edward Winslow's funeral in June, 1784, we have a minute description, probably first given in a Halifax newspaper of the time. From wherever Mr. Winslow died, to the church, as we suppose, and afterwards to the cemetery on Pleasant street, the procession moved. First, in it, came probably the two officiating clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Breynton and the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks. Then came six pall-bearers,—Mr. John Wentworth (not yet a baronet) and beside him the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, General Edmund Fanning, both fellow-Loyalists of the deceased; Hon. Arthur Goold and Brigadier-General John Small; and Judge Foster Hutchinson, Sr., and Henry Lloyd, Esq. Next came the body of Mr. Winslow,

probably in a hearse rather than on a gun-carriage, followed by Colonel Edward Winslow, Jr., his son, and possibly other relatives, and by the family servants "in deep mourning." Then walked in pairs, Sampson Salter Blowers and William Taylor, Esquires; their Excellencies Governor Parr and the General of the Forces; Gregory Townsend, Esq., and Lieutenant Hailes of the 38th Grenadiers; William Coffin, Esq., and Captain Morrice Robinson; Rev. Dr. Mather Byles and Captain Addenbrooke; and the Governor's aid-de-camp and Lieutenant Gordon, major of brigade. After these gentlemen walked the members of Council "a number of respectable inhabitants," and many gentlemen of the army and navy. The services in the church and at the grave were divided between the clergymen mentioned first.

The extraordinary brilliancy which the presence of Imperial troops in large numbers, and throughout the summers when war-ships were in the harbour, of naval officers and men, gave Halifax, almost from its founding until late in the nineteenth century, can not easily be exaggerated. Halifax was for many years before the Imperial troops were withdrawn and the "Dockyard" was virtually closed, the chief military and naval base for Great Britain on the Atlantic seaboard of the American continent, and as such it rejoiced in the presence in successive years of a large number of the crack regiments of the British army and of many of the noblest ships of the British war-fleet. In the general outward brilliancy of the town on this account, St. Paul's Church, of course, to a very large extent shared. For ninety-six years, until the Garrison Chapel, in the North End was opened in 1846, St. Paul's, as we have said, was undoubtedly the chief place of worship for both the army and the navy, and the services there must constantly have been enriched by magnificent displays of military and naval uniforms, and enlivened by the music performed by detachments of the best regimental bands. After the Garrison Chapel was built the British troops for the most part worshipped there, and no similar scene on the American continent could ever have been more thrilling than the movement of troops with their bands playing on Sunday mornings, in the church parade, from the several parts of the town where they were in barracks to the great church where they were to say their prayers and sing

hymns.¹⁵ At St. Paul's, for many years before, the spectacle must have been equally fine, and here in larger numbers than in the later Garrison Church were mingled with the troops the dignified and cultured citizens of Halifax who represented the town's and indeed the province of Nova Scotia's most aristocratic social life. "The first British infantry regiments to attend St. Paul's" says Dr. Armitage, "were Hopson's 40th and Warburton's 45th, and the first corps of artillery, a detachment of the Royal Train of Artillery in the year 1750." "In the years from 1755 to 1760," he adds, "there were as many as twelve thousand troops, sailors, and marines, in Halifax under famous admirals and captains, notably Holborne, Boscawen, Howe, Saunders, Warren, and Colville, and generals, Lord Lodoun, Lord Dundonald, General Amherst, and General Wolfe." During the war of the Revolution there were several famous regiments here, "notably the 33rd, the 28th, the 69th, the Orange Rangers, and the 82nd, in which Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, was captain. From the close of the Revolution until 1846, St. Paul's was the chief place of worship of a multitude of regiments, not a few of them among the most renowned in the Imperial service. And not only the line regiments, but the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers found their church home here. "Representatives of nearly every prominent family in the United Kingdom and Ireland have through our long connection with the Army and Navy," says Dr. Armitage, "worshipped in St. Paul's Church."¹⁶

After the removal of their fellow countrymen to Lunenburg in 1753, the few families of Germans who remained in the North End of Halifax, while welcoming the ministrations which the clergy of St. Paul's were able to give them, still persevered in their allegiance to the Lutheran faith. By 1758, their humble but determined efforts resulted in the building of a simple church,

15. On two or three occasions not long before the Garrison Chapel was closed the writer had the unusual experience of preaching to the troops there, and he can never forget the thrill the music gave him as the bands of the various detachments of soldiers approached the church, nor the uplift of the scene as he looked down from the high pulpit into the faces of the great soldier audience. The singing of the men, too, was stirring beyond description.

16. The quotations we have given from Archdeacon Armitage will be found in St. Paul's Year Book for 1910. The list of regiments he gives (on pages 50-52) as having worshipped in St. Paul's he says were furnished him by Messrs. Harry Piers and Arthur Fenerty.

they named St. George's, where in the absence of a minister their schoolmaster every Sunday read a sermon and some prayers, while the congregation with true piety joined in singing their native German hymns. On the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1758, they organized a church, but they were then and always dependent upon the priests of St. Paul's to administer to them the Holy Communion and give such other ministrations as according to the rules of their church laymen could not properly give. At the opening service in St. George's the sermon was preached in German by a Mr. Slater, a visiting English army chaplain, his double text being Isaiah 48:17, 18, and Hosea 9:12. The consecration of the church, however, did not take place until March, 1760, when Dr. Breynton was the chief if not the only officiating clergyman. At last after New York was evacuated in the Revolution, an educated German Loyalist clergyman, Rev. Bernard Michael Houseal, who had for over ten years been pastor of a Lutheran church in New York, came to the town, and possibly raised hopes in the hearts of the faithful Lutherans that he would remain and minister to them in their own way. It seems likely that he did so minister for a few months, but by 1785 he, like Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Burger, had gone over to Anglicanism, and as an Anglican priest in that year he came back to this German parish in the North End. The parish now, whether with the approval of the entire congregation or not, became absorbed by the Church of England. On the 10th of April, 1800, the corner stone of the present Anglican St. George's Church, the "Round Church," was laid, the Duke of Kent performing this office. In the midst of the graves of the early German Christians in Halifax, the little "Chicken-Cock Church," as it is familiarly called, the first St. George's, in which these foreigners worshipped, still stands, a monument to the earnest piety and persistent energy of the little emigrant band, whose characteristic religious confidence was expressed often in the great Luther's hymn they sang, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*. The Rev. Bernard Michael Houseal died in Halifax on the ninth of March, 1799.

Of the chief minister of St. Paul's throughout the most picturesque period of this church's history, the period which

covers the whole time of the Revolution and a few years beyond, some further account must here be given. The Rev. John Breynton was born in Montgomeryshire, Wales, probably about 1718, received his early schooling somewhere in Shropshire, at nineteen entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, and from this university in 1741 received his bachelor's degree. In 1742 he was ordained and became chaplain in the navy, and for several years thereafter he officiated on the warships *Robust*, *Nonsuch*, and *Chatham*. In one of these ships or some other of Sir Peter Warren's fleet, in 1745 he came to the first siege of Louisburg, and it would seem that he remained there for four years. At any rate he was there in June, 1749, for on the third of that month he signed at Louisburg a testimonial to the good character of the Rev. Thomas Wood. In 1752 he was sent to assist Mr. Tutty at Halifax, and the following year, as we have seen, he became rector of St. Paul's,¹⁷ In this capacity he laboured faithfully in Halifax until 1785, when he returned to England, possibly in a somewhat uncertain state of mind as to whether he would ever come back to his charge, but desiring to keep the St. Paul's rectorship still. It is said that at one time, we suppose during a visit he made to England in 1770 and 1771, he was made chaplain extraordinary to Queen Charlotte, and that he preached before her in German, which language he had learned after he was forty years old. After 1785 he never returned to Halifax, but he kept the rectorship of St. Paul's until 1791. His death took place in London on the fifteenth of July, 1799. On the sixth of April, 1770, he received from Oxford University the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Precisely when Dr. Breynton married first we do not know, but it was probably just before he came as curate to Halifax. His wife's first name was Elizabeth, but of her family name we are ignorant. She died at Halifax September thirteenth, 1778, and

17. "St. Paul's Sunday School," says Ven. Dr. Armitage, the present Rector of St. Paul's Church, "was founded by Rev. Dr. Breynton about 1783. It is one of the oldest Sunday Schools with a continuous existence in the world, and is today the largest in the Maritime Provinces. Its foundation was only a year or so later than the work of Raikes, the founder of Sunday Schools at Gloucester, England, 1780. The movement obtained a footing in the United States only in 1791, when Sunday Schools were inaugurated at Philadelphia under the leadership of Bishop White." *Year Book of St. Paul's Church for 1910.*

was buried from St. Paul's, September fifteenth. Between 1753 and 1768, she bore seven or eight children. Dr. Breynton married, secondly, in Halifax, on the sixth of September, 1779, the widow of Hon. Joseph Gerrish, a member of the Council, one of the Boston pre-Revolutionary settlers in the town. Mrs. Gerrish was originally Mary Cradock, of Boston, and she was the Hon. Joseph Gerrish's second wife.¹⁸

Dr. Breynton has passed into Nova Scotia history as an earnest, faithful clergyman and a sympathetic, kindly Christian man. Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher lived, of course, in very close relations with him, and this eminent parishioner of his, pronounces him a man of "perfect good acceptance" in the community, "indefatigable labors," "experienced assiduity," and great moderation. "He was," says Dr. Hill, "the personal friend and counsellor of the successive Governors and Lieutenant Governors, the associate and adviser of all others in authority, the friend and helper of the poor, the sick, and afflicted, and the promoter and supervisor of education." He tried to promote the

18. The second Mrs. Breynton, who was the eldest daughter of Hon. George and Mary (Lyde) Cradock of Boston, was born May 18, 1723. She had sisters, Elizabeth, wife of Hon. Thomas Brinley, a refugee with Howe's fleet (who was a first cousin of his wife); Catherine, married to Nathaniel Brinley of Boston, Natick, and Tyngsborough, Mass.; and Miss Sarah Cradock of Boston, who made her will July 10, 1798, and in it mentioned Dr. and Mrs. Breynton. Sept. 21, 1791, Dr. Breynton and his wife Mary, Elizabeth Brinley, widow, and Sarah Cradock, spinster, "all of Edgeware Road in the parish of Marybone, Co. of Middlesex," England, sold a certain property in Boston to Nathaniel Brinley and his wife Catharine, for five pounds.

Many of the intimate details of Dr. Breynton's life we have received from Miss Beatrice Hurst of Horsham Park, Sussex, England, one of his descendants. Miss Hurst gives Trefeglawys, Montgomeryshire, as the place of her ancestor's birth, and says that he went to some school or schools, she does not know what, in Shropshire. His mother, "old Mrs. Breynton," died at Trefeglawys in the spring of 1779, aged at least eighty-three. In a list of English ships at the first siege of Louisburg given by Mr. C. Ochiltree Macdonald in his book "The Last Siege of Louisburg" (p. 10), the *Robust Nonsuch*, and *Chatham* do not appear. Neither, however, does the *Esham*, which we know was there, in command of Captain Philip Durell, who later became an admiral. For the letter of testimonial to Mr. Wood signed by Dr. Breynton at Louisburg, see *Bicentenary Sketches* by Canon Vernon, pp. 46, 47.

It seems probable that the ship on which Dr. Breynton served longest and last was the *Robust*, for on the 28th of August, 1781, he wrote his son-in-law, Captain Eliot, from Halifax: "I have reason to believe that the 'Robust' Ship of War will return to Europe this fall and be paid off, and as I have two yrs. pay due from that ship I have armed my agent with proper certificates to appear at the Pay table on my behalf. The amount is abt. £250. Mr. Ommaney will lay before you his difficulties respecting my pay for the 'Nonsuch' and 'Chatham,' the whole amounting to £160 more or less."

welfare of the ignorant Micmacs, he influenced the starting of missions among the New England settlers throughout the province who came in 1760 and 1761, he did all he could to alleviate the distresses of the Loyalists and give them comfort in their exile from their native homes, and his attitude towards clergymen of other denominations seems to have been uniformly friendly and kind. The hospitality he extended towards the Congregationalists in giving them the use of St. Paul's church until their own house of worship could be built no doubt arose from not only the generous nature of the man but the reasonable conviction that no one scheme of ecclesiasticism has exclusive divine sanction, but that all orderly churches are equally commissioned by God to do the world good. When Freeborn Garrison, one of the earliest apostles of Methodism in the Maritime Provinces, came to Halifax in 1785 to promote spiritual religion there, Dr. Breynton received him with great kindness. "You are on a blessed errand," he said, "I will do what I can to assist you. I desire to see the Gospel spread;"¹⁹ and the testimony of a later Methodist missionary, the Rev. William Bennett, was that he never knew a man so universally regretted as Dr. Breynton was when he left the province, "every individual of every denomination" being sorry to see him go. "A person who during a residence of upwards of twenty years in this Province has deservedly gained the good will and esteem of men of all ranks and persuasions," was the description of him once given by some man not of his own communion. "He preaches the Gospel of peace and purity, with an eloquence of language and delivery far beyond anything I ever heard in America." At the annual meeting of the "Church Society" which took place in St. Paul's in 1770, says Dr. Thomas B. Akins, "the dissenting ministers all attended at the church to hear the doctor preach his Visitation Sermon."

With the five New England Episcopal clergymen who came to Halifax either a little before or under the immediate protection of Howe's fleet, and with at least two others who came later, Dr. Breynton had very close relations. The Dean of the New Eng-

19. "History of the Methodist Church within the Territories embraced in the late Conference of Eastern British America." Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith (1877), Vol. 1, p. 155.

land Episcopal clergy was the venerable Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, of King's Chapel, and in his first report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel after he fled from Boston this aged clergyman testified feelingly to Dr. Breynton's kindness to him: "I am now at Halifax," he says, "but without any means of support except what I receive from the benevolence of the worthy Dr. Breynton." To Dr. Walter, Dr. Byles, Mr. Troutbeck, and Mr. Badger, Dr. Breynton was no doubt, so far as they needed help, equally kind,²⁰ and there was one needy New England clergyman, who fled to Halifax later than the others, to whom he was conspicuously a friend. This clergyman was the Rev. Jacob Bailey, who like the greater number of the Episcopal clergy of New England before the Revolution had been reared a Congregationalist. Jacob Bailey was born in Rowley, Massachusetts, in 1731, and graduated at Harvard in 1755. For some years after leaving college he preached as a Congregational minister, but in 1760 he went to England to take orders in the Episcopal Church. Ordained deacon by the Bishop of Rochester, and Priest by the Bishop of Peterborough, he then returned to New England and began missionary work at Pownalborough, Maine. As the Revolution progressed, his situation as an Episcopal

20. In all, as a result of the Revolution, twenty-eight Episcopal clergyman took refuge in Nova Scotia: John Agnew, Samuel Andrews, Oliver Arnold, Moses Badger, Jacob Bailey, John Beardsley, George Bissett, Isaac Browne, ——— Brudenell, Mather Byles, Henry Caner, Richard Samuel Clarke, William Clarke, Samuel Cooke, Nathaniel Fisher, John Rutgers Marshall, Jonathan Odell, George Panton, John Hamilton Rowland, James Sayre, John Sayre, James Scovil, Epenetus Townsend, Roger Viets, William Walter, Joshua Wingate Weeks, John Wiswall, and Isaac Wilkins (the latter, however, not a clergyman until after he returned to New York). Of these men, eight were graduates of Harvard, seven of Yale, six of Columbia, and one at least of Princeton, while only two were educated in Britain. The New England Episcopal clergy at the time of the Revolution were almost all native New Englanders, and the great majority had been reared Congregationalists. Of the five who came a little before or with Howe's fleet to Halifax, Badger, Byles, and Walter were graduates of Harvard, and Caner was a graduate of Yale. Troutbeck alone was an Englishman. Bailey and Weeks who came in 1779, and Wiswall, who came in 1782, were also Harvard men. From Halifax Moses Badger went to New York; after the Revolution he was Rector of the church that had been King's Chapel, in Providence. Dr. Henry Caner soon left Halifax for England, and so did John Troutbeck. Both died abroad. Mather Byles, as we shall show, staid in Halifax for thirteen years, then he settled in St. John. Dr. William Walter went from Halifax to New York, and in 1783 settled at Shelburne, Nova Scotia. In 1791 he returned finally to Boston, and the next year became Rector of Christ Church, in which position he died December 5, 1800. Jacob Bailey died at Annapolis Royal in 1808; John Wiswall died in Wilmot, Annapolis County, in 1812. Sketches of all these men will be found in the writer's "Church of England in Nova Scotia."

clergyman and a sympathizer with the Crown became more and more intolerable and at last in a state of destitution he and his family got on board a small vessel at Kennebec and sailed for Halifax.

The sufferings in the Revolution of no one of the Loyalist clergy have been recorded with greater minuteness than have Mr. Bailey's in the journal he himself kept and the letters of his that have been preserved. And his portrayals of these sufferings are exceedingly graphic. The picture Halifax presented to him as he sailed up the harbour when he was first exiled he also reproduces for us in a vivid way. After describing the outer entrance to the harbour he says: "As we advanced still further from the ocean, the town began gradually to open, and we had in prospect several strong fortifications, as the Eastern Battery, George's Fort, and strong ramparts upon the neighbouring heights, with all their terrible apparatus of cannon and mortars. When we arrived near the above mentioned Island of St. George's we had a most advantageous, striking view of this northern capital, stretching a mile and a half upon the eastern ascent of an extensive hill, while a large collection of shipping lay either contiguous to the wharves, or elsewhere riding, with the British colors flying, in the channel, a sight which instantly inspired us with the most pleasing sensations."

The vessel on which he and his party were, he says, came to anchor at a wharf near the Pontac tavern, but before they reached the shore the people on deck were conscious that their "uncouth habits and uncommon appearance had by this time attracted the notice of multitudes, who flocked towards the water to indulge their curiosity." "These inquisitive strangers," he continues, "threw us into some confusion, and to prevent a multitude of impertinent interrogations, which might naturally be expected by persons in our circumstances, I made the following public declaration, standing on the quarter deck: 'Gentlemen, we are a company of fugitives from Kennebeck, in New England, driven by famine and persecution to take refuge among you, and therefore I must entreat your candor and compassion to excuse the meanness and simplicity of our dress.' "

After they anchored, "I at that moment discovered among the

gathering crowd, Mr. Kitson [probably Kidston], one of our Kennebeck neighbors, running down the street to our assistance. He came instantly on board, and after mutual salutations helped us on shore. Thus, just a fortnight after we left our own beloved habitation we found ourselves landed in a strange country, destitute of money, clothing, dwelling or furniture, and wholly uncertain what countenance or protection we might obtain from the governing powers. Mr. Kitson kindly offered to conduct us either to Mr. Brown's or Capt. Callahan's; and just as we had quitted our vessel, Mr. Moody, formerly clerk to the King's Chapel, appeared to welcome our arrival."

If Mr. Bailey could describe with bitterness the ill-treatment he received at the hands of the Maine "patriots," he could also describe with humour the grotesque appearance he and his forlorn party made when they reached Halifax and walked through the streets. "As it may afford some diversion to the courteous reader," he goes on to say, "I will suspend my narration a few moments to describe the singularity of our apparel, and the order of our procession through the streets, which were surprisingly contrasted by the elegant dresses of the gentlemen and ladies we hapened to meet in our lengthy ambulation. And here I am confoundedly at a loss where to begin, whether with Capt. Smith or myself, but as he was a faithful pilot to this haven of repose, I conclude it is no more than gratitude and complaisance to give him the preference. He was clothed in a long swingling threadbare coat, and the rest of his habit displayed the venerable signatures of antiquity, both in the form and materials. His hat carried a long peak before, exactly perpendicular to the longitude of his acquiline nose.

"On the right hand of this sleek commander shuffled along your very humble servant, having his feet adorned with a pair of shoes which sustained the marks of rebellion and independence. My legs were covered with a thick pair of blue woollen stockings, which had been so often mended and darned by the fingers of frugality that scarce an atom of the original remained. My breeches, which just concealed the shame of my nakedness, had formerly been black, but the colour being worn out by age nothing remained but a rusty grey, bespattered with

lint and bedaubed with pitch. Over a coarse tow and linen shirt, manufactured in the looms of sedition, I sustained a coat and waistcoat of the same dandy grey russet, and to secrete from public inspection the innumerable rents, holes, and deformities which time and misfortunes had wrought in these ragged and weather-beaten garments, I was furnished with a blue surtout, fretted at the elbows, worn at the button-holes, and stained with a variety of tints, so that it might truly be styled a coat of many colours, and to render this external department of my habit still more conspicuous and worthy of observation, the waist descended below my knees, and the skirts hung dangling about my heels; and to complete the whole, a jaundice-coloured wig, devoid of curls, was shaded by the remnants of a rusty beaver, its monstrous brim replete with notches and furrows, and grown limpsy by the alternate inflictions of storm and sunshine, lopped over my shoulders and obscured a face meagre with famine and wrinkled with solicitude.

“My consort and niece came lagging behind at a little distance, the former arrayed in a ragged baize night-gown, tied round her middle with a woolen string instead of a sash; the latter carried upon her back the tattered remains of an hemlock-coloured linsy-woolsey, and both their heads were adorned with bonnets composed of black moth-eaten stuff, almost devoured with the teeth of time. I forgot to mention their petticoats, jagged at the bottom, distinguished by a multitude of fissures, and curiously drabbed in the mud, for a heavy rain was now beginning to set in.”

The destination of the party was “Captain Callahan’s,” nearly half a mile from the wharf where they had landed. The Callahans like “Mr. Kitson” had been neighbors and intimate friends of the Baileys at Kennebec, and when the latter reached the Callahan house the welcome they received was affecting. Soon Mr. Thomas Brown and Mr. Martin Gay, both refugees from Boston, came to welcome the clergyman and his family. A few minutes after they arrived, came “the polite and generous Dr. Breynton,” rector of St. Paul’s. “He addressed us,” says Mr. Bailey, “with that ease, freedom, and gentleness peculiar to himself. His countenance exhibited a most finished picture of compassionate good

nature, and the effusions of tenderness and humanity glistened in his venerable eyes when he had learned part of our history. He kindly assured us that he most heartily congratulated us upon our fortunate deliverance from tyranny, oppression, and poverty, and he declared that we might depend on his attention and assistance to make us comfortable and happy. The turn of his features, and the manner of his expression afforded a convincing evidence of his sincerity, and the event afterwards gave me undeniable demonstration that I was not mistaken in my favourable conjectures. Before we parted he informed me that it was expected I should wait upon the Governor at eleven to acquaint him with my arrival, and to solicit his countenance and protection.”²¹

To Governor Parr he was soon taken, and both the governor and the legislature as a body promptly interested themselves in him and endeavoured to supply his needs. He was taken by one gentleman's orders to a tailor to be measured for a suit of clothes, so that he might be more presentable, another man gave him a beaver, “almost new,” Dr. Breynton procured a house for him on the east side of Pleasant street, “the most elegant street in the town,” and “much frequented by gentlemen and ladies for an evening walk in fine weather,” and the General Assembly gave him two hundred dollars in money and private gentlemen contributed nearly three hundred more. A few months after he landed he received a call to settle in Cornwallis, Kings County, and thither in October, 1779, he and his family went. In July, 1782, he removed from Cornwallis to Annapolis Royal.

Of the clergymen who came to Halifax with or before Howe's fleet, Dr. Mather Byles was the only one who remained long in the town. One priest who arrived later, the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, previously Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marble-

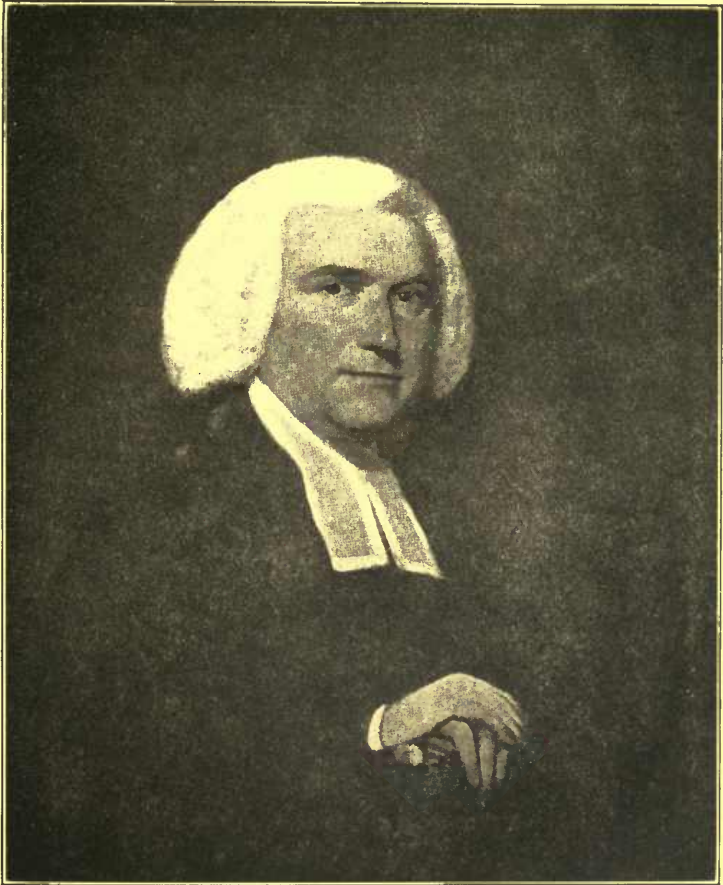
21. The interesting extracts from Mr. Bailey's journal we have given above are taken from a much longer narration which will be found in “The Frontier Missionary, a Memoir of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, A. M., Missionary at Pownalborough, Maine; Cornwallis and Annapolis, Nova Scotia,” by Rev. William S. Bartlett, A. M., sometime Rector of Chelsea, Massachusetts, pp. 365. (Published at Boston by Ide and Dutton, 1853). For further information concerning Mr. Bailey, see this writer's “History of King's County, Nova Scotia,” and the Calnek-Savary “History of Annapolis County, Nova Scotia.”

The Loyalists Mr. Bailey mentions as finding at Halifax were Mr. Atkins, “formerly a merchant in Boston and afterward a custom house officer at Newbury,” Mr. Thomas Brown, Mr. Martin Gay, Dr. John Prince, previously of Salem, and “Colonel Phips's lady.”

head, a brother of the Rev. Jacob Bailey's wife, "Sally Weeks," did remain there after he came for eleven or twelve years, but except Dr. Byles he was the only refugee clergyman who staid. Mather Byles was the eldest son and the only son who lived beyond very young manhood of the famous Tory Congregational minister of Boston, the senior Rev. Dr. Mather Byles. A graduate of Harvard, he too was in 1757 ordained to the Congregational ministry, and settled at New London, but in 1768 he went to England for ordination to the Anglican priesthood and before the end of that year returned to Boston as Rector of Boston's now venerable Christ Church. In 1775 he withdrew from the rectorship of Christ Church, intending to go to Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, but the troubles of the Revolution thickening and his Tory sympathies being conspicuously strong, he was obliged to remain in Boston under the protection of the King's troops. With the fleet he went to Halifax, where he was soon made garrison chaplain and given occasional duty at St. Paul's, and in Halifax, sometimes officiating and sometimes not having any regular duty, he remained until May, 1789, when he became rector of Trinity Church, St. John, New Brunswick, and garrison chaplain in that Loyalist town.²² In his St. John rectorship he remained until his death in 1814.

Like his father, Dr. Byles was a man of character, education, and some literary gift. Like his father, also, he was a man of aristocratic tastes and his social and ecclesiastical connections, both before and after he adopted episcopacy, were such as we

22. On the 30th of September, 1776, Dr. Byles wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that he had been appointed Chaplain to the Garrison, that he occasionally assisted Dr. Breynton, and that he had under his care two battalions of marines, the women and children and invalids of more than twenty regiments, a large hospital, and a school consisting of nearly four hundred pupils, which he regularly visited twice a week. Since coming to Halifax (in March) he had baptized fifty-four, and had buried fourteen. As long as he remained in Halifax, that is until May, 1789, Byles was nominally chaplain to the garrison, but a great deal of this time his duties seem to have been only nominal. Until the Garrison Chapel was built in 1846, probably during Byles's stay in the town as well as later, there were evidently small chapels or buildings used for chapels in which services for special bodies of troops were held, but the subject of these chapels is involved in some obscurity. At the time of Dr. Byles's third marriage, to Mrs. Reid (Susannah Lawlor), we know from the Byles correspondence that the Doctor had a little chapel somewhere in the town. In any case, for some years he despised Dr. Breynton so thoroughly that he could not possibly have been a worshipper at St. Paul's, much less have officiated there. This will more emphatically appear if we ever publish, as we hope to do, our "Life and Letters of the Younger Mather Byles."



THE REV. MATHER BYLES, JR., D. D.
From a painting by his nephew, Mather Brown

should expect such a man to choose. He was at heart deeply religious, but he was a man of great natural sensitiveness and a highly nervous organization, and suffering much, as he did, from ill health, his temper was frequently anything but equable. In Halifax, for what reason we do not know, he came to have bitter dislike for most of the members of the ruling class, and his antagonism to his fellow clergyman, Dr. Breynton, was especially fierce. How deep this bitterness went certain allusions in his correspondence, much of which has been preserved, enables us clearly to see. While Dr. Byles was in London in 1784, an infant child of his died of small-pox, and both the family in Halifax and he abroad were plunged by the event into deep distress. What Dr. Breynton had done on the occasion to excite the family's displeasure we are not told, but something unpleasant he had done, of which the family wrote Dr. Byles an account. On receipt of their letter, after deploring the child's death the father wrote: "Dr. Breynton's conduct upon the occasion was perfectly characteristic, equally exciting indignation, horror, and contempt. Rest satisfied from me that it is not in his power to do me or my family the least prejudice. My son's behavior was noble and manly, and exactly what I could have wished it. His modesty, his condensation, his prudence, and his firmness do him great honor. It is a mercy to mankind that the greatest bullies when properly opposed are always the most despicable cowards, and though we are taught to let our moderation be known to all men, we are at the same time directed not to give place to the Devil. Well may an old man be peevish when all enjoyments of a dissipated life are past, never to return, and he has nothing to hope for but annihilation. But brutal behavior in a man will not purchase the fate of a brute. I check my pen, conscious that I have said enough upon the subject—perhaps too much. Shortly after Dr. Breynton left Halifax, finally as it proved, for England, Dr. Byles wrote his sisters in Boston: "Two events have lately taken place which are of importance in my history, one is the departure of Dr. Breynton for England, with whose worthless name I believe I have never before condescended to blacken my page. It is generally hoped he will never return; and I trust that I

have bid a final adieu to the haughtiest, the most insolent, avicious, unprincipled of men.'²³

In his lifetime Dr. Byles wrote a little good poetry, but as a poet, like his father, who had, however, distinctly higher poetical gifts, he could occasionally make his verse the medium for expressing his bitter dislikes. Before he left Halifax he satirized in verse most of the leading public men of the place, while the rector of St. Paul's he held up to conspicuous ridicule. One of the members of the council was a merchant, Hon. Thomas Cochran, a North of Ireland man who came to Halifax in 1761 humble and poor, but who rose by good business judgment and energy to the highest social position in the town. By his second wife, Jane Allan, Mr. Cochran had a family of sons and daughters who when they grew up came to occupy positions of much importance, but he had also a daughter Margaret, his eldest child, whose mother was undoubtedly a North of Ireland woman. In 1778 Margaret Cochran was about eighteen, and in that year Dr. Breynton's first wife died. About a year later the elderly rector, who was probably a little over sixty, married, as we have seen, Mrs. Joseph Gerrish,²⁴ but in the meantime, if Dr. Byles's muse is to be trusted, the clergyman was foolish enough to set his eyes on his young parishioner, Miss Cochran. Whether the episode of his proposing to her, which Dr. Byles rather discreditably exploits in verse, ever happened, or to what extent the details as Byles gives them were true, we have no present means of knowing, but in any case the following lampoon which Byles wrote for the edification of his friends, but which, however, we believe, was never printed, affords additional testimony to his strong dislike of Dr.

23. The other event of importance in Dr. Byles's history was the marriage, August 3, 1785, of his eldest daughter, Rebecca, to Dr. William James Almon, a bachelor of about thirty-one, a promising physician of Halifax. Through this marriage was founded one of the most prominent of the 19th century families of Halifax. See the writer's Byles Genealogy in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, for April, 1915.

24. Miss Beatrice Hurst writes that she has found in Dr. Breynton's correspondence the announcement of his engagement to Mrs. Gerrish, they "to be married in a few days." Twice in later letters the Doctor says that "he does not think there could be found in the whole world two beings more happy, more healthy, and more contented than they were." When he wrote these letters he and his wife were living in lodgings instead of taking a house, as every year he was hoping to go to England. He speaks of his increasing infirmities, and of the rigors of the Nova Scotia climate, and further shows a longing to be nearer his children. The salary he receives at St. Paul's, however, was of great importance to him.

Breynton. It illustrates, moreover, as well, the remarkable license in satirical writing that was permitted in the best society in the eighteenth century, a license that we know well to have existed in England in at least the somewhat earlier time of Pope and Swift. Dr. Byles's poem, as it has been preserved in Halifax, is as follows:²⁵

ST. AUSTIN AND THE FAIR AGATHENE OR "A Cure for Love."

The morning was fair and the month it was May,
And the Pine trees exhaled all their wealth,
When a Parson so good and a Lady so gay
Rode out from the town, their devotion to pay
To the Spring for the sake of their health.

His name was St. Austin, and hers Agathene,
His age was three score and a bit;
The Lady just bloomed, in the charms of eighteen,
Like the Goddess of Beauty and Love she was seen,
And he, like Death's head on a spit.

To a valley they came that was still and remote
When the Saint squeezed her hand to his breast,
Thrice attempted to speak, but a burr in his throat
Stopp'd the way and prevented his sounding a note,
Still his utterance he hemm'd, haw'd, and spit to promote,
And at length thus the damsel addressed:

"By my Maker, Sweet Girl! I'll no longer restrain
The affection which tortures my soul,
For my blood effervesces, and maddens my brain,
Pit-a-pat beats my heart, prayers and fastings are vain,
And my love burns beyond all controul.

"O yes lovely nymph, since your bib you laid by
I have watched every turn in your charms,
I mark'd when your bosom first heaved with a sigh,
And the down on your cheek with the peaches might vie,
Till I saw you mature for my arms.

"Nay shrink not, and seem in this terrible fright,
For I'm sure you can't think me too old,
Pray look at my features, complexion, and height,
And who knows what a cassock may hold."

How distressed was the damsel, she fainted, she cried,
Look'd pale and then red, nor from laughter forbore,
Had her Grandfather's skeleton stood by her side
And thus wooed her, and offer'd to make her his bride,
Her amazement could ne'er have been more.

25. In 1782, Miss Margaret Cochran was married in Halifax to a young Irish naval officer Rupert George, who afterward became Admiral Sir Rupert George, Bart., and her eldest son, Samuel Hood George, was Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia from 1808 to 1813. Six of Lady George's Cochran half brothers and sisters were as follows: Judge Thomas; Elizabeth, wife of Bishop John Inglis; Isabella, wife of Very Rev. Dean Ramsay of Edinburgh; Lieutenant-General William; Sir James, Chief Justice of Gibraltar; and Rupert John, who died in New York.

Still the lover persisted yet nearer to creep,
 The Lady his suit to repel
 She gave him a push, and his horse took a leap,
 When the Doctor no longer his saddle could keep
 But into a pond that was muddy and deep
 Plump down to the bottom he fell.

Thrice he sunk in the mud, thrice immerg'd to the chin,
 And each time that his head he could raise
 He was heard to cry out, with deplorable din,
 "Oh! Woman, the flesh and the devil within,
 Had I never known thee I had never known sin,
 And thus died in the prime of my days."

Tho' his heart was so heavy, yet his tail was but light,
 So he just made a shift to creep out,
 And then, Oh! Good Lord, what a laughable sight,
 Without hat or wig, and his noddle so white
 Was as black as a coal all about.

Hissing hot he went in, but now rose from this bed
 Cold as ice like an eelskin all dripping and slack,
 Like Aaron's rich ointment the mire from his head
 Down his beard to the skirts of his pettycoat spread,
 And thus he jogged leisurely back.

But how the folks star'd in the Town on his way
 At a figure so strange and ungain,
 Geese cackled, ducks quack'd, asses set up a bray,
 The great dogs all bark'd, the small ran away,
 And the children all blubber'd amain.

From that time to this, since the story was known
 Thro' the whole of the parish, I ween,
 How the Parson such wonderful prowess has shown,
 Neither maid, wife, or widow, my Lady or Joan,
 Would suppose herself safe with the Parson alone,
 When she thinks of the fair Agathene.

The only other New England refugee clergyman besides Dr. Byles who staid long in Halifax was, as we have said, the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks. This clergyman, like his brother-in-law Mr. Bailey, and also Dr. Walter, Mr. Badger, and Dr. Byles, was of Congregational antecedents, and was graduated at Harvard College. From 1762 to 1775, he was rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, from which place in the latter year he was obliged to flee. For some time he was at Pownalborough, Maine, with Mr. Bailey, then he went to England for a little while. Three weeks after Mr. Bailey arrived at Halifax he too appeared there. Very soon, his wife and eight children, who had remained in New England, joined him, and he and they did not leave Halifax finally until at least 1791. During his stay in Halifax he assisted

Dr. Breynton, and when the old rector went to England in 1785 he was given temporary charge of the parish. After 1791, when the Rev. Robert Stanser became rector, Mr. Weeks officiated at Preston, and at Guysborough.²⁶

An event of great importance to organized religion in eastern America, and especially to St. Paul's Church, was the erection of Nova Scotia in 1787 into the first British Colonial Anglican See. Until after the Revolution all efforts made in America to secure the Anglican Episcopate for any of the colonies were unavailing, consequently, the Church of England was never completely organized here. When the Revolution had passed, the determined energy of the few New England clergymen who remained at their posts at length succeeded in wrenching from Britain the gift which America ought to have had generations before, and November fourteenth, 1784, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury was consecrated in Scotland Bishop of the first "Episcopal" diocese on the American continent, the Diocese of Connecticut. On the fourth of February, 1787, Dr. Samuel Provost and Dr. William White were consecrated at Lambeth, the former for the diocese of New York, the latter for the diocese of Pennsylvania, and on the twelfth of August, 1787, the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, who from March, 1777, until November, 1783, had been Rector of Trinity Church, New York, was consecrated also at Lambeth, for the diocese of Nova Scotia. Sailing from England the sixteenth day after his consecration, Bishop Inglis reached Halifax on the fifteenth of October, and a reception at St. Paul's was, of course, promptly accorded him that was entirely in keeping with his own dignity and with the importance of the change in Nova Scotia's ecclesiastical affairs which his coming to the province as bishop meant.²⁷

26. For a much longer notice of Mr. Weeks, see the writer's "Church of England in Nova Scotia," pp. 184-186. He, too, for some reason came under the severe displeasure of Dr. Byles.

27. December 17, 1784, Dr. Byles, in London, writes in a diary letter to his family in Halifax: "Dr. Seabury has not returned from his Quixotic Expedition to Scotland, where he has been dubbed nonjuring Jacobite Bishop of Connecticut. By renouncing his allegiance he has forfeited every emolument from this Country. A Bishop he certainly is, but not in the Communion of the Church of England, and it is much to be questioned whether the Revenue of his See will be sufficient to furnish him with Mitres and Lawn-Sleeves. The Parliament have passed an Act empowering the Bishop of London to ordain ministers for the United States, which is sufficient to convince anybody except Dr. Chandler that there is no Design of sending

More mural tablets adorn the walls of St. Paul's Church than are to be found, we believe, in any cathedral or other parish church on the continent of America, the church has sometimes fondly been called "the Westminster Abbey of Canada." In the twenty vaults beneath the church rest the ashes of a good many of the most distinguished early residents of Halifax, while these graceful tablets perpetuate the memory of their virtues and their useful deeds. On the fronts of the east and west galleries, and in the vestibule hang also rows of blazoned heraldic shields or hatchments, which give additional testimony to the social importance of the church's early worshippers, and lend richness to the atmosphere we find within the walls of the sacred building today.

Quaint records, too, are to be read in the archives of the parish. At a meeting of the vestry on the twenty-fourth of July, 1770, it was voted that "Whereas the Anthems sung by the clerk and others in the gallery during Divine Service have not answered the intention of rasing the Devotion of the Congregation to the Honour and Glory of God, inasmuch as the major part of the congregation do not understand either the words or the musick and cannot join therein; therefore, for the future the clerk have express orders not to sing any such Anthems or leave his usual Seat without direction and leave first obtained from the Reverend Mr. Breynton." Voted further, "that whereas also the organist discovers a light mind in the Several tunes he plays, called voluntaries, to the great offence of the congregation, and tending to disturb rather than promote true Devotion; therefore he be directed for the Future to make a choice of such Tunes as are Solemn and Fitting Divine Worship, in such his voluntaries, and that he also for the future be directed to play the psalm Tunes in a plain Familiar Manner without unnecessary Graces."

An interesting episode of the Revolution in New England was

a Bishop to Nova Scotia. Dr. Benevolence Muckworm might therefore have spared himself the Trouble of directing your wise Governor and Council to petition against it." (*Dr. Benevolence Muckworm* was Dr. Breynton).

In his letters to his sisters, the Misses Mary and Catherine Byles, in Boston, Dr. Byles several times mentions Bishop Inglis's friendliness with him. April 2, 1787, he writes: "I and my family dined by invitation at the Bishop's. That good man and I are upon the most friendly terms. We converse with the utmost familiarity and confidence, and I esteem myself happy in the connexion. He frequently consults me and our sentiments seldom differ."

the introduction into Halifax in 1776 of the small sect known as Sandemanians, which had had an existence in Boston and a few other places in New England for the preceding ten or twelve years. The sect was founded in Scotland in 1725, by the Rev. John Glas, who had previously been an earnest minister of the Established Church of Scotland, but its doctrines were brought to America in 1764 by Glas's son-in-law and the most eminent apostle of his views, Robert Sandeman, who became a member of the sect while pursuing his studies at the University of Edinburgh in 1736, and whose subsequent prominence in relation to it led to the attachment of his name to it rather than that of his father-in-law Glas. The sect was one of the many fugitive or local sects of Christians that have arisen at various times in the old world or the new in defense of a literalistic return to the beliefs and practices of primitive Christianity and in protest against all departures from what has been conceived to be the inspired views and customs of the earliest Christian age. With certain more or less defensible notions of "faith," and with a firm belief that an exact model for church organization and worship for all times was to be found in the New Testament, they adopted a Congregational polity, refused to countenance a paid ministry, received new members with the imposition of hands of the "elders" and with the "holy kiss," read the Scriptures at great length in their public services, practised the washing of feet, and at the Love-feast, which was held between morning and afternoon service on Sundays, gave each other religiously the Apostlic "kiss of peace."

The first Sandemanian church in America was founded at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, May fourth, 1765, at least one man of influence there, Hon. Nathaniel Barrell of the Governor's Council, giving it his strong support. In Boston the first meetings are said to have been held at house of Edward Foster, who at the Revolution settled at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, but precisely when the Boston Society was organized we do not know. By November, 1766, the sect had a chapel of its own, in the North End, and this being burned in April, 1773, its members soon erected another. Eventually Sandemanian churches were established in other New England towns, as Danbury and New Haven,

Connecticut, and Taunton, Massachusetts, but by 1830 the movement throughout New England had spent its strength, although lingering remnants of the sect were to be found as late as the beginning of the present century.

In Boston, always since the downfall of theocratic power a hot-bed of new religious cults, the Sandemanian doctrine fastened itself upon the minds and consciences of a small group of somewhat influential people, and when the Revolution came on these people like others had to choose between sympathy with the popular cause and continued loyalty to the crown. The injunction of St. Peter, "Honour the King," they believed to be just as binding on them as the correlative exhortation "Fear God," so at the evacuation they had no alternative whatever but to flee to Halifax with the rest of the Loyalist band.²⁸ Precisely when or where they organized themselves in Halifax we do not know, but their permanent place of meeting on Sundays was the upper room of a wooden building on the north side of Prince street, between Barrington and Granville streets. In that room, it is said, Samuel Greenwood, one of the chief Boston Sandemanian refugees, suddenly died. By the marriage of two of the daughters of Edward Foster, another prominent refugee, to men of earlier settled Halifax families, the sect here came finally to include other names than those of the founders, but it never increased very largely, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, if not earlier, it was represented only by a few persons, chiefly women. One of the leading members of the sect and an elder was the Loyalist publisher and printer, the father of the Hon. Joseph Howe.²⁹

28. In the Diary of Ezra Stiles, D. D., Vol. 1, p. 502, we find the following: "The Sandimanians opened Shops in Boston on Thanksgiving day last and the Episcop^a at Cambridge refused to observe it; the young Dr. Biles, Episc^o Clergyman, refused to open his Church in Boston, to the great Offence of his little Flock, which are more for Liberty than any Episco. Congregation north of Maryland."

29. From the absence of immediate records of the Sandemanian Church in Boston it is not easy, or indeed we suppose possible, to make a complete list of the adherents of the church there before the Revolution. The following, however, were members: Ebenezer Allen, Walter Barrell (Inspector General of Customs), Alford Butler, Edward Foster, Mrs. — Cotton, Adam De Chezzeau, Samuel Greenwood, Joseph and John Howe, Edward King, David Mitchelson, Mrs. — Rae, Mrs. Richard (Abigail) Stayner, Isaac Winslow, Sr., and Isaac Winslow, Jr. The last survivor of this group is said to have been Alford Butler, who died in Boston March 23, 1828, aged 90. The society was not wholly broken up by the Revolution, in 1817, it is said, it still had six members.

Drake in his "Landmarks of Boston" says that the earliest services of the Sandemanians were held at the *Green Dragon* tavern on Union Street, perhaps the most noted hostelry of Boston in the 18th century. This tavern, Daniel Webster styled the headquarters of the Revolution. Another account says that the first meetings were held at Edward Foster's house. It seems likely that the meetings were first held at Foster's, but that they soon outgrew a private house and went to the *Green Dragon*.

The members of the Boston Sandemanian Church who went to Halifax were, *Ebenezer Allen*, who became in 1784 one of the original grantees of Preston, Nova Scotia, and had a tan-yard about three miles from Dartmouth, on what is now the old Preston road; *Edward Foster*, who settled in Dartmouth, and established iron-works there, and who died in 1786, leaving, Sabine says, thirteen children; *Adam De Chezzeau*, whose family in Howe's fleet consisted of seven persons; *Samuel Greenwood* who took to Halifax a family of five persons; *John Howe*, who went unmarried but who later settled in Halifax permanently with a wife, and had an honourable career in the town; possibly *Edward King*, who went with seven other persons in the fleet; possibly *David Mitchelson*, who went with two other persons; widow *Abigail Stayner*, who took a family of three; and *Isaac Winslow, Sr.*, who went with a family of eleven, as also his nephew *Isaac Winslow, Jr.*, who may have taken a family.

At some later time came to Halifax also, *Theophilus Chamberlain* and *Titus Smith*, graduates of Yale College and previously Congregational ministers, but converts to Sandemanianism. These men were probably before their removal to Nova Scotia, members of the Sandemanian Church at New Haven, Connecticut. For conspicuous notices of them see Mrs. William Lawson's "History of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown," pp. 171-173, 199, 205-207. For them and other Sandemanians, see also valuable notes by "Occasional" in the Halifax *Acadian Recorder* for May 27, 1916. For Ebenezer Allen, also, see Mrs. Lawson's History, pp. 108-111. His family in Howe's fleet comprised eight persons. John Howe's name for some reason does not appear in Barrell's list of refugees.

A letter written by Edward Foster May 1, 1782, is said to show that the Sandemanians in Halifax were not thoroughly organized as a church at that time. By 1784, however, they probably were. John Howe was one of their elders in Halifax, and he is said to have conducted services on Sundays for a long time.

For an interesting account of the "Sandemanians of New England," see an article with this title by Professor Williston Walker in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1901* (Washington, 1902), pp. 131-162. Interesting manuscript letters of Robert Sandeman will be found in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See also "Places of worship of the Sandemanians in Boston," by Henry H. Edes, in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts Transactions*, Vol. 6 (1899, 1900), pp. 109-130. At their love feast each person gave the holy kiss to the person who sat next him on each side. The kiss was regarded as a divinely appointed means "for promoting that mutual love which is essential to true Christianity."

[Since the foregoing notes were put in print the writer has received a few more valuable facts concerning the Halifax Sandemanians. In the *Acadian Recorder* of May 27, 1916, *Occasional* wrote: "There is a tradition of a division in the Prince street congregation on account of consanguinity. The body gradually broke up, until at last only three ladies, of a later generation, were left. In 1884, an elder, named Blakeney, an artist by profession, came to Halifax. He was the guest of Mr. Crowe, of the firm of DeChezzeau and Crowe. On this occasion Elder Blakeney baptized one of the old ladies mentioned above. The remnants of the Sandemanians left in Halifax were among the Lawson and Piers families." In corroboration of this last statement Mr. Harry Piers has lately given the writer important information. John Lawson, born in Boston, who became a notable merchant in Halifax, married for his second wife a daughter of Edward Foster, the Sandemanian Loyalist, and Temple Stanyan Piers, Esq., son of Lewis Piers, Esq. (who came to Halifax from England with Governor Cornwallis), married another daughter, Mercy Foster. Thus members of both these important Halifax families, the Lawsons and Pierses, became members of the Sandemanian church. Temple Stanyan Piers probably continued to be an Anglican Churchman, but he died early and both his young sons, Temple Foster Piers and Lewis Edward Piers, were reared by their mother in the Sandemanian

faith. "My grandfather, Temple Foster Piers," writes Mr. Harry Piers, "was through and through a Sandemanian, yet I think I am right in saying that for some years he did not attend the Sandemanian place of worship, but worshipped at home." This was probably owing, Mr. Piers thinks, to the fact that one of the members, perhaps an elder, had married a near relative, a circumstance which gave offence to some of the stricter members of the church, Mr. Piers among the number. "My aunt, Miss Mary DeChezeau Piers (born 1819, died 6 March, 1906)," says Mr. Piers, "may be considered the last member of the sect here, if we regard regular induction into the church and public regard for its forms of worship as constituting membership. On the other hand, my father, Henry Piers (born 1824, died 24 June, 1910), and my uncle, George Piers (born 1830, died 29 October, 1910) were in belief Sandemanians, and as such were always regarded and always regarded themselves." The "three ladies of a later generation" of whom *Occasional* makes mention, were two, Miss Lawsons and Miss Mary Piers. Miss Piers, *Occasional* says, attended a Sandemanian Conference at Danbury, Connecticut, as late as 1882. Precisely when these three ladies relinquished public worship according to the usages of their sect, *Occasional* probably does not know.]

and sterling, has been unbreakable by any adverse stroke of fortune.

He is, indeed, such a man as only the great civilization of the present could produce; and that which he in sober fact has wrought seems in the splendor of its progress like the weird magic of a fairy tale; for to sum up briefly, without peradventure it may now be said he is the greatest living retail merchant in the world, he is without a peer in his achievements, and the great corporation which owns his headship and his guiding hand boasts the largest number of customers for its wares of any business of any type throughout the entire universe, is in its own field the indisputable peer, and in a nation typical of marvels in industry and enterprise, stands forth an industrial and commercial wonder of the age. To all these may be added that he holds in private ownership the very highest business building standing on the earth; heavily interested and actively associated in managing several of the big metropolitan banking institutions; it would be impossible to here cite all the ramifications of his varied interests or adequately to portray the whole that he has done. Captain of industry; merchant leader; financier and banker; director and conductor of a host of things and men; the responsibilities of millions have not made him a machine, but his sympathy with the needy and unfortunate has found utterance in generous assistance, and "his left hand has helped many a man and many a cause of which his right hand makes no record."

And these achievements, this brief history in outline, of this twentieth century wizard of the modern forces, comprises not the work of generations, but Frank W. Woolworth, its author, living, may in his own person view the giant creatures of his brain, his own work, his own creation, the greatest, the most lasting, the most monumental, testimonial he could receive.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. VIII

Here loyal Bourbons carved the fleur-de-lys
And flung to Heaven the white flag of their Kings;
Here Britain's war-ships came with flapping wings—
What strifes then rent the peace of Acadie!

Acadian Ballads.

THE predecessor of Halifax as the capital of Nova Scotia was the little town known as Annapolis Royal. At the head of Annapolis Basin, a beautiful land-locked bay into which as into other bays on the Nova Scotia coast the Bay of Fundy drives daily its fierce-flowing tides, stands this peaceful town. Elms and maples like those of New England and the rest of Nova Scotia line its well-kept streets. Houses that bespeak refinement and comfort, with gardens about them in summer rich with varied bloom, are on every hand. Through the great dykes near the town flows the Annapolis river, while round the wooden piers of a few old wharves the Fundy tides dash twice a day, sometimes bearing on their crests peaceful merchant craft and passenger steamships of moderate size. Above the Basin, on a lifted plateau, near where the "upper town" in the eighteenth century used to stand, is an extensive earthwork lined within with a wall of solid masonry some twelve feet thick and surrounded by a dry moat. Inside the great inclosure which once formed this new-world fort stand the latest barracks ever built here, which are still in a good state of repair. The prosperous town and the ruined fort of Annapolis Royal attract many visitors in summer, but few who walk the streets where the houses stand, or press their feet on the grassy turf of the smooth fields near the fort, have much knowledge of

the long, strange, thrilling story that Annapolis Royal has to tell when she summons from the realm of shadow the many now almost forgotten facts of her historic past.

Save the Spanish settled St. Augustine in Florida, which was founded in 1565, no town on the American continent had its first beginning as early as Annapolis Royal, and save St. Augustine and the English settled Jamestown in Virginia, no town has had so long a continuous existence as a peopled place.¹ Nor in the varied history of French exploration and military conquest in America, does any town except Quebec figure so romantically. "Port Royal," the French explorers called the settlement where in 1604 they first attempted to found the capital of their great forest domain. When at last, however, after more than a century of intermittent strife for ownership of the province of Acadia, the country yielded to the superior skill of British diplomacy and strength of British arms, the English captors of the fort and so conquerors of the province gave the place in honour of the reigning British sovereign, her Majesty Queen Anne, the name it now bears.

For a few years over two centuries now, Nova Scotia, that part of the French province of Acadia that was most settled and in every way best known, has had a comparatively peaceful history, though for thirty-nine years after its final conquest by England in 1710, until Halifax was founded in 1749, there were occasions when at Annapolis Royal great apprehension was felt for the security of British rule over the province, and two or three times when actual attacks on the fort were experienced. But there was an earlier hundred years when hostilities were so many in Acadia, and changes of ownership came so fast that the historian is almost bewildered as he tries to follow closely the

1. St. Augustine was first settled in 1565, and its history has been continuous to the present time. Jamestown, the first settlement made by the English on the continent, dates from May 13, 1607, and its history as a settlement since that time has had no interruption. Annapolis Royal was first visited and temporarily settled in 1604; its history, however, has been continuous only since 1610. For the complete history of Annapolis Royal, the town and fort, two works should be consulted, these are "A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie," by Beamish Murdoch, Q. C., in three volumes, 1865-1867; and an able "History of the County of Annapolis, including Old Port Royal and Acadia, etc.," by William Arthur Calnek and Judge Alfred William Savary, D. C. L., 1897, (with a later supplement by Judge Savary, 1913). Murdoch's history is documentary, but it contains a great deal of graceful writing.

march of events. For these events in Acadia, Port Royal always furnishes the chief setting, small as the place was, rude and often dilapidated as its fortifications were, it symbolized and centred successively the authority of both the great Empires that held nominal sway over Acadia as a transatlantic colonial possession. Within its confines during that first century of its history dwelt renowned explorers like Champlain, DeMonts, and Poutrincourt, some of these nobles of the then gayest court in Europe; cassocked priests of the historic orders of Jesuits and Recollets; eminent Huguenot protesters against the arrogant domination of Rome; and one year the poet Lescarbot, with his vivacious spirit and varied gifts of mind;—while across the seas, amidst the splendor of palaces, on their sometimes unworthy heads resting the glittering circles that denote power, played anxiously for the control of its destinies great sovereigns like the Kings of Navarre, the Stuarts, or Queen Anne. In the hands of such kings and queens indeed the fortunes of Acadia nominally rested, but the men who actually played the great game of empire in which it held a conspicuous place on the board were shrewd, skilful statesmen, who often controlled kings and queens, men like the French Richilieu and Mazarin, of the English Clarendon and Pitt.

In the first nearly forty years of its history after the final conquest of Acadia by England, Annapolis Royal was, as we have said, the capital of Nova Scotia, the name that ever since the conquest the Acadian peninsula has borne, and during those forty years activities went on at Annapolis that since the town was the immediate and only predecessor of Halifax as the Nova Scotian capital it is necessary in sketching the history of the latter town briefly to tell. As the oldest settlement by far, however, in eastern America, with a history full of stirring interest, we may be excused if we run briefly over the whole series of striking events which give Annapolis Royal distinction, from the earliest period of its romantic settlement by French explorers, to the year 1749, when its distinction as a new world capital forever ceased.

What European first set foot on the soil of Acadia we shall never know. Whether the Cabots, father and son, even caught

sight of the peninsula in their successive voyages in 1497 and 1498, or whether Gasparde Cortereal, the resolute Portuguese mariner, who entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1500, in relating the story of his new-world discovery actually described Acadia or not we cannot tell. We do know that the Basque fishermen, in remembrance of a cape on the French coast near Bayonne, sometime in 1504 named the island of Cape Breton. We know also with tolerable certainty that the Italian Verazano, in 1554 skirted seven hundred leagues of the American coast, from North Carolina to Newfoundland, and gave the country he looked on as he sailed not an Italian name but the name "New France." We are told, also, that an English sea-captain, Master Thomas Thorne of Bristol, in 1527 entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and went as far south as Cape Breton, and "Arambec," the earliest name given the peninsula of Nova Scotia. And we are certain that Jacques Cartier in 1534 visited and was delighted with the northern coast of New Brunswick, and that at Cape Gaspe he formally took possession of the country, erecting there a cross thirty feet high, hanging on it the shield of France, and with pious fraud assuring the Algonquin natives that he had put the monument there only as a landmark for explorers. The sad fate of the forty convicts brought to Sable Island by the Marquis de la Roche in 1598 is also a matter of history. It is said that the Marquis visited the mainland of Nova Scotia with the purpose of selecting there a place to locate his convict colony, before he placed the wretched men who composed it on the barren sands of Sable Isle. Through the rough tides of the Bay of Fundy, however, we are not sure that in the whole sixteenth century a single European vessel ever rode.²

Port Royal or Annapolis Royal's history begins with the landing there in the spring of 1604 of Sieur de Monts, who had previously accompanied Chauvin and Pontgravé to the river St. Lawrence, had become possessed with the spirit of new world conquest, which at the beginning of the 17th century took so wide a hold on the popular imagination in France, and had determined

2. In the 16th century, however, European fishermen diligently prosecuted their calling along the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia and on the banks of Newfoundland.

moreover to seek riches in the fur trade on these western shores. There is a French tradition that a little settlement was made in Cape Breton as early as 1541, but except for this, Port Royal was the first settlement ever attempted in any part of the great province of Acadia, of which the peninsula of Nova Scotia was always the most conspicuous part.³

In days when there are few worlds left to conquer, and when the spirit of adventure which characterized the sixteenth century explorers is consequently little found, we can hardly imagine the eagerness with which French explorers at the beginning of the seventeenth century sought the American continent, nor the magnificence of the dreams that came to them of vast wealth and power to be gained in these wooded wilds. At the beginning of 1604, the mantle of De Chastes, who in his old age had ardently longed to plant the cross and the *fleur-de-lis* in the forests of New France, but who had died in returning from his first unsuccessful voyage thither, fell on a Calvinist nobleman, Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, gentleman in ordinary of the king's bedchamber, and governor of Pons. Undaunted by the tragic fate of the Marquis de la Roche, who after the melancholy failure of his plans for a convict colony and of all his own political hopes died miserably in 1599, and undiscouraged by the ill success of the later ventures of De Chastes and young Champlain, this nobleman eagerly petitioned the king for leave to colonize *La Cadie* or *Accadie*, a region he described as extending from the fiftieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, or from Philadelphia to Montreal.⁴ In the face of some opposition

3. It cannot be said that the boundaries of Acadia as a province of France were ever clearly defined. In the treaty of Utrecht, of 1713, the province is considered as extending from the St. Lawrence river on the north to the Atlantic on the south, and from the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Strait of Canso on the east, to a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Penobscot on the west, the country thus embracing the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, a portion of Lower Canada or Quebec, and part of the State of Maine, but not the island of Cape Breton. At a much later date, however, the French declared that the province they had ceded by this treaty comprised only about a twentieth part of this great territory, not even the whole of the peninsula of Nova Scotia being included in it. It was thus that until 1755 they persisted in maintaining a fort, Beauséjour, on the isthmus that connects Nova Scotia with New Brunswick. Dispute over the boundaries of Acadia, says Parkman, was "a proximate cause of the war of 1755."

4. See Parkman's "Pioneers of France," pp. 240-243. Parkman says that the name *La Cadie* or *Accadie* is not found in any public document. The word is said to be derived from the Indian word *aquoadiauke* or *aquodie*, supposed to be the fish pollock.

De Monts succeeded with the King and soon obtained a commission as Lieutenant-General of the Country of Cadie, to people, cultivate, and cause to be inhabited the said lands the most speedily,—to search for mines of gold, silver, etc., to build forts and towns and grant lands, to convert the savages to Christianity, and to do generally whatsoever might make for the conquest, peopling, inhabiting, and preservation of the said Acadian land. De Chastes had forestalled the jealousy of the merchants of France of his monopoly by forming a trading company for his enterprise, and this company De Monts now considerably enlarged, at once taking steps to secure colonists for his domain.

By the early spring of 1604 the colony was ready, an incongruous mixture of gentlemen of condition and character and men of low origin and bad reputation, some Protestants, some Roman Catholics, among the Protestants at least being one Huguenot clergyman, and among the Catholics one or more priests. Conspicuous in the company were the ardent young Champlain, and Baron Poutrincourt, a fellow nobleman of De Monts, who shared with the lieutenant-general himself the leadership of the expedition. From Dieppe sailed two vessels of the colonizing fleet and from Havre de Grace two, one of the four destined for Tadoussac, a fur-trading post in Canada, one, also in the interest of the fur trade, for Canso, on the northeastern shore of the Nova Scotian peninsula, and to cruise through the narrow seas that lie between the islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island and the Nova Scotian peninsula, two, in immediate charge of De Monts himself, to come to some other part of the peninsula.

In the pages of Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World" will be found in detail the story, more interesting than any romance, of the month's voyage of the French nobleman and his colony across the ocean, of their exploration of the coasts and bays of the southern portion of Nova Scotia, of their discovery of the Basin of Annapolis, enclosed with "sunny hills, wrapped in woodland verdure, and alive with waterfalls," of their removal from here before long to Passamaquoddy Bay, and of their settlement for one sad winter on the little rock-fenced island known as St. Croix.

The first spot in Nova Scotia at which De Monts' vessels came to anchor was La Héve, in what is now Lunenburg County, there they probably disembarked but they soon sailed on to Port Royal. Near the head of the beautiful Annapolis Basin they decided to remain, and before long they threw up there some primitive houses. A few weeks later, however, they determined on further exploration, and a comparatively short sail found them in Passamaquoddy Bay. In this water was the little wooded island of St. Croix, and here they unwisely made up their minds to stay. Going on shore they at once began again to build houses, and soon they had erected "a spacious house" for De Monts and one nearly opposite for Champlain and Sieur D'Orville. In close proximity to these more pretentious dwellings rose also smaller houses for the colonists at large, barracks for a company of Swiss soldiers who had come with the expedition, necessary workshops of various kinds, and withal a magazine and a rustic church. In a few weeks winter began and with it came terrible hardships and fatal disease. When spring at last opened all that was left of the colony, a pitiful remnant, with De Monts and Champlain returned to Port Royal, and here for two years again they dwelt. In 1707, came the failure of the French Trading Company, which had nourished the enterprise, and with this the rescinding of De Monts' monopoly, and the return of the whole body of colonists to France.

Three years later, in 1610, Pontrinecourt, who during the first brief stay of De Monts and his company at Port Royal, had been so delighted with the place that he had begged a grant there for himself,⁵ having managed to secure enough influence in France to bring out a new colony, returned to Port Royal and started the settlement afresh. This time the colony was permanent. Again the cleared fields near the head of the Basin began to yield grain crops, and the gardens that three years before had been diligently cultivated, to produce vegetables and fruit. But the place saw many vicissitudes. In the whirligig

5. The contemporary French historian Charlevoix says of Port Royal: "The climate there is temperate, the winter less rough than in many other places on the coast, the game abundant, the country charming, vast meadows environed by large forests, and everywhere fertile lands." It was Poutrincourt who named the place Port Royal.

of seventeenth century European diplomacy the ownership of Acadia repeatedly changed, and it was not until a century from the time of Pontreincourt's coming had passed that this new world province with its capital came finally under British rule.⁶ In 1621 England had nominal possession of the country and James the First granted it to Sir William Alexander, a Clackmannanshire baronet, whom he afterwards created Earl of Stirling.⁷ From Alexander the country passed to Sir David Kirk, one of the early merchant adventurers of Canada. By the treaty of St. Germain, however, Acadia was restored to France, and Isaac de Razilly was appointed its lieutenant-governor. At De Razilly's death, D'Aulnay Charnisay was made governor, and then began the long historic strife between him and Charles de la Tour, in the climax of which figures so nobly as a defender of her husband's fort in what is now New Brunswick the brave Madame de la Tour.

After the death of Charnisay, Major Robert Sedgwick, an officer of Cromwell's army, the founder of the well known New England Sedgwick family, was ordered by the Protector, who believed that Acadia belonged to England by right of discovery, to seize Port Royal and again take possession of Nova Scotia for England. The capture being effected, Acadia was distributed by grant among Sir Charles St. Stephen, Charles de la Tour, Thomas Temple, and William Crowne. In 1667 by the treaty of Breda the province was again ceded to France, but in 1690 England once more acquired it. Seven years later, however, by the Peace of Ryswick it was restored to its first owners.

During these many changes of ownership the French population of Nova Scotia slowly grew. The settlers who came with Poutrincourt were added to in 1632 by Razilly's "three hundred *hommes d'elite*," others came with Charnisay between 1639 and 1649, still others with Charles de la Tour in 1651, and a few

6. The first attack on Port Royal by an English force was in the latter part of 1613. At that time Captain Samuel Argall, afterwards deputy-governor of Virginia, came from Virginia under orders from Sir Thomas Dale, governor of that colony, with a ship mounting fourteen guns, to reduce the French settlements of Mt. Desert, St. Croix, and Port Royal. His attack on Port Royal resulted in the destruction of the fort, and probably the capture of the little force which defended it, and the taking of the men as prisoners to France. The settlement, however, went on. See for Argall's history the biographical encyclopedias.

7. It is in Alexander's grant that the name "Nova Scotia" first appears.

independent groups at later times. Besides the humbler folk, who constituted the bulk of the population, many of these being peasants from Saintonge and Poiteau, were a few aristocratic families like the D'Entremonts and Belleisles, who as well as the La Tours held extensive baronies or fiefs not far from Annapolis from the French king, and whose representatives when the province was finally ceded to Britain went back permanently to France.⁸ From Annapolis inward to the rich Minas Basin country this peasant population extended, growing by natural increase and by slight immigration, until by the time of the final cession of the country to England that part of it that lived in and near Port Royal alone numbered something like seven hundred souls.

In all pioneer colonization enterprises there is untold romance if we could know the secret springs of action and inner experiences of the people who bring these enterprises to successful issue. The outward facts of the colonization of new countries are often unrelieved, however, by anything poetic or exhilarating to the fancy. But this is not true of the colonizing of Port Royal,—before the failure of the French Trading Company and the rescinding of De Monts' monopoly, the sprightly Frenchmen who conducted the affairs of the settlement brought grace and good fellowship into the colony's simple life. Neither Parkman nor any other historian of Acadia, English or French, has failed to describe for us with glowing imagination the interchange of polished courtesies and the successful attempts at simple elegance which characterized the forest life of these French pioneers. The second winter the colonists spent at Port Royal Champlain founded there the jovial *Ordre de Bon Temps*, numbering fifteen, which comprised the whole group of nobles

8. About 1650 Charles de la Tour brought with him from France a gentleman of Normandy, who claimed relationship with the Bourbons, and whom Louis Fourteenth created *Sieur d'Entremont*. He had been one of La Tour's early friends and when the adventurers reached Port Royal La Tour made him his major and gave him the seignory of Poubomcoup or Pubnico, in Yarmouth, and the title of Baron. D'entremont's eldest son, Jacques, married Anne, daughter of La Tour and previously wife of Charnisay, and the daughter of Jacques and Anne, Marie D'Entremont, in 1705 became the wife, much against his superior officer's wishes, of *Sieur Duvivier*, a young officer of the fort. At the time of the expulsion of the Acadians Jacques D'Entremont and his family were taken to Boston, but afterward some of the sons returned to Nova Scotia. From these are descended the D'Entremonts now in Nova Scotia.

and gentlemen adventurers who were associated in the settlement of the place. The principal entertainment of this brotherhood was a weekly *bon vivant* dinner, conducted with much of the ceremony the group were accustomed to in the chateaus of France. As steward for the day of the dinner each man of the fifteen took his turn, and when the hour for dining arrived with the jewelled collar of the order adorning his neck and with a napkin on his shoulder and the staff of his office and an important dish in his hand would lead the group in procession into the room where the meal was served. When the meal was done this functionary would formally resign his office, pledging his next successor gracefully in a cup of wine.⁹ As food the Order had moose and caribou steaks, grouse, wild ducks, sturgeon, and salmon, for the woods were plentiful in game and the river and the Basin abounded with fish. A constant guest at these dinners was the Micmac chief Membertou, whose speedy conversion to Christianity we may, not uncharitably, suppose was influenced in some degree by the hospitality the Order extended to him. First fruit of the zeal of Roman Catholic missionaries in the American wilds was this wrinkled centenarian Chief Membertou, who with a group of his people was baptized into Christianity at Annapolis on the 24th of June in the year 1610.¹⁰

9. A good and joyous company of gentlemen," says Ferland, "was united about Poutrincourt, among whom were to be remarked his son the young Biencourt, Champlain, Lescarbot, Louis Hébert, and probably Claude de la Tour as well as his young son, Charles Amadour de la Tour."

10. The permanent founding of Port Royal by Poutrincourt excited much interest among women of the French nobility zealous for the church, and some of these, like the Marquise de Guercheville, wife of the first esquire of the King, the Marchioness de Vermeuil, Madame de Sourdis, and Marie de Medicis herself, gave personal encouragement and pecuniary aid to the religious work of converting the Acadian natives. The first priest to come to Port Royal was Josue Flèche. This Jesuit father reached there with Poutrincourt in 1610, and it was he who baptized the chief, Membertou, and a group of his people, somewhere near the shore of the Basin, June 24, 1610. The year after two more Jesuits, Père Pierre Biard, a native of Grenoble and Père Evemond or Raimond Masse were sent out chiefly under the auspices and through the aid of Madame de Guercheville. These men, who by their devout and humble conduct gained the esteem of the Protestant sailors of the ship which brought them out, on landing at once set themselves to the task of learning the Micmac language. In a short time they were joined by two others, Père Guilbert du Thet and Père Quentin, the former of whom died during Argall's attack on Port Royal in 1613. After Argall's destruction of the settlement it is probable the other three priests returned to France. In 1619 the Jesuits' places in Acadia were taken by three Recollet priests, sent by one or more merchant companies who had obtained the right to carry on the fishery and buy furs in this part of the new world. These priests, who belonged to the province of Aquitaine, laboured with more

Another incident of historic importance in connexion with the residence of these vivacious Frenchmen at Port Royal at this early time should here be recalled. In this primitive settlement Marc Lescarbot wrote some at least of the poems that he published at Paris in a volume entitled *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*, in 1609. One of these poems was a masque that bore the title *Theatre de Neptune*, which was not only written at Port Royal but was played there under the author's management shortly after it was written. The occasion of the writing and playing of it Lescarbot himself describes for us in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*. In the autumn of 1606, Poutrincourt, the head of the little company at Port Royal went off on a cruise along the New England coast. The season grew late and the voyager had not returned. At last, however, his ship was sighted in the Basin, and on the 14th of November he dropped anchor at the shore. "Just as we were looking for his return (with great longing, for had ill befallen him we should have been in danger of confusion)," says Lescarbot, "I bethought myself of setting forth some piece of merriment, which we did. And as it was written hurriedly in French rhymes I have put it in *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*," under the title of *Théâtre de Neptune*, to which the reader is referred." The masque was "*représentée sur les flots du Port Royal le quatorzième de Novembre mille six cens six, au retour du Sieur de Poutrincourt du pais des Armouchiquois.*" Thus we have given at Port Royal in 1606 the first play ever performed by Europeans on the whole North American continent. The characters in the masque were

or less success in Acadia until 1627, when they were driven from the province by the English. In 1633, however, on the invitation of de Razilly, who had been sent out to take possession of Port Royal on behalf of the company of New France, they resumed their mission, and before many years they converted all the Micmacs permanently to their faith. In 1753, the French had six churches in the Peninsula of Nova Scotia, one at Annapolis Royal, with Monsieur des Enclaves as priest, one at Cobequid, two at Pisiquid, one at Minas, and one at Riviere aux Canard.

Chief Membertou is a notable figure in the earliest days of Port Royal's history. He was very old when the explorers first found him, his memory going back to the time of Cartier's visit in 1534. In his day he had been a famous autmoir or medicine man, and had been believed by his people to have magical powers. Like others of his tribe he was a great story-teller and he used to sit cross-legged on the ground telling his new friends marvellous tales of the prowess of his people or of his own exploits in past times. The bowl of the pipe he smoked as he sat telling his stories was made either of a lobster's claw or of red or green stone, and the tube was decorated with porcupine quills.

Neptune, six Tritons, four Indians, and a jovial attendant. To celebrate the leader's return the fort also was decorated with laurel.¹¹

A hundred and thirty-eight years later, when Port Royal as Annapolis Royal was the capital of the English owned province of Nova Scotia, another play was acted here, "for the entertainment of the officers and ladies" of the place. Of the subject and treatment and of the performance of the play we know nothing, but in the prologue, "compos'd and spoke on that occasion" occurred the following lines:

"Whilst to relieve a generous Queen's distress,
Whom proud, ambitious Potentates oppress,
Our King pursues the most effectual Ways,
Soothes some to Peace, and then the Storm allays;
And against others, who're more loath to yield,
He leads his *Britons* to the *German Field*:
Where to his Cost th' insulting Foe has found
What 'tis with Britons to dispute the Ground:
We still enjoying Peace in this cold Clime,
With innocent Diversions pass our Time."¹²

In 1689, Sir William Phips, then in England, was commissioned to lead on his return to Massachusetts a fresh expedition against Port Royal. Accordingly on the 9th of May, 1690, a squadron consisting of a brigate of forty guns, two sloops, one of sixteen guns, the other of eight, and four ketches, left Boston, the land force these ships carried numbering some seven hundred men. The governor of Acadia, Monsieur de Menneval, had

11. This striking event is described by the late Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay in the *Nation* of February 11, 1909. The first American play in what is now English-speaking America was written and acted, says Mr. Gay, at Annapolis in 1606, "two years before Quebec was founded, and while Shakespeare was yet alive." The composition of the masque and the occasion of acting it are described in Book 4, chapter 16 of Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*. The poem is the third piece in *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*. It consists of two hundred and forty-two rhymed lines. Lescarbot was very versatile. From making poetry he would turn to raising vegetables and digging the moat round the fort, from furnishing entertainment for the soldiers on week days to leading their prayers on Sundays. He seems to have acted as commissary for the community, directing the men's hunting and fishing, and regulating the supplies of food when it was obtained, and of drink.

12. A notice of this play occurs in the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (monthly) for April, 1744. "A. B." asks the editor of the magazine kindly to insert the following: "We hear from Annapolis Royal that a play was acted the last winter for the entertainment of the Officers and Ladies at that Place," then giving as part of the prologue of the play the lines printed above.

at his capital a force of only eighty-six soldiers, and almost immediately the fort surrendered. At once Phips assembled such of the inhabitants of Port Royal and the country about as he could get together and made them take an oath of fidelity to William and Mary, who were then on the English throne. De Menneval the governor, thirty-nine French soldiers, and two priests he carried with him to Boston. The next year, however, the French recaptured the place and again took formal possession of all Acadia in the name of their king.

The final conquest of Acadia by England was effected in 1710. In the early summer of 1707, a fresh attack was made on Port Royal by New England troops, but this the governor, Subercase, successfully repulsed. The engagement between the besiegers and the garrison force was a brisk one, and when it was over, eighty or ninety New England soldiers lay dead on the ground outside the fort. That the garrison was able so successfully to withstand the attack was due to the arrival twelve hours before the New England vessels anchored in the Basin of sixty Canadians, who helped their fellow countrymen in the fort's defence. In this engagement the Baron St. Castin, who was present, gave his fellow countrymen valuable aid. A little later in the summer, Governor Dudley at Boston sent fresh troops against Port Royal, but these in turn were likewise forced to withdraw. In 1708, however, Samuel Vetch went from Massachusetts to England to solicit aid for the conquest of both Canada and Acadia, and his efforts to interest the home government met with success. In the spring of 1709, having been made a colonel, he sailed for America with her Majesty's commands to the several New England governors to furnish men for the undertaking. In this year the ambitious, impetuous Colonel Francis Nicholson, who first and last was governor of more colonies than any other person known to history, desiring as strongly as Vetch to see the power of France overthrown in America, and no doubt eager for military distinction, also went to England with passionate desire to promote this enterprise. In May, 1710, he returned to Boston armed with the Queen's commission and at once began the work of raising troops. By September a fleet was ready, and on the 18th of that month there sailed from Nantasket, with Nicholson

as general and Vetch as adjutant-general, a group of English warships, a bomb ship, the Massachusetts province galley, some transports, hospital and store ships, and other vessels, about thirty-six sail in all, besides a number of open sloops for carrying lumber and necessary utensils for operating the cannon. Of land forces on the transports went five regiments of foot commanded severally by colonels Robert Reading, Sir Charles Hobby, William Tailer, William Whiting, and Shadrach Walton, the grenadiers of Walton's regiment being commanded by Captain Paul Mascarene, who after the capture was effected remained at Annapolis and finally became there lieutenant governor of the province and lieutenant governor of the fort and town. On the 24th of September the fleet reached the entrance to Annapolis Basin, and on the 25th landed near the fort. Immediately the French under Monsieur Subercase, who commanded in the fort, fired on the invaders, who quickly answered with guns and shells. By night and day the fight actively continued, until at length on the 29th the garrison asked for a truce. After two days of diplomatic correspondence between the commanders terms of capitulation were adopted and on the 2nd of October were formally signed. Three days later Vetch received the keys of the fort, and on the 16th, Subercase with his small force of a hundred and fifty men, "all in a miserable condition, in rags and tatters," passed out of the gates. With drums beating and flags flying the troops of her Britannic Majesty then briskly marched in.¹³

The capture thus effected, Major Livingston and Baron St. Castin were at once sent to the governor of Canada, the Marquis de Vandreuil, to inform him of the fact, and on the 28th of Oc-

13. It is said that 480 persons, including the garrison, soon after this sailed to Rochelle, in France. "Thus for the sixth time," says the Calnek-Savary history of Annapolis, "Port Royal, a hundred and five years after its foundation, became by conquest a possession of the English crown, but not as ever before to pass from its rule either by treaty or conquest."

The most detailed account of the capture in 1710 is to be found in the "Year Book of the Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Publication No. 3, Boston, 1897," pp. 81-126. The article describing it is entitled: "The Expeditions against Port Royal in 1710 and Quebec in 1711," and covers pp. 81-143. Whatever muster rolls of this expedition are preserved in the Mass. Archives are here reproduced. See also "Indian Wars of New England," by Herbert Milton Sylvester, Vol. 3, pp. 127-131; and "Narrative and Critical History of America."

tober, having garrisoned the fort with two hundred marines and two hundred and fifty New England militiamen, Nicholson returned to Boston leaving Vetch in command. With the general went also the men-of-war and the transports which he had brought for the attack. Elated with his victory Nicholson next went to England to beg the crown to take measures for the conquest of Canada. On the 11th of April, 1713, a treaty of peace, to which France, England, Holland, Portugal, Russia, and Savoy were parties, was signed at Utrecht, and on the 22nd of May was formally signed at Paris. By the twelfth article of this treaty France renounced forever all claim to Nova Scotia or Acadia, while it was agreed that Cape Breton and the islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence should still remain French possessions. Soon after, the king, Louis Fourteenth, made a formal act of cession of Nova Scotia to England, conformable to the treaty.

The first English governor of Nova Scotia, Colonel Vetch, received his commission as "Adjutant General of all her Majesty's of Great Britain's forces, General and Commander-in-Chief of all her troops in these parts, and governor of the Fort of Annapolis Royal and country of L'Accady and Nova Scotia," October 22, 1710. Two years later, however, October 20, 1712, General Nicholson, man of many governorships, received a similar commission, but on the 20th of January, 1715, Vetch was again commissioned governor. After this we have at Annapolis Royal during the period that the town remained the capital of Nova Scotia a rather bewildering number of governors and lieutenant-governors, some of these having control of the province at large, some of the fort and town, the authority of the two sets occasionally clashing, until at last all power in Nova Scotia, civil and military was centered in one governor-in-chief, and one lieutenant-governor, who, in the absence of the chief from the province for many years until Halifax was founded, held virtually supreme general and local control. To give lists of these governors and lieutenant-governors, and to describe briefly the men, must occupy a few pages here before we pass on to other facts.

GOVERNORS-IN-CHIEF OF THE PROVINCE OF NOVA

SCOTIA, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS, 1710-1749.

I. COLONEL SAMUEL VETCH. He was commissioned October 22, 1710.

II. GENERAL FRANCIS NICHOLSON. His commission bears date October 20, 1712.

III. COLONEL SAMUEL VETCH. He was commissioned again January 20, 1715.

IV. COLONEL RICHARD PHILIPPS. Date of commission August 17, 1717. He seems to have received a second commission March 12, 1725, and a third June 20, 1727.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA WITH THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS, 1710-1749.

I. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL LAWRENCE ARMSTRONG. Commissioned February 8, 1725.

II. MAJOR JEAN PAUL MASCARENE. Commissioned May 27, 1740.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF THE TOWN AND GARRISON OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS, 1710-1749.

I. SIR CHARLES HOBBY. He received instructions to act, from Colonel Vetch, July 5, 1711. See the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1911, vol. 1.¹⁴

II. MAJOR OR COLONEL THOMAS CAULFIELD. He was probably appointed in 1713, for in that year he appears in the "Governor's Letter-Book." See *Nova Scotia Archives*, vol. 2, p. 1. Caulfield's last letter in the Letter-Book bears date December 24, 1716.

III. CAPTAIN JOHN DOUCETT. Commissioned May 15, 1717. He arrived at Annapolis Royal October 28, 1717. He died November 19, 1726. See *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, vol. 1, p. 172.

IV. CAPTAIN LAWRENCE ARMSTRONG. He was appointed by Royal Commission September 21, 1726.

14. This publication is compiled by Charles M. Andrews of Yale University. See also Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," Vol. 2, p. 140; and Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel, Boston*, Vol. 1, p. 175.

V. MAJOR ALEXANDER COSBY. He was appointed by Royal Commission March 4, 1727. See *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1911, vol. 1. He took oath October 20, 1727, and held office probably until his death in 1742, when Major Mascarene succeeded. See *Nova Scotia Archives*, vol. 3, pp. 165, 166. Major Cosby's wife was Anne Winniett. Cosby died at Annapolis Royal December 26 or 27, 1742.

VI. MAJOR JEAN PAUL MASCARENE. Major Mascarene succeeded to the lieutenant-governorship of the town and fort on the death of Cosby in 1742, but he apparently did not receive a formal commission for the office until 1744. He was still lieutenant-governor of the town and fort, as he was of the province at large, when Cornwallis came in 1749.

Precisely who these various officials were it will be interesting for us to know. The three Governors-in-Chief of the province, as we have seen, were Vetch, Nicholson, and Philipps, the two Lieutenant-Governors of the province were Armstrong and Mascarene. The five Lieutenant-Governors of the town and Fort of Annapolis Royal were Hobby, Caulfeild, Doucett, Cosby, and Mascarene. That two sets of lieutenant-governors should exist in Nova Scotia at the same time was not originally contemplated by the government. This we learn from a letter written by Governor Philipps to the home government probably in 1741. Elsewhere, the reason for Colonel Armstrong's appointment as first lieutenant-governor of the province is explained in the following way. When Armstrong in 1725 became lieutenant-colonel of the 40th regiment he found himself subject to the control of an officer of lower rank in his own regiment, for Captain John Doucett of this regiment was then lieutenant-governor of the town and fort. This state of things seemed to him anomalous and was unsatisfactory and he consequently applied to be made lieutenant-governor of the province. His request was granted but neither he nor his successor Lieutenant-Colonel Mascarene received any salary for this office. After Armstrong's death, Colonel Philipps, in the letter of his to which we have referred, expressed his hope that the office would be discontinued, but Mr. Mascarene's appeal for the place succeeded, and he held the lieutenant-governorship until 1749.

Colonel Samuel Vetch, the first governor-in-chief of the province, was a Scotsman, "the son of a godly minister and a glorifier of God in the Grass Market" of Edinburgh. In 1698 he was one of the seven councillors who constituted the local government of the colony of Caledonia, a Scotch settlement established temporarily at Darien, a little south of the Isthmus of Panama. In 1699 he came to New York, where, or at Albany, on the 20th of December, 1700, he married Margaret Livingston, daughter of Robert Livingston, Esq., of Albany. Being adjutant-general under Nicholson of the expedition against Port Royal in 1710, after the capture of the fort he formally received the keys, and on the 22nd of October, 1710, received the commission of "Adjutant-general of all her Majesty's of Great Britain's forces, General and Commander-in-Chief of all her troops in these parts, and governor of the fort of Annapolis Royal and country of L'Accady and Nova Scotia." This important position he held until the 20th of October, 1712, when General Francis Nicholson received a similar commission and became his successor.¹⁵

Of Nicholson's relation to the government at Annapolis Royal, as of his remarkable career in general, the facts are too well known to make it necessary for us to dwell on them here at length. Nicholson was successively lieutenant-governor of New England in 1688, New York in 1689, Virginia in 1690, and Maryland from 1692 to 1698. In the latter year he was appointed governor-in-chief of Virginia, but in 1710 he was appointed to command the expedition against Port Royal. His commission as General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and Governor of Nova Scotia and the town and garrison of Annapolis Royal is dated at Windsor Castle, as we have said, the 20th of October, 1712. In less than three years he was supplanted in his governorship of Nova Scotia and of Annapolis Royal by Vetch, who received a second commission as governor of "the country and town" January 20, 1715. During Nicholson's term of office it is said that this second governor

15. For Samuel Vetch, see the "Dictionary of National Biography," where his father also receives notice. See, also, "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 4, from p. 11 and from p. 64.

of the province and the fort made but one short visit to Nova Scotia, his lieutenant from at least 1713, being Major Thomas Caulfeild, a cadet, it is probable, of the English house of Charlemont.¹⁶

On the 17th of August, 1717, Colonel Richard Philipps was commissioned governor of Nova Scotia and of Placentia in Newfoundland, and captain-general of the forces in both colonies. Philipps was born somewhere in England in 1661, became lieutenant in Lord Morpeth's regiment of foot February 23, 1678, and served under William III. in the war against his father-in-law James. In October, 1719, he reached Boston on his way to Annapolis Royal, but he did not hurry to his post, giving as his reason that navigation of the Bay of Fundy was "impracticable." On the 6th of April, 1720, however, he left for Nova Scotia, and at Annapolis on the 25th of the same month he organized the council. In 1721, some time after the 17th of May, he left the province again, and we do not find him there until November 20, 1729. On the last date he landed in the river from Canso, and before the council, the garrison, and the inhabitants caused a new commission he had received to be "publicly opened and read." In August, 1731, he left his government again and returned to England, and although he never visited Nova Scotia after that he remained nominally governor until Cornwallis succeeded him in 1749. Philipps belonged to a family in South Wales, founded there, it is said, by a certain Sir John Philipps, Baronet. His wife was a sister of Colonel Alexander Cosby, but whether he had children or not we do not know. He died in England, apparently a general, in 1751. In 1726 the name of an Ensign Erasmus James Philipps appears in the Nova Scotia council minutes, in 1730 this gentleman was admitted to the council board itself. When the published minutes of the council end, in August, 1736, he is still a member of the board. What relation this Philipps was to the governor we do not know, but he is said to have been a relative.¹⁷

16. In a note at the bottom of page 1, Vol. 2, of "Nova Scotia Archives," Dr. Mac Mechan, editor of vols. 2 and 3 of the Archives says that Lt. Governor Caulfeild must have been a son of the 2nd Viscount Charlemont or one of the Viscount's brothers.

17. For Col. Richard Philipps, see the "Dictionary of National Biography," and also "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," vols. 2, pp. 22-24, and 5, pp. 69-76. Also, "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series."

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Armstrong was commissioned an ensign in 1699, then a captain of the 40th in 1717. December 1, 1720, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the 40th and took chief command of the troops at Annapolis. At this time, as we have previously shown, Captain Doucett was lieutenant-governor of the fort and town, in the absence of Governor Philipps, and the position he held gave him command over the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. Dissatisfaction at such a state of things naturally at once arose in the mind of Armstrong, as Doucett's superior officer in the 40th, and accordingly the lieutenant-colonel went to England and asked to be made lieutenant-governor of the province, an office that after Armstrong's death Philipps said it had not originally been the government's intention to create. The commission Armstrong asked was granted, and on the 8th of February, 1725, he was made lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, an appointment he held for the rest of his life.¹⁸ When he came back as lieutenant-governor after the province, says Colonel Mascarene, writing to Governor Shirley in 1748, "trouble arose between him and the lieutenant-governor of the fort, the officers siding some one way and some another."¹⁹

On the 23rd of December, 1731, Armstrong petitioned the Privy Council for payment for his services during the absence of Governor Philipps, from May 29, 1725, the date no doubt when he actually assumed the lieutenant-governorship, until June 20, 1729, which we suppose was the date when Philipps again arrived in the province (probably at Canso) to take upon himself once more in person the control of public affairs. Armstrong's petition to the Privy Council, however, was dismissed by that body as not coming under its jurisdiction.²⁰ Colonel Lawrence was evidently a nervous, sensitive man and none too robust, and the cares of his double position so weighed upon him

18. This is probably the date of Armstrong's first commission as lieutenant-governor. He was at Canso, we believe, from before the date of his appointment, until September 17, 1726, for on the latter date he arrived from Canso. On the 21st of September he laid before the Council his commission as "Lieutenant Governor of his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia," and took the prescribed oaths. *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. 2, p. 171, and Vol. 3, pp. 124, 125.

19. See Mascarene's letter to Shirley in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1st series. Vol. 6, pp. 120-126. See also "*Nova Scotia Archives*," Vol. 2, p. 171.

20. "*Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*," Vol. 3, p. 308 (section 226).

that at last his mind became impaired, and in a fit of melancholy he stabbed himself with his sword on the night of the 5th of December, 1739. Mr. Murdoch's estimate of him is undoubtedly correct, he was, says this historian, a man of "broad and liberal views, calm, mild, and considerate." He died, we believe, unmarried.

A name that stands out more prominently and for a longer time perhaps than any other in the history of Annapolis Royal during the period we are reviewing is that of Jean Paul Mascarene. This gentleman was of a Huguenot family of Castras, in the province of Languedoc, his father being a lawyer and a prominent man in the Protestant community there. Educated at Geneva, and naturalized in England in 1706, in 1708 Paul became a 2nd lieutenant in Lord Montague's regiment, but the next year was detached from his regiment for service in the proposed expedition for the conquest of Canada. Embarking in the frigate *Dragon*, which left Spithead March 11, 1709, Nicholson and Vetch, and also Governor Belcher of Massachusetts, being fellow passengers with him, he sailed for Boston, where after a long and disagreeable voyage he landed on the 29th of April. In 1710, when the force was organizing for the reduction of Annapolis, he was given a captaincy in Colonel Shadrach Walton's regiment, and after the capture of Annapolis he remained in service there, soon receiving the commission of major. When the Fortieth regiment was organized, in 1717, he was commissioned its senior captain, and in 1720 when Governor Philipps arrived, was chosen one of the first members of the council the governor formed. In 1739 he became major of the Fortieth, in 1740, after Armstrong's death, he was made lieutenant-governor of the province of Nova Scotia, and in 1742 (though formally commissioned such, it would seem, not until 1744), he succeeded Major Cosby as lieutenant-governor of the fort and the town. These several important positions he still held when Governor Cornwallis came from England to found the new capital, Halifax, in 1749. Of his assumption in 1742, at Colonel Cosby's decease, of the office of lieutenant-governor of the fort and town, in addition to the lieutenant-governorship of the province, he writes to Governor Shirley in 1748: "At Colonel Cosby's de-

cease, and in the absence of Governor Philipps, the whole authority and power, both civil and military, became vested in me, and was further corroborated when Her Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint me lieutenant-colonel of the regiment and lieutenant-governor of the garrison.’’²¹

When Governor Cornwallis arrived at Chebueto in 1749 he at once sent for Mascarene and the members of the council at Annapolis, whose commissions by his own appointment as governor-in-chief had now been withdrawn, and as a matter of course the first person on the list of new councillors he created on board the *Beaufort*, in the harbour, was Colonel Mascarene. The next year, however, the old lieutenant-governor sold his army commission for two thousand eight hundred pounds to Charles Lawrence and returned to Boston, having up to that time been absent from his family for nearly twelve years. Shortly after he left the province he was at Fort St. George, near the Penobscot, as a commissioner from Nova Scotia to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. From this time, however, with probably only one short interval, he remained at his Boston home, enjoying the society of his daughters and son and his friends at large. Among these, we are told, were Sir Harry Frankland, Sir William Pepperrell, the elder, and President Holyoke of Harvard College, whose daughter his son John had married. “His last public service, so far as I have been able to discover,” says his biographer and descendant, Mr. James Mascarene Hubbard, “was to attend in 1754 a conference with the Indians at Falmouth.” In January, 1758, he was gazetted major-general in the army. Two years later, January 22, 1760, he died, his remains being deposited in the Granary Burying Ground. He was in his seventy-fifth year.

Mascarene’s long, valuable service to the province of Nova Scotia has often been described, but if we want to know it in fullest detail we must follow it in the archives of Nova Scotia, printed and unprinted, and in the voluminous correspondence of Major Mascarene himself. His life was one of the most active and able in the annals of the province, a good deal of his time,

21. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st series, Vol. 6, pp. 121, 122.

especially in winter, he spent in Boston, but during the nearly forty years that Annapolis Royal was the capital of Nova Scotia, he discharged the duties of his several offices there, civil and military, with the greatest faithfulness and usually with statesmen-like and accomplished military skill. In dealing with the French and Indians, in regulating and controlling, either at Annapolis or at Canso, the internal affairs of the garrison and the town, in carrying to a successful issue many other difficult matters of local governmental administration, he showed not only firm integrity and kindly purpose, but tactful business judgment and wisdom in dealing with men. Much of the enjoyment of his leisure hours he obtained from reading, but he lived also in close friendly intercourse with his fellow officers and the other leading men of Annapolis Royal. He married in Boston a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Perry, and this lady bore him four children, three daughters and a son. Of his daughters one died unmarried, but the others were married, like his son, into prominent Boston families. His house stood in School Street, a little east of the site of the present city hall.²²

Sir Charles Hobby, first lieutenant-governor of the town and fort of Annapolis Royal, a son of William Hobby of Boston, a merchant, and his wife Ann, was a gentleman of rather luxurious and worldly tendencies, who attained a good deal of prominence in military affairs in New England and was very conspicuous in Boston's social life. When Governor Joseph Dudley was given official welcome to his government in 1702, this magnate rode, says Judge Sewall, in Major Hobby's coach, drawn by

22. Sketches of Mascarene's life and conspicuous notices of him in American books and periodicals are many. Probably the fullest sketch is that of Mr. James Mascarene Hubbard of Boston, a descendant, read first before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, and afterwards printed as an appendix to the "History of the Fortieth (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment, now 1st Battalion the Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment) from its Formation in 1717 to 1893," by Captain R. H. Raymond Smythies, 1894, pp. 620. Encyclopedias of American Biography; the "Memorial History of Boston" (Vol. 2, p. 555); the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. 9; the "Correspondence of William Shirley," Vol. 1; the *Boston Weekly Journal* for January 15, 1728, and many other sources (besides the Nova Scotia Archives) will be found to yield information concerning this eminent man.

Mr. Mascarene was long on the vestry of King's Chapel, Boston, and about 1749 he gave fifty pounds sterling for rebuilding the church. His son, John, a graduate of Harvard, was comptroller of H. M. Customs in Boston; he died in 1778. His daughters married, one into the Hutchinson, one into the Perkins family.

six horses, "richly harnessed." But before long Hobby was set up by the Bostonians as a rival to Dudley, and was prevailed upon to go to England to try to obtain the governorship for himself. "Besides the opposition he [Dudley] met with in his administration," says Governor Hutchinson, "endeavours were using soon after his arrival to supplant him and his enemies prevailed upon Sir Charles Hobby (who had been knighted as some said for fortitude and resolution at the time of the earthquake in Jamaica, others for the further consideration of £800 sterling) to go to England and solicit the government. He was recommended to Sir H. Ashurst, who at first gave encouragement of success. Hobby was a gay man, a free liver, and of very different behaviour from what one would have expected should have recommended him to the clergy of New England; and yet, such is the force of party prejudice that it prevails over religion itself, and some of the most pious ministers strongly urged in their letters that he might be appointed their governor instead of Dudley; for which Ashurst himself, after his acquaintance with Hobby reproves and censures them."²³ In 1710, Hobby was given command of one, and Col. William Tailer of the other, of the two Massachusetts regiments sent to the successful capture of Port Royal. After the capture he was made "deputy governor" of Annapolis Royal, but as he went almost immediately with Nicholson to the conquest of Canada, he must have remained a very short time at his post. He married, but it is said left no children. He died in 1715, but although he had lived in much style in his "mansion" in Marlborough (now Washington) Street, his estate was insolvent. His inventory, however, showed among other properties no less than six slaves. His widow was buried in Boston, November 17, 1716. Both Sir Charles Hobby and his father, William, were officially connected with King's Chapel, his father having been a very early supporter of that church.

Major Thomas Caulfeild (often spelled, probably wrongly, Caulfield) may have received his appointment as lieutenant-

23. Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," Vol. 2, pp. 140, 141. (See also the "Annals of King's Chapel" (both vols.), and "History of the Ancient and Honorable Society," Vol. I.

governor of the town and fort of Annapolis Royal in 1713, for he was acting as lieutenant-governor, we believe, late in that year. His last letter in the "Governor's Letter-Book" bears date December 24, 1716, and he probably soon after this left Nova Scotia. February 2, 1744, he was "an officer belonging to the American Regiment serving at Rattan,"²⁴ after which period we have not tried to follow his career.

Captain John Doucett of the 40th regiment was commissioned lieutenant-governor of the town and garrison on the 15th of May, 1717. Of his origin and early education we know nothing, we do not know whether he was related to other Doucetts at Annapolis Royal or not. He arrived at Annapolis the 28th of October, 1717,²⁵ as we learn from the Governor's Letter-Book, and November 5th wrote the Secretary of War in England a description of the fort. When Governor Philipps formed his council in 1720 it was in Doucett's house in the fort, and in the house the council almost unvaryingly met until Doucett's death, which took place on the 19th of November, 1726. Of the family of this lieutenant-governor of Annapolis Royal, if he had one, we have no knowledge at all.

Major Alexander Cosby, appointed by Royal Commission "Lieutenant-Governor of the Town and the Fort," March 4, 1727, was a brother of Brigadier-General William Cosby, colonel of the 18th Rhode Island regiment and also governor of New York. In 1717 he was commissioned major of the 40th at Annapolis, and March 22, 1739, lieutenant-colonel of the 40th. As lieutenant-governor of the town and fort he took oath October 20, 1727.²⁶ On the 24th of June, 1731, Major Mascarene moved in the council that he objected to taking his place at the board under the Hon. Lieutenant-Governor Cosby, whom Governor Philipps had recently "thought fit" to appoint president of the council, giving as his reason that he was an elder councillor. His Excellency laconically answered that he believed himself empowered to appoint whatever member he thought fit to sit as

24. "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series," Vol. 3, p. 763.

25. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 2, p. 1.

26. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 3, pp. 165, 166. "Annual Report of the American Historical Association," (1911), Vol. 1.

president. Major Mascarene having no recourse, then desired that his protest and the governor's answer to it should be recorded in the minutes, and took the place assigned him at the board. Later in the careers of Cosby and Mascarene, there seems to have been continued bad feeling between the men. "In 1744," says Judge Savary, "Mascarene was made Lieutenant-Governor of the fort and town, thus uniting in his own person and functions of two offices or commands, the holding of which by different individuals had so often led to difficulties and disputes injurious to the peace and harmony of the people and the garrison, as well as of the public interests. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Province was supreme in the administration of purely civil affairs, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the fort controlled and directed the military duties. This system had been the means of making enemies of men who otherwise would have been friends, and the heart-burnings and jealousies which had separated Armstrong and Cosby and Mascarene were directly traceable to this dual system of administration." Colonel Cosby married at Annapolis, Anne, born in 1712, daughter of William Winniett, and had among his children a son Philipps Cosby (named for his uncle by marriage Governor Richard Philipps), who, born at Annapolis, probably in 1727, became an admiral in the navy.²⁷ Colonel Cosby died of small-pox at his house in Annapolis December 27, 1742, and Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Mascarene succeeded to the position he had held, in addition to that of lieutenant-governor of the province, which he had assumed shortly after the death of Armstrong, in March, 1740. A sister of Colonel Cosby's was the wife of Governor Philipps.²⁸

Until the spring of 1720 the governors of Nova Scotia administered the affairs of the province without the aid of a council, but in July, 1719, Governor Philipps, probably then in Eng-

27. A sketch of Admiral Cosby will be found in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

28. For the commissions of these governors and lieutenant governors, see "Nova Scotia Archives," Vols. 2 and 3; various encyclopedias; sketch of Major Mascarene in History of the 40th Regiment; and "Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1911," (2 Vols. Vol. I, pp. 395-528, 501-507). The last work is compiled by Charles M. Andrews of Yale University, who gives a list with dates of commission of Nova Scotia governors to and including Governor Parr, Andrews' list of governors of the fort and town of Annapolis Royal, is not however, correct.

land, received royal instructions to appoint such "fitting and discreet persons" as he should either find at Annapolis Royal or should take with him for the purpose, not exceeding the number of twelve, to be a council to act with the chief executive or the lieutenants who should serve in his absence in administering the provincial government. Early in April, 1720, Philipps, who had come to Boston the October before, arrived at Annapolis, and there on the 25th of the month he carried out the instructions he had received.²⁹ On this date, in the house of Captain John Doucett, governor of the fort, he appointed nine men, besides Doucett, to serve as the first council of Nova Scotia, these being Lawrence Armstrong of the 40th regiment; Captain Paul Mascarene of the 40; the Rev. John Harrison, chaplain of the garrison; Captain Cyprian Southack, a notable sea captain of Boston, a man, however, of English birth; Arthur Savage, previously a Boston merchant and then captain of a ship, whom Philipps made secretary of the council; Hibbert Newton, a Bostonian, who had been appointed collector at Annapolis; William Skene, a Scotsman, who was appointed naval officer in 1725, and surgeon of the garrison May 12, 1746; William Shirriff, another Scotsman, who appears at Annapolis as early as 1715, and who in his will, made in 1754, calls himself "Secretary and Commissary of the Musters at His Majesty's Garrison of Annapolis Royal;" and Peter Boudré, apparently a sea-captain, probably one of the native Acadians of the province. On the 28th of April a second meeting was held at Captain Doucett's, at which

29. In a letter to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, written April 6, 1748, Mr. Mascarene gives a detailed account of the forming of the Council. "Mr. Philipps," Mascarene says, "came over in 1719, Captain General over the province, with instructions to form a Council of the principal of the British inhabitants, and till an Assembly could be formed to regulate himself by the instructions of the Governor of Virginia. Governor Philipps for want of inhabitants formed the Council with the Lieutenant Governor of the garrison, Mr. Doucett, who at the same time was a captain in his regiment and named first in the list of councillors; his major, Lawrence Armstrong; the first captain, Paul Mascarene; Captain Southack, commanding the province schooner; the collector, Hibbert Newton; the chaplain, and other staff officers of the garrison; and Mr. Adams was the only inhabitant admitted. There was another, Mr. Winniett, who was not then named, but in process of time was called to the Board; but afterwards dismissed on some disgust. The whole number was twelve, but as it was made up of transient persons it was soon reduced, and to keep up the number of seven, the commander in chief took in officers of the garrison or regiment, subaltern officers being often judged more capable than their captains."

all these councillors were present, and one other besides. This added member was Mr. John Adams, a Boston merchant, who had taken part in the capture of Annapolis Royal and had settled there probably immediately after, in pursuance of trade. Of the eleven councillors, who thus appear as constituting the first Nova Scotia council, Southack, Savage, Newton, and Adams, it will be seen, were New England men.³⁰

On Wednesday, April 19, 1721, it was resolved by the governor and council to hold a general court four times a year for the administration of justice, the council to sit in this judicial capacity on the first Tuesdays of February, May, August, and November, and until the establishment of a settled judiciary at Halifax this was the only civil court of justice Nova Scotia had. In a letter to the Lords of Trade in England in 1740 Major Mascarene says: "There being only two or three English families (here) besides the garrison prevents the formation of a civil government like that in the other colonies, and so the councillors have to be taken chiefly from the military officers of the garrison or regiment." "The Council meets upon call in a civil or judiciary capacity. What relates to the judicial part is referred to quarterly sessions, appointed three or four years ago, in which all matters of *meum* and *tuum* amongst the French inhabitants, who come from all the settlements of the province, are stated and decided. In other affairs, the Council meets when anything of moment requires it, and has a messenger under the name of constable to summon any person required to appear."³¹

How the council sometimes treated offences is illustrated in an account that comes to us of its proceedings on the 6th of August, 1734. At that time the cause of a certain Mary Davis against Jeanne Picot, the wife of Louis Thibault, was considered. Jeanne had accused Mary of murdering two children, and the

30. The number of councillors was never as large as twelve, five, however, constituted a quorum. At different times the following were added: August 16, 1720, Gillam Phillips, a brother-in-law of Arthur Savage, another Bostonian, May 13, 1727, Christopher Aldridge, Capt. Joseph Bennett, Capt. John Blower, and Thomas Cosby; at other dates, Henry Cope, Otho Hamilton, William Winniett, Erasmus James Philipps (a relative of the governor), John Handfield, Edward Amhurst, John Slater, and William Howe. These were probably all while the council lasted.

31. This letter in manuscript is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library. It was printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, Vol. 6, pp. 120-126.

court finding the charge "a vile, malicious, groundless, and scandalous report," ordered that Jeanne should "be ducked on Saturday next, the tenth instant, at high water." Mary was merciful, however, and prayed the court to relieve Jeanne of the ducking and instead oblige her to ask the plaintiff's pardon on Sunday at the mass house door, and her prayer was granted by the court. On the 12th of August of the same year, Matthew Hurry, convicted of stealing a five pound note from Sergeant James Thompson, was sentenced by the council to fifty lashes on the bare back with a cat o' nine tails, and to return the money. In the autumn of 1726, Governor Armstrong's servant man, Nicholas, who had committed an assault on his master while at Canso, was sentenced to sit for half an hour each day during three days on a gallows, with a rope round his neck and a paper on his breast with the words "Audacious Villain" in large capitals printed thereon, and afterwards "to be whipped at the cart's tail from the prison up to the uppermost house of the cape, and from thence back again to the prison house," receiving each hundred paces five stripes upon his bare back with a cat o' nine tails, and then "to be turned over for a soldier."³²

Concerning the acts of this council until well on towards the time of its dissolution by Governor Cornwallis, twenty-nine years after it was organized, we have full and accurate information in the records of its proceedings, which were published by order of the Nova Scotia Government in 1908.³³ From these minutes of council we gain indeed very intimate knowledge of not only the public affairs of the province at large, but of the social and individual concerns of the people of early Annapolis Royal. In a small, remote community, isolated completely except by slow water communication from all other settled parts of the world, its nearest metropolis, Boston, which could be reached only by uncomfortable voyages in cramped schooners or sloops, the people were necessarily thrown closely together, and as a

32. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 3, p. 127.

33. The third volume of "Nova Scotia Archives," carefully edited and indexed by Professor Archibald M. MacMechan, Ph.D., gives these minutes of council from April, 1720, to August, 1736. The second volume of "Archives," however, also edited (in 1900) by Dr. MacMechan gives us much light on the council's acts until 1741.

consequence, rivalries and jealousies and fierce clashings of petty interests, as well as occasional scandals caused by conspicuous violations of social morality, give strong human colouring to the mixed story of the community's life.

The interests of the Annapolis Royal people, and the complications of the life of their small community, were many and varied. Fishing, farming, lumbering, and the collecting of furs, had long been carried on successfully in the vicinity by the French, and in all these occupations, we may believe, the British settlers likewise to some extent engaged. Of military and civil officials in this garrison town, we must feel there was a great superabundance, but several of the leading men like Adams and Winniett undoubtedly traded vigorously with the French, who were always in Nova Scotia an industrious and in their primitive way enterprising people. Of the three localities in the province where the French population was greatest, the districts of Annapolis Royal, Minas, and Chignecto, Lieutenant Governor Caulfeild in 1715 writes the English Board of Trade, Annapolis, "the metropolis," had rich, sound soil, produced ten thousand bushels of grain, chiefly wheat, and some rye, oats and barley. The district had also plenty of cattle, sheep and hogs; "masting" could be had, though with difficulty, pitch had been frequently made, and since the capture in 1710 forty thousand weight of furs had been shipped each year from the place.³⁴ In all these commodities the Boston sea-captains and traders who figure prominently in Annapolis no doubt found it profitable to deal with the French, and while most manufactured goods except coarse clothing were brought to the place from Boston, we may conceive the Boston food supplies to have come in no small measure from the remote Nova Scotia town. I have it "from very good hands," writes Caulfeild, in the report from which we have just quoted, that New Englanders themselves take from the Nova Scotia fisheries at large each season over a hundred thousand "kentalls," but besides this, he intimates, great numbers of fish are sold to the merchants trading with Annapolis as their base.

34. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 2, p. 24.

Except in the island of Cape Breton, there were during these whole forty years but two British settlements within the confines of what are now the sister provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. These were the settlements of Annapolis Royal and Canso. Of the earliest trading and fishing ventures of New England men along the Nova Scotia shores only scattered facts are possible to be obtained, but Canso we know to have become at an early period, certainly after British rule in the province began, the most important base for New England fisheries that Nova Scotia had. Besides New Englanders and Frenchmen who fished with this point as their base, West of England people also came every spring for purposes of fishing, "with many ships,"³⁵ and we are told that very large numbers of New England fishing vessels were seen every summer anchored in the strait of Canso at the point where the town lay. The fortifying of Canso began under the influence of Governor Philipps in the year 1720, although troops had been sent to the place to protect it a little earlier than this, but these fortifications seem never to have progressed very far, for in 1734 William Shirreff, secretary of the council, reported that Canso lay "naked and defenceless" against the French, "without so much as barracks to lodge the four companies of Colonel Philipps's regiment stationed there for its defence, or store houses, except hasty slight erections put up from time to time by the commanders, assisted by the fishermen." If the place were taken by the French, Mr. Shirreff says, "the loss would affect not only Nova Scotia but New England, New York, and other plantations; for British subjects resort thither from all parts. As it is the only place in the province that can be said to have been frequented all along by British subjects, its loss would very much affect the traders, and strengthen the French and enable them to do more damage along the coast with their privateers." In 1723 Major Alexander Cosby was in command of the garrison at Canso, and as early as 1732 Captain Christopher Aldridge was "civil and military commandant there." At some period after 1734, however,

35. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 2, p. 56. This statement is made of the year 1719. The great majority of New Englanders went home every fall and came again in the spring.

though the exact date we do not know, Major Paul Mascarene for a time held the same position at Canso.³⁶

Intercourse, therefore, between Annapolis Royal and Causo was constant during these forty years; but Boston was the commercial and social metropolis of the Annapolis people.³⁷ In Boston a great part of the population had been born, to Boston markets the traders regularly shipped the products they bought from the French, and from Boston came all the manufactured goods except the coarsest clothing that the families of those who had brought their families to the place used in their homes. Even the officers of the garrison, we may believe, at intervals varied the monotony of their dull life in this remote place by excursions to Boston for social intercourse with people who lived in a larger world. Consequently there was probably not a week in the year, unless in the depth of winter, that vessels were not clearing from or entering the harbour of the town.

In all the period of nearly four decades that Annapolis Royal was the capital of Nova Scotia, no year was so fraught with fear to the inhabitants as the year 1744. In June of that year, Lieutenant-Governor Mascarene received notice that a declaration of war had been made by France against England,³⁸ and the garrison which was too weak to resist any considerable force, and the people of the town, who knew that the fort was in a ruinous condition, were alike apprehensive. A little earlier than the beginning of hostilities between the nations, indeed, a sudden panic had seized the people of the lower town, where the families of several officers and soldiers as well as many civilians lived. The cause of this was a rumor that one Morpin, a famous com-

36. When he died in 1743, Mr. Peter Faneuil, the rich Boston merchant, owned a store at Canso. In the inventory of his property this store is said to be valued at about four hundred pounds.

37. In 1739, however, Murdoch says, there was communication between Annapolis Royal and Canso "scarcely once a year." This, following of course some reliable document, he attributes to the fact that there was no vessel "allowed for the government." Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. I, pp. 528, 529. March 14, 1741, Lieut.-Governor Mascarene writes to the Duke of Newcastle: "We have no news from Europe later than July last, nor from our neighbouring government of New England since last October, so that we are entirely ignorant of any transactions in relation to war or peace." But this statement must mean only that he and the council at Annapolis have had no *official* communication from Boston for many months, not that they have not had any news.

38. The date of this declaration of war was March 15, 1744.

mander of a privateer in the previous war, had gone up the Annapolis river and had gathered a force of French and Indians numbering five hundred men. Although this report could not be traced to any author, says Judge Savary, and its falsehood became evident very soon, yet the effect it produced on the minds of the inhabitants could not be dispelled. In a few days the Massachusetts galley arrived, with the chief engineer, and on her return to Boston she took with her for safety as many of the women and children as she could accommodate. Besides this, more than seventy women and children, as well as the people's effects that could be removed, remained sheltered for a time in the fort.

On the first of July, however, a force of about three hundred Indians, led, it is believed, by the French priest Le Loutre, did come to attack the garrison. But the bravery of Mascarene, who sent word to the besiegers that he was determined to defend the fort to the last drop of his blood, prevented an overwhelming attack, and on the fifth of July the Massachusetts galley again arrived, bringing "seventy auxiliaries and a captain and ensign," and the Indians withdrew and marched eastward to Minas. Still stronger reinforcements soon came from Boston, and until peace was declared in 1748, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, although apprehension in the town never entirely ceased, the fort was not again menaced by Indians or French. In the meantime, however, more of the women and children were taken to Boston.

The appearance of the houses at Annapolis Royal in this first half of the eighteenth century, and the details of their appointments, and the exact modes of life of the people and the character of their social intercourse we can as a rule only conjecture. From private letters of Paul Mascarene to his daughters in Boston, however, we do gain some glimpses of the Annapolis Royal habits of life. "I have begun to keep house," Mascarene writes in 1740, "contrary to the intention of Governor Cosby and other friends, but I thought it of absolute necessity to keep myself the more independent and the more at liberty to keep at home when I found myself inclined to it. My family consists of an old soldier of my company who behaves very well, another

who dresses my dinner, and a boy about eight years of age whom I design to have bound to me." The same year he writes his agent in Boston that on the King's accession day he had had Lieutenant-Governor Cosby and the members of the council to dine with him, and all the rest of the officers in the afternoon to celebrate the day in the usual manner by drinking loyal healths." "My apartment," he in another letter writes his daughter Margaret,³⁹ "contains four Rooms, all contiguous to one another, the first something larger than our fore Room [in Boston], the floor none of the best, is covered with the painted cloth. The White walls are hung in part with four large Pictures of Mr. Smibert—a walnutt chest of Drawers, a mahogany table, and six pretty good chairs fill in some measure the remainder. Over the mantle piece are a dozen of arms kept clean and in good order, with other warlike accoutrements. In this Room I dine, sometimes alone but often with one or more of my friends. A door opens from this into my bed room, where my field bed, four chairs, the little round table, a desk to write upon, and my cloths chest are all the furniture that adorns it. The two closetts on the side of the chimney serve, the one to keep my papers, the other to hang my cloths. In the great room one of the closetts dispos'd on the side of the chimney is made to keep my drinkables for daily use, my case of bottles, and such like. The other is for a kind of pantry and att the same time for a passage to another room wherein I keep my meal, flour, fresh and salt provisions. This communicates by a door to my kitchen and is the way by which I go every morning to order my dinner and give out what provision is necessary for it. The other communication from the kitchen to the great room is by the parade as farr as from our back kitchen to our back entry door. I have a bell to call my servant both from my dining and bed room. My Domesticks are a good old honest soldyer who makes my bed, keeps my cloths and my apartment clean and attends me very diligently and very faithfully, another who was my cook when your [sister] Betty was here attends me in the same office, they have a boy to assist them both. All three discharge their tasks in an easy and quiet

39. The exact date of this letter is probably December 1st, the year is 1740.

manner and give little or no trouble. The morning, and especially in winter time I generally pass at home in usefull and diverting employments. I sometimes dine abroad. The afternoons I visit some of the familys in our fort or town, and the evenings Capn. Handfield, Lt. Amhurst, and three or four more of our officers meet at one another's houses over a game at ombre for half pence and part at nine, when after an hour enjoy'd quietly in my own room I go to bed. These rounds I have gone for these months."

Others of Colonel Mascarene's letters, to his family and his agent Douglas, in Boston, give us little side lights on the society of Annapolis Royal. July 20, 1740, for instance, he writes Douglas that Mr. Winniett is to carry two of Lieutenant-Governor Cosby's daughters to board at his own home in Boston, Cosby having insisted on a promise Mascarene had made him that they might do so, which "I own," he says, "I should not have been sorry to have found an opening to withdraw from at this time, as I do not know how long matters may remain quiet between us." These young ladies were probably being taken to Massachusetts, as no doubt other Annapolis children from time to time were, for the benefit of the Boston schools. In December, of the same year Mascarene writes his daughter Betty that Annapolis has been visited by an epidemic of colds for two months past, the ladies of the community especially falling victims to the trouble. He himself, however, he says is in excellent health. In an earlier letter he writes one of his daughters: "Mrs. Cosby has also expressed a great satisfaction in what you have done for her. The stays fits each of the children very well." "As for Mrs. Handfield," he writes suggestively, "the captain has rendered her incapable of wearing hers for these twelve months to come."

The church where the Annapolis people worshipped for much of the period under review was "a large and commodious" building inside the fort, erected by the last French Governor, Monsieur Subercase, a building eighty feet long and thirty-three feet wide, half of which was intended by Subercase to be used as a chapel, the remainder to furnish lodgings for certain officials of the fort. When the fort was finally invested by English

troops, services according to the Church of England were at once begun in this French chapel by the Rev. John Harrison, "chaplain to Commodore Martin, and left chaplain to the garrison by commission from the general." The first service in the chapel after the capture was held on Tuesday, the tenth of October, 1710, to commemorate the great event, the day having been set apart for special thanksgiving. On this occasion prayers were said by Mr. Harrison, but the sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Hesker, "chaplain to the Hon. Col. Reading's Marines."⁴⁰ The building now occupied for Protestant services, Mr. Harrison himself describes as a handsome chapel, which under pressure of necessity had been turned into barracks during the siege.

The exact length of Mr. Harrison's chaplaincy we do not know, but this clergyman seems to have been succeeded in active service in the fort and town by the Rev. Robert Cuthbert as early at least as 1722. Why he retired we do not know, for he seems still to have been residing at Annapolis in November, 1732. In this year, probably, Rev. Richard Watts became chaplain, but after 1737 until Halifax was founded, Watts evidently, though nominally chaplain, remained away from his duty, and in 1742 Mr. John Adams, as we shall see, wrote the Lords of Trade that in the absence of the chaplain "officers and soldiers" were profaning "the holy sacraments of baptism and ministerial function by presuming to baptize their own children." "There has been no chaplain here, he says for these four years."

As an illustration of the scandals which are sure occasionally to arise in small communities in the course of years, we hear of one unfortunate occurrence in this little garrison town in 1724. The earliest notice we have found of the Rev. Robert Cuthbert is in the records of King's Chapel, Boston, where we find him preaching November 4, 1722. In that year he was already chaplain at Annapolis, but just when he had been settled there we

40. This was the beginning of regular services according to the ritual of the Church of England in the whole of what is now the Dominion of Canada. See the "Journal of Col. Francis Nicholson"; the writer's "Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution"; Judge Savary's valuable pamphlet entitled "French and Anglican Churches at Annapolis Royal" (Annapolis Royal, 1910); the Calnek-Savary "History of Annapolis"; and Rev. Canon C. W. Vernon's "Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church in Nova Scotia" (Halifax, 1910).

do not know. Less than two years later he was accused by a certain Alexander Douglass, of Annapolis, of too great intimacy with Douglass's wife, and the charge was taken up by the council. On the 22nd of September, 1724, the Board unanimously agreed that "Whereas it appears that the Rev. Mr. Robert Cuthbert hath obstinately persisted in keeping company with Margaret Douglass contrary to all reproofs and admonitions from Alexander Douglass her husband and contrary to his own promises and the good advice of his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, that he the said Mr. Robert Cuthbert shall be kept in the Garrison without port liberty, and that his scandalous affair and the satisfaction demanded by the injured husband be transmitted in order to be determined at home; and that the Honourable Lieutenant Governor may write for another minister in his room."

Up to 1728, however, Cuthbert was still ministering in the town, but in that year he was suspended from the exercise of his ministerial functions and no doubt left. In May, 1725, Margaret Douglas, whose husband, probably a sea-captain, had gone away, petitioned the board that her husband's brother Samuel might be compelled to pay her the allowance her husband had ordered him to pay for that she and her child were destitute. When Samuel Douglas came before the board he declared that he had no property of his brother's in his hands, but that, instead, his brother owed him nearly five pounds.

An important event in the history of Annapolis early in the period under review was the organizing there of the Fortieth regiment of foot under Governor Philipps, on the 25th of August, 1717. At this time there were four independent companies of foot in the garrison, left from the force that came from Boston in 1710 for the capture, and there existed also four other companies at Placentia, in Newfoundland.⁴¹ Under royal instructions, Philipps, who was commissioned colonel of the regiment, though he had not yet come to Nova Scotia, now welded these eight companies into a regiment of the line, and henceforth

41. The garrison that was left at Annapolis immediately after the capture is said to have consisted of "two hundred marines and two hundred and fifty New England volunteers."

until 1749, the troops that garrisoned both Annapolis Royal and Canso, as well as Placentia, belonging to this regiment. The first officers commissioned in the regiment were all except Captain Paul Mascarene British born men, and Mascarene, although born in France and educated in Switzerland, had before coming to New England been naturalized in England and had received there a commission in the British army. Later the regiment naturally drew within its ranks a number of the sons of military or civil officials resident at Annapolis, where some of these young officers took wives from among the Annapolis girls. In 1739 nine out of the ten companies that the Fortieth then comprised were stationed in Nova Scotia, the tenth being at Placentia. Of the nine companies in Nova Scotia, comprising in all about a hundred and fifty-five private soldiers, besides the officers, five were stationed at Annapolis Royal, four at Canso.⁴²

For much of the long period of its history as a British fort, the fort of Annapolis was in a dilapidated condition and the garrison, neglected by the absent colonel of the 40th and governor in chief of the province, was in a pitiful state. The next year after the capture, Vetch sent Lawrence Armstrong to England to try to induce the Lords of Trade to give him aid in repairing and strengthening the place, which had been left in sad condition by the French. The fortifications he describes as "in form a regular square, with four bastions made up of earth and sod-work; the earth a loose gravel or sand, subject to damage by every thaw, and to great breaches which happened by the fall of the walls into the ditch till a method was found to revest the works with timber from the bottom of the ditch to the friezes,

42. We learn about the regiment in 1739 from a letter of Governor Philipps to the Duke of Newcastle in this year. For a detailed history of the 40th, see "History of the Fortieth (2nd Somersetshire Regiment), now 1st Battalion the Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment), from its foundation in 1717 to 1893. By Captain R. H. Raymond Smythies." 600 pages, printed at Devonport, England, in 1894. The officers at its formation were: Colonel, Richard Philipps; Major, Alexander Cosby; Captains, John Caulfield, Lawrence Armstrong, Paul Mascarene, Christopher Aldridge, John Williams; Lieutenants, James Campbell, John Jephson, Edward Bradstreet; Ensigns, James Erskine, John Keeting. In 1739 the French garrison at Louisburg consisted of six companies of regular troops, of 60 men each, and a company of Swiss of 120 men. There was another company of French soldiers at St. Peter's, four leagues from Canso, and still another in the Island of St. John (P. E. I.). Canso, where there was a small British force, was without proper barracks or storehouses for the troops.

eighteen feet, and above that with four feet of sod, the greatest part of which being done while General Nicholson was last here." The houses and barracks where the officers and soldiers lodged, with the storehouses and magazines, he describes as "in a ruinous condition, and not like to stand three years without thorough repair." Arriving in England, Armstrong told the Board that the garrison was dependent on New England for supplies and that the Boston merchants who furnished these demanded exorbitant prices. He therefore advised the settlement at and about the town of Annapolis of a sufficient number of British people to produce the things the garrison and the town most needed, and suggested that Annapolis be made a free port. The natural resources of the province of which Annapolis was the capital he urged as being very great.

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, September 5, 1739, Governor Philipps describes the fort as built of earth, with four bastions, faced with picquets to keep it together, and surrounded with a small, shallow dry ditch, about six feet deep." The channel in Annapolis Basin, he says, is of sufficient depth to allow men-of-war of from twenty to fifty guns to come within a cable's length of the fort. In 1743, Mascarene writes the Duke of Newcastle that the fort "is apt to tumble down in heavy rains or in thaws after frosty weather, as it is formed of earth of a sandy and pliable nature. To prevent this a revestment of timber had been made use of, which soon decaying remedies the evil but for a short time, so that for these many years past there has been only a continual patching."

In 1721, Mascarene describes the appearance of Annapolis Royal as follows: "Two leagues above Goat Island [in the Basin of Annapolis] is the fort, seated on a sandy, rising ground on the south side of the river, on a point formed by the British River and another small one called the Jenny River. The lower town lies along the first, and is commanded by the fort. The upper town stretches in scattering houses a mile and a half southeast from the fort on the rising ground between the two rivers. From this rising ground to the banks of each river, and on the other side of the less one, lie large flats or meadows, etc. On both sides of the British River are a great many fine farms,

inhabited by about two hundred families." In 1743, he writes: The town "consists of two streets, the one extending along the river side and the other along the neck of land, the extremities whereof are of a quarter of a mile distant from the fort."

Concerning the history of many of the families of Annapolis Royal during the forty years under consideration we are not very well informed. In the following brief sketches, however, some important facts concerning the heads and other members of a few of them, and especially concerning the families' inter-relationships, will be found. If records of their ministerial acts were ever kept by the garrison chaplains we do not know where they are, consequently of the dates of many baptisms and marriages performed during the period we are and probably always shall be entirely ignorant.

JOHN ADAMS, born in 1673, who in 1710 went from Boston in Sir Charles Hobby's regiment to the capture of Annapolis Royal, is one of the most conspicuous figures in the history of Annapolis during a large part of this period of forty years.⁴³ Adams was the eldest of three brothers who were probably sons of a John Adams, of Boston, who in 1690 and later had a wife Avis,

43. John Adams of Boston, cordwainer, whose wife in 1690 was Avis, receives a deed from Nathaniel Williams, executor of the will of John Morse of Boston, Dec. 20, 1688. John and Avis sell the property thus deeded Jan. 19, 1690, to Abraham Blish. According to the Old South Church register a John and Avis Adams have children baptized as follows: William, Feb. 12, 1692-3; John, Nov. 5, 1693-4; Ebenezer, Dec. 23, 1693-4. Less than three years after he graduated from college, Rev. Hugh Adams is said to have written his "dearly beloved brother John Adams, shop-keeper, Boston," from Charleston, S. C., announcing the death, on the 23rd of Feb., 1699-1700, we suppose at Charleston, of "our godly mother Avis Adams." In some other writing, possibly a diary, perhaps a letter, the date of which we do not know, Rev. Hugh Adams mentions with solicitude his "eldest brother John's" having gone to Annapolis Royal with a company in Sir Charles Hobby's regiment. If John Adams was the eldest of these three Adams brothers he must have been born as early as 1672-1674, and we can hardly believe that the mother of these men was still bearing children as late as 1692-93. Avis Adams may therefore have been not the own mother, but the stepmother of John, Matthew, and Hugh although Hugh calls her their mother. For important mentions of this Adams family, which was quite distinct from the Adams family of Braintree, see the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 10, pp. 89-91, and Vol. 32, pp. 132, 133. In the latter notice, however, the list of John Adams's children is not correctly given.

Of Rev. John Adams, son of John Adams, the Councillor, excellent notices will be found in Duyckink's "Cyclopaedia of American Literature," and the "National Encyclopaedia of American Biography." This young clergyman, the first poet reared in Nova Scotia, is said to have been besides a poet, an eloquent preacher, a master of nine languages, and a generally brilliant man. He died unmarried at Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 22, 1740, at the early age of thirty-six.

but of whose origin and history we at present know absolutely nothing. The younger brothers of John were Matthew, a merchant of Boston and a lover and collector of books, and Rev. Hugh, a Congregational minister, born in 1676, who was long pastor of the church at Oyster River, now Durham, New Hampshire, his college education having been obtained at Harvard, where he graduated in 1697.

From some letter or diary of his brother Hugh we learn that John Adams went in a company in Sir Charles Hobby's regiment to the capture of Port Royal in 1710, and in Annapolis Adams must have established himself as a trader with Boston very soon after the capture was effected. In the town, as a person of importance, Governor Philipps found him in 1720, and when Philipps organized the council, he soon appointed him one of this board. On the 28th of April, 1720, Adams took his seat on the council, and henceforth until 1740 there was no more active member of the Nova Scotia government than he. In 1725 he was appointed Deputy Collector of the port, and when Col. Lawrence Armstrong, lieutenant-governor of the province, committed suicide, December 5, 1739, Mr. Adams as senior councillor in residence assumed charge of the government. The actual senior member of the council, however, was Mr. Paul Mascarene, who had been appointed councillor three days earlier than Adams, and the following March, when Mascarene returned from Boston, where he had been spending the winter, he relieved Mr. Adams of the charge. In a short time, it is said, blindness compelled Adams to relinquish his duties at Annapolis and he then returned to Boston, where we hear little more of him. In the records of council we find intimations that he was not very well off, and in 1732, though he could not then have been much over fifty-nine, we find that he was infirm and was considered old. In 1742, in Boston, it is said he gave his wife Hannah power of attorney over his affairs.

Who or when John Adams married in Boston we are not able to say, nor do we know whether he had one wife or two. Concerning the full number of his children we are likewise ignorant, but the following children, baptized in the Old South parish, Boston, we know to have been his. By the register of this

church we find that John and his wife Hannah Adams had children: Hannah, baptized September 17, 1699; Anne, December 21, 1701; and John, March 26, 1704. Of these children Hannah became at Annapolis the wife of Hibbert Newton, Anne, we have reason to believe became the wife of Dr. John Skene, and John, who graduated at Harvard in 1721, became a Congregational clergyman (and a poet of some note) and was settled at Newport, Rhode Island and in Philadelphia. A third daughter of John Adams, whose name, however, we do not know, undoubtedly became at Annapolis the wife of Major Otho Hamilton, for the wife of Major Hamilton, we learn from this gentleman's will, was a sister of Mrs. Anne Skene.

On the 12th of March, 1742, John Adams writes from Boston to the English Lords of Trade: "I would have returned to Annapolis before now, but there was no chaplain in the garrison to administer God's word and sacraments to the people; but the officers and soldiers in the garrison have profaned the holy sacraments of baptism and ministerial function by presuming to baptize their own children. Why His Majesty's chaplain does not come to his duty I know not, but I am persuaded it is a disservice and dishonor to our religion and nation; and as I have heard, some have got their children baptized by the Popish priests, for there has been no chaplain here for these four years."⁴⁴

MAJOR CHRISTOPHER ALDRIDGE was undoubtedly of British birth, his various commissions in the army being as follows: Lieutenant, April 6, 1706, Captain, August 24, 1711, and Captain in the 40th, August 25, 1717. Some time before 1735, he was made "civil and military commandant at Canso," in which command says the history of Annapolis, he was superseded by Major Mascarene. May 13, 1727, Captain Aldridge, together with Captain Joseph Bennett, Captain John Blower, and Thomas Cosby, Esq., "the commissary of provisions and fort major," was admitted to the council, but precisely how long he remained in Nova Scotia we do not at present know. February 11, 1745, then "Major Aldridge," he made his will in Boston, where he

44. Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 17, and Eaton's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia," pp. 21, 22.

was residing, and April 1, 1746, the will was proved. The chief persons mentioned in the will are his son, Christopher, his daughter Mary Bradstreet, his daughter Elizabeth Jepson, and his daughter Martha Newgent.

LIEUTENANT EDWARD AMHURST'S name appears first in the council minutes in July, 1733. Amhurst (or Amherst) we suppose was an Englishman, but of his origin we know nothing. He was commissioned ensign of the 40th regiment either March 12 or May 13, 1722, lieutenant April 3, 1733, and captain-lieutenant July 25, 1748. For several years, until at least 1739, he was deputy surveyor at Annapolis, and in 1740 he and John Handfield were executors of Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong's will. In 1749 he was in England, and when the Cornwallis fleet sailed for Chebucto he came with it. Later, Dr. Akins says, he became a major and commanded the troops at Placentia, in Newfoundland. He had a family, for a great-grandson of his was the Hon. Sir William Fenwick Williams, Bart., lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia in the year 1867.

An important person at Annapolis Royal during the period under review was MAJOR (afterward Lieutenant-Colonel) OTHO HAMILTON of the Fortieth Regiment, and from 1731 until probably 1744, a member of the council. Major Hamilton was probably one of the young recruits who came out from England with or soon after Nicholson and Vetch, for the reduction of Port Royal, his ensign's commission bearing date June 16, 1710. In 1714 he was ensign in Captain J. Williams's independent company at Annapolis Royal, and when this company was incorporated into the Fortieth he of course became an officer of that now famous regiment. On the 9th of August, 1718, he was made lieutenant of the 40th, July 8, 1734, captain-lieutenant, September 3, 1739, captain, and January 30, 1746, major. In 1744, Henry Cope, Lieutenant-Governor of the town and garrison of Placentia, in Newfoundland, died, and by a proclamation dated at St. James's December 25th of that year Captain Hamilton was appointed in his place. In 1761 Hamilton resigned from the 40th, but he must have been made almost immediately a lieutenant-colonel in the army. On the 26th of February, 1770, still as Lieutenant-Governor of Placentia, he died at Waterford, Ire-

land, where he seems to have established a home. Colonel Hamilton married at Annapolis Royal a sister of Anne, wife of Dr. William Skene, who it seems certain was a daughter of Mr. John Adams. The first name of Mrs. Hamilton we do not know, and we are also uncertain when and where she died. The children she bore her husband were three, John Hamilton, who was for some time an officer of the 40th, but who resigned from the army in 1766 and went to live at Waterford; Otho, Jr., who entered the 40th as ensign in 1744, and in 1770 became lieutenant-colonel of the 59th, and who died in England in 1811; and a daughter Grizel, who became the wife of Colonel Richard Dawson of the Engineers, an officer who in 1780 was governor of the Isle of Man. Otho Hamilton, Sr., of Annapolis Royal, was the youngest son of Colonel Thomas Hamilton of Edinburgh, of the Olivestob Hamiltons, and his wife Grizel (Hamilton), and was born in Edinburgh about 1690. He died, at Waterford, Ireland, we suppose, some time in the year 1770.⁴⁵

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN HANDFIELD was probably, like Hamilton, Shirreff, and Skene, a Scotsman, but precisely how early he came to Annapolis Royal we do not know. He was commissioned ensign in the 40th regiment February 26, 1720, lieutenant April 12, 1731, captain March 22, 1740, major October 15, 1754, and lieutenant-colonel March 18, 1758. He died at Waterford, Ireland, a brevet colonel it is said, in 1788. In 1755, when the Acadians were expelled he was in command of the fort at Annapolis, and obeying orders he assisted in removing these unhappy people from the town and the country about. In 1759 he was still in service, probably at the same place.

Colonel Handfield's wife was Elizabeth Winniett, a sister of Mrs. Alexander Cosby and Mrs. Edward How. At what time

45. For a pretty full account of Lieutenant Colonel Otho Hamilton and his family see a monograph by this writer published at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1899. The title of this is "Lt.-Col. Otho Hamilton of Olivestob, His Sons, Capt. John and Lt.-Col. Otho Hamilton, 2nd, and his Grandson Sir Ralph Hamilton, Kt. Judge Curwen of Salem when he was in England at the time of the American Revolution speaks (see "Journal and Letters," p. 247) of meeting at Liverpool, Mrs. Grizel Dawson, a native of Nova Scotia, whose husband was then governor of the Isle of Man. In Vol. 9, "Nova Scotia Record Commission," under date of August 15, 1726, we find an interesting letter from Otho Hamilton to Major Mascarene at Boston, sent as the writer says by Mrs. Hamilton, his wife. The letter treats of the garrison stores, of Mascarene's man "Will," etc., etc. Judge Curwen's meeting with Mrs. Dawson was on June 12, 1780.

he married we do not know, but in 1731 he petitioned the council for a formal grant of a garden plot behind the house that he had built at a considerable charge, for the convenience of his family. Of, we believe, his sons, William Handfield was commissioned ensign of the 40th, December 1, 1745, lieutenant September 1, 1749, and adjutant July 4, 1758; John Handfield, Jr., 1st lieutenant of the 40th, July 1, 1755; George Handfield, ensign of the 40th September 13, 1760, and lieutenant April 8, 1762. His daughter Mary was married at Annapolis August 15, 1752, to Lieutenant John Hamilton (elder son of Col. Otho Hamilton), who is said to have been then a young widower. In the absence of a chaplain to the garrison Captain Handfield himself performed the marriage.⁴⁶

The first Protestant chaplain settled at Annapolis Royal was the REV. JOHN HARRISON, we presume a native of England. In the journal of General Nicholson we find the following entry: "Tuesday the 10th [October, 1710], was solemnized a day of Thanksgiving for the success of Her Majesty's Arms in reducing Port Royal, etc., being so appointed by the General. After Divine Service which was performed in the Chapel by the Reverend Mr. John Harrison, Chaplain to Commodore Martin (and now left Chaplain to the Garrison by commission from the General, a sermon was preached by the Reverend Mr. Samuel Hester, Chaplain to the Hon. Col. Reading's Marines." Later General Nicholson records that he was pleased to "commissionate," before he left Boston for Port Royal, among other officers, "John Harrison, Clerk, Chaplain to the Garrison of Annapolis Royal." In 1720, as we have seen, Governor Philipps chose Mr. Harrison one of the first members of the new council he appointed.⁴⁷

CAPTAIN EDWARD HOW, possibly one of the Hows of Sudbury, Massachusetts, appears either at Annapolis Royal or at Canso

46. Of British officers serving in America after the middle of the 18th century there was a John Handfield who was Lieut. of the 43d March 7, 1762, and Lieut.-Capt. of the 65th Oct. 18, 1762; a Thomas Handfield who was ensign of the 47th May 23, 1759; and an Edward Handfield, ensign of the 22d Dec. 2, 1759, and Lieut. of the 22nd April 2, 1762. A William Handfield, also, was Captain of the 94th May 5, 1762.

47. See the writer's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution," pp. 16-18.

as early as 1714. He was a sea-captain and trader, and for a long time his headquarters was at Canso, where he served as a justice of the peace. It would seem that he had an important part in supplying the garrisons at Annapolis Royal and Canso with goods from Boston. Somewhere about 1720 he married at Annapolis Mary Magdalen Winniett, daughter of William Winniett the merchant and ship-owner there, and in 1736 became a member of the council. In this body his importance was so great that when Cornwallis came in 1749 this governor made him the second member of the council he created on board the *Beaufort* in Halifax harbour. At the battle of Grand Pré in 1747, in which Colonel Arthur Noble and his brother Major James Noble lost their lives by the French, How was present as commissary to the small body of troops at Minas and was wounded. Less than three years later, in October, 1750, at the instigation of the priest Le Loutre he was "treacherously and barbarously" murdered near Beaubassin, leaving a widow and a large family of children, the youngest of whom was but a few months old. In 1759 Mrs. How, who was very poor, petitioned the lords of trade in England for a grant of eleven hundred and eighty pounds, eighteen shillings, and sixpence, which she claimed was due her husband from the government of Nova Scotia at his death. Her claim was considered by the council at Halifax and she was awarded the sum of nine hundred and forty-eight pounds, and sixpence, which sum the council charged to the contingent account of the settlement. On the 23d of November, 1763, Mrs. How petitioned for the balance of her claim, but she never received any more. Of Captain How himself, Murdoch says: "The esteem he won while living, the general usefulness of his conduct as an early founder of our colony, and the cruel circumstances of his death, commend his memory to us who enjoy a happy, peaceful, and prosperous home [in the colony]."

Of Captain How's sons, William, who was probably the eldest, settled in Cumberland county, Nova Scotia, Edward probably died at Annapolis Royal, one son became an officer in the Royal Fusiliers, Joseph entered the navy, and Alexander, who became a member of the Nova Scotia assembly, married Margaret Green, a granddaughter of Hon. Benjamin Green. Of his daughters,

Deborah was married to Captain Samuel Cottnam of the 40th regiment, and one, whose name we do not know became, we believe, the first wife of Col. Winckworth Tonge.

The first collector of the port of Annapolis was HIBBERT NEWTON, who was made by Philipps one of the first members of the council he formed. Mr. Newton was the only son of Judge Thomas Newton, of Boston, a highly important member of the early Massachusetts bar, and one of the founders and prominent supporters of King's Chapel. How long Hibbert Newton remained a member of the Nova Scotia council we do not know, but his collectorship of the port, and we believe of Canso as well, lasted, in the former case until his death in 1751, and in the latter probably until the settlement of Canso was destroyed by Du Vivier in 1744. In July, 1725, Mr. Newton went to Canso apparently to reside for some time and Mr. John Adams was made deputy collector at Annapolis, but how long he remained at Canso we do not know. After this period do not again find him sitting on the council board.

Mr. Newton married at Annapolis Hannah Adams, a daughter of John Adams, she being baptized in the Old South parish, Boston, September 17, 1699. At the founding of Halifax the chief collectorship of the province was transferred to that place and Mr. Newton probably but not certainly removed there. At his death his son Henry was made collector in his place, and the son also filled this office until his death. Conspicuous tablets to members of the Newton family will be found on the walls of King's Chapel, Boston, and St. Paul's Church, Halifax. Hibbert Newton had several sons,⁴⁸ one of whom, Hibbert, was commissioned ensign in the 40th Regiment, May 12, 1746, another, Phillips, ensign in the 40th, April 29, 1750.

ARTHUR SAVAGE, who before 1710, was a merchant doing business on Long Wharf and dealing in West Indian products, must have so ingratiated himself with Governor Philipps during the latter's stay in Boston from October, 1719, to April, 1720, that Philipps decided to take him to Annapolis and make him secre-

48. For an important sketch of Hibbert Newton and of this Newton family generally, see the writer's sketch of Hibbert Newton in the "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," Vol. 68 (Jan., 1914), pp. 101-103. Henry Newton died in 1802.

tary of the council he was to form on his arrival there. In May, 1714, he was captain of the Massachusetts Province galley "sailing to foreign ports," and it is quite possible that in this vessel he took Philipps to his new post. At any rate, he must have accompanied the governor, for immediately after Philipps came to Annapolis he was appointed by him both naval officer and secretary of the province. On the 6th of May he was admitted to the council, but in 1725 he was again living at Boston. Whether the fact that Savage's wife's maiden name was Phillipps (not Philipps), and that Governor Philipps may have been intimate with members of the Phillips family in Boston, had anything to do with the governor's interest in Savage we do not know. Savage married June 1, 1710, Faith Phillips, of Boston, his cousin once removed, whose brother Gillam Phillips was admitted to the council in August, 1720, but seems never afterwards to have taken his place at the council board. Arthur Savage died at his house in Brattle Square, Boston, after a tedious illness, April 20, 1735.⁴⁹

WILLIAM SHIRREFF, probably born in Scotland, appears first in the "Governor's Letter-Book" in 1715, and last in the "Commission Book" in 1739. Shirreff was introduced into the council in 1720, and of this body was still one of the most active and influential members as late at least as 1740. For a good deal of this time he acted as secretary of the board. His son probably, named also William, was commissioned lieutenant of the 47th regiment June 25, 1755, adjutant of this regiment September 25, 1759, and captain-lieutenant February 15, 1761. Of his family, other than this son, we know nothing except from his will, which was proved in Boston May 24, 1768 (made January 12, 1754). By this instrument we see that his wife's name was Elizabeth, and that he had children, one of whom, possibly, was Charles Shirreff, who was, with John Hamilton and Alexander Hay of Annapolis Royal, a witness of the will. The testament begins, "I William Shirreff Sec^y and Comm^y of the Musters at His Majesty's Garrison of Annapolis Royal in the Province of Nova Scotia, North America," etc.,

49. See the Savage Family Genealogy, compiled by Lawrence Park, Esq., in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. 67. For Arthur Savage, pp. 213-215.

etc. His death, at the age of eighty-three, is announced in the *Boston Evening Post*. In this notice he is called "formerly an officer in the Nova Scotia Government," and is said to have died in Boston May 5, 1768.

DR. WILLIAM SKENE we believe to have been born in Scotland and to have come to Annapolis Royal probably at the same time as Major Otho Hamilton. He was appointed to the council April 25, 1720, was made naval officer July 22, 1725, and is mentioned as sitting in council as late at least as August 17, 1736. On the 15th of September, 1758, administration on his estate, he having owned property in Massachusetts and having lately died intestate, was granted to the Rev. Nathaniel Walter, of Roxbury. In this order of the Massachusetts Probate Court Dr. Skene is called "late a surgeon in his Majesty's Garrison at Annapolis Royal," and such we know him to have been. His appointment to this post bears date May 12, 1746, and he perhaps discharged its duties until 1757, for February 7th, of that year Dr. William Catherwood was appointed surgeon to the garrison in his place.

The wife of Dr. Skene was with little doubt Anne Adams, a daughter of Mr. John Adams, of the Annapolis Council. After her husband's death Mrs. Skene seems to have resided at the house of the Rev. Nathaniel Walter in Roxbury,⁵⁰ the reason for this, as for Mr. Walter's having administered on her husband's estate, we can only conjecture. On the 16th of June, 1758, warrant was given the selectmen of Roxbury to inquire into Mrs. Skene's mental condition, and this body after seeing the "gentlewoman" at the house of Mr. Walter reported that they had found her of sound mind. Their report to this effect, in which they speak of her as not really belonging to Roxbury but only residing there, bears date July 7, 1758. On the 23d of May, 1772, administration on Mrs. Skene's small estate was granted in Massachusetts to John Newton, of Halifax (no doubt her nephew),

50. A temporary New England resident in Nova Scotia, probably at Annapolis Royal, at a very early time, was the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, founder in the second generation from England of the well-known Walter family of Boston and Roxbury and father of Rev. Nathaniel Walter. Nehemiah Walter, who was born in Ireland December, 1663, graduated at Harvard in 1684, and shortly after went to Nova Scotia to study French. In a few months he returned to Boston having attained so much proficiency in the language as to be able to preach in it in the absence of their minister to a congregation of French refugees in Boston. See "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," Vol. 8, p. 209.

Joshua Green and Joseph Barrell, of Boston, becoming bound with him for the proper discharge of the trust. In the will of Lieutenant Colonel Otho Hamilton, made at Waterford, Ireland, August 23, 1768, the testator leaves ten pounds sterling annually to his wife's sister, Mrs. Anne Skene, a pension she was receiving not being, Col. Hamilton says, enough for her support.⁵¹

One of the first members of the council appointed by General Philipps in 1720 was CAPTAIN CYPRIAN SOUTHACK, who though born in England spent most of his life on the American continent. Captain Southack was a son of Lieutenant Cyprian Southack, R. N., and his wife Elizabeth Oakley and was born in London, March 25, 1662. On the 16th of July, 1689, he was granted by the admiralty letters of marque against the French, and on the 29th of April, 1690, in command of the *Porcupine* of sixteen guns, with a hundred and seventeen men he sailed from Boston with Sir William Phips on his expedition against Port Royal. After the capture of the place Phips sent him along the coast to complete the work of conquest and he is said to have been the first Englishman who ever sailed through the strait of Canso. In August he returned to Boston, and in 1692 we find him in command of the brigantine *William and Mary*, which was commissioned as a guard ship in the Massachusetts service "to sweep the French from the seas." A little later we find him with Captain Short of H. M. ship *Nonsuch*, and from 1696 to 1713 he was captain of the Massachusetts Province galley. In 1710 he was with Nicholson at the final capture of Port Royal, and in 1714 was sent by Governor Dudley and Nicholson as commissioner to Quebec for the exchange of prisoners of war. Two years later we find him controlling a fishing station at Port Roseway, Nova Scotia, and in 1720 we see him appointed a member of the council at Annapolis. From July 1, 1721, to August 17, 1723, he commanded H. M. Schooner *William Augustus*, which was built in Boston to serve as the "Government Sloop" of Nova Scotia. In 1723 he returned to Boston and settled finally in the mansion

51. In 1741, the five members of the council at Annapolis appointed to meet with similar bodies from the New England governments to settle the boundaries between Massachusetts and Rhode Island were Messrs. Henry Cope, Otho Hamilton, Erasmus J. Philipps, Shirreff, and Skene.

house he had built in Southack Street, now Howard Street, facing the present Scollay square. On the 27th of March, 1745, he died, his remains being deposited in tomb No. 46 in the Granary Burying Ground, the slate stone laid on the top of which was elaborately carved with his arms.

In 1718 Southack was sent as a commissioner to the governor of Cape Breton to treat concerning the settlement of the long disputed boundaries of Acadia or Nova Scotia, in 1720 he published a chart he had made of the New England coast, and in 1734 he published a second edition of this chart. Between 1702 and 1739 he frequently served as vestryman of King's Chapel, and in 1711-12 he was a warden of this church. Some time before 1735 he gave a clock to Christ Church, this being cleaned, repaired and set up in the tower by Gawen Brown in 1749-50. He married in Boston, February 19, 1690, Elizabeth Foy, daughter of Captain John and Dorothy Foy, who bore him eleven children. Mrs. Southack died in Boston April 5, 1741.

WILLIAM WINNIETT, whom Governor Philipps calls "the most considerable merchant and one of the first British inhabitants" of Annapolis, and whom he describes as "eminent in his zeal" for the royal cause, was an officer in the force which took Annapolis in 1710. In 1710 or 1711, Mr. Winniett, who was a Huguenot Frenchman, married at Annapolis Magdelaine Maissonat, one of the native Acadians, and at once settled in the town as a merchant.⁵² In the records of the council we find many mentions of him, which show his importance in the community, and reveal his activity in the general community life. One of his daughters, as we have seen, became the wife of Major Alexander Cosby, lieutenant governor of the town, one the wife of Lieutenant Colonel John Handfield of the 40th regiment, who was for a good while highly active in the fort, and one the wife of Captain Edward How. Mr. Winniett was admitted to the council on the 21st of November, 1729, but his connexion with that body was not a smooth one, for in 1734, the lieutenant-governor of the province, Hon. Lawrence Armstrong, "informed the board that he had summoned William Winniett, Esq., as usual to attend the

52. The Rev. John Harrison performed this marriage, but on precisely what date we do not know.

council and that as he had frequently refused to attend by sending frivolous excuses, as appears by the minutes of council, and had on several occasions behaved himself disrespectfully, that therefore, and other reasons, which he would lay before his Majesty, he did suspend him the said William Winniett, Esq., from being a member of this board till his Majesty's pleasure be thereon further known." Long before he became a member of the council, indeed, Mr. Winniett had so displeased this body that he had been arrested by its orders and had been confined for some days in his own house. On receiving from him, however, shortly after a letter of submission, the council "out of their tenderness," forgave him, and he was released. Winniett had evidently a strong personality and we have only to glance at the record of his activities which the printed Archives of Nova Scotia contain to see how important the part was that he played in the life of the community where he lived. Bad feeling between him and Mr. Armstrong began as early as 1715, for in November of that year Major Caulfeild, the second lieutenant governor of the fort and town, incloses a letter and memorial of Winniett's to the lords of trade in England, with one of his own, in which he says that Winniett has been of very great service to the garrison at Annapolis and that his behaviour did not in the least deserve such treatment from Captain Armstrong as it had received. Mr. Winniett died at Annapolis early in 1742.⁵³

The most distinguished native of Annapolis Royal living in the nineteenth century was the HON. SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS, BART., known from his distinguished services in the Crimean war as the "hero of Kars." Sir Fenwick was born at Annapolis in December, 1799, or 1800. His grandfather, Thomas Williams, was commissary and ordnance storekeeper at Annapolis and his grandmother, Ann, only daughter of Captain Edward Amhurst of the 40th regiment. For a short time in 1867

53. The population of Annapolis Royal and vicinity in 1714, according to the census of that year was 895, but in 1731 the town and its environs and the garrison numbered 6,000. Of these inhabitants a great many must have been New Englanders. Such probably were people bearing the names Bennett, Bissell, Blower, Daniel, Donnelly, Douglas, Hart, Harwood, Henderson, Henshaw, James, Jennings, Partidge, and many others. A large number of the 6,000 settlers in and near the town, however, were undoubtedly French.

Sir Fenwick was governor of his native province, as he had previously for a much longer time been of Canada.

With the town of Annapolis Royal before the final capture of the place by England will always stand connected the memory of a picturesque incident in the history of the granting of titles, the creation of the order of "Baronet of Nova Scotia." After his accession to the English throne, in 1603, James the First persistently sought to replenish the royal treasury by exacting payment for titles. Almost immediately after coming to the throne he issued a summons at Hampton Court charging all who owned land to the value of forty pounds a year to come to the court to receive knighthood, "or to compound with the commissioners." About the same time he proposed to confer knighthood upon all who would give three hundred pounds, to be expended by Sir Bevis Bulmer in the search for gold mines. A more important scheme he fostered was the creation in 1611 of Baronetcies of Ulster, to further the colonization of Ireland and to yield money for his exchequer. Among English land-owners he created two hundred of these baronetcies, each baronet being obliged to pay into the treasury a sum equal to eleven hundred pounds. James died in 1625, but his son Charles in conjunction with his father's favorite William Alexander, the same year established a similar order for Scotsmen, giving to each of the Scottish baronets he made a certain tract of land in Nova Scotia and calling the title after the province where these nominal grants were given. In 1628 Alexander, who before James's death or very soon after, had risen so high in the royal favour as to be created Earl of Stirling, sent his son, the young Sir William, with a company of about seventy Scotch colonists to Port Royal, but during the following year no less than thirty of these died. In 1631, however, Acadia was again ceded to France, and the Scottish settlement disappeared. In name, though never in use, the Scottish baronets created under Stirling's influence in the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, continued to keep the lands in Nova Scotia that had been granted them, and the title "Baronet of Nova Scotia" is borne by a large number of Scottish noblemen today.

On the founding of Halifax by Cornwallis in 1749 the prestige

which for well on to half a century Annapolis Royal had enjoyed as the capital of Nova Scotia forever ceased. The departure of Lieutenant Governor Mascarene with a quorum of his council for the new capital soon after Cornwallis's arrival, brings to an end the distinction the place had so long enjoyed as the seat of the government of a wide new-world domain. In 1755 Major John Handfield was in command of the garrison and assisted in deporting the Acadians who were settled in and near Annapolis Royal, but without doubt after the founding of Halifax the force kept there was very small. In 1846 Captain Thomas Inglis, a son of the third Anglican bishop of Nova Scotia, the Right Reverend Dr. John Inglis, commanded the troops in the fort, the regiment to which he belonged being the Second Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, the major part of the regiment being then stationed at Halifax. The last officer who commanded there, somewhere about 1855 was Lord Kilmarnock, afterwards Earl of Erroll, who belonged to the same regiment as Captain Inglis. After 1855, it is probable there were no troops left at Annapolis.

This, then, briefly, is the story of the first capital of the province of Nova Scotia, whose distinction as capital ended when Halifax was founded in 1749. Treading the old town's quiet streets today we see or hear little to remind us of much that has gone on there in the past. But the visitor, at least, must have little imagination if he fail utterly to catch glimpses of the many warlike scenes that have been enacted there, to hear echoes of the bugle blasts that so long sounded from the fort and the martial music that was played, to see the French flag and the English flag in succession floating above the protecting earthworks, and to watch stern warships plowing the placid waters of the Basin, and busy schooners from Boston anchoring beside the wharves. If the tides that daily sweep through the Basin had voices what strange tales they could tell. If the old fort could speak, or the red river-banks, or the slight mountain ridges, north or south, what stories they might pour into our ears of human passion and human strife they have witnessed. For it is three long centuries now since Champlain and his companions first sailed up the sheltered Basin and stepped foot on the grassy shore.

Dyde's Taverns

THE VICISSITUDES OF MINE HOST'S CALLING IN NEW YORK A CENTURY
AGO

BY HOPPER STRIKER MOTT

UNDER the general name of "Dyde's" a number of early hostelrys flourished in New York. Robert Dyde was an Englishman who had removed to the city from Long Island, under an introduction by "a distinguished person in this city," as one who had lived in affluence in London, but by a succession of misfortunes had suffered nearly the entire loss of his property. He had taken at a very heavy rental the hotel belonging to A. Marshall, who the directory lists as living at 28 Park Row. This hostelry adjoined on the north the Park Theatre which occupied lots No. 21, 23 and 25 of that street. The sequence of numbers seems confusing yet the facts are as above stated. This he named the London Hotel (*Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 29, 1806), and it was announced on his behalf that he depended for the future support of his family upon his success in this new line of life. He proposed to keep it "in a true Old English style, the principals of which are cleanliness, civility, comfort and good cheer."

Here occurred a factional reencounter of note.

The Long Room at Martling's Tavern, at 87 Nassau street, corner Spruce, had been the wigwag of the Tammany Society since 1798, and, immediately after the election of Jefferson, when that Society had become Republican in politics,¹ a division arose

1. Washington's first administration was non-partisan in character, but, with the institution of the financial policies of Hamilton in 1791, party lines assumed definition and the two great parties, Federalist and Republican, sprang into life. The Federalist, under the leadership of Hamilton, advocated a control of the government based upon aristocracy and wealth; while the Republican, under the leadership of Jefferson, upheld the principle of a government based on equal rights and true popular rule. The Anti-Federalist (Republican) leanings of the Society were inevitable as they espoused the principle to which it was dedicated. (*Saint Tammany*, etc., by Kilroe, 1913, p. 193).

man cruisers entered the Black Sea and bombarded two Russian ports at the instigation of the German admiral, but doubtless with the knowledge of Enver Bey, the Turkish Minister of War."⁹⁶

Turkey was ruled by the army, which for years has seen things through German military spectacles. It was controlled by the German Marshall Liman von Sanders, and Enver Bey, who was educated in Germany and was known to be a pronounced German sympathizer. He was a powerful member of the Committee of Union and Progress, the chief organization of the Young Turk movement which also included the Ministers of Marine, Interior and Finance. In point of numbers these four were the minority party of the government, but the majority, including the Sultan and Grand Vizier, was powerless to assert itself, due to the minority having control of the army.⁹⁷ These ministers, as a result of German bribes, were responsible for Turkey's entrance into the war.⁹⁸

If Germany hoped to provoke England and Russia into an attack so as to be able to appeal to Mohammedans, the opposite result was obtained, for British Musselmen realized that the rupture had not been brought about by England. Perhaps Germany induced Turkey to enter the war for diplomatic as well as strategical reasons, hoping that the question of Constantinople would lead to dissension among her enemies. The surprising efficiency of the Turkish army has been an immediate help to the Teutons in that it has diverted British soldiers from the western front for the campaigns at the Dardanelles and in Mesopotamia, as well as holding a Russian army in the Caucasus Mountains.

In spite of her regeneration, Turkey will probably have committed suicide by her entrance into the great war. If the Teutonic powers are vanquished, Turkey will be swept back into Asia; if they are victorious, Turkey will become the vassal and tool of Germany. The end of the war will see the gates to the Black Sea pass into the hands of a strong power,⁹⁹ and the end of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, which statesmen have expected for generations, will be at hand.

96. *The Times History of the War*, Part 28, III, p. 44 to 49.

97. *Ibid*, pp. 49, 53.

98. J. Ellis Barker, "Germany and Turkey" *Fortnightly Review*, CII, p. 1010.

99. Lord Cromer, "The Suicide of the Turk," *Spektor*, CXV, p. 541.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

NO. IX

ROYAL GOVERNORS AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE

"History should invest with the reality of flesh and blood, beings whom we are too much inclined to consider as personified qualities in an allegory; call up our ancestors before us with all their peculiarities of language, manners, and garb; show us their houses, seat us at their tables, rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, explain to us the uses of their ponderous furniture."

—LORD MACAULAY.

"Macaulay held that history, no less than fiction, should be a lively and vivid picture of the actual, warm, human life of the past. He aimed to give to the narrative of real occurrences, to the portrayal of genuine personages, the same life that fiction bestows on the events and characters of fancy."



IN the third chapter of our history we have spoken of the two most historical buildings in Halifax apart from St. Paul's Church, the Province Building and Government House. The frames of three or four, perhaps more, of the earliest buildings of the newly founded town were ordered and brought from Massachusetts, one of the chief of these being the frame of a governor's house. For the first few months after his arrival at Chebucto, Colonel Cornwallis, the governor, kept to his quarters on the ship in which he had sailed from England, but at last, in the early part of October, 1749, the frame having come from Boston, his house was made habitable and the governor set up his simple establishment on shore. This primitive house of the King's representative in the first British province in what is now Canada, in which civil government was established, was a small, low, one-story house, probably like St. Paul's Church constructed of oak and pine.

For eight or nine years only this house was suffered to stand, then in 1758 Colonel Charles Lawrence, the second governor after



GEN. SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS, BART., K. C. B.
Hero of Kars; Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 1867-1873

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

Cornwallis, had the building taken down and a new and much roomier one built. When Lord William Campbell became governor, in 1766, he urged that this house needed a ball-room, and the government added it. Later, at different times, further enlargements or improvements were made in the official dwelling, and the house was used or at least stood until 1800, when the corner stone of the present Government House was laid.

By 1797 this second governor's residence, which like its rude predecessor had been built of wood, and green wood at that, was in such a state of decay that Sir John Wentworth, who had lived in it since his appointment as governor five years before, complained to the Colonial Secretary in England that it was utterly unfit for occupancy, and that his health was suffering so greatly from its bad condition that he had been obliged to remove his household to the lodge he owned on Bedford Basin, six miles out of town. In the course of this year, 1797, an act was passed by the legislature authorizing the erection of a building in which to house properly the legislature in both its branches and the courts of law, and to serve as well for the crown offices, for since 1790 these had all been accommodated in a business building which had been erected and was owned by the Hon. Thomas Cochran, a member of the council, and his brothers James and William,¹ enterprising North of Ireland men who had come to Halifax in the first company of emigrants brought from Ireland, in 1761, by the enterprising Alexander McNutt. This "Cochran Building" stood on Hollis Street, almost immediately opposite the present Province Building, and so on the site of the Post Office. Before the act could be brought into effect, however, Sir John managed to have it repealed, and another act passed carrying out his policy of having a governor's house erected before a Province Building should be undertaken. For the legislature and the courts, therefore, a new lease for ten years was taken of the Cochran building in 1799, and the erection of a Province

1. The Court House having been destroyed by fire, early in May, 1790, the Legislature passed an act empowering a body of commissioners to treat with Messrs. Thomas, James, and William Cochran for the rental of their building on Hollis Street, opposite the present Province Building for the use of the Legislature, the Courts of Law, and the Crown Offices. This building was so occupied, at a rental, we believe, of two hundred dollars a year, from 1790 until 1820, when the new Province Building was completed. See *Akins's Chronicles of Halifax*, pp. 99, 100.

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

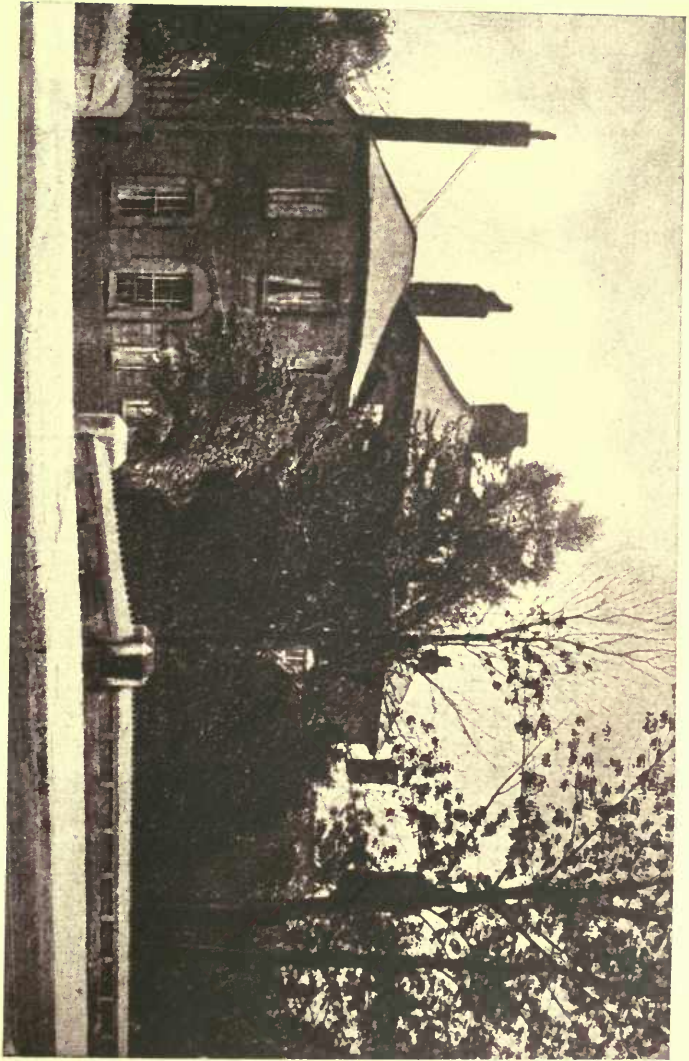
Building remained in abeyance for a little over a decade more.²

The site of the first and second Government Houses was the lot between Hollis and Granville streets on which the Province Building stands, when it was determined to erect a new governor's house there was prolonged discussion as to where this building should be located. A board of commissioners had been appointed to carry the project of a new government house out, and at least three sites were presented for the consideration of these men. In an interesting account of the discussion concerning the proper site and of the final decision to build on the well known spot on Pleasant Street where the now venerable third Government House stands, the Hon. Sir Adams Archibald, one of the most estimable and able of later governors of the province, tells us that Sir John Wentworth urged the site that was chosen and was exceedingly well pleased when a majority of the commissioners came to his view.³

The corner stone of the new building was laid on the eleventh of September, 1800, and a few days afterwards the *Royal Gazette* newspaper described the event. "On Thursday last," says the

2. Dr. Akins (*Halifax*, pp. 213, 214) says of the first Government House: "It was a small, low building of one story, surrounded by hogsheads of gravel and sand, on which small pieces of ordnance were mounted for its defence. It stood in the centre of the square now occupied by the Province Building. About the year 1757 or 1758 this little cottage was removed to give place to a more spacious and convenient residence. It was sold and drawn down to the corner of George Street and Bedford Row, opposite the south-west angle of the City Court House, and again, about 1775, removed to the beach and placed at the corner leading to the steam-boat landing, where it remained until 1832, when the present building, lately occupied by Thomas Laidlaw, was erected on the site." "The new Government House," he continues, "was built during the time of Governor Lawrence. Lord William Campbell built a ball room at one end, and several other improvements were made to the building by subsequent governors. It was surrounded by a terrace neatly sodded and ornamented. The building was of wood, two stories high. The office of Capt. Bulkeley, the Secretary, stood at the north-east angle of the square inside the rails. Prince Edward resided in this house with Governor Wentworth in 1798. This old house was pulled down about the commencement of the present century [the 19th] and the materials sold to Mr. John Trider, Sr., who used them in the construction of the building on the road leading to the tower at the head of Inglis Street, formerly owned by Colonel Bazalgette, and afterwards the residence of the late Mr. George Whidden." The price paid by Mr. Trider for the materials of the old house, Sir Adams Archibald says, was a little over two hundred and sixty-two pounds.

3. Sir Adams Archibald's account of the building of the present Government House will be found in the third volume of Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, pp. 197-208. Sir Adams published also in the same Collections (Vol. 4, pp. 247-258) an account of the Province Building. In both cases this writer has given much information concerning the legislation referring to the erection of the buildings. The Province Building, says Dr. Akins, "was fully completed and finished, ready for the sittings of the Courts and Legislature, in 1820, at the cost of \$52,000." See Akins's account of Halifax in the 8th volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HALIFAX

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

Gazette, “this long projected and necessary building was begun under the auspices of His Excellency, Sir John Wentworth, Bart. On this pleasing occasion a procession was formed at the present Mansion House [the old Government House], which preceded by a band of musicians playing ‘God Save the King,’ ‘Rule Britannia,’ and other appropriate airs, went to the site prepared for the erection of the edifice, where the corner stone was laid with the customary forms and solemnities, and a parchment containing the following inscription was placed in a cavity cut for that purpose in the centre of the stone: “*Deo Favente.*”

“The corner stone of the Government House, erected at the expense of His Majesty’s loyal and faithful subjects of Nova Scotia, pursuant to a grant of the Legislature of the Province, under the direction of Michael Wallace, William Cochran, Andrew Belcher, John Beckwith, and Foster Hutchinson, Esquires, for the residence of His Majesty’s Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person exercising the chief civil authority, was laid September 11th. Anno Domini, 1800, in the 40th year of the reign of His Most Sacred Majesty, George the III.”

On this document then follows a list of the great personages who took part in the ceremony,—“Sir John Wentworth, Bart, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief; Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty’s fleet in North America; Lieutenant-General Henry Bowyer, Commander of His Majesty’s forces in Nova Scotia and its dependencies; Col. the Rt. Hon. John Lord Elphinstone, Commanding His Majesty’s 26th Regiment of Foot; Col. George Augustus Pollen, Member of the British Parliament, Commanding His Majesty’s Fencible Regiment of Loyal Surrey Rangers; the Hon. Sampson Salter Blowers, Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia; the Honourables Alexander Brymer, Thomas Cochran, Charles Morris, John Halliburton, Henry Duncan, Benning Wentworth, and James Brenton, members of the Nova Scotia Council; Mr. Richard John Uniacke, Speaker of the House of Assembly, and the Members of the Assembly then in town; six Captains in the Royal Navy, Officers of the Nova Scotia Militia, the Commissary General, Deputy Judge Advocate General, Solicitor General, Deputy Commissary General, Military Secretary, the Rev.

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Robert Stanser, Rector of St. Paul's Church, and other clergymen; the magistrates, and many of the principal inhabitants of the town. Closing this imposing list came the names of Isaac Hildreth, architect, and John Henderson, chief mason of the building.

Immediately after the corner stone was laid the Rector of St. Paul's offered a prayer he had evidently written for the occasion, and then the procession, in which the rules of precedence accepted in the province were duly observed, moved solemnly back to the old Government House, where "a cold collation" was prepared for the august assembly. "From this period," says Sir Adams Archibald, "the building went steadily on. It was made habitable in or about the year 1805, when Sir John moved into it. But it was still unfinished as late as 1807." Of the character of the building, which, outwardly at least, is an exact reproduction of the famous Lansdowne House, London, Sir Adams says: "No better Government House exists in the Dominion, either as to solidity of structure or convenience of arrangement. The architect, Mr. Isaac Hildreth, seems to have been fully entitled to the certificate given him by the Committee of Assembly in January, 1807, when his services in connection with the building were no longer required. They say in their report that they have 'a full conviction of the ability and professional skill of Mr. Hildreth and satisfactory proof of his zeal, integrity, and diligence in the conduct of the work he has been engaged in.' They recommend a grant of money to be given him as a testimonial of the public opinion of his merit and services. On the same day the House ratified the Committee's Report by a Resolution giving the grant recommended, the same to be considered 'as a testimonial of the favourable opinion entertained by the Legislature of his ability, integrity, diligence, and zeal.'" The whole cost of the third Government House was about eighteen thousand dollars.

The architect of Government House, Isaac Hildreth, was almost certainly a Massachusetts man, of the Hildreths of Chelmsford, but apart from his connection with this building we have no knowledge of him. Nor do we know certainly how Lansdowne House, London, came to be chosen as the model for Government House. The famous London mansion of Berkeley Square was built about the middle of

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the 18th century by Robert Adam, and was begun for the first Earl of Bute, at that time Prime Minister. Before it was finished, however, it became the property of John Petty, first Earl of Shelburne, from whom in time it passed to the second Earl, who in 1784 was created Viscount Calne and Calston, Earl of Wycombe, and Marquis of Lansdowne in the peerage of Great Britain. The Marquis of Lansdowne had a stormy political career, which began in 1760 and ended about 1783. Although the most unpopular statesman of his time, for he seems to have treated all political parties with unmeasured contempt, he exercised a strong influence in parliament, and it was probably his persistent refusal until he was forced to do so in 1782 to give his voice for the independence of the American Colonies that gave him such prestige with the Tories in New York that in 1783 they gave their projected town on the southern shore of Nova Scotia the name "Shelburne." This first Marquis of Lansdowne died in 1805.

From the first occupation of this third Government House, in 1805, to the date of Confederation in 1867, says Sir Adams Archibald, "thirteen governors have occupied the house, and of all these men there is scarce one who does not in one way or another tower more or less above the average of the class to which he belongs. Some of them have been statesmen of mark, others successful soldiers, many have performed important duties in other parts of the empire. Four in succession left the governorship of Nova Scotia to become governors general of Canada. As a body they may be classed as able and eminent men." The thirteen of whom Sir Adams speaks as having come between 1800 and 1867 were: Sir John Wentworth, Sir George Prevost, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Falkland, Sir John Harvey, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, the Earl of Mulgrave, Sir Richard MacDonnell, and Sir William Fenwick Williams.

Including Colonel Cornwallis, to the present day Nova Scotia has had thirty-two governors (or "lieutenant-governors," as since 1786 these chief officials have correctly been styled). Before 1786 the representative of royal authority in the province was "governor-in-chief," but in that year a governor-in-chief of all the British Prov-

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inces remaining to the crown in America was appointed, with a residence at Quebec, and under this "Governor-General of Canada," as he was commonly called, the governors of the general province became nominally "lieutenant-governors." Before 1786, however, the governors in chief of the single provinces frequently had their lieutenants, and of such we have in Nova Scotia after the founding of Halifax a list comprising nine.⁴

The list of civil governors of Nova Scotia, of which as we have said there have been to the present (the year 1918) thirty-two, comprises many men who have done the British Empire conspicuous service in various parts of the world and have earned for themselves high reputation. In the following pages we shall give some account of these men and speak of the influence some of them had on Nova Scotia at large, and particularly on the city of Halifax, where they made their temporary homes.

COLONEL THE HON. EDWARD CORNWALLIS, appointed Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia on the 9th of May, 1749, was the sixth son of Charles, Baron Cornwallis, and his wife Lady Charlotte Butler, whose father was Richard Earl of Arran.⁵ Colonel Cornwallis was born February 22, 1713, and early placed in the army. He served as major of the 20th regiment in Flanders in 1744 and 1745, and in the latter year was appointed lieutenant-colonel of his regiment. On the death of his brother Stephen he was chosen member of parliament for Eye, and during the session following was made a Groom of H. M. Bedchamber. On the 9th of May, 1749, he became colonel of the 24th regiment, and was gazetted "Governor of Placentia, in Newfoundland, and Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia or Acadia." He sailed from England May 14, 1749, and took the oath as governor, at Halifax, July 14, 1749. His salary as governor was a thousand pounds (the customary salary of the early civil governors of Nova Scotia).

4. These lieutenant-governors, as we shall see later, were: Charles Lawrence, Robert Monckton, Jonathan Belcher, Montague Wilmot, Michael Francklin, Mariot Arbuthnot, Richard Hughes, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Edmund Fanning.

5. Colonel Cornwallis was an uncle of Charles Cornwallis, 1st marquis and 2d earl, who from 1776 until the close of the War of the Revolution was in command of British troops in America, and who afterward served as governor-general of India. Col. Edward Cornwallis was twin brother of Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury.

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On the 12th of July, 1749, almost immediately after the arrival of Cornwallis at Chebucto, Paul Mascarene, then lieutenant-colonel of the 40th regiment, arrived at Chebucto from Annapolis Royal with five members of his council (a quorum). On the 14th of July, Cornwallis formally dismissed Mascarene and his councillors from the offices they had held and appointed a new council. The members of this new council were: Paul Mascarene, Edward How, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salusbury, and Hugh Davidson, the last of whom became the first secretary of the province under civil rule. Of the councillors, Edward How, John Gorham, and Benjamin Green were Boston men.⁶

“In the settlement of the emigrants [he had brought with him for the founding of Halifax],” says a biographer of the first civil governor of Nova Scotia,⁷ “Cornwallis displayed great energy and tact. He had from the start much to contend with. The settlers were soldiers who had fought all over Europe and were accustomed to rough camp and barrack life, and sailors ready for a sea fight but like their brethren in arms utterly unfit for any other line of life. There were also disappointed men of all grades of society, forced by circumstances to face the privations and hardships of a new life, in which few of them were destined to have success. There were good men among them . . . but judging by the record left by Cornwallis, three-fourths of them were as hard a lot as could have been collected and sent away from the old land to starve, drink, and freeze in the cold, inhospitable climate of Nova Scotia. During the founding of the colony, Cornwallis exhibited many sterling qualities necessary to a leader of men. His executive ability, patience, and kindness to all under him, deserved commendation and warranted recognition, but the reverse was the case. No allowance was made by the authorities for the unforeseen expenses of a new settlement. Although given unlimited powers of administration, he was treated with distrust in the matter of expenditures. The

6. See “Governor Cornwallis and the First Council,” by Dr. Thomas B. Akins, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 2; and “Hon. Edward Cornwallis,” by James S. Macdonald in the same Collections, vol. 12.

7. This summary of Cornwallis's work in founding Halifax is taken from Mr. James S. Macdonald's sketch of the first civil governor of Nova Scotia in the 12th volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society (pp. 9, 10). In some few instances in the quotation we have been obliged to change slightly the writer's English.

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board of trade, frightened at facing parliament with an ever increasing deficit, curtailed his powers, and at several critical times his bills of exchange were returned dishonored, and his credit was ruined in the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts and New York. But though discouraged, he stuck manfully to his post until three years had passed and the introductory work of founding the colony had been accomplished."

COLONEL PEREGRINE THOMAS HOPSON was commissioned captain general and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia, and also vice-admiral, March 31, 1752. He took the oath as governor on Monday, August 3, 1752, but on the 1st of November, 1753, he sailed for England in the *Torrington*, war-ship, and the command of the province devolved on the lieutenant-governor, Major Charles Lawrence. Col. Hopson was commander-in-chief at Louisburg when that place was restored to the French by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In July, 1749, he came with the forces from Louisburg to Halifax, and at the latter place was sworn in senior councillor, his superior rank in the army entitling him to take precedence of Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Mascarene, who had been the first named of the new council. He left Halifax for England on the first of November, 1753, and we suppose very soon after resigned. After he left Nova Scotia he was in active military service until his death, which took place January 27, 1759.

COLONEL CHARLES LAWRENCE was appointed governor probably on August 12, 1754. The history of this governor will be found very carefully given by Mr. James S. Macdonald in the 12th volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and in the "Dictionary of National Biography." He was commissioned *lieutenant-governor*, probably July 17, 1750, and so acted until his appointment as governor. His administration as governor covered the important period of the fall of Fort Beauséjour and the removal of the Acadians in 1755, and the settlement of New England planters throughout the province, which important movement he did much to stimulate and carry through, in 1760 and 1761. We find a commission as "lieutenant-governor" given him August 12, 1754, and find him taking oath as "lieutenant-governor" October 14, 1754,

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but these dates we suppose are the proper dates of his entrance on the *full* governorship of the province.

Lawrence was born at Portsmouth, England, December 14, 1709, and began his military career in England as an ensign in Col. Edward Montague's (afterwards the 11th Devon) Regiment of Foot in 1727. His captaincy in 1742, and his majority in 1747, were obtained, however, in the 54th (Warburton's) Regiment, with which he served under Hopson at Louisburg, until the troops were removed from that fortress to Halifax in 1749. In 1750 and '51 he was engaged at Beaubassin and Chignecto, and in 1752 he went with the German settlers, in command of a small force, to Lunenburg, to assist in founding that town. In 1753, when Hopson went to England, he was given the administration of the government, and the next year, as we have seen, he was appointed lieutenant-governor. In 1756, on the resignation of Hopson he was commissioned governor-in-chief. In 1757 he commanded the reserve in Lord Loudon's expedition, and December 3rd of that year he was promoted to brigadier-general. In 1758 he commanded a brigade at the second siege of Louisburg.

The character of none of the governors or lieutenant-governors of Nova Scotia has been the subject of so much discussion as that of Governor Lawrence. This is due chiefly to the part he played in the tragedy of the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, his connection with this event earning him from many writers on the expulsion the reputation of a bad-tempered, pitiless man. The Nova Scotia historian, Beamish Murdoch, however, only says of him: "He was a man inflexible in his purposes, and held control in no feeble hands. Earnest and resolute, he pursued the object of establishing and confirming British authority here with marked success." To this tribute Mr. James S. Macdonald adds, that among all the governors of Nova Scotia in the 18th century, from the first, Colonel Cornwallis, to the last, Sir John Wentworth, the one who stands "proudly preeminent" "in intellect, courage, and executive ability," is Charles Lawrence. As an administrator of government, says this biographer, he combined all the strong qualities of the others "without a shadow of their weaknesses."⁸

8. Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 12, p. 58.

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As we have shown, Lawrence began to build a new Government House in 1758. On the eleventh of October, 1760, he gave a great ball, probably to celebrate the completion of the house, at which there were over three hundred guests. His Excellency was in high spirits and danced frequently. "During the evening," says Mr. Macdonald, "he drank while heated, a tumbler of iced water." From this "he was seized with cramps in the chest, which developed into inflammation of the lungs and terminated fatally at nine o'clock on Sunday morning, October nineteenth." On the twenty-fifth his funeral took place, "fully four thousand of the army and navy, with four hundred officers, and many citizens" in attendance. From Government House the procession moved in solemn order to St. Paul's Church. First came the troops in garrison, the military officers, two six-pound field pieces, the physicians of Halifax, the clergy of the town, and then the body in a coffin covered with black velvet and draped with a pall to which were affixed escutcheons of his Excellency's arms, the pall-bearers being the whole body of his Majesty's Council. After the body came the mourners, the provost marshal, the House of Assembly, the magistrates, the civil officers, Free-Masons, and many leading citizens. The pall-bearers, clergy, physicians, and all civil and military officers wore black linen or cambric hat bands.

As the corpse neared the church the children from the orphan house sang an anthem. Within, the pulpit, reading-desk, and governor's pew were draped with black, bearing escutcheons. The burial service was conducted by Dr. Breynton, who preached a touching sermon, at the conclusion of which, with the committal service of the Prayer Book the body was lowered into a vault at the right side of the Communion Table. From the time the procession began until the burial was completed minute guns were fired from one of the batteries, the firing ending with three volleys from the troops under arms.⁹ The next Tuesday morning, when the Su-

9. What position the officers and men of the navy occupied in the procession we have not discovered. Governor Lawrence's body was the first interred beneath St. Paul's Church. A monument to him with an elaborate inscription, costing eighty pounds was soon ordered by the legislature from London to be placed in the church. It came out and was affixed to the south-east corner of the church (the first monument placed in the church), but in a violent storm which occurred in 1768, the south-east end of the church was badly damaged, and the monument or tablet had to be taken down.

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preme Court assembled, the court-room was draped in black; and in an early issue of the *Royal Gazette* the grief of the community was still further expressed in a fulsome eulogium which read as follows: "Governor Lawrence was possessed of every natural endowment and acquired accomplishment necessary to adorn the most exalted station, and every amiable quality that could promote the sweets of friendship and social intercourse of human life. As Governor he exerted his uncommon abilities with unwearied application, and the most disinterested zeal in projecting and executing every useful design that might render this Province and its rising settlements flourishing and happy. He encouraged the industrious, rewarded the deserving, excited the indolent, protected the oppressed, and relieved the needy. His affability and masterly address endeared him to all ranks of people, and a peculiar greatness of soul made him superior to vanity, envy, avarice, or revenge. In him we have lost the guide and guardian of our interests; the reflection on the good he has done, the anticipation of great things still expected from such merits, are circumstances which, while they redound to his honour, aggravate the sense of our irreparable misfortune."

HENRY ELLIS, Esq., born in England in 1721, who had previously, from 1756 to 1760, been governor of Georgia, was commissioned governor of Nova Scotia in April or May, 1761. When he received his commission he was in England and arrangements were made by the Nova Scotia council to receive him fittingly when he should appear. For some reason, however, he never came to his post, and in his absence, first Chief Justice Belcher, who was commissioned lieutenant-governor April 14, 1761, and then Hon. Colonel Montague Wilmot, who took the oath of office September 26, 1762, administered the government. Ellis continued to hold office, however, until some time in 1763. He died on the shore of the Bay of Naples, January 21, 1806.¹⁰

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL MONTAGUE WILMOT was commissioned

From a shed near by, where it was placed until the church could be repaired, it disappeared and its fate has never been discovered to this day. See "Governor Lawrence," by James S. Macdonald, in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 12; and the Dictionary of National Biography.

10. See the National Cyclopædia of American Biography, Vol. 1, p. 491.

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governor March 11, 1763, although he probably did not take oath until October 8, 1763. As lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia he had been commissioned January 13, 1762. In the latter office he was succeeded in 1766 by the Hon. Michael Francklin. By a proclamation dated at St. James, October 7, 1763, the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, "with the lesser islands adjacent thereto," were annexed to the government of Nova Scotia.

One matter, at least, of interest to the reader of history, which received much of Governor Wilmot's attention during his governorship, was the question of what to do with the Acadian French that still remained in the Province. In 1764 there were in Nova Scotia, in the counties of Halifax, Hants (then King's), Annapolis, and Cumberland, four hundred and five families of these people, comprising seventeen hundred and sixty-two persons. On the 22d of October of this year a project was reported in the council to settle part of these French in fourteen different places throughout the Province. Writing concerning the matter to the Earl of Halifax, Governor Wilmot says: "These people have been too long misled and devoted to the French King and their religion to be soon weaned from such attachments; and whenever those objects are hung out to them their infatuation runs very high. Some prisoners taken in the course of the war and residing here have much fomented this spirit." The Acadians living in and near Halifax have, he says, "peremptorily refused to take the oath of allegiance." The intention of the Acadians, he continues, was eventually to settle in "the country of the Illinois." The province will be much relieved by their departure, he thinks, for they have always been hostile to British rule.

Governor Wilmot died in office May 23, 1766, and the Hon. Benjamin Green, as president of the council, temporarily administered the government. The governor's remains also were permanently placed in a vault under St. Paul's Church.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD WILLIAM CAMPBELL was commissioned governor of Nova Scotia on the 11th of August, 1766. Lord William, who was the youngest son of the fourth Duke of Argyle, was born probably about 1730, and was early put into the navy,

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where in 1762 he attained the rank of captain. Two years later he entered parliament. He married, in 1763, Sarah Izard, daughter of Ralph Izard, Esq., of Charleston, South Carolina. On the 8th of August, 1766, he was commissioned vice-admiral, and on the 11th, as we have said, governor of Nova Scotia. Governor Campbell suffered from ill health and on the 17th of October, 1771, sailed for Boston, probably on his way to South Carolina.¹¹ On the 10th of July, 1772, he returned, much improved in health as he announced to the council, but in February, 1773, he wrote the Secretary of State in England that he wanted another leave of absence from his post, this time for six months, presumably again to recuperate from ill health. He had, he urged in his request, served the then reigning king and his grandfather for twenty-four years. He declares his love for the people of Nova Scotia, and believes he has been of some service to them. He praises the Nova Scotians' constant obedience to his Majesty's commands. In the *London Magazine* for June, 1773, his appointment is gazetted as captain-general and governor-in-chief of the province of South Carolina, in place of Lord Charles Greville Montagu.¹² In the same periodical occurs a notice of the appointment of Francis Legge, Esq., to the governorship of Nova Scotia.

In his documentary history of Nova Scotia, briefly narrating events in the province in the year 1769, Mr. Beamish Murdoch says: "In January, Governor Campbell had daily visits from the Indians, demanding provisions. He attributed their urgent tone to the absence of troops, but as this was an unusually severe winter the weather may have caused their importunity. Major Gorham, who was deputy to Sir William Johnson, the agent for Indian affairs, was absent, and the governor asks Lord Hillsborough for funds to make presents to the Indians, and assist them, in order to keep them quiet." Lord William Campbell died September 5, 1778, from a wound received in a naval engagement.¹³

11. Lady Campbell sailed from England for Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of January, 1769, but whether she soon came from Charleston to Halifax or not we do not know.

12. Lord Charles Greville Montagu died in Nova Scotia and was buried under St. Paul's Church, Halifax, in 1784.

13. See the National Cyclopædia of American Biography.

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MAJOR FRANCIS LEGGE, who was a relative of the Earl of Dartmouth, was commissioned captain-general and governor-in-chief of Nova Scotia, July 22, 1773, and vice-admiral, July 26, 1773. He was sworn into office as governor October 8, 1773. He has the distinction of having been by far the most unpopular governor Nova Scotia has ever had. He left the province May 12, 1776, but continued to hold office until 1782, during which period the government was administered successively by Lieutenant-Governors Mariot Arbuthnot, Mr. Richard Hughes, and Sir Andrew Snape Hamond.

From October 8, 1773, until May 12, 1776, Major Legge, who as a Nova Scotia writer has said, probably with entire truthfulness, "had been for many years a thorn in the side of his noble kinsman the Earl of Dartmouth and leading members of the ministry of the day," who "had quarrelled and fought with friends and foes in England, and as a last resort was shipped off to Nova Scotia to take charge of this new colony, to get rid of his hated presence at home," was in residence at Halifax. Whatever social events took place at Government House during these three years we may be sure were not gay ones, for Legge was uniformly ill-tempered and jealous, and in his capacity as governor did all he could to cast discredit on men in public life in the province. His official career as governor was stormy in the extreme. He hated Lieutenant-Governor Francklin, who was highly popular and who in public as in private was an excellent man, he insinuated that Richard Bulkeley, the Provincial Secretary, an official of unblemished character and the highest reputation, was dishonest, he accused Hon. Jonathan Binney and Hon. John Newton, members of the council, "of retaining moneys which had been voted them for fees for public duties and services," actually imprisoning Mr. Binney for three months, and in his letters to England he (with much more reason) persistently charged disloyalty to the Crown on a large part of the people generally in the province. So unbearable was his rule that the legislature as a body had finally to appeal to the English government for redress, and the consequence was that Legge was promptly recalled.

On the 12th of May, as we have said, he sailed for England. As he left the beach, near the present Market Wharf, in the launch

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which was to take him to the war-ship, in which he was to sail, hundreds of the citizens of Halifax, were watching there to see him go. "As the boat left the beach, storms of hisses and yells burst from the assemblage. This so infuriated Legge that he stood up in the boat and cursed them most heartily, and the last seen of him he was standing on the deck of the frigate shaking his fists at the amused and delighted Halifaxians."¹⁴

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN PARR, who was the last governor in chief of Nova Scotia, was commissioned captain-general and commander-in-chief July 29, 1782, and vice-admiral July 30, 1782. He took the oath of office October 9, 1782. In October, 1786, Lord Dorchester was appointed Governor-General of all the British provinces in America, and on the 5th of April, 1787, the King's commission was read in the Nova Scotia council appointing Parr lieutenant-governor of the province. No period in the history of Nova Scotia is perhaps so important as that which was covered by the administration of Governor Parr. Parr was sworn in governor in October, 1782, and peace with the new American republic was proclaimed on the 30th of November, 1782, and beginning with December of the latter year the Loyalists of New York and other provinces now states of the union came by thousands to Nova Scotia. To give these people grants of land, and while they were making themselves new homes in the province to relieve their immediate necessities, was a laborious task and one needing the greatest sympathy and tact. To his arduous duties at this critical time Parr gave himself with unremitting faithfulness. Throughout the whole of the year 1783, every day found the governor and his council busy arranging for the welfare of the unhappy exiles. Parr's deep solicitude for the Loyalists, says Mr. Macdonald, should never be forgotten by any who have the blood of these people in their veins. He was not a brilliant man, says his biographer, but he was the very man for the time he lived in and the duties he had to perform, "a plain, upright soldier, who prided himself on his attention to duty, and who endeavoured to discharge the obligations of a distinguished

14. This graphic account of Legge's departure is quoted from Mr. James S. Macdonald's memoir of Lieut.-Governor Michael Francklin in the 16th vol. of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, pp. 32, 33.

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position with integrity and honour." During his administration several important settlements were made in the province, notably Shelburne and Parrsborough.

In the summer of 1786 and twice in 1787, Prince William Henry, the "sailor prince" as he was commonly called, who afterward came to the throne as King William the Fourth, visited Halifax and was the recipient of magnificent hospitality and fulsome praise. His first arrival in the town is described by the biographer of Governor Parr as follows: "The Prince landed from the frigate *Pegasus* at the King's Wharf, which was crowded with the numerous officials. Governor Parr was there, with General Campbell and Admiral Byron and the usual number of loyal and devoted admirers, and these gentlemen conducted him up the wharf to Government House, then situated on the spot where the Province Building is at present."

A week later than the Prince's arrival, the new governor general of the British provinces, who previously had been known as Sir Guy Carleton, but lately had been raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester, with his suite arrived at Halifax from Quebec, and he too was received with delight. Addresses were presented to him, dinners, receptions, and balls were given for him, and a "gay and tireless round of frivolities" was indulged in by the loyal Halifaxians while his lordship remained.

It was during Governor Parr's administration, in the year 1787, that Nova Scotia was created by the King by letters patent an Anglican Colonial See, the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, previously Rector of Trinity Church, New York, being consecrated as its first diocesan. Shortly after his arrival in his diocese the Bishop was so impressed with the general immorality of Halifax that in taking his seat in council he urged that steps be taken by the government "to erect barriers against the impetuous torrent of vice and irreligion" which threatened to overwhelm the morals of the community, if not the whole province.

Governor Parr was born in Dublin, Ireland, December 20, 1725. He died at Halifax of apoplexy, on Friday, November 25, 1791, and was buried under St. Paul's Church.¹⁵

15. For Governor Parr and the Loyalists, see a highly interesting paper by Mr. James S. Macdonald in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 14. For Hon. Richard Bulkeley see a paper by the same writer in the Collections, Vol. 12.

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1772
THE HONOURABLE SIR JOHN WENTWORTH, BARONET, (who did not, however, receive his title until 1795) was commissioned governor of Nova Scotia, January 13, 1792. He arrived first in Halifax from England, after the Revolution, on the 20th of September, 1783, in the capacity in which he had long acted while governor of New Hampshire, as surveyor general of the King's woods. In the same ship, with him came also Mr. Edmund Fanning, who immediately afterward entered on the duties of lieutenant-governor to Governor Parr. The exact date of the arrival of these officials we have learned from a private letter from the Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, Jr., a fellow Loyalist refugee of Mr. Wentworth, who had come to Halifax in 1776. Commissioned governor, Mr. Wentworth arrived again from England in H. M. frigate *Hussar*, commanded by Captain Rupert George, after a five weeks' voyage from Falmouth, England, on the 12th of May, 1792. On the 14th, at one o'clock in the afternoon he took the oath of office. Sir John resigned the governorship early in 1808, and from June 1, 1808, until his death on April 8, 1820, he enjoyed an annual pension from the government of five hundred pounds. For about half the period of his governorship, Sir John lived at the second built Government House, but some time in 1797, it would seem, he felt the house to be unfit to live in and removed his household temporarily to his lodge on Bedford Basin, probably staying there for a time with the Duke of Kent.¹⁶ Later the official residence in town must have been somewhat repaired, for the governor continued for some time longer to entertain there. In this house also, on the 16th of August, 1797, occurred the death of Lady Wentworth's first cousin, Charles Thomas, a young lieutenant in the Duke of Kent's regiment, who was accidentally shot by a brother officer in a road-house a few miles from the town.

On the 18th of November, 1799, Sir John wrote Robert Liston, Esq., the British ambassador to the United States that the Duke of Orleans and his two brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and Count Beaujolais, had arrived at Halifax, in H. M. Ship *Porcupine*, from

16. Dr. Akins says that Prince Edward resided at Government House with Sir John Wentworth in 1798, but since Sir John considered the house not fit to live in in 1797, and since the Prince had earlier become fully installed at the lodge, this seems very unlikely. That the two did live together about this time at the lodge seems almost a certainty. In 1798, however, Lady Wentworth was in England.

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New Providence, where they had been waiting in vain for some time to get passage to England. No chance for such passage having presented itself they had come to Nova Scotia, where they hoped to find a ship. Being unsuccessful here also they had gone on to New York in the *Lord Duncan*, a merchant ship, hoping to be able to sail from there. "They do not ostensibly," says Sir John, "assume their rank; visited H. R. H. the Duke of Kent and myself and Admiral Vandeput. The visits were returned, and they have dined with H. R. H. at Government House on the public dinner days. The surplus of cash brought with them they invested in bills of exchange from the paymaster general of the army, upon the treasury, to be remitted to London. I learn they brought about 10,000 dollars. It seems to be their intention to proceed to Spain, to meet their mother, as soon as possible. In all their deportment here they have been entirely discreet. This is the general statement, except that they were also at a public ball at the Government House, and yesterday dined with me. Friday they are to dine with the Duke of Kent. As these prisoners [*sic*] are of such high connection I thought it would not be unacceptable to you to be informed of their progress through this place."

"P. S. 8 o'clock, P. M. Since the preceding, H. R. H. the Duke of Kent has given the Duke of Orleans a letter of instruction to the Duke of Portland, of which it may be acceptable to you to be as above confidentially informed."

The Duke of Orleans, Mr. Murdoch, who prints this letter in his "History of Nova Scotia," explains "was the prince who afterwards governed in France as King Louis Philippe. It is said that he lodged while in Halifax with a Mrs. Meagher, a Frenchwoman, [*sic*] and attended service in the small chapel (R. C.) in Pleasant Street, and sat in the pew of L. Doyle, Esq."

In September, 1804, Halifax had a visitor in the person of Tom Moore, the Irish poet. Moore had lately been in Bermuda, where he had for a short time, it is said, occupied the post of registrar of the court of vice-admiralty. This position he found did not pay him a sufficient salary and he left it, but before returning to England he determined to see something more of the world. Accordingly he made a tour of the United States and Canada, and from Quebec

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came to Halifax, the voyage occupying thirteen days. He sailed from Halifax for England in the frigate *Boston*, commanded by Captain Douglas.

“On the evening of Saturday, April 8,” [1820] says Mr. Murdoch, “Sir John Wentworth died at Halifax, at his apartments in Hollis Street. He was in his 84th year. His latter days were spent in solitude and retirement. On the day before his departure the city was excited with the joyful ceremonial attendant on the elevation of the Prince of Wales to the sovereignty of this great empire in his own right, mingled with the respect due a monarch who had for near sixty years presided with moral dignity and conscientious earnestness over the government and interests of our nation. To an eminent loyalist like Wentworth, who through chequered scenes of prosperity and adversity had been the trusted and honored servant of the crown from an early period of this long reign, if he were then conscious of what was passing around him, the reflections he would make on the dropping of the curtain on royalty, on the unlooked for loss of Prince Edward, so long his intimate friend, and on the exit of his venerated master from all sublunary suffering, must have been exceedingly affecting. Sir John proved the sincerity of his professions of strong attachment to Nova Scotia by voluntarily spending his last days here. His baronetcy devolved upon his son, Sir Charles Mary Wentworth, who resided in England, but on the latter’s death without issue the title became extinct.¹⁷”

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR GEORGE PREVOST, BARONET, succeeded Governor Wentworth as the chief executive of the Nova Scotia government. His commission bears date January 15, 1808. On the 7th of April he reached Halifax, and on the 13th was sworn into office. He continued governor until 1811, when he was commissioned Governor-in-Chief of all the British provinces in America. He left Halifax for Quebec on the 25th of August, 1811, Alexander Croke,

17. See Dictionary of National Biography; “Early Life of Sir John Wentworth,” and “A Chapter in the Life of Sir John Wentworth” (both yet in manuscript in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society) by Hon. Sir Adams Archibald, K. C. M. G.; The Wentworth Genealogy; and Chapter IV of this history.

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LL.D., judge of vice-admiralty, being appointed to administer the government for a short time.

An event of much importance in the time of Sir George Prevost was the laying of the corner stone of the Province Building in 1811. On Monday, the twelfth of August of that year, which happened to be the birthday of George the Fourth, then regent of the empire of Britain, at three o'clock in the afternoon the Lieutenant-Governor, attended by Rear-Admiral Sawyer, Major-General Balfour, Commissioner Inglefield, and the different officers of the Staff, with several Captains of the Navy, and others, was received at the eastern gate of the inclosure by the Grenadiers and Light Infantry companies of the 2d battalion of militia, under command of Captain Liddell, and the Rifle company of the 8th battalion, commanded by Captain Albro, with arms presented, the band playing "God Save the King." Here the Governor and his party were met by the commissioners for superintending the erection of the building, who conducted them to a *marquéé*, where they were received by Quartermaster General Pyke, Grand Master of the Free and Accepted Order of Masons, and other officers and members of the Grand Lodge, and given refreshments. Then the Rev. Benjamin Gerrish Gray, Grand Chaplain of the Lodge, offered a prayer, and the Lieutenant-Governor performed the great ceremony of the day. The architect of the building was Mr. Richard Scott. "The ceremony was honoured," says the *Royal Gazette* newspaper, describing the function, "by the presence of a considerable number of ladies, who were provided with seats erected for their accommodation. The windows of the different houses round the square were also occupied by the fair daughters of Acadia—the whole forming a *coup d'oeil* of taste, beauty, and accomplishment that would do honour to any part of His Majesty's Dominions; and notwithstanding there was a larger concourse of people assembled than we have almost ever before witnessed in this town, and the different sheds, etc., were crowded with spectators, we are happy to announce that not any accident took place, nor any one sustained the least injury."

A notable day, indeed, was this, in the governorship of Sir George Prevost. In honour of the birthday of the heir to the throne and regent of the Kingdom, from early morning flags floated from the

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ships in the harbour and the ports and chief buildings in and about the town. At noon the troops were reviewed by his Excellency on the Common, and three salutes of seven guns each, "intercalated by a like series of *feux de joie*, echoed to the sky." "Then came the usual speech approving of the excellent performance by the troops and militia, after this a royal salute from the ships of war; then Sir George went back to Government House to receive and shake hands with all Halifax at a *levée* held in honour of the day." It was "a heavy day" for the representative of his Majesty, says Sir Adams Archibald, "the address, the dinner, the answer to the address and the speech to the toast, the roar of artillery in the morning, *feux de joie*, the salutes from the ships, the Volunteer Artillery's salute—to say nothing of the refreshments, which seem to have been rather profuse—must have sent him to bed tired enough to make him almost forget that he was emerging from the chrysalis of Nova Scotia to take wings for a higher sphere" as governor general of all the British provinces.

Sir George Prevost was born May 19, 1767, and died in London January 5, 1816. His popularity in Nova Scotia was very great.¹⁸

GENERAL SIR JOHN COAPE SHERBROOKE, G. C. B., was commissioned lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, August 19, 1811, and sworn in October 16, 1811. On the 29th of January, 1816, he like his predecessor was commissioned governor in chief of all the British provinces, but it seems to have been several months before he took his departure for Quebec. On the 28th of June, 1816, Major-General George Stracey Smyth was sworn in administrator of the Nova Scotia government until a new executive head could be appointed. Sir John Coape Sherbrooke died in England February 14, 1830.^{18½}

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GEORGE RAMSAY, NINTH EARL OF DALHOUSIE, was commissioned for the government of Nova Scotia, July 20, 1816. He reached Halifax in H. M. ship *Forth*, from England, on the 24th of October, 1816, and the same day took the oath of office. In 1819,

18. See Dictionary of National Biography; and "Sir George Prevost" (an unpublished paper in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society), by James S. Macdonald.

18½. See Dictionary of National Biography.

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he too was commissioned governor in chief of the Canadas and the other provinces, in succession to the Duke of Richmond, and probably in October of that year he went from Halifax to Quebec. The Earl was born in 1770, and succeeded his father in the peerage of Scotland in 1787. He was created Baron Dalhousie in the peerage of the United Kingdom, August 11, 1815. Lord Dalhousie was governor in chief of Canada from 1819 to 1828, and commander in chief in the East Indies from 1829 to 1832. He died March 21, 1838.

The Earl of Dalhousie's governorship of Nova Scotia lasted but three years, but these years were full of intelligent activity on the part of this accomplished, energetic, high-minded man. Of Lord Dalhousie the Honourable Joseph Howe, himself a later governor, has written: "The Earl was a square-built, good-looking man, with hair rather gray when I last saw him. He took great interest in agriculture and was the patron of 'Agricola,' whose letters appeared in the *Recorder* when I was in the printing office. His Lordship's example set all the Councillors and officials and fashionables mad about farming and political economy. They went to ploughing-matches, got up fairs, made composts, and bought cattle and pigs. Every fellow who wanted an office, or wished to get an invitation to Government House, read Sir John Sinclair, talked of Adam Smith, bought a south-down, or hired an acre of land and planted mangel wurtzels.

"The secret about 'Agricola's' letters had been well kept and the mystery became very mysterious. At last the authorship was announced, and it was then discovered that a stout Scotchman, who kept a small grocer's shop in Water street and whom nobody knew or had met in 'good society' was the great unknown. Ovations were got up under the patronage of the Earl, and the Judges and leading merchants and lawyers came forward and fraternized with the stout Scotchman, who being a man of good education and fine powers of mind was soon discovered to speak with as much ease and fluency as he wrote. All this was marvellous in the eyes of that generation. But no two governors think alike or patronize the same things, when Sir James Kempt came he had a passion for road-making and pretty women, and the agricultural mania died away. Agricola was voted a bore—a fat Scotchman—and his family decidedly vulgar, and the

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heifers about Government House attracted more attention than the Durham cows. The agricultural societies tumbled to pieces, and although spasmodic efforts were made from time to time by some members of Mr. Young's family, agriculture did not become fashionable in my day till Sir Gaspard Le Marchant in 1854 began to talk to everybody about Shanghai chickens and Alderney cows. Then a good deal of money was spent. The old breeds of cows, which wanted nothing but care and judicious crossing to make them as good as any in the world, were reduced in size that the cream might be made richer, which it never was, and the chickens were made twice the size, with the additional recommendation that they were twice as tough. Sir Gaspard brought his crochets direct from Court, for Prince Albert was a great breeder, and the Queen and everybody else went mad about poultry for a summer or two."¹⁹

Not only agriculture but higher education in the province deeply interested the Earl of Dalhousie. When he came as governor, Nova Scotia had but one college, which was all the province then needed, or indeed ought ever since to have had, the college known as King's, situated at Windsor in the county of Hants. Unfortunately, however, this college, established and always conducted under Anglican Church control, had at the start burdened itself with bigoted denominational statutes which made it impossible for young men of other churches than the Anglican to receive an education within its doors. Lord Dalhousie was soon properly roused to indignation at this state of things and determined to do something to remedy it. Through his efforts and influence Dalhousie College was founded, a college "for the instruction of youth in the higher classics and in

19. This sketch, by Hon. Joseph Howe, is printed in the 17th volume of Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society (pp. 197, 198). The general title of the article from which it is taken is entitled "Notes on Several Governors and their Influence." Mr. John Young's "Letters of Agricola," printed first in the *Acadian Recorder* between July 25 and December 26, 1818, were designed to stimulate and did stimulate intelligent activity in agriculture throughout the province. They appeared anonymously and their anonymity much increased the public interest in them. In consequence of suggestions they contained, agricultural societies were quickly organized in various places, ploughing matches were held, and there was a general awakening of interest in improved methods of farming. By March, 1819, Mr. Young had avowed the authorship of the letters and had become secretary of a Provincial Agricultural Society, in support of which the legislature gave a subsidy of fifteen hundred pounds. Mr. John Young, as is well known, was father of Hon. Sir William Young, Kt., the eighth chief justice of Nova Scotia. See a paper in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, by John Ervin, entitled "John Young (Agricola) the Junius of Nova Scotia."

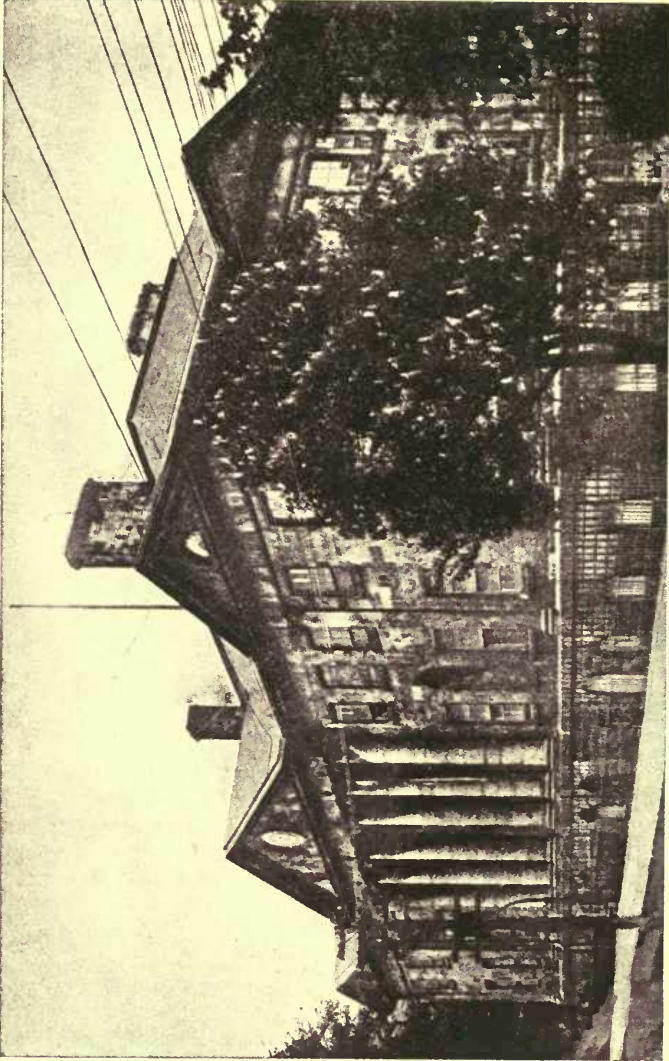
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all philosophical studies," whose doors should be open to all who professed the Christian religion, especially those who were narrowly "excluded from Windsor." With great formality the Earl laid the corner stone of the building of this non-sectarian college on Monday, the 22d of May, 1820, the Countess giving a ball and supper to a large company on the same evening. Nine days later his lordship received a farewell address from the people of Halifax and took his departure also for the chief governorship of the provinces at large.²⁰

Nothing, writes the Hon. Joseph Howe, could be more "correct and refining" than the tone given to Halifax society by Lady Dalhousie. Without being handsome, and dressing with marked plainness, she charmed people with the elegant simplicity of her manners and with her gracious desire to please.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JAMES KEMPT, G. C. B., was appointed by the regent, afterwards George the Fourth, to the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia, October 20, 1819. He reached Halifax, with his suite, however, not until June 1, 1820, his inauguration taking place the next day after his arrival. From July 10, 1828, to November 24, 1830, he also served in the higher position of governor general of the British provinces, his successor in Nova Scotia being Sir Peregrine Maitland. Of Halifax social life during Kempt's administration of the Nova Scotia government, from 1820 to 1828, and the governor's part in it, Mr. Peter Lynch has given us some graphic pictures. "Winter, notwithstanding its severity," says Mr. Lynch, "was a merry time. And although the winds were laden with frost they did not prevent the sun shining brilliantly by day and the stars sparkling brilliantly by night. A heavy fall of snow was soon beaten down by the innumerable sleighs which traversed it, and a number of good hostels at a convenient driving distance from the town afforded the certainty of a good dinner. If at times the days were dark and dreary they could always be made bright and cheerful by the merry music of the sleigh bells, and I have no hesitation in saying that while then the population was not more

20. See Dictionary of National Biography; and a paper, still unpublished in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, by Professor Archibald MacMechan, entitled "Lord Dalhousie."



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than half as numerous as it is at present, yet there were twice the number of horses and vehicles.

“The Tandem Club, one of the institutions of Halifax, was a splendid sight. It numbered in its ranks the *élite* of the community, the Governor and all the officials, the General, his staff, and a large proportion of the officers in the garrison, and many of our wealthy citizens, who all made a grand display during their field days. . . . At the head of the Club rode the captain of the day, always with a six-in-hand. After him came the Governor, with a fine team of four horses, and *asprés lui le deluge*, four-in-hands and tandems without number, all forming a continuous line of splendid horses, handsome sleighs, and gaily dressed people, from South Street to the Provincial Building, all entranced by the many notes of the mellow horn and the continued shouting of the crowds which lined the street on either side.

“Immediately opposite the east side of the Provincial Building was a very large house then occupied by Miller (a famous host), who kept the best hotel in the town. There the party all brought up in several ranks, although wedged in as close as possible filling the whole space between Prince and Sackville streets. At once the hotel doors were thrown open and the servants of the house, together with those of the several messes, and others, streamed forth in their gay liveries, bearing trays laden with cakes, confections, and steaming hot negus, then the favorite beverage. After these refreshments were partaken of, the whole party in order swept along the streets on their way to Fultz’s Twelve Mile House, where about three o’clock, then the fashionable dinner hour, the party sat down to as good a dinner as could be had anywhere, in the Province or perhaps out of it.”

The Sundays in Halifax in Sir James Kempt’s time, Mr. Lynch says, “could scarcely be called holy days,” for except in two small churches, one a Methodist, the other a Baptist, few people were found worshipping after the service of the forenoon. “The bells rang out their invitations, and the doors of the churches stood open in the afternoons, but few entered their precincts. It was the almost universal custom for gentlemen to visit from house to house after the morning service. Wine and cake were set out on the

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tables as now on New Year's Day (though not with the same profusion), and the time was spent until the hour for dinner in discussing the gossip of the day, and possibly sometimes in the exchange of bits of scandal.

“After dinner, when the weather permitted it, the community streamed out to the Common, to see a review of the troops. There the great and the little were found in their holiday attire, the wealthy in their carriages, the poorer on foot. At the west side of the Common, somewhere near where the old race-course ran, the Royal Standard flaunted its gay folds, and here gathered the fashionable and rich of the town, for at this point the Governor, who was then a general, and his staff, were to take their places when they should come. At about half past four his Excellency and suite, their gay plumes waving in the air, and their bright uniforms flashing, made their appearance and galloping down to the stand took their position. The several bands played the National Anthem, and the business of the review proceeded. A march round at slow step with a salute, and another at quick step without it, and the review was over and the Common in a brief space of time restored to the quiet which had pervaded it some two hours before.

“But the business or rather the pleasure of the day was not yet over. In Hollis street, in one of the stone houses to the south of Government House, lived a colonel of one of the regiments in garrison, I think Colonel Creigh, and opposite him another military man, I think a Cochran, and thither, at about dusk, came one of the regimental bands. From that time until perhaps ten o'clock the band played dance and other secular music, to an admiring audience, comprising some of the better element of the town, but consisting chiefly of the great unwashed, who made the Sabbath night hideous with their coarse jests and noisy conduct. It was a sad termination to the sacred day which the Great Lawgiver had commanded us to remember to keep holy.”

In the course of Sir James Kempt's administration, the governor of Nova Scotia whom Sir James had immediately followed, the Earl of Dalhousie, now governor-general of Canada and the other provinces, came to Halifax on a visit. He reached Halifax from Quebec in the government brig *Chebucto*, Captain Cunard, on Thursday,

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the 3rd of July, 1823, after a voyage lasting eleven days. That night, late, he landed at the town with his aides, Captain W. Hay and Lieutenant Maule, accompanied also by Lieut-Col. Durnford, R. E., and Captain Parker, A. D., quartermaster-general. On Saturday he held a *levée* at Government House, at one o'clock, and the next Tuesday he received an address from the magistrates and other inhabitants, which was presented by Sheriff Jared Ingersoll Chipman.

Shortly after this he went with Sir James Kempt to visit Windsor, Horton, and Cornwallis. On Wednesday the 23rd he was entertained at a "public banquet" at Mason's Hall, in the town, the Hon. Richard John Uniacke presiding, and the Governor and his suite, Rear Admiral Fahie, the captains of the navy, field officers of the army, the staff of the garrison, the members of council, the magistrates, and many others being guests. At least forty toasts were given at the banquet by the chair, the band of the 81st, Sir James Kempt's regiment, playing appropriate airs after each. The Earl left at half past twelve, "but," says Mr. Murdoch significantly, "the president and company continued till a later or more exactly speaking an earlier hour."

The next evening the Earl was given a public ball at the Province Building, the council chamber being used for dancing, and the assembly room for the supper. "All the taste and fashion of the town were displayed on this occasion, and no expense was spared in rendering it a treat well worthy the acceptance of a peer of the realm." "It was asserted," says Mr. Murdoch, "that of all the *fêtes* ever got up in Halifax this ball to the Earl was the most brilliant, in the beauty of decoration, the sumptuousness of entertainment, and the taste that reigned over all. The council room was illuminated with a profusion of lamps and chandeliers. Sofas were placed all round the sides of the apartment, the elegant proportions and loftiness of the chamber being in reality its greatest ornament. A military band was stationed in an elevated orchestra, placed over the central doors. The Earl opened the ball with Admiral Fahie's lady, a young bride, who had just come on with her husband in H. M. S. *Salisbury* from Bermuda. At midnight the supper began, Mr. Wallace presiding and giving toasts, and the dances were re-

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newed afterwards." On the 28th of July the Earl left town, on his way once more to Quebec.

Sir James Kempt was born at Edinburgh, in 1764, became captain of the 113th Foot and as such served in Ireland and in Holland, and was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel in 1799. He was at one time in service in the Spanish Peninsula. In 1813 he was colonel-commandant of the 60th Foot, and at Waterloo was severely wounded. He was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, and was also invested with several foreign orders. The 27th of May, 1825, he was commissioned lieutenant-general, and in 1841 was promoted general. At one time he was master general of the ordnance. He died in London, December 20, 1854.²¹

GENERAL SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, G. C. B., was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia some time in 1828. He was born in Hampshire, England, in 1777, and died in London, May 30, 1854. He entered the army in 1792, served in Flanders and in Spain, and was at Waterloo, in command of the First British Brigade. On June 22, 1815, for his services at Waterloo he was made a K. C. B. His wife, Lady Sarah, was a daughter of the Duke of Richmond, her mother being the Duchess of Richmond who gave the famous ball at Brussels on the eve of the battle of Waterloo. In 1818 the Duke of Richmond was governor-general of all the British provinces in America, and in that year Sir Peregrine Maitland was made lieutenant-governor of Quebec. The exact date of his commission as governor of Nova Scotia we do not know, but he served in this capacity from 1828 until probably some time in 1833. While he was in Halifax, on Sunday, April 8, 1832, Lady Sarah gave birth to a daughter.

From December, 1843, until September, 1846, Sir Peregrine was governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1846 he was promoted general, and in 1852 was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath.²²

Writing of the change in the tone of social life in Halifax when Sir James Kempt left and Sir Peregrine Maitland came, Mr. Peter

21. See Dictionary of National Biography.

22. See Dictionary of National Biography.

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Lynch writes: "The advent to the province of the new governor and his wife, Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah Maitland, the latter a Lennox and daughter of the then Duke of Richmond, I am happy to say put an end to these unseemly orgies [secular entertainments on Sunday, etc.]. These two excellent people, from their consistent walk together, with their high rank, at once produced a change in the tone of society, and the perfume of their sweet lives permeated all classes of the people. They professed much, and rigidly practised it. Their garments smelt of myrrh, aloes, and cassia, and while those immediately about them were constrained by their holy lives to follow their example, their influence went through all ranks of the town. As Caligula 'found Rome of brick and left it of marble,' so these good people, who found here much of riot, dissipation, and disorder, after their period of abode amongst us left the community in a very much improved condition. The good seed they sowed yielded much healthy fruit, and I have no doubt its influence has lasted to the present day."

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, K. C. B., who has often been confused with Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde (born at Glasgow, Scotland, October 16, 1792), was commissioned lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia some time in 1833, and left the province probably in 1840. He was the fifth son of John Campbell of Melfort, and his wife Colina, daughter of John Campbell of Auchalader, and was born in 1776. He had a brother, Admiral Sir Patrick Campbell. In 1792, at the age of sixteen, he became a midshipman on board an East Indiaman, but in February, 1795, he entered the army as lieutenant in the 3rd battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles, then commanded by his uncle. He served with great ability in India, and later under the Duke of Wellington on the continent. With the great duke he had a warm friendship and to this famous general owed much of his distinction. He became lieutenant-colonel of the 65th regiment in 1818, and major-general in 1825. From 1839 to 1847 he was governor of Ceylon. He died in England, June 13, 1847, and was buried in the church of St. James, Piccadilly.²³

"On Tuesday, the first of July, 1834," says *Occasional* in the

23. See Dictionary of National Biography.

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Acadian Recorder, "Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, K. C. B., arrived in Halifax as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. For eighteen months Thomas Jeffery, President of the Council, had been Administrator of the Government during the absence of Governor Maitland in England. Previous to the arrival of Governor Campbell, the President sent a message to the House of Assembly, which had just met, with an extract of a dispatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressing His Majesty's readiness to place the casual and territorial revenue at the disposal of the Provincial Legislature, on their agreeing to make a permanent provision for the public servants, whose salaries had been hitherto paid from the funds, which it was proposed to surrender. A series of resolutions, embodying a scale of salaries, were introduced by the Solicitor General, which excited general indignation as being utterly disproportionate to the extent and financial circumstances of the Province.

"And now was the first shot fired in the direction of decided responsible government. Mr. Alex. Stewart, who afterwards was to be the champion of the autocratic council, made a vigorous attack on its constitution, moving three resolutions, having for their object to open the doors of the council."²⁴

SIR LUCIUS BENTINCK CARY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND, P. C., G. C. H., was commissioned for Nova Scotia some time in 1840, and remained governor until 1846. Lord Falkland was returned heir to his father, the ninth Viscount Falkland (in the peerage of Scotland) March 2, 1809. He married, first, Lady Amelia Fitz-Clarence, sister of the Earl of Munster, one of the natural children of King William the Fourth, and this lady was with him in Halifax. His second wife was Elizabeth Catherine, dowager duchess of St. Alban's. He was created an English peer May 15, 1832. From 1848 to 1853, Viscount Falkland was governor of Bombay.

In the second year of Lord Falkland's governorship, the year 1841, his royal highness, the Prince de Joinville, son of King Louis Philippe of France, made Halifax a short visit, and on Tuesday, September 14th, was honoured by General Sir Jeremiah Dickson and

24. *Acadian Recorder* for January 29, 1916.

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the officers of the staff and garrison with a brilliant ball in the Province Building. "Having obtained permission from the proper authorities for the use of the legislative halls," says *Occasional* in the *Acadian Recorder*,²⁵ "a party of engineers and workmen were turned in, and, in an incomparably short space of time, the obstructive fixtures were removed, the whole interior was purified, staircases and passages were lined with banners, and bayonets were formed into candelabra and other ornaments.

"About half-past nine the company began to assemble, and were received by the General. Besides His Royal Highness, and suite, and the officers of the French warships *Belle Poule* and *Casaud*, His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Falkland, Mr. Stuart, *chargé d'affaires* to Colombia, and lady; Commodore Douglas, Captain Leith, and the officers of the *Winchester* and *Seringapatam*, with the chief officers of the Provincial government, the Mayor, etc., were among the guests. Dancing was kept up with much spirit in the Council Chamber until after midnight, when the doors of the Assembly were thrown open, and the whole company, to the number of four hundred, sat down to a substantial and elegant supper, prepared by Coblenz.

"From a cross table, or dais, slightly raised, at the head of the room, other tables extended the whole length, covered with every delicacy. The gallery was occupied by the band, and non-commissioned officers and their families. The company having done justice to the good fare, the health of Her Majesty, of King Louis Philippe, and of His Royal Highness, the guest of the night, were given; after which the Prince gave 'Lady Falkland and Ladies of Halifax.' Dancing was then resumed and kept up till a late hour—the Prince retiring about two o'clock."

SIR JOHN HARVEY, K. C. B., was commissioned lieutenant-governor in 1846. He was born in 1778, and entered the army in the 80th regiment. He was in service in Holland, in France, at the Cape of Good Hope, in Ceylon, and in Egypt. In 1812 he was appointed deputy adjutant-general to the army in Canada, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington in his

25. *Acadian Recorder* for April 15, 1916.

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Waterloo campaign; from 1837 to 1841 was lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick; from 1841 to 1846 governor and commander-in-chief of Newfoundland; and some time in 1846 was commissioned lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. He was made K. C. B. in 1838. He died in office at Halifax, and was buried there March 22, 1852. A mural tablet to his memory rests on one of the walls of St. Paul's Church.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN GASPARD LE MARCHANT was commissioned lieutenant-governor probably in June, 1852. He was born in 1803 and married in 1839. His father was John Gaspard Le Marchant, Esq., a major-general in the army, and the first lieutenant-governor of the Royal Military College. Sir John was a knight of the first and third classes of St. Ferdinand and knight-commander of St. Carlos of Spain. From February, 1847, to June, 1852, he was lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland. He held the office of lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia until December, 1857. From 1859 to 1864 he was governor of Malta. He died in London February 6, 1874.²⁶

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE AUGUSTUS CONSTANTINE PHIPPS, SECOND MARQUIS OF NORMANDY AND EARL MULGRAVE, was commissioned lieutenant-governor in January, 1858. Earl Mulgrave was born, July 23, 1819, entered the Scots Fusilier Guards in 1838, and in 1851 was appointed comptroller and in 1853 treasurer of the Queen's household. He succeeded his father as marquis July 28, 1863, when he resigned the governorship of Nova Scotia and returned to England. He was appointed governor of Queensland in 1871, of New Zealand in 1874, and of Victoria in 1878.²⁷

THE HONOURABLE SIR RICHARD GRAVES MACDONNELL, K. C. M. G., LL.D., distinguished as a jurist, and also as an explorer, was commissioned for the Nova Scotia government probably on the 28th of May, 1864, but remained governor of the province only until October of the following year. Sir Richard was the eldest son of Rev.

26. See Dictionary of National Biography.

27. See Dictionary of National Biography.

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Richard Macdonnell, D. D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and was born in Dublin in 1814. Graduating at Trinity, he was called to the Irish bar in 1838 and to the English bar in 1840. In 1843 he was appointed chief justice of the Gambia, and in 1847 governor of the British settlements on the Gambia. After this, for a long time he was engaged in exploring the interior of Africa. In 1852 he was governor of St. Vincent and captain-general, and in 1855 governor-in-chief of South Australia, where also he made valuable explorations. From October 19, 1865, until 1872, he was governor of Hong Kong. Sir Richard was made K. C. M. G. in 1871.²⁸

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS, BART., K. C. B., commissioned lieutenant-governor October 20, 1865, was the first native born governor the province had. He was born at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, December 4, 1800, and should probably be regarded as the most illustrious of Nova Scotia's sons. At an early age, through the interest of the Duke of Kent, he was placed in the Royal Academy at Woolwich. Entering the army he attained the rank of captain in 1840, and at the Crimea earned for himself undying fame in British annals as "the hero of Kars." One of the gallant defenders of that town during its four months siege by Mouravieff, General Williams on the 29th of September, 1855, gave the besiegers battle, and after a fierce conflict of eight hours duration defeated a force much larger than his own on the heights above Kars. The town, however, fell, and General Williams was taken a prisoner, first to Moscow, then to St. Petersburg. Almost immediately afterward he was created a baronet. In 1858 he was commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America. He administered the government of the British provinces in America from October 12, 1860, until January 22, 1861. He administered the Nova Scotia government until October, 1867. He died, unmarried, in London, July 26, 1883, and was buried at Brompton cemetery four days later.²⁹

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES HASTINGS DOYLE, K. C. M. G., was

28. See Dictionary of National Biography.

29. See Dictionary of National Biography; and "Ancestry of the late Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars," a pamphlet by Hon. Judge A. W. Savary, D. C. L., of Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia.

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commissioned lieutenant-governor October 18, 1867. He was the eldest son of Sir Charles William Doyle, C. B., G. C. H., and his wife Sophia, daughter of Sir John Coghill, and was born in 1805. He was educated at Sandhurst, and entered the army as an ensign in the 87th, his great-uncle Sir John Doyle's regiment. He saw service in the Orient, the West Indies, Canada, and Ireland. During the American Civil War he commanded the troops in British North America, and in the famous Chesapeake affair showed great tact. In May, 1868, he was appointed colonel of the 70th regiment, and in 1869 was made a K. C. M. G. He continued lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia until 1873, Sir Edward Kenny, however, as president of the council, administering the government in his absence from May 13, 1870, until the end of his term of office. After other service to the Empire he died in London, March 19, 1883.

The confederation of the British provinces into the Dominion of Canada was effected while General Doyle was governor of Nova Scotia, this event occurring in 1867.³⁰

THE HONOURABLE JOSEPH HOWE was the first lieutenant-governor appointed for Nova Scotia after Confederation. He received his commission May 1, 1873. Hon. Joseph Howe, one of the most eminent statesmen of the provinces of the Dominion of Canada, was born at Halifax, December 13, 1804. His father was Mr. John Howe of Boston, who was born in that town in 1753, and was editor with Mrs. Margaret Draper of the *News-Letter*, the only newspaper that continued to be published in Boston during the siege in 1775 and 1776. Coming to Halifax as a Loyalist refugee, John Howe soon became there King's printer. He died in 1835. Hon. Joseph Howe's life has been ably written and his letters and speeches have been published. He has perhaps received more honour from his countrymen since his death than any other Nova Scotian. He was a liberal in politics and a consistent champion of the rights of the people. He took the oath as lieutenant-governor May 10, 1873, but his death occurred on the 22d day after. He died at Halifax, June 1, 1873.

The next appointee to the lieutenant-governorship was Mr.

30. See Dictionary of National Biography.

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Howe's long time opponent in politics, the Honourable James William Johnstone, judge in equity, member of the legislative council, attorney-general, solicitor-general, and representative to the legislature, in politics a distinguished conservative. Judge Johnstone when he was appointed lieutenant-governor was in the south of France. He accepted the appointment, but died in England on his way home. He was born in the island of Jamaica, but came to Nova Scotia in early manhood and founded an important family in Halifax.³¹

THE HONOURABLE SIR ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD, K. C. M. G., was commissioned lieutenant-governor July 4, 1873. Sir Adams also was a native Nova Scotian, he was a son of Mr. Samuel Archibald of Truro, Colchester county, and grandson of Mr. James Archibald, also of Colchester county, a justice there of the court of common pleas. Sir Adams was called to the bar of Nova Scotia as a barrister in 1839, was a member of the executive council, first as solicitor-general, from August 14, 1856, to February 14, 1857, then as attorney-general, from February 10, 1860, to June 11, 1863. He was a delegate to England to arrange the terms of settlement with the British Government and the general mining association in respect to Nova Scotia mines, and also to obtain the views of the government relative to the projected union of the provinces. He was sworn to the privy council of Canada, July 1, 1867, but this position he resigned in 1868. From May 20, 1870, to May, 1873, he was lieutenant-governor of Manitoba and the Northwestern Territories, from June 24, 1873, to July 4, 1873, he was judge in equity in Nova Scotia, and at the latter date, as we have said, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. In 1873 he was also one of the directors of the Canadian Pacific railway under Sir Hugh Allan. He ceased to be lieutenant-governor in 1883, but was knighted in 1885. He died at Truro, December 14, 1892.

The lieutenant-governors since Sir Adams Archibald have been:

31. For Hon. Joseph Howe, see the Dictionary of National Biography; and an able biography of him by Hon. Judge J. W. Longley of the Supreme bench of Nova Scotia. See "Howe's Letters and Speeches," edited by Hon. William Annand. For Hon. Judge Johnstone, see "Three Premiers," by Rev. Edward Manning Saunders, D. D., and a sketch by Hon. Judge A. W. Savary, D. C. L., of Annapolis Royal, in the Calnek-Savary History of Annapolis.

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Matthew Henry Richey, Esq., Barrister, Q. C., 1883-1888; Hon. Archibald Woodbury McLelan, 1888-1890; Hon. Sir Malachy Bowes Daly, K. C. M. G., 1890-1900; Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones, 1900-1906; Hon. Duncan Cameron Fraser, 1906-1910; Hon. James Drummond McGregor, 1910-1915; Hon. David McKeen, 1915-1916; Hon. Mac-Callum Grant, 1916—. All these except Sir Malachy Daly have been native Nova Scotians and men previously active in the political life of the province.

The Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia from 1749 to 1786, while the governors were "Governors-in-Chief," were as follows:

COLONEL CHARLES LAWRENCE, appointed July 17, 1750, (commissioned Governor in 1756).

ROBERT MONCKTON, Esq., afterwards General Monckton, commissioned probably December 31, 1755. His commission seems to have been repeated August 17, 1757, and October 27, 1760. On the 20th of March, 1761, he was commissioned governor of New York, in place of Sir Charles Hardy, who had resigned. Of Monckton's military rank when he was lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia we are not sure.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF JUSTICE JONATHAN BELCHER was commissioned April 14, 1761, but was relieved of the duties of the office in September, 1762. He took the formal oath of the office November 21, 1761.³²

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL MONTAGUE WILMOT was commissioned January 13, 1762. Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor Jonathan Belcher apprised the council of Colonel Wilmot's appointment, August 26, 1762. Colonel Wilmot took the oath of office September 26, 1762. On the 11th of March, 1763, he was commissioned governor-in-chief.

THE HONOURABLE MICHAEL FRANCKLIN was commissioned lieutenant-governor March 28, 1766, and filled the office until some time in 1776. He died November 8, 1782.³³

32. "Jonathan Belcher, First Chief Justice of Nova Scotia," a sketch by Hon. Sir Charles Townshend, D. C. L., in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 18.

33. See "Lieutenant Governor Francklin," by James S. Macdonald, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 16.

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ADMIRAL MARIOT ARBUTHNOT was commissioned February 16, 1776, and took the oath of office April 22, 1776. He continued in office until January, 1778, when he was advanced to flag rank and left Nova Scotia. He was probably a captain when he took office as lieutenant-governor.³⁴

RICHARD HUGHES, ESQ., R. N., afterward Sir Richard Hughes, Baronet, was commissioned March 12, 1778, and took the oath of office August 17, 1778. On the 26th of September, 1780, he was promoted rear admiral of the blue. In April, 1780, he succeeded his father, Sir Richard Hughes, Sr., in the baronetcy.³⁵

SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND, BARONET, CAPTAIN R. N., was commissioned lieutenant-governor December 15, 1780, although as appears he did not take the oath of office until July 31, 1781. He held the office until December, 1783, on the 10th of which month he was created a baronet. About this time he left Halifax for England.³⁶

EDMUND FANNING, ESQ., was commissioned lieutenant-governor some time in 1783. He was born in Long Island, New York, in 1737, and graduated at Yale College in 1757. He practised law at Hillsborough, North Carolina, received the degrees of M. A. from Harvard in 1764 and King's (Columbia) in 1772, D. C. L. from Oxford in 1774, and LL.D. from both Yale and Dartmouth in 1803. In 1777 he raised a corps of four hundred and sixty Loyalists, which bore the name of the Associate Refugees or King's American Regiment, and of this he became general. Probably in the summer or early autumn of 1783 he went to Nova Scotia, and September 23, 1783, the King's Commission appointing him lieutenant-governor of the province was read in council. He at once took the oath of office and was likewise admitted to the council. In October, 1786, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island under the governor general of all the provinces. This last office he held for nineteen years. He died in London February 28, 1818.³⁷

34. See Dictionary of National Biography.

35. See Dictionary of National Biography.

36. See Dictionary of National Biography.

37. See Dictionary of National Biography.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

NO. X

HALIFAX AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

“‘And I abide by my Mother’s House,
Said our Lady of the Snows.”

—KIPLING.



AT the outbreak of the Revolution Nova Scotia stood in no essentially different relation to Great Britain and her rule of her American colonies from that borne by the thirteen colonies that afterward became the first States of the Union. She was simply the most easterly of the British American colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, of which Pennsylvania extended farthest west and Georgia farthest south, her English settlement having been later than that of the others, but her constitution and government not differing in any essential particular from theirs, and her intercourse with them all, especially the New England colonies, being very friendly and close.¹ The population of this extreme eastern province, moreover, which numbered between fifteen and twenty thousand, had been drawn in great part from New England, between 1749 and 1762, and never since the people emigrated, except perhaps in the depth of the winters, had commercial and social intercourse between them and the inhabitants of the towns from which they had come for a single month been intermitted. At the beginning of the revolutionary struggle, therefore, it was not by any means a foregone conclusion that Nova Scotia would not range

1. See on this point, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution," an article in the American Historical Review, X, pp. 52-71, by Emily P. Weaver. "Writers dealing with the period," says Miss Weaver, "frequently assume that Nova Scotia was from the first in a class altogether distinct from that of the revolting colonies and therefore do not think her exceptional course worthy of remark. One of such writers is Green in his *History of the English People*."

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herself on the side of the revolting colonies, and in process of time come to share whatever fortune the general protest of these colonies against the abuses of the government in England might bring them.

The extent of territory embraced by Nova Scotia, which at that time, as always until then, had embraced the present province of New Brunswick, and which also included the recently attached island of Cape Breton,² was a little greater than that of the province of New York, and was well up in the scale of square mileage to the province of Georgia, and her well known fertility and the great wealth of her forests and fisheries, in spite of her comparatively scanty population, made her an object of no little consideration in the eyes of the revolutionary leaders. The importance, moreover, of the capital of the province as a strategic military and naval base on the extreme eastern part of the continent was by no means overlooked. To draw this maritime province into the Revolution, therefore, was an issue that the revolutionists strongly desired to effect.

In July, 1775, Benjamin Franklin prepared a sketch of a plan for permanent union of the American colonies, which while allowing to each the continuance of the virtual independence it enjoyed, proposed for each adequate representation in an annual Congress, which should deal with all measures of resistance to injustice and oppression from any source. Besides the thirteen colonies that subsequently became the first States of the Union, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Florida were included in his plan, while Ireland, the West Indies and Bermuda also were to be invited to join. The plan, another of whose details was the creation of a certain number of "lords" for each colony, Nova Scotia to have one, was submitted to the Continental Congress, but was not acted upon.³

The first action of Congress relative to Nova Scotia, after the Revolution began, was a formal resolve of that body on the 10th of November, 1775, to send two persons secretly to the province to learn the disposition of the people towards the American cause, to inquire into the condition of the fortifications, wherever there were any, and

2. Cape Breton was annexed to Nova Scotia by royal proclamation on the 7th of October, 1763. In 1784 it was separated from Nova Scotia, and Sydney was made the capital. In 1820, it was again united to Nova Scotia, as it now is.

3. See Albert Henry Smyth's "Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. 10, p. 291.

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of the dockyards at Halifax and probably Fort Cumberland, and to discover the quantity of artillery and warlike stores the province had, with also the number of war-ships and other ships lying in the harbours, as also, of course, the numerical strength of the land and sea forces. This resolve was evidently at once communicated to General Washington, at Cambridge, for nine days later Washington wrote the president of the Congress that as soon as two "capable persons" could be found he would dispatch them to Nova Scotia "on the service resolved on in Congress." On the 28th of the same month he again wrote the president: "There are two persons engaged to go to Nova Scotia on the business recommended in your last. By the best information we have from thence, the stores, etc., have been withdrawn some time. Should this not be the case it is next to an impossibility to attempt anything there in the present unsettled and precarious state of the army." On the 30th of January, 1776, he wrote again from Cambridge, that even if the persons sent for information to Nova Scotia should report favourably on troops being sent there, he had no troops that he could send. It would be quite inadvisable, he thought, to raise troops "in the eastern parts of this government."

On the 16th of February, 1776, it was resolved in Congress that this body "submit the expediency and practicability of an expedition to Nova Scotia to General Washington, and would by no means accept the plan proposed by Thompson and Obrian so far as relates to Tory property nor the destruction of the town of Halifax." On the 27th of March, 1776, General Washington wrote Congress that Colonel Eddy had brought him a petition from Nova Scotia which stated that the people of that province were afraid they would have to take up arms unless they were protected. The Nova Scotians think, Washington says, that it would be better if five or six hundred troops could be sent them, the presence of whom would quiet the people's fears, and would also prevent the Indians taking sides with the government. He is uncertain what had better be done, "for if the army is going to Halifax, as reported by them [Col. Eddy and whoever were his colleagues in presenting the appeal] before they left, such a force, or much more, would not avail." On the 8th of

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July, 1776, Congress resolved "that General Washington have permission to call forth and engage in the service of Nova Scotia so many Indians of the St. John's, Nova Scotia, and Penobscot tribes as he shall judge necessary, and that he be desired to write to the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay requesting their aid in this business and informing them that Congress will reimburse such expenses as may be necessarily incurred in consequence of the foregoing resolutions."

On the 30th of December, 1776, and the 7th of January, 1777, further resolutions were passed by Congress showing that the reduction of Nova Scotia was still under consideration, and on the 8th of January, 1777, a resolution was passed that the Council of the State of Massachusetts be desired "to attend to the situation of the enemy" in Nova Scotia, and if this body thought that an attack on Fort Cumberland could advantageously be made in that winter or the following spring, "whereby the dockyard and other works, together with such stores as could not easily be removed," should be destroyed, its members were empowered to raise a body of not more than three thousand men, under such officers as they should appoint, to carry on the said expedition and to provide military stores and convey them to such of the eastern parts of the state as they should think best. On the 29th of April, 1777, at a board of war, it was resolved that if fifteen complete battalions should be furnished by New Hampshire and Massachusetts, three of these might be employed in Nova Scotia in such ways as should be thought most conducive to the general advantage, either for offensive operations or to give protection to the friends of the United States in this province.

What seems to have been the last important resolve of Congress in reference to an invasion of Nova Scotia was made on the 21st of May, 1778, and in negation of such a design. On that date Congress accepted the report of a committee to whom the matter of such invasion had been referred, to the effect "that the wresting of Nova Scotia from the British power and uniting the same to these states is for many weighty reasons a very desirable object, but that the propriety of making this attempt at the present crisis seems doubtful; and upon the whole it appears wise to wait a while, until the event of a war taking place between France and Great Britain, and

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the consequences that may have upon the British force on this continent, shall render an attempt upon Nova Scotia more likely to succeed." If, however, any urgent occasion for immediate action should arise, the council of Massachusetts was empowered to furnish the people of Nova Scotia who were loyal to the United States with a force not to exceed two regiments, to assist in reducing the province.

The exact number of English speaking people in Nova Scotia, including the present New Brunswick and the island of Cape Breton, in 1775, we are not able to give, but it was probably, as we have stated, somewhat under twenty thousand, and of these inhabitants not far from three-quarters, it is estimated, were people who or whose parents had been born in Massachusetts, Connecticut, or Rhode Island, and who naturally shared the spirit of liberty which so generally animated the people who still remained in the New England colonies from which they had come. In a recently published monograph on that extraordinary man Alexander McNutt, who, with vision and energy but apparently without sufficient business integrity or judgment for carrying such an enterprise successfully through, tried between 1759 and 1765 to colonize Nova Scotia with North of Ireland people, we have shown that McNutt repeatedly appealed to Congress to take active measures to capture the province for the Revolution.⁴ When the Revolution broke out he was living in retirement on an island in Shelburne harbour on the southern shore of Nova Scotia, having long before ceased his efforts for colonization, and his antagonism towards the Nova Scotia authorities, and doubtless towards British rule at large, impelled him to use his utmost energies in trying to induce Congress to take forcible

4. Our monograph on Alexander McNutt (*Americana* magazine, December, 1913) shows that in January and March, 1779, respectively, McNutt appealed to the Congress to assist the Nova Scotians to revolt. His appeals were referred to a committee, which reported in April, 1779. The report proposed that in order to deliver Nova Scotia from "British despotism" a road should be opened from Penobscot to the St. John river, and that to prosecute the work a body of men not exceeding fifteen hundred should be engaged, and the sum of fifteen thousand dollars should be advanced. What debate there may have been on this report we do not know, but the recommendations of the committee were not acted on. On the 29th of February, 1779, Benjamin Franklin writes Comte de Vergennes: "While the English continue to possess the ports of Halifax, Rhode Island, and New York, they can refit their ships of war in those seas, defend more easily their fisheries, and interrupt more effectually by their cruisers the commerce between France and America." *Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 7, p. 235.

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measures to wrest Nova Scotia from the authority of the Crown. In his appeals, moreover, McNutt claimed to be acting not by any means without authorization from the people of Nova Scotia itself, but rather as the appointed agent of a large body of intelligent Nova Scotians who were thoroughly disaffected towards the British Government. That McNutt, as he moved about Nova Scotia, with the island in Shelburne harbour as his base, using his influence to embitter the people among whom he went against English rule, found in several parts of the province very widespread sympathy with the Revolution is now a perfectly well recognized fact. "A very large proportion of the immigrants from the Atlantic States," writes a well known Nova Scotian, "were open and avowed sympathizers with the war against the mother country. From Cumberland to Onslow, and from Falmouth to Yarmouth they formed an overwhelming majority."⁵

When the Assembly met at Halifax in June, 1770, the Governor, Lord William Campbell, reported to the Home Authorities that he did not discover in Nova Scotia "any of that licentious principle with which the neighbouring colonies are so highly infected." Campbell's immediate predecessor, Governor Wilmot, who died in 1766, had made virtually the same report; some time in his administration he had written that "the sentiments of a decent and dutiful acquiescence" prevailed among the people under his jurisdiction. Yet as early as July 24, 1762, the inhabitants of Liverpool had strongly protested against any interference by the governor with what they claimed as their rights, saying that they were born in a country of liberty, and were not to be autocratically ruled. By this spirit it is evident the people of the province generally were controlled, and in the earlier stages of the Revolution it manifested itself in almost every place where New England or North of Ireland people in considerable numbers had settled.

Probably the earliest active expression of such spirit was in the remote colony on Moose Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay, where the town of Eastport (Maine) now stands. This island, the final ownership of which as of other territory about Passamaquoddy Bay

5. This statement is made by Mr. W. C. Milner, agent for the Dominion Archives in Nova Scotia, in his "Records of Chignecto," p. 46.

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and the river St. Croix, which flows into it, was not settled until long after the Revolution, was at that time popularly regarded as within the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia, and the settlers there, some ten families at least, were probably all from New England, though two or three of them were clearly of North of Ireland stock.⁶ In the Journals of the Continental Congress we find under date of November 2, 1775, that "the inhabitants of Passamaquoddy, in Nova Scotia, having chosen a Committee of Safety, and having by their petition applied to the Congress to be admitted into the Association of the North Americans for the promotion of their rights and liberties," it was resolved that a committee of five should be appointed to take the matter into consideration and report what steps it would be best to take in consideration of the appeal.

On the 14th of May, 1776, a large proportion of the heads of families settled at Manguerville, on the St. John river, all we believe from Massachusetts, assembled in the meeting-house there and voted the strongest resolutions of sympathy with New England, appointing a committee to go to the Massachusetts General Court and beg for its protection and help. "It is our minds and desire," say the men, "to submit ourselves to the government of Massachusetts Bay, and we are ready with our lives and fortunes to share with them the event of the present struggle for liberty, however God in his providence may order it." To the Massachusetts legislature, accordingly, the committee went, and on the General Court records of the Bay State we find the terms of their petition clearly stated. The committee express deep sorrow at the general calamity brought on America by a ruinous and destructive civil war, and complain bitterly of the impositions they and the people they represent have

6. "The New England period in Passamaquoddy history began about 1763. From 1760 there had been a general movement from the older provinces to Nova Scotia, and many thousands from New England settled in the peninsula, while a few hundreds came to what is now New Brunswick. In 1763 various settlers began to locate about Passamaquoddy." *New Brunswick Historical Society's Collections*, Vol. 1, p. 211. Men named Bowen, Boynton, Clark, Cochran, Crow, Ricker, Shackford, and Tuttle, are said to have received grants of land on Moose Island, which was probably the first considerable settlement in the Passamaquoddy region, between 1772 and 1774, and it seems likely that in summer at least many others resorted to the island for fishing. See Lorenzo Sabine's, "Moose Island," in W. H. Kilby's "Eastport and Passamaquoddy," p. 141, and appendix A. of this book, pp. 490, 491.

7. Archdeacon Raymond's "St. John River," etc., p. 434.

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suffered from oppressive acts of his Majesty's Government. The governor of Nova Scotia, they say, "having thought proper effectually to prevent their being supplied with arms and ammunition by ordering a large penalty on any of those articles being shipped into the province, at the same time requiring them to assemble in military array and by force of arms repel all invaders, martial law proclaimed throughout the province and civil authority made subordinate, exorbitant taxes required of them to support the war against the United Colonies,—under these circumstances they find it impracticable for them to continue as neutors and to subsist without commerce, and they therefore now openly declare that they could never see any shadow of justice in that extensive claim of the British Parliament of the right of enacting laws binding the colonies in all cases whatever, that as tyranny ought to be resisted in its first appearance they are convinced that the united provinces are just in their proceedings in this regard."

To both houses of the Massachusetts legislature this appeal was presented and in the minutes of the General Court we find recorded, that the St. John river people, "after mature consideration have thought fit to submit themselves to this Government and desire its protection and promise to adopt such measures as this Government shall propose for their future conduct and are ready with their lives and fortunes to share with this colony the event of the present struggle for liberty; they therefore humbly ask protection as a defenceless people, and that the Honourable Court will grant such relief and assistance as is proper, hoping that the Honourable Court will not tamely see them butchered or plundered for showing themselves friendly to the cause of America."⁸

Beginning in the autumn of 1776, various men of Massachusetts birth who had settled in Yarmouth and Barrington, in the peninsula

8. This petition, as we have said, was presented to both houses, and it was ordered that the commissary-general should give the agents of the St. John river people (Asa Perley and Asa Kimball) one barrel of gunpowder, three hundred and fifty flints, and two hundred and fifty weight of lead from the colony stores, and that the agents should have liberty to purchase in Massachusetts forty stand of small arms for the use of their constituents. The committees of correspondence and safety, also in any of the seaports of Massachusetts, were directed to grant permits to them to transport the same or any other goods from port to port within the colony. *Records of the General Court of Massachusetts*, vol. 35, pp. 65, 66, 85.

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of Nova Scotia, appealed to the Massachusetts General Court for permission to return with their families and effects to their native province, to escape the hardships they were suffering from the interruption of friendly relations between Nova Scotia and the Bay State. "We look on ourselves," some of these petitioners say, as being "as unhappily situated as any people in the world; being settlers from the Massachusetts Bay, for whose welfare we earnestly pray, having fathers, brothers, and children living there." Throughout the struggle then going on, they continue, they have remained loyal to the cause of liberty, and have done everything in their power to assist men still living in Massachusetts who have happened to visit them to get back in safety to their New England homes. Of the distress to which they have been brought by the interruption of trade between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, and the consequent lack of markets for their fish, they give a melancholy account, and they pray that provisions shall be sent them for the ensuing winter and until such time as they can remove from Nova Scotia to their former homes, "unless these tremendous times are stinted, which God grant may be soon."⁹

In Cumberland County, near the Chignecto Isthmus, and in what is now Colchester County, the inhabitants of two townships of which, Truro and Londonderry wholly, and the third, Onslow, in part, were people of North of Ireland stock, sympathy with New England and antagonism to the actions of the Nova Scotia Government were very strong. An oath of allegiance which the Government attempted to enforce on all adult males in Truro and Onslow in 1777 was stoutly refused by all except five to whom it was offered. In King's County, also, whose inhabitants had almost all come from the towns of east-

9. "In the [Massachusetts] House of Representatives, Nov. 15, 1776, whereas it appears to this Court that the within petitioners, inhabitants of Barrington in Nova Scotia, have proved themselves firm friends to the United States of America, and on that account are determined as soon as may be to transport themselves and their families from that province to this state in order to get out of the reach of British tyranny: And it being represented that the inhabitants of Barrington, from a determined refusal of trade with the enemies of America have exposed themselves to great hardships through want of such provisions as are necessary to support them until they can be removed; therefore Resolved that the prayer of the within petition be so far granted as that the within named Heman Kenney, be and he thereby is permitted to purchase and export from any town or place in this state to said Barrington, solely for the purpose of enabling the said inhabitants thereof to transport themselves from thence to this state, 250 bushels of corn, 30 barrels of pork, 2 hogsheads of molasses, 2 do. of rum, 200 lbs. of coffee." "In Council Nov. 16, 1776, Read and Concurred."

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ern Connecticut, according to tradition a liberty pole was cut and was about to be erected when a company of Orange Rangers from Halifax appeared on the scene and prevented the rebellious demonstration.¹⁰

In Cumberland the disaffection was almost as universal and bitter as in Maugerville, the "rebels" there numbering, it is said, about two hundred men, many of them heads of families and persons of the largest means and the highest consequence. In this county, near the isthmus which connects New Brunswick with Nova Scotia, was situated the most important fort in the Nova Scotian peninsula next to the much older one at Annapolis Royal,—the little fortification known when it was in French hands as Beauséjour, but after it was finally captured by New England troops in 1755 as Fort Cumberland. In August, 1775, it was reported at Halifax that the "New England rebels" had cleared a road from St. John river to Shepody to enable a force to march on this fort. In October, 1776, another report was made to the authorities that a force was being gathered on the frontier having the same purpose in view, and the truth of this report was soon to be established. One of the Cumberland settlers from Massachusetts, a native of the town of Norton, was a certain Jonathan Eddy, who had taken up his residence in Cumberland either in 1760 or a little later. With profound sympathy with the Revolution this man in August, 1776, had gone to the Massachusetts General Court with a petition, in which he was joined by William Howe and Zebulon Rowe, other Massachusetts men, neighbors of his in Cumberland, setting forth that "the enemy" were repairing the forts in Nova Scotia to the great disturbance of the inhabitants of Cumberland, their object clearly being "to keep the people in subjection to their tyrannical measures."¹¹ The greater part of the

10. We have mentioned this tradition in our "History of King's County, Nova Scotia," pp. 431, 432, but what authority it has we do not know.

11. See a "Memoir of Colonel Jonathan Eddy of Eddington, Maine," etc., by Joseph W. Porter, Augusta, Maine, 1877. Jonathan Eddy was a son of Eleazer Eddy and his wife Elizabeth (Cobb) of Norton, Mass., and was born in 1726. In 1755 he was an officer in Col. Winslow's regiment in Nova Scotia, in 1758 he raised a company for the reduction of Canada, in 1759 he raised a company for Colonel Joseph Frye's regiment, in which he served as captain from April 2, 1759, to December 31, 1759. He left active service in 1760, when he probably went at once to Cumberland, Nova Scotia. There he served as deputy provost marshal and in other offices. March 27, 1776, it is said, he came to General Washington's headquarters at Cambridge with his petition from Nova Scotia.

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Nova Scotians, Eddy declares, were much concerned at the acts of their authorities, many being so troubled that they had already left their farms to be confiscated and had returned to the province of their birth. The only way that proper relief could come to the people on whose behalf he was petitioning, he says, would be by the General Court's granting them a small force with ammunition and provisions so that they could "destroy the enemy's forts." The response of the Massachusetts legislature to Eddy's appeal was a resolution that the commissary general be directed to deliver to him and his fellow petitioners two hundred pounds of gunpowder, five hundred weight of musket balls, three hundred gun flints, and twenty barrels of pork.¹² At the same time the court ordered that James Bowdoin, Walter Spooner, and Henry Gardner, Esq., with such others as the legislature should join with them, should be a committee "to make inquiry into the intention and dispositions of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia respecting the cause now in dispute between the United States and Great Britain, to consider the probability of effecting a revolution in that province, and of the way [of] and means for effecting the same."¹³

The "Eddy rebellion" in Cumberland is one of the most highly dramatic and best remembered events in the history of Nova Scotia. In his volume "The River St. John," Archdeacon Raymond describes the beginning of it as follows. "In July, 1776, Eddy set out from Boston and proceeded to Machias [Maine]. He left that place about the middle of August in a schooner with twenty-eight men as a nucleus of his proposed army. At Passamaquoddy a few people joined him. He did not meet with much encouragement at St. John, although Hazen, Simonds, and White refrained from any hostile demonstration.¹⁴ Proceeding up the river to Maugerville, Ed-

12. On September 4, 1776, it was resolved that whereas the General Court by a resolve on September 2d, had directed the commissary general to deliver to Jonathan Eddy, William Howe, and Zebulon Rowe ammunition and provisions, these men having represented that they wanted bread rather than pork, the commissary should be directed to deliver to them only ten barrels of pork and as much bread as would amount to the value of ten barrels of pork. Records of the General Court, Vol. 35, p. 200.

13. General Court Records, Vol. 35, pp. 194.

14. Messrs. Hazen, Simonds, and White were New England men and conspicuous traders at what is now St. John, New Brunswick. At the outbreak of the Revolution, says Dr. Raymond, their situation was very embarrassing, they would very likely most gladly "have assumed a neutral attitude in the approaching contest," but they held small

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dy says, he found the people 'almost universally hearty in our cause; they joined us with one captain, one lieutenant, and twenty-five men, as also sixteen Indians.' . . . On his arrival at Cumberland, Eddy was joined by many of the settlers, but his whole force did not exceed two hundred men, badly equipped and without artillery.'¹⁵

Colonel Eddy's attack on the fort and the failure of his enterprise is described in a letter of the leader himself to the General Court. His force consisted of a hundred and eighty men, but a hundred of these he had felt it necessary to send to other points. With the eighty that remained he proceeded to the fort, to which he began at once to lay siege. The force within, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Gorham, consisted of a hundred men, and these for several days kept the besieging party at bay. On the 27th of November an armed ship arrived from Halifax with nearly four hundred soldiers from the garrison there, and some of these entered the fort. On the 30th, two hundred soldiers rushed out of the fort to the temporary barracks where Eddy's men were quartered and ordered the besiegers away. Without making any further resistance, it would seem, which indeed would have been useless, Eddy and his men retreated to the St. John river and the fort remained secure in British hands.'¹⁶

In a letter of Colonel John Allan of Cumberland, a British born man, who had been a member of the Nova Scotia legislature, but who was one of the strongest sympathizers in this part of Nova Scotia with the Eddy invasion,¹⁷ written to the Massachusetts Gen-

official positions under the Nova Scotia Government and they had sworn allegiance to the King, they therefore remained nominally loyal. Dr. Raymond's "St. John River," p. 427.

15. This statement does not seem harmonious with the records of the Massachusetts General Court, which give the date of Eddy's appeal to that body for munitions of war and provisions as the month of August. The extract from Dr. Raymond's book given here will be found on pp. 437, 438 of the volume.

16. A young Cumberland man, Richard John Uniacke, who afterward rose to exalted position in Halifax, was concerned in the revolt. He was sent prisoner to Halifax. Soon after his release he went to England to complete his law studies. In 1782, he became solicitor general of Nova Scotia, in 1783 member of the assembly for Sackville, and later speaker of the house, attorney-general, and member of the council. He died October 10, 1830.

17. Colonel John Allan between 1769 and 1776 was Justice of the Peace, clerk of sessions, and of the Supreme Court, and representative to the assembly, and held other local offices. From the beginning of 1776 he was suspected of treasonable practices. For his career and for an interesting genealogical account of the Allan family see Frederick Kidder's "Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia in the Revolution." One of John Allan's

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eral Court on the 19th of February, 1777, Colonel Allan declares that most of the English and all the French capable of bearing arms in the northern part of Nova Scotia joined the Eddy force. In the rush of the garrison upon the invading troops, he tells us, only one invader, and he a white man, was killed; the rest fled precipitately, the garrison troops following them for the distance of six miles. On the way, the pursuing party burned twelve houses and twelve barns, "in which was contained one-quarter of the bread of the country." To the residents of Cumberland who had assisted the invasion, Colonel Gorham soon issued a proclamation of pardon if they would lay down their arms, but the majority of them, it would seem, before long with their families fled across the border of Massachusetts into what is now the State of Maine, at a town called Eddington in 1785 being rewarded for their sympathy with the Revolution by grants of land ranging in size from fifteen hundred to a hundred and fifty acres.

The task of government in Nova Scotia in these suspicious and troubled times was attended by the greatest agitation among both public officials and the people who surrounded them. Indeed at Halifax, especially, where the supreme authority was exercised, there was among government officials and the people of all occupations and ranks such deep-seated apprehension and continual fear that Mr. Murdoch forcibly says the Haligonians lived "under a reign of terror." On the 8th of October, 1773, Major Francis Legge had taken the oath of office as governor-in-chief, and his stay in the province lasted until May 12, 1776. In the first momentous years of the Revolution, therefore, he was at the head of all governmental activities, and if any local-governmental influence was needed to fan the flame of disaffection against the Crown, if such existed, among the people at large, into a raging fire, his suspicious and utterly unsympathetic temper was calculated to furnish that influence. In alarming dispatches to England he charged rank disloyalty not only on the people generally throughout the province but on the members of

sisters was Jean Allan, born in April, 1759, who was married 7 February 1775, to the Hon. Thomas Cochran of Halifax, and reared there a family of great local importance. See a monograph by this author on the Cochran and Inglis families.

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both houses of the provincial legislature as well.¹⁸ On the first of January, 1776, he wrote the Earl of Dartmouth that the great advances the rebels were making in Canada, and the determination of these people to capture Nova Scotia for the Revolution gave him great apprehension. He had had a law passed, he says, to enroll a fifth of the militia for active service and had tried to put the men in arms, but that the people of at least two important counties, Annapolis and Kings, as he understood, had refused to be enrolled. In the town of Halifax he had proclaimed martial law, and he had nominated a council of war to conduct the military defence of the province in general with secrecy and dispatch. On the 11th of January he enclosed to the Earl memorials from the inhabitants of Truro, Onslow, and Cumberland against the law to arm the militia, and said that a similar spirit of obstinate revolt existed in all the remoter districts.¹⁹

In November, 1776, after Legge had left the province and the government had passed into the hands of a lieutenant-governor and the Council, occurred the Eddy invasion, and the news of this and the rumor that still more powerful measures were contemplated to capture Nova Scotia threw all the authorities at Halifax into a panic of fear. Immediately a nightly patrol of the town was established, and a regular inquiry instituted into the characters and employments of all persons entering the town. Strangers coming from the country or elsewhere were ordered to report at the Provincial Sec-

18. Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. Michael Francklin, between whom and Legge there was very bad feeling, on the 2d of January, 1776, wrote the Earl of Dartmouth: "It is with the utmost reluctance I am now obliged to inform your lordship there is great reason to believe and it is confidently asserted that the Governor has made representations of the officers of government, and that few or none of the inhabitants of this province in general, not even the officers of this government but are disaffected, and are inclinable to give countenance and assistance to the rebels now in arms against the Crown. If it be true that Governor Legge has made such representations, I do avow and assert that such representations are totally untrue and without foundation, which can be made to appear by a thousand instances." Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, pp. 564, 565.

19. The petitions from Cumberland, Truro and Onslow all urge that if the husbands and fathers were obliged to enroll in the militia and leave their homes, their families would have no means of support, the Truro petition adds in addition that the settlements would be utterly defenceless against attack if the men were thus drawn off. "Those of us," the Cumberland people say, "who belong to New England being invited into this province by Governor Lawrence's proclamation, it must be the greatest piece of cruelty and imposition for them to be subjected to march into different parts of America, and that done by order of his Majesty."

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retary's office, and all persons under the least suspicion were obliged to give security for good behaviour. In May, 1777, as we have seen, an effort was made to exact from all the men of Truro, Onslow, and perhaps Londonderry, a majority of whom were North of Ireland Presbyterians, an oath of allegiance to Britain, but this oath all the men of these townships with the exception of five, as we have also seen, positively refused to take. In punishment of their disloyalty the Council with amusing inappropriateness resolved to prosecute these rigid Protestants as *Popish recusants*.

Precisely how much ground Governor Legge had for accusing the members of the Council of sympathy with the Revolution it is not easy now to say. Three, at least, of them, Binney, Gorham, and Morris, were natives of Massachusetts, and Newton was of Massachusetts stock, and there is no sufficient reason why they may not all have shared to some extent the spirit which animated their friends and relatives in Boston who took the popular side.²⁰ Of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, out of a total of thirty-three members representing the province at large, no less than twenty-four were New England men, while other important public officials like the chief surveyor, the solicitor-general, the provincial treasurer, the judge of admiralty for appeals, and the register and marshal of the court of admiralty were of New England birth. Concerning the Boston born head of the judiciary, the Honourable Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher, who however died on the 30th of March, 1776, the tradition is emphatic that he was distinctly in sympathy with the Revolution. That Governor Legge was not far wrong in accusing the New Englanders, including the New Hampshire Scotch-Irish, in the province at large, of perfect readiness to separate themselves from British rule, we have given, as we believe, irrefutable proof.

20. The number of British born men in the Council up to this time had always been greater than of American born. In 1777 the council seems to have had but ten members, instead of twelve, the full number, the men of as we suppose British birth being, Richard Bulkeley, James Burrow, John Butler, John Creighton, Michael Francklin, and Arthur Gould. Of these, undoubtedly the most influential was Michael Francklin, who indeed had married into a conservative Boston family, but who retained throughout his life a strong sympathy with England, from which country he had come. That the Nova Scotia Council contained a majority of men born in Britain is to be accounted for by the fact that in 1777 civil government in the province had existed only twenty-eight years, and that since no men in public life were natives of Nova Scotia, the successive English governors had preferred to surround themselves with men born in Britain rather than men born in the New England colonies.

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Of the influential Halifax merchants of New England birth, whose trade had been in large measure with Boston, there were some at least who without any doubt sympathized preponderatingly with the colonies from which they had come. Among the reputable merchants who had been in the town almost since Cornwallis landed were Joseph Fairbanks and John Fillis. In the early summer of 1775, Fairbanks gathered a cargo of hay for the British troops at Boston and had it ready for shipment. Suddenly it took fire, and some one sent a statement to Boston that Fillis in conjunction with another New England trader named Smith had had a hand in burning it. On the 16th of June, Fillis and Smith complained to the House of Assembly that they were greatly distressed by this unjust report and "were unable to detect the vile traducers of their characters," they therefore begged the legislature to exonerate them. In testimony against them was the declaration of Mr. Richard Cunningham, who had recently returned from Boston, that he had been told there that General Gage had a list of persons in Halifax disaffected to the Crown, and that the first names on that list were those of Fillis and Smith, the former of whom, at least, Gage had been told had had a part in burning the hay. Whether there was any truth in the accusation or not we cannot tell, but the House of Assembly cleared the merchants of the charge, declaring that the gentlemen in question were dutiful and loyal subjects of King George the Third, and had behaved with decency and good order. The reports against their loyalty, the Assembly voted, were "base, infamous, and false" charges.

Another of the most notable Boston born merchants in Halifax, and probably the earliest of these who had settled in the town, was Malachy Salter. On the 10th of October, 1777, an order was passed in council for Salter's arrest on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the rebels, and prosecution against him was ordered. Somewhat later he was allowed to give a thousand pounds security for his good behaviour and was remanded for trial at the next term of the Supreme Court. How long he had been under suspicion we cannot tell, but this action of the council explains the fact that a month before the order was given, Salter, then in Boston, had petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for liberty to transfer him-

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self and his family and their effects from Halifax to the province of his birth. "Your petitioner," he says to the Massachusetts Legislature, "was formerly an inhabitant of the town of Boston, but has for many years past resided at Halifax in Nova Scotia, where he has a considerable interest in real and personal estate, but having suffered severely, both in person and property, on account of his political principles, and for the favor and assistance he afforded to the American seamen and others in captivity there, his residence in that province must render him very unhappy; Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that he may have liberty to depart for Halifax and return as soon as he conveniently can with his family and effects, to settle in this State, without molestation of any armed vessel, or any other person by land or water, belonging to the United States of America, and that your Honors will be pleased to grant him a certificate for his protection, and your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray, etc." This petition was presented to the General Court on the 15th of September, 1777, and two days later was granted by both houses.²¹ At his trial by the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, however, Mr. Salter was honourably acquitted.

That the Nova Scotians at large, even in remote rural settlements, kept themselves fairly well informed concerning the progress of events in New England throughout the whole of the war we have every reason to believe. The first Nova Scotia newspaper, the *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, published at Halifax, began its career in January, 1769, and in whatever it said about politics it showed sympathy for the most part with the assertion of colonial rights. In its modest columns "the question of war and of separation of the colonies from Great Britain was freely discussed six years before the first shot was fired at Lexington, and the people were informed that great numbers of Englishmen looked on America as in rebellion." Besides this means of gaining knowledge of political movements in New England, the Nova Scotians were in frequent receipt, through the coming into their harbours from Boston of trading and fishing vessels, of newspapers printed in the Massachusetts

²¹. See the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 183, p. 136, General Court Records, Vol. 38, p. 29. Also Edmund Duval Poole's "Yarmouth and Barrington in the Revolutionary War," p. 32.

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capital, and of news by word of mouth from the captains and crews of these vessels and occasional passengers which the vessels brought. When the stamp act was passed in 1770, the Liverpool people showed public marks of discontent with it, and we cannot doubt that the people of other counties of which we have spoken were just as strong in denouncing it as they.

The weightiest influence on Nova Scotia in favor of the Revolution was of course, to a people struggling for a prosperous existence, not so much political sentiment as the pressure of economic necessity. On the 17th of May, 1775, it was resolved by Congress "that all exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, the Island of St. Johns [Prince Edward Island], Newfoundland, Georgia, except the parish of St. Johns,²² and East and West Florida should immediately cease, and that no provisions of any kind, or other necessaries, be furnished to the British fisheries on the American coasts until it be otherwise determined by the Congress."²³ In the spirit of this resolution of Congress, on the 5th of July, 1775, Governor Legge issued a proclamation forbidding all persons in Nova Scotia to correspond with or in any way assist the rebels in New England, and directed the justices of the peace throughout the province to publish the order and cause it to be read several times in all places of public worship. A second proclamation, also, under a recent act of the Assembly, was issued by him, forbidding arms, gunpowder, ammunition, or saltpetre being exported or carried coastwise except by license from himself.

In the Massachusetts General Court, likewise, on the 9th of April, 1776, the following prohibitive statute was passed: "Whereas it is apprehended that some of the inhabitants of this colony may be induced from a regard to their own interest to employ their vessels the ensuing season in the business of fishing, and in order to avoid the inconveniences they may be exposed to by an act of parliament prohibiting all manner of trade and commerce with the united colonies

22. "Well governed and generously treated by Parliament, Georgia had little cause to aspire after independence, but St. John's Parish sent a delegate to the Second Continental Congress in March, 1775, and its example was followed by other parishes. In 1778, the British captured Savannah, and in 1779 Augusta and Sunbury. Savannah was held by the British until 1782. The first State Constitution was framed, however, in February, 1777, and on January 2, 1788, the Federal Constitution was ratified." *New International Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9, p. 633.

23. See "Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 1774-1775," p. 313.

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and declaring forfeited all such vessels and cargoes, etc., as shall be taken belonging to the same, may make over the property of their vessels to some inhabitant of Nova Scotia; to the intent therefore that no inhabitant of this colony may unwarily go into such a method of conduct, it is resolved that if any inhabitant of this colony shall upon any pretence whatever transfer his property in any vessel to an inhabitant of the province of Nova Scotia he will therefore violate a resolve of the congress prohibiting all intercourse with the inhabitants of that province, and of course may expect to be obliged to submit to the pains and penalties due to such an offence.”²⁴

Besides the strict prohibition of trade with the other colonies unless she would come frankly into the Revolution, by which her people were reduced to great distress, Nova Scotia suffered greatly from the depredations of Massachusetts privateers. As early as 1775, armed vessels were fitted out at various places in Massachusetts to prey on Nova Scotia vessels, and even on private property on land in places that were accessible from the sea.²⁵ The crews that manned these vessels in some cases well deserved the name that has been given them of “brutal marauders,” for their conduct was so outrageous that even friends of the Revolution in the province were forced to remonstrate to Congress against their piracies. During the autumn of 1776, says Archdeacon Raymond, “the Bay of Fundy was so infested with pirates and picaroons that the war vessels *Vulture*, *Hope*, and *Albany* were ordered around from Halifax. But they were not entirely successful in furnishing protection, for the privateers managed sometimes to steal past the large ships in the night and in fogs, and continued to pillage the defenceless inhabitants.”²⁶

“Throughout the whole period of the war,” says Mr. Edmund Duval Poole, “the Massachusetts General Court was in almost constant receipt of petitions from individual inhabitants of Yarmouth, Bar-

24. Records of the Massachusetts General Court, Vol. 34, pp. 740, 741. See also p. 200.

25. In 1775, people in the interior parts of the province made earnest appeals to the Government at Halifax for ammunition for their guns, to prevent the depredations of pirates.

26. “The River St. John, its Physical Features, Legends, and History, from 1604 to 1784” (Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D., F. R. S. C.), p. 437.

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ington and other places in the Province, praying leave to return with their families and effects. These petitions were usually granted, and a pass issued to each applicant, directing the commanders of all ships of war and privateers belonging to the State not to interfere with or molest the holder on his passage between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. But comparatively few availed themselves of the privilege after having obtained the desired permission to return. It is very evident that the written passports were themselves the desideratum, and were used as a means of protection against the reprisals of American privateers while engaged in fishing or coasting in their small shallops or schooners. In a great many instances our fishermen were able to save their vessels from capture and confiscation by this shrewd Yankee trick, although it did not always succeed."

On the part of the Nova Scotians, also, not a little retaliatory privateering was done, New England vessels being captured and brought into Halifax and their crews and the passengers on them imprisoned there. For the confinement of these prisoners of war, says a recent writer,²⁷ the prison ships and jail were utterly inadequate. Moreover, the restraints laid upon the prisoners were extremely lax, a few were allowed to give their parole and then get to their homes as best they could, but large numbers of them were constantly escaping, and the Government does not seem to have made much effort to recapture them. A great many of them made

27. This writer is the author of the very valuable articles appearing in the *Halifax Acadian Recorder* once a week, under the pseudonym "An Occasional." We have reproduced in a few sentences above, without quoting exactly, his remarks on the subject in hand. In his discussion of the subject "An Occasional" further says: "Although all manner of intercourse between the Colony and the Province was forbidden by both Governments, there was one way by which these conditions could equalize themselves, and the authorities necessarily shut their eyes to a great deal. From time to time as provisions grew scarce, it became customary for one or more of our fishermen to load his shallop with fish or salt (another article in great demand in the Colonies, and with which our people were well supplied, by reason of their trade with the West Indies), and to put on board as many of the ex-prisoners as were at hand or could be accommodated, and boldly set sail for some Massachusetts port. Often they were held up by American privateers while on their way, but usually the presence of the Americans on board, together with the permits described above, served as a means of protection and they were allowed to proceed. Upon their arrival their vessels were sometimes seized as the property of subjects of the King of Great Britain." But the next thing in order would be a petition from the owners or captains of the vessels before the cargoes could be disposed of, "praying for liberty to sell the fish or salt, to purchase provisions with the proceeds, and to depart with the same. These petitions were almost invariably granted."

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their way, sometimes through the woods, sometimes along the shore, to Barrington and Yarmouth, where they were sure to find friends.

When peace between Britain and the United States was finally sealed, the restrictions of trade and general intercourse between Nova Scotia and the other colonies were of course removed, and under changed conditions, but with somewhat of the old freedom, the earlier relations between the closely allied peoples were resumed.

Why Nova Scotia did not give the Revolution the strong support the other Atlantic seaboard colonies of Britain in America gave it and become a fourteenth State in the American Union, instead of remaining a possession of the British Crown, is a question that it is hardly necessary now to answer, for the answer is implicit in the long array of facts we have in this chapter adduced. From first to last there was no reluctance on the part of a great majority of the people to throw in their lot frankly with their friends in the New England colonies who had revolted against British oppression, and many were anxious to do so, but they were a rural people, lacking the necessary equipment of war, and too few in numbers and too scattered to make organized resistance to the authority exercised at Halifax, without powerful aid from the New England colonies, at all able to succeed. That such help from the Continental Congress or the Massachusetts General Court did not come we have seen, and the Nova Scotia government being firmly in the hands of men loyal to Britain, a governor-in-chief and lieutenant governor sworn to defend British authority and a council in which Englishmen rather than colonials were in the majority, nominal allegiance to Britain on the part of the whole population was preserved. Thus Nova Scotia in the end was left divorced in large measure from the colonies to which she was bound by the closest geographical, social, and commercial ties. In such unfortunate isolation she remained until she became a province of the Dominion of Canada in the federation of the provinces in 1867.

THE HOWLAND FAMILY

Howland, who was also a passenger on the "Mayflower." Elizabeth (Tilley) Howland died December 21, 1687, aged eighty years. (See Howland II).

NOTE.—References in foregoing will be found in former or future numbers of "Americana."



Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. XI

HALIFAX AND THE NEW YORK TORIES

"To go or not to go, that is the question;
Whether 'tis best to trust the inclement sky
That scowls indignant, or the dreary Bay
Of Fundy and Cape Sable's rocks and shoals,
And seek our new domain in Scotia's wilds,
Barren and bare, or stay among the rebels,
And by our stay rouse up their keenest rage."

The Tory's Soliloquy (printed in the *New Jersey Journal*).



THE great migration of Loyalists to Nova Scotia as a result of the Revolution, of which the flight of the Boston Tories thither with Howe's fleet is the picturesque prelude, occurred, as is well known, in the years 1782 and 1783, especially the latter year. That by far the larger number of these later refugees from the other Colonies landed either at Port Roseway, Digby, or the mouth of the St. John river is of course true, but that Halifax more or less permanently received a share of them is equally true. In an interesting sketch of Governor Parr, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the late Mr. James Macdonald says:¹ "Parr was sworn in Governor in October, 1782, and peace with the new Republic was arranged on the 30th of November, 1782. In December following, many ships with a large number of Loyalists and troops that had fought on the British side arrived from New York, and the Governor's work began. Every week brought its quota to swell the already over-

1. "Memoir of Governor John Parr," by James S. Macdonald, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 14, pp. 41-78. In quoting at length from Mr. Macdonald we always have to revise his rhetoric. In this quotation we give his exact statements, but some changes in the English have been absolutely necessary and have been made.

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populated town. The feeding of such a multitude was a most difficult task, and the flour mills at Sackville were kept at work night and day to provide bread. Parr worked steadily and methodically, as he had done all his life, and being a seasoned veteran was able, it is said, to work at times twenty out of the twenty-four hours of the day at the task of arranging for the subsistence of such a host. The greatest problem was to have them housed before the severity of winter came. The troops came by shiploads, and the vivid experience of Halifax at the declaration of war was repeated. Every shed, outhouse, and store was crowded with people. Thousands were under canvas on the Citadel and at Point Pleasant, everywhere indeed where tents could be pitched. St. Paul's and St. Matthew's churches were crowded, and hundreds were sheltered there for months. Caboozes and cook-houses were brought ashore from the ships, and the people were fed near them on Granville and Hollis streets. People suffered all the miseries of unsanitary conditions in an overcrowded town, and there were many deaths among the strangers. For months the greater number of these ten thousand refugees were fed on the streets, among the people being many who had been reared in luxury."

Whether it is true that as many as ten thousand Loyalists, including troops that had fought on the British side, were for a longer or shorter period located in Halifax or not, we do not know, but the Tory migration at this time to the province generally had so direct and lasting an influence on the capital town that it becomes necessary to devote a chapter exclusively to it here.

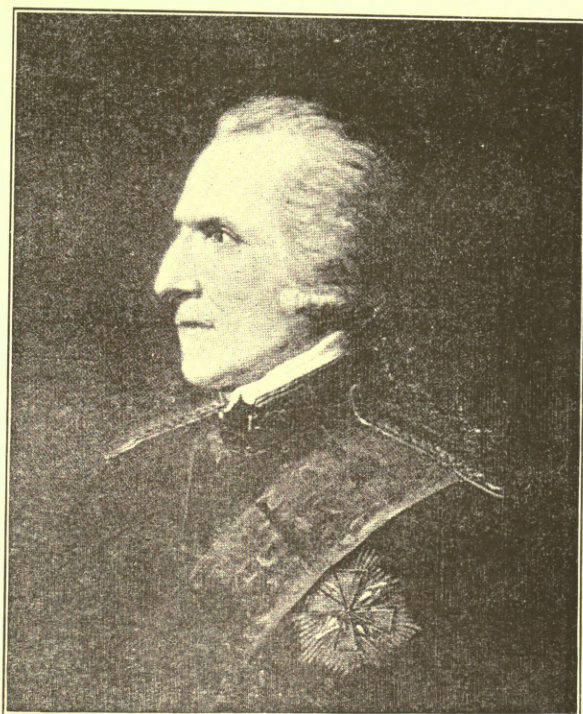
In the colony of New York, which unlike Massachusetts was a Royal or Crown Colony, a large proportion of the people, particularly of Westchester County, Queen's County (Long Island),² and Staten Island, were sympathetic with the British cause, and when the issue of the war became clearly unfavorable for the British, and finally when peace was declared, these champions of loyalty to the

2. Of Queen's County, Long Island, Judge Jones in his "History of New York during the Revolution" says: "Nearly a third of the whole inhabitants have since the late peace and the recognition of American independence, preferred the inhospitable wilds of Nova Scotia rather than live in a country governed by the iron and oppressive hand of rebellion, though settled, planted, and improved by their ancestors nearly a century and a half ago."

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mother country saw that nothing was left them but to emigrate. From the summer of 1776, when the battle of Long Island put New York in the hands of General Howe, for seven years this town was the headquarters of British rule in America. Under the protection of the forces garrisoned there, therefore, many of the most influential citizens of New York, as of other colonies besides New York, put themselves, and this was especially true when the act of attainder, passed by the New York legislature on the 22d of October, 1779, proscribed nearly sixty prominent citizens, "for the crime of adhering to the enemies of the State," declared their estates, real and personal, confiscated, and proclaimed that each and every of them who should at any time thereafter be found in any part of the State should be and were adjudged and declared guilty of felony, and should suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

Thrust from all places of public influence, robbed of their property, insulted by mobs, declared felons by the newly constituted authorities, and as we have seen, even threatened with death, they soon looked toward Nova Scotia, where six or seven years before their Boston fellow sufferers had gone, as a suitable place of refuge. In February, 1782, the new English ministry recalled Sir Henry Clinton from his command of the American forces, and in his place appointed Sir Guy Carleton, who arrived in New York and took command the following April. In November of the same year, provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris and then the necessity for the removal of the Loyalists became urgent. Sir Guy accordingly began a correspondence with the governor of Nova Scotia with reference to their settlement in this province, and the Loyalists themselves appointed agents to whom they entrusted the most important matters connected with their proposed emigration. These agents were Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Thompson of Massachusetts, better known as Count Rumford; Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Winslow, Jr., of Massachusetts, Muster-Master-General of the Loyalist forces employed under the Crown; Major Joshua Upham, of Brookfield, Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard of the class of 1763; the Rev. John Sayre, who at the beginning of the war was Rector of Trinity Church, Fairfield, Connecticut; Amos Botsford,



COUNT RUMFORD

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of Newtown, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale, of 1763; and James Peters, of New York. It seems singular that of these seven New York agents, six should have been New England men, and only one a native New Yorker.

The first emigration of New York people to Nova Scotia took place soon after the signing of the provisional articles at Paris. About two months before this, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, received a letter from Sir Guy Carleton, in which the latter announced that more than six hundred persons wished to embark for Nova Scotia before winter, and a much larger number the next spring, but that he could not find shipping just then for more than three hundred. He recommends for these intending emigrants that a grant of five or six hundred acres shall be given each family, and three hundred acres apiece to single men, and that two thousand acres for a glebe and a thousand acres for a school shall be set apart in each township, no fees or quit-rents, whatever, to be exacted for these lands. He also recommends that the "Refugees" be given materials and the assistance of workmen for their necessary building. About this time Sir Guy was waited on by the Rev. Dr. Seabury, then of Westchester, and Col. Benjamin Thompson, of the King's American Dragoons, on behalf of the Loyalists desiring to go to Nova Scotia. The result of the conference was a promise from the Commander-in-Chief that they should be provided with proper vessels to carry them and their horses and cattle as near as possible to the place in which they intended to settle; that besides food for the voyage, one year's provisions or the equivalent in money should be allowed them; that warm clothing in proportion to the wants of each family, and medicines, should be furnished them; that pairs of mill stones, iron work for grist mills and saw mills, nails, spikes, hoes, axes, spades, shovels, plough-irons, and such other farming utensils as should appear necessary, and also window glass, should be given them; that tracts of land, free from disputed titles and conveniently situated, large enough to afford from three to six hundred acres to each family, to be surveyed and divided at public cost, should be guaranteed; that in every township, "over and above" two thousand acres should be allowed for the support of a clergyman and one

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thousand acres for the support of a school, and that these lands should be inalienable forever. Finally, that a sufficient number of good muskets and cannon, with a proper quantity of ammunition, should be allowed, to enable the people to defend themselves against any hostile invasion.

On the nineteenth of October, five hundred Loyalists from New York arrived at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia,³ bringing with them at least one member of the committee appointed in New York to look after their affairs, a man who founded one of the leading New Brunswick families, Mr. Amos Botsford. The London *Political Magazine* in 1783 says: "When the Loyal Refugees from the northern Provinces were informed of the resolution of the House of Commons against offensive war with the rebels, they instantly saw there were no hopes left them of regaining their ancient settlements or of settling down again in their native country. Most of them, therefore, who had been forward in taking up arms and in fighting the battles of the mother country, finding themselves deserted, began to look out for a place of refuge, and Nova Scotia being the nearest place to their old plantations, they determined on settling in that province. Accordingly, to the number of five hundred, they embarked for Annapolis Royal: they had arms and ammunition, and one year's provisions, and were put under the care and convoy of H. M. S. *Amphitrite*, of twenty-four guns, Captain Robert Briggs. This officer behaved to them with great attention, humanity, and generosity, and saw them safely landed and settled in the barracks at Annapolis, which the Loyalists soon repaired. There were plenty of wild fowl in the country, and at that time (which was last fall) a goose sold for two shillings and a turkey for two and sixpence. The Captain was at two hundred pounds expense out of his own pocket, in order to render the passage and arrival of the unfortunate Loyalists in some degree comfortable to them."

Before Captain Briggs sailed from Annapolis the grateful Loyalists waited on him with the following address:

"To Robert Briggs, Esqr., Commander of H. M. S. *Amphitrite*:
The loyal refugees who have emigrated from New York to settle in

3. Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, says three hundred.

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Nova Scotia beg your acceptance of their warmest thanks for the kind and unremitted attention you have paid to their preservation and safe conduct at all times during their passage. Driven from our respective dwellings for our loyalty to our King, after enduring innumerable hardships and seeking a settlement in a land unknown to us, our distresses were sensibly relieved during an uncomfortable passage by your humanity, ever attentive to our preservation.

“Be pleased to accept of our most grateful acknowledgments so justly due to you and the officers under your command, and be assured we shall remember your kindness with the most grateful sensibility.

“We are, with the warmest wishes for your health and happiness and a prosperous voyage,

“With the greatest respect, Your most obedient humble servants,
“In behalf of the refugees.

“AMOS BOTSFORD,
TH. WARD,
FRED. HAUSER,
SAM. CUMMINGS,
ELIJAH WILLIAMS.⁴

“Annapolis Royal, the 20th of October, 1782.”

On the fourteenth of January, 1783, Amos Botsford and his fellow explorers wrote from Annapolis to their friends in New York, describing the country. After giving the most favorable account of the region from Annapolis to St. Mary's Bay, they say: “We proceeded to St. John's river, where we arrived the latter end of November, it being too late to pass in boats, and the water not being sufficiently frozen to bear. In this situation we left the river, and (for a straight course) steered by a compass through the woods, encamping out several nights in the course, and went as far as the Oromocto, about seventy miles up the river, where there is a block-

4. Of the persons whose names are signed to this address, Amos Botsford was from Newtown, Conn. (See Sabine's *Loyalists*); Frederick Hauser, of whose origin we know nothing, was a surveyor, and with Amos Botsford and Samuel Cummings explored St. Mary's Bay and the lower part of the St. John river (see the *Winslow Papers*, edited by Archdeacon Raymond, pp. 77, 211); Samuel Cummings was from New Hampshire, and with his wife and two children (at Annapolis Royal) was proscribed in 1782 (see Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. 2, p. 502); Elijah Williams, a son of Major Elijah Williams of Deerfield, Mass., before coming to Nova Scotia had been practising law at Keene, N. H. (See “The Genealogy and History of the Family of Williams . . . Descendants of Robert Williams of Roxbury,” published at Greenfield, Mass., in 1847). He returned later to Mass. and died at Deerfield in 1793.

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house, a British post. The St. John's is a fine river, equal in magnitude to the Connecticut or Hudson. At the mouth of the river is a fine harbour, accessible at all seasons of the year—never frozen or obstructed by the ice, which breaks in passing over the falls; here stands Fort Howe, two leagues north of Annapolis Gut." "The interval lies on the river, and is a most fertile soil, annually manured by the overflowings of the river, and produces crops of all kinds with little labour, and vegetables in the greatest perfection. The up-lands produce wheat both of the summer and winter kinds, as well as Indian corn. Some of our people chuse Conway [now Digby], others give the preference to St. John. Our people who came with us are settled here for the winter; some at the fort, some in the town, and others extend up the Annapolis river near twenty miles, having made terms with the inhabitants;—some are doing well, others are living on their provisions; their behaviour is as orderly and regular as we could expect."

These five hundred New York Loyalists were speedily followed by five hundred and one refugees from the Carolinas, who fled from Charleston when that city was evacuated. In a dispatch to the Right Hon. Thomas Johnston, the minister in England, Governor Parr of Nova Scotia says: "I have the honor to inform you that with the arrival here of the heavy ordnance from Charleston in South Carolina, came five hundred and one refugees, men, women, and children, in consequence of directions from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-General Leslie, who has sent them to the care of Major-General Patterson, commander of the troops in this province, with whom I have concurred as far as in my power to afford them a reception."

In January, 1783, the governor notified the English minister of future arrivals, but it was in the spring of that year that the great emigration of New York Tories to Nova Scotia began. In April, two separate fleets left for the Acadian Province by the Sea. The first, which sailed from New York, April 26th, comprised sixteen square rigged ships and several schooners and sloops protected by two ships of war, and carried four hundred and seventy-one families, under command of Colonel Beverly Robinson, its destination

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being Port Razoir, or Roseway, afterwards Shelburne, near the south-western end of Nova Scotia.

On the fourth of May these people reached Port Roseway and were met by three surveyors from Halifax, with whose aid they at once began to lay out a city which they had projected before leaving New York.⁵ Their plan made provision for five main parallel streets, sixty feet wide, to be intersected by others at right angles, each square to contain sixteen lots, sixty feet in width and one hundred and twenty feet in depth. At each end of the town a large space was left for a common, and when the refugees came, these reservations the engineers with the assistance of the fatigue parties rapidly cleared, so that tents could be erected for the temporary shelter of the people. July eleventh, the town was divided into north and south, the streets were named, and the lots were numbered, every settler being given fifty acres on each side the harbour, and a town and water lot besides.

The other fleet, which sailed from New York on the twenty-seventh of April, 1783, comprised twenty vessels, on board of which were three thousand people, men, women, and children. The names of the vessels were: the *Camel*, Captain Tinker; the *Union*, Captain Wilson; the *Aurora*, Captain Jackson; the *Hope*, Captain Peacock; the *Otter*, Captain Burns; the *Spencer*; the *Emmett*, Captain Reed; the *Thames*; the *Spring*, Captain Cadish; the *Bridgewater*; the *Favorite*, Captain Ellis; the *Ann*, Captain Clark; the *Commerce*, Captain Strong; the *William*; the *Lord Townshend*, Captain Hogg; the *Sovereign*, Captain Stuart; the *Sally*, Captain Bell; the *Cyrus*; the *Britain*; and the *King George*. The destination of this fleet was the River St. John, at the mouth of which, a little distance apart, stood the two old forts, La Tour, then called Fort Frederick, and the less historical Fort Howe. On the eighteenth of May the vessels came to anchor in the harbour of St. John, the Loyalists for the most part landing at Lower Cove, near the old Sydney Market House.⁶

5. *The Church of England in Nova Scotia*, Dr. A. W. H. Eaton, pp. 135, 6.

6. May 12, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton writes General Washington: "An embarkation was in much forwardness previous to the official information of peace. . . . This fleet sailed about the 27th of April for different parts of Nova Scotia, and including the

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The people of the first fleet are said to have come to their determination to settle at Shelburne, through advice given them by Captain Gideon White, a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, in which place he was born March 28, 1752. This young man, who was a great grandson of Peregrine White, of Plymouth, and father of the late venerable Rev. Thomas Howland White, D. D., of Shelburne, at the outbreak of the war made his escape from Plymouth to avoid being either drafted into the American army or thrown into prison, and starting for Nova Scotia on a trading voyage visited various places along the south shore of the province. At Barrington he was captured by an American armed vessel, commanded by a Captain Sampson, and then was carried back to Plymouth and thrown into prison, where he found his father. Within a day or two he was taken out and hanged by the waist to the village "liberty pole," but Captain Sampson, hearing of the outrage, landed with a party of his men and rescued the prisoner from his uncomfortable, if not dangerous, position. In the list of persons who went to Halifax with General Howe's fleet, Gideon White's name is found, and it is probable that he returned with the fleet to New York and there gave information regarding the Nova Scotia sea-board to the Loyalist leaders, who acting on his advice finally determined to found a city at Port Razoir.

That St. John should have been chosen by the Tories as the site of another town is not strange, for the broad, navigable St. John river, lined with fertile marshes, had long attracted traders from New England, and on both sides of it, awaiting settlement, lay an immense tract of country as fertile as the peninsula of Nova Scotia itself, and even greater in extent.

On the 6th of June Governor Parr informs the Secretary of State that since January 15th upwards of seven thousand refugees have arrived in the province, and these, he says, are to be followed by three thousand of the provincial forces, and by others besides.

troops carried seven thousand persons with all their effects; also some artillery and public stores."

May 22d, Adjutant General Oliver De Lancey orders, that "the Refugees and all the Masters of Vessels will be attentive that no Person is permitted to embark as a Refugee who has not resided Twelve Months within the British Lines, without a special Passport from the Commandant. It is also recommended to the Refugees to take Care no Person of bad Character is suffered to embark with them."

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July 6th, he writes that a considerable number of Loyalists had petitioned for land in the island of Cape Breton, and the governor, who had had instructions to grant no land in that island, asks his Majesty's pleasure in the matter. In a letter to Lord North, of the 30th of September, Governor Parr states that from November, 1782, to the end of July, 1783, upwards of thirteen thousand had arrived at Annapolis, Halifax, Port Roseway, St. John River, and Cumberland, and that since July, many more had landed at these places and at Passamaquoddy, so that the total number in the province then was probably not less than eighteen thousand. He had visited Port Roseway as soon as he could after the arrival of the settlers there, and had found upwards of five thousand persons, to which number many more, he expected, would soon be added.⁷

In September many vessels left New York for Nova Scotia, carrying in all some eight thousand refugees. One of these was the ship *Martha*, which had on board a corps of the Maryland Loyalists, and a detachment of De Lancey's 2d Regiment, in all a hundred and seventy-four persons. This vessel was wrecked on a ledge of rocks between Cape Sable and the Tusquets, and ninety-nine perished, seventy-five being saved by fishing boats and carried to St. John, where they had intended settling. Between the end of September and the twenty-first of October, two thousand Loyalists arrived, and at some time in the latter month what is known as the "Fall Fleet" reached St. John, bringing twelve hundred more. Others coming in single vessels, before and at the final evacuation of New York, which occurred November 25, 1783, it is estimated that not less than five thousand spent the winter of 1783-84 on the site of the city of St. John. August thirteenth of the latter year, Governor Parr writes Lord North that grants for four thousand, eight hundred and eighty-two families had passed the great seal of the

7. In a letter from an officer belonging to H. M. Ship *Duc de Chartres*, dated Nova Scotia, October 12, 1783, the writer says: "The great emigration of Loyalists from New York to this province is almost incredible, they have made many new settlements in the Bay of Fundy. . . . Numbers of families are also gone to Halifax, but the majority are fixed at Port Roseway, where they have erected a large city, which contains nine thousand inhabitants, exclusive of Black Town, containing about twelve hundred free Blacks, who have served during the war." Quoted in the "Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York" for 1870.

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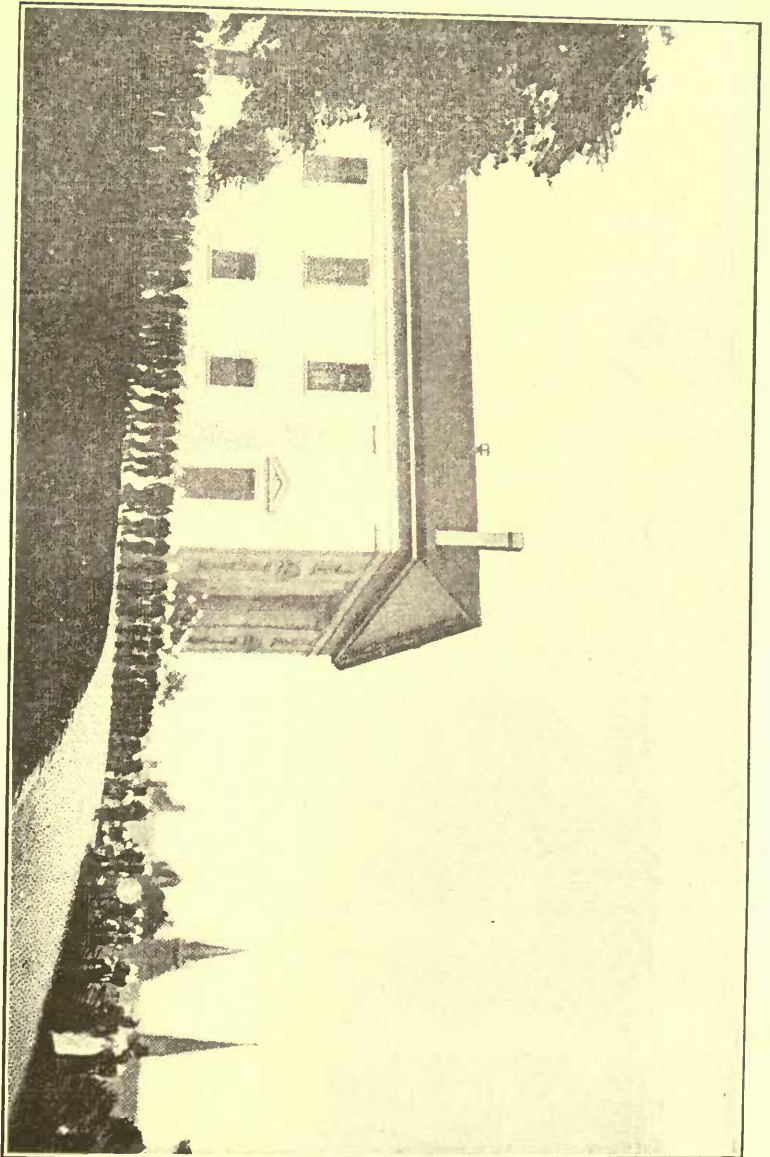
province, and that others were preparing for a hundred and fifty more. The number of persons already located, he thinks, amounts to nearly thirty thousand.

The whole number of Loyalists who left the revolting colonies, first and last, cannot have been less than a hundred thousand souls, Judge Jones thinks that Sir Guy Carleton must have assisted that many to leave New York alone. Mr. De Lancey says: "They came to New York to embark for almost all parts of the world, England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Florida, Jamaica, and the lesser West Indies." The Loyalists of the Southern colonies chiefly shipped for Florida, the Bermudas, the Bahamas, and the West Indies. Of the Tory emigrants to Upper Canada, which was then, like Nova Scotia (and New Brunswick), almost wholly unsettled, Ryerson, in his "Loyalists of America,"⁸ says: "Five vessels were procured and furnished to convey this first colony of banished refugee Loyalists to Upper Canada; they sailed around the Coast of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and up the St. Lawrence to Sorel, where they arrived in October, 1783, and where they built themselves huts or shanties, and wintered. In May, 1784, they prosecuted their voyage in boats, and reached their destination, Cataragui, afterwards Kingston, in July." Other bands of Loyalists made their way to Canada by land, the most common route being by Albany.

Many of the Loyalists who had come to Nova Scotia were so destitute that in May, 1783, an order for a muster was issued by Governor Parr, so that their needs might be fully known. This muster occupied a little over two months, from May twentieth to July twenty-seventh, and the report finally made by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Morse, who had the direction of it,⁹ covers the following nearly thirty settlements: Annapolis Royal and vicinity, Antigonish, Bear River, Chedabucto, Chester Road, Cornwallis and Horton, Country Harbour, Cumberland and vicinity, Dartmouth,

8. Vol. 2, p. 188.

9. "A General Description of the Province of Nova Scotia and a Report of the Present State of the Defences, with Observations leading to the further growth and Security of this Colony, done by Lieutenant-Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer in America, upon a Tour of the Province in the Autumn of the Year 1783 and the Summer of 1784."



THE GARRISON CHAPEL

This picture was taken when the Imperial troops worshipped there. The Chapel was destroyed in the recent explosion

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Digby, Gulliver's Hole (St. Mary's Bay); Halifax and vicinity; about Halifax Harbour; between Halifax and Shelburne, along the coast; Jedore, Musquodoboit, Newport and Kenticook; Nine Mile River, Partridge Island, Passamaquoddy; Pictou and Merigomish; River St. John; Sheet Harbour, Shelburne, Ship Harbour, Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island), Windsor, Windsor Road, and Sackville. According to this muster the War of the Revolution had brought into Nova Scotia 28,347 persons, of whom 12,383 were men, 5,486 women, 4,671 children above the age of ten, 4,575 children under the age of ten, and 1,232 servants, chiefly, no doubt, negroes who had been and virtually still continued to be slaves. Of these people, 9,260 are reported as at River St. John, 7,923 at Shelburne, 1,830 at Annapolis Royal and vicinity, 1,787 at Passamaquoddy, 1,295 at Digby, 1,053 at Chedabucto, 856 at Cumberland and thereabouts, 651 between Halifax and Shelburne, 480 at Dartmouth, and 380 in the Island of St. John; the rest being scattered, in numbers ranging from 16 to 324, through the other places mentioned above. The name Chedabucto in Lieutenant-Colonel Morse's report is the original name of what is now Guysborough. The Indians gave the name Chedabucto to at least that part of Guysborough County which lies about the harbour or bay.¹⁰

10. The record of grants in the Crown Land Office in Halifax shows that soon after the Revolution, principally in 1784 and 1785, grants were made to persons at Advocate Harbour, Antigonish, Aylesford, Beaver Harbour, Chester, Clements, Country Harbour, Dartmouth, Digby, Green River, Guysborough, Jordan River, Maccan, Merigomish, Musquodoboit, New Manchester, Parrsborough, Port Hébert, Port Medway, Port Mouton, Port Roseway, Remsheg and Tatamagouche, River Philip, Roseway Harbour, Salmon Brook, Sable River, Shelburne, Ship Harbour, Sissibou, St. Mary's Bay, Tracadie, and Wilmot. These grants were probably not all to Loyalists but undoubtedly most of them were. Some grants probably were never taken up.

Of Colonel Morse's report, Dr. Raymond writes: "The report of Lt.-Col. Morse is in the possession of J. W. Lawrence (of St. John), and I have studied it. We must bear in mind that Col. Morse's muster was made in the summer of 1784, and is liable to be *under* the mark, for two reasons. First, a considerable number of the Loyalists had already removed, owing to their unfavorable impressions of the country, some to Upper Canada (see Ryerson's *Loyalists*), some to England—these chiefly of the more affluent classes, while some had returned to the United States. A second class, I have no doubt, failed to be enumerated by Col. Morse owing to the scattered settlements, established at isolated points, and to the hurried way in which the enumeration was completed. Loyalist settlements were made on the St. John river in the summer of 1783, at some eight or more points, that at Woodstock being a hundred and forty-four miles from the sea. Other settlements were made at Passamaquoddy by refugees from Penobscot and elsewhere, at various points at the head of the Bay of Fundy, along the New Brunswick shore, and at a large number of points in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. The facilities for communication were so poor at this time,

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Gathered into a publication entitled "Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York" for 1870, we find many notices from sources contemporary with the migrations of the removal of Royalists from New York to Nova Scotia, Canada, Jamaica, the Bahamas, etc., but chiefly to Nova Scotia, in 1783. Under date of April 22 of that year, a Philadelphia newspaper (but what newspaper we do not know) says: "Accounts from New York mention that the last embarkation of refugees, consisting of near 5,000 souls, sailed from thence on Thursday last for Nova Scotia." A New York newspaper of April 23d says: "The number of inhabitants going to Nova Scotia in the present fleet consists of upwards of nine thousand souls, exceeding by more than one thousand the largest town in Connecticut, including the out parishes." A Philadelphia newspaper of April 29, 1783, informs its readers that "a late New York paper says that the number of souls embarked in the last fleet for Nova Scotia amounts to 9,000." "Yesterday," says a New York newspaper of May 17th, "arrived a vessel from Halifax, by which we learn that the fleet with about six thousand Refugees, which lately left this city, were safely landed at Port Roseway, after a

that the enumeration could scarcely have been carried out with exactness, and I therefore think the number returned by Col. Morse was much too small." "In addition to the Loyalist exiles from New York to Nova Scotia during the first ten months of 1783, there were arrivals at Halifax and Annapolis from Boston and other New England ports, amounting to probably at least 2,000, of whom 1,100 came at the time of the evacuation of Boston."

Dr. Raymond's judgment regarding the probable understatement of the number of Loyalists in Nova Scotia in Colonel Morse's Report is no doubt correct. The general style of Colonel Morse's report on Nova Scotia shows that he was not a very accurate observer, and in some degree weakens the value of his statistics. Nevertheless, they must be duly weighed by any one desiring properly to estimate the number of Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia at the close of the war. It seems likely, judging from other data, that the number at Halifax, Shelburne, and on the St. John River, is understated, for Colonel Morse himself admits that "a very small proportion of the people are yet on their lands." A few thousands, therefore, might be added to include those overlooked in the muster, those who had come early to Nova Scotia and had gone thence to England, Upper Canada, Newfoundland, or back to the United States, and the few Loyalists that might not put in a claim for "the Royal bounty of provisions." Having made a liberal allowance for all these, however, it is hard to believe, if Colonel Morse's muster be in any degree accurate, that the number of Loyalists was much more than thirty thousand in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It is possible, however, that to this number two or three thousand more may be added and the limits of accurate statement not be transgressed.

Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, editor of Judge Thomas Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, says he is satisfied from a personal examination of the manuscript records in the Secretary's office at Halifax that the number of Tories, men, women, and children, who emigrated from New York to Nova Scotia, amounted to at least thirty-five thousand.

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six days passage." A Chatham, New Jersey, newspaper of May 21st, says: "The British and their adherents, so habituated to perfidy, find it difficult to forego it; for in the last Nova Scotia fleet they sent off upwards of 700 negroes belonging to the good people of these states."

A New York newspaper of June 7th is quoted as saying: "Yesterday arrived the *Camel*, Captain William Tinker, in eight days from the river St. John, in the Bay of Fundy, who left the new settlers there in good health and spirits. Captain Tinker sailed in company with eight other transports for this port." A Philadelphia newspaper of June 10th," says: "We hear that another embarkation of his Britannic Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects, the refugees, will shortly leave New York, destined for Nova Scotia. They are said to consist of about 6,000."

A New York newspaper of June 11th records: "The Schooner *Two Friends*, Captain Fisher, arrived here on Sunday last in seven days from Port Roseway. A number of transports and small vessels were preparing to sail for this port under convoy of his Majesty's Ship *Albacora*, when Captain Fisher left that port.

. . . The Benevolent and Charitable of all Denominations are hereby informed that a very considerable number of People, having left their former Habitations, are now embarked for the Province of Nova Scotia. The greater part of whom, having tender Wives and little Infants, and having lost All, are left in circumstances extremely indigent; they are therefore recommended in the most earnest manner to the Public, as proper objects of charity. Note. As their Necessities are very urgent it is much to be wished that those who choose to Contribute will do it without delay." This appeal is signed by Messrs. Rogers and Murray, and William Laight, Queen Street; by David Seabury, Peter Bogart, and Rev. John Sayre, Smith Street; and by Rev. James Sayre, at Brooklyn."

A Chatham, New Jersey, newspaper, under date of June 11th, records: "From the many accounts from Westchester and the neighboring towns in the State of New York, near the British posts, the inhabitants of said towns are in the most unhappy Situation of any people under the sun. Those called the King's or loyal Refugees continue in their old practice of beating, burning, hanging,

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and cutting men and women in order to extort their money and other effects; which is of late continued and put in practice with the most unheard of cruelties and barbarity that ever was known; but especially since the refugees have left Morrisania are now getting all they can to carry off with them to Nova Scarcity, where they say is nine months winter and three months cold weather in the year. They come from New York and Long Island in the night and skulk about Westchester in the day, and when night comes on again they exercise the above-recited cruelties; so that the inhabitants dare not lodge in their houses." Some of the chief offenders are then mentioned, the names given being, Henry Quail, Abraham Bonker, Archibald Purdy, Jonathan Lovebury, and Stephen Baxter.¹¹

How large a proportion of the Loyalist emigrants to Nova Scotia consisted of officers and men of the various regiments that had been in service in the other colonies on the British side, so far as we know has never been exactly estimated. In March, 1783, the commanding officers of fourteen of the thirty-one provincial regiments named by Sabine¹² in his "American Loyalists" petitioned for grants of land in the still loyal British colonies for their officers and men, asking also for pensions and half pay.¹³ A New York newspaper of August 16, 1783, is quoted¹⁴ as saying: "We are informed that the following British Regiments are intended for Nova Scotia, viz.: Seventeenth, Royal Welsh or Twenty-Third, Thirty-Third, Thirty-Seventh, Royal Highlanders or Forty-Second, Fifty-Seventh, and that all the other British Battalions are to depart for Europe." In September of this year the ship *Martha*, which was wrecked between Cape Sable and Tusket, started for St. John with a corps of the Maryland Loyalists, and a detachment of De Lancey's Second Battalion. General Oliver De Lancey's Brigade comprised three battalions, each five hundred strong, the first and second of which consisted in part of New York men, with probably a strong contingent from the Tory towns of Connecticut, such

11. An occasional newspaper notice also appears in the publication from which these extracts are copied of the foundering of some vessel carrying refugees to Nova Scotia and the drowning of all on board. Why this publication does not give the names of the newspapers from which it quotes we do not know.

12. Sabine's *American Loyalists*, vol. 1, p. 73.

13. Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 15.

14. In the "Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York" for 1870.

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as Stamford, Greenwich, Norwalk, and Fairfield.¹⁵ The third battalion was drawn entirely from Queen's County, Long Island. The anger of the patriots was naturally fierce against De Lancey's whole brigade, which, in a petition against the men being allowed to return to their homes in Stamford or Greenwich, was designated as that "most infamous banditti known as De Lancey's corps." At the close of the war this brigade was disbanded in Nova Scotia. The third battalion, commanded by Captain Ludlow, arrived at St. John in October, 1783, and it is probable that the second battalion also spent the next winter at St. John, for Captain Jacob Smith, Sergeant Thomas Fowler, Corporal Richard Rogers, and others of this battalion drew adjoining city lots on the south side of Britain Street, near Wentworth Street,¹⁶ in the New Brunswick town. The following year, October 15, 1784, a grant was passed, under the great seal of the province of Nova Scotia, of lands to a hundred and twenty men of this battalion, on the Upper St. John.¹⁷ As a rule each private received a hundred acres, each non-commissioned officer two hundred acres, and each commissioned officer five hundred and fifty acres. The whole grant comprised twenty-four thousand one hundred and fifty acres, with the usual allowance of ten per cent. for roads. The first settlement at Woodstock, New Brunswick, was made by members of De Lancey's corps, either in the summer of 1783, or more probably in the following spring.

Regarding the settlement of disbanded troops at Guysborough, in the eastern part of Nova Scotia, the late Mrs. James E. Hart, a careful historian of Guysborough county has written: "The Duke of Cumberland's Regiment (Lord Charles Montagu's), was the first to arrive at Chedabucto. These troops reached there in the transport *Content*, May 16, 1784. They were disbanded in Jamaica, October 24, 1783, and Lord Charles made arrangements for their settlement in Nova Scotia, and himself came with them to Halifax

15. De Lancey's second battalion was commanded by Col. George Brewerton, Stephen De Lancey, eldest son of the General, being lieutenant-colonel.

16. *Early Days of Woodstock* (pamphlet) by Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D., St. John, 1891.

17. The names of these grantees are recorded in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton.

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in the transports *Industry* and *Argo*, arriving there December 13th. The regiment comprised three hundred men, under Captain Ralph Cunningham, but as no provision had been made for their reception the whole force had to spend the winter in huts in Halifax, erected on the site of the present Province Building. Owing to the severity of the climate and their poor shelter many of them died, Lord Charles Montagu himself, to the great grief of the troops, succumbing like his men.¹⁸

“In the autumn of 1783, about eight hundred people, soldiers and their families belonging to the British Legion, came to Port Mouton, in the western part of the Province. The next spring a fire destroyed all their houses, furniture, clothing, and most of their live stock. Word of this was sent to Halifax, and with all possible dispatch a war-ship was sent to their relief. Not satisfied to rebuild at Port Mouton, they had scouting parties reconnoitre the Province, with the result that they decided to go to Chedabucto. On the 21st of June, 1784, part of them, under Colonel Mollison, arrived there, sailing probably from Halifax. They are called in the muster-roll the ‘Associated Departments of the Army and Navy.’

“On the 13th of July, 1784, the Loyalists from St. Augustine, Florida, were mustered at Halifax on board the transport *Argo*, bound for Chedabucto. They numbered fifty-nine men, twenty women, thirty-three children, and nine servants. They settled in Guysborough county, near the entrance of the Strait of Canso. On the 17th of July, 1784, the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the 60th, or Royal American Regiment, were mustered at Halifax, on their way to Chedabucto. They numbered seventy-six men, thirty-four women, nineteen children, and four servants. They located on the south side of Chedabucto Bay. They had enlisted in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, many of them having German ancestries, some being of Dutch descent.

“In December, 1783, the transport *Nymph* arrived at Country

18. Lord Charles Greville Montagu, second son of Robert, third Duke of Manchester, was born in 1741. He died at or near Halifax, February 3, 1784. Murdoch in his “History of Nova Scotia” (vol. 3, p. 24), giving notes of the year 1783, says that late in the year Lord Charles Montagu arrived at Halifax, “with 200 of his disbanded corps from Jamaica, via Havana, whither they had been driven by storm.” Lord Charles Greville Montagu is buried under St. Paul’s Church, in which there is a monument to his memory.

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Harbour, Guysborough county, with officers and privates, some of them with families. They belonged to the South Carolina Royalists, Royal North Carolina Regiment, and King's Carolina Rangers. Their port of sailing is not known."

That in the cases of some of the disbanded troops who settled in Nova Scotia there was unfortunate delay in the granting of lands, is shown, for instance, by the fact that Colonel Edward Winslow, Jr., Muster-Master-General of the Loyalist forces employed under the Crown, and a member of the first council of New Brunswick, wrote to his friend Ward Chipman: "I saw all these provincials, whom we have so frequently mustered, landing in this inhospitable climate in the month of October, without shelter and without knowing where to find a place to reside. The chagrin of the officers was not to me as truly affecting as the distress of the men. Those reputable sergeants of Ludlow's, Fanning's, Robinson's, etc. (once hospitable yeomen of the country), addressed me in language that almost murdered me as I heard it: 'Sir, we have served all the war; we were promised land, we expected you had obtained it for us. We like the country; only let us have a spot of our own and give us such kind of regulations as will protect us.'"

Regarding the Hessian troops who came to Nova Scotia, a large number of them settling here permanently, as for example in the locality known as the "Waldeck Line," near Clementsvale, in Annapolis county, an accurate Halifax local historiographer, Mr. T. Vardy Hill, in a letter to the writer of this history, says: "On the 15th of April, 1782, the Secretary of State, Lord George Germaine, sent orders to the chief officer in command of the Hessian forces at New York to proceed to Halifax with these troops, to place them there under General Campbell, commanding officer in Nova Scotia.¹⁹ On the 13th of August, 1782, one thousand, nine hundred and fourteen Germans arrived at Halifax. The headquarters office record of corps, etc., which served in the Nova Scotia command after 1783, gives the following regiments as leaving New York for that province in May, 1783: De Seitz's Regiment, the Hessian Recruits,

19. Mr. Hill here refers to the *Canadian Archives* for 1894, p. 390. Major General John Campbell arrived at Halifax from New York as commander of the forces, December 9, 1783. Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," vol. 3, p. 24.

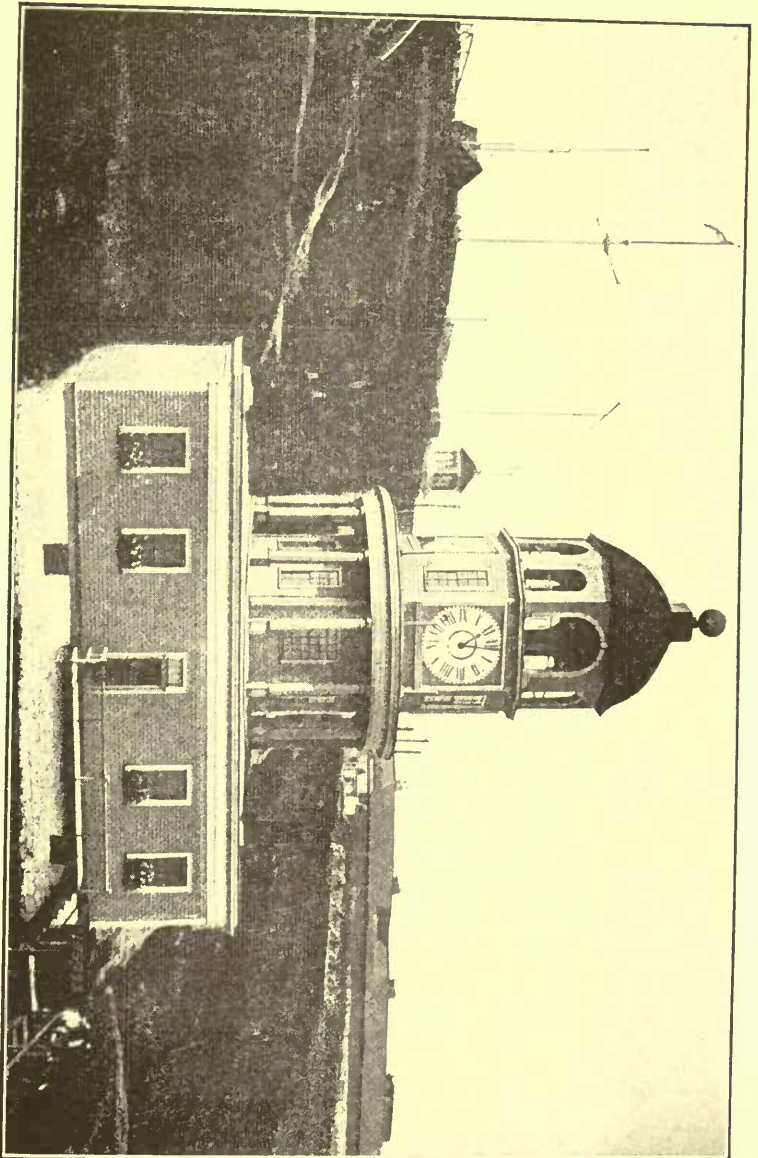
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Hesse-Hanoverian Grenadiers, Hesse-Hanoverian Yagers, Anhalt Zerbsters, Waldeckers, Hesse-Hanoverian Regiment (1st Battalion), and Brunswickers.”²⁰ Baron De Seitz, as is well remembered, died at Halifax soon after coming there with his regiment and was buried in a vault under St. Paul’s Church. In the church still hangs his hatchment, which has the unusual feature of an inscription. This inscription is as follows: “In Memory of Franz Carl Erdman Baron de Seitz, Colonel and chief of a Regiment of Hessian foot and Knight of the order pour la vertue militaire, departed this life decbr 1782, in the 65th year of his age.”

The arrival of the Loyalists at St. John and at Shelburne and other points on the rocky Nova Scotia sea-coast, cannot be pictured without sadness. The age in which these exiles lived was far less luxurious than that in which we live, yet in the older colonies from which they came many of them had been the possessors of considerable wealth, a few having had what was then great wealth, and most of them, at least having owned or been the inmates of comfortable homes in prosperous communities. To have been compelled to leave these settled homes for hastily constructed tents and log houses in the wild forests of an almost unexplored province; and, men, women, and little children, to be made to suffer all the privations and hardships of pioneer life, was enough, one would suppose, to have discouraged even the bravest hearts. For such people as the Barclays, Bayards, De Lanceys, Ludlows, Robinsons, and Wilkinsons of New York; and the Blisses, Chipmans, Lydes, Putnams, Snellings, and Winslows of Massachusetts, to be obliged to leave luxurious surroundings for the incredible hardships of life in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in those days, must have been much the same as it would be now for the Cuttings, Iselins, Morgans, or Rhinelanders of New York; or the Higginsons, Lawrences, Lowells, or Thayers of Boston, to banish themselves suddenly to some lonely part of Arizona, leaving most of their property behind.

To the actual physical discomforts which these people suffered on sea and land we must add the sorrow many felt at the severing of family ties, the breaking of friendships that were dear as life itself,

20. Mr. Hill here refers to *Canadian Archives* for 1894, p. 490.



THE GARRISON CLOCK, OR TOWN CLOCK

When the Duke of Kent was in Halifax (1794-1800), in command of the army in Nova Scotia, he instructed the engineer officer to make plans for the erection of a Garrison Clock, and forward same to the Horse Guards for approval. The clock was manufactured in London, and arrived June 10, 1803, in H. M. S. "Dart." The building was completed and the clock placed October 20th, same year. The clock was not injured in the recent explosion, and is still keeping time.

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and the sad separation from scenes that had become endeared to them by a thousand tender associations. Bishop John Inglis writes in 1844, after his first episcopal visit to Shelburne, that he had found there, still living, some of the New York emigrants, who told him "that on their first arrival, lines of women could be seen sitting on the rocks of the shore, weeping at their altered condition;" and Sabine says, "I have stood at the graves of some of these wives and daughters, and have listened to the accounts of the living in shame and anger." At St. John the first dwellings were all log huts, a little church being the earliest frame building erected. Walter Bates, describing the settlement of Kingston, on the St. John river, by himself and his fellow passengers of the "good ship *Union*," says: "The next morning with all our effects, women and children, we set sail above the falls, and arrived at Belleisle Bay before sunset. Nothing but wilderness before our eyes; the women and children did not refrain from tears! John Marvin, John Lyon and myself went on shore and pitched a tent in the bushes and slept in it all night. Next morning every man came on shore and cleared away and landed all our baggage, and the women and children, and the sloop left us alone in the wilderness. We had been informed that the Indians were uneasy at our coming, and that a considerable body had collected at the head of Belleisle. Yet our hope and trust remained firm that God would not forsake us. We set to work with such resolution that before night we had as many tents set as made the women and children comfortable." Soon "every man was jointly employed clearing places for building, cutting logs, carrying them together by strength of hands, and laying up log houses, by which means seventeen log houses were laid up and covered with bark, so that by the month of November, every man in the district found himself and family covered under his own roof, and a happier people never lived upon this globe, enjoying in unity the blessings which God had provided for us in the country into whose coves and wild woods we were driven through persecution."

The annual reports of the Church of England missionaries, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, give us much insight into the troubles experienced by the Tory exiles at the beginning of their new life in these provinces. Not a little of their suffering,

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as in the case of the disbanded troops, came from unavoidable delays in the allotment of lands for their use. It is quite possible that the Nova Scotia government may not have been thoroughly systematic in its methods of arranging for the settlement of these unhappy people, but it will be remembered that for two or three years the refugees kept pouring into the province in bewildering numbers, and that certain formalities were necessary in granting the smallest amount of government land for their use. No one who examines the records of the time can help seeing that, as Sir Guy Carleton in New York was determined to leave nothing undone that he could do to assist the Loyalists in leaving their old homes, so Governor Parr in Nova Scotia, was most anxious to help them find comfortable new homes in the country to which they had come. But it is clear that Parr and his Council were sometimes at their wits' end to know how to provide for this unexpected influx of new inhabitants.

The progress of the leading Loyalist settlements in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick can perhaps be ascertained better from the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel than in any other way. The missionaries, who like their congregations had been obliged to leave the revolting colonies, knew intimately the condition of the wilderness communities in which their lot was now cast; and the exigencies of their missions and the rules of the Society required that detailed reports of the people's condition should be sent to England every year. "Of the terrible sufferings and hardships the Loyalists underwent, who came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," says Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, "the history of these provinces makes sad mention. Suffice it to say here, that they have never been paralleled since the persecution of the Huguenots and their flight from France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685."

Among the Loyalists who left the various colonies now states of the American Union, for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were some seventy men who were promoted to so high official rank, or became otherwise so prominent in their new spheres, as to have left their names indelibly stamped on the history of the Maritime Provinces. Thomas Barclay, who after the peace became H. M. first

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Consul-General at New York, was one of these men; Daniel and Jonathan Bliss, Sampson Salter Blowers, Ward Chipman, Charles Inglis, Jonathan Odell, John Wentworth, and Isaac Wilkins were others. A great many of the Loyalists who founded families in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick came from Westchester, New York. Of this stock are the families of Bates, Bonnett, Bugbee, Disbrow, Gidney, Merritt, Mott, Palmer, Purdy, Sneden, Wetmore, and Wilkins. Other New York names were Anderson, Andrews, Auchmuty, Barclay, Barry, Barton, Baxter, Bayard, Beardsley, Bedle, Bell, Betts, Billopp, Bremner, Burton, Campbell, Carman, Coyle, De Lancey, De Mille, De Peyster, De Veber, Dick, Ditmars, Dunn, Fowler, Hatfield, Hewlett, Horsfield, Inglis, Livingston, Ludlow, McKay, Miles, Moore, Murray, Peters, Pine, Pryor, Rapalje, Rensen, Robinson, Sands, Seaman, Thorne, Van Cortlandt, Ward, Watson, Weeks, Wetmore, Wiggins, Willett, and Wilmot. From Massachusetts came representatives of the families of Ayres, Barnard, Beaman, Bliss, Blowers, Brattle, Brinley, Brymer, Burton, Campbell, Chipman, Courtney, Cunningham, Cutler, Danforth, Davis, De Blois, Dunbar, Forrester, Garnett, Garrison, Gore, Gray, Green, Greenwood, Hallowell, Hatch, Hathaway, Hazen, Hill, Howe, Hubbard, Hutchinson, Jones, Kent, Leonard, Leslie, Loring, Lyde, Mansfield, Minot, Murray, Oliver, Paine, Parker, Perkins, Poole, Putnam, Robie, Ruggles, Sewall, Snelling, Stearns, Upham, White, Winslow, and Willard. From Connecticut came Bates, Botsford, Hanford, and Jarvis. From Rhode Island, Chaloner, Coles, Halliburton, and Hazard. From Maine, Gardiner; from New Hampshire Blanchard and Wentworth; from New Jersey, Blauvelt, Burwell, Cooke, Crowell, Hartshorne, Lawrence, Milledge, Odell, Van Buskirk, and Van Norden. From Pennsylvania, Butler, Bissett, Boggs, Lenox, Marchington, Stansbury, and Vernon. From Virginia, Benedict, Bustin, Coulbourne, Donaldson, Lear, Saunders, and Wallace; from North Carolina, Fanning; from Maryland, Hensley. Viscount Bury says truly of the settlement of the Loyalists in the several provinces of what is now the Dominion of Canada: "It may safely be said that no portion of the British possessions ever received so noble an acquisition."

The advent of so many thousands of new people to Nova Scotia

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and the unusual interest taken in their welfare by the Home Government and the provincial authorities, naturally created some jealousy in the minds of the older inhabitants. The Tories were not in a conciliatory frame of mind, and having lately come out of a far more advanced civilization than that of the forest girt Nova Scotian shores, they would, not unnaturally, also make more or less assertion of superiority to the older settlers at their quiet fisheries and on their farms along the rough Atlantic seashore and beside the dyke-lands of the Basin of Minas and Cobequid Bay. The inevitable friction that actually did arise between the two bodies of people could not be lessened, either, by the fact that many of the Loyalists were men so long accustomed to assert themselves strongly in political and social affairs that in their new sphere they could not help soon making their influence felt in marked ways. Such persons as General Timothy Ruggles, Major Thomas Barclay, Col. James and Col. Stephen De Lancey, Mr. Isaac Wilkins, and Sampson Salter Blowers, could not remain inactive, or take second rank in any place where their fortunes might be cast. Accordingly, we find these men, and others of their fellow Loyalists, shortly occupying prominent places in the Council, the House of Assembly, the Judiciary, and the social life of Nova Scotia; while in what is now New Brunswick a distinct agitation very soon began to show itself for the formation of a new province.

The history of Shelburne, the Loyalist settlement at Port Razoir, begun with such high hopes and resulting in a few years in such dismal failure, has a melancholy interest. Its New York founders from the start determined to make it an important naval and military station, and at one time hoped that it would supplant Halifax as the capital of the Province. In a short time after its foundation, its population rose to between ten and twelve thousand, but the site chosen for it was so unfavorable, there being no good farming country about it, that before many years had passed the majority of its inhabitants had moved away, either to New Brunswick, to other parts of Nova Scotia, or, as in many cases, to their old homes in the United States, leaving it a sad and disappointed place. Such of those who returned to the United States locked their doors, not even removing their furniture, and quietly went away, leaving

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their houses to be taken unchallenged possession of by negroes or other poor settlers in future times.

“I have lately been at Shelburne,” writes Bishop John Inglis, in 1844, in his letter already referred to, “where nearly ten thousand Loyalists, chiefly from New York, and comprising many of my father’s parishioners, attracted by the beauty and security of a most noble harbor, were tempted to plant themselves, regardless of the important want of any country in the neighborhood fit for cultivation. Their means were soon exhausted in building a spacious town, at great expense, and vainly contending against indomitable rocks; but in a few years the place was reduced to a few hundred families. Many of these returned to their native country, and a large portion of them were reduced to poverty. . . . Some few of the first emigrants are still living.” How many actually remained in the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and how many went back to the United States, it is impossible to say. There are still many families of Loyalist descent in this province, but a large number of the most important Loyalist names have now almost or quite disappeared.

In 1783, as soon as the people of Shelburne were well settled, Governor Parr came down from Halifax and paid them a visit. On Sunday, July twentieth, he arrived in H. M. Sloop *La Sophie*. When he disembarked, salutes were fired from the ship, and as he landed, cannon were also fired by the artillery at the port, the officers of the corps on duty receiving him with due formality. On Tuesday morning he again landed, amidst loud cannonading, and marched up King Street, through long lines of the inhabitants assembled to do him honor, to the place appointed for his reception by the justices of the peace and other principal inhabitants of the place. After an address had been presented to him, he named the new town *Shelburne*, and “drank the King’s health, prosperity to the town and district of Shelburne, and to the Loyalists, each toast being accompanied with a general discharge of cannon.” In the evening a grand dinner was given on board the *Sophie*, and the next day another at the house of Justice Robertson, in the town. A public ball and supper, “conducted with the greatest festivity and de-

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corum," followed later; after which his Excellency, well pleased, returned to Halifax.

The next year, in May, Sir Charles Douglas, Bart., Commander of the British Navy, on this station, visited the town and was fittingly received; the same month Sir John Wentworth, then Mr. Wentworth, Surveyor General of the King's Woods in North America, made Shelburne a brief visit. Four years later, the town received Prince William Henry, afterwards King William IV, then a young naval officer, who came in the warship *Andromeda* and staid four days. During his stay a ball was given for his Royal Highness, which the Prince himself opened with Mrs. Bruce, wife of the Collector of the port. In 1786, says Murdoch, "the new city was a gay and lively place. Every holiday or anniversary of any description, was loyally kept and mirthfully enjoyed. On St. Andrew's day, December eleventh, of that year, the St. Andrew's Society gave an elegant ball at the Merchants' coffee house. The ball room was crowded on the occasion, and the hours of the night passed away in the most pleasing manner."

The settlement at the mouth of the St. John River was much more successful. When the first Loyalists reached that picturesque bay the shores were densely wooded, only a little spot about Fort Howe showing that white men had ever been there before. The refugees lived first in log huts, brush camps, or canvas tents, but slowly, on the cleared slopes small frame houses arose, a little Anglican Church, also, being built for worship, as well. In the beginning, the town was laid out in lots and given in two grants, one to eleven hundred and eighty-four grantees, another to ninety-three. Other Loyalist settlements also soon arose,—at Fredericton, which in 1788, was made the capital of the new province, at Gagetown, Kingston, Maudersville, St. Andrews, Sussex, and Woodstock.

The displeasure of many of the Loyalists, civilians as well as soldiers, regarding what they felt to be the tardy action of government in the apportionment of their lands, or with the allotments themselves, has frequently been discussed. Both in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, this displeasure emphatically showed itself. At Shelburne, in consequence of discontent with the allotments already made, the Governor and Council, August 5, 1784, appointed

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the following persons as their agents there in the assignment of lands: Isaac Wilkins, James McEwen, Abraham Van Buskirk, Joseph Brewer, David Thompson, Joshua Watson, Benjamin Davis, Charles McNeal, Ebenezer Parker, Alexander Leckie, Joshua Pell, Nicholas Ogden, Robert Gray, justices of the peace; Valentine Nutter, Peter Lynch, William Charles White, John Lownds, Alexander Robinson, Patrick Wall, Michael Langan, Isaac Wilkins and any four of the others, to constitute a quorum. In November, 1784, the governor authorized Amos Botsford, the Rev. Edward Brudenell, Colonel Barton, and Messrs. Hill and Stump, to lay out and assign unlocated lands in Digby to such persons there as were unprovided with land. At St. John there was so great dissatisfaction that in 1783 four hundred persons signed an agreement to remove to Passamaquoddy. Tuttle, in his history of Canada, says: "The Loyalists who settled at the St. John River did not agree very well with the original settlers. They grew angry with the Governor because their grants of land had not been surveyed, and he in turn charged them with refusing to assist in the surveys by acting as chainmen unless they were well paid for it."

Soon the Loyalists demanded additional representation in the Nova Scotia Assembly, but this Governor Parr opposed, on the ground that his instructions forbade his increasing or diminishing the number of representatives in the Assembly. Failing in their efforts to secure increased representation, the people next began to agitate for a new province north of the isthmus, a policy against which Governor Parr naturally strongly contended. In the early part of 1784 as many as three hundred and forty-one persons at Parr Town (St. John) passed resolutions of various sorts regarding the separation, and so influential were the Loyalists with the English ministry that their request was granted and in August news came out to the Halifax authorities, in the packet from Falmouth, that a new province, in compliment to the reigning family of England to be called New Brunswick, was to be at once set off. The line between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, it was declared, was to be at the narrowest part of the isthmus, from Bay Verte to Cumberland Basin, which division would place Fort Cumberland, and indeed much of what was then Cumberland County, within

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the limits of the new province. The governor of New Brunswick was to be Colonel Thomas Carleton, a brother of Sir Guy, who had himself commanded a regiment during the war and was highly esteemed by the exiled Loyalists.

In October, Colonel Carleton and his family arrived at Halifax from London, in the *St. Lawrence*, Captain Wyatt, after a passage of eight weeks; and on Sunday, November twenty-first, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they reached St. John, where they received a most enthusiastic welcome. As the *Ranger*, the sloop in which they had crossed the bay from Digby, entered the harbor, one salute of seventeen guns was fired from the battery at Lower Cove, and another from Fort Howe. The house of Mr. George Leonard, at the corner of Union and Dock streets, had been fitted up for their reception, and thither, amidst great applause, the distinguished party was at once conducted. As his Excellency entered the door the crowd gave three rousing cheers, with "Long live our King and Governor!" Then the enthusiastic people dispersed, to dream of the august ceremony that should be held on the morrow, when the Chief should take the oaths of his office and the new Council be sworn.

The first Legislative Council of New Brunswick consisted of George Duncan Ludlow, James Putnam, Abijah Willard, Gabriel G. Ludlow, Isaac Allan, William Hazen, and Dr. Jonathan Odell, all of whom had been men of considerable note in the colonies from which they had come. Five days after the first meeting of the new Council, its number was increased by the appointment of Guilfred Studholm, and on the fourth of December, by that of Edward Winslow. In July, 1766, two more members were added, Messrs. Joshua Upham and Daniel Bliss. A judiciary was also appointed, consisting of George Duncan Ludlow, Chief Justice; and James Putnam, Isaac Allan, and Joshua Upham, Assistant Judges. The Supreme Court met for the first time on Tuesday, February first, 1785, in the little frame church, which thus served both for worship and the administration of justice. The first parliament of the province assembled at St. John on the third of January, 1786, in a house known as the "Mallard" house, on the north side of King Street, the members being: Stanton Hazard, and John McGeorge, for the

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City of St. John; and William Pagan, Ward Chipman, Jonathan Bliss, and Christopher Billopp, for the county. The Speakership of the House of Assembly was given to Amos Botsford, the presidency of the Council to the Chief Justice, Mr. Ludlow, the office of Attorney-General to Dr. Jonathan Odell, and that of Provincial Secretary to Jonathan Bliss.

Of these high officials, most of whom were for many years after their first appointment intimately connected with the destinies of the province they had helped create, George Duncan Ludlow had been a judge of the Supreme Court of New York; James Putnam had long ranked as one of the ablest lawyers in America; Abijah Willard, of Massachusetts, had been a mandamus councillor and had served in the army from the taking of Louisburg until 1763, later being commissary to the troops at New York; Gabriel G. Ludlow, of New York had commanded a battalion of Maryland volunteers; Isaac Allan had been colonel of a New Jersey corps of volunteers and had lost an estate in Pennsylvania because of his attachment to the royal cause; William Hazen, formerly of Newburyport, Massachusetts, had come to Passamaquoddy and St. John as a trader in 1764; the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Odell, of New Jersey, had practised medicine, and had been a successful Church of England clergyman, in the latter capacity acting as chaplain to the royal troops; and Guilfred Studholm, probably also a New England man, had been in the province for some years in military service, as commander at Fort Howe.

Connected with the city of St. John, in the present province of New Brunswick, in the days of its founding by New York Loyalists, is the name of one man whose record in the Revolution no one has ever attempted to justify. This was the notorious Benedict Arnold. In 1787, Arnold made his residence in St. John, and there entered into mercantile life, trading chiefly with the West Indies. "Mr. Sparks suggests," writes Mr. Isaac N. Arnold, "that the English Government granted him facilities in the way of contracts for supplying the troops there with provisions. At any rate he carried on an extensive business, building ships, and sending cargoes to the West Indies, his two sons, Richard and Henry, aiding him in his operations. . . . Arnold is said to have exhibited here some of his characteristic faults, living in a style of ostentation and dis-

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play, and being so haughty and reserved in his intercourse that he became personally obnoxious. While the family were residing at St. John, George Arnold, their sixth child was born." In 1788, General Arnold and his family returned to London, where they had first settled five years before. In 1790 they were again at St. John, but in 1791 they removed permanently to England.

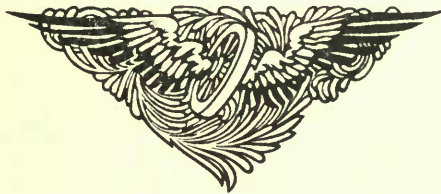
In his survey of the Loyalists at large, Dr. George E. Ellis of Boston, in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," says:²¹ "Among those most frank and fearless in the avowal of loyalty and who suffered the severest penalties, were men of the noblest character and of the highest position. So, also, bearing the same odious title, were men of the most despicable nature, self-seeking, and unprincipled, ready for any act of evil. And between these two were men of every grade of respectability and every shade of meanness." The New York Loyalists have often been spoken of as if they comprehended all the "aristocracy" of that town. Such a statement if made of Boston would be more nearly, though not entirely, true. In New York some of the most active supporters of the Revolution, like John Jay and Governor Morris, bore names as aristocratic and held places as socially high as any in the province; and though the De Lanceys, De Peysters, Philippses, and Johnsons, and the greater part of the people in society who acknowledged the leadership of these families, were enthusiastic supporters of the crown, the Schuylers and Livingstons, at least, were known as equally loyal to the cause of the Whigs.

So far as religion ruled in the colonies, the Episcopalians were very largely Tory in sympathy, and the same was true of a minority of the adherents of the Dutch Reformed body wherever it existed. The Presbyterians, however, of the middle colonies and the Congregationalists of New England almost without exception gave their support strongly to the patriot cause. In both the middle colonies and New England the government officials of all sorts naturally ranged themselves on the royal side, while in such seaports as Salem and Plymouth, and in the trading villages of New York, including those of Long Island and Staten Island, the mer-

21. "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. 8, p. 185.

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chants who did business directly with the mother country and whose interests would necessarily suffer by any disturbance of the old relations, were opposed to the Revolution. Besides these two classes of people, whose material interests made it almost necessary for them to be loyal to Britain, not a single fair-minded historian in these days fails to recognize that there were among the Loyalists countless men and women of the highest principles, who loved constitutional order, hated anarchy, and believed that obedience to law was the first duty of honest citizens. The people of this class, however, were not by any means all so bigotedly conservative, and so stupidly insensible to their rights as colonists, as to be willing to endure any hardships that overbearing ministries in England might impose upon them, but believing that to preserve a united empire was more important than to secure the immediate redress of temporary wrongs, they were willing to bide their time until the mother country could be made to see her duty towards her American colonies and should be willing to abolish their wrongs.



De Soto's Route in Arkansas

BY ADA MIXON, WASHINGTON, D. C.



IT has never been satisfactorily determined just where De Soto crossed the Mississippi river, which he discovered on June 18, 1541, or how far westward he went afterward. His wanderings through the present States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi have been traced with a fair degree of accuracy, but the few writers who have touched upon his route through Arkansas each give a different account of it. Some chroniclers state that he went as far west as the Rocky Mountains, unmindful of the fact that it took him two years to travel from Tampa Bay to the point where he crossed the Mississippi, and that his travels west of that river occupied only a year. Some writers have placed the point of crossing at Chickasaw Bluff, and the route through the Ozarks of Arkansas and Missouri. Later writers are of the opinion that the point of crossing must have been a short distance north of the 34th parallel, and this is far more likely, as may be determined by the description of his wanderings immediately after reaching the western bank and by comparing that description with the present aspect of the same region.

The route outlined on the accompanying sketch has been worked out from a careful study of the only recorded accounts which are regarded as accurate. First in importance is the report of the Factor or Chief Commissary of the expedition, Don Luys Hernandez de Biedma, which was written from notes jotted down during the journey. This is very brief, giving only a few essential details, names of tribes, towns, rivers, resources and some directions. Second, the journal of Rodrigo Ranjel, De Soto's private secretary, which bears evidence that it was an actual journal made during their travels, and gives more fully than Biedma's work the directions taken and descriptions of the various regions traversed. Third, the account given by an anonymous writer known only as "The Gen-

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. XII

THE HALIFAX GARRISON AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE TOWN



LIFE in Halifax among military officers, and the relations between these and the civilian population, during the long period that Halifax remained a popular military station garrisoned by Imperial troops, we should no doubt find picturesquely illustrated in thousands of unprinted letters and diaries existing in the British Empire, if we could get at these. Printed descriptions of Halifax military-social life are not too frequently found, but some such descriptions, as we have before intimated, certain interesting printed volumes yield.

One such account occurs in the diary of General William Dyott, a genial officer who died in Staffordshire, England, in May, 1847, at the advanced age of almost eighty-six.¹ General Dyott, who was born in Staffordshire, on the 17th of April, 1761, stood socially very high in the army, and his diary extending over sixty-four of the most interesting years in English history, from 1781 to 1845, has much of the piquant charm of the diary of the immortal Pepys. In April, 1787, at the age of twenty-six, a lieutenant in the Fourth, he was ordered with his regiment from Ireland to Halifax, and in Nova Scotia he remained continuously until December, 1792. On the 22nd of July, 1787, he arrived in Halifax harbour, and his description of the scenery along the shores and of the town as he approached it is interesting to read. He says:

“We were agreeably awoke at six o'clock in the morning of the 22nd, and informed that we were in the Bay of Halifax, and should

1. “Dyott’s Diary, 1781-1845. A selection from the Journal of William Dyott, sometime General in the British Army and Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty, King George III.” London, Archibald Constable and Company, Limited. 1907.

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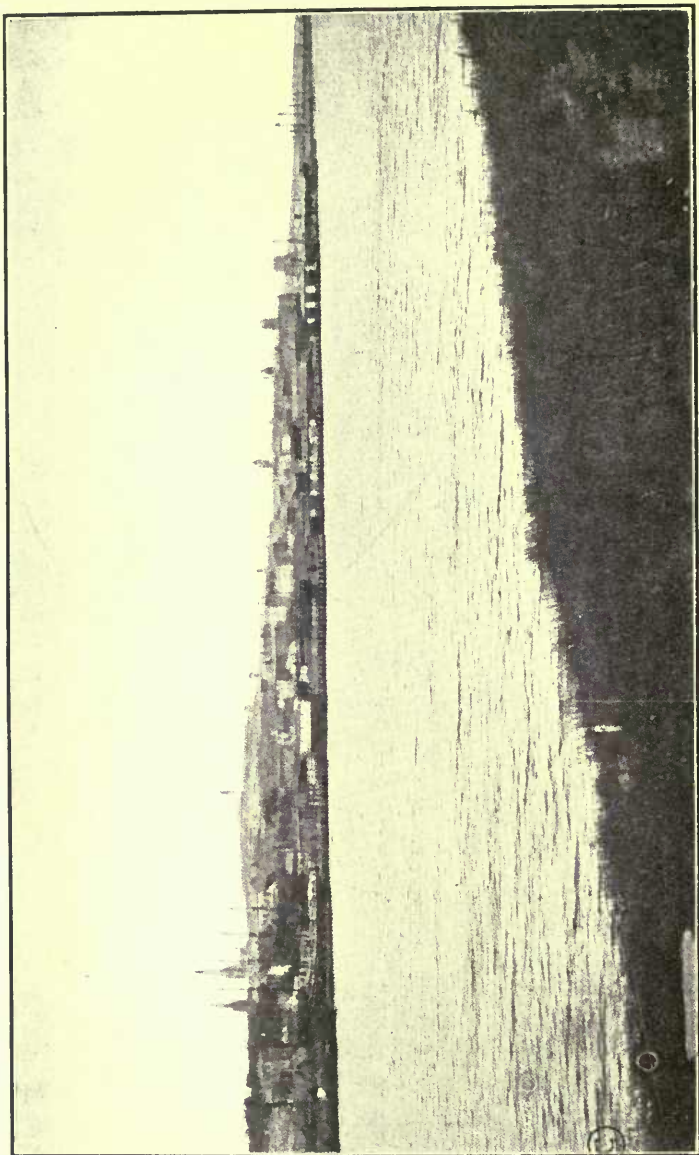
be at anchor by ten o'clock. We all got up happy in the idea of **being released from seven weeks' confinement.** The entrance into the harbour of Halifax has nothing very pleasing. It lies nearly east and west. The west side is a rock partly covered with wood, and has at the extremity a lighthouse, there being a very dangerous reef of rocks running some distance into the sea. The east side is pretty enough. There is a large island called Cornwallis Island, which has some cultivation and a good deal of wood. Near the town, and about the centre of the harbour, there is a small island called George's Island, where the signals are made for the shipping, and on which there are works. It is very well situated for guarding the harbour. We came to anchor close to the town about twelve o'clock. I never was more rejoiced. The Colonel immediately went on shore to wait upon the Governor. In the afternoon I dressed and went on shore, after being seven weeks in filth and rags. A clean coat appeared quite awkward and strange.

"The town of Halifax is prettily enough situated on a hillside, at the top of which there is a citadel and block-house. The houses are all built of wood, and in general painted white or yellow, which has a very pleasing effect, particularly in summer. The streets extend from north to south along the side of the hill, and are intersected by cross streets, extending from the shore up the hill towards the block-house. The Governor, Parr, and the commissioner of the dock-yard, have both very good houses. There are three barracks, which would contain from 600 to 1,000 men. There are also two churches, both very neat buildings of wood, and one or two meeting-houses. There is a square in town called the Grand Parade, where the troops in garrison parade every evening during the summer, and where all the belles and beaux of the place promenade, and the bands remain to play as long as they walk."

Leaving the ship, young Dyott went, he says, to the Parade.

"The first person I saw was Mr. Cartwright, late lieutenant in the Staffordshire Militia. He was an ensign in the 60th, acting adjutant. We disembarked the next day, the 23rd, about two o'clock, and dined with the 60th regiment. They were going to Quebec. We were not able to get into our barrack-rooms, as the 60th did not embark till Thursday. However, we got an empty room in the barracks, and four of us laid our beds on the floor, and enjoyed most heartily our repose, hard as it was.

"*July 27.*—We began our mess. From the high price of provisions, beef being eightpence and mutton sixpence per pound, we



RECENT VIEW OF HALIFAX

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were obliged to pay high for messing. Two dollars a week and our rations equal to three shillings and sixpence more. Port wine from fifteen to twenty pence per bottle; sherry nearly the same.

“*August 11.*—I went on a fishing party with Captain Devernet, of the artillery. It is one of the principal summer amusements of this place, and a very pleasant one indeed. There were ten of us; we had a large boat, allowed the artillery by government, and also a smaller one for the eatables. . . . We sat down about four o’clock, and of all the dishes I ever tasted, I never met so exquisitely good a thing as the chowder. We attempted to make it on board ship, but nothing like this. It is a soup, and better in my opinion than turtle. The recipe I don’t exactly know, but the principal ingredients are cod, haddock, pork, onions, sea-biscuit, butter, and a large quantity of cayenne pepper. In short, the *tout ensemble* was the best thing I ever ate. We had some excellent Madeira, of which we drank a bottle each, and some very good lime punch with dinner.

“*August 20.*—A duel was fought between Captain Dalrymple of the 42d, and Lieutenant Roberts of the 57th, owing to the former having two years prior to the duel said in a company that Mr. Roberts was not fit for the Grenadiers; at the same time hinting that he had sold some of his brother’s books. Lieutenant Roberts at the time this discourse took place was in Europe, and not meeting with Captain Dalrymple till now, he being quartered at Cape Breton, had not an opportunity of demanding satisfaction. They fired only one pistol each, as Captain Dalrymple was wounded in the arm, but not dangerously.

“*Friday, October 26.*—I dined at the Commissioner’s. That same day the fleet from Quebec, under the command of Commodore Sawyer, arrived here, consisting of the *Leander*, 50 guns, Captain Sir James Barclay, Bart., with the broad pennant; the *Pegasus*, 28 guns, Captain his Royal Highness Prince William Henry; the *Resource*, 28 guns, Captain Minchin; and the *Wenzel* sloop, Captain Wood. On their passage from Quebec, the *Leander* struck on a rock in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and was very near being lost. It was a most dismal situation, as all the Commodore’s family were with him on board. They were obliged to quit the ship, and went on board his Royal Highness’s ship. When the *Leander* came in, she was obliged to be towed up the harbour to the Dockyard and hove down. Her bottom was found to be in a most shattered condition. His Royal Highness was rather expected in the evening at the Commissioner’s, but he did not quit his ship. On his coming to anchor,

the Brigadier-General waited upon him; he positively declined any compliments as a prince.

“Sunday his Royal Highness dined at the Commodore’s; Monday at the Commissioner’s; Tuesday he reviewed the regiment at 11 o’clock. It was the first time I had seen him, and little expected to have received such marks of his condescension as I afterward did. Our review was nothing more than the common form; his Royal Highness expressed much satisfaction at the appearance of the men. After the review was over, the officers were all presented to him on the Parade. His Royal Highness is very much like his Majesty, but better looking. He is about 5 foot 7 or 8 inches high, good complexion and fair hair. He did the regiment the honour to dine with them; I sang several songs, with which he was much entertained. He dislikes drinking very much, but that day he drank near two bottles of Madeira. When we broke up from the mess he went to my room and got my cloak to go to his barge, as it rained a good deal. I accompanied him to the boat and wished him a good night.

“*Wednesday Morning*.—I met him walking in the street by himself. I was with Major Vesey, of the 6th regiment. His Royal Highness made us walk with him; he took hold of my arm, and we visited all the young ladies in town. During our walk he told Vesey and me he had taken the liberty of sending us a card to dine with him on Sunday (a great liberty!). Vesey and I walked with him till he went on board. He dined *en famille* with the Commodore. I dined with Vesey at O’Brien’s.

“In the evening a ball at the Governor’s. We went about seven; his Royal Highness came about half after, and almost immediately began country dances with Miss Parr, the Governor’s daughter. We changed partners every dance; he danced with all the pretty women in the room, and was just as affable as any other man. He did me the honour to talk a great deal to me before supper during the dance. We went to supper about twelve, a most elegant thing, near sixty people sat down. We had scarce began supper when he called out: ‘Dyott, fill your glass’ (before he asked any person in the room to drink); when I told his Royal Highness my glass was full, he said, ‘Dyott, your good health, and your family.’ About half an hour after, he called out: ‘Dyott, fill a bumper’—then, ‘Dyott, here’s a bumper toast.’ After supper he gave five or six bumper toasts, and always called to me to see them filled at my table. We had a most jolly evening, and he retired about two o’clock. The ladies all stood up when he came into the room, and remained so till he sat down.

“*Thursday Morning*.—I met him on the Parade. He, Major

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Vesey, and myself, walked about the town all morning. He would go into any house where he saw a pretty girl, and was perfectly acquainted with every house of a certain description in the town. He dined with the Commodore and Captain of the Fleet at O'Brien's Tavern.

“*Saturday*.—I met him at Parade, and attended him all the morning. He dined with the captain of the *Resource*. Vesey dined with me, and we had a good deal of company at the mess, and got very drunk.

“*Sunday Morning*.—I met him after church at Mrs. Wentworth's, Governor Wentworth's lady. He [Mr. Wentworth] was gone up the country on business, as he is surveyor-general of the woods of this province. Mrs. W. is, I believe, a lady fonder of our sex than her own, and his Royal Highness used to be there frequently. I attended him from thence to his barge; as we went along he told me he would send his cutter for me to any place I chose, to come to dinner. I told his Royal Highness I was to go on board with Captain Minchin in his barge. We went a little after three, all in boots, at his particular wish (he dined everywhere in boots himself).

“He received us on the quarter-deck with all possible attention, and showed us into the cabin himself. His cabin is rather small and neatly furnished. The company at dinner was: The Governor; the General; two of the captains of the fleet; Major Vesey; Captain Gladstones, 57th regiment; Captain Dalrymple, 42nd; Hodgson, of ours, and myself. A most elegant dinner; I did not think it possible to have had anything like it on board ship. Two courses, removes, and a most elegant dessert. Wines of all sorts, such Madeira I never tasted. It had been twenty-eight years in bottle; was sent as a present to his Royal Highness from the East Indies by Sir Archibald Campbell. We had two servants out of livery, and four in the King's livery. His Royal Highness sat at the head of the table, and one of the chaplains of the navy at the foot. No officer of his ship, as it is a rule he has laid down never to dine in company with any subaltern officer in the navy. We dined at half-past three, and drank pretty freely till eight, when we had coffee, and after, noyau, etc. He found out I had never been on board so large a ship, and before I came away he told me to come and breakfast with him the next morning at eight o'clock, and he would show me all over the ship.

“I went ashore that evening with Captain Minchin, who has a house in town. Gladstones, Dalrymple, Hodgson, and I supped with him. Before I went there I met his Royal Highness and Sir James Barclay, captain of the *Leander*, walking about the streets.

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He made me walk with him till near ten o'clock, and some pretty scenes we had.

“The next day, Monday, the 5th of November, he had fixed to land as a prince of the blood, to receive the address from the Governor and Council, to dine with them, and to go to a ball given by the town. I went to breakfast with him at eight, found the cutter waiting for me at the dockyard and a royal midshipman attending. His Royal Highness was on the quarter-deck when I went on board. We immediately went below to breakfast, which consisted of tea, coffee, and all sorts of cold meat, cold game, etc., etc. His Highness breakfasted almost entirely on cold turkey. His purser made breakfast, and his first lieutenant and two of the midshipmen (who take it in turn) breakfasted. They did not stay two minutes after.”

When breakfast was over for the Prince and his guest, his Royal Highness showed Dyott over the ship, and then the young lieutenant went on shore “to get the regiment ready” to receive the prince:

“At two o'clock the garrison marched down and lined the streets from the wharf to the Government House. A captain's guard with colours was formed on the right to receive him, and a detachment of artillery with three field-pieces fired a royal salute on his landing. His Royal Highness left the Commodore's ship about a quarter after two in his own barge (which was steered by an officer). His barge's crew most elegantly dressed, and the handsomest caps I ever saw—black velvet, and all except the coxwain's with a silver ornament in front, and the King's arms most elegantly cast. The coxwain's was of gold, and his Royal Highness told me it cost fifty guineas. As he was steered by an officer, what is termed the strokesman wore the coxwain's cap. The Commodore's ship lay about half a mile from the wharf where he landed, and as he passed the ships, followed by the Commodore and captains of the fleet in their barges, his Royal Highness and the Commodore each having the standard of England hoisted in their barge, he was saluted by each of them separately, having their yards manned, etc. When he came within a hundred yards of the wharf, his barge dropped astern, and the Commodore's and captain's pushed on and landed to receive him immediately on his stepping out of his barge (the Governor, Council, House of Assembly, etc., and all the great people being there to receive him). He was saluted by the field-pieces on the wharf, and proceeded through a line of troops to the Government House, the soldiers with presented arms, the officers and colours saluting him as he passed, and all the bands playing ‘God save the King.’”

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“When he entered the Government House he was saluted by the twenty-four pounders on the Citadel Hill. On his being arrived in the levée room, the different branches of the legislature being there assembled and all the officers allowed to be present, the Governor presented the address, to which his Royal Highness read his answer, and read it with more energy and emphasis than anything I ever heard. At the same time he had the most majestic and manly appearance I ever beheld.

“Immediately he had finished, the officers went out to change the position of the troops from the wharf to the tavern where he was to dine. He passed up the line and was saluted as before. The troops then marched to their barracks, and in the evening fired a *feu de joie* on the Citadel Hill. At eight o’clock his Royal Highness went to the ball, where, I do suppose, there must have been near three hundred people. The business much better conducted than I imagined it would. The supper was quite a crowd, and some such figures I never saw. His Royal Highness danced a good deal. He began with Miss Parr, the Governor’s daughter. He did me the honour to converse with me frequently, and walked arm-in-arm about the room for half an hour. He retired about one o’clock and appeared much pleased with the entertainment.

“*Tuesday*.—He came on shore about twelve, and was made a member of the Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blue and Orange, and dined with the Society at our mess-room. All our officers were members, and invited the Governor, the Commodore, the Commissioner, and Major Vesey of the 6th regiment to meet the Prince. We gave him a very good dinner, and he was in very good spirits. He is not fond of drinking himself, but has no objection to seeing other people. I was vice-president, and sung, etc. He got up about nine, and as he left the room he called, ‘Dyott,’ on which I followed, and had the honour of walking with him alone to his barge, as he wished the General and the rest a good night. . . .

“*Wednesday*.—I met him in the street and walked about all morning. That day I had the honour to meet his Royal Highness at dinner at Governor Wentworth’s, or rather Mrs. Wentworth’s, the Governor being away from home. Mrs. Wentworth is a most charming woman, but, unhappily for her husband, rather more partial to our sex than her own. But he, poor man, cannot see her foibles, and they live very happy. I believe there was a mutual passion which subsisted between his Royal Highness and her.² She is an American, but lived a good deal in England and with people

2. Prince William Henry was almost twenty years Lady Wentworth’s junior, he was born August 21, 1765, the date of her birth was September 30, 1745.

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of the first fashion. As I was pretty intimate in the house, she desired me to dine there. The company was, his Royal Highness, Major Vesey, Captain Gladstones, Hodgson of ours, a Mr. and Mrs. Brindley, the latter a sister of Mrs. Wentworth's, and myself. I never laughed so much in my life; he was in vast spirits and pleasanter than anything I ever saw. We had a most elegant dinner and coffee, and then went to dress, as he always dines in boots, and the Commissioner gave a ball in honour of his Royal Highness. He dressed at Mrs. Wentworth's and went in her carriage, but not with her, as the ladies of Halifax are a little scrupulous of their virtue, and think it a danger if they were to visit Mrs. Wentworth. For my part I think her the best-bred woman in the province. I was obliged to go early, as the Commissioner requested I would manage the dancing, etc.; that is, that I would act as a master of the ceremonies. I went about eight. The Commissioner's house and the dockyard was most beautifully illuminated and made a fine appearance. His Royal Highness arrived about nine. Everybody stands up when he enters, and remains so till he desires the mistress of the house to sit down. Soon after he came we began dancing. I forgot to mention that at Mrs. Wentworth's he told me I was to dine with him on Friday. He is very fond of dancing; we changed partners every dance. He always began, and generally called to me to tell him a dance. The last dance before supper at the Governor's and at the Commissioner's, his Royal Highness, Major Vesey, myself, and six very pretty women danced 'Country Bumpkin' for near an hour. We went to supper about one. . . .

Thursday Morning.—I met him in town, and walked in the dockyard with him all morning. He dined that day with the 57th regiment. I had the honour of an invitation to meet him. We had an amazing company; all the great people, but not very pleasant. His Royal Highness retired about eight; and as we went out he called me to accompany him. We strolled about the town, went to some of the houses of a certain description, and to be sure had some pretty scenes. He did me the honour to say it was very seldom he took so much notice of a subaltern. He said it was not from any dislike he had to them, but that he was in a situation where everybody had an eye on him, and it would be expected he should form acquaintance with people high in rank. I attended him to his barge; he went aboard about ten.

Friday Morning.—I met him at Mrs. Wentworth's. We stayed there more than an hour. Then walked the town till two o'clock, as he dined at three. . . . The cutter was waiting at the dockyard a little before three. The company: Colonel Brownlow of the 57th,

who had arrived from England the day before; Major Vesey, Hodgson, Captain Hood of the navy, and myself. His Royal Highness received us on the quarter-deck, and we went to dinner immediately. Not quite so great a dinner as before, but vastly elegant. He was in great spirits and we all got a little inebriated. We went ashore about seven to dress for a ball at the Commodore's. He dressed at Mrs. Wentworth's. When we first came on shore, he was very much out indeed, shouted and talked to every person he met. I was rather late at the Commodore's. The company not quite so numerous as at the Governor's; the house not being large. We had a very pleasant ball; 'Country Bumpkin,' the same set, and a devilish good supper. We danced after supper and till four o'clock. He dances vastly well, and is very fond of it. I never saw people so completely tired as they all were. I saw his Royal Highness to his barge and ran home as fast as I could.

“Saturday Morning.—We had a meeting of the Blue and Orange, as his Royal Highness gave a dinner to the Society that day at our mess-room, and was chosen Superior of the Order. He, Major Vesey, and myself, walked about all morning visiting the ladies, etc. He desired to dine at half-past three. He took the chair himself and ordered me to be his vice. We had a very good dinner, and he sent wine of his own; the very best claret I ever tasted. We had the Grenadiers drawn up in front of the mess-room windows to fire a volley in honour of the toasts. As soon as dinner was over he began. He did not drink himself; he always drinks Madeira. He took very good care to see everybody fill, and he gave twenty-three bumpers without a halt. In the course of my experience I never saw such fair drinking. When he had finished his list of bumpers, I begged leave as vice to give the Superior, and recommended it to the Society to stand upon our chairs with three times three, taking their time from the vice. I think it was the most laughable sight I ever beheld, to see the Governor, our General, and the Commodore, all so drunk they could scarce stand on the floor, hoisted up on their chairs with each a bumper in his hand; and the three times three cheer was what they were afraid to attempt for fear of falling. I then proposed his Royal Highness and a good wind whenever he sailed (as he intended sailing on Monday), with the same ceremony. He stood at the head of the table during both these toasts, and I never saw a man laugh so in my life. When we had drunk the last, the old Governor desired to know if we had any more, as he said if he once got down, he should never get up again. His Royal Highness saw we were all pretty well done, and he walked off. There were just twenty dined and we drank sixty-three bottles of wine.

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“When he went out he called me and told me he would go to my room and have some tea. The General, Colonel Brownlow, and myself were at tea. The General and Colonel as drunk as two drummers. I was tolerably well myself, and knew what I was about, perfectly. He laughed at them very much. After tea we left them in my room and went on a cruise, as he calls it, till eleven, when he went on board. I don't recollect ever to have spent so pleasant a day. His Royal Highness, whenever any person did not fill a bumper, always called out, ‘I see some of God Almighty's daylight in that glass, Sir; vanish it.’

“*Monday Morning*.—At seven o'clock his Royal Highness sailed. I got up to take a last view of his ship as she went out, and as a tribute of respect to his Royal Highness, from whom I had received such flattering marks of condescension. I think I never spent a time so joyously in my life; and very sorry when he left us.”³

“*New Years Day, January 1, 1788*.—I dined at Mr. Brindley's, brother-in-law to Mrs. Wentworth. The same party as on Christmas Day at Governor Wentworth's. I cannot say I was in very good spirits. Was asked to dine the next day at Mr. Townsend's and at the Commissioner's, but as it was the day on which I lost my dear father, I refused them both and did not leave the barracks all day.”

In contrast to all this dining and wining and exuberant general gayety, with a little scandal casually thrown in, is the account the young lieutenant gives of the death and funeral of a daughter of the Admiral then on the Station:

3. Prince William Henry, Duke of Clarence, third son of George 3rd, and Queen Charlotte Sophia, was born in Buckingham Palace, August 21, 1765. He was therefore a little over twenty-two when he first reached Halifax. On this visit, which lasted from October 26 to November 13, 1787, he was captain of the *Pegasus*. His second visit lasted from August 17, 1788, until late in November, 1788. This time he came in the *Andromeda*. The whole fleet was under command of Commodore Herbert Sawyer, who became an admiral in 1795.

The Duke of Clarence succeeded to the throne as William IV on the death of his brother, George IV, on the 26th of June, 1830. Many times during his reign General Dyott was at court and the King was always gracious to him, usually asking him what the difference in their ages was, and how long they had been acquainted. But Dyott was disappointed that the King did nothing to advance him, and his references to his old companion at Halifax are sometimes tinged slightly with acrimony. On the accession of William he writes: “Having in younger days seen much of King William the Fourth and partaken of several weeks familiar intercourse as far as Prince and subject was allowable, I have little hesitation in arguing that William's will not be a reign in which any great benefits are likely to accrue to the nation from kingly exertion. He has neither consistency, firmness, nor discretion. I hope I may be mistaken. . . . His present Majesty three and forty years ago has more than once said to me ‘I shall be glad if I can ever be of any service to you.’ Prince's promises are not permanent proofs.” Dyott's Diary, vol. 2, p. 82.

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“On the 30th of January [1788], poor Miss S. Sawyer, daughter to the Admiral, died, universally regretted by all ranks as a most amiable, good, deserving young woman. She had had a swelling in her arm for some months. The faculty agreed it should be opened, which was done accordingly. It continued in that state, not healing or mending, for near two months. That at length brought on a fever, of which she languished for twenty-one days. I was much hurt, knowing her to be so good a creature. She was only eighteen years of age, and a very handsome, fine woman. I was desired to attend her funeral as a bearer. I cannot say I ever felt more in my life than on the occasion, when I reflected that about three months before I was dancing with her, and that now I was attending her to her grave. It really made me as melancholy as anything I ever experienced. The funeral was a handsome one, as follows:

“At the head of the procession were the Bishop and Rector; then the body with eight bearers. That is, on the right side, Lieutenant Nicholson, 57th regiment; Captain Gladstones, ditto; Lieutenant Lawford, R. N.; Captain Sir James Barclay, ditto; on the left side Lieutenant Dyott, 4th; Captain Hodgson, ditto; Lieutenant d’Acres, R. N.; Captain Hood, ditto. The under bearers were the Admiral’s barge crew in white trousers, white shirts, with a piece of love ribbon tied round the left arm, black velvet caps and white ribbons tied round them. The coffin covered with white cloth handsomely ornamented. On a silver plate, ‘Sophia Sawyer. Born 10th March ’70. Died 31st Jan. ’88.’

“After the body, Mr. d’Acres, secretary to the Admiral as chief mourner; next the nurse and Miss Sawyer’s maid in deep mourning and white hoods. The bearers had on full uniform; white hat-bands and scarves, black sword-knots, cockades, and crape round the left arm. After the two women followed Colonel Brownlow, 57th, and Captain Minchin, R. N., General Ogilvie, and the Commissioner, and the Governor by himself. All with white hat-bands and scarves. There were also three or four of the family, and some officers belonging to the Admiral’s ship, with hat-bands and scarves. After them followed almost all the officers belonging to the fleet; many of the garrison; all the people in town that were acquainted with the Admiral; and to close up the whole, a long string of empty carriages.

“As we entered the church [St. Paul’s], which is a full mile from the Admiralty, the organ began a most solemn dirge, which continued near a quarter of an hour. The service was then performed, and I think in my life I never saw so much grief as throughout the whole congregation. I must own I have never shed so many

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tears since I left school. I believe sorrow was never more universal than on the occasion. It was a very cold day, and walking so slow in silk stockings and thin shoes, I was almost perished.

“The following Sunday, all the people who had been invited to the funeral attended Church, as the Bishop was to preach an occasional sermon. His text was most admirably adapted from the Thessalonians, and his discourse the most affecting I ever heard. He frequently pointed to her grave and admonished the younger part of his hearers, and more particularly those who had attended the interment, to prepare to meet death, not knowing how soon they might be cut off. On the whole it was a most admirable sermon, and called up the passions more forcibly than anything I ever heard.”

Unfortunately for the morals of both the military and civilian population of Halifax, in August, 1788, the future King of England unexpectedly returned, for another and longer visit. Lieutenant Dyott's diary therefore for over three months describes dinners, with excessive wine-drinking, balls, suppers, visits at Mrs. Wentworth's, and public reviews of the troops and other spectacular events that give glowing colour to his chronicle, but that do not bespeak for the town the highest degree of seriousness or morality. On a certain Friday his Royal Highness dined at the Chief Justice's, and how it was the lieutenant “does not know,” but the sailor prince set to immediately after dinner, “and I never saw,” says Dyott, “a man get so completely drunk. He desired the General to order the whole garrison up to Citadel Hill, to fire a *feu de joie*, but his Highness was not able to attend to it, as he was obliged to go to bed at Pemberton's, where he slept for three hours, and then went to his ship.” “I believe I shall never spend three months in that way again, for such a time of dissipation, etc., etc., I cannot suppose possible to happen,” reflects the diarist on the Prince's departure, yet, “I must own,” he says, “I thought it time as agreeably employed as I ever experienced, and to be sure the company of a Prince added not a little to the joyous hours.”

In the biography of another young officer of the garrison at a period some sixty years later than that of Dyott's diary, the biog-

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raphy of Captain Hedley Vicars,⁴ we are glad to be introduced to a far different phase of Halifax garrison life from that portrayed by General Dyott. In the summer of 1851, Hedley Vicars, then a lieutenant, and in his twenty-fifth year, came from Jamaica to Halifax with his regiment, the 97th foot. For a very short time he was sent probably to Quebec, but soon his regiment was transferred to the Halifax garrison. In Halifax Vicars remained until May, 1853, and in that time he developed a spiritual faith and consecration to true religion that give him a high place in the ranks of fervent disciples of Christ the ages along. Naturally conscientious, and with strong religious tendencies, soon after he reached Halifax, it would seem, he had a profound conversion. "It was in the month of November, 1851," says his biographer, "that while awaiting the return of a brother officer to his room, he idly turned over the leaves of a Bible which lay on the table. The words caught his eye, 'The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.' Closing the book, he said, 'If this be true for me, henceforth I will live, by the grace of God, as a man should live who has been washed in the blood of Jesus Christ.' This new spirit of consecration he retained uninterruptedly to the end of his brief career, which sadly terminated in the camp before Sebastopol, in the war of the Crimea, on the night of the 22d of March, 1855."

During six or seven months after his resolve, he had to encounter, says his biographer, no slight opposition from fellow officers, in the mess. A few, however, were also "walking with God," and they and he had many times of delightful Christian intercourse. The chaplain of the garrison at that time (and until his death in 1860) was the Rev. Dr. John Thomas Twining, one of the most devoted Christian ministers Halifax has ever known, and in him Hedley Vicars and his religious fellow officers found a warm sympathizer and friend.⁵ "Under so deep an obligation did Vicars consider himself

4. Hedley Shafto Johnstone Vicars was born in the Mauritius, on the 7th of December, 1826, his father being an officer there in the Royal Engineers. His first commission he obtained in 1843, his captaincy he reached after he left Halifax, in 1854. He died of wounds at the Crimea on the 22d of March, 1855. His biography, one of the most touching religious biographies known to evangelical religious literature, was written by Catherine M. Marsh, and published by Robert Carter and Brothers of New York in 1859 (2d edition 1861), pp. 300. See also the "Dictionary of National Biography."

5. A brief sketch of the Rev. John Thomas Twining, D. D., will be found in Eaton's "History of King's County, Nova Scotia," p. 851.

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to Dr. Twining, that he frequently referred to him as his spiritual father; and to his spiritual preaching and teaching, and blessed example of 'walking with God,' may doubtless be traced, under the mighty working of the Holy Spirit, those clear and happy views of religion, and that consistency and holiness of life, which succeeded his conversion." Dr. Twining held Bible classes for the officers and men of the regiments, and at these Vicars was always present. On his part, the young soldier taught in the garrison Sunday School, visited the sick, and took every opportunity to read the Scriptures and pray with the men of his regiment singly. Of three of these, wrote one of his fellow officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Ingraham, "he could soon say confidently that they had followed him in turning to God. At the same time he was also the means of awakening some of his brother officers to make the earnest inquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?' . . . The name of Jesus was ever on his lips and in his heart. Much grace was given him to confess Jesus boldly before others; and when he was adjutant, his example and his rebukes to the men for swearing carried great weight, and showed his zeal for the honour of God." In a touching letter to Captain Vicars' sister, Lady Rayleigh, written on the 21st of May, 1855, two months after Vicars' death, Dr. Twining says of his friend:

"His was a lovely character; it was impossible to know him and not love him; every creature about my house did love him. He had to suffer a fiery persecution from some of the officers of his regiment. The Lord saw that it was best, and made it a means of strengthening and confirming him in the faith. You know, my dear madam, that a certain degree of religion is considered by the world to be decorous and proper, but there is nothing so much dreaded as being 'righteous over much.' It is quite impossible for a Christian to comply with the maxims and customs of a world which 'lieth in wickedness;' but my beloved friend was strengthened to bear a consistent testimony to the truth, to take up his cross and follow Jesus. He took part in all efforts amongst us in the Redeemer's cause to win souls to Him. For example, the Naval and Military Bible Society, City Missions on the plan of those at home, and a Society for giving the Scriptures in their own language to the Mic-mac Indians—the aborigines of this country. Of these Societies he was a member, and his memory is now warmly cherished by those with whom

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he was a fellow labourer in these causes. But he rests from his labours, his emancipated spirit is with its God.”⁶

6. Captain Hedley Vicars' devoted life in Halifax is one of the most beautiful traditions Halifax keeps. Early in 1918 died in Halifax, at an advanced age, probably the last person who remembered and had been influenced by Captain Vicars. This was Mr. Stuart Tremaine. The fact of Mr. Tremaine's friendship with Captain Vicars was alluded to by Ven. Archdeacon Armitage at the time of Tremaine's funeral.



Moses Greeley Parker, M. D.



ARKER is an ancient English family name derived from the occupation of the progenitors who first used it as a surname, as park keeper, and the forms Parcus and De Parco are found in the Domesday Book, the eleventh century. It is unlikely that the numerous English families have the same original ancestor. Geoffrey Parker, for instance, was in England before the year 925, probably a Saxon, while Johannes Le Parker, a Norman, came with William the Conqueror, and was a keeper of the royal parks.

Arms.—Gules, on a chevron between three keys erect argent, as many fleurs-de-lis of the field.

Crest.—An elephant's head coupé argent, collared gules, charged with three fleurs-de-lis or.

Motto.—*Secundis dubisque rectus* (Upright both in prosperity and in perils).

There were no less than twenty-five immigrants named Parker in the State of Massachusetts alone, before 1650. It is not likely that they were all closely related, but there is reason to believe that the Parkers of Reading, Woburn, Chelmsford, and Groton, were brothers or very near relatives. Abraham Parker lived in Woburn, and in Chelmsford, Massachusetts.

Deacon Thomas Parker, who was born in England, embarked for America on March 11th, 1635, in the ship "Susan and Ellen," which was fitted out by Sir Richard Saltonstall, with whose family a tradition connects the Parkers by marriage. He settled in Lynn Village, later called Reading, where he lived in the eastern part, on the old Parker homestead where Deacon Parker, the immigrant ancestor, died, and where Deacon Parker, the last of his family to occupy it, passed away in 1822. He was an active and prominent citizen, a man of ability and property. He was appointed a commissioner to try small causes in 1636, and admitted a freeman in 1637. The

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. XIII

HALIFAX DEFENCES

"It is most meet we arm as 'gainst the foe:
For peace itself should not so dull a kingdom
But that defences, musters, preparations,
Should be maintain'd, assembled, and collected
As were a war in expectation."

HENRY V., ACT II, SC. 4.

"Horribly stuffed with epithets of war."

OTHELLO, ACT I, SC. I.

Let's on to Halifax! There we shall dine to-day
With fine young warriors, fresh from foreign fields,
Glimpse from the Hill that guards the glittering Bay
Symbolled in forts the power that Britain wields,—
And for Old England's rule give thanks and pray.



WITH the King of France still ruler of the province of Quebec, and with Louisburg again a French fortress, the question of defence necessarily demanded prompt consideration from the founders of the new town of Halifax and organizers there of stable civil government for the Acadian province. More immediate foes, also, of the peace of the new community existed in the French inhabitants scattered, in some places thickly, throughout the peninsula, and in the Micmac Indians, who for the most part commonly showed themselves in close sympathy with the French rather than with the English. The defences of Halifax, which in their later condition of strength and security have given the Nova Scotia capital a position of marked distinction among fortified towns in the British Empire, were therefore begun in a feeble way almost as soon as Cornwallis landed his settlers. On the plan of "Chebucto," made by Admiral Durell shortly before the settlers came, the two sides of the entrance to Bedford Basin, far up the harbour, very near, indeed, the fatal

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spot where the recent calamitous explosion occurred, were marked as places suitable for chief fortifications, but this suggestion, for obvious reasons, Cornwallis ignored. Instead, he more wisely fixed upon Sandwich Point, now Point Pleasant, much lower down the harbour, and upon the high lands opposite, on the Dartmouth side of the harbour, now York Redoubt, and also on the little island first called Cornwallis Island, but later named George's Island, as the proper places for establishing defences. On this island he immediately placed a guard, landed his stores, and prepared to build a magazine to hold powder. Very soon after, he had block houses erected here, on which he mounted seven thirty-two pounder guns, then carrying a palisade completely around the works.

One of the first things he urged on the settlers after they had taken possession of the lots assigned them and had begun to build their houses, was that they should throw up a rude barricade of logs and brush around the town, and although at first he found them unwilling to spend their time on such a work, by the promise of a mild wage he succeeded in making them do it. From 1750, for at least four or five years, the encircling defences thus built consisted of palisades or pickets placed upright, with several block-houses of logs reared at convenient distances apart. The exact course of the barricade was from the spot on which St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral now stands, "to the beach south of Fairbanks's wharf, and on the north, along the line of Jacob Street to the harbour."¹ Gradually a line of block-houses came to be erected, which extended from the head of the North-West Arm to Bedford Basin, the purpose of these being to guard the town from the Indians who lived in various places in the interior. A single block-house also was erected at Dartmouth, where a gun of greater or less calibre was mounted for defending the eastern side of the harbour. In "Remarks relative to return of the forces in Nova Scotia," printed in a volume of "Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia," under date of March 30, 1755, we read: "New Battery has lately been begun—likewise not finished. It stands on a rising ground about two miles east, across the Harbour from Halifax. This to prevent shipping entering the Harbour under the Eastern shore

¹Dr. Akin's *Chronicles of Halifax* ("History of Halifax City"), p. 209. "These palisades," says Dr. Akins, "were in existence in 1753, but were removed at a very early period." They were not standing, he says, in 1825.

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without reach of George's Island." The battery here described was the well-known "Fort Clarence," and we learn that its erection had begun, as the extract we have given implies, some time in 1754. In the diary of Dr. John Thomas, a surgeon in Col. John Winslow's expedition for the removal of the Acadians in 1755, the statement is made that about two hundred and thirty of the New England troops under Winslow were quartered at this fort in December of that year.

In 1755, Governor Lawrence had four batteries built along the beach—the first, the "Middle" or "Governor's" Battery, being where the King's Wharf is, and directly opposite the first built Government House; the second, the "Five" or "Nine" Gun Battery, being where the "Ordnance Yard" was afterward established; the third being a little north of Fairbanks's Wharf; the fourth, the "South" or "Grand" Battery (which is still in existence), being at the "Lumber Yard." These four batteries were built of stone and gravel, supported by cross-logs covered with earth and planted with grass, and had battlements in front and at the two ends, elevated about twenty or twenty-five feet above the water. According to the plan of Halifax made by Col. Desbarres in 1779 or 1780, and published in his nautical charts in 1781,² there was when he made his plan a nine-gun battery near where the Ordnance Wharf now is, and a five-gun battery a little to the north of that, "but on an angle with the other." These fortifications were for the most part removed about the year 1783, and the grounds appropriated to their present purposes. The Ordnance Yard, then a swamp around the battery, and the King's Wharf, were both filled up and levelled by means of stone and rubbish removed from the five-acre lots of the peninsula, which were beginning to be cleared about this time.

From various sources, soon after the founding of Halifax began, Cornwallis received warning that the Indians in other places in the province and in the Island of St. John, under the direction of the

²Joseph Frederick Wallet Desbarres (1722-1824), military engineer, also captain in the 60th Regiment, made a successful expedition against the North American Indians in 1757, and surveyed the coast of Nova Scotia in 1763-1773. He was lieutenant-governor of Cape Breton, 1784-1805, was gazetted colonel in 1798, and served as governor of Prince Edward Island 1805-'13. He published charts of the Atlantic and North American coasts. See Prowse's "History of Newfoundland," p. 423. See also General William Dyott's Diary, p. 58.

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intriguing priest Le Loutre, were laying plans to attack the settlement at some time during the next winter. Before winter began, indeed no later than the last day of September, 1749, the savages made their first attack. This, however, was not on the town itself, but on the scanty settlement which is now Dartmouth, on the east side of the harbour. In this raid the Miamaes killed four persons and carried off one. In the spring of 1750 they repeated their attack on the same settlement, setting fire to several dwellings and killing and scalping a much larger number than in the first raid. On Halifax itself there was never, so far as is recorded, any attack made either by Indians or by the French inhabitants; there were, however, occasional murders by Indians in the outskirts of the town, towards Bedford Basin, of individual men who had found it necessary to forage in that direction for firewood.

In the summer of 1755, Governor Lawrence sent the authorities in England a plan of the four batteries he had just completed, to which we have already referred. They were each twelve feet in height above high water mark, two hundred and forty feet in length, and sixty-five feet in breadth. The parapet raised on each was seven feet high, and the materials were logs and timber framed and filled up with stones, gravel, and soft earth. The next month after their completion, twenty guns were mounted on these three batteries. Later, but just when we do not know, the number of batteries was increased.

In the autumn of 1757, strong appeals were made by the inhabitants to the governor and council to put the town in a better state of defence. The majority of the persons so appealing were Massachusetts born men, who humbly begged the authorities to let them know promptly whether their appeal could be granted or not. If it could not, they desired to take the first opportunity to remove with their families and effects to some neighbouring colony where they might be better protected. Probably on the ground of insufficient revenue, the authorities seem to have disregarded the appeal, and it was not until July, 1762, that any energetic measures were taken materially to improve the defences of the town. In the early summer of 1762, news came that the French had invaded the British settlements in Newfoundland, and fear was newly felt that Halifax also might be attacked, the authorities therefore called a council of war to consult on better means of defence in case this should

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happen. The council met on the 10th of July and continued its sittings until August 17th, the result of its deliberations being a recommendation to the governor and council to put in repair and furnish with guns the batteries "on George's Island, Fort George, Point Pleasant, and East Battery," and to erect such works around the town and at the Dockyard as might be considered necessary to give the town full protection. As a result of this recommendation, some of the old works were put in repair and new ones constructed, but the immediate cause of alarm soon subsiding, "further expense was deemed unnecessary," and the matter dropped.

In 1763, the palisaded defences of Halifax were in a state of decay, and the Home Government sent a Swiss engineer, who had been General Wolfe's quartermaster-general at Quebec, to Halifax, to prepare plans for permanent defences for the place. To the Ordnance department at Halifax the engineer submitted several plans, the first of which proposed making the place a walled town, with lines of masonry running up from the water front to the citadel, with batteries at intervals on each side. The Dockyard being so far north of the proposed line of defence that it could not thus be protected, this plan, however, was given up, but another that was proposed was adopted, though it was not put in operation until thirty years later. This plan included the building of a strong citadel on the hill overlooking the town (which seems to have been then commonly known as "Signal Hill", and reconstructing and strengthening all the harbour forts.³

In his chapter on the fortifications of Halifax in his chronicles of the town published in the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society" in 1895, Dr. Thomas B. Akins summarizes the early defences thus:

"From the year 1749 to 1754 or '55, the defences of the town consisted of palisades or pickets placed upright, with block houses built

³"At the first settlement," says Dr. Akins, "it had been found necessary to occupy not only every elevated position in the vicinity, but also large spaces around the town as at first laid out, for the purposes of defence and other military objects. After the necessity for those defences had ceased it frequently occurred that the military commanders would lay claim to the grounds as military property, and in this way obstacles had continually arisen to the extension of the town, a grievance which has continued to be felt until the present time. Those whose duty it was to plan and lay out the town appear to have been guided more with a view to the construction of a military encampment than that of a town for the accommodation of an increasing population." Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 8, pp. 66, 67.

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of logs at convenient distances. This fence extended from where the Roman Catholic Cathedral now stands to the beach south of Fairbanks's Wharf, and on the north along the line of Jacob street to the harbour. These palisades were in existence in 1753, but were removed at a very early period, a time not within the recollection of the oldest natives of the town living in 1825. . . . There were several block-houses south of the town—at Point Pleasant, Fort Massey, and other places. A line of block-houses was built at a very early period of the settlement, extending from the head of the North West Arm to the Basin, as a defence against the Indians. The foundation of the centre block-house was still to be seen in 1848, in the hollow below Philip Bayers's pasture. . . . These block-houses were built of square timber, with loopholes for musketry, they were of great thickness and had parapets around the top and a platform at the base, with a well for the use of the guard."

As the revolution in the colonies adjoining Nova Scotia drew on, the Halifax authorities became once more greatly alarmed at the inadequacy of the town's defences. In the autumn of 1774 the council eagerly discussed the matter and came to the conclusion that the ground being too rocky for intrenchments, the only practical fortifications would be temporary block-houses and fresh palisades. It was resolved, also, that the Dockyard should be fortified in a similar way, so that this inclosure might serve as a retreat for the inhabitants in case the town should be attacked. Any attempt at increasing the fortifications on Citadel Hill at that moment, owing to the lateness of the season and the scarcity of workmen and of troops to garrison a fort, was considered out of the question. On George's Island, however, additional batteries were erected, and thither the chief military stores of the town were removed. Sketches of the town, made by a certain Colonel Hicks, about 1780, and soon after engraved and published in London, show fortifications then at Citadel Hill, Fort Massey, Fort Needham, Point Pleasant, and George's Island.

Although the better fortifying of Citadel Hill was suspended in 1774, about four years later such a work was undertaken. At that time a small redoubt with a flag staff and guardhouse stood near the summit of the hill, which was about eighty feet higher than it is at present, but the hill had no other fortification. The works then constructed were "an octangular tower of wood of the block-house kind, having a parapet and small tower on top, with port-holes for can-

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non, the whole encompassed by a ditch and ramparts of earth and wood, with pickets placed close together, slanting outwards. Below this there were several outworks of the same description, extending down the sides of the hill a considerable distance.”

In 1793, Sir John Wentworth did something towards repairing the citadel fort, but much more vigorous measures were taken by his Royal Highness Prince Edward in 1795 and 1796 to make it worthy of the commanding position it held. His efforts extended also to other forts, notably those at the mouth of the harbour, but from the citadel fort he swept away the old wooden fortifications, and cutting down the summit of the hill to its present level he rebuilt the earth ramparts, at each angle of which he placed five or six guns, deepened the moat, planted willow trees around the ramparts, and inclosed the whole fortification with a picket fence. Leading into the fort, Dr. Akins tells us, he built “covered walks and passages.” In making these important changes, with the coöperation of the Governor he employed besides garrison troops, the country militia, and for a time a considerable detachment of the Jamaica Maroons, who were brought to the province in 1796.

The Halifax citadel as it is now, with its great interior wall of solid masonry, dates from the year 1812. The disturbance between Britain and the United States on account of the impressment of British sailors on American ships culminated in this year, creating the last great agitation on account of hostile military operations by a foreign power by which Halifax was stirred until the outbreak of the present great European war, started by Germany in 1914. In the beginning of 1812, orders were issued to put the forts of Halifax in better repair, among these the citadel fort, which by this time was in a state of some dilapidation. The commanding engineer on the station, Captain Gustavus Nicholls, accordingly made the Board of Ordnance an elaborate report concerning repairs needed, and the carrying out of the details of his plan was immediately begun.⁴

⁴Dr. Aikins says: “The towers on George’s Island, Point Pleasant, the East Battery, Mauger’s Beach, and York Redoubt were built at the commencement of the present [the 19th] century. . . . The Chain Battery at Point Pleasant was first constructed, it is said, by Lord Colville, in or about 1761. The present ring bolts were put down during the war of 1812 to 1815. The old block house at Fort Needham and that above Philip Bayers’s farm, on the road leading to the Basin, called the Blue Bell Road, were built during the American Revolution, and reconstructed during Prince Edward’s time. They were there in 1820, but soon after fell into decay, being composed of square timber only. All the other block houses had disappeared many years previous to that date.” Akins *Chronicles of Halifax*, p. 212.

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Other buildings early erected as parts of the military establishment in Halifax were the North Barracks, built soon after the town was settled; the South Barracks, built in the time of the Duke of Kent; a barracks at the East Battery, erected very early, but rebuilt by Prince Edward in 1800; probably a military prison, the building being a dwelling house purchased for this use in 1752; and the Lumber Yard and Ordnance Yard, begun about 1784 or 1785. "During the Revolutionary War," says Dr. Akins, "the main guard-house stood on the spot now occupied by Masons' Hall. It was used as a military post at a very early period, as the French prisoners from Annapolis, etc., were lodged there." A building called the Military Office, this historian adds, "stood at the south corner of the market wharf, near where the main guard house now is. It was used as a military office until 1790, or perhaps later."

In an earlier chapter we have mentioned the town residence of the Duke of Kent, while he lived in Halifax, a handsome dwelling having a portico resting on Corinthian pillars. This house stood on the north slope of the Citadel Hill, in rear of the then standing North Barracks, and seems to have been erected for his Royal Highness' use. After the Prince left Halifax the house was taken by the military authorities for an army hospital, a low range of buildings connected with it, which were used by the Duke as stables and offices, making places for barrack stores and a garrison library.

The times of greatest military activity in the century and almost three-quarters that the history of Halifax covers, are the periods of the so-called French and Indian War, between 1754 and 1760, the American Revolution, between 1774 and 1783, the War of 1812, between 1812 and 1815, and the present great European War, between 1914 and 1918. The period of the so-called French and Indian War, between 1754 and 1760, was a time of almost continuous agitation in Halifax, among both the military and civilian elements in the population. The determined effort of Shirley as commander-in-chief in Massachusetts, pursuant to the great plan of Pitt, to break forever the power of France in America, included in its scope not only the destruction of Louisburg and the conquest of Quebec, but the capture of the only important fort in the peninsula of Nova Scotia that remained in French hands, the little stronghold on the border line between what the French recognized as Nova Scotia and the

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adjoining (New Brunswick) territory, which they still claimed as belonging to France, the fort called Beauséjour. The only thing remaining to be accomplished in destroying the French power in Nova Scotia was the complete subjugation to British authority or else the removal from their homes and the distribution of them throughout other British colonies of the nearly ten thousand inhabitants who were industriously tilling the soil and fishing in various parts of the peninsula. To capture Fort Beauséjour, Shirley summoned in New England a force of two battalions, to be led respectively by Lieutenant Colonel John Winslow of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and Lieutenant-Colonel George Scott, giving the general command to Colonel Robert Monckton. On the 16th of June, 1755, this New England force captured Fort Beauséjour, and in the autumn of the same year the authorities at Halifax in conjunction with the Government of Massachusetts forcibly removed some seven or eight thousand of the Nova Scotia French from their native homes in the province and distributed them in pitiful pauper groups along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia. In July, 1758, Louisburg for the second time fell into English hands, and in September, 1759, under General Wolfe, Quebec was captured, at both which events, as at the capture of Beauséjour and the removal of the Acadians, universal satisfaction was felt at Halifax.

The next event to arouse Halifax was the American Revolution, and the next, after peace was declared in 1783, was the less important but still important conflict between England and the United States known as the War of 1812. After this struggle had passed, the life of Halifax, either military or civil, had remarkably little to disturb it until when a full century had passed the great European War broke out in 1914. Of the part Halifax has been made to play by the military and naval authorities of the British Empire in this greatest of world-conflicts the history will some day be written; it is much too early to write it yet. As a base for the departure of by far the greatest number of the troops that Canada has dispatched for service on the eastern front of the war, the Nova Scotia capital will always stand conspicuous in the great war's annals when they come into print.

In 1917, a war geography bulletin issued by the National Geographic Society of Montreal described Halifax and its defences as follows: "The town was the first English speaking settlement

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in the midst of the French colonies of Acadia, and it speedily took on importance. Within five years from its founding it became the seat of British North American government, and Britons have long termed it the 'Warden of the Honour of the North.' Its harbour is deep and ample, and said to be sufficient to float all the navies of Europe. Eleven forts command its spacious waters, and up to 1905 Halifax was a busy British military point. In that year, however, as a mark of friendly relations with the United States, all British regular troops were withdrawn and the care of Halifax and its fortifications was committed to the government of the Dominion of Canada. With the outbreak of the European war, however, Halifax was again made the military and naval headquarters for British America, and many German prisoners have been interned upon the well-guarded islands of its harbour. Here too was the chief port of embarkation for the numerous contingents which Canada has contributed to the English armies. During the Napoleonic wars, Halifax was the scene of many a demonstration of English powers. The privateers, fitted out by enterprising Haligonians, frequently returned with their prizes. Distinguished French prisoners made use of the enforced hospitality of the Citadel . . . which still caps the highest ground and is a landmark far to sea."

The number of troops in the Halifax garrison from decade to decade during the century and almost three-quarters which the history of the town covers, has greatly varied. And just as diverse has been the character of the regiments permanently stationed or briefly located here. The earliest troops to invest the town were partly British regulars and partly New England militia. In July, 1750, the garrison of Louisburg was expected but had not yet arrived, there were here, however, one company of Hopson's 29th regiment, one of Warburton's 45th, both on the regular establishment, and also sixty men of Gorham's New England Rangers.

In the course of the year 1782, a little before the close of the American Revolution, there were for longer or shorter periods no less than thirty-two regiment or parts of regiments in the town, while during the war of 1812 there were thirteen. After 1837, for at least thirty years, there were always two full regiments of the line in this garrison, and during this time, as before, the regiments

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stationed here were often among the most distinguished in the British service.⁵

In the spring of 1758, the brilliant young soldier, General Wolfe, visited Halifax. On the 23d of January of that year, being then lieutenant-colonel of the 20th, he had been commissioned brigadier-general in North America, with an expedition in view for the capture again of the fortress of Louisburg. On the 8th of May, 1758, he reached Halifax harbour in the *Princess Amelia*, and until the 28th of this month he remained here on his ship. When he stepped on shore from the ship on the 9th of May, writes Mr. Beccles Willson, he "had a pretty exact idea of the fort and settlement, which his friend and comrade in arms, Cornwallis, had founded nine years before. . . . It was perhaps in the officers' quarters in Hollis street, the site of which has been marked by an Historical Society tablet, that Wolfe sat down two days later and wrote a long letter to his friend Sackville. 'We found,' he writes, 'Amherst's Regiment in the harbour in fine order and healthy. Fraser's and Brigadier Lawrence's battalions were here and both in good condition.' Although he praised the Highlanders, Wolfe does not appear to have been impressed by the American Rangers. 'About 500 Rang-

⁵In the Year Book of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, for 1909, Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, Rector of the church, enumerates carefully the regiments that between 1750 and 1844 have probably worshipped at St. Paul's. The list, which we reproduce here, was supplied Dr. Armitage by Messrs. Harry Piers, Provincial Archivist and Curator of the Provincial Museum, and Mr. Arthur Fenerty of H. M. Customs at Halifax, both of whom have given close attention to the history of the garrison.

The regiments in garrison at Halifax in successive years are as follows: In 1750 one company of Hopson's 29th regiment, one company of Warbarton's 45th, part of the 40th, and sixty men of Gorham's New England Rangers. In 1752, Lascelles' 47th; in 1758 the Royal Provincial Rangers under Colonel Jarvis, the 2d and 3d battalions of the Royal American regiment, the 22d under Colonel Wilmot, the 28th, 45th, 47th under Colonel Monckton, the 2d Brigade, 15th, 35th, 40th and 63rd, under Colonel Murray; in 1768 the 90th and 64th; in 1771 the 35th; in 1773 the 65th under Colonel Hollingsdale; in 1774 the Loyal American Volunteer regiment under Colonel Kingslake; in 1776 the Royal Colonial regiment under Colonel Hilson; in 1777 the 10th regiment; in 1778 McLean's 82nd, the Cape regiment under Colonel Augustus Waldron, and the Royal Nova Scotia Volunteer regiment under Colonel Lushington, "probably the first Imperial Colonial regiment ever raised for active service"; in 1779 the Hessian regiment of Baron DeSeitz; in 1782 the 3d and 5th battalions of the 60th or Loyal American regiment of foot, the 7th, 17th, 22d, 23d, 33d, 37th, 38th, 40th, 42d, 43d, 54th, 57th, 63d, 64th, 74th, 82d, and 84th, and also detachments of the Royal British Recruits, the Royal Garrison Battalion, the Royal Fencible Americans, the Royal Nova Scotia Volunteers, the King's Orange regiment, the King's Rangers, the St. John's Volunteers, the Hessian Recruits, the Hesse-Hanoverian Grenadiers, the Hesse-Hanoverian Jagers, the Anhalt Zerbsters, the Waldeckers, and the Brunswickers; in 1784 the 10th, 17th, 33d, 27th, 42d, 57th, and 54th; in 1786 the 6th and 60th; in 1787 the 4th; in 1788 the King's Own, the 37th, and the 57th; in 1789 the 6th; in 1790 the 4th, the 20th, and the 21st; in 1794 the Royal Nova Scotia regiment, and the 1st battalion of the 7th under Colonel Burrows; in 1795 the 2d bat-

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ers are come, which to appearance are little better than *canaille*.' . . . How did Wolfe spend the next fortnight of his sojourn in Halifax before the squadron sailed for Cape Breton? He certainly wrote a great many letters, and he passed a great deal of time in examining the condition and discipline of the troops. The state of things that met his eye was distressing enough to a man whose standards were as high as Wolfe's. He wrote Sackville that he found some of the regiments had three or four hundred men eaten up with scurvy. 'There is not an ounce of fresh beef or mutton contracted even for the sick and wounded, which besides the inhumanity is both impolitic and absurd. Mr. Boseawen, indeed, has taken the best precautions in his power by ordering 600 head of live cattle for the fleet and army the moment he arrived.' Then he goes on to say, 'The curious part of this barbarity is that the scoundrels of contractors can afford the fresh meat in many places and circumstances as cheap as salt. I think our stock for the siege full little, and none of the medicines for them arrived. No horses or oxen for the artillery, et cetera.' "

One of the incidents of this visit of the famous general was a dinner he gave at the Great Pontac, at the corner of Duke and Water streets, to a group of officers of the army and navy and certain

talion of the 7th; in 1797 the Royal Fusiliers under Col. Layard, the 4th, 6th (Irish Brigade Division), and 7th; in 1798 the 24th, 47th, and 66th under Colonel Urquhart and Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Benson, the 4th battalion of the King's Royal Veteran regiment under Colonel Ashburnham, and the 99th under Colonel Addison; in 1800 the 26th Loyal Surrey Rangers under Colonel Edwards and Colonel Hollen; in 1801 the 7th, 26th Loyal Surrey Rangers, Royal Nova Scotia regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard, and Royal Newfoundland regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams; in 1802 the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, the 7th Royal Fusiliers under Colonel Layard, the 29th under Colonel Lord F. Montagu, the 60th and the 83d under Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth; in 1803 the Nova Scotia Fencibles under Colonel F. A. Weatherall; in 1805 the 60th and 97th; in 1807 the 101st; in 1804 the Glen Fencibles under Colonel Oates; in 1808 the 7th, 8th, and 23d; in 1810 the 2d battalion of the 8th and the 98th; in 1812-14 the 8th, 27th, 3d battalion of the 20th, 60th, first battalion of the 62d, the 7th Royal Fusiliers, 64th, 89th under Colonel Westfield, 98th under Colonel Bazalgette, 99th under Colonel Addison, 102d, 10th Royal Veteran Battalion under Colonel McLaughlin, and Royal Staff Corps; in 1816 the 15th and 60th under Colonel Bagnell; in 1818 the 62d and 1st Royal Garrison Battalion under Colonel John Ready; in 1819 the 7th, 24th, 26th, Royal Nova Scotia, Royal York Rangers, and Royal West Indian Rangers under Colonel Fortescue; in 1821 the 81st; in 1823 the 74th under Colonel Hiller; in 1824 the 96th; in 1825 the 1st battalion Rifle Brigade under Colonel Lord Lenox; in 1826 the 52d Oxfordshire Light Infantry, a famous Waterloo regiment, the 74th of Peninsular fame; in 1829 the 34th under Colonel Fox and Colonel Forrest, and the Royal Staff Corps; in 1830 the 8th; in 1832 the Rifle Brigade; in 1834 the 83d; in 1836 the 85th; in 1837 the 34th, and 65th; in 1838 the 65th; in 1839 the 23d Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and the 36th; in 1841 the 30th Reserve Battalion Rifle Brigade under Colonel Hallett, and the 76th; in 1842 the 30th, 64th, 68th and 2d battalion of the 76th; in 1844 the 2d battalion of the 2d Royal Regiment, and the 74th. To these must be added at all times the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers.

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leading citizens, at some time during his stay. The entertainment was lavish, for a copy of the bill of fare of the dinner was preserved in Halifax up to a recent date, and the cost of the meal, according to a duplicate of the inn-keeper's receipt, amounted to seventy pounds. On the 30th of April, 1759, Wolfe arrived at Halifax again, from there going very soon to Louisburg, whence in June he sailed for Quebec. When he came first to Halifax he was major of brigade, when he came the second time he was major-general. He died at Quebec, as is well known, on the 13th of September, 1759.⁶

In 1878, the army staff in Halifax was as follows: The Commander of the forces, His Excellency General Sir William O'Grady Haley, K. C. B., colonel of the 47th foot; Assistant Military Secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. Quill, half pay R. C. Rifles; Aides-de-Camp, Captain R. H. O'Grady Haley and Brigade Major E. L. England, 13th Foot; Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Kerr; Town Major, Captain R. Nagle, half-pay of late Canadian Rifles; Garrison Instructor, G. E. Milner, 18th Foot; Officer Commanding Royal Artillery, Colonel J. H. Elgee, R. A.; Officer Commanding Royal Engineers, Colonel J. W. Lovell, C. B., District Commissary-General; Assistant Commissary-General, J. W. Murray; Commissary-General (Ordnance), Assistant Commissary-General A. S. Beswick; Principal Medical Officer, Deputy Surgeon-General, G. A. F. Shelton, M. B.; Chaplains, Rev. R. Morrison, M. A., Presbyterian, Rev. A. J. Townend, B. A., Anglican, Rev. T. Moore, Roman Catholic.

At this time, the Royal Artillery on the station comprised the 3d, 5th and 6th Batteries; the Royal Engineers, the 9th Company. The Infantry regiments were, the 20th East Devonshire, now called the Lancashire Fusiliers, and the 97th (Earl of Ulster's Regiment). The first of these, the 20th, is one of the famous regiments of the British army. It was raised in the time of William of Orange, by Sir Robert Peyton, whose command of it, however, was brief. Sir

⁶Murdoch in his *History of Nova Scotia* (Vol. 2, p. 363) says: "Though Wolfe died young, he lived long in the affections of British Americans. I can well remember seeing his likeness (an engraving) in many of the quiet and happy homes of my native town of Halifax, which had been preserved among the penates of the colonial hearths for half a century. I can recall the engraving well: the cocked hat of antique pattern, the military garb, the bright young face, and the inscription 'General James Wolfe; aetatis 33.' I fancy this was the workmanship of a Mr. Hurd of Boston, brother of Jacob Hurd of Halifax, from whom Hurd's Lane derives the name."

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Robert was succeeded by Gustavus Hamilton, afterward Viscount Boyne, and under him the regiment fought at the Boyne. The regiment remained in Ireland until the outbreak of the war of the Spanish Succession in 1702, then it served in the Cadiz expedition, and at the capture of the Spanish treasure ship in Vigo Bay, after which it went to the West Indies, where it remained until 1705. After the disastrous battle of Almenza in 1707 it was sent to the Peninsula, where it was in active service until the peace, when it went to Gibraltar. There it did duty for many years, it being one of the regiments which defended the fortress against the Spaniards in the second of the three sieges during the British occupation, from December, 1727, until June, 1728. Later, it served under Lord Stair and Duke William of Cumberland in Flanders and in the North, fought at Dettingen, at Fonteroy, and at Culloden, and made the campaigns in Flanders, under Cumberland and Wade. After this it was at home for several years, and incidental notices of it will be found in the correspondence of General Wolfe, who on the 5th of January, 1749, was made its major, and in 1750 its lieutenant-colonel. In August, 1759, it won lasting fame on the historic field of Minden, in Germany. Tradition says that during this fray, in which it showed great bravery but met with severe losses, it was posted near a rose garden, and that its men plucked roses and decorated their hats with them. Ever since then, on the anniversaries of Minden, the men of the 20th have commemorated the battle by wearing roses in their caps.

At the outbreak of the Seven Years War, the 20th raised a second battalion, and this in 1758 became the 67th. Of this new regiment, on the 21st of April, 1758, General Wolfe was given the colonelcy. This regiment, also, like the old 20th, has a long record of distinguished service.

In the course of years a very considerable number of British military officers who have had distinguished careers in various parts of the world have either claimed Halifax as the place of their birth, or belonging to other parts of Nova Scotia, in later life have had close relations with the capital city. Two such were General Sir William Fenwick Williams, Baronet, K. C. B., who in British military annals bears an illustrious name. General Williams, as we have already seen, was born at Annapolis Royal, December 21,

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1799,⁷ his parents being Thomas Williams, Commissary and Ordnance Storekeeper at Annapolis Royal, and a leading man in the county of Annapolis in civil and military affairs, and Anna Maria (Walker) Williams, daughter of Lieutenant Thomas Walker of the 40th regiment, and barrack-master at Annapolis Royal. At an early age he was placed in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and entering the army rose to his captaincy in 1840. In the war of the Crimea he earned for himself an undying name as the "hero of Kars;" one of the gallant defenders of this town during its four months siege by Moravieff, on the 29th of September, 1855, he gave the besiegers battle, and after a fierce conflict of eight hours duration, defeated a force much larger than his own on the heights above Kars. The town fell, however, and General Williams was taken prisoner, first to Moscow, then to St. Petersburg. Very soon afterward he was created a baronet, and in 1858 was made commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, From October 12, 1860, until January 22, 1861, he was governor-in-chief of the British provinces in North America, and from the 18th of October, 1867, until the spring of 1873, was lieutenant-governor of his native province. For part of this time he resided at Halifax. He died, unmarried, in London, July 26, 1883, and was buried at Brompton. "Firm as a rock on duty," says one of his biographers, "he had the kindest, gentlest heart that ever beat."

⁷In the 9th chapter of this history, page 65, we have given the date of General Williams's birth, and one other fact concerning this illustrious man, incorrectly. He was born, so it is believed, on the date we have given here, December 21, 1799, and was entered at Woolwich, but not, as we previously said, through the influence of the Duke of Kent. He had an aunt married to Col. William Fenrick and his admission to Woolwich was secured by Col. Fenwick and his wife. The correct date of his birth and this fact concerning his admission to Woolwich have been brought out very distinctly in a monograph by Mr. Justice Savary, D. C. L., (printed in pamphlet form in 1911), entitled "Ancestry of General Sir William Fenwick Williams of Kars." In our sketch of General Williams as a governor of Nova Scotia we also unintentionally omitted to give his parents' names. In making these corrections in our sketch in the 9th chapter we are obliged to differ from the author of the sketch of General Williams in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

In making these corrections we also herewith state that in almost every instance in previous chapters where we have attributed statements to Mr. Justice Savary, D. C. L., we should have attributed them to what is commonly called the "Calnek-Savary" History of Annapolis County. This valuable book was written by a gentleman long since deceased, Mr. W. A. Calnek, though it was "edited and completed," as the title page tells us, by Mr. Justice Savary. The statement it contains, therefore, should as a rule be attributed not to its editor but to the original author. Mr. Justice Savary is the author of a "Supplement" to this History, published in 1913, and has done a great deal otherwise to stimulate interest in and increase knowledge of the history and traditions of Nova Scotia at large.

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The next most illustrious name in the list of military officers whom Nova Scotia has produced, is that of Sir John Eardley Wilmot Inglis, K. C. B., son of Bishop John and grandson of Bishop Charles Inglis. Sir John Inglis was born at Halifax, November 15, 1814, for a while studied at King's College, Windsor, entered the army as ensign in the 32d foot, August 2, 1833, and as brevet colonel was in command of this regiment at Lucknow at the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Succeeding Sir Henry Lawrence in full command as brigadier-general in July of the same year, he bravely and successfully defended the residency of Lucknow, and for this gallant defence became commonly known as "hero of Lucknow." In 1857 he was appointed major-general and was given the title of K. C. B. He married in 1851, Hon. Julia Selina Thesiger, second daughter of the first Lord Chelmsford, who with her three children was present in the Lucknow residency throughout the defence. Sir John died at Homburg, Germany, September 27, 1862, and was buried at Homburg. Lady Inglis, who in 1892 published an interesting book called "The Siege of Lucknow, a Diary," died in England in February, 1904.

Another native Haligonian who gained much distinction in the army was Lieutenant-General William Cochrane (William George Cochran), born at Halifax, April 19, 1790. General Cochrane was the third son and sixth child of Hon. Thomas Cochran, a merchant of Halifax, who came from the North of Ireland in 1761, with the first company brought to the province from Ireland by Alexander McNutt. Entering the army as ensign in 1805, he rose to be major-general in 1851, and lieutenant-general in 1856, his most important service being in the Peninsular War from 1808 to 1812. During the period he served in the Peninsula, he was present and took part with his regiment in many important engagements. On leaving the Peninsula he proceeded to Canada, where he was employed during almost two years of the war of 1812, as acting aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, governor general of the British provinces and commander-in-chief. As lieutenant-colonel he commanded for several years the 10th regiment of foot. In July, 1838, he retired on half pay, but he continued to fill important positions until his promotion to lieutenant-general in 1856, and indeed beyond that, until his death. He died in England, probably unmarried, September 4, 1857. General Cochrane was an uncle of Sir

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John Eardley Wilmot Inglis. He had a younger brother, Sir James Cochrane, Kt., who was chief-justice of Gibraltar, and a sister Isabella, married to the noted Dean Ramsay of Edinburgh, author of "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character."

A military officer born in Halifax, who attained great distinction, though in a different field of activity from that presented by war, was Major-General John Charles Beckwith. General Beckwith's father, Captain John Beckwith, of the 57th regiment, was a member of a noted English military family, and his mother was Mary Halliburton, daughter of Dr. John and Susannah (Brenton) Halliburton,⁸ after the War of the Revolution residents of Halifax, but previously belonging to Newport, Rhode Island. General Beckwith was born at Halifax, October 2, 1789, and in 1803 obtained an ensigncy in the 50th regiment. The next year, however, he exchanged into the 95th, of which his uncle Sydney Beckwith (General Sir Thomas Sydney Beckwith) was lieutenant-colonel. His career in the army ended at the battle of Waterloo, where at the age of only twenty-six he lost one of his legs. Compelled by this misfortune to seek other than military interests, before long he resolved to do something towards educating and generally helping the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont. The past history of these people and their great need so weighed upon him that he resolved to settle among them and spend his whole time in their service. This he did, and for thirty-five years, until his death in 1862, he was a devoted missionary among them of education and religion. "His two main aims were to educate the people and to arouse in them once more the old evangelical faith." To educate them he established no less than a hundred and twenty schools in the district where he had settled, all of which he continually personally inspected. In 1850 he married a Waldensian girl, Caroline Valle, and in all ways he identified himself with the Waldensian people. Throughout the Italian valleys the one-legged general was universally known and beloved, and when he died his funeral was attended by thousands of the peasants, whose lives he had made happier by his devoted work. The greatness of his services was recognized by King Charles Albert of Sardinia, who in 1848 made him a knight of the order of St.

⁸Married at Halifax, December 17, 1788, "Captain John Beckwith, 57th regiment, and Miss Polly Halliburton, eldest daughter of Hon. John Halliburton." See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. 3, p. 63.

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Maurice and St. Lazarus. He was promoted lieutenant-colonel and made C. B. soon after Waterloo, was promoted colonel in 1837, and was made major-general in 1846. He died at his home, LaTorre, on the 19th of July, 1862.

One of the most conspicuous monuments in Halifax is the arch, surmounted by a lion, which stands just within St. Paul's Cemetery, on Pleasant street, directly in front of the iron entrance gates. The monument was reared in memory of two native Haligonians who fell in the Crimean War, Captain William Parker and Major Augustus Welsford. It was erected by the citizens of Halifax in 1860, its dedication being on the 16th of July of that year. The dedication prayer was made by the Rev. John Scott, minister of St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church, who thanked God for the many mercies He had shown towards the British nation, more especially for the valour with which He had endowed its soldiers. A speech was made by the lieutenant-governor, Earl Mulgrave, "referring in terms of high eulogium to the valour of Parker and Welsford, native heroes, of whom Nova Scotia was justly proud," and incidentally praising the young naval lieutenant, Provo William Parry Wallis, who commanded the *Shannon* when she came into the port with her prize the *Chesapeake*, to the "peaceful but perilous" achievements of Admiral Sir Edward Belcher in Arctic seas, the gallant defence of Kars by General Sir Fenwick Williams, and the prowess of Sir John Inglis at Lucknow, all these fellow heroes with the men to whom the monument had been erected. After this came an oration, delivered by the Rev. Dr. George William Hill, rector of St. Paul's, who was followed in a shorter, martial speech by General Trollop, chief commander of the troops. The sculptor of the monument was Mr. George Laing, who, on the dais erected for the speakers, dressed in the uniform of the Chebucto Greys, as the orator complimented him on the noble work he had produced, "drew the drapery from the monument and revealed the lion on the top of the arch standing out in triumphant attitude against the clear blue sky." As a close for the exercises, a salute of thirteen guns was fired in slow time by the volunteer artillery. The monument is said to have cost two thousand five hundred pounds.

Captain William Parker, son of Captain William Parker of the 64th regiment, an Englishman who had retired from the army in Halifax and settled at Lawrencetown on the eastern side of the har-

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bour on half pay, was born at Lawrencetown, near Halifax, about 1820, and was first educated at Horton Academy, in the county of King's. In 1839, his mother, who was originally Susan Green, of Halifax, and was then a widow, obtained an ensign's commission for him in the regiment in which his father had served. In February, 1843, he became a lieutenant and exchanged to the 78th Highlanders, and thereafter for twelve years he served in India. In January, 1855, he was promoted captain of the 77th, and on the 8th of September of the same year at the final attack on the Redan in the Crimean campaign he died bravely, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.⁹

Major Augustus Welsford, whose memory is honoured with that of Captain Parker in the Halifax monument, was a son of Lieutenant-Colonel Welsford of the 101st regiment, and was born at Halifax, but in what year we do not know. His early education was obtained at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, after leaving which he obtained an ensigncy in the 97th regiment. With this regiment he saw service in various parts of the world, in the latter part of 1854 being stationed in Greece. "When Colonel Lockyer was made a brigadier," says one of his biographers, "he was for some time in command of the regiment, serving thus during the last memorable battle before Sebastopol. In this engagement he repulsed a serious sortie of the Russians with two hundred of his men, and for his bravery was mentioned by Lord Raglan in official dispatches." Major Welsford, also, was killed at the storming of the Redan on the 8th of September, 1855. Although a thorough soldier, he was a truly kind-hearted man. His fellow soldiers loved and revered him; "It was a bitter hour for us all," once wrote a sergeant who had served under him, "when the poor major's body was brought back to us; had he lived he would have been crowned with laurel. Let us hope he has won a brighter crown now."

⁹See Mrs. Lawson's "History of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown," pp. 251, 252. The Green family to which Captain Parker's mother belonged was one of the best known Boston families in Halifax.

The Lottery in American History

BY HOWARD O. ROGERS, PORTLAND, OREGON.



MAN is naturally a gambler. Of all human characteristics, the sporting instinct—the temptation to play the game of chance in the hope of winning much at the risk of little—is one of the strongest and most universal. We find abundant recognition of this human weakness and want of self-control to avoid the evil effects of its indulgence, in the vast amount of present-day paternalistic legislation prohibiting gambling in every form. Man's inability to resist his own natural cupidity, and the fascination involved in the thrills of hope produced by the chance-element, has made it necessary for his government to step in and protect him against himself.

But prior to the awakening of public conscience in comparatively modern times, this natural gaming instinct was not only allowed to be played upon for the profit of individuals, but was exploited by government agencies and thus made to pay public revenue. In the fiscal history of nations this human passion has played an important part.

The instrumentality employed so largely to work this rich mine of gambling propensity was the lottery. The modern law-abiding American citizen knows little of the lottery except as a gambling vice long since banned by the law, and now universally accepted as a social evil wisely suppressed. But it was not ever thus.

For many centuries this device was not only tolerated by public opinion, but legalized, encouraged and employed by the state itself. Lotteries prevailed in the old Roman times, and the emperors of that day followed the plan on a magnificent scale. This custom later descended to festivals given by the feudal and merchant princes of Europe, especially of Italy. It formed a prominent feature of the splendid court hospitality of Louis XIV in France. One of the first French lottery charters was granted in the early part of the fifteenth century, and was employed as a revenue measure to raise funds with

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. XIV


HALIFAX HARBOUR AND ITS FAMOUS TRADITIONS

“Within a long recess there lies a Bay,
An island shades it from the rolling sea
And forms a Port secure for ships to ride,
Broke by the jutting land on either side.”

—Dryden's Virgil.

“In addition to its physical beauty, Halifax Harbour is a grand commercial asset, not only for its residents but for the Province and the whole Dominion as well.”

—A. Martin Payne in the *New England Magazine* for November, 1906.

“HE noble harbour of Halifax,” says Judge Haliburton, in his volume “The Old Judge,” published long ago, “is one of the best, perhaps, in the world: its contiguity to Canada and the United States, its accessibility at all seasons of the year, and its proximity to England (it being the most eastern part of this continent) give it a decided advantage over its rival [Bermuda]; while the frightful destruction of stores at Bermuda, from the effects of the climate, its insalubrity, and the dangers with which it is beset, have never failed to excite astonishment at the want of judgment shown in its selection, and the utter disregard of expense with which it has been attended.” From Judge Haliburton's opinion of the relative advantages Halifax harbour there has never been any dissent, it is in every respect one of the finest harbours in the world. “During fifty years service,” said, once, a distinguished naval officer, “I have seen all the great harbours of the world, Sydney (New South Wales), Rio de Janeiro, Naples, Queenstown, and Halifax, and in my opinion among them Halifax should be placed first, taking into consideration its ease of access from the open ocean, its long stretches of deep water close to the land on both sides, and the perfect shelter it gives ships. From the view-point of a naval base and the requirements of a great

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commercial shipping post it is unrivalled around the globe." Says a more recent writer:

"Halifax Harbour is described in nautical works as one of the best in the world, affording space and depth of water sufficient for any number of the largest ships with safety. It is easier of access and egress than any other large harbour on the coast. . . . Unlike New York, Halifax has no intricate entrance channel such as that at Sandy Hook, impassible by Atlantic liners at some conditions of the tide, especially in bad weather." "We have the same broad, open harbour that delighted Colonel Cornwallis on his first approach to our shores, the same wide-mouthed entrance through which the Cunarders in the pioneer days of steamships came and went year after year without accident, let, or hindrance, the same great depth and broad expanse of water that was required to float that huge, clumsy hulk the 'Great Eastern,' the same magnificent roadstead, which the entire British Navy could manoeuvre in. We have also along the harbour's shores light-houses, buoys, and signal stations, and if anything more is needed to make it the most perfect harbour in the world we can have that too."

Halifax harbour proper is a magnificent sheet of water, from eight to twelve fathoms deep, from one to two miles wide, and from the entrance, fifteen miles long, the island known as McNab's giving it the shelter of a natural breakwater. With its forty-two miles of shore line it may be described "as a group of harbours, the main harbour of commerce being flanked on the Dartmouth side by the Eastern Passage and on the city side by the picturesque Northwest Arm."

The importance of the part the harbour has played in the recent world-war, now happily ended, cannot be overestimated, and this in a future chapter we shall hope as adequately as possible to describe. In later chapters we shall also give some account of the horrible tragedy that in the course of the war occurred on the shore of the harbour, visiting with death and destruction much of the north end of the city, and also of the wonderful series of docks that the Dominion Government is now at great cost constructing on the lower harbour for the accommodation of future maritime trade. In the present chapter we shall run back over the seventeen decades during which the harbour has been conspicuously used for human enterprise and sketch briefly the chief maritime—commercial and striking his-

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torical naval events that are the outstanding features of the varied history of this beautiful bay.

The first striking episode in the history of the harbour was the sailing into its quiet shelter in the autumn of 1746 of the forlorn remnant of the fleet of the Duc d'Anville, which had proudly left Rochelle, in France, for America, on the 22d of June of that year. D'Anville's fleet consisted of twenty-one war-ships, twenty other frigates and privateers, and several transports, which carried besides a sea force no less than three thousand one hundred and fifty soldiers, militia troops, and marines. The commission the fleet's commander bore ambitiously authorized the retaking and dismantling of Louisburg, effecting a junction with the French troops collected at Baie Verte and expelling the British from Nova Scotia, consigning Boston to flames, ravaging New England, and wasting the British West Indies.¹ Fate, however, had decided against the success of this far reaching policy of the French King, the voyage across the ocean was made difficult and dangerous by contrary winds, and on the 2nd of September, the fleet having reached the dreaded shoals of Sable Island, the whole squadron was there dispersed by a fierce storm, and four ships of the line and a transport were probably sunk. At last, between the 8th and the 16th of September, six or seven ships of the line and a few transports sought refuge in Halifax harbour, and there the Duc d'Anville and his companion officer Vice-Admiral D'Estournelle both died. On the passage scorbutic fever and dysentery had been fatal to twelve or thirteen hundred of the men, and these diseases now continued their ravages until no less than 1,130 more, it is said, had died and been buried on the shore of Bedford Basin, at the upper end of the harbour. The Duc d'Anville himself died of "apoplexy, sickness, or poison," and was probably buried on George's Island, while Vice-Admiral d'Estournelle, "agitated, feverish, and delirious," is reported to have fallen on his sword and as a result died within twenty-four hours after.

Less than three years had passed after d'Anville's mournful few ships steered into the harbour when Colonel Edward Cornwallis

¹See C. Ochiltree MacDonald's "The Last Siege of Louisburg," pp. 23, 24; and many other authorities. By the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was concluded and signed in October, 1748, Louisburg so almost miraculously captured, chiefly by New England troops, in 1745, had been restored to France, a blunder that cost England another siege of the place in 1758.

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brought hither his fleet, laden with English emigrants to found Halifax, thus opening for the harbour an era of incessant shipping activity which is destined to continue as long as time lasts. In June or July, 1749, as a consequence of the restoration of Louisburg to France, the English and New England civilian residents of the French town in the island of Cape Breton, as well as the troops that had occupied the fortress, came up to Halifax, partly in transports that had been lent them for the passage by Desherbiers, the newly appointed governor of Cape Breton;² and these, in addition to the steady stream of schooners and sloops that came directly from Boston, bringing settlers from Massachusetts for Halifax, and also laden with supplies for the civilians and soldiers at the new capital, made the harbour a busy place.

In July, 1757, Admiral Holburne with a fleet of fifteen ships of the line and one vessel of fifty guns, carrying at least twelve thousand men, arrived at Halifax from England, with the intention of recapturing Louisburg, but hearing that the French had a larger force at Cape Breton than he had been led to believe, he abandoned his purpose. The next year, however, the harbour was the rendezvous for another fleet, with the same object in view, the chief commander of this enterprise being Admiral Boscawen. Soon after the middle of May (1758) twenty-three ships of the line, eighteen frigates and a hundred and sixteen transports and small craft sailed into the harbour, General Jeffery Amherst and General Wolfe and the troops they commanded being also with the fleet. On Sunday, May 28th, this formidable armada left for the French stronghold, and the success of the expedition is graphically described by Sir Gilbert Parker and Mr. Claude G. Bryan in their picturesque volume entitled "Old Quebec."³ "The years since 1745," says these writers, "had been

²In his first letter from Chebucko to the Duke of Bedford, dated June 22, 1749, Colonel Cornwallis says that he finds that Governor Hopson of Louisburg, who had been under orders to transport the English troops stationed there to Chebucto, had no transports in which to bring them. As he does not know when he himself can send transports he thinks it absolutely necessary to send the sloop by which Hopson has sent messages to him, to Boston "with orders to Apthorp and Hancock, who Mr. Hopson has recommendd as the persons that have been always employed on the part of the Government to hire vessels with all expedition for the transportation of these troops from Louisburg to Chebucto." A few days later, however, Cornwallis rescinded the order to Apthorp and Hancock, but before his second order could get to Boston these enterprising merchants had engaged the transports, so Cornwallis had to pay something for them. The troops at Louisburg seem to have been conveyed to Halifax partly by English transports which had brought the Cornwallis settlers, partly by French ships which had come out with Deshrbiers.

³Sir Gilbert Parker and Claude G. Bryan, in "Old Quebec, the Fortress of New France" (1903), pp. 253-255.

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years of growing strength for Louisburg, and in 1758 it almost equalled Quebec itself in importance. Its capable commandant, the Chevalier de Drucour, counted 4,000 citizens and 3,000 men-at-arms for his garrison; while twelve battleships, mounting 544 guns, and manned by 3,000 sailors and marines, rode at anchor in the rock-girt harbour, the fortress itself, with its formidable outworks, containing 219 cannon and seventeen mortars. Bold men only could essay the capture of such a fortress, but such were Wolfe, Amherst, and Admiral Boscawen, whose work it was to do.

“The fleet and transports sailed from Halifax, bearing eleven thousand, six hundred men full of spirit and faith in their commanders. All accessible landing-places at Louisburg had been fortified by the French; but in spite of this precaution and a heavy surf, Wolfe’s division gained the beach and carried the redoubts at Fresh-water Cove. A general landing having been thus effected, Wolfe marched round the flank of the fortress to establish a battery at Lighthouse Point. The story may only be outlined here. First the French were forced to abandon Grand Battery, which frowned over the harbour, then the Island Battery was silenced. On the forty-third day of the siege, a frigate in the harbour was fired by shells, and drifting from her moorings, destroyed two sister ships. Four vessels which had been sunk at the mouth of the harbour warded Boscawen’s fleet from the assault, but did not prevent six hundred daring blue-jackets from seizing the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, the two remaining ships of the French squadron.

“Meanwhile, zigzag trenches crept closer and closer to the walls, upon which the heavy artillery now played at short range with deadly effect. Bombs and grenades hissed over the shattering ramparts and burst in the crowded streets; roundshot and grape tore their way through the wooden barracks; while mortars and musketry poured a hail of shell and bullet upon the brave defenders. Nothing could save Louisburg, now that Pitt’s policy of Thorough had got headway. On the 26th of July, a white flag fluttered over the Dauphin’s Bastion; and by midnight of that date Drucour had signed Amherst’s terms enjoining unconditional surrender.

“Then the work of demolition commenced. The mighty fortress, which had cast a dark shade over New England for almost half a century, ‘the Dunkirk of America,’ must stand no longer as a menace. An army of workmen labored for months with pick and spade and blasting-powder upon those vast fortifications; yet nothing but an upheaval of nature itself could obliterate all traces of earthwork, ditch, *glacis*, and casemate, which together made up the frowning fortress of Louisburg. To-day grass grows on the Grand

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Parade, and daisies blow upon the turf—grown bastions; but who may pick his way over those historic mounds of earth without a sigh for the buried valour of bygone years.”

As every resident of Halifax or visitor to the city knows, the long water-front of the town is flanked by a succession of nearly fifty wharves for the accommodation of ships and the pursuit of maritime trade.⁴ Writing the lords of trade the day after his arrival at Chebucto, his impressions of the place selected for the new settlement, Governor Cornwallis says: “All the officers agree the harbour is the finest they have ever seen,” to this adding in a later letter that it is “the finest perhaps in the world.” Along the beach, he says, wharves may easily be built, one already having been finished sufficiently ample to accommodate ships of two hundred tons. In February, 1750, it was proposed in council that a quay should be built along the shore in front of the town, but several merchants, among whom were Messrs. Thomas Saul and Joshua Mauger, having applied for water lots and liberty to build individual wharves along the beach, the question of the quay was referred to the provincial surveyor, Mr. Charles Morris, and the government engineer, Mr. John Bruce, for their decision.⁵ The expense of the quay promised to be so heavy and the time required to build it so long that these officials reported unfavorably on it, and licenses to build wharves were accordingly granted.⁶ At this period, says Dr. Akins, the line of the shore was so irregular as in some places to afford only a footpath between the base line of the lots which now form the upper side of Water Street and high water mark. At the Market

⁴“There are forty-seven docks, piers, and wharves along the water-front of Halifax proper, nine of which, at Richmond and the deep water terminus, have connections at the ships’ side with the Intercolonial railway.” A. Martin Payne, in the *Boston Christian Science Monitor* for November 29, 1911.

⁵A list of men in the “south suburbs” who sometime in 1750 received permission from Governor Cornwallis to build wharves “on the beach before the town of Halifax, agreeable to order of Council” is the following: Terence Fitzpatrick, John Shippy, John Alden and Jonathan Trumble, Rundle and Crawley, Captain Trevoy, Samuel Cleveland, William Wheeler, Joshua Mauger, Henry Ferguson, and Samuel Sellon. Most of these were New England men.

⁶At a Council meeting at the Governor’s house on Saturday, February 24, 1750, the Council announced that merchants and others might build wharves where they judged proper, and spoke in favour of their doing so. The members, however, prescribed certain conditions for prospective builders, one of which was that no storehouses should be built on wharves “in front of the town.” “When once this harbour is secure, well peopled, and a certain fishery established,” wrote Cornwallis to the Lords of Trade, March 19, 1750, “people will come from all parts without any expense to the public, and it will be easy to extend to other parts of the Province.”

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the tide flowed up nearly to where the [old] City Court House stood, forming a cove, into which flowed a brook which came down a little to the north of George Street. Near the Ordnance Yard another cove made in and this part of the shore was low and swampy many years after the batteries were built.

From the business advertisements in the earliest modest newspaper of Halifax in the first year of its publication, the year 1752, we find mention of at least four wharves that were already built,—Barnard's, Captain Cook's, Fairbanks', and Grant's, and there were certainly others like Mauger's, which lay at the foot of Jacob Street. Gerrish's wharf, afterwards known as Marchington's, lay immediately north of the Ordnance Yard, Proctor's is said to have been situated near the spot where the Cunard wharf was in time built, Frederick's later became Beamish's, Fillis's, afterward Mitchell's, was a little south of the King's Wharf, Terence Fitzpatrick's was situated almost or quite on the spot where Esson and Boak's later was built, Crawley's was south of this, and Collier's occupied the spot where the later Pryor's was built. In 1753, as we learn from the *Halifax Gazette*, there was still another wharf known as Bourn and Freeman's.

On Colonel Desbarres' plan of Halifax, made in 1781, Gerrish's wharf, afterward known as Marchington's, is shown as immediately north of the five gun battery, which was slightly north of the Ordnance wharf; Joshua Mauger's is at the foot of Jacob Street; Proctor's seems to be near where Cunard's old wharf now is; Frederick's, afterward Beamish's, is the present market wharf; Fillis's seems to be the present Mitchell's, a little south of the Queen's Wharf; Terence Fitzpatrick's is situated about where Esson and Boak's now is; Crawley's is slightly south of Fitzpatrick's; and Collier's is identical with the present Pryor's.⁷

The Boston merchants whose enterprise in sending ships to Halifax, for more than a decade after the settlement of the town, was greatest, were Messrs. Charles Apthorp and Thomas Hancock. For some years before Cornwallis came, indeed, these important Boston traders apparently had enjoyed almost a monopoly in supplying, by contract with the Nova Scotia government, the garrisons at Annapolis Royal and Chignecto, and indeed Louisburg when it was in British hands. Some time in 1750, Cornwallis complains to the

⁷See Dr. Akin's *Chronicles of Halifax*, p. 221.

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lords of trade that Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock, "the two richest merchants in Boston, who have made their fortunes out of government contracts," because they could not entirely monopolize the supplying of Halifax had given him a great deal of trouble. "They distress and domineer," he says, "and now wanton in their insolent demands." For some years longer, however, as we have said, Apthorp and Hancock continued to be the chief Boston merchants sending supplies to the town.⁸

The comparative wealth of Halifax up to late in the nineteenth century is recognized by all historians of the economic and social condition of the Maritime Provinces to have been in great measure due to the trade her merchants carried on with the West Indies. This trade, however, did not well begin until some years after the signing of the articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States at Versailles in January, 1783. In the British Parliament in May, 1784, the question of commercial intercourse between the British West Indies and the United States was earnestly discussed. England had hitherto strictly limited the trade of her West Indian colonies to herself and her other colonies, now peace having been established between Great Britain and the United States the West Indian planters remonstrated at such limitation and petitioned to have it removed. Canada, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, however, made strong efforts to convince the home authorities that the West Indies would still find sufficient markets in British possessions and would have their own needs adequately supplied

⁸Thomas Hancock, who built the noted Hancock house on Beacon Hill, Boston, died August 1, 1764. His partner, Charles Apthorp, died November 11, 1758. In the obituary, Mr. Apthorp, in the *Boston Newsletter*, he is called "the greatest and most noted merchant on this Continent." For a brief sketch of his life and a portrait of him, see "Annals of King's Chapel," Vol. 2, p. 144. Thomas Hancock's business, as is well known, was inherited by his nephew (Governor) John Hancock, who continued to trade with Nova Scotia until at least 1773. In Council, July 6, 1750, Governor Cornwallis says that "there having been some difficulty in raising the supplies of money necessary for the service of the Colony, he has agreed to proposals sent him by Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock of Boston, who engaged to provide him with dollars upon condition that they should likewise have the furnishing all stores and materials, which his Excellency understood as meaning all such as might be wanted from that Province, but that these gentlemen had since explained their terms so as to oblige him to take everything whatever wanted for this Province from them and not to leave it in his power to buy anything whatever here or in any of the northern colonys, which terms he could not agree to without first consulting the Council." Delancey & Watts of New York, he says, have written him that provided his Excellency could assure them of the bills being duly honoured there could be no difficulty in being provided with dollars from New York. The Council unanimously agreed that to accede to the proposals of Apthorp and Hancock would be very disadvantageous to the new settlement. See Nova Scotia Archives, vol. 1. See also the "Correspondence of William Shirley."

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from British sources, except indeed in the matter of rice. In discussing the question, the West Indian sugar planters admitted that "on every principle of honour, humanity, and justice," the Loyalist refugees of Canada and Nova Scotia were entitled to a preference in their trade, provided that Canada and Nova Scotia had the products to supply the West Indies, but they contended that before any permanent regulations governing their trade should be made, exact information should be sought as to how much of the annual consumption of American staples in the West Indies these provinces had hitherto supplied and how much they might be expected in the future to supply.

When the matter was thoroughly examined by means of custom house records, it was found that of 1,208 cargoes of lumber and provisions imported from North America into the British sugar-raising colonies in the year 1772, only seven of the cargoes were from Canada and Nova Scotia, and that of 701 topsail vessels and 1,681 sloops which had been cleared from North America to the British and foreign West Indies in the same year, only two of the topsail vessels and eleven of the sloops were from those provinces. Respecting Nova Scotia, it was stated that this province had never at any one period produced enough grain for its own people, and had never exported lumber "worthy the name of merchandise," and that a considerable amount of the lumber it was then producing was being used to build houses for the Loyalists in the town of Port Roseway.

Between April 3, 1783, and October 26, 1784, no flour, ship-biscuit, Indian corn or other meal, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or poultry came into the island of Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, or Prince Edward Island, the only provisions were 180 bushels of potatoes, 751 hogsheads and about 500 barrels of salted fish, with also some manufactured lumber. Previous to the war of the Revolution, in the years 1768-1772, the whole imports into Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island were seven hogsheads of fish, eight barrels of oil, three barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine, 36,000 shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

In the year 1807, however, as is shown by Judge Haliburton in his statistical account of Nova Scotia, fifty ships aggregating 5,013 tons, arrived at Halifax from the West Indies, while eighty ships, with a tonnage of 9,269 left this port for the West Indies. Twelve years later, in the year 1828, a hundred and sixty-seven ships, with a

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tonnage of 17,062 arrived at Halifax, while a hundred and seventy-seven ships, with a tonnage of 18,739, were cleared for the West Indies. From other sources than Haliburton we further learn that the value of imports to Halifax from the West Indies between January 5, 1819, and January 5, 1823, was £348,175, while the value of exports to these islands in the same period was £621,494. During the six months ending September 30, 1866, there arrived at Halifax, from the British West Indies, fifty vessels with a tonnage of 7,844, and from the Foreign West Indies sixty-five vessels with a tonnage of 7,446, these ships bringing rum (as the most valuable import), sugar, molasses, brandy, gin, salt, and coffee. The total value of imports from the British West Indies in this period was \$238,143, from the Spanish West Indies \$233,246, from the French \$11,017, from the Danish \$5,326. Exports from Halifax to these islands included all agricultural products, gypsum, lime, plaster, cattle, apples, hides, fish oil and fish.⁹

In all records of the early shipping activities and general commerce of Halifax, the names conspicuously appear of Joshua Mauger and Thomas Saul, the latter of whom, a member of the Council, Dr. Akins says, was the wealthiest and most enterprising merchant of the town from 1749 to 1760. The career of Joshua Mauger we have elsewhere in this history sketched; he was the son of a Jewish merchant in London, who in early life began to trade between certain West Indian ports, later extending his activities to the French town and garrison of Louisburg. At the founding of Halifax he took up his residence in this town, establishing truck-houses in the interior of the province, setting up three distilleries of rum in the capital, and also securing there the position of agent-victualler to the government. Of Thomas Saul we know less than we do of Mauger, but there can be no doubt that he also was an English-born man. Precisely when he first came to Halifax we have not discovered, but

⁹See "The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies," by Bryan Edwards, Esq., 3rd edition, volume 2, Book 6, Chapter 4. See also Haliburton's "Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia" (2 volumes, 1829), volume 2; Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," vol. 3, pages 445, 503; and "Various Statements connected with Trade and Commerce of the Province of Nova Scotia for the Twelve Months ended 30 September, 1886" (Halifax, 1886). Of moderate sized manufacturing plants, Halifax has had and has a considerable number, most if not all of which have had their beginning since 1815. These comprise sugar refineries, flour-mills, bakeries, canneries, cordage-factories, carriage-factories, cabinet works, soap, candle, glue, linseed oil, comb, brush, tobacco, paper, and confectionery factories, distilleries of rum, gin, and whiskey, and breweries of ale and porter.

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his trading ventures like Mauger's must have begun soon after the town was established. About 1753, says Dr. Akins, he built the most elegant private residence in the town. Having made a fortune in Halifax, about the same time as Mauger he also probably returned to England to spend the rest of his days. "Among the principal merchants in Halifax in 1769," says Dr. Akins, "the Hon. John Butler, uncle to the late Hon. J. Butler Dight, Robert Campbell on the Beach, John Grant, Alexander Brymer, and Gerrish and Gray appear most prominent. Among the shopkeepers and tradesmen who advertised during this year were Robert Fletcher on the Parade, bookseller and stationer, Andrew Cunod, grocer, Hammond and Brown, auctioneers, and Robert Millwood, blockmaker, who advertised the best Spanish River Coal at thirty shillings a chaldron." Among the New England born merchants of most note in the early history of the town were Joseph Fairbanks, John Fillis, Benjamin Garrish, Malachy Salter, and Robert Sanderson. As the town progressed we find among the leading merchants, Michael Francklin, from England, Thomas Cochran and Charles Hill, from the North of Ireland, Michael and James Tobin and Edward Kenny from farther south in Ireland, and a good many enterprising men directly from Scotland, who and whose descendants have always borne a conspicuous part in the social as well as commercial activities of the place.

In a valuable monograph on Nova Scotia privateers at different periods, written by Mr. George Nichols of Halifax, and published in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, we find important facts concerning the ships fitted out at Halifax at different periods to prey on the sea commerce of hostile countries. In the autumn of 1756, Messrs. Malachy Salter and Robert Sanderson together fitted out a schooner of a hundred tons burden, called the *Lawrence*, and on the 16th of November started her on a privateering voyage against the French. This vessel, Mr. Nichols says, was the first privateer to be fitted out at Halifax. She was armed with fourteen carriage four-pounder guns, and twenty swivel guns, besides small arms and ammunition sufficient for a six months cruise, and had a crew of a hundred men, and her captain carried a letter of marque authorizing him to capture if he could any French trading ship with her cargo that he might come upon afloat. At the same time two other trading vessels owned in Halifax, the *Hertford* and

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the *Musketo*, the first, owned partly by John Hale, a vessel of three hundred tons, armed with twenty carriage guns, and carrying a crew of 170 men, the second, owned by Joshua Manger and John Hale, of a hundred and twenty tons, manned by a crew of eighty men.

“During the Seven Years War,” says Mr. Nichols, “which lasted from 1756 to 1763, I can learn of at least fifteen privateers that were armed and fitted out at this port. The names of these vessels and their commanders have been preserved to us, together with the particulars of their tonnage and armament and the number of their crews. These privateers were larger and more heavily armed than their successors of the Revolutionary period. Several of them were ships of three and four hundred tons burthen, carrying upwards of a hundred and sixty men, and armed with as many as twenty carriage guns and twenty-two swivels. The tonnage of these vessels seems to be no indication of their armament, for the small schooner *Lawrence* of a hundred tons carried fourteen carriage guns and twenty swivels, while the *Wasp*, another vessel of the same size, carried twenty guns and a hundred and fifty men. The majority of the cruises starting from Halifax were directed against the French in southern waters, and the commissions authorizing them generally named six months as the period during which they might lawfully be prosecuted.” Several of the privateers sailing from Halifax at this period, however, were not owned in Nova Scotia, but in other British Provinces or in England. The Halifax shipping merchants that were most conspicuous in these privateering expeditions of the Seven Years War, and so that may properly be considered the leading ship-owners here at this period, were Messrs. Michael Francklin, Joshua Manger, Malachy Salter, Robert Sanderson, Thomas Saul, and William Ball.

In the early period of the American Revolution all the waters about the Nova Scotia shores were infested with privateering vessels sent from the revolting colonies, and their crews committed many serious depredations at various ports. By an act of the Imperial Parliament any British sympathizer could obtain leave from the provincial government to arm and man any vessel he owned to resist and capture the enemy, and under this act a considerable number of privateer schooners were sent out from various ports, notably Halifax and Liverpool, to seize any booty they could from hostile vessels anywhere on the seas. “Of their success,” says Mr. Nichols, “there

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is no doubt, for while records are meagre, no less than forty-eight prizes and four recaptures arrived in Halifax alone between the 4th of January and the 20th of December, 1778, among the captures being six ships, seven brigs, and nine brigantines." "Between 1779 and 1781," he further says, "we have records of forty-two prizes and recaptures brought into this port, among them being three ships, six brigs, and twelve brigantines." By this time, it is clear, many of the vessels employed either in peaceful commerce or in privateering by Nova Scotia traders were built at Nova Scotia ports, but concerning the number and extent of ship building enterprises at or near Halifax then we are not at present informed.

By 1793, England and France had once more begun active hostilities, and under the authority of the Imperial Government, letters of marque could be obtained by all owners of armed vessels to seize French ships and their cargoes wherever they could find them. The Nova Scotia privateering at this period was conducted by merchants and captains chiefly from the two ports of Liverpool and Halifax, the greater activity, however, being at the southern port. In the war of 1812, one of the first hostile measures taken by the United States against England was to issue letters of marque against British ships, and within a month after war was declared Nova Scotians under the personal authority of the governor of the province, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, were likewise exercising the privateering right. Between 1812 and 1815, Nova Scotia vessels brought into the various leading ports of the province more than two hundred prizes, exclusive of a number of recaptures, Halifax of course having her due share of these prizes.¹⁰

His Majesty's Dockyard at Halifax, the "Naval Yard," as this famous inclosure on the shores of the harbour was originally called, has a long and varied history that links closely with Britain's naval history at large since the Dockyard was founded. The initial site

¹⁰"At this period of the war [of 1812] the English ships of war did not molest the unarmed coasting and fishing vessels of the Americans, but the American privateers were not of the same mind. Our coasters, fishermen, and colliers were captured, pillaged, and sometimes used cruelly. On the 8th of October a boat's crew from an American privateer landed on Sheep Island, at the mouth of Tusket river, where lived a poor man named Francis Clements, and his family. Without provocation they shot the man dead, ransacked his house, carried off stock, and went away. This privateer was shortly after captured by the Shannon, and the homicide was identified among the prisoners as the first lieutenant of the privateer. Clements left a widow and nine orphan children, the oldest only seventeen, the second daughter a helpless cripple." Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," vol. 3, p. 333.

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for the Naval Yard was secured under deed on the 7th of February, in the year of our Lord 1759. The trustees to whom the deed was given were Admiral Philip Durell, and Messrs. Joseph Gerrish and William Nesbitt, Esquires, and the purpose for which the two lots the site comprised, "in the north suburbs of Halifax," were granted, was specified to be "for the use and uses of a Naval Yard for the use of His Majesty's Navy or such other uses as His Majesty shall direct and appoint and to or for no other use, intent, or purpose whatever." On the 4th of January, 1765, a third lot was obtained for the extension of the yard, and henceforth for well on towards a century and a half the Halifax Dockyard was the official headquarters of business in connexion with the British navy on the North American coast. Soon after the first deed of land for the Dockyard site was secured, buildings necessary for carrying on the navy's official business were begun, including storehouses for masts, sails, coal, oil, and provisions, and residences for the commissioner of the yard and his clerks and other employees. In 1770 the first conspicuous gate to the Dockyard was built, and this stood until 1844, when another was erected to take its place. In 1883 the gate was rebuilt again.

In 1783 a naval hospital outside the yard was added to the establishment, and in 1814 a piece of land high up on the hill overlooking the yard was purchased for the erection of a large stone dwelling house for the Admiral on the station, when he should be here, and the locally famous residence known as "Admiralty House" was begun. At some early date, we do not know precisely when, a small tract near the Dockyard was set apart for a naval cemetery. In his "History of Nova Scotia," published in 1829, Judge Haliburton wrote:

"Of Government establishments [in Halifax] the most important is the King's Dockyard. This was commenced about the year 1758 and has been not only of infinite service to the navy during the late war, but by its very great expenditure of money, of most essential advantage to the Province. It is enclosed on the side towards the town by a high stone wall, and contains within it very commodious buildings for the residence of its officers and servants, besides stores, warehouses, and workshops of different descriptions. It is on a more respectable footing than any in America, and the vast number of ships refitted there during the last twenty years, and the prodigious labour and duty performed on them are strong proofs of its

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regulation and order. In the rear of the Dockyard and on an elevated piece of ground that overlooks the works and the harbour, is the Admiral's house, which is a plain stone building erected partly by funds provided by Government and partly by a grant of the Provincial Legislature. This house was completed in 1820, and as its name denotes is designed for the residence of the Admiral or senior Naval Officer commanding on the Station."

In his "Old Judge" this same author writes:

"The Dockyard at Halifax is a beautiful establishment, in excellent order, and perfect of its kind, with the singular exception of not having the accommodation of a dock from which it derives its name." Nova Scotia, he writes, is the principal naval station of Britain on this side of the Atlantic, but it shares this honour with Bermuda, the Admiral residing in summer at the former place, in winter at the latter. The arrival of this high official at Halifax in the spring "is always looked forward to with anxiety and pleasure, as it at once enlivens and benefits the town. Those common demonstrations of respect, salutes, proclaim the event, which is soon followed by the equally harmless and no less noisy revels of sailors, who give vent to their happiness in uproarious merriment. The Admiral is always popular with the townspeople, as he often renders them essential services, and seldom or never comes into collision with them. He is independent of them, and wholly disconnected with the civil government. 'Lucky fellow!' as Sir Hercules Sampson, the Governor, once said; 'he has no turbulent House of Assembly to plague him.'" "On an eminence immediately above the Dockyard," he adds, "is the official residence, a heavy, square, stone building, surrounded by massive walls, and resembling in its solidity and security a public asylum. The entrance is guarded by two sentinels, belonging to that gallant and valuable corps, the marines, who combine the activity of the sailor with the steadiness and discipline of the soldier, forming a happy mixture of the best qualities of both, and bearing a very little resemblance to either. 'These ambitious troops,' my old friend Sir James Capstan used to say, 'are very much in the way on board of a ship, except in action, and then they are always in the right place.'"

A complete list of the war ships that have anchored in Halifax harbour since 1759 would include most of the great ships of England's majestic fleet; the naval commanders-in-chief who in succession have ordered their flag-ships into these smooth waters, and for the time being have occupied Admiralty House, have included

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many of the greatest Admirals, Rear Admirals, and Vice Admirals of the noblest navy of modern times.¹¹

No single event in connexion with Halifax harbour has greater dramatic interest than the arrival in its waters of the British frigate *Shannon* with the captured United States frigate *Chesapeake* in June, 1813. The war of 1812 was the culmination of a gradually increasing animosity on the part of the United States against England for the frequent exercise of the latter's claim that she had a right to impress British seamen or seamen asserted to be British from on board United States merchant vessels wherever they might be found. This alleged right the United States strongly disputed, and England not yielding, at last the inevitable conflict came. One of the United States vessels from which seamen had been taken was the *Chesapeake*, the command of which at Boston in May, 1812, had been given to Captain James Lawrence, who the year previous had earned distinction as commander of another American ship, the *Hornet*. On the 31st of May, 1813, on the *Chesapeake*, Lawrence received a challenge from Captain Broke of the British frigate *Shannon*, which was then cruising in Boston harbour, and although the *Chesapeake* was poorly fitted for an engagement, chiefly owing to the fact that she had an unreliable crew, the challenge was accepted and the next day the fight took place. The engagement began with fierce volleys of shots fired from the opposing ships simultaneously, the injury from which to the vessels themselves was slight, but which caused on both a considerable loss of life. On the *Chesapeake*, both Lawrence and his lieutenant, Augustus Ludlow, were severely wounded, Lawrence having received his wound in the leg. The anchor of the American ship fouling on one of the after ports of the *Shannon*, the crew of the latter was able to board the *Chesapeake*, and the sailors of this vessel "could not be made to repel" the British crew. In the skirmish that ensued, Captain Lawrence was mortally wounded by a musket shot and had to be carried to the wardroom. While passing the gangway he cried to his

¹¹Other interesting facts in this connexion than those we have here given including a list of the naval commanders-in-chief who temporarily resided on this station between 1767 and 1801 will be found in an interesting article entitled "Dockyard Memoranda," by Charles H. Stubbing, Esq., a former clerk in the Dockyard, published in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 13, pp. 103-109. Some time before 1759 Mr. Joseph Gerrish, formerly of Boston, older brother of Benjamin Gerrish, likewise of Halifax, was appointed naval storekeeper at the Dockyard, and this position he held for a number of years. He received a salary for his work, of a hundred pounds a year, and he had a clerk who received fifty pounds.

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men "Don't give up the ship!" but the fate of the battle was decided, and Lieutenant Ludlow, himself desperately and as it proved mortally wounded, who had assumed command, quickly surrendered. The *Shannon* with her prize then made for Halifax, but before she could reach port Captain Lawrence died. In the engagement, sixty men, including Captain Lawrence, of the American frigate's crew, were killed, and eighty-three were wounded. Of the British frigate's crew twenty-six were killed and fifty-seven, including Captain Broke, were wounded. The ships arriving at Halifax, the *Chesapeake's* commander was buried with military honors in the burying ground on Pleasant Street, his funeral taking place on the 8th of June. On the 13th of June Lieutenant Ludlow died at Halifax, and he too received military burial. Early in August both bodies were disinterred and carried by Captain George Crowninshield, Jr., in his own vessel, at his own expense, under a flag of truce to Salem, Massachusetts, where on the 23rd of August they were given another funeral. They were then carried over land to New York City and buried in Trinity churchyard again with all the honors of war. When the two ships reached Halifax Captain Lawrence's body was landed under a discharge of minute guns at the King's Wharf, whence it was carried probably directly to the burying ground on Pleasant Street. On its way it was attended by the *Chesapeake's* surviving officers, the officers of the British army and navy on service at Halifax, and many of the leading inhabitants of the town. The pall was borne by six captains of the Royal navy, a military band was in attendance, and three hundred men of the Sixty-fourth regiment followed in the procession. The burial service was rendered by the Rector of St. Paul's, the Reverend Robert Stanser, D. D., after which three volleys were fired over the grave. Lawrence's ship the *Chesapeake* was kept at Halifax until October, 1813, when she was taken to England and probably put in commission in the British service. In 1820 her timbers were sold to a miller of Wickham, in Hants, by whom they were used in the construction of a flour mill.¹²

¹²Captain James Lawrence was the youngest son of Judge John Lawrence, of Burlington, New Jersey, and was born at Burlington, October 1, 1781. He entered the navy as a midshipman in 1798, received his lieutenantcy in 1802, and was promoted captain and assigned to the *Hornet* in 1811. He died on board the *Chesapeake*, June 6, 1813. Lieutenant Ludlow, as we have said, died at Halifax, June 13, 1813. On the 10th of August, under a flag of truce Captain Crowninshield arrived at Halifax from Salem, and with the bodies of the two officers left very soon. An interesting account of the battle between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake* will be found in the late Theodore Roosevelt's "The Naval War of 1812," New York, 1882.

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In Trinity Churchyard, New York City, a little to the left of the main entrance from Broadway stands a large granite sarcophagus, on which the following inscription may be read:

“In Memory of CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE, of the United States Navy, who fell on the 1st day of June, 1813, in the 32nd year of his age, in the action between the frigates Chesapeake and Shannon. He was distinguished on various occasions, but especially when commanding the sloop of war Hornet he captured and sunk his Britannick Majesty’s sloop of war Peacock, after a desperate action of fourteen minutes. His bravery in action was equalled only by his modesty in triumph and his magnanimity to the vanquished. In private life He was a Gentleman of the most generous and endearing qualities, the whole Nation mourned his loss and the Enemy contended with his Countrymen who should most honour his remains.”

On the east end of the sarcophagus is inscribed the following: “The Heroick Commander of the frigate Chesapeake, whose remains are here deposited, expressed with his expiring breath his devotion to his Country. Neither the fury of battle, the anguish of a mortal wound, nor the horrors of approaching death could subdue his gallant spirit. His dying words were: ‘Don’t Give Up The Ship.’”

On the South side of the sarcophagus is inscribed: “In Memory of LIEUTENANT AUGUSTUS C. LUDLOW, Born in Newburgh, 1792, Died in Halifax, 1813. Scarcely was he 21 years of age, when like the blooming Euryalus he accompanied his beloved Commander to battle. Never could it have been more truly said ‘*His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant.*’ The favorite of Lawrence and second in command, he emulated the patriotic valour of his friend on the bloody decks of the Chesapeake, and when required, like him yielded with courageous resignation his Spirit to Him who gave it.”

In the War of 1812, says Mrs. William Lawson, several United States naval officers were taken prisoners and sent to Halifax for safe keeping. These were generally quartered on the eastern side of the harbour, and those of them who were on parole were lodged in the farm houses in or near Preston and Dartmouth. They were allowed perfect liberty of action, except in the matter of crossing the ferry to Halifax, the town being the only point from which they could hope to escape. They were all quiet, gentlemanlike men, and were cordially entertained and much liked by the farmers and their

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families, and they were not slow in making love to the girls, in some cases engaging to marry them. Naturally, however, they chafed at their internment, and when peace was declared were glad to leave. The Preston farmers' daughters waited in vain for them to return to marry them; the faithless foreigners never fulfilled the promises they had made "in the rosy twilight or under the glow of the inconstant moon."

A year after the arrival at Halifax of the *Shannon and Chesapeake*, on the 5th of July, 1814, a British expedition was secretly dispatched from Halifax harbour for the capture of Eastport, Maine. Either lower down the harbour or at some point without, a fleet six days from Bermuda joined the expedition, and together all sailed for the Maine coast. The whole fleet now comprised the *Ramilies*, having on board the commodore, Sir Thomas Hardy, the *Martin*, a sloop-of-war, the big *Borer*, the *Breame*, the *Terror*, a bomb ship, and several transports, on board of which was a very considerable military force. On the 11th of July the ships anchored abreast of Eastport and the commodore at once demanded the surrender of the fort. The officer in command was Major Perley Putnam, of Salem, Massachusetts, and he at first refused the demand and prepared to meet the assault. Through the earnest persuasion of the inhabitants, however, he was reluctantly induced to order his flag struck without resistance, and the British took possession of the fort.

On the 26th of August of the same year, another expedition left Halifax to seize Penobscot and Machias, Maine. The ships in this fleet were three 74's, the *Dragon*, the *Spenser*, and the *Bulwark*, two frigates, the *Burhante* and the *Tenedos*, lately from the Mediterranean, two sloops of war, the *Sylph* and the *Peruvian*, an armed schooner, the *Pictu*, a large tender, and ten transports. The number of troops they carried was about 3,000, the land forces among which were directly commanded by Major General Gosselin, with Lieutenant-General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, then and for nearly two years longer lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia (under the governor general of all the British provinces), in highest command. The naval squadron was under command of Rear Admiral of the White Edward Griffith. September 1st the fleet rode into the harbour of Castine and anchored in sight of the fort. The troops in the garrison, seeing resistance entirely vain, then blew up the fort and

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fled for safety into the interior. For eight months the British held this military post, but on the 25th of April, 1815, a treaty of peace between England and the United States having been signed at Ghent the previous December, they finally evacuated Castine, and English power ceased forever in the whole of eastern Maine.¹³

The commanding officer of the *Shannon* when she came with her prize the *Chesapeake* into Halifax harbour was a Halifax man. In January, 1812, young Provo William Parry Wallis, who was born at Halifax April 12, 1791, was appointed second lieutenant of the *Shannon*, then commanded by Captain Philip Bowes Vere Broke. Captain Broke being dangerously wounded in the *Shannon's* engagement with the *Chesapeake*, and his first lieutenant being killed, Wallis, although only a little over twenty-two, was left in command. Admiral Sir Provo William Parry Wallis, G. C. B., as he afterwards became, earning for himself in his long distinguished naval career the title of "Father of the Fleet," was the son of an Englishman, Provo Featherstone Wallis, who was chief clerk to the naval commissioner in Halifax, and his wife Elizabeth (Lawlor), granddaughter of Thomas Lawlor, one of the Bostonians who had settled at Halifax in or shortly after 1749.

In the "Dictionary of National Biography" will be found a sketch of Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, K. C. B., another Haligonian, who was born in Halifax in 1799. Admiral Belcher's parents were the Hon. Andrew and Marianne (Geyer) Belcher, his paternal grandfather having been the first Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. In 1812 Belcher entered the navy as a midshipman, and six years later he was made a lieutenant. A great part of his active life was spent in making naval surveys, but in 1852 he was appointed to command an expedition to the arctic in search of Sir John Franklin. For such a peculiarly difficult command he is said to have had "neither temper nor tact," and in the enterprise, which was fruitless, he inspired great dislike among his men. In making surveys he spent much time in the Pacific and at Behring Straits, on the west and north coasts of Africa, at Borneo, the Philippine Islands, and China, in the Irish Sea, and on the west coast of both North and South America. He was made commander in 1829, advanced to post rank in 1841, received knighthood in 1843, attained his flag in 1861, and became vice-admiral in 1866, and admiral in 1872. In 1867 he was

¹³See Williamson's "History of Maine," 2 vols., 1832.

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further honoured with a K. C. B. The last part of his life he spent quietly in scientific and literary occupations. Belcher published in 1835 "A Treatise on Nautical Surveying," in 1843 "Narrative of a Voyage round the World in H. M. Ship Sulphur during the years 1836-1842;" in 1848 "Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. Ship Samarang," in 1855 "The Last of the Arctic Voyages," and in 1856 a three volume novel entitled "Horatio Howard Brenton, a Naval Novel." In 1867 he edited Sir W. H. Smyth's "Sailors' Word Book." He died March 18, 1817.

Two other famous British naval officers were born near Halifax. These were Admiral Philip Westphal and Captain Sir George Augustus Westphal, sons of George Westphal, Esq., a retired German army officer, one of the first grantees of and settlers in the township of Preston. Admiral Philip Westphal, the elder of these men, was born at Preston in 1782, and entered the British navy in 1794. From 1794 to 1802 he served successively on the *Oiseau*, the *Albatross*, the *Shannon*, the *Asia*, and the *Blanche*, one of the frigates with Nelson at Copenhagen. For his share in this action he was promoted to a lieutenancy and placed on the *Defiance*. In May, 1802, he was appointed to the *Amazon*, with Nelson, off Toulon. After much more service, in June, 1815, he was made commander. From the *Kent*, on July 22, 1830, he was advanced to post rank. In 1847, he was retired on a Greenwich Hospital pension, rising in due course, on the retired list, in 1855 to be rear-admiral, in 1862 to be vice-admiral, and in 1866 to be admiral. He died at Ryde, March 16, 1880.

Admiral Sir George Augustus Westphal, younger brother of Admiral Philip Westphal, was born at Preston either March 27 or July 26, 1785. He entered the navy on board the *Porcupine* frigate on the North American station in 1798. He afterward served on the home station and in the West Indies, in March, 1803, joining the *Amphion*, which carried Nelson out to the Mediterranean. Off Toulon he was moved into the *Victory*, in which ship he was wounded at the battle of Trafalgar. While he was lying in the cockpit after receiving his wound, Nelson's coat, hastily rolled up, was put under his head for a pillow. It is related that some of the bullions of the epaulettes got entangled in his hair, and that the blood from his wound as it dried fastened them there so that several of them had to be cut off before the coat could be released. These bullions

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Westphal long treasured as mementoes of Nelson. After much distinguished service in many places, he was in 1819 advanced to post rank. In May, 1822, he was appointed to the *Jupiter*, in which he carried Lord Amherst to India. On his return to England, in 1824, he was knighted. He was advanced in regular gradation to be rear-admiral in 1851, vice-admiral in 1857, and admiral in 1863. He died at Hove, Brighton, January 11, 1875. He married in 1817, Alicia, widow of William Chambers.¹⁴

The Cunard Steamship Company, as is well known, was founded by Sir Samuel Cunard, Bart., a Halifax merchant, and for a long time Halifax was the first stopping place for the Cunard ships on this side of the Atlantic. The story of the Cunard enterprise will appear in another chapter of this history.

¹⁴For the brothers Westphal, see Mrs. William Lawson's "History of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown," Halifax County, pp. 201-205.



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AMERICANA

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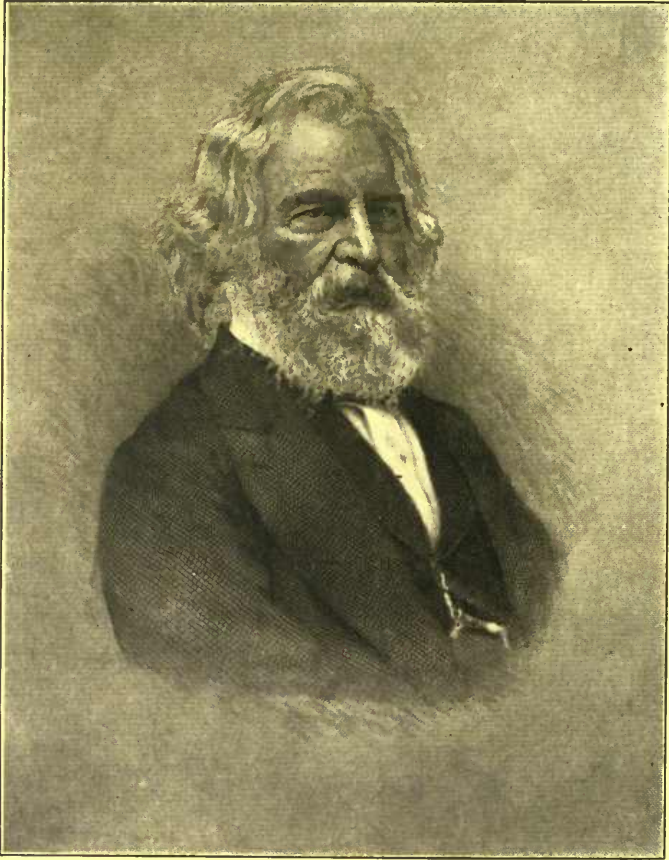
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HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

AMERICANA

January, 1915

Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, D. C. L.

"Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its branches
Dwells another race, with other customs and language."

—LONGFELLOW.

AN episode of New England history that has hitherto been only slightly touched upon by writers in the United States, or even in Canada, is the very considerable migration from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, to the maritime province of Nova Scotia, shortly after the tragical expulsion of the Acadians in 1755. In the issue of *Americana* for December, 1913, the writer of this article gave a lengthy sketch of the career of an extraordinary man named Alexander McNutt, who between 1759 and 1766 made heroic but for the most part futile efforts to settle the depopulated lands and the yet uncultivated parts of the beautiful province that for a century and more after its first colonization by the French, had borne the musical name Acadia. In the same writer's recent "History of King's County, Nova Scotia, Heart of the Acadian Land," and in a paper on the settlement of Colchester County, Nova Scotia, published still later, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, many details are given of the conspicuous migration from New England of which we have spoken. McNutt's enthusiasm for the Nova Scotia lands, and his glowing visions of widespread settlements thereon, were shared to the full by many groups of New Englanders as soon as the proclamation was issued inviting settlement in this historic British possession, and by the close of 1761 the province was richer in popu-

lation by some ten thousand souls, probably, than it had been at the beginning of 1759.

With a rapidly increasing varied population, active in all the great enterprises that engage the attention and stimulate the powers of modern men, spreading today enthusiastically throughout the several provinces of the Dominion of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it is as interesting as it is necessary to recall in detail the first permanent British settlement of any part of Canada. Thirty-three years before the first bands of American Loyalists, all Britons to the core, began to occupy the rich unsettled country along the Bay of Quinté and in the Niagara peninsula, the province of Nova Scotia welcomed to the shores of its Chebucto Bay the very earliest group of permanent British settlers in the whole Dominion. In 1749, the Hon. Edward Cornwallis brought out the English colony that established the town and fortress of Halifax, which as a civil and military stronghold it was intended should henceforth serve as a bulwark against French aggression in eastern America, and, in counterpoise to Louisburg, as a strong strategic centre from which necessary defensive, or if need be offensive, warlike operations, might be carried on. The capture of Fort Beauséjour, in Nova Scotia, and the forcible removal of the French population in general from this province, both occurred, it will be remembered, in 1755, and the final seizure of Louisburg in 1758, and the historic fall of Quebec in 1759, at last gave England supreme control in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Canada, and brought the long desired day of opportunity for permanent British settlement in these provinces fully to dawn.

When the removal of French influence from Nova Scotia was fully accomplished, the Governor and Council of the Province, as we have intimated, made public proclamation in New England of their desire to give large grants to New England families willing to emigrate, and the result was that before the end of 1761 many Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island towns had witnessed the removal of numbers of their best inhabitants to this ancient province by the sea. In this New England migration began the modern settlement of the beautiful Nova Scotia country that borders Minas and Annapolis Basins, and Chignec-

to Bay, and that stretches to the interior for many miles from the picturesque wave-washed southeastern Atlantic shore. That no other single British migration into any part of Canada, at any time, has so powerfully and with such lasting results influenced the destiny of British America we believe may safely be asserted. Even the great Loyalist migration of 1776 to 1784, large as it was, we cannot regard as having such permanent influence on Canada as this pre-Revolutionary exclusively New England settlement in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761.

Hants County, Nova Scotia, with the adjoining county of Kings, and perhaps part of Annapolis, may be said to constitute what has long been currently known as the "Garden of Nova Scotia." King's and Hants Counties, rich in agricultural products, covered now with glorious apple orchards, whose blossoms in June are veritable

"Banks of bloom on a billowy plain,"

border the blue Basin of Minas, and seem to claim the special protection of the white-mist-wreathed cliff, Blomidon, which rears its head like a tall turbanned sheik at the entrance of the Basin and watches in somnolent silence the daily rush, forward and backward, of the never ceasing currents of Fundy's tireless tides. King's County was settled chiefly from eastern Connecticut, as Cumberland, Annapolis, Queen's and part of Shelburne were from Massachusetts, but Hants County received its fine population in very great part from the pleasant State of Rhode Island, a little less than two decades, however before Rhode Island became a State. Hants County lies east, west and south along the Avon river, a stream which flows into Minas Basin; it is intersected also by the rivers St. Croix, Hebert, and Kennetcook. In French times part of the county was a region of indeterminate extent known as Pisiquid, and Judge Haliburton, a distinguished native of the county, in his well known History of Nova Scotia, tells us, as we know from many other sources, that it was a part of Acadia held in great estimation by the *habitants*, who valued, as they might well do, its priceless alluvial dykelands, some portions of which they inclosed from the sea, and

its rich upland meadows, on which they raised fine crops of wheat and other grains, in part for the eager Bostonians, whose bread-needs afforded them the nearest markets they had.¹ At the time of the Acadian deportation, as Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow's journal shows, Pisiquid occupied with Minas the chief place in the attention of the authorities at Halifax, and Captain Alexander Murray, who held command at Fort Edward, the little fort which had been erected five years before at what is now the town of Windsor, was for some time in constant communication with Winslow at Minas, to whom he made frequent detailed reports of the progress of his measures for capturing the unfortunate Pisiquid French. It was within the confines of this Pisiquid fort, indeed, that the two commanders together drew up the fatal proclamation from the King informing the terrified people in both Hants and Kings that it was the government's settled purpose to exile them permanently from their homes.²

The establishment of townships within the limits of the five first formed counties of Nova Scotia slightly antedates the erection of the counties. The oldest townships of King's County, Horton and Cornwallis, were established (though the first grants were nullified in 1761) on the 21st of May, 1759, while Falmouth, the oldest of the townships that later came to form Hants County, was set apart on the 21st of July, 1759. The County of King's was erected by the Council on the 17th of August, 1759, its limits embracing besides the present King's, a corner of Lunenburg, almost if not quite the whole of Hants, more than a third of Colchester, and about half of Cumberland. Little by little the county was reduced in size, until by the cutting off of Parrsborough in 1840, and the distribution of this township between Colchester and Cumberland, only the present territory remained to King's. The History of King's County, that is, chiefly the present

1. See "An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," by Judge Haliburton (1829), p. 100. The name Pisiquid, which the French gave the region is also spelled Piziquet, Pigiquit, Piziquid, Pizequint and Pizaquid. Judge Haliburton says this name, in its various spellings, is an Indian word signifying the junction of two rivers (the Avon and St. Croix).

2. By the early part of November, 1755, Lieut. Col. Winslow had sent off, in nine vessels, 1,510 Acadians of the Minas and River Canard districts, while Captain Murray's activity had resulted in the deportation of 1,100 persons, "in four frightfully crowded transports," from the district of Pisiquid.

King's, was published, as we have said, by the writer of this paper, in a large volume in 1910,³ but since Falmouth and its sister townships, Newport and Windsor, were in 1781 removed from King's and organized as Hants, the history of these townships is but slightly touched upon in that book. The writer's present purpose, therefore, is to give somewhat in detail the story of the settlement, in large part from Rhode Island, of the Hants County townships of Falmouth and Newport, and to record some important facts concerning the peopling of the third early Hants township, the inhabitants of which were of rather more varied origin, the township of Windsor.

In the late spring or early summer of 1781, the three then King's County townships we have just mentioned petitioned to be erected into an independent county, and on the 17th of June of that year, the Governor and Council granted their petition. A Council minute of this date says: "On the memorial of the Inhabitants of the towns of Windsor, Falmouth, and Newport, praying the said towns may be erected into a separate county, owing to the distance between said towns and Horton, the county town in King's County, which creates great difficulty to the inhabitants and expense to them in crossing the Rivers to attend the county business, whereupon it was resolved that the said Townships of Windsor, Falmouth, and Newport, and the lands contiguous thereunto, be erected into a County to be known by the name of the County of Hants." In the Crown Land Office in Halifax we find the following description of Hants County's bounds:⁴ "Beginning at the bounds between Horton and Falmouth, Pizaquid River now called Avon, thence to run South 30 degrees East [words missing] Thence in a Right line to the Bridge on Shubenacadie River, Thence to Run down the Shubenacadie River passing through the lake commonly called the Grand Lake to the mouth or Confluence of that River with Colchester Bay. Thence down the said Bay and up the River Avon

3. This volume, which comprises, with a carefully made index, over 900 pages, was published by the Salem Press, Salem, Massachusetts, late in 1910.

4. Crown Land Description Book 4, folio 112. Hants County covers an area of 786,560 acres, the adjoining county, King's, of 552,960. The present population of Hants is reported to be (in 1911) 19,703; of King's, 21,780. In religion Hants has 5,742 Presbyterians, 4,218 Methodists, 3,722 Baptists, and 3,631 Anglicans.

to the bounds first Mentioned." How the name Hants came to be given the county, whether some one or more of the important early grantees of Windsor may have had a special interest in the English Hants and requested it, or whether the name was chosen by the Council at Halifax, we cannot now tell.

The townships regularly organized and existing within the limits of Hants county in 1781, as we have seen, were but three, but in time three others were more or less formally created: Rawdon, bounded by Douglas on the north and east, and Newport on the south and west, on the 3d of August, 1784; Douglas, which included the Kennetcook river, the Five Mile river, the Nine Mile river, and the land along their courses, together with the Gore settlements, also in 1784; and Kempt, a region comprising 80,000 acres, which adjoined Maitland to the west and bordered on the Basin of Minas, east of the mouth of the Avon, (though much earlier settled) not until 1825.

On Johnston's topographical map of Canada, published in 1874, Maitland also is given as a township, but in Judge Haliburton's description of Hants County, Maitland, bordering on Cobequid Bay and the Shubenacadie river, is properly included in Douglas. The scope of the present paper forbids any lengthy description of the settlement of the last three of these acknowledged Hants County townships, but of the settlement of two of them, Rawdon and Douglas, a few words may here be said.^{4½} The extent of Rawdon was 24,000 acres, and the first settlers were soldiers who had served under Lord Rawdon, afterward Marquis of Hastings, in South Carolina, in the war of the American Revolution. It was thus, of course, that the township received its name. The township of Douglas was bounded on the north and east by Cobequid Bay and the river Shubenacadie, south by the county of Halifax, and west by Rawdon and Newport, the extent of its territory being 105,000 acres. Douglas was granted (in 1784, as we have said) to Lieutenant Colonel Small,^{4¾} for the

^{4½}. In appendix No. V we have given a list of the Rawdon grantees.

^{4¾}. Lieut.-Col. John Small, born in Scotland in 1726, entered the 42d Highland regiment, as ensign 29 August, 1747, and as lieutenant served in America under Abercrombie, and in the West Indies. He received his captaincy in 1762. June 14, 1775, he was commissioned major to raise a corps of Highlanders in Nova Scotia to serve in the Revolution. With this force, we suppose, he served at the battle of Bunker Hill. Later he was appointed major commanding the 2d battalion

location of the disbanded Second battalion of the 84th regiment, which he had commanded under Sir Henry Clinton in New York from 1779. Of the township of Kempt, Judge Haliburton says: "The upland here is indifferent, and the interval was the principal attraction to the first inhabitants, who were Americans that had enlisted in the 84th regiment while it was stationed on Long Island, New York.⁵ In 1879 the county of Hants was divided for purposes of representation and local government into two municipalities, and the ancient township divisions technically disappeared.

Details like these are tiresome, but they are necessary to be remembered if we would know fully the story of the settlement from Rhode Island in Nova Scotia in 1761. Since the time of the Revolution, when the Nova Scotia government by strong, determined measures kept the province under its control from joining, as a large portion of its people would have been willing to have it do, in the movement for independence, the province-by-the-sea has been to United States people a foreign country, but from the establishment of the colony of Massachusetts Bay until the Revolution, Nova Scotia was in close alliance with Massachusetts, and, through all the political changes the Acadian province underwent, to the time of the complete destruction of French power within its borders, the Massachusetts authorities kept its interests closely at heart. A chapter of local history that has never fully been written but that offers an interesting field for searchers among the records of the past is the story of the mild adventures of the little garrison at Annapolis Royal from the capture of this historic fortress by Nicholson in 1710 to the establishment of civil government at Halifax and the removal of the chief military power to that place, in 1749. The record of land-granting in Nova Scotia from 1759 to the end of the Revolutionary period in America is another subject that has in it also distinct elements of romance, but land granting in

of the 84th Royal Engineers, with part of which in 1779 he joined the army under Sir Henry Clinton at New York. In 1780 he was made lieutenant-col., 18 Nov., 1790, col., in 1793 Lieut.-Gov. of Guernsey, and 3 Oct., 1794, major-general. He died in Guernsey, 17 March, 1796. See Dict. of National Biography and Appleton's Encyclopaedia of Am. Biography.

5. These settlers were probably part of the troops under Col. Small's command in the Revolution.

the province began while the Annapolis garrison still exercised control over the wild lands of the province, and indeed over the tilled farms of the industrious French, for on the 13th of November, 1735, Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong, who was chief in the garrison, announced to his councillors "that having had two Scrawls of Grants from Mr. Secretary, vizt., One for Lands to be granted at Chiconito [Chignecto], and the other for lands to be also granted at Menis or Piziguet, he thought it necessary to lay the matter before the board for their consideration." The grants were then given, in 1736, the Governor and Council deciding that the "Township" to be settled at Piziguet should be called "Harrington in the parish of Harrington,"^{5½} that each grant, at Chiconito or Piziguet, should comprise 100,000 acres, and that the grantees should be required to place on their grants a certain number of settlers, to make the grants operative. Undoubtedly the grantees, who were naturally members of the military government, Armstrong himself being one, were unable to fulfil the important condition requiring settlement of their grants, and in 1759, when the intending New England settlers in Hants County desired grants, the Council at Halifax, that ten years before had supplanted the Military Council at Annapolis Royal, announced that the earlier grants at "Piziguet" were no longer in force, for the grantees, Brigadier-General Richard Philipps, Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong and "other official persons," had never fulfilled the terms of their grants, which therefore must now be formally escheated to the Crown.

THE TOWNSHIP OF FALMOUTH

The expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia in 1755, commemorated by Longfellow in his famous poem *Evangeline*, was a drastic measure that the Lords of Trade in England and the local authorities at Halifax at last came to feel necessary for the carrying out of an intention that at a much earlier time had, with more or less distinctness, taken shape in their minds, to

^{5½}. See Nova Scotia Archives (printed), Vol. 3, pp. 327, 328.

settle the province preponderatingly with people of British stock. The removal was accomplished,

—“on the falling tide the freighted vessels departed,
Bearing a nation, with all its household gods, into exile,
Exile without an end, and without an example in story,”

and when the French were gone and the government had leisure to carry out its own wishes and the wish of the Home Government, as also that of its neighbour colony of Massachusetts, in reference to British settlement of the province, the Nova Scotia Council in 1758, under direct instructions from England, adopted a proclamation relative to settling the vacant lands throughout the province, both those lands that had formerly been occupied and tilled by the French, and those that had never hitherto been settled at all. The proclamation stated that by the destruction of French power in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia the enemy who had formerly disturbed and harassed the province and obstructed its progress had been obliged to retire to Canada, and that thus a favourable opportunity was presented “for peopling and cultivating as well the lands vacated by the French as every other part of this valuable province.” Proposals for settlement, it was announced, would be received by Mr. Thomas Hancock of Boston, and Messrs. DeLancey and Watts of New York, and would be transmitted to the Governor of Nova Scotia, or in his absence to the Lieutenant-Governor, or the President of the Council.

The next step was to have the proclamation issued, and accordingly on the 12th of October, 1758, the Council caused it to be published in the *Boston Gazette*.⁶ As soon as the proclamation appeared the Boston agent was plied with questions as to what terms of encouragement would be offered settlers, how much land each person would receive, what quit-rent and taxes were to be exacted, what constitution of government prevailed in the province, and what freedom in religion settlers would be allowed. The result of these inquiries was that at a meeting of

6. It seems that posters or flyers were also printed, for Rev. Dr. John Forrest of Halifax has told the writer that he had one of these.

the Council held on Thursday, January 11, 1759, a second proclamation was approved, in which the Governor stated that he was empowered to make grants of the best lands in the province, that a hundred acres of wild wood-land would be given each head of a family and fifty acres additional for each person in his family, young or old, male or female, black or white, subject to a quit-rent of one shilling for every fifty acres, the rent to begin, however, not until ten years after the issuing of the grant. The grantees must cultivate or inclose one-third of their land in ten years, one-third more in twenty years, and the remainder in thirty years. No quantity above a thousand acres, however, would be granted to any one person. On fulfilment of the terms of the first grant the person receiving it should be entitled to another on similar conditions.

The lands on the Bay of Fundy were to be distributed "with proportions of interval plow land, mowing land, and pasture," which lands for more than a hundred years had produced abundant crops of wheat, rye, barley, oats, hémp, and flax, without ever needing to be manured. The government of Nova Scotia, it was declared, was constituted like that of the neighbouring New England colonies, the legislature consisting of a governor, a council, and an assembly. As soon as the people were settled, townships of a hundred thousand acres each, or about twelve miles square, would be formed, and each township would be entitled to send two representatives to the assembly. The courts of justice were constituted like those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other northern colonies; and as to religion, both by His Majesty's instructions and by a late act of the assembly full liberty of conscience was secured to persons of all persuasions, Papists alone excepted. Settlers were to be amply protected in their homes, for forts garrisoned with royal troops had already been established in close proximity to the lands proposed to be settled.⁷

The reponse to the Governor's proclamations, throughout New England was widespread and prompt. In April, 1759, a large number of persons in Connecticut and Rhode Island⁸ signified

7. See for virtually this same account, Eaton's "History of King's County," pp. 59-61.

8. The number is given as 330.

their intention, if the conditions were as favorable as had been represented, of removing to the country about the Basin of Minas left vacant by the departure of the French. Accordingly they sent as agents to confer with the Governor⁹ and personally view the lands five men, Messrs. (Major) Robert Denison, Jonathan Harris, Joseph Otis, and Amos Fuller, of Connecticut, and Mr. John Hicks of Rhode Island, all men of worth and standing in the towns where they lived. That these agents might be thoroughly informed concerning the lands about the Basin, the Council sent them in an armed vessel, with an officer of artillery and eight soldiers, the government surveyor, Mr. Charles Morris, accompanying the party, round the southern coast of the province and up the Bay of Fundy. At Grand Pré and Pisiquid they disembarked, in the latter district finding many of the houses and barns of the exiled French still standing.¹⁰ It was now about the middle of May and the rich dykes and uplands showing unmistakable signs of great fertility and in their early summer greenness so impressed the agents that as soon as they reached Halifax again they entered into an agreement with the Governor and Council to settle two townships, Horton, the French "Minas," and Cornwallis, the French "River Canard."

Two of the agents, Messrs. Hicks and Fuller, also laid before the authorities "some proposals for settling part of a township at Pisiquid, desiring that a sufficient quantity of lands there might be reserved for them until the last day of July next, by which time they proposed to return a list of the names of the persons whom they should engage as settlers."¹¹ In recognition of this proposal the Council resolved that lands lying on the north side of the river Pisiquid should be reserved for the

9. This was Colonel Charles Lawrence, who was appointed lieutenant-governor July 17, 1750, and was made governor July 23, 1756. He was energetic in the removal of the Acadians, and in the subsequent settling of the province from New England. He died in office on Saturday, October 11, 1760, and was succeeded in 1761 by Henry Ellis, Esq., who had been governor of Georgia. Lawrence's predecessors in the civil government of Nova Scotia were Col. the Hon. Edward Cornwallis and Col. Peregrine Thomas Hopson. A sketch of Governor Lawrence by Dr. Thomas B. Akins will be found in vol. 2 of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

10. At Grand Pré and River Canard the buildings were almost without exception burned, in the district of Pisiquid for some reason Captain Murray left them standing.

11. The date of the Council meeting at which this proposal was made was May 21, 1759.

applicants and their associates, provided a list of the intending settlers should be presented on or before the last day of July of that year, and that the agents should engage to settle fifty families on or before the first day of September, 1760. The Council on its part promised that the settlers, when they should come, should receive all manner of protection and countenance from His Majesty's troops, and should have the same advantage in respect to transportation of themselves and their families, and their stock, as had been proposed in the case of the families intending to settle the townships of Horton and Cornwallis. At the Council meeting at which these declarations were made the grants of Horton and Cornwallis also were ordered to pass the seal of the province, and two months later, on the 21st of July, the township of Falmouth, covering a large part of the indeterminate region known as Pisiquid, and comprising 50,000 acres, was formally set apart.¹² On the 16th of July, as the Council minutes reveal, Mr. John Hicks, in pursuance of the agreement made by him and Mr. Fuller with the Council on the 21st of the preceding May delivered a list of the persons who proposed to settle Falmouth, and a grant of this third Minas Basin township was ordered to be made out. By the government surveyor, the three new townships were soon properly surveyed, but in each case the first grant was a little later rescinded. The reason for the withdrawal of these first grants we have nowhere seen officially stated, but it seems almost certain that it was chiefly because a considerable number of the first intending grantees changed their minds about coming to Nova Scotia, deciding to remain in their New England homes.

In a minute of Council of October 26, 1759, the fact is alluded to that some of the lands in Pisiquid, including part of Falmouth, had over twenty years before been granted to persons at Annapolis Royal and now had to be formally es-

12. Before the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth were organized, the following townships, and these only, existed in Nova Scotia: Halifax, Lunenburg, Dartmouth, Lawrence Town (in Halifax County), Annapolis Royal, and Cumberland. The limits of these six earliest townships were provisionally fixed by the Council, and representation in the Assembly given them, January 3, 1757. Nova Scotia Archives, Vol. I, pp. 718, 719. Falmouth was probably named in recognition of the famous Admiral Boscawen, 3rd son of Hugh, 1st Viscount Falmouth, and brother of Hugh, 2nd Viscount. Admiral Boscawen died January 10, 1761.

cheated before they could be granted to others. The minute reads: "Mr. Amos Fuller and others having made application for lands for a township situated on Pisiquid River, upon searching the old Records of the Province it appeared that a part of the said Lands had been granted away in the year 1736, to Brigadier General Richard Philipps, Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong and others, and a copy of the Deed whereby the same were Granted being read and taken into consideration, the Council are of opinion that the Grantees have failed to perform the several conditions of the said Grant, and that the Lands are thereby forfeited to the Crown." They therefore advise the formal escheating of their lands, "that the crown may be enabled to grant the said lands to the above persons, who are desirous immediately to cultivate and improve them."

At the meeting of Council held on the 16th of July, 1759, when Mr. John Hicks presented his list of intending settlers, it was debated whether or not it would be better to transport the settlers from Connecticut that autumn to Horton and Cornwallis, or whether it would not be advisable and expedient to postpone their removal until the following spring, "on account of the French and Indians being more numerous and aggressive than previously." To settle the matter, Mr. Hicks was called in and asked his opinion. He gave as his judgment that the people would rather wait, whereupon the Council advised that arrangements for the transportation of the people for these townships should be deferred. Although Falmouth is not included with Horton and Cornwallis in this minute of Council concerning the postponement of the settlement of King's County, in a letter to the Lords of Trade of September 20, 1759, Governor Lawrence says: "As the reasons for postponing the Settlements of Minas, Canard and Pisiquid until the next Spring are fully explained in the Council records of July 16th, I need not repeat them here, but it may be necessary for your Lordships information to observe that tho' the Settlers grants run to 500 acres to a family, there are only 25, or thereabouts, of cleared Land in each Grant."

The actual migration from Rhode Island to Hants County seems to have begun early in the spring of 1760, for in May of

that year Governor Lawrence reports that forty families have come to settle "in the direction of Annapolis, Minas and Piziquid." In May the sloop *Sally*, Jonathan Lovett, master, is recorded to have brought from Newport, Rhode Island, to Falmouth, thirty-five persons, and the sloop *Lydia*, Samuel Toby, master, twenty-three more.^{12½} In a letter to the Lords of Trade of April 10, 1761, Lieutenant-Governor Belcher says: "The three Townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth will have their compliment [sic] of settlers this spring, and a considerable addition will be made to Annapolis, Granville, and Liverpool, and with little or no expence to the Government."¹³ July 2, 1762, he writes that since his "last address" many settlers have come to the townships of Barrington, Yarmouth, Truro, Onslow, and Newport, and have brought credentials with them of their industry and knowledge of husbandry.

The details of the movement in Rhode Island for settlement in Nova Scotia we are left in great measure to imagine. The proclamations of Governor Lawrence must have produced great excitement in many towns, and one of the chief topics of conversation about Narragansett Bay for many months must have been the offer of rich lands about the Bay of Fundy and Minas Basin to any reputable settler who would apply for lands. In his long letter to the Lords of Trade of December 12, 1760, Lieutenant-Governor Belcher says that great opposition had been manifested in New England (he says "on the Continent") to people's coming to Nova Scotia, but how general this opposition was or where it most manifested itself we have no means of knowing. The lands in Nova Scotia, Belcher declares had been depreciated in New England, and men had even been pressed into military service against the French to prevent their migrating. It is of course not an intentional omission on the part of local historians, but yet it seems strange that so

^{12½}. March 10, 1760, the Nova Scotia Council "did advise that His Excellency should as soon as may be take up such transports either here or at Connecticut as may be necessary to assist the Province Vessels in the transport of those Settlers who are to be brought at the Government's Expence."

¹³. In a letter to the Lords of Trade written November 3, 1761, Belcher says: "The Towns of Onslow and Truro in the District of Cobequid, of Cumberland in that of Chignecto, of Annapolis Royal and Granville, have been settled in the course of this summer with one hundred and fifty Families, by the return of the chief surveyor to me."

large a migration of prominent families from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island towns should have left so little record as it has done in New England history. In our History of King's County we have spoken of the slight though significant mentions made by Miss Caulkins and Macy in their histories respectively of New London and Norwich, and Nantucket, of the Connecticut and Nantucket Island migrations.^{13½} Arnold's History of Rhode Island tells us that there was "an extensive emigration from New England to Nova Scotia," probably in 1760, about a hundred persons going from the town of Newport alone.¹⁴ In Rhode Island court records of 1762, also, we find it stated that many of his Majesty's good subjects born in this colony had removed to other places. In 1729 Rhode Island had been divided into three counties, Newport, comprising the Islands with New Shoreham; Providence, including the town of that name, Warwick, and East Greenwich; and King's, including North and South Kingstown, with Westerly, the shire being South Kingstown; and from each of these original counties and from many towns in the counties important families embarked for the Nova Scotia shores. From Newport, Tiverton, Little Compton, Portsmouth, Middletown, Warwick, East and West Greenwich, and both the Kingstowns, it is probable, the Nova Scotia settlement was reinforced, but if we can judge from a casual tracing of the families who migrated it would seem that Newport, Little Compton, and the Kingstowns sent the most.

The expulsion of the Acadians, as we know, has stirred poetical imagination as few other incidents of American history have done, but the migration from New England also has had recent commemoration in verse, for the human interest in it is vital and strong. Of the coming of the Connecticut people from the port of New London, and the Rhode Island people from Narragansett Bay, to the regions of Grand Pré, Riviere aux Canards, and Pisiquid one poet has sung:

"They come as came the Hebrews into their promised land,
Not as to rocky Plymouth shores came first the Pilgrim band,
The Minas fields were fruitful, and the Gaspereau had borne
To seaward many a vessel with its freight of golden corn.

^{13½}. History of King's County, Nova Scotia, pp. 61, 62.

¹⁴. "History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," by Samuel Greene Arnold (1860), Vol. 2, pp. 233, 494. The Rhode Island court record given above is also quoted by Arnold.

"They come as Puritans, but who shall say their hearts are blind
To the subtle charms of nature, and the love of human kind,
New England's rigorous creeds have warped their native faith, 'tis true,
But human creeds can never wholly Heaven's work undo,

"And tears fall fast from many an eye, long time unused to weep,
For o'er the fields lie whitening the bones of cows and sheep,
The faithful flocks that used to feed upon the broad Grand Pré,
And with their tinkling bells come slowly home at close of day."

But no poet can ever fully picture the emotions of any people, especially people of such fine mould as the Rhode Island people of this migration, in leaving loved old homes for permanent residence in lands that are to them utterly strange and new.

Of the vessels that brought the people from Rhode Island to Nova Scotia, and of the men who captained the ships, we have been able to gain some information.¹⁵ One of the captains who was most active in transporting the people was Captain John Taggart, who himself, with two mates, a pilot, a gunner, and eighteen men, at some time during the migration period commanded the brig *Snow*. Captain Taggart's services were highly commended by Mr. Belcher in a letter to the Lords of Trade of December 21st, 1760. Belcher writes: "As Captain Taggart has been very diligent and usefull on the Continent in assisting and promoting the Embarkation of the Settlements, I would beg leave to recommend his services to your Lordship's consideration." The total expense to the Government of Captain Taggart's services "in hiring vessels and transporting passengers," was £3,014.12.11¼, for which Taggart drew on Thomas Hancock, Esq., at Boston. A vessel that is conspicuously mentioned as bringing food for the settlers was the brigantine *Montague*, Captain Rogers, whose crew consisted of a mate, a pilot, and eighteen men. This vessel after unloading provisions for the people of Horton and Cornwallis, in her passage through the river Canard ran upon a bank of mud and was "overset so deep" that she became a total loss. To take her place a new vessel was purchased at a cost of five hundred pounds. Besides these vessels we have the sloop *Diamond*, Peter Rogers, master; the sloop *Dispatch*; the sloop *Dragon*, Joseph Normand, master;

15. More or less of this information we have gleaned from accounts appended to the Nova Scotia Governor Lawrence's correspondence concerning the settlement, with the English Lords of Trade.

the *Horton Packet*; the sloop *Lidia*, Jonathan Molony, master; the sloop *Lucy*, James Cox, master; the schooner *Monkton*, Solomon Tripp, master; the schooner *Norwich*, Packett (?) Trapp, master; the schooner *Pilot*, with a master and four men; the *Province Brig*, Captain Rogers; the sloop *Rain-Bow*, Jacob Hurd, master; the sloop *Sally* (either this vessel or another *Sally*, had as master Jeffrey Crossman), Jonathan Bardock, master; the sloop *Speedwell*, Seth Harding, master; the schooner *Warren*; the sloop *Wolfe*, Joseph Winship, master; the sloop *Yarmouth*; and the sloop *York*, Captain Cobb, with also a mate, a pilot, and eighteen men. We have also a record of William Rockville's carrying thirty-five settlers to Horton, at a charge of fifteen pounds.

The record of the first Falmouth grant will be found in Grant Book No. 2, pp. 28-32, in the Crown Land Office at Halifax. It reads as follows:

“A Grant made by His Excellency Governor Lawrence with the Advice and Consent of His Majesty's Council for this Province to John Hicks, Amos Fuller, and a Number of other Persons (hereafter named) whom they represented as their Committee, passed under the Seal of this Province Giving and Confirming unto them in the respective Shares hereafter specified the whole of a Tract of Land now erected into a Township by the Name of the Township of Falmouth Situate lying and being within the Bason of Minas on Pisiguid River, within the said Province of Nova Scotia, and is bounded North Westerly by the Township of Horton, and beginning at a Point of Land on said Pisiguid River, and running South Sixty Degrees West, measuring Eleven hundred and fifty Chains of four Rods to a Chain, Southwesterly on ungranted Lands running South Thirty Degrees East measuring five hundred and Sixty Chains, Thence North Sixty Degrees East to the River Pisiguid, measuring Four hundred and twenty Chains, and thence bounded by the said River according to the Course thereof to the Boundaries first mentioned containing in the whole by Estimation Fifty thousand Acres, be the same more or less according to a Plan and Survey of the same to be therewith registered.

“The Terms and Conditions on which this Grant is made are of

the same Tenor as those (of Horton, Cornwallis, etc.) already entered on this Book. The Land Granted to be Improv'd or Inclos'd, Hemp raised; The Quit Rent to be paid; and The Premises not suffered to be alienated without License, as in the Said Grants.

“Fifty of the said Grantees with their Wives, Children, Servants, and Stock are to remove and settle themselves on the said Tract of Land on or before the thirty-first Day of May next, otherwise the Grant to be entirely void & of none effect. But if performed & fulfilled to be good valid & effectual to the said fifty. But in Case any of the remaining Grantees shall not remove and Settle on the said Premises as aforesaid on or before the first Day of September One thousand seven hundred & Sixty then the Grant to every Grantee so failing to be null and void & their Right or share to revert to the Crown, etc.

“SIGNED SEALED AND DATED AT HALIFAX in the said Province this Twenty first Day of July in the Thirty third Year of His Maj'ys Reign, Anno Domini One Thousand Seven hundred and fifty nine.”

The grantees' names, in the order in which they are given, are as follows: Amos Fuller and John Hicks, half a share each; Benjamin Corey, Jeremiah Trescutt, Edward Cole, Jeremiah Cook, Elisha Parker, and William Nevil Wolseley, one and a half shares each; William Piggott, Alexander Phelps, Esq., Samuel Gilbert, Esq., Captain Samuel Philer, Jeremiah Angle, Esq., Ichabod Bruster, David Barker, Benjamin Grimes, Abner Hall, Gideon Abby, Gideon Abby, Jr., David Sweetland, Silvanus Phelps, Silas Crane, Job Piss, Jonathan Crosby, Moses Cleary, David Parry, Zachariah Parker, Cornelius Stores, Ebenezer Down, Joshua Hall, Daniel Hovey, Lemuel Cleveland, Stephen Barnabus [Barnaby], Nathaniel Stiles, John Gillet, Peletiah Marsh, David Waters, Nehemiah Angle, Edmund Hovey, Moses Phelps, Jessey Gourd, Timothy Buell, Isaac Owen, Richard Webber, Israel Morrey, Jonathan Root, Joseph Mane, Ruben Cone, Daniel Burg, Ephraim Taylor, Jonathan Dawson, David Randal, John Davison, Shubeal Dimock, Nathaniel Parker, Thomas Hall, Simon Ely, James Calkings, Elisha Dunk, John Steel, Obediah Hosfurd, Elisha Bill, Jabez Chappel, Heze-

kiah Cogshill, Joseph Phelps the third, David Carver, Elisha Huntington, Chloe Fuller, Richard Beal, Mordecai Decoster, James Willson, Robert Lawson, Wignul Cole, George Northrop, Silas Gardner, Benjamin Hicks, William Allen, Hannah Hicks, Samuel Sample, Abiah Phelps, Barnabus Hall, Nathaniel Cushman, William Sweetland, Lebues Woodworth, Cornelius Stores, Jr., Daniel Hovey, Jr., Nehemiah Wood, Martha Dyer, Joseph Steward, Judiah Agard, Consider Cushman, Edmund Hovey, Jr., Robert Avery, Jr., Gamaliel Little, Jr., Ezriah Peirs, Cyprian Davison, Jedediah Williams, Jr., John Darsey, Richard Hakes, John Hovey, Joseph Chamberlain, Benjamin Agward, William Fuller, David Cogswell, Sebel Cogswell, Nathaniel Hovey, Ephraim Hall, Gershom Hall; John Hanks, Samuel Westcoat, Eunice Greenhill, John Freeman, John White. (Whether all of these received one share, or some of them only half a share, each, the record, we believe, does not say). Of the 113 names which appear in this grant, very few, as we shall see, are to be found in the effective grant of 1761. A considerable number of the names in this grant are of Connecticut men, those in the grant of 1761 of men who actually settled in Falmouth are almost exclusively Rhode Island names.

The grant of Falmouth which went permanently into effect is declared to comprise "65 shares or rights." It was given June 11, 1761, and registered July 21st of the same year.¹⁶ Each share of the township was to consist of 500 acres, but the whole was to comprise 750,000 instead of 50,000 acres, as in the first grant. As a matter of fact the 65 shares allotted reached only the sum of 34,000 acres, though the full 100 shares would have reached the sum of 50,000. The shares on this grant given for public uses, as we shall see, were, one share for the first minister, one share of 600 acres for a glebe, and 400 acres for a school. After this distribution was made, therefore, there remained yet much land to be granted. An undated plan in the Crown Land Office in Halifax gives the boundaries of this "new grant of Falmouth on the west side of Pizaquid River" as follows: "A Tract of Land Situate lying and being within the Bason of Minas being the District commonly called Pizaquid now

16. See Grant Book 3, pp. 37-45.

called and to be hereafter known by the Name of the Township of Falmouth within the said Province of Nova Scotia, in which Township are comprehended the Lands hereby granted, being bounded northerly by the Township of Horton, Beginning at a Point of Land on Pizaquid River and running south 60 Degrees West, measuring Thirteen hundred chains of four Rods to a chain, Westerly on ungranted Lands running South 30 Degrees East measuring 880 chains, Southerly on ungranted Lands running 60 Degrees East to Lands granted to James Monk, Esq., and others, measuring 440 chains, and on the Said Land running North 30 Degrees West 300 chains, thence on the Same North 60 Degrees East 192 chains till it meets with Pizaquid River to the Boundaries first mentioned, containing on the whole 50,000 acres, allowance being made for Mountainous Lands, Lakes, and high Ways, according to the Plan."¹⁷

By a comparison of the boundaries of the two Falmouth grants it will be seen that the second grant was somewhat larger than the first, though the lands in both lay entirely on the west side of Piziquid river. On the 28th of August, 1759, as we shall see when we come to describe the settlement of the township of Windsor, a grant of 7,000 acres, known still as the "Councillors' Grant," was given to seven members of the Council; and on the first of September following, another large grant, the size of which, however, we do not know, was given to Messrs. Joshua Mauger, Michael Francklin, Isaac Deschamps, Charles Proctor, William Saul, Moses Delesdernier, and Gideon Delesdernier, very near the former. The territory covered by these grants and others which shortly followed was known locally as East Falmouth, until December, 1764, when it was organized into the

17. Dr. Hind says (p. 47): "That the division of land included within the limits of *West Falmouth* was not made strictly in accordance with the original agreement with John Hicks and Amos Fuller would appear from the following unpublished letter addressed by the Hon. Jonathan Belcher to Isaac Deschamps:

"HALIFAX, 27th June, 1761.

"SIR.—If any share in West Falmouth is ungranted you will please to reserve it till you have my further directions. I shall be expecting your attendance at the general assembly with the other representatives of the King's county on Wednesday next, pursuant to the last proclamation.

"I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"(Signed) J. BELCHER.

"ISAAC DESCHAMPS, ESQ.

"(Ms. letter in possession of Mrs. Wiggins)."

township of Windsor. Thus between 1760 and 1764 we find frequent mention in old records of both East and West Falmouth.¹⁸ In his "Old Parish Burying Ground"¹⁹ Dr. Hind reproduces an interesting letter, which we believe has otherwise never appeared in print, from the Hon. Charles Morris at Halifax to Mr. Isaac Deschamps at Piziquid, a little less than four months before the great grant of Newport township was made, in which we find significant mention of East Falmouth. The letter reads:

"Halifax, March 31, 1761.

"Sir,—Capt. Maloney, upon the application of the inhabitants of Horton and Cornwallis, is to return to New London to take in provisions, but half his lading; he is then to proceed to Newport [R. I.] to take provisions for East and West Falmouth; he has also orders to take Dr. Ellis and his family and effects and one Mr. Mather if they are ready.

"The inhabitants of East Falmouth have petitioned to be set off as a distinct township, and it has been mentioned in council, but nothing in conclusion done. There is an objection because of the fewness of the proprietors, but if they will consent to have an addition of 20 rights, a sufficient quantity of land being added for that end, I believe they may obtain it. I have proposed to have it named Newport, from my Lord Newport, a friend of Mr. Belcher's, and which I believe will be agreeable to the people if they think it will be of advantage to them. I think the addition of 20 shares will be no disadvantage, as they have land equivalent. You can inform yourself of their opinion on this head.

"I am obliged to you for the assistance you gave my son among the inhabitants. It will not be long before you will be here, and then I will fully inform you of the other affairs, till when, I am, in haste,

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) C. MORRIS."

"Endorsed—Rec. 5th April; Ans. 14th do."

18. In the third Assembly of the Province, which lasted from 1761 to 1765, besides the two representatives for King's County and two each for the townships of Horton and Cornwallis, the township of *West* Falmouth has two members. In the fourth Assembly, however, and thereafter, the name West Falmouth becomes merely Falmouth. Falmouth and Newport were the only townships in Hants to send members to the legislature as long as township representation continued.

19. "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 56.

In a little less than four months after the date of this letter the township of Newport was formed, but it was not constituted from lands that belonged to what was then popularly known as East Falmouth, these lands in 1764 fell into the township of Windsor.

GRANTEES OF FALMOUTH (OR WEST FALMOUTH) IN 1761, IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Akin, Stephen, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Hovey, Enoch, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Akin, Thomas, 1 share.	Hovey, Nathan, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Allen, William, 1 share.	Hovey, Thomas, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Barnaby, Stephen, 1 share.	Jess, Joseph, 1 share.
Bayley, Joseph, $\frac{1}{2}$ share	Lovell, John, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Bayley, Samuel, 1 share.	Lyon, Henry, 1 share.
Brown, Samuel, 1 share.	Manchester, Edward, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Burden, Perry, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Masters, Abraham, 1 share.
Chase, Zacheus, 1 share.	Masters, Jonathan, 1 share.
Church, Constant, 1 share.	Masters, Moses, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Church, Edward, 1 share.	MacCulloch, Alexander, 1
Cole, Wigum, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.	share.
Crosman, Jesse, 1 share.	McCulloch, Adam, 1 share.
Davison, Cyprian, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Meachum, John, 1 share.
Davison, John, 1 share.	Northup, Jeremiah, 1 share.
Davison, Jonathan, 1 share.	Northup, Joseph, 1 share.
Denson, Henry Denny, Esq., 2	Owen, Amos, 1 share.
shares.	Parker, Thomas, 1 share.
Denson, John, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.	Peasant, Mary, 1 share.
Denson, Lucy, 1 share.	Pyke, David, 1 share.
Dewey, Christopher, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Randall, David, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.
Dimmick, Shubael, 1 share.	Reynolds, Nathaniel, 1 share.
Doan, Eleazer, 1 share.	Roode, Jabesh, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Dyer, Martha, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Saunders, Timothy, 1 share.
First Minister, 1 share.	School, 400 acres.
Glebe, 600 acres.	Shaver, John, 1 share.
Green, Daniel, 1 share.	Shaw, Peter, 1 share.
Hall, Abner, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.	Shey, William, 1 share.
Hall, Barnabas, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Steel, John, 1 share.
Herrington, Jabesh, 1 share.	Stoddart, Ichabod, $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.
Hicks, Benjamin, 1 share.	Sweet, Benoni, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Hicks, John, 1 share.	Watemough, Edward, 1 share.
Horswell, Luke, 1 share.	Wilson, James, 1 share.
Hovey, Daniel, Jr., $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Wilson, Joseph, 1 share.

Wolsley, William Nevil, 1½ shares.	Woodworth, Thomas, 1 share.
Wood, Nehemiah, 1 share.	York, Edward, Esq., 1½ shares.
Wood, William, ½ share.	York, William, 1 share.

A highly important early settler in Falmouth was Colonel Henry Denny Denson. As will be seen from this list of grantees in 1761, he received in Falmouth a grant of two shares, 1,000 acres, a John Denson receiving 750 acres, and Lucy Denson 500 acres. In the proprietors' records of the township his name is very conspicuous, and in 1773, we believe, he was speaker of the Assembly of the province. The place of his residence at Falmouth, "Mt. Denson," still bears his name. He is said to have left no male descendants. He was probably a colonel in the militia, though it is likely he had held some army commission before attaining that rank.

One of the most eminently useful native Nova Scotians was a descendant of the Falmouth grantee, Thomas Akin. This was Thomas Beamish Akins, D. C. L., for many years commissioner of records in Nova Scotia, who died unmarried at Halifax in May, 1891. Dr. Akins' Rhode Island ancestry we have not traced, but the name is found on the register of Trinity Church, Newport, and probably in other Rhode Island records. On the death of Dr. Akins the House of Assembly moved that "this house has learned with profound regret of the death of Thomas B. Akins, Esquire, who for many years has held the position of commissioner of records in this province, and desires to express the recognition of his eminent learning and research and of the great services which his assiduous devotion to the records of our provincial history has rendered to the students of Nova Scotian and indeed of North American history." The many valuable papers presented by Dr. Akins to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, his careful editing of the first volume of the Nova Scotia Archives, and the large collection of books he left as a legacy to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, sufficiently attest his distinguished usefulness. His summer home to the time of his death was Falmouth, and in that town, as in Halifax, he was greatly beloved.

Among the many Rhode Island grantees of Falmouth in

1761 Captain Edmund Watmough was one. In the list, however, he appears as "Edward Watemough." In Ford's list of British officers serving in America between 1754 and 1774 he is called "Edmond" Watmough, and is said to have received a captain-lieutenancy in the Rangers, September 25, 1761. In the grant books at Halifax he appears also, October 31, 1764, with a grant in Falmouth of 500 acres. From Updike's well known History of the Narragansett Church, with its valuable notes by Rev. Daniel Goodwin, D. D., we find that "Mr. George Watmough, an English man," was one of the bearers at the burial of the wife of Rev. Dr. Mac Sparran, long Rector of the Narragansett Church, who died in England in 1755, while she and her husband were visiting there. Twenty years earlier than this, Miss Rebecca Watmough was married at "St. Paul's Church," London, to Capt. Benjamin Wickham, of Newport, Rhode Island. Some years later, this history records, "Mr. Edmund Watmough, perhaps a brother of Mrs. Wickham, visited Newport and remained there." He subsequently, however, it is said, returned to England. Captain Edmund Watmough married at Newport, R. I., but at what date is not clear, Maria Ellis, eldest daughter of Dr. Edward Ellis,²⁰ and removed to Falmouth, but how long he staid there we cannot tell. On the 19th of February, 1768, James Horatio Watmough and others received a grant of 6,322 acres in Newport, Hants County, and 20 Nov., 1772, he and others, received a grant of 847½ acres in Falmouth.

On the Falmouth township book is recorded the marriage, December 27, 1761, of "Mr. Moses Delesdernier and Mrs. Eleanor Bonner," also the birth, December 2, 1762, of their daughter, Martha Maria. Moses Delesdernier (De Lesdernier or De le Dernier) like Isaac Deschamps was a Swiss. He was born, it is said, in the Canton of Geneva, and was in Falmouth as early as November 12, 1757, for at that date Governor Lawrence gave him formal leave "to go to Pisiquid and there to Repossess lands, carry on Lawful trade, etc." Lawrence's warrant, a copy of which we find in the Falmouth Township Book, reads:

20. See Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb's "Early New England People."

“Whereas application has been made unto me by Mr. Moses Le denier for leave to go to Pisiquid and Repossess the Houses and Lands Commonly called Labradores Farm, which was formerly occupied by him and his servants with my permission, together with the Ground that he inclosed near the Fort, which Lands he intends to cultivate and improve, These are therefore to Certify all whom it may concern, that I have given, and do hereby give liberty to the said Moses Le dernier to possess the aforesaid Premises as he did heretofore, until further orders and that at his request, I have given him License to carry on any sort of lawful Trade or Merchandise (selling Spirits mixed or unmixed to the Troops only excepted) And I do hereby desire and require the Commanding Officer for the time being of Fort Edward, and all others whom it may concern to give the same aid, Assistance, and protection, to the said Moses Le dernier and the People employed by him, which is due to any of his Majesty’s good Subjects, And in case the said Moses Le dernier shall find himself in a capacity of improving any other lands in that Neighborhood that are now vacant, he has hereby my permission to Possess the same for that purpose, untill he shall have orders to the contrary.”^{20½} This warrant is dated November 12, 1757. At some time after his marriage, Delesdernier removed to the Chignecto Isthmus, and became a resident of North Joggins, Sackville (now in New Brunswick), and a trader and it is said army contractor there. In 1774 he was in Philadelphia, “no doubt on a trading cruise,” when happening to notice a number of immigrants landing on a wharf from a West Indian vessel, he was attracted by the appearance of a young man of striking personality. He accosted the youth and found that his name was Richard John Uniacke and that he had left his home in Ireland to seek his fortune. Delesdernier invited him to return to Sackville with him and he did so. Uniacke soon fell in love with his host’s daughter, and on the 3d of May, 1775, married her, he being then twenty-one years of age and his bride less than thir-

^{20½}. “The country east of the road to Halifax,” says Dr. Hind, “fell into other hands. Among these were Moses Delesderniers, who in November, 1757, received a warrant entitling him to re-occupy premises formerly held by him, and to take possession of certain lands about Fort Edward.” “Old Parish Burying Ground,” p. 55.

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teen. During the American Revolution Delesdernier was accused of disloyalty to the crown, but in letters to the government at Halifax he stoutly denied the charge, and he was finally exonerated. Mr. W. C. Milner, in his "Records of Chignecto," from which some of the above facts are taken, says also that in 1775, in partnership with a Mr. DeWitt, Delesdernier established a truck business at Hopewell Hill. The next year a certain Captain Eddy, with a force of 180 men recruited chiefly at Machias, Maine, and at Maugerville, on the St. John river, attempted to capture Fort Cumberland in the interest of the Revolution, and in his campaign sacked Delesdernier's place, and caused the latter with his family to seek the shelter of the fort. Delesdernier died in 1811 at the age of 95 years. Mrs. Eleanor Delesdernier died at Mount Uniacke, on Friday evening, July 27, 1826, in her 85th year. The newspaper notice of her death calls her "Eleanor, widow of the late Moses DeLesdernier, Esq."

One of the Falmouth settlers from Rhode Island in 1761, as the list shows, was William Allen or Alline, and the famous New Light religious revival which stirred Nova Scotia for a few years after 1776, was largely due to a son of his, young Henry Alline. William Alline had begun life and married in Boston, but before Henry was born had moved to Newport, Rhode Island. From Newport he and his family came to Falmouth, and there in 1774 Henry experienced a remarkable conversion. In 1776 he began to preach as an evangelist, and his fervency had such an effect on the people of the province that in a short time the country places were in the throes of a religious revival similar to the great awakening in New England under Whitefield and others between thirty and forty years before. Henry Alline died in Northampton, New Hampshire, in February, 1784, the victim of consumption, his end hastened no doubt by the tremendous nervous excitement he had for almost ten years without ceasing undergone.²¹

21. A longer biographical sketch of him will be found in Eaton's History of King's County, pp. 280-293.

THE TOWNSHIP OF NEWPORT

The township of Newport was named, not as we should naturally suppose from Newport, Rhode Island, from which place some of the settlers of 1760 and '61 came, but, as a letter from Hon. Charles Morris which we have already quoted shows, in compliment to Lord Newport, a friend of Hon. Jonathan Belcher, who at the time of the settlement was not only chief-justice but also lieutenant-governor of the province.²² In this part of Hants County the Acadians had not made very much settlement, the lands on which they located lying chiefly in Falmouth and Windsor. The soil, however, throughout the township was and is very fertile, and its agricultural capacities great, and since early in the New England settlement its extensive plaster quarries have yielded great quantities of this useful ore for markets in the United States. A month and ten days after the final grant of Falmouth was ordered by the Council, the great grant of Newport township was sanctioned by that body. The land within the limits of the grant was not, however, all yet unappropriated, for before the New England settlers applied for land in the county, a considerable number of grants, as we shall presently see, partly in Windsor, but very largely also in Newport, had been given to army officers who had served at Beauséjour and Louisburg, and perhaps a few other persons of importance, but for the most part the soil of Newport was owned still by the government and remained in the government's hands to give away.

The grant of Falmouth had been given on the west side of the Pisiquid, or Avon, river, the grant of Newport, which lay outside the territory commonly known as East Falmouth, was on the east side of the Pisiquid, between that river and the portion of country which later became currently known as the township of Rawdon. The Newport grant bears date July 21, 1761, and is made in the description to consist of 63 rights or shares, each share like the shares in other townships to comprise 500 acres,

22. Thomas, 4th Earl of Bradford and Viscount Newport, died unmarried April 18, 1762, when all the honors of the family became extinct and the representation went into the Bridgeman family.

and the whole to make the sum of 58,000 acres.²³ In reality, the shares allotted by the grant numbered 66, but these aggregated only the sum of 33,000 acres. The ungranted remainder of the township, therefore, was thus left for later distribution to individual grantees. As in the case of Falmouth, the first minister was to receive by the grant one share, while for a glebe 600 acres were set apart, and for a school 400 acres, "making together two shares for the use of the church and school forever." In the Crown Land Office Description Book, under date of July 21, 1761, the boundaries of Newport township are given as follows: "Beginning at a stake and stones one mile north of Cochemegun River on the River Pizaquid and to run into the woods east ten miles, thence south till it meets with the road leading from Pizaquid to Halifax thence westerly on the road to the lands granted to Major George Scott and others, and is bounded by the farm granted to the said Scott and others till it comes to the River St. Croix and is bounded westerly by the river St. Croix to Pizaquid River, and thence by the said Pizaquid River till it comes to the bounds first mentioned, containing on the whole by estimation 58,000 acres more or less, according to the plan and survey of the same."^{23½}

The list of grantees, put in alphabetical order, is as follows:

NEWPORT GRANTEES OF 1761

Albro, Samuel, 1 share.	Brenton, Samuel, 1 share.
Albro, William, 1 share.	Brightman, George, ½ share.
Allen, William, ½ share.	Burdin, Benjamin, 1 share.
Badcock, Jonathan, 1 share.	Burdin, Samuel, ½ share.
Bailey, Joseph, 1 share.	Butts, Aaron, ½ share.
Baker, Jeremiah, 1 share.	Card, James, 1 share.
Bentley, Samuel, 1 share.	Card, Jonathan, ½ share.
Bourgeois, Peter, ½ share.	Card, Richard, 1 share.

23. The grant was registered in the Crown Land Office, July 22, 1761. See Grant Book No. 4, pp. 100-105.

23½. In the History of King's County, p. 3, we have said that in 1761, from the part of Falmouth east of the Pisiqid, which was commonly known as East Falmouth, the township of Newport was set off. This statement, as we have elsewhere shown, is incorrect, the territory known as East Falmouth in 1764 came into the township of Windsor, no part of it was given to Newport. The grant of Newport was given where the New England agents had first requested that land should be set off to them, that is on the northeast side of Pisiqid river.

Carden, John, 1 share.	Reynolds, Benjamin, 1 share.
Chambers, John, 1 share.	Rogers, Jonathan, 1 share.
Chapman, Stephen, 1 share.	Sanford, Benjamin, 1 share.
Church, Edward, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Sanford, Daniel, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Clark, Elisha, 1 share.	Sanford, Income, 1 share.
De Lesdernier, Gideon, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Sanford, Joseph, 1 share.
De Lesdernier, Moses, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Sanford, Joshua, 1 share.
Deschamps, Isaac, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	School, 400 acres.
Dimock, Daniel, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Shaw, Arnold, 1 share.
Ellis, Edward, 1 share.	Shaw, John, 1 share.
First Minister, 1 share.	Shey, Peter, 1 share.
Fish, Michael, 1 share.	Simpson, James, 1 share.
Glebe Land, 600 acres.	Slocomb, John, 1 share.
Gosbee, John, 1 share.	Smith, James, 1 share.
Halyburton, William, 1 share.	Stewart, Gilbert, 1 share.
Hervie, Archibald, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Strait, Joseph, 1 share.
Hervie, James, 1 share.	Wascoat, Robert, Sr., 1 share.
Hervie, James, Jr., $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Wascoat, Robert, 1 share.
Hervie, John, 1 share.	Wascoat, Stutely, 1 share.
Irish, Levi, 1 share.	Wascoat, Zerobabel, 1 share.
Jeffers, John, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Weaver, Silas, 1 share.
Juhan, James, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Weedon, James, 1 share.
Knowles, Henry, 1 share.	Wier, Daniel, 1 share.
Lake, Caleb, 1 share.	Wilcocks, Benjamin, 1 share.
Macomber, Ichabod, 1 share.	Wilson, Joseph, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Macomber, Stephen, 1 share.	Wood, John, 1 share.
Michenor, Abel, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.	Woodman, John, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Mosher, James, 1 share.	Wooley, Amos, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Mumford, George, 1 share.	Wooley, Benjamin, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Potter, Cornelius; 1 share.	Woolhaber, John, 1 share.
	York, James, $\frac{1}{2}$ share.

From correspondence on the subject between the Government at Halifax and the Lords of Trade we should judge that a majority of the Nova Scotia settlers, both from Rhode Island and Connecticut, received help from the Government in transporting themselves and their belongings to their new homes. In a letter to the Lords of Trade of December 10, 1759, Governor Lawrence states that the expense of transportation of settlers from Connecticut and Rhode Island, with their stock and other effects, and of furnishing them with a quantity of corn, from the 11th of June, 1759, to the end of the winter of 1759-60, will in his

judgment reach the sum of fifteen hundred pounds. In a letter to the same body of the 12th of December, 1760, Lieutenant-Governor Belcher says that the Government had not engaged to give free transportation to any of the grantees except those of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth, but he thinks that other settlers also should have help. Nor did government aid to the settlers stop with transportation. "The only circumstance which we regret in the management of this important business," say the Lords of Trade in a memorial to the King dated December 20, 1759, "is that notwithstanding the uncommon fertility and other peculiar advantages of these Lands, which might be deemed to afford sufficient encouragement to the settlers without incurring any expence to the Publick, we find that Mr. Lawrence has been obliged to consent to pay the charge of transporting the first year's settlers of the three first Townships, and of making them a small allowance of Bread corn. But we are hopeful nevertheless that the Reasons set forth in the said Governor's letter and in the Minutes of the Council (extracts of which we humbly beg leave to annex) may induce your Majesty to approve the conduct of your Governor in consenting to these allowances, rather than risking by too strict an attention to Economy the whole success of a measure which must be productive of the most essential advantages, not only to the Colony of Nova Scotia but to your Majesty's other Colonies on the Continent of North America, and finally to this Kingdom." By a minute of the Nova Scotia Council of October 24, 1760, we find that Mr. Charles Morris had represented to the Council concerning Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth, "that it would be of more advantage to those settlements if the species of provisions to be allowed them was altered, and that instead of the whole allowance of Indian corn they should be furnished with a proportion of mackerel and flour. Also that it would be necessary immediately to purchase and send away the same, as the navigation in the Bay of Fundi would soon become dangerous, and the arrival thereof would be thereby rendered very precarious." The Council resolved, the minute adds, "that the proposed alteration should be made, and that the necessary quantity of mackerel and flour should be immediately purchased and sent to those settlements with the ut-

most expedition." On the 11th of October, 1760, Governor Lawrence died, and Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher as president of the Council temporarily assumed the government. Writing to the Lords of Trade on the 12th of December, concerning the new townships in the Province generally, Mr. Belcher says: "Many of the Inhabitants are rich and in good circumstances. About a hundred of them have transported themselves and their effects at their own expense and are very well able to provide for their own support." But of the poorer sort, he declares, "there is provision made for them until the month of next August." "In the engagements entered into for carrying on the settlements," he adds, "no promises were made of transportation or corn to any but the grantees of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth, and although the latter grantees have readily and cheerfully engaged themselves, yet they pleaded much for such encouragements, and have found themselves greatly obstructed for want of these advantages."

Of the character of the New England settlers generally in King's and Hants counties it is impossible to speak in too high praise, and one needs only a slight acquaintance with Rhode Island history to know the unusual prominence and worth of the families from that colony that came to Falmouth and Newport. In the Falmouth grant for example, we find the well known names, Akin, Church, Dimock, Dyer, Green, Harrington, Horswell, Northup, Shaw, Sweet, Wilson, and York; in the Newport grant, Albro, Babcock, Brenton, Card, Church, Dimock, Haliburton, Irish, Mumford, Sanford, Shaw, Stewart, and Wier.²³⁴ In a letter dated June 16, 1760, after describing in much detail the beginning of the settlement of Liverpool, Queen's County, Governor Lawrence says: "I have just received from Mr. Morris, His Majesty's Land Surveyor, who went from Liverpool to Annapolis and Minas with orders to lay out the Townships, very flattering accounts of the families which are come to Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth. He speaks of them in general as being substantial, laborious people, adapted entirely to agriculture, and so highly pleased with their present possessions as to

²³⁴. Not a few of these families had intermarried in Rhode Island, and continued to intermarry in Nova Scotia.

declare that they think the lands fertile beyond any description which had been given of them." On the 21st of November, Belcher was formally made lieutenant-governor, and for some nine months after this laboured incessantly to develop the new settlements. Writing to the Lords of Trade on the 12th of December, he says: "I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordships that the Townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth are so well established that everything bears a most hopeful appearance. As soon as these Townships were laid out by the Surveyor, palesaded forts were erected in each of them by order of the late Governor, with room to secure all the inhabitants, who were formed into a militia, to join what troops could be spared to oppose any attempts that might be formed against them by Indian tribes which had not then surrendered, and bodies of the French Inhabitants who were hovering about the Country, the fate of Canada being then undecided. After the necessary business, the proper season coming on, they were employed in gathering hay for winter. One thousand tons were provided for Horton, five hundred for Cornwallis, and six hundred for Falmouth, and about this time they put some root crops into the ground, and began to build their houses."

Of the earliest proprietors' meetings or town meetings of Falmouth the records have fortunately been preserved.²⁴ The first meeting, as we believe, was held on the 10th of June, 1760, when a committee of three was chosen to manage the town's affairs. The moderator was Shubael Dimock, and the clerk Abner Hall, and the three committeemen chosen were Wignul Cole, Abner Hall, and David Randall. The second meeting was held on the 15th of June, when it was voted that a herdsman be appointed to take care of the horses, neat cattle, sheep, and swine, "and keep said stock off of the land;" and that the owners of stock keep their stock confined in yards every night until the hay was mowed, or failing to do so be liable to pay all damages arising from their neglect. The third meeting was held June 19th, Henry Denny Denson being chosen moderator, and at this meeting a vote was taken to have three men appointed to survey and

24. These original records were copied by Dr. Thomas B. Akins, and although the original book is lost are still preserved in Falmouth.

oversee the mending and repairing of the dykes. At this and subsequent meetings action was taken to distribute systematically the houses and barns formerly occupied by the Acadians, and to apportion fairly the lumber they had stored up.

The most immediately valuable part of the settlers' grants were the fertile dyked lands but on the third and fourth of November, 1759, a violent storm and extremely high tides had broken the protecting dykes and for the time had completely ruined the crops of hay,²⁵ consequently the re-building of the dykes was one of the first and most pressing concerns of the settlers. On the 10th of December, 1759, Governor Lawrence wrote to the Lords of Trade that the marsh lands along the Bay of Fundy were all overflowed as the result of the tremendous storm of the preceding month, and that he estimates the expense of repairing and building them, exclusive of the personal labour the intending grantees might put on the work as £250 for Cornwallis, £100 for Minas, and £100 for Falmouth.²⁶ In repairing the Falmouth dykes, as also those of Horton and Cornwallis, the French who had managed to escape deportation and who were held in more or less close imprisonment at Fort Edward, were largely employed, they being far more proficient in the art of dyke-building than the New England men themselves.

In religion a majority of the Falmouth and Newport settlers were Congregationalists, but a certain number had become in Rhode Island adherents of the Anglican Church. To trace these latter families back to the historic Narragansett and Newport churches, where they had been worshippers would be an interesting task. The Albros, Mumfords, Stuarts, and Wiers, at least, had all been communicants of the Narragansett Church and had been trained in churchmanship by the noted Dr. MacSparran, while the Haliburton family during their residence in Newport had attended Trinity Church. Other families, also in Hants

25. "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 51. The dyked lands of the French were limited in extent compared with those at present bearing hay in King's and Hants counties.

26. He estimates the corresponding expense for Granville and Annapolis as £150, and for Truro and Onslow as £150. "Old Parish Burying Ground," pp. 52-54, and Eaton's History of King's County, pp. 184-186. Much concerning the repair of the injured dykes will be found in Lawrence's and Belcher's letters to the Lords of Trade.

County, like the Coles, Congdons, and Sweets, may have been members of the Narragansett Church.

The first public religious services in Hants County after the settlers came were held by Anglican clergymen. In the autumn of 1760, Rev. Dr. Breynton of Halifax visited East and West Falmouth, Horton, and Cornwallis,²⁷ at all which places he preached to numerous congregations, and though he found the inhabitants "mostly dissenters" yet he was cordially received and requested to come again. In the year 1762 both he and his colleague, the Rev. Thomas Wood, repeatedly visited the new settlements, and in November of the same year, the Rev. Joseph Bennett was placed by the Venerable Society as missionary in the large King's County field.^{27½} In 1775 the Rev. William Ellis succeeded Mr. Bennett, and as missionary to the whole county continued until 1782, when the mission was divided. In that year the Rev. John Wiswall was placed in Horton and Cornwallis, while Mr. Ellis was given pastoral charge of Falmouth, Newport, and Windsor. Notwithstanding the strength of Congregationalism in Falmouth and Newport, there was no organized Congregational Church in either township in 1770, and though a certain number of the Newport settlers had become Baptists before their migration from Rhode Island, no Baptist Church was founded in Newport until 1799. In a letter to the S. P. G. from Fort Edward, dated January 4, 1763, the Rev. Mr. Bennett says that he has then been settled in King's County six weeks and by residing there has prevented the inhabitants of the several townships sending to New England for "dissenting" ministers. He hopes in time to be able to reconcile the people generally to the Church of England. In Horton, he writes, there are 670 persons, of whom 375 are children, in Cornwallis 518, of whom 319 are children, in Falmouth 278, of whom 146 are children, and in Newport 251, of whom 111 are children.

In the township of Newport, at least two large estates were early acquired that greatly overshadowed in importance any of the land holdings of the Rhode Island grantees. These were the

²⁷. Dr. Breynton in his report of this to the S. P. G. says nothing about Newport.

^{27½}. Reports of the S. P. G. for 1760-1763. See also Eaton's History of King's County, pp. 241-245.

estates known as "Mantua" and "Winckworth," the former owned and improved by Dr. George Day, the latter by Colonel Winckworth Tonge. Dr. George Day had been a surgeon in the Royal Navy, and was possibly among the settlers that came with Cornwallis to Halifax in 1749. At what time he settled in Newport is uncertain, but it is said that he was living there, engaged in farming and in a schooner trade with other places, as early as 1759. His house, indeed, it is affirmed, strongly-built and fortified and of good colonial architecture, was erected in 1758. The earliest record we have, however, of a grant to him was August 29, 1760, when in conjunction with Major George Scott and others he received land in Newport on the north side of the St. Croix river, the major part of which, on the Windsor side, "coincides with that of the Tonge estate, as ordinarily known, but includes a large stretch in the rear."²⁸ Very early in his residence in Newport Dr. Day began to build schooners for trade with Maritime-Provincial ports and with Boston, his enterprise later leading him to construct larger vessels for ocean trade. In the early part of the War of the Revolution he had a contract to supply the British troops in that town with hay, which commodity he shipped in vessels from Miller's Creek on the St. Croix river and possibly other points.^{28½} After the siege of Boston he still continued to trade with the New England capital, and sometime in 1777 he himself started in one of his vessels with a cargo of hay for that market. When his vessel neared the Massachusetts coast, she was struck by lightning and burned, and he and all his crew perished.

Whom Dr. Day first married, and whether his wife was living when he came to Nova Scotia we do not know, but he had by her a son, John Day, who in 1760 was a young man grown. Dr. Day's second wife was Henrietta Maria Cottnam, a sister of Mrs. George Scott and Mrs. Winckworth Tonge, and by her he had a daughter, Margaret Bunbury, who became the wife of John Irish, son of Levi Irish, one of the Rhode Island grantees of

²⁸. This description has been given the writer by Dr. David Allison, the well known educator and writer.

^{28½} Dr. Allison says: "Between Mantua and the settlement of the New England people was a stretch of land called Miller's Creek, bounded easterly by Mantua and westwardly by the land granted the Rhode Islanders."

Newport. This second Mrs. Day, after her husband's death lived probably with her step-son; she died in Newport, January 20, 1838, in her 92d year, the newspaper notice of her death describing her as "a lady whose amiable qualities endeared her to all her acquaintance." John Day, son of Dr. George Day, became an M. P. P. for Newport, and like his father a generally prominent man.²⁹

Colonel Winckworth Tonge appears in the British army lists as having been commissioned lieutenant of the 45th regiment (Colonel, afterward Lieut.-General, Hugh Warburton commanding) April 8, 1755. In this year he was in command of the engineering party that assisted in the capture of Fort Beauséjour, and in or after 1758, like Major Charles Lawrence, who became governor of Nova Scotia, he was probably in service at the garrison of Louisburg. His coloneley he received at some later date in the Nova Scotia militia. His epitaph in St. Paul's burying-ground, Halifax, describes him as "naval officer, M. P. P., colonel in the militia, justice of the court of common pleas for the county of Hants," and says that he was born the 4th of February, 1728, in the county of Wexford, Ireland, and died February 2d, 1792. After the capture of Beauséjour Col. Tonge received a grant in Cumberland County, stretching southwardly from the glacis of the fort to the Missiquash river.^{29½} This Cumberland grant included Tonge's Island, on which Col. Tonge is said to have planted the cannon at the siege of the fort.

It is probable that Col. Tonge got his first foothold in Hants County on the 2nd of June, 1759, when as we have seen, he and George and Henry Scott received 2,500 acres at "Five Houses, St. Croix, Pisiquid." On the 27th of July of the same year he and William and George Tonge received 1,500 acres at "St. Croix, Pisiquid," and from his part of these grants Winckworth Tonge created his estate, Winckworth (of late years incorrectly called

²⁹. Dr. David Allison was brought up in the house built by Dr. Day on his Mantua estate, and to him we are indebted for much of the information we possess about Newport, and concerning the Day and Tonge families. Two hundred acres of Mantua are now owned by a family named Mounce. West and south of Mantua lay the large Tonge estate, comprising Winckworth, Macclesfield, Martha, etc., etc.

^{29½}. This land was purchased from the Tonge estate, probably in 1789, by Titus W. Knapp, a Loyalist merchant who did a large business at Fort Cumberland, one of the Wiers, it is said, acting as his attorney in the purchase.

“Wentworth”), which lay south of the St. Croix and extended for three or three and a half miles eastward from the present town of Windsor.^{29¾} On the 20th of May, 1760, he received a further grant of 1,500 acres in Falmouth, but what disposition he may have made of this grant we have not inquired.

An advertisement of the various properties of Col. Tonge in 1789, preserved in the archives at Halifax includes his estate Winckworth, “in Windsor,” 2,000 acres; Macclesfield, in Newport, 600 acres; Martha’s farm in Newport, 600 acres; also a tract in Newport township, 1,500 acres; wood lots, 600 acres “on the road from Newport to Halifax, main road, 515 acres at junction of those roads;” 400 acres on Ardoise Hill on the main road to Halifax; 400 acres one mile north of river Kennetcook; and a farm in Westmoreland, New Brunswick, on gently rising ground in the midst of extensive marsh, called Tonge’s Island, 130 acres. At the sale of these properties “Winckworth” in Newport was purchased by Hon. Alexander Brymer, a member of the Council, for £2,475. 17. 11¾. A certain portion of the Tonge property in Hants County, but just what part we are not informed, came much later than this into the hands of Perez Morton Cunningham, barrister of Windsor, who was born in 1812.

Colonel Tonge married, perhaps as his second wife,³⁰ Martha

^{29¾} Dr. David Allison writes: “Colonel Tonge was appointed in 1760 or thereabouts to lay off the Rhode Island settlers’ lots in Newport, opposite the southern boundary, the St. Croix river.” Of a plan he has roughly sketched of part of Newport, Dr. Allison says: “You will see on this plan a large ungranted lot between the Shaw lot and the Mantua place, which latter antedates the township of Newport two years at least. Long ago on looking at the original plan of Newport in the Record Office I noticed that the Mantua property seemed entirely too long, i. e. stretched down the St. Croix river some mile or so further than it should. This puzzled me. Then, later, I heard that Col. Tonge had failed to lay off the land on the river to its full extent, i. e. to the western boundary, and had kept the intervening territory for himself. The Colonel got into financial difficulties towards the end of his life and advertised for sale all of his properties. He offers his Winckworth estate, his Fort Cumberland property, sundry wood lots, and noticeably the two farms of 600 acres each, called Macclesfield and Martha, situated in the township of Newport, just opposite (across the St. Croix) the home estate previously mentioned. At present the whole region covered by these two farms is known as ‘Miller’s Creek.’ When offered for sale in 1789 ‘Macclesfield’ and ‘Martha’ had each of them a house and barn.” The Miller family came from Ireland with Alexander McNutt, and two sons of the original settler became, as did several other Irishmen of this migration, tenant farmers on Tonge’s estate. The Rhode Island element has within the present half century largely encroached on ‘Martha’ and ‘Macclesfield.’ The Greeno family got a small slice of Macclesfield from Tonge himself. In early days Greeno’s, at the ferry, was the Newport tavern.

³⁰ If he had a first wife we do not know who she was. In 1820 Mrs. Martha Tonge was granted an allowance of £80 a year by H. M. home government

Cottnam, a daughter, we suppose, of George Cottnam, and sister of Henrietta Maria Cottnam, wife of Dr. George Day of Mantua, and Mary Cottnam, wife of Major or Colonel George Scott. He had children recorded in Windsor: William Cottnam, born April 29, 1764; Winckworth, Jr., born October 11, 1765; Caleb, born November 21, 1767; and William Sheriffe, born December 21, 1772.³¹ Of these, William Cottnam (born in 1764) was appointed naval officer by His Majesty's mandamus, probably before June 14, 1786. Later he became prominent as a representative in the legislature and was "noted for his eloquence and popularity." In 1805 he was elected Speaker of the House. Later still, it is believed, he went with Sir George Prevost to the West Indies and then to Demerara, where he was appointed secretary, and remained until his death. Miss Gertrude E. Tonge "of Windsor," a poetess, whose death at Demerara was noticed in the *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax) of March 5th and 9th, and apparently July 16th, 1825, was probably his daughter. Dr. Hind says that his son, Winckworth, 3d, was buried in Windsor in 1799, and his wife in 1805.³²

Winckworth Tonge, Jr. (born in 1765) was the "Winckworth Tonge, Esq., deputy judge advocate general at Jamaica, son of the late Col. Tonge of Windsor," who died at Jamaica, W. I., in 1820.

George Scott, who with Henry Scott and Winckworth Tonge participated in the grant of 2,500 acres at Five Houses, St. Croix, Pisiquid, June 2, 1759, may have been the George Scott who was commissioned captain of the 40th regiment, June 28, 1751, and it would seem somewhat probable that he was the same George Scott to whom Governor Shirley gave command of one of the battalions of the regiment formed by Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow in Massachusetts for the subjugation of Fort Beauséjour in 1755. Doubt on this last point, however, must be felt from the fact that Shirley would be much more likely to give military command to a New England man than to a British

31. Who the William and George Tonge were who shared in the grant at St. Croix, June 2, 1759, we do not know. Nor do we know who the Henry Scott was who shared in that grant. In 1781 the small cutter *Jack*, six guns, was commanded by R. P. Tonge, but who R. P. Tonge was we do not know.

32. "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 12.



THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON

born man, as we suppose the Captain George Scott of the 40th regiment to have been, and from the fact that the George Scott of Beauséjour is commonly called lieutenant-colonel.³³ The George Scott who was active in the taking of Beauséjour did valiant service also at the second capture of Louisburg, in 1758. "The boat of *Major* Scott, who commanded the light infantry and rangers," says Parkman describing this siege of Louisburg, "next came up and was stove in an instant; but Scott gained the shore, climbed the crags, and found himself with ten men in front of some seventy French and Indians. Half his followers were killed and wounded, and three bullets were shot through his clothes; but with admirable gallantry he held his ground till others came to his aid." Side by side with him in this action was the famous General Wolfe.

The George Scott who received the grant in Hants County in 1759 is said also to have received an immense grant in Halifax County, near Bedford Basin, the tract including the whole of Sackville township. He married, but at what time we do not know, Mary Cottnam, a sister of Mrs. Winckworth Tonge and the second Mrs. George Day. Who Henry Scott who also participated in the grant of 1759 was, we do not know.

The most famous native of Hants County, a man born in Windsor, but whose New England born grandfather settled in Newport, was Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the eminent Nova Scotia statesman, jurist, and wit. Judge Haliburton is known in literature as the pioneer American humourist, his "Sam Slick," the Yankee clockmaker, being a noted creation of some three-quarters of a century ago, whose quaint humour and shrewd reflections on the rural populations of New England and Nova Scotia, and whose characteristic dialect furnished great amusement to our grandparents in their day.³⁴ Judge Halibur-

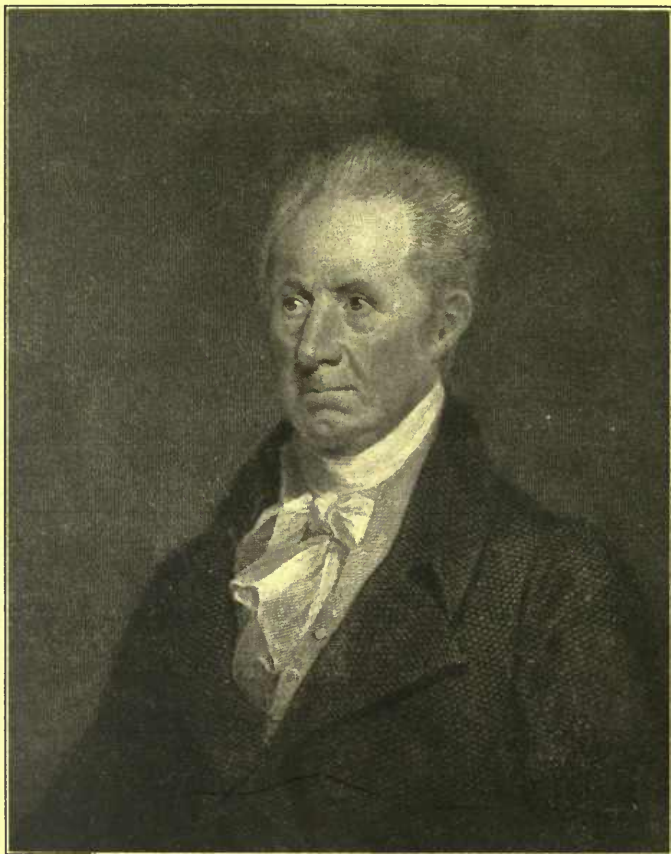
33. See "Winslow's Journal," and Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. 1, pp. 246, 249-253; Vol. 2, p. 60.

34. "Sam Slick, the Clock Maker," was a clever satire on both the pre-Revolutionary Nova Scotian Yankee and the pre-Revolutionary New England Yankee. It is said that the definite original of Sam Slick was a tin peddler, who died perhaps twenty years ago in Calais, Maine. In any case, the New England peddler was a well known character in the British maritime provinces for many years, and Judge Haliburton, at his home in Windsor, and in Annapolis Royal, where he practised law for some years, but more especially in his travels on circuit as a judge, had an excellent chance to become intimately acquainted with him and to know his peculiarities well.

ton's grandfather, William Haliburton, was born in Boston, April 16, 1739, and baptized in King's Chapel parish, May 20th, of the same year. He married, April 9, 1761, his first cousin, Susanna Otis, daughter of Dr. Ephraim and Rachel (Hersey) Otis of Scituate, Massachusetts, and came probably by way of Newport, Rhode Island, where his mother had for some years previously lived, to Newport, Nova Scotia, in 1760. His parents were Andrew Haliburton of Boston and his second wife, Abigail Otis, his mother, however, at the time of the migration to Nova Scotia being the second wife of Dr. Edward Ellis. William and Susanna Haliburton had in all seven children, the third of whom, William Hersey Otis, born September 3, 1767, was the father of Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton and grandfather of the Judge's son, Arthur Lawrence, Lord Haliburton, who was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1898, and died in 1907. Lord Haliburton was made a C. B. in 1880, K. C. B. (civil) in 1885, G. C. B. (civil) in 1897. He married in 1877 Mariana Emily, daughter of Leo Schuster, Esq., and widow of Sir William Dickason Clay, Bart.

The mother of William Haliburton, as we have said, became the second wife of Edward Ellis, M. D., of Boston, who served as surgeon-general at the first siege of Louisburg, in 1745. Dr. Ellis and his wife also settled in Newport, Nova Scotia, whither they came, as we have intimated, from Newport, Rhode Island. Like his step-son's, Dr. Ellis's grant comprised 500 acres. By his first wife, Mary (Willard) Cuyler, Dr. Ellis had three daughters: Maria, who became the wife of Capt.-Lieut. Edmund Watmough, who obtained a grant of 500 acres in Falmouth; Sarah, who became the second wife of Mr. Isaac Deschamps; Elizabeth, who was married to a Captain Peter Jacob Dordin. By his second wife, Mrs. Haliburton, he had no children. Dr. Ellis died at Amsterdam, Holland, about 1769. His wife died, we presume in Newport, not long before this date. William Haliburton did not remain long on his Newport farm, his tastes were intellectual, and he soon removed from Newport to Windsor and in the latter place began the study of law. After being admitted to the Bar he practiced in Windsor during the rest of his life.

Gilbert Stewart or Stuart, a Scotsman who had come out to



GILBERT CHARLES STUART

North Kingstown (Wickford), Rhode Island, between 1746 and 1750, to grind snuff for Dr. Thomas Moffat, a Scotch physician who had earlier emigrated and who desired to set up a snuff mill in the Narragansett country, was another of the Rhode Island emigrants to Nova Scotia. On the 23d of May, 1751, Stuart had married in Newport, Rhode Island, Elizabeth Anthony, daughter of Albro Anthony and his wife Susanna (Heffernan), and between 1752 and 1756 had three children born: James, baptized September 1, 1752, at five months old; Ann, born November 18, 1753, baptized April 18, 1754; and Gilbert, Jr., the eminent painter, born December 3, 1755, baptized April 11, 1756. Of these children, James died young; Ann came with her mother to Nova Scotia, and about 1786 was married in Halifax, as second wife, to Hon. Henry Newton, whose first wife had been Charlotte, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Green; and Gilbert, Jr., as we have said, became the famous portrait painter, worthy successor of his master and teacher, the noted Benjamin West. Although he received a grant in Newport in 1761, for some reason Gilbert Stuart, the father, did not come to Nova Scotia until 1775, then, because he found it impossible, as the records say, to maintain his family in Rhode Island, he followed his friends the Wiers and others to Newport and there we suppose began to farm. In 1776 Mrs. Stuart and her daughter Ann followed; but the year previous young Gilbert Stuart had gone to England to study and so far as we know he was never in Nova Scotia after his parents came to the province, although while the Duke of Kent was at Halifax the Hon. Henry Newton proposed to him that he should come to the Nova Scotia capital and paint his Royal Highness, the prince having offered to send a war ship for him to England or Ireland if he would come. The elder Gilbert Stuart died in Halifax in 1793, his widow then returning to Boston to live with her son, Gilbert, who meantime had returned to America. Mrs. Stuart died either in Roxbury in 1812 or in Boston in 1816. A son, Gilbert Stuart Newton, of Hon. Henry and Ann Stuart Newton, also became a painter of considerable note. He was baptized in Halifax September 20, 1794, went early to England to study, there became a royal academician, and died in Wimbledon, August 5, 1832.

One of the best known families in Hants County has been the Wier family, leading members of which held influential positions in Halifax city, also, for many years. Daniel Wier, the founder of the family in Newport, in early life removed, perhaps from Boston (although of his birthplace we are not certain), to Narragansett, and on the 7th of April, 1744, married at the house of her parents, the Rev. Dr. MacSparran officiating, Phebe Mumford, daughter of Mr. Benjamin Mumford, a very prominent member of St. Paul's Church in North Kingstown. In 1752 and 1753 he acted as precentor or parish clerk, and until his removal to Nova Scotia in, we suppose, 1760, maintained his connection with the parish. The part of Newport where Mr. Wier received his grant was what is known as Scotch Village. It is on the southern side of the Kennetcook river, and includes what is known as "Marsters' hill." The estate, in whole or in part, was owned and occupied by members of the Wier family until 1845, when Benjamin and Joseph Wier of Halifax, Daniel's great-grandsons, sold it to some other family.

Before they left Rhode Island the Wiers had seven children born, John, Benjamin, William, James, Ann, James, and Phebe; after they came to Nova Scotia they had a son, Samuel, born. The founder of the Mumford family in Hants County was George Mumford, a brother-in-law of Daniel Wier, who probably came with his family at the same time as the Wiers. The baptism of George Mumford, December 9, 1730, will be found recorded in the register of the Narragansett Church, but who he married or how many children he had we do not know. An interesting fact in connection with the history of the Wier family is that Mrs. Phebe (Mumford) Wier was baptized in St. Paul's Church, North Kingstown, at the same time as Gilbert Stuart the painter, the date being Palm Sunday, April 11, 1756, and that the sponsors at Stuart's baptism were Phebe Mumford's parents, Benjamin and Hannah (or Ann) Mumford, who also acted as sponsors, with the child's aunt, Ann Mumford, for their own child.

A family very widely known and highly respected throughout Nova Scotia was that branch of the Allison family settled in Newport. The Allisons came in 1769 from Drumnaha, near Lim-

avady, County Londonderry, Ireland, and settled in Horton, but John Allison, born in Ireland in 1753, with his wife, Nancy Whidden, whom he had married in Horton or Cornwallis, in 1804, removed to Newport, of which town he became an important resident. His son, James Whidden, born in Horton December 1, 1795, married in Hants County in July, 1821, Margaret, daughter of Matthew and — (Jenkins) Elder, and had seven children. He was one of the leading magistrates of Newport, and for five years represented the town in the legislature. Of his children, Rev. David Allison, LL.D., has been the most noted. An eminent scholar and educator, he has held the distinguished positions of president of Mount Allison University at Sackville, New Brunswick, and Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia, and in the field of local historical writing he has done and is doing important work.

(To be continued.)

“For Conscience Sake”

BY CORNELIA MITCHELL PARSONS

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNOR WINTHROP ARRIVES

“She was like a summer rose, making everything and everybody glad about her.”
—J. HOPKINSON SMITH.

“ANNETZE, fetch me my hood, lined with crimson, please.”

It was Mistress Frances who spoke, and the buxom Annetze hurried away to do her bidding. Mistress Frances had a basket on her arm, and was about to gather flowers and feathered grasses which come in the late Autumn. The world was very fair; the air frosty, and the ground covered with a carpet of yellow and crimson leaves, with a touch here and there of brown. The birds were singing, and the chipmunks at work collecting their winter's store of nuts. The waters of the distant bay sparkled in the sunlight.

“How beautiful it all is,” Frances murmured to herself. “So beautiful that I would have it last forever.” A voice at her elbow startled her. It was not Annetze with her hood, but their guest, Governor John Winthrop.

“The top of the morning to you, Mistress Frances, the birds would not let me sleep, and seeing you, fair lady, I thought I might perchance join you, with your permission.” And the gallant old gentleman laid his hand on his heart.

“Methinks, sir, it will give me pleasure, I am honored indeed.”

“You are an early bird, Mistress Frances.”

“Yea, in truth, but the early bird catches the worm.” She blushed.

FEBRUARY, 1915

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SIR JOHN WENTWORTH, BART
Governor of Nova Scotia, 1792-1808



LADY FRANCES WENTWORTH
Wife of Sir John Wentworth

Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, D. C. L.

PART II

THE TOWNSHIP OF WINDSOR

THE most important town in the interior of Nova Scotia, westward from Halifax, is Windsor, the seat of King's College, the oldest colonial college of the British empire. As the settlement of Hants County progressed, the village of Windsor became not only the seat of government for the county, the "shire town," but the centre of its fashion and wealth. Seventy-five years ago the town of Windsor boasted that it had, on the whole, the most aristocratic society outside of England, and indeed its people were, for the most part, a well-bred and dignified set. The town of Windsor is picturesquely located near the mouth of the Avon, in full sight of the great tides that from the Bay of Fundy sweep daily into Minas Basin, and leave rich alluvial deposits on its winding shores. A great event in the early history of Windsor township, and indeed in the early history of Nova Scotia at large, was the establishment in Windsor village in November, 1788, under Anglican auspices, of an academy for boys, which was the nucleus of the present King's College. During the war of the Revolution, and at the establishment of peace, from thirty to thirty-five thousand Loyalists or Tories swept into Nova Scotia, and here in 1787 was established the first Colonial Diocese of the English Church. The first bishop consecrated for the diocese was Dr. Charles Inglis, who at the outbreak of the Revolution was Rector of Trinity Church in New York City, and

who brought to Nova Scotia¹ the highest educational ideals that up to that time prevailed in the diocese of New York, in which he had been a priest. The school Bishop Inglis founded at Windsor was opened in a house which had formerly been the private residence of Mrs. Susanna Francklin, widow of Hon. Michael Francklin, and which was then apparently owned by her and her son, Mr. James Boutineau Francklin. In 1789, the legislature, no doubt on Bishop Inglis's urgent petition, passed an act for the establishment of a still higher school of learning at Windsor, and two years later, in 1791, the still standing main building of King's College was begun, an imposing structure, though built of wood, with a dignified portico raised on high Doric pillars, noble grounds as a background and setting for which had been purchased a year before. For the building of the college the Imperial Government at first granted the sum of three thousand pounds, adding to this later the sum of fifteen hundred pounds.

King's college obtained its charter, May 12, 1802, and its first governors were Sir John Wentworth, Bart., Bishop Charles Inglis, Chief Justice Samson Salter Blowers, Alexander Croke, Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, Richard John Uniacke, Speaker of the Nova Scotia Assembly and Attorney General, and the Hon. Benning Wentworth, secretary of the province, with four others to be elected, one of whom was to be the president of the college. The charter was accompanied by an imperial grant of a thousand pounds per annum, which was continued until 1834. From 1790 to 1803, before the charter was obtained, the college had in all two hundred graduates; from 1803 to 1810, twenty-one; from 1810 to 1820, fifty-one; from 1820 to 1830, sixty-nine; and from 1830 to 1840, forty-eight. Of this number, fifty-four in all became clergymen. Among the famous pre-charter students of King's were Major-General James Robertson Arnold, Colonel deLancey Barelay, Sir James Cochran (later Chief Justice of Gibraltar) and General William Cochran,

1. Dr. Inglis was consecrated at Lambeth in August, 1787, and came to Nova Scotia immediately afterward. For several years before his consecration he had been living in England. The Diocese of Nova Scotia at first included Upper and Lower Canada, the three Maritime Provinces, and also Bermuda and Newfoundland.

his brother; the Hon. Henry Hezekiah Cogswell of Halifax, Colonel Sir William F. deLancey, K. C. B., Hon. Charles Rufus Fairbanks, Lieut.-Col. William Hulme, Judge Richard John Uniacke, Rt. Rev. Dr. John Inglis, third bishop of Nova Scotia, Hon. Sir James Stewart, Kt., Attorney-General of Lower Canada, and Rev. Benjamin Gerrish Gray.²

The beautiful country bordering the Pisiquid or Avon river, which in 1764 was legally incorporated as the township of Windsor, began to have special attractions for the settlers of Halifax almost as soon as Colonel Cornwallis and his company landed at Chebucto Bay. It was not many years, therefore, before applications for land in the region were secured by persons of influence, like members of Council or army officers who had previously done service in ridding Nova Scotia and Cape Breton of the French. "Writing to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1826, the Rt. Rev. Dr. John Inglis, third bishop of Nova Scotia, says of Windsor village: "It is beautifully situated, and would attract attention in the richest parts of England." And such glowing praise of Windsor's natural fertility and beauty cannot be regarded as at all too high. The most con-

2. A fuller account of the establishment of King's College will be found in this writer's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution" The founding of the college brought many cultivated people permanently to Windsor, and before long the great beauty of the town and its comparative nearness to Halifax led others, for the most part people of some means who had more or less connection with the capital, to purchase estates there and make the town their home. Among such families, toward the middle of the 19th century, were the Bowmans, whose estate was called *Spa Spring*, the Butlers, who owned *Martock*, the Cunninghams who lived at *Saulsbrook Farm*, the Frasers, who occupied *Gerrish Hall*, the Haliburtons who lived at *Clifton*, and the Kings, whose place was known as *Retreat Farm*, while across the meadow, through the trees, nearly on the site of the early church of the Acadian French, rose the wooden tower of quaint Christ Church, where they all worshipped on Sunday. On the front of the gallery of the church, at the west end, rested the British Arms, while near the chancel, at the right, stood the great square pew with a table for the prayer books, devoted to the Governor's use when he should be there. The college Encoenia, which always took place in June, was attended with great eclat. Thither came, in state, from Halifax the Governor and his staff, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Bishop, and often distinguished army officers and their wives. For many years at the time of the Encoenia the Frasers gave a ball at Gerrish Hall, which was a brilliant affair, but all the year through there were agreeable dinners and tea-drinkings, at *Martock*, and *Clifton*, and *Saulsbrook Farm*, and other places, at every one of which people drank excellent wines, sang good English songs, danced stately minuets and quadrilles, and played religiously, like all English gentlefolk, their after dinner rubbers of whist. On Sundays they never failed to occupy their places in the Parish Church, where they prayed as in duty bound, for the king, and listened, let us hope with profit, to the practical discourses of their rectors, delivered with precision from the high pulpit on the chancel's left.

spicuous early grant in what later became Windsor township was what is still remembered as the "Councillors' grant." On the 28th of August, 1759, seven members of the Council at Halifax received here a grant of 7,000 acres, these gentlemen being Messrs. Jonathan Belcher, Benjamin Green, John Collier, Charles Morris, Richard Bulkeley, Thomas Saul, and Joseph Gerrish.³ The plan of the grant allots to the grantees the whole of the area west of Fort Edward hill and south of the Avon river, for a distance varying from one to two miles south and three miles west. The area is divided on the plan into twenty-eight lots, of which four lots are assigned to each grantee, Hon. Joseph Gerrish's being the lot next to Fort Edward, extending as far south as the spot occupied by the old parish church.⁴ In the record at Halifax of the Councillor's grant, the tract is described as "situate, lying and being on Pisiquid River, beginning on said River, and thence running south 30 degrees east 9 chains to the upland on which the Fort at Pisaquid stands, and bounded by the said upland, thence running to the bridge on the Road from said Fort to Halifax, and on the said Road according to the course thereof, measuring in Distance from the said River four miles, and from the first bounds on Pisaquid River to be bounded by the said River to measure in a straight line 240 chains, and from thence on the said River to run back south 30 degrees East four miles, and from thence course north 60 degrees East to the boundaries on Halifax Road." In the grant were included all mines unopened except gold, silver, precious stones, and lapis lazuli. On the first of September, 1759,⁵ another large grant, previously mentioned, was given to Joshua Mauger, Michael Francklin, Isaac Deschamps, Charles Proctor, William Saul, Moses Delesdernier, and Gideon Deles-

3. The grant like all others of this period bears the signature of Richard Bulkeley, secretary of the province. It was registered September 27, 1759. See Old Registry Book, pp. 68, 69. Of the grantees, Belcher, Green, Morris, Gerrish, and probably Saul, had come from New England.

4. See Professor Hind's "Old Parish Burying Ground," pp. 22, 23, 55. Gerrish's lot, says Dr. Hind, "is bounded on the east by the path from Fort Edward to Halifax, after the path leaves Fort Edward hill." The plan shows, says, Dr. Hind, that the Councillor's grant "covers the whole of the land west of Fort Edward hill now included in the town of Windsor." The parchment plan, he says, is owned by Mr. P. Burnham of Windsor.

5. Old Registry Book, at Halifax, pp. 70-72. The grant was registered September 28, 1759.

dernier. It is described as a tract of land situate, lying and being within the District of Pisiquid, beginning "at the North East end of the land called Burying Island, near the foot of Pisaquid and bounded North Easterly by the River St. Croix, and to proceed up the River Till it meets with the Lands lately granted to William Tonge and others, and to be Bounded south Easterly by the said Tonge's Lot, and to proceed according to the Course of the North Bounds of said Tonge's Lot, being West 15 degrees south from the River St. Croix, Till it meets the Road leading to Halifax, and to be bounded south westerly by the said Road, to proceed along the said Road to the Bridge called the Fort Bridge and from thence to the Bounds first mentioned, Preserving all the uplands on which the Fort stands for the use of the said Fort, containing in the whole by Estimation 2,500 acres, more or less." In this grant, also, all mines unopened, except gold, silver, precious stones, and lapis lazuli, are included. The distribution of the land was as follows: to Joshua Mauger, Michael Franeklin, Isaac Deschamps, Charles Proctor and William Saul, one-sixth each; to Moses and Gideon Delesdernier one-twelfth each. The size of the tract is not specified in the grant.⁶

The township of Windsor, which Bishop John Inglis in 1826, in his letter just referred to, says comprised seventy-eight square miles, and at that time had a population of 2,000 souls, was organized largely of the areas described above, and probably other tracts of greater or less extent, on the 24th of December, 1764.⁷ At a meeting of the Council held on that date it was resolved that "that part of the tract of land formerly called Pisiquid, on the South-east of the River commonly known by the name of Pisiquid River, in the Province of Nova Scotia, shall be erected and incorporated into a township, hereinafter to be known and called by the name of Windsor, the limits and bounds

6. It is impossible without critical examination to be sure of the exact location of some of these Hants County grants, it may be that this grant transcended the limits of Windsor township and ran into Newport.

7. On the 29th of August, 1759, Hon. Benjamin Gerrish and others had a grant of 1,400 acres at "Pisiquid River," and as Gerrish when he died had a farm at Windsor we suppose that his part of this grant was in Windsor township. On the same date Edmund Crawley of Halifax received a grant of 1,400 acres at "Pisiquid River."

of which township shall be as follows, that is to say: To begin from the South-western limits of lands commonly called the Justices lands, and extending from the South-west limits of such lands to the River Pisiquid, and thence to be bounded by the River Pisiquid till it meets with the River St. Croix, and thence by the River St. Croix till it meets the bridge on the Public Road or Highway, and from the said bridge thence by the Common Highway leading from Pisiquid to Halifax, till it comes to lands granted to William Piggot, and to be bounded by the said Piggot's farm, and thence South-west till Thirteen miles be completed from the said Common Highway, and from the end of the said Thirteen miles to run North-westerly till it meets the South-west limits of the said land commonly called the justices lands, which limits shall hereafter be reputed to be the established boundaries of said township of Windsor."⁸

That part of the district of Pisiquid that was organized into the township of Windsor in 1764, thus comprised only lands that had not been included in the township of Falmouth and Newport, and that, as we have intimated, had probably nearly all been distributed to men who had been prominent in military service in the province or who occupied positions of influence at Halifax. In June, 1773, says Murdoch,⁹ Lord William Campbell, who was then governor of the province, declared in Council his intention of reserving for himself a tract containing about twenty-one acres, around the hill at Windsor, "on which the fort formerly stood," and this act, says Dr. Hind, "disposed of the entire area west of the path or road to Halifax."¹⁰ The new settlers, when they built houses on their grants, as they undoubted-

8. Council Book, Letter C, folio 515. Dr. Hind (p. 9) says that the township of Windsor as represented on the county map differs in some particulars from the description here. It is frequently noted that the Council declared the township of Windsor to be in the county of Halifax, but since we know that until 1781 it was always in the county of King's we are unable not to believe that Halifax was written in the Council minutes by mistake for King's. Dr. David Allison, in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 7, p. 67, says: "A letter preserved in the Deschamps collection, written by the widow of Col. Winckworth Tonge, of Beauséjour celebrity and proprietor of one of the largest Windsor estates, affirms that residents of Windsor were always electors of King's County, though it seems to imply that to exercise their franchise they had to cross the river [Avon] to the neighboring township of Falmouth." The village of Windsor, however, was for a certain number of years, we do not know how many, the headquarters of probate registration for the whole county of King's.

9. Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. 2, p. 510.

10. "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 23.

ly soon began to do, built them chiefly on the slopes of Fort Edward hill, on the west side, and thence toward the settlement now known as Clifton.

Describing the township of Windsor and its great fertility and beauty, Judge Haliburton says: "That portion of it which fell into the hands of resident proprietors was divided among a few individuals, and thus was introduced a system of tenancy, which in Nova Scotia neither contributes to the improvement of the soil nor the profit of the landlord."¹¹ This system of tenant farming seems to have prevailed in Windsor as nowhere else in Nova Scotia, the farmers being in great part, it would appear, North of Ireland settlers who had come into the province in 1761 through the efforts of the adventurous colonizer, Alexander McNutt. In 1760, as is well known, McNutt helped organize a colony of North of Ireland people who were living in Londonderry, New Hampshire, to settle Truro, Nova Scotia, but in 1761 he brought out a group of settlers direct from Ireland itself, most of whom finally located in Londonderry, Colchester County, some, however, either late in 1761 or early in 1762, settling in other townships, a not inconsiderable number planting themselves in Windsor and Newport.¹² In 1766, Lieutenant-Governor Francklin made a census of Nova Scotia, and by this census we are able to determine the number of people ranking as of Irish birth then in the various townships. At Windsor, out of a population of 243 souls, sixty-three are given as of Irish origin, in Falmouth, out of a population of 292, twenty are so given, while in Newport, out of a population of 279, seventeen rank as Irish.¹³ Among these Irish settlers in Hants County,

11. "An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," (1889), p. 100.

12. See a monograph on "The Settling of Colchester County, Nova Scotia, by New England Puritans and Ulster Scotsmen," published by the writer of this paper in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada in 1912, and one on "Alexander McNutt the Colonizer," in the New York historical magazine *Americana*, for December, 1913, by the same writer. McNutt reached Halifax with his first company from Ireland, October 9, 1761. Some of the people he brought stayed in Halifax, some went to Amherst, Newport, and Windsor, but a larger number than went elsewhere settled in Londonderry. The people who went to Londonderry went probably by way of Windsor.

13. Of the other King's County townships, Horton with a population of 634, and Cornwallis with a population of 727, received virtually none of these Irish settlers. The Allisons and Magees, however, of a later small group of Irish settlers, did settle further west in King's County.

chiefly in Windsor, were families, named Caldwell, Clarke,¹⁴ Curry, Dill, Elder, Hunter, Jenkins, O'Brien, Palmer (probably), Patterson, Spencer, and a certain family named Ellison or Allison, the head of which was Matthew Ellison or Allison, who bore no known relationship to the founder of the distinguished Allison family of Nova Scotia.

In 1769, another small group of North of Ireland people, including the founders and their children of the well known families of Allison, Magee, McColla, McCormick, McHeffey, and Miller, embarked at Londonderry, Ireland, for Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where many of their friends and relatives had previously gone. The vessel in which they crossed the Atlantic meeting with some misfortune off the coast of Sable Island, these voyagers took refuge in Halifax, and were induced to remain there. Before long we find them established chiefly in and about Windsor and Newport, some of them, however, pushing on to Horton and even farther west in King's County. A family of Cunninghams, who were long known in Hants, and Halifax, and Antigonish, came from Roscommon, Ireland, but earlier than the McNutt settlers, the vessel in which they sailed being wrecked and sinking somewhere off Sable Island. It is possible that the McCollas were in their company and not in the later one, to which belonged the Allisons and McHeffey's. The importance of both the Allison and McHeffey families in Hants County is a matter of common knowledge, while of McNutt's settlers, families of Clarkes, Currys, Elders, Jenkinse, and O'Briens have held no less prominent places.¹⁵

One of the most conspicuous early settlers in Windsor, the proprietor there, indeed, who occupied the highest position among the local aristocracy and wielded the strongest influence, was the Hon. Michael Francklin, whose mercantile busi-

14. John Clarke of Windsor we suppose was of the McNutt emigration. He married, probably in Windsor, Eleanor Palmer, and had children born as follows: Catharine, November 8, 1766; Jane, June 3, 1768; William, October 18, 1770, (died September 14, 1775); Mary, August 30, 1772; Elizabeth, December 23, 1774; Isabella, November 14, 1776; Eleanor, August 22, 1778; Susanna, June 23, 1780; John Palmer, July 5, 1785.

15. Dr. Hind (page 35), gives the following as members of the Presbyterian congregation and subscribers to the building of the meeting house, in Windsor, October 9, 1824: John Clarke, Esq.; Robert McHeffey, Nathaniel Jenkins, Matthew Allison, Richard McHeffey, James Robertson, Ludovick Hunter, Alexander Dill, John Jack, William Edwards, John Murray, Joseph Caldwell, and Hugh Jenkins.

ness was at Halifax, where indeed his official duties kept him for much of the year, but whose favorite residence was in the Hants County shire town. On his extensive farm in Windsor he early built a roomy mansion, and there, for a great portion of his busy life, with his large family he spent as much of the year as he could. Staunch supporters of the Church of England, he and his wife and children, as we have intimated, actively promoted the Anglican cause in the Windsor community, and to his generosity the parish owed the land which Christ Church and the churchyard occupied.¹⁶ Mr. Francklin was a native of Devonshire, England, who late in 1752, as a young man, migrated to Halifax, and began business as a dealer in liquors. He was not only enterprising, but well educated, dignified, and genial, and he had signal ability for the management of affairs, and from selling spirits he soon enlarged his business to selling breadstuffs and fine wines, and to the exportation of dry fish to Naples. He also came to take large contracts for furnishing supplies to the army and navy at Halifax. In this general business he finally amassed a large fortune and thus became a recognized power in the province. Gradually he entered into public affairs, and in 1762 was made a member of the Council. May 23, 1766, Hon. Colonel Montague Wilmot, governor of the province died, and on the 23d of August, 1766, Mr. Francklin was sworn lieutenant-governor, Hon. Benjamin Green having in the meantime administered the government. On the 27th of November, 1766, the Right Honourable Lord William Campbell, youngest son of the fourth Duke of Argyle, was sworn governor, but during this interval Mr. Francklin held chief command. On Lord William's assumption of the governorship, Mr. Francklin was continued as lieutenant-governor, and in this office he remained until 1776, in the meantime having been appointed also (August 13, 1768) lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island. During his ten years incumbency of the lieutenant-governorship, Mr. Francklin was obliged to exert a high degree of control in public affairs, and his influence was always exercised with in-

16. The deed of this land specifies that it is given "for the purpose of erecting thereon a church or place of public worship conformable to the Established Church of England, and for a place of Interment, Burying Ground, or Grave Yard, for the use of the Christian People of the said township of Windsor."

telligence and wisdom. He died November 8, 1782. In a highly interesting monograph on Mr. Francklin in the 16th volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Mr. James S. Macdonald writes: "Francklin was a man of great personal magnetism, combined with courage, integrity, energy, and independence. His were the qualities which were necessary to a leader. His splendid example and many virtues were strongly impressed on his own and possibly the immediately succeeding generation."

Hon. Michael Francklin married in Boston, February 7, 1762, Susannah Boutineau, elder daughter of James and Susannah (Faneuil) Boutineau, and niece of Mr. Peter Faneuil, the princely Boston merchant who built Faneuil Hall. Mrs. Francklin died at Windsor, April 19, 1816, in her 76th year. The Francklins had children born as follows: James Boutineau, July 31, 1763; Elizabeth Mauger, September 3, 1764; Susanna, August 23, 1765; Ann, August 31, 1767; Joshua Mauger, September 1, 1769; Michael Nickleson, August 20, 1773; John Robinson, July 6, 1774; George Sackville Germaine, January 15, 1777; Mary Phillipps, October 7, 1779; Sarah Nickleson, December 21, 1780.

The earliest of all conspicuous traders in Windsor was Joshua Mauger, an enterprising English Jew, who before the founding of Halifax, with Louisburg as headquarters, traded with the French population of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and at some time, we do not know precisely when, established truck houses at Windsor, Grand Pré, and Annapolis Royal. A prince of smugglers, he is also said to have been for years the great intermediary between the French government and the inhabitants of Acadia, both French and Indian, and next to the priest Le Loutre the most mischievous influence in Nova Scotia with which the government had to deal. Notwithstanding this, when, very rich, he finally retired from business and returned to England to live, he was made London agent for Nova Scotia, a position he filled for several years. His only daughter was married to the Duc de Brouillan, who lost his head in the French Revolution. Mauger's history has been interestingly told in print in the 12th volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical

Society.¹⁷ How soon after the expulsion of the Acadians Mauger ceased trading at Windsor we do not know, but he was there at the expulsion, for just previous to the event Governor Lawrence ordered Captain Murray at Fort Edward to cut off communication between the inhabitants and "Mr. Mauger's people."¹⁸ In 1776 the site of the parish Church in Windsor, which had already been given by Hon. Michael Francklin for Church use, was somehow, with other property, deeded to him, but on the 6th of February, 1785, he made over the two acres it and the churchyard comprised to James Boutineau Francklin, in order that the original intention of Hon. Michael Francklin might be carried out.

A name conspicuous in the early annals of Windsor is the name Deschamps. Isaac Deschamps, who became Nova Scotia's third chief-justice, like Moses Delesdernier was a Swiss, but how or precisely when he migrated to Nova Scotia, or who he married, we do not know.¹⁹ As a young man he was a clerk in Joshua Mauger's "truck house" at Windsor, and in 1754, it is said, he assisted Captain Murray in suppressing disturbances among the French in that vicinity. In 1759, as we have seen, his name appears on a large grant at Pisiquid, and on the 16th of June, 1760, Governor Lawrence appointed him "truckmaster" at Fort Edward and for King's County, for carrying on commerce on behalf of the government of the province with the Indians, Moses Delesdernier having been similarly appointed November 12, 1757. In 1761 his name appears on the general Newport grant, and the same year he was elected a member of the Assembly for West Falmouth, and also one of the justices of the court of common pleas. In 1768 he was appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Francklin a judge of the Supreme Court in Prince Edward Island (St. John Island), and in 1770, assistant judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia in place of Judge John Dupont. October 6, 1783, he was admitted to the Council, and on

17. See also Eaton's "History of King's County, Nova Scotia," pp. 40, 200.

18. See Col. John Winslow's Journal, published in the 3d volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. It is likely that his truck house was taken over in 1757 by Moses Delesdernier, for in 1757 Delesdernier received a license to trade at Pisiquid.

19. An Isaac Deschamps, son of Isaac, was born in Boston, 10 Nov., 1674, and baptized in the Old South Church parish, 15 Nov., 1674.

the death of Chief Justice Bryan Finucane was promoted, April 21, 1785, to the chief-justiceship. In 1787, with Judge James Brenton, a native of Rhode Island, he was accused of "improper and irregular" administration of justice, and was involved in a trial which was terminated in his favour by the Privy Council in England in 1792.²⁰ In the course of the proceedings he resigned the chief-justiceship, his successor, Jeremiah Pemberton, being commissioned chief-justice August 19, 1788.^{20½} Great indignation was felt at the impeachment of Deschamps and Brenton, of the former of whom a contemporaneous writer says that "a gentleman of a more tender and benevolent heart than Justice Deschamps does not at this day exist in Nova Scotia," and whom he calls "the good old man." Isaac Deschamps married as his second wife, Sarah Ellis, second daughter of Dr. Edward Ellis by his first wife, and younger sister of Mrs. Edward Watmough. He died, but whether at Halifax or at Windsor we do not know, August 11, 1801, "upwards of 79 years old."

George Deschamps, son of Isaac, was Judge of Probate for Hants County (it is said immediately succeeding his father in that office), and generally one of Windsor's most important men. Until a few years ago the stone foundations of his house, on the west slope of Fort Hill, could still be traced. The oldest tombstone yet discovered in the old Windsor Churchyard, says Dr. Hind, bears the names and dates of death of Elizabeth, wife of George Deschamps, who died in 1779, her son George, who died in 1776, and her daughter, Sarah, who died in 1778. He is said to have married a daughter of James Monk, of Boston and Halifax, and his wife Ann (Deering). The plaster trade of Newport, that for many years has been one of the chief industries of Hants County was started by George Deschamps.²¹

Among the group of young British born men at Annapolis

20. These judges were impeached by two attorneys, Messrs. Sterns and Taylor, who before long were disbarred for statements they had made in a newspaper, which were considered slanderous. See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. 3, p. 101.

20½. His patent was read October 21, 1788, when he opened the Supreme Court.

21. The Boston *Independent Chronicle* of February 4, 1802, says: "It is said that discovery has been made of the earth called Plaister of Paris, of the most useful quality, equal to any in Nova Scotia. It was discovered near Newton, Sussex County, New Jersey."

Royal in 1731 was Samuel Cottnam, who in 1734 is spoken of as Ensign Samuel Cottnam, and who we suppose at the latter date, at least, was a young officer in the 40th regiment.²² December 18, 1731, he was dispatched by Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong, with full powers to treat with the French inhabitant of Pisiquid and Cobequid for provisions for Annapolis Royal,²³ and in the same year he is spoken of as deputy collector. In 1732 he was sent to help build a magazine at Minas, and in 1734 from Minas he wrote Armstrong giving him an account of clandestine trade carried on there. September 30, 1734, John Hamilton, deputy collector at Annapolis, was ordered to go in the sloop *Mary* to St. John to prevent illicit trading there and Ensign Cottnam was authorized to seize vessels, etc., for the same purpose.²⁴ At some time in his career at Annapolis he married Deborah How, daughter of Captain Edward and Mary Magdalene (Winniett) How, whose tombstone in the Windsor churchyard calls her "Mrs. Deborah Cottnam, wife of S. Cottnam, Esq., long an officer in His Majesty's service."²⁵ On the 15th of October, 1754, he was commissioned captain of the 40th regiment. He received grants in Hants County as follows: August 27, 1764, 1,000 acres on Windsor Road; April 8, 1768, 500 acres somewhere in the township of Newport. How many children Samuel and Deborah Cottnam had we cannot tell, they had one daughter, "Grissey Elizabeth," baptized in King's Chapel, Boston, December 19, 1755; and probably others.

On the relationship of George Cottnam to Samuel Cottnam

22. Nova Scotia Archives, Vols. 2 and 3.

23. From the organization of the 40th regiment at Annapolis Royal in 1717, (see Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. I, p. 351) the officers of the regiment were in great measure young British born men of good family who had come to America to seek their fortunes. The history of this regiment, the "Fighting Fortieth" is in print, and an important reference to the regiment will be found in the Calnek-Savary History of Annapolis, pp. 183, 184. From 1717 until 1758, part of the regiment, at least, was held at Annapolis to garrison the fort there; in 1758 it was drawn off to assist in the second taking of Louisburg. For many of its officers, see Worthington C. Ford's list of British officers serving in America between 1754 and 1774, printed in the N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, Vols. 48, 49. The regiment is now the First Battalion Prince of Wales Volunteers (South Lancashire regiment).

24. Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. I, p. 501.

25. For an admirable sketch of Captain Edward How and his family, see the Calnek-Savary History of Annapolis, Nova Scotia, pp. 527-534. How was a New England man who settled early at Annapolis Royal, and his murder at Chignecto in October, 1750, was a tragical event. For the inscription on Mrs. Deborah Cottnam's tombstone, see Hind's "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 6.

we have no clear light. June 30, 1742, George and Margaret Cottnam had a son John baptized in King's Chapel, Boston, and September 5, 1746, George Cottnam was commissioned a first lieutenant of the 40th regiment. In 1768, Murdoch tells us, as the troops were to be withdrawn from Louisburg, George Cottnam "as a person of courage and resolution" was appointed "to keep the peace and execute the laws in the island of Cape Breton."²⁶ The three Cottnam sisters, Mary, Henrietta Maria, and Martha, who became respectively the wives of Captain, Major, or Colonel George Scott, Dr. George Day of Mantua, and Colonel Winckworth Tonge, were probably his and not Samuel Cottnam's daughters. May 14, 1782, a Susanna "Cotman" was buried in St. Paul's parish, Halifax.

A family that came early to Windsor was the Cunningham family. John Cunningham, supposed to have been an Irishman, appears in Halifax on the 7th of April, 1761, on which date he buys a house and lot on Argyle street, for £ 142. currency. On the 28th of May, 1763, he bought lots in the south suburbs of the town, for £ 20. On the 6th of October, 1763, he bought land in the north suburbs, for £ 233.6.8, and on the 20th of December, 1777, he bought lot No. 10 in Mr. Forman's division for £ 25. On the 24th of March, 1769, he was appointed Commissioner of Indian affairs, for the duties of which office he was to receive ten shillings a day. His tenure of the commissionership lasted until October 4, 1773, when he gave the office up. The Nova Scotia treasury at this time was low and his salary was not paid, so he was at last obliged to appeal to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

At some period in his career among other purchases of land out of Halifax, Mr. Cunningham had bought "Saulsbrook farm," at Windsor, a property that had originally been granted to Thomas Saul. In his will, dated June 1, 1785, he leaves this farm, as indeed most of his property, to his three children, Captain John Cunningham, Ensign Richard Cunningham, and Mrs. Elizabeth Boyd, wife of George Frederick Boyd, Esq. His will mentions also his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Cunningham, his sisters Jane and Magdalen, and his servant James Daly. His

26. Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. 2, p. 479.

wife's name was Elizabeth, but she must have died before his will was made.

Of the two sons of John Cunningham, Captain John held a commission in the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers, but of his career we know very little, and of his wife and children if he ever married, nothing. Of Richard Cunningham we know more, he was commissioned ensign in the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers on the 7th of December, 1781, and he purchased many properties, principally in Hants County, among these, April 17, 1800, the Winckworth estate, "two parcels of land, beginning at the mouth of a creek on the river St. Croix," from Hon. Alexander Brymer and Harriet his wife. For this valuable property he gave £2,700. He married "at the seat of Sir John Wentworth, Bart." (probably the "Lodge," near Halifax), 22 August, 1809, Rev. Dr. Benjamin Gerrish Gray officiating, Sarah Apthorp Morton, eldest daughter of Hon. Perez Morton, of Boston, and grand-niece of Lady Frances Wentworth, born June 2, 1782, died July 14, 1844. Richard Cunningham made his will July 15, 1824, and died some time before July 1, 1835, when his daughters, Eliza Deering Boyd Cunningham and Frances Sarah Wentworth Cunningham, applied for certain parts of his estate. He had children: Griselda Eastwick, born August 16, 1810, married Rev. Joseph Hart Clinch; Perez Morton, born May 2, 1812, graduated B. A. at King's College, Windsor, in 1832, died unmarried, January 21, 1866; Eliza Deering Boyd; Frances Sarah Wentworth, married Rev. John Storrs; Charlotte, born Dec. 23, 1817, married Dr. Howard Sargent of Boston; John, born June 30, 1820, educated at King's College, Windsor, died unmarried April 6, 1851.

A family of recognized importance in Windsor for many years was the DeWolf family, founded there by Benjamin DeWolf, born in Lyme, Connecticut, October 14, 1744. Benjamin's father, Simeon, was one of the grantees of Horton, but Benjamin himself in early life settled in Windsor. There he married, March 16, 1769, Rachel Otis, a daughter of Dr. Ephraim Otis, of Scituate, Massachusetts, and sister of Susannah Otis, wife of William Haliburton of Newport and Windsor. The DeWolfs had children: Sarah Hersey Otis, born May 14, 1770, married

to Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Jr.; Rachel Hersey, born January 7, 1772, died March 1772; Rachel Otis, born February 1, 1773, married October 14, 1802, to Hon. James Fraser, M. E. C., born in Inverness, Scotland, their eldest daughter becoming the wife of Hon. Charles Stephen Gore, G. C. B. and K. H., third son of the 2d Earl of Arran; John, born and died June 1, 1775; Susanna Isabella, born June 17, 1776, died September 25, 1777; Frances Mary, born February 23, 1778, died November 17, 1791; Isabella Amelia, born October 2, 1779, married August 1, 1821, to Captain John McKay, H. M., 27th regiment; Harriot Sophia, born September 8, 1781, married September 17, 1799, to Rev. William Colsell King, Rector of Windsor.

Another family of note in Windsor was the McHeffey family, the founders of which came from Ireland with the Allison, Magee, McCollas, McCormicks, and Millers, in 1769. This family was not limited to the township of Windsor, but spread into other townships as well. Richard McHeffey and his wife Mary (Caulfield), who were probably married in Ireland in 1756, had children recorded in Windsor (though some of them were of course born in Ireland): Robert, February 22, 1758; Daniel, February 19, 1763; William, August 10, 1765; George Henry, February 6, 1771; Richard, December 26, 1773; James, April 9, 1776; John, November 21, 1778; Joseph, March 4, 1781.

An important family in Windsor after the Revolution was that of Nathaniel Ray Thomas, born in Marshfield, Massachusetts in 1731, whom Governor Gage appointed one of his mandamus councillors (though he never took the oath), who went with Howe's fleet to Halifax, was proscribed and banished and had much of his estate in Massachusetts confiscated, and who died at Windsor September 19, 1787. His wife, whom he married in Boston (intention recorded November 7, 1754), was Sarah Deering, an aunt of Lady Frances Wentworth; she died at Windsor in 1810, aged 78. Mrs. Thomas was a lady of recognized worth, and on her death Mrs. Richard Cunningham wrote:

"O, snatched too soon, ere love could find
 One life-bound hope decay,
 Ere time or sorrow from thy mind
 Could steal one charm away.

"For though around thy fading brows
 The wintry storms had prest,
 Yet all that cheerful summer knows
 Was pictured in thy breast;

"Still flashed the eye—and sparkling played,
 More than could lips express,
 And still the melting smile displayed
 A soul of tenderness.

"That soul by sense and judgment moved,
 By virtue's self inspired,
 Thou wert in every scene beloved,
 Through every change admired.

"Though at thy heart so oft were driven
 The arrows of Despair,
 The tearful eyes were raised to Heaven
 And shielding Faith was there."²⁷

The will of Nathaniel Ray Thomas, made at Windsor June 8, 1787, and proved October 5, of the same year, mentions six children, in the following order: Nathaniel Ray, Jr., John, Sarah Deering, Mary, Elizabeth Packer, and Charles. Of the exact order of their births, however, we are somewhat uncertain, Nathaniel Ray, Jr., was born perhaps in 1755, John we know was born August 30, 1764, and Charles probably in 1772. We should suppose, therefore, that the three daughters came between Nathaniel Ray, Jr., and John.

Of these children, Nathaniel Ray, Jr., married at Windsor, Sarah Hersey Otis DeWolf, born May 14, 1770, a daughter of Benjamin and Rachel (Otis) DeWolf. In mature life he became *custos rotulorum* and collector of customs at Windsor.^{27½} His death occurred at Windsor, August 12, 1823. His children that we know of were, Charles Wentworth, an officer in H. M. 81st regiment, and Sarah Rachel (an only daughter), who was married January 30, 1828, to Judge Lewis Morris Wilkins, Jr., of the Supreme bench of Nova Scotia (born at Halifax, May 24, 1801, died at Windsor March 14, 1885).

27. "Memorials of Marshfield" says: She left an "excellent character at Green Harbour. During the direful 'dearth of bread,' at one period of the war, she fed the very people from whom, in the warmth of party feeling, she had met with much indignity."

27½. On the 24th of April, 1789, the grand jury of the sessions of the peace for Hants County made a presentment that "George Henry Monk, Esq., and Mr. Nathl. R. Thomas had neglected to attend divine worship for the space of three months, to the evil example of society." Whereupon Mr. Thomas was fined ten shillings, and Major Monk "traversed the presentment on technical grounds and escaped the fine. See "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 66. This reference is of course to Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Jr.

John Thomas, known as Captain John Thomas, was born at Marshfield, and after he had grown up returned from Nova Scotia and settled there, on property of his father's that had not been confiscated. He married in Pembroke, Massachusetts, first Lucy Baker, secondly Lucy Turner, by his two marriages having nine children, the youngest of whom was named for his grandfather and uncle, Nathaniel Ray.²⁸

Charles Thomas, born probably in 1772, was a lieutenant in H. M. 7th Royal Fusiliers regiment, at that time commanded in Nova Scotia by His Royal Highness, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father. Lieutenant Thomas was accidentally shot by a brother officer, at an inn not many miles from Halifax, where both officers were resting after a successful hunt for a deserter, and died at Government House, Halifax, August 16, 1797, in his 25th year. After his death the Duke caused a handsome table tombstone to be placed over his grave in St. Paul's burying grounds, bearing the following inscription: "This Stone Sacred to the Memory of Lieut. Charles Thomas of His Majesty's Royal Fusilier Regiment who departed this Life on the 16th of August, 1797, Aged 24 years: is placed as a Testimony of His Friendship and Esteem by Lieut. General His Royal Highness Prince Edward his Colonel."

The following "Elegy on the death of Lieutenant Charles Thomas, of the Royal Fusiliers, who was accidentally shot by his most intimate friend," was written (and published in the Halifax *Acadian Recorder*, April 15, 1820) by a Mrs. Fletcher of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia:

"Slow moves in funeral pomp the mournful bier,
That gives the warrior to the silent grave;
While scarce the manly eye can hide the tear;
While sighs respire the bosoms of the brave.

"The martial arm with sable crape entwined,
The drum deep muffled, and th' inverted spear,
The mournful dirge that floats upon the wind,
And strikes in plaintive sounds the pensive ear.

"These wake attention from her silent cell,
Arrest the footstep, fix the wand'ring eye;
These thy sad tale emphatically tell,
And breathe the loud *memento*, 'thou must die.'

28. See Richards' History of Marshfield, Mass., Vol. 2, pp. 87, 88.

"In life's gay bloom, in valor's glorious road,
 In fame, in honor's warm pursuit he fell,
 What manly virtues in thy bosom glow'd,
 Thy friends remember, and thy friends shall tell.

"For worth and honor there were deep enshrin'd,
 And filial love and tenderness sincere;
 And generous friendship sought thy nobler mind,
 That reared with pride her sacred altar there.

"Lamented youth! how many weep thy fall
 With real grief and undissembled woe!
 Oh fate! who bade thee guide that rapid ball?
 A friend's unconscious hand to deal the blow.

"Ah! then misfortune hurl'd her bitt'rest dart!
 The missile shaft accelerated flew—
 Fate only bade it pierce one noble heart,
 Friendship had join'd them, and it severed two.

"But tho' in life's meridian pride he fell,
 Not in the field with glory's laurels crown'd,
 Ere fame her clarion in his praise could swell,
 While list'ning thousands caught the glorious sound.

"A nobler meed was thine—a nobler fame—
 Think not ye friends *his* destiny severe,
 Whose valour, virtue, and whose fate could claim
 From royal Edward's eye th' impassioned tear."

It is impossible to mention here all the separate grants by which Windsor township was distributed, for unlike Falmouth and Newport the lands it comprises were not given chiefly *en bloc*, but we append a list of individual grants in Hants County, which contains the most important grants in Windsor. To determine the exact locations and boundaries of any of these grants, however, would for our present purpose be an impossible task.

INDIVIDUAL GRANTS, IN GREAT PART IN WINDSOR.

1759—

- 2 June, George and Henry Scott and Winckworth Tonge, 2,500 acres at Five Houses, St. Croix, Pisiquid.
- 27 July, Winckworth, William, and George Tonge, 1,500 acres at St. Croix, Pisiquid.
- 28 August, The "Councillors Grant" to seven members, 7,000 acres at Windsor.
- 29 August, Benjamin Gerrish and others, 14,000 acres at Pisiquid River.
- 29 August, John Tonge and others, 5,500 acres at Pisiquid.

- 29 August, Edmund Crawley, 1,400 acres at Pisiquid River.
 1 September, Joshua Mauger and others, seven in all, 2,500 acres.

1760—

- 20 May, Winckworth, William, and George Tonge, 1,500 acres at Falmouth.
 7 August, Joseph and Michael Scott, 1,000 acres at Falmouth.
 14 August, Moses Delesdernier, A lot "in the township of Falmouth on the south-west side of Fort Edward."
 28 August, Joseph Gerrish, 7,000 acres at Pisiquid River.
 29 August, Major George Scott, Dr. George Day, and others, 6,000 acres on the River St. Croix, township of Falmouth.
 7 November, John Collier, a grant in Falmouth, amount not specified in registry.
 15 November, Martha Dyer and Moses Masters, a town lot in Falmouth.

1761—

- 9 July, Benjamin Gerrish, 1,000 acres in Falmouth.
 29 December, Moses Delesdernier, 40 acres in Falmouth.

1762—

- 3 June, Alexander Grant, 1,000 acres in Falmouth.
 25 June, William Hore, 500 acres in Falmouth.
 25 June, Henry Denny Denson and Henry Maturin Denson, 750 acres in Falmouth.
 28 October, Isaac Deschamps, house lot, and barn and garden, in Falmouth.

1763—

- 8 June, Walter Manning, 500 acres in Falmouth.
 8 June, Edward Cumberbach, 500 acres in Falmouth.
 8 June, Terence Fitzpatrick, 500 acres in Falmouth.
 8 June, John Gray, 500 acres in Falmouth.
 8 June, Simon Parry, 500 acres in Falmouth.
 8 June, J. F. W. Desbarres and others, 1,500 acres in Falmouth.
 24 August, Henry Tucker, 500 acres in Newport.
 6 September, Alexander MacCulloch, 500 acres in Falmouth.

1764—

- 2 February, Benjamin Gerrish, 168 acres in Falmouth.
- 4 February, Walter Manning, 500 acres on Windsor Road.
- 4 February, Rev. Joseph Bennett, 500 acres in Newport.
- 19 July, Abel and Matthew Michenor, 750 acres in Falmouth.
- 27 August, Samuel Cottnam, 1,000 acres on Windsor Road.
- 31 October, Edmund Watmough, 500 acres in Falmouth.

1765—

- 15 June, Benjamin, Joseph, and John McNutt and Patrick McCollum, 1,000 acres in Noel.

1766—

- 22 November, Winckworth Tonge and others in trust to hold fairs, a grant at Fort Edward hill, Windsor.

1768—

- 19 February, Henry Potter and others, a grant in Falmouth.
- 19 February, James Horatio Watmough and others, 6,322 acres in Falmouth.
- 8 April, James Brenton, 500 acres in Newport.
- 8 April, Samuel Cottnam, 500 acres in Newport.
- 8 April, John Carden, 500 acres in Newport.

1772—

- 11 March, William Haliburton, $\frac{1}{4}$ acre at Windsor.
- 1 June, James Campbell, 1,000 acres at Kennetcook River.
- 31 July, Henry Denny Denson, 2,000 acres in Falmouth.
- 20 November, James Horatio Watmough and others, 847 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Falmouth.

1773—

- Ephraim Stannus, $\frac{1}{4}$ acre at Windsor.

1775—

- 8 February, Jeremiah Northup, 500 acres in Falmouth.

1784—

- 3 August, Captain John Bond and many others, 23,000 acres—the township of Rawdon.
- 5 November, Rev. William Ellis, 1,000 acres in Newport.
This land is said to have been escheated from John Carden, Jr.

1786—

3 April, Joseph Gray, 6 water lots in Windsor.

1797—

23 August, Edward and Philip Mosier (Mosher), 520 acres
in Newport.

17 October, S. Coleman, 230 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres in Newport.

1803—

22 July, Rev. Edward Chapman Willoughby, 600 acres.

1810—

Nathaniel, John, James, and William Jenkins, 1,750 acres.

1815—

3 July, William Haliburton and others, trustees for a mar-
ket in Windsor, a lot at Fort Edward hill, Windsor.

(To be Continued).

MARCH, 1915

AMERICANA

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AMERICANA

March, 1915

Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, D. C. L.

FORT EDWARD, IN THE TOWNSHIP OF WINDSOR

THE only fortification that we have record of in Hants County, save a little place of defence in "West Falmouth" known as "Fort Lawrence," was Fort Edward, about which the first British settlement in East Falmouth, afterward Windsor, grew up. Of the history of the obscure Fort Lawrence, in Falmouth, we know virtually nothing. In the minutes of the town meeting "held in Falmouth on the 13th of October (October 22, new style), 1760," however, we find record of a note to adjourn to Saturday, the 18th of October, to Fort Lawrence, "there to proceed to draw for the six acre lots and also to transact any other affairs of the township that may occur, and hereafter to be continued every second Monday as usual."¹ Of the more important Fort Edward we have a pretty continuous record from the time of its building until it became finally disused.

The little stockade at Windsor known as Fort Edward was built by Major Lawrence's orders in 1750, a corps of regular soldiers and probably of "Rangers" from New England performing the work.² In an account of the defences of Nova

1. This record will be found in the little manuscript minute book of Falmouth Town Meetings, copied by the late Dr. Thomas B. Akins, and at present in private hands in Falmouth. Dr. Hind quotes it in his "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 49. On page 56 Dr. Hind says that Fort Edward and Fort Lawrence were nearly opposite each other, the Pisiquid river dividing them.

2. Dr. Hind says, p. 42: "On his journey to Mines, where a rendezvous of troops took place in that year [1750], Major Lawrence had under his command 165 regulars and about 200 rangers. Fort Edward was built after his return from Chignecto, and there can be little doubt that both the regulars and the rangers assisted in its construction. Dr. Hind, p. 7, also states that an order to erect a block house at Pisiquid was given by Governor Cornwallis to Captain John Gorham, March 12, 1749.

Scotia he sent Lord Lodoun on the 21st of June, 1756, Major Lawrence says:

“Piziquid or Fort Edward is a fort situated upon an eminence on the South East side of Mines Bason, between the rivers Piziquid and St. Croix, to which we have access by land by way of Fort Sackville [in Halifax County] and is distant therefrom about 40 miles; we have also a communication therewith by the Bay of Fundy. There is a necessity of keeping a strong garrison here to send out detachments to scour the country for Indians and to keep the disaffected French inhabitants under subjection.”³

Of the “Rangers,” who probably helped in the construction of Fort Edward, a few words should here be said. They were volunteer troops from the interior of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, raised early in the history of New England, to defend the people of Massachusetts against the Indians. “They ascended the rivers, penetrated into the heart of the province, and attacked the enemy in their strongholds.”⁴ A corps of the Rangers was sent to Nova Scotia in command of Major Joseph Gorham save after the settlement of Halifax, and Dr. Hind says they passed through Piziquid in 1750. This corps, Dr. Akins tells us, was composed chiefly of “half blood Indians.”⁵ Early in 1758, under instructions from the Earl of Lodoun, commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, Captain, afterward Major, Robert Rogers raised five additional companies, one of them an Indian company, to augment the Rangers’ force. The five companies were ready for service on the 4th of March, 1758, and Major Rogers says that four of them were at once sent to Louisburg to assist General Amherst.⁶ In 1758, says Dr. Akins, it was again found necessary to procure the services of 250 of the Rangers, and prom-

3. Dr. Hind gives March 30, 1755, as the date of this description “Old Parish Burying Ground,” pp. 5, 6.

4. Dr. Thomas B. Akins, in his “History of the Settlement of Halifax,” Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 8.

5. Nova Scotia Archives, Vol. 1, p. 564. Dr. Hind says of the Rangers: “Long accustomed to border war with the Indians and French of Canada, they had become well disciplined and accustomed to hardship and fatigue, and were perhaps at this time [1758] superior to all other provincial troops in America.” “Old Parish Burying Ground,” p. 46.

6. “Journals of Major Robert Rogers,” p. 78.

ises of high pay and other advantages were made them if they would come. Whether the corps in the Province at the time of the building of Fort Edward remained much longer, or what their movements for the next few years were, we cannot at present stop to inquire.⁷

The name of the Pisiquid fort has sometimes mistakenly been said to have been given in compliment to the Duke of Kent, who late in the 18th century spent a few years in Nova Scotia in command of the British North American forces, but this is not true, the fort was undoubtedly named for Colonel Edward Cornwallis, who was governor of the Province when it was erected, Fort Lawrence, across the Pisiquid, being named for the lieutenant-governor, Major Charles Lawrence, who in July, 1750, was made lieutenant-governor, and in July, 1756, succeeding Colonel Peregrine Thomas Hopson, governor. The name Fort Edward of the Pisiquid fort appears in documents of the time certainly as early as 1752, the Duke of Kent was not born until 1767.

At the time of the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, the garrison at Fort Edward was in command of Captain Alexander Murray, and the proclamation requiring the men of Pisiquid and Grand Pré to assemble in their respective churches to hear the King's orders, was drawn up by Col. John Winslow and Captain Murray, conjointly, within the precincts of the Pisiquid fort.⁸ When their countrymen were taken away, as is well known, a very considerable number of the French of King's County escaped to the woods, and this is probably more true of the people of Pisiquid than of Minas or River Canard. From the close of 1755 to 1765, says Dr. Hind, the duties of the Pisiquid sol-

7. In a return made by General Amherst of the troops voted to be levied, those actually raised, and those to remain in service during the winter, for the year 1762, in all the colonies, we find that nearly 3,000 Massachusetts troops were in service in this year. Of these 3,000, 500 were at Cape Breton and Newfoundland. Among these were Major Joseph Gorham's Rangers, "an independent corps which had previously been recruited largely from Massachusetts." The recruiting office was at Boston. One of Gorham's officers recruited 34 men in Nova Scotia and 14 at Boston; those from Nova Scotia are said to have been sent to Boston.

8. Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," and Winslow's Journal, published in Vols. 3 and 4 of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. The part of Winslow's Journal that relates to the deportation of the Acadians will be found in Vol. 3.

diers "were arduous and painful. The Acadians and Indians appear to have been hunted down as a necessary, though distressing, precautionary measure. Those of the Acadians who were not killed were kept as prisoners when taken, many of them voluntarily surrendering in order to escape starvation." On the 5th of October, 1761, the number of French families "at" Fort Edward is chronicled as 231, and of prisoners victualled at the fort as 82. On the 11th of October, 1762, the number of families is said to be 217, and June 12th, 1762, the number of prisoners is given as 91. In 1763 the number of prisoners varies from 335 to 391. The unsettled state of the Pisiquid district will show the reason why the first settlers in Falmouth and Newport were protected by forts and soldiers . . . and why so little is recorded of the occupation of the fertile country about Windsor from 1755 to 1760, a period of four years."⁹

In 1762, the garrison of Fort Edward was composed of the militia of King's County, all regular troops being concentrated at Halifax, with the exception of a hundred men at St. John River, Annapolis, and Cumberland. As the entire population of the four King's County townships, Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth and Newport, in 1763 was 367 families, comprising 1,936 souls, nearly all the able-bodied men of the county must have been enrolled in order to garrison the forts and blockhouses, of which Fort Edward was chief. At a meeting of Council, July 26, 1762, it was stated that it had been indispensable for the safety of the settlers to send a hundred and thirty Acadians from King's County to Halifax, under a militia guard of a hundred men of King's County.

On the 16th of March, 1759, General Amherst at New York writes to Governor Lawrence at Halifax: "I have wrote to Governor Pownall for fifteen hundred Provincials to joyn the five hundred that will be detached from Monckton's and Lawrence's Battalions for the protection of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the Bay of Fundy, and that there may be no loss of time I shall order the Provincials to be embarked at Boston and to proceed directly to the different Garrisons in the Bay of Fundy

9. "Old Parish Burying Ground," pp. 30, 42.

at the following distributions: 400 to Fort Cumberland, 250 to Annapolis, 250 to St. John's, 100 to Pisiquid, 200 to Lunenburg.^{9½} June 1, 1760, Hon. Charles Morris, provisional surveyor, writes Governor Lawrence from Pisiquid that "Captain Watmore" informs him that he has but 110 men "in both Detachments," a number that he believes his Excellency will think too small to defend Fort Edward and protect the King's County settlements, as two of them, Minas and Canard, are remote and cannot depend upon assistance "from hence."¹⁰

Before 1773, Fort Edward, says Murdoch, was almost entirely destroyed, for in June of that year Lord William Campbell, the governor, declared to the Council his intention of reserving for himself a tract of land containing about twenty-one acres around the hill *on which the fort had formerly stood*.¹¹ Tradition has it, says Dr. Hind, that Lord William had a race course round Fort Edward hill, and Judge Haliburton says that "the ground originally reserved for military purposes in the neighborhood of the fort was granted during the administration of Lord William Campbell, *in the year 1767*, to his lordship's groom, and was afterward purchased for a valuable consideration by government."¹² Colonel Robert Morse, R. E., however, who in 1783 and 1784, under direction of Governor Parr, made a census of Nova Scotia and part of New Brunswick, at this later period describes the fort as still in tolerable order and equipped for purposes of defence. Fort Edward, he says, "is a small, square fort of 85 yards exterior front, with bastions, a ditch, and a raised counterscarp, and is composed of sod. Here are eight pieces of cannon mounted. This fort . . . was built early in the settlement of the province, first intended as a place of security against the Indians, *and repaired and improved in the beginning of the late war* to protect the inhabitants of Windsor from the ravages of the American privateers." Colonel Morse says that the fort had accommodation for 168 men and 8

9½. Nova Scotia Archives, Vol. 1, pp. 403, 442.

10. See Mr. Morris's letter, appendix.

11. Beamish Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 510.

12. Haliburton's "Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 108.

officers, and that the cannon it mounted included five iron nine-pounders, one iron six-pounder, and two iron four-pounders, and that it was supplied with 696 round shot, 10 case, and 10 grape.¹³

In 1829, Judge Haliburton wrote: "There is a small military post at Windsor, called Fort Edward, in honor of his Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, which is much out of repair and now scarcely tenatable. It is pleasantly and advantageously situated on elevated land that commands the entrance of both rivers. . . . The fortifications, it is said, are to be repaired and new and commodious barracks erected. At present a subaltern and a small detachment are stationed there."¹⁴

In command at Fort Edward in successive years were the following officers: 1750, Captain John Gorham; 1751, Captain St. Loe of the regular army, and Captain Sutherland of Warburton's regiment; 1753, Captain Hale, relieved November 1 (of that year) by Captain Matthew Floyer; 1754, Captain Floyer, Captain Cox (formerly, as was Captain Floyer in 1750, commandant at "Vieux Logis," Minas), and Captain Alexander Murray; 1755 Captains Murray and Cox, the force they commanded being increased, December 5, by Captain Lampson's and Captain Cobb's companies of the First Battalion of Governor Shirley's Massachusetts regiment; 1756, Captains Cox, Lampson and Cobb; 1757, Colonel Kennedy (in August the garrison received part of Colonel Kennedy's regiment, under Lord London); 1758, Captain Fletcher of Col. Frye's Massachusetts regiment, a detachment of the New England Rangers possibly also being in the fort; 1759, Captain Fletcher, Captain Gay of Colonel John Thomas' Massachusetts regiment, and Colonel Nathan Thwing; 1760, Captain Jotham Gay of Colonel Nathan Thwing's Massachusetts regiment.¹⁵

13. Hind's "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 3.

14. Haliburton's "Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 108. It is in this connection that Judge Haliburton says that the land about the fort was granted in 1767 to Lord William Campbell's groom.

15. "Old Parish Burying Ground," p. 43.

APPENDIX I

“To the King’s most excellent Majesty

“May it please your Majesty

“The success of your Majesty’s

“arms in the year 1755, in dispossessing the French of the several encroachments they had made at Beauséjour, Bay Verte, and in other parts of the Colony of Nova Scotia, having afforded a favourable opportunity of reducing the French Inhabitants of the Colony to that obedience which as subjects under the faith of the Treaty of Utrecht they owed to your Majesty’s Government, or forcing them to quit the Country, Charles Lawrence, Esqr., your Majesty’s Governor of the said Colony, availed himself of that conjuncture to try every means of inducing them to take the proper Oath of allegiance to your Majesty, unqualified with any Reservation whatever. But they persisting in an unanimous Refusal of such Oath, the said Governor and your Majesty’s Council, assisted by the advice and opinion of Admiral Boscawen and the late Rear Admiral Mostyn, resolved it to be indispensably necessary to the security of Nova Scotia, immediately to remove from that colony a set of people who refusing to become subjects to your Majesty according to the stipulation of the Treaty of Utrecht, had ever since under the name of Neutrals either abetted every hostile attempt of the French by secret Treachery or countenanced them by open force.

“This Resolution being carried into effectual execution by transporting the said French Inhabitants to the amount of near 7,000 persons and distributing them in proper proportions among the colonies on the Continent of North America, vast quantities of the most fertile land in an actual state of cultivation and in those parts of the Province the most advantageously situated for commerce in general and that of the Fishery in particular, became vacant and subject to your Majesty’s disposal: And the filling them with useful and industrious Inhabitants appeared to us to be of so great Importance to the future security and prosperity of Nova Scotia that it became an immediate object of our utmost attention and sollicitude. Accordingly we lost

no time in recommending it to your Majesty's Governor to consult with such of the neighboring Colonies as abound in Inhabitants and whose cleared Lands are already taken up and to use every other means in his Power toward inviting and procuring a proper number of settlers to seat themselves on the said vacated lands on the terms and conditions prescribed by your Majesty's Instructions.

"In pursuance of these directions your Majesty's Governor by private correspondence at first and afterwards by two publick Proclamations (of which we humbly beg leave to annex copies) made known the quantities, situation, and nature of the Lands, and the conditions on which he was impowered to Grant them, appointed agents at Boston and New York to treat with all Persons desirous to become settlers, and in consequence received several Proposals for settling Townships in different parts of the Province. And altho' the execution of those proposals has been greatly delayed by circumstances the most unfavorable to such undertakings, which necessarily arise in time of war, and particularly by the dread of those incursions and cruelties of the French and Indians, with which this Province has continually been harassed. We have nevertheless the great satisfaction humbly to represent to your Majesty that the zealous endeavors of your said Governor have at length been crowned with a success greatly beyond our expectations and almost equal to our wishes.

"It appears, may it please your Majesty, by letters and papers which we have lately received from Mr. Lawrence that an extraordinary disposition for settling in Nova Scotia, having in consequence of the said Proclamations diffused itself thro' the Colonies of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, in the two last of which the Inhabitants are growing too numerous for their present possessions, the said Governor has availed himself of that spirit not merely to people the cultivated Lands heretofore possessed by the French Inhabitants, according to the first idea, but also to grant out with them a very large proportion of wild and uncultivated country. That upon this Plan he has actually passed Grants of nine Townships containing 100,000 acres each within ye Bay of Fundy, and of four other

Townships of the like number of acres each on the Cape Sable shore. In which 13 townships it is covenanted that 2,550 Families, making in the whole 12,750 Persons, shall be seated in the course of the three ensuing years, in such Proportion and at such Periods as are specified in the annexed copy of the Abstract of the said grants, and Mr. Lawrence further informs us that he is actually in treaty with Persons who have applied to him for Grants of Six or Eight Townships more than are mentioned in the said abstract with respect to the Terms and Conditions on which the said 13 Townships have been Granted. . . .

“It appears by a copy of one of the Grants which Mr. Lawrence has transmitted to us as the model by which the rest were framed that they are conformable to the directions of your Majesty’s Instructions with regard to the Quantity allotted to each family, the Quit rent reserved by your Majesty and the conditions of cultivation and improvement. And the only circumstance which we regret in the management of this important business is that notwithstanding the uncommon fertility and other peculiar advantages of these Lands which might be deemed to afford sufficient encouragement to the settlers without incurring any expence to the Publick, we find that Mr. Lawrence has been obliged to consent to pay the charge of transporting the first year’s settlers of the three first Townships, and of making them a small allowance of Bread corn. But we are hopeful nevertheless that the Reasons set forth in the said Governor’s letter and in the Minutes of the Council (extracts of which we humbly beg leave to annex may induce your Majesty to approve the conduct of your Governor in consenting to these allowances, rather than risquing by too strict an attention to Economy the whole success of a measure which must be productive of the most essential advantages, not only to the Colony of Nova Scotia but to your Majesty’s other Colonies on the Continent of North America and finally to this Kingdom. For, by the accomplishment of this important undertaking, the Colony of Nova Scotia, becoming almost at once populous, will rise from the weak state of Infancy to such a degree of internal strength and stability as will naturally produce its own security, and contribute in a great measure to that of those neighboring Provinces to which it is a

Frontier. In consequence of these advantages it may reasonably be hoped that this Colony will in a few years cease to be a Burthen to the Mother Country to whose bountifull assistance it has hitherto owed its support, and that being thus enabled fully to avail itself of those great and lasting sources of Wealth which it possesses, it will not only have within itself all the necessaries of life sufficient for its own consumption but be in a capacity of exporting large Quantities of Grain, Hemp, Flax, Fish and other valuable commodities to the great increase and benefit of the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain and her Colonies.

“For these reasons we think it our duty humbly to lay before your Majesty the whole Proceedings of your Governor and Council in this important service (as set forth in the several papers hereunto annexed) humbly proposing that they may receive the sanction of your Majesty’s Royal approbation.

“All which is most humbly submitted.

“DUNK HALIFAX,
SOAME JENYNS,
W. G. HAMILTON,
W. SLOPER.

“Whitehall,
“Decem^r 20th, 1759.”

The thirteen “old townships” referred to in this letter were, we believe, Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth (the first townships formed for New England people), Truro, Onslow, Cumberland, Sackville, Amherst, Chester, Dublin, Annapolis, Granville, Liverpool. In a letter from the Lords of Trade to Lawrence of December 14, 1759, the gentlemen comprising this body signify their approval of Lawrence’s attempts “to settle the Province of Nova Scotia by scheme for Horton and 12 other Townships.”

APPENDIX II

Governor Lawrence on the 5th of February, 1759, writes the Lords of Trade: “Since I had the honour of writing to your Lordships in December last, enclosing a Proclamation issued in

the month of October, encouraging the settlement of the vacated lands, I have received information from Mr. Hancock, who does the business of this Province at Boston, that various applications have been made to him in consequence of it by people disposed to settle the Lands, but that there are some interesting points which the Proclamation did not fully sett forth and explain, and that it would be therefore necessary in order to his being enabled to resolve in a satisfactory manner such doubts as might arise in the people's minds upon these points that he should be further instructed concerning them. I immediately laid this letter before His Majesty's Council for their opinion, who advised me to issue another proclamation which herewith I have the honour to transmitt [dated January 11, 1759], to your lordships not doubting but as it is as nearly conformable as possible to His Majesty's commands signified in His Instructions, I shall be happy in your Lordships approbation of my conduct therein.

“It would be matter of the highest mortification to me should I hereafter appear to have taken any undue steps in a measure of so much moment as that of peopling these valuable tracts of land, and therefore whatever I engage in, without first hearing from your Lordships I shall undertake with the utmost caution and circumspection, but as the people on the continent discover at present a particular spirit to become adventurers in that part of the country, which if discouraged by any delay might be of the highest detriment to so desirable an undertaking, I presume your Lordships would have me use my best endeavours to avail myself of this favourable crisis and introduce what settlers I can, etc., etc.”

April 20, 1759, Lawrence writes: “I have now the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordships further that agents appointed by some hundred of associated substantial families residing in the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island are arrived here to visit the Bay of Fundy and chuse lands for the immediate establishment of two or more townships if in viewing the country they find it answers the description I have given of it in the Proclamation and the accounts handed about by the different people who have transiently had occasion to know something of its uncommon fertility. I propose sending them away in a few days

in one of the Province Vessells with the Principal Surveyor [Hon. Charles Morris], who is well acquainted with every department in the Bay, and who I am persuaded will bring them back perfectly pleased and satisfied with every thing that falls under their observation," etc., etc., etc.¹

APPENDIX III

[Letter from Hon. Charles Morris to Governor Lawrence, taken from the Council Records].

“PISQUID, June 1, 1760.

“SIR.—Having left the inhabitants of Liverpool in high spirits, extremely well pleased with their situation and the choice they have made for a Township, and for having discovered among other things great Quantities of fine Oak for ship building, on the 24th Inst. I sailed for the Bay, the 29th I put into Annapolis to deliver the settlers I had charge of; there I found forty settlers belonging to the Township of Annapolis, arrived just before us, and a committee for the Township of Granville, to lay out Lotts for their first setlers. These came in a vessel hired by Mr. Hancock for Mr. Evans and compy. and was to return the next Day for the remainder of the setlers and stock, who were not at first ready, so that they have hired one Vessel to go two Trips instead of two Vessels (I was obliged to tarry with them part of the next day, in order to satisfy some discontents), on account of the number of Troops allowed for their Protection.

“Colonel Hoar has not above 70 men reenlisted, the others insisting on being released and sent home, and I find by a Letter he has received by this Vessel from Governor Pownall there is no Recruits to be expected from thence, but he informs him the Troops will soon be otherways relieved; perhaps he has Advice that (as it is reported) Louisburg is to be demolished, and the Troops removed from this Province.

1. Hon. Charles Morris, for many years Surveyor General of Nova Scotia, was a Boston man. For a sketch of him (by the writer of this paper) see the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for July, 1913.

“The want of a sufficient number of Troops at this Juncture where so many settlements are carrying on, is not a little discouraging to the new Setlers, I am in hopes no Accident will happen to make a greater number necessary.

“The Cape Sable Indians have been at Annapolis, and have behaved friendly and left some of their wives and children there, and propose to return and bring their families, I think Mr. Hoar told me there were nine families.

“There is one Circumstance I beg leave to take notice of to your Excellency, mentioned to me by Coll. Hoar, that he had received Advice from Major Arbuthnot that 160 of his men had deserted, that he was apprehensive the others would the first opportunity, and that the Garrison would be in danger if anything should happen in that part of the Country.

“Having put the new Inhabitants at Annapolis, in a method how to divide and Improve their Land to their Satisfaction, I set sail the 30th and arrived last night here, and this morning between Eleven & Twelve, came up Captain Rogers, with six Transports with Inhabitants, principally for the Township of Minas, they have been out 21 days and Suffered much for want of sufficient Provinder and Hay for their Stock. We were obliged to Land the Cattle here which was done immediately, and purpose after they have recruited to drive them to Minas.

“Captain Rogers informs me that there were many Families more than they could provide Transports for, waiting at New London with their Cattle and that Captain Taggart who is daily expected, will bring a more full account of the particulars.

“I should be glad of your Excellency’s immediate orders if you think proper for sending back the Transports and which of the Province Vessels you purpose to accompany them, or both, and whether the vessels belonging to the Inhabitants of this Province are not to be preferred if there be more Vessels than sufficient: I am humbly of opinion that this opportunity of importing the Inhabitants ought by no means to be neglected, seeing they are ready for embarkation, the vessels already prepared both for Men and Cattle, and the Passage to and from Connecticut cannot be much longer than a month at this season.

“June 2d.

“There are four separate Places to be Settled, Canard, Minas, North and East side of Pisiquid.

“The Places I intend to propose at Canard is Boudrow’s Bank, at Minas the Vieux Lodgées, at Pisiquid for the North side the upland (between both marshes) East of Petit Cape in sight of this Fort, and the other I have not yet examined but intend such a Place as is within Sight of this Fort, and may by Signal be relieved.

“I hope your Excellency will think with me it is necessary at all these Places to have a small Lodgment for the Troops and a Place of Refuge in case any attempt now unforeseen should be made. That if they are permitted to scatter in their Settlements under its Present Circumstances, it may tempt the neutral French and the Indians to give them a fatal Blow which otherwise they would not think of.

“That a compact Town will be necessary at all these Places upon account of Trade and Tradesmen, and that such Settlements placed as they will be in the midst of all their clear Land, may be as advantageous to the Farmers, but that which is of the utmost Importance, is defending them at first and securing them so as to stand in spite of all attempts. Individuals may be unfortunate but a Settlement so founded will hold its ground.

“The charge of doing these things shall not be great but it will be necessary to have at least one Load of Boards about 30 in. for covering for the Troops and Stores: The rails I brought with me will be sufficient but cash will be wanting for Labour, and for which I shall want your Excellency’s orders or leave to draw for, and which I promise shall be as little as possible.

“Captain Watmore is heartily disposed to serve the Settlements and would be glad of a Share in some of those Lands for his children if any Vacancy should remain or be forfeited.

“He informs me he has but 110 men in both Detachments, a number I apprehend your Excellency will think too small to defend this Fort and protect these Settlements, as two of them, Minas and Canard, are remote, and cannot depend upon assistance from hence, however I shall proceed tomorrow if possible with the People to Minas, in order to unload the Vessels and

have them ready in case your Excellency thinks it necessary they should immediately return for Settlers, and hope to have Advice and orders thereon by the Return of the Party.

“I have inclosed your Excellency a Return of the number of Settlers and have inquired into the deficiency of Arms for which they have applied and for Ammunition. I have told them I would make a Return to your Excellency of what Arms were wanting, as to Ammunition it should be lodged with the officers Commanding the Parties, and to be issued only in Time of Necessity.

“I have the Honour to be
 “with the greatest Respect,
 “Your Excellency’s
 “Most obliged & obed^t.
 “humble Servant

“Signed
 “CHAS. MORRIS”

APPENDIX IV

It is well known that for many years, almost from the beginning of the settlement of Halifax, Messrs. Charles Apthorp and Thomas Hancock of Boston and Messrs. Delancey and Watts of New York were “factors” or agents in the other colonies for the Nova Scotia Government. At a Council meeting held at Governor Cornwallis’ house, July 6, 1750, His Excellency and six councillors being present, the Governor informed the Council that as there had been “some difficulty in raising the supplies of money necessary for the service of the colony, he had agreed to a proposal sent him by Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock of Boston, who engaged to provide him with Dollars, upon condition that they should likewise have the furnishing of all stores and materials, which His Excellency understood as meaning all such as might be wanted from that Province, but that these Gentlemen had since explained their terms, so as to oblige him to take everything whatever wanted for this Province from them only and not have it in his Power to buy anything whatever here, or in any of the northern Colonys, which terms he could not agree to without first consulting the Council. . . . That Delancey and

Watts write that provided His Excellency could assure them of the bills being duly honoured, there could be no Difficulty in being provided with Dollars from New York." *Nova Scotia Archives (printed)*, Vol. 1, pp. 619, 620.

November 27, 1750, Governor Lawrence writes the Lords of Trade: "Some gentlemen of Boston, who have long served the Government, because they have not the supplying of every thing, have done all the mischief they could; their substance which they have got from the Public enables them to distress and domineer; without them, they say, we can't do and so must comply with what terms they think proper to impose; these are Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock, the two richest Merchants in Boston; made so by the public money and now wanton in their insolent demands. They were proffered to supply all things from Boston, provided they would do it upon as reasonable terms as others, and supply money. No—unless every thing wanted was taken from them, they would not and have endeavored as far as in them lies, to depreciate the credit of the province. I have employed Mr. Gunter, a person who has shown his regard for the settlement by laying out a great deal of money in it, whereas the others have not contributed a sixpence to it, and have had the supplying, I dare say, one half of the necessaries wanted, and this is the return they make. It is quite indifferent to me who is employed. I wish to God some person you confide in was sent to transact the affairs of the Country relating to money matters.

. . . "Messrs. Delancey and Watts of New York, who have done all in their power to serve the Government, complain greatly of Mr. Kilby, his not acquainting them whether their Bills were paid or not; his threatening them with the charge of the Protest of their Bills and all costs. Indeed, my Lords, Mr. Kilby wants looking after, and if the complaints made against him are true, will ruin the credit and every being of the Province. I know very little of him, he is a very fair spoken man but in trade and has his connections in New England, and if what is said be true gives very unjust preferences in his payment of bills." *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. 1, pp. 630, 631.

Governor Shirley at Boston in a letter to Governor Lawrence

at Halifax of January 6, 1755, says: "Your Honour hath, I perceive, given Colonel Moncton unlimited credit upon Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock, and he looks upon himself confin'd by that to those Gentlemen for every article to be provided for in this expedition: I have a friendship for both of them and have been instrumental in introducing them, particularly Mr. Apthorp into the Business of the Board of Ordnance and as merchant factors for your Honour's Government, whc I think stands upon no appointment nor order of the Board of Trade, but purely upon the pleasure of the Govrs. of Nova Scotia from time to time: My kindness still remains for them, and we are upon exceedingly good terms; But as I have a Daughter lately marry'd to a mercht. here, who is a Young Gentleman of extreme good character, and for whose fidelity and honour in his dealings I can be answerable, of some Capital, and Eldest son to a mercht. of the largest fortune of any one in Boston I think I shall not do anything unreasonable by Mr. Apthorp and Hancock, if I request the favour of your Honour to let my son in Law Mr. John Erving be join'd with them in furnishing money and stores for this Expedition upon the same terms as they do." *Nova Scotia Archives, Vol. 1, p. 399.*

Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock furnished Lawrence with vessels in which to remove the Acadians, and presented large bills for this service. *Nova Scotia Archives, Vol. 1, pp. 285-293.* December 12, 1760, Lieutenant-Governor Belcher writes that Mr. Hancock "has advanced a very considerable sum towards the transportation and necessary supplies of corn for the settlers." In 1751 Joshua Manger was "agent victualler" for the navy at Halifax.

APPENDIX V

The grant of the township of Rawdon to which reference has been made in the foregoing paper was given on the 3d of August, 1784, (registered September 4th). The boundaries of the township as described in the grant were probably virtually the same as those of the present township of Rawdon. The warrant for the grant bears date June 26, 1784, and orders the laying out of

fifty-eight allotments of land to "John Bond and other associated Loyalists." The grant was actually given to Captain John Bond, William Meek, Colonel Zachariah Gibbs, Captain George Bond, and fifty-two others, and was for 23,000 acres in all, exclusive of 2,000 acres reserved for a school and glebe and other public uses, "also for an allowance for all such roads as may hereafter be deemed necessary to pass through the same. The grantees' names put in alphabetical order, and not in the order in which they occur in the grant, are as follows:

Alexander, Robert.	McMullon, Richard.
Atwood, Richard.	Meek, John.
Bond, Capt. George.	Meek, Samuel.
Bond, Capt. John.	Meek, William.
Bond, John.	Murphy, John.
Bowman, William.	Murphy, Philip.
Bruce, Moses.	Murphy, William.
Bryson, John.	Nichols, James.
Bryson, William.	Pearson, Col. Thomas.
Bryson, William, Jr.	Procter, Samuel.
Costley, Robert.	Ryland, Peter.
Covill, Samuel.	Saunderson, John.
Crossian, Jeremiah.	Scott, Robert.
Cunningham, William.	Simpson, Joseph.
Dimick, Shubald.	Snell, Daniel.
Ellis, Joseph.	Snell, David.
Fitzsimmons, James.	Snell, George.
Frelick, Adam.	Thornton, Abraham.
Gibbs, Col. Zachariah.	Thornton, Eli.
Green, Henry.	Thornton, Thomas.
Hoyt, Eli.	Wallace, William.
Landerkin, John.	Wier, Benjamin.
Lewis, John.	Wier, William.
Lively, Reuben.	Williams, Thomas.
Martindale, Henry.	Wilson, Roger.
Martindale, Henry, Jr.	Withrow, David.
McAllister, Samuel.	Withrow, Jacob.
McCullum, John.	Withrow, John.
McGuire, John.	

Sources: Nova Scotia Crown Land Registers; Nova Scotia Council Records; Nova Scotia Archives, 3 vols.; Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia; Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia;

Hind's Old Parish Burying Ground; Falmouth, Newport, and Windsor Township Books; Eaton's Histories of Kings County, Nova Scotia, and the Church of England in Nova Scotia; W. C. Milner's Chignecto Isthmus; Windsor Parish Register; Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe; New England Historical and Genealogical Register; Updike's History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, 2nd edition, edited by Rev. Dr. Daniel Goodwin; Arnold's Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island; William B. Weeden's Early Rhode Island, a Social History of the People; etc., etc.

The writer has also received valuable help from Dr. David Allison, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, who has a very intimate knowledge especially of the township of Newport.

“For Conscience Sake”

BY CORNELIA MITCHELL PARSONS

CHAPTER XII

ENGLISH FLAG RAISED—TREACHERY

“Skillful pilots gain their reputation from storms and tempests.”

—EPICURUS

“Conscience is the oracle of God.”—BYRON.

THERE was much uneasiness in Gravesend. The English colonists were growing restive under the yoke of Holland, and longed for freedom, and England’s rule. There was much plotting, but Lady Moody, always loyal to the Dutch and Governor Stuyvesant, spent precious time in trying to allay the excitement. She was growing old, and the “grasshopper had become a burden.”

George Baxter, as the months had passed, had been exiled and sent to England, where he spent some time. He returned with new plans and a decided purpose to rouse the English at Gravesend.

It was winter time, December, 1655. The East River had frozen over; the ice was very thick. Ensign George Baxter on his skates easily made his way to the Long Island shore.

It had been a full day for Lady Moody and Frances. Both had been busily engrossed with the plans for the coming marriage, which was to take place on the twenty-fourth, Christmas Eve. Looking from a window, Frances heard shouts, and called Lady Moody to her side. They could plainly discern that the English flag had been hoisted in place of the Dutch. The flag-pole was surrounded by wildly excited English, while the Dutch women, shaking their fists, and the men with fire-arms, were

DECEMBER, 1913

AMERICANA

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Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton

AMERICANA

December, 1913

Alexander McNutt, The Colonizer

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, D.C.L., F.R.S.C.

I

IN early annals of the province of Nova Scotia many notices are to be found of a remarkable and hitherto rather mysterious person known commonly as "Colonel" Alexander McNutt. It is a far cry from western Virginia to Nova Scotia, but in western Virginia local history also we are confronted with occasional statements concerning this man. McNutt was reared in Virginia, his parents, of the Scotch-Irish race, having probably brought him from Ireland to Pennsylvania at about the age of five years. Of the family from which he and his brothers sprang we have almost no knowledge, it was one of the many thrifty Scotch-Irish families that came out to Pennsylvania between 1728 and 1740, and scattering through the counties of Chester, Lancaster, Cumberland, and York, and multiplying rapidly there, at last spread over wider areas of Pennsylvania, and penetrated into more southern colonies, where wild, unbroken forests still remained. In the successive migrations from Ireland to Pennsylvania there were many families named McNutt, McNaught, McNitt, and McKnight, and one of these, the Christian name of whose head was possibly Alexander, after 1732, following in the wake of the pioneer John Lewis and his brawny sons, with sturdy courage travelled south into that wide Virginia region known as the County of Orange, west of the Blue Ridge, and there, like many others of his countrymen, cleared a farm and began life anew. In 1738 the county of

Augusta was organized from the county of Orange,¹ and from Waddell's "Annals of Augusta County" we learn that by this time in the great Shenandoah Valley county, the Scotch Irish had become very numerous, families existing there bearing the names, among others, of Alexander, Anderson, Bell, Breckenridge, Buchanan, Caldwell, Campbell, Craig, Crawford, Cunningham, Davison, Dickinson, Dunlap, Hays, Herison, Kerr, Lewis, McNutt, Patton, Stuart, and Thompson. Of these people in general, we know that no better stock has ever been transplanted to our shores, they were plain, frugal, hardy, intelligent farmers and artisans, full of courage, dominated by the Calvinistic faith, willing and able to endure hardships, and bound to produce men who should by and by come to places of high control in American life. Of the McNutt family in the beginning we know, as we have said, almost nothing. The eleventh governor of Mississippi, Alexander Gallatin McNutt, born in 1801 or 1802, is said to have been a great-grandson of its founder, and whatever the first name of the Virginia pioneer may have been, it is clear that the subject of the present sketch was one of his sons.²

The first notice of any kind we have of the man known as "Colonel" Alexander McNutt is in connection with the settlement of Staunton, the capital of Augusta county, Virginia, in 1750. In the laying out of that town, the historian Joseph A. Waddell informs us, "Alexander McNutt purchased for three pounds the lot of forty-eight poles adjoining and east of the present jail lot, where the Bell Tavern afterwards stood."³ That the buyer of this lot was "Colonel" McNutt seems evident from the statement of Mr. Waddell that "while living in Nova Scotia in 1761 McNutt executed a power of attorney authorizing his brother John to sell and convey his real estate," in pursuance of which instrument, "John McNutt, on August 16, 1785, conveyed to Thomas Smith, in consideration of £110, lot No. 10 in Staun-

1. One historian that we have seen says that it was organized in 1745.

2. A volume called "Genealogies and Reminiscences," published in Chicago in 1897, attempts a genealogical sketch of the Virginia McNutt family, but a comparison of this sketch with facts we shall give as our paper proceeds will show the Chicago author's almost entire ignorance of the family.

3. "Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871," by Joseph Addison Waddell, Second Edition, revised and enlarged, published by C. Russell Caldwell, Staunton, Va., 1902, p. 72.

ton, which was purchased by Alexander in 1750 for £3, as stated on page 72."⁴

The second notice we have of Alexander McNutt is in connection with an attempted raid, by order of Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, on a remote village of Shawnee Indians on the Ohio river, in 1756. In this obscure expedition, which is commonly spoken of as the "Sandy Creek Expedition," as a young militia lieutenant, or probably captain, McNutt took part, our knowledge of this fact coming from established Virginia local tradition and from an evident casual mention of McNutt in a letter of Governor Dinwiddie, in which the latter, relating the preparations made for the expedition says: "One Capt. McMett⁵ and some others proposed some men on a voluntary subscription." The chief command of this expedition had been given by the governor to a certain Major Andrew Lewis, probably one of the sons of the pioneer John Lewis, and tradition has it that during its progress McNutt kept a journal in which he commented unfavorably on his superior officer's judgment and skill. Sometime after the event he handed his journal to the governor, and when Major Lewis knew of the facts he was so angry that on next meeting McNutt in the street of Staunton, he attacked him and the two had a knock-down fight.⁶ Whether this public quarrel between

4. Annals of Augusta County (1902), p. 230. It is said further, p. 231, that John McNutt, brother of Alexander, "settled on North River, Rockbridge." This is a mistake, in 1765 he settled, as a blacksmith, in Nova Scotia, and in Nova Scotia he thereafter lived until his death.

5. The spelling "McMett," in Dinwiddie's letter, may be a mistake of the printer. At any rate the reference seems to show that Dinwiddie had only a slight acquaintance with McNutt.

6. In Alexander Scott Withers' "Chronicles of Border Warfare," first published in Clarksburg, in northwestern Virginia, in 1831, describing the "Sandy Creek expedition" against the Shawnees, the author says: "In Captain Alexander's company, John M'Nutt, afterwards governor of Nova Scotia, was a subaltern. . . . A journal of this campaign was kept by Lieutenant M'Nutt, a gentleman of liberal education and fine mind. On his return to Williamsburg he presented it to Governor Fauquier, by whom it was deposited in the executive archives. In this journal Colonel Lewis was censured for not having proceeded directly to the Scioto towns. . . . This produced an altercation between Lewis and M'Nutt, which was terminated by a personal encounter." Captain Paul, Withers says, had proposed to cross the Ohio river, invade the towns on the Scioto, and burn them, or perish in the attempt. This proposal McNutt supported, but Lewis overruled. Withers' "Chronicles of Border Warfare" was in part based on some earlier newspaper sketches by Hugh Paul Taylor. It was edited and annotated by Reuben Gold Thwaites, and republished in Cincinnati in 1895. See for the account above, this new edition, pp. 81-86. Commenting on the Sandy Creek expedition, Mr. Joseph A. Waddell, the Virginia historian, says: "As much doubt remains in regard to many facts connected with this famous expedition as surrounds the wars between the

Lewis and McNutt occurred in 1756 or 1757 we do not know, but it is not impossible that it may have had something to do with McNutt's leaving Virginia and coming north to Massachusetts and New Hampshire. How soon after the quarrel he did come north we cannot tell, but in September, 1758, we find him, then probably aged about thirty, living among his Scotch-Irish countrymen in the town of Londonderry, New Hampshire, the earliest of whom had landed in Boston from Ireland in 1718. What his occupation in Londonderry was, or for what purpose, precisely, he had come north we have no facts to show, but on the 26th of September of the year given above, as one of a group of seventy-one "freeholders and inhabitants" of Londonderry, he signs a memorial of thanks to his Excellency Benning Wentworth, Esq., governor, for not permitting an increase of tavern licenses to be granted the town.⁷

How much time may have elapsed after this before McNutt's military ambition led him to apply to the Governor of Massachusetts for employment in the Massachusetts militia service we cannot tell, but in the Council records of this colony of the year 1759 we suddenly come on the following entry: "Advised and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto Captain Alexander McNutt and company the sum of eighty-

Greeks and Trojans. Various writers state that the expedition took place in 1757, and that the men were recalled when near the Ohio river, by order of Governor Fauquier, but the Dinwiddie papers show that it occurred early in 1756, and that the survivors returned home more than two years before Fauquier became Governor of Virginia. To this day, however, the number of men led out into the wilderness by Lewis is uncertain, and also how many companies there were and who commanded them." Mr. Waddell also says: "The person referred to by Governor Dinwiddie as 'one Captain McMet' was no doubt Alexander McNutt, a subaltern officer in Captain Alexander's company. He has been mentioned as the purchaser of a town lot in Staunton. It is stated that Lieutenant McNutt kept a journal of the campaign, which he presented to Governor Fauquier, when the latter came into office, and which was deposited in the executive archives at Williamsburg. In this journal the writer reflected upon the conduct of Major Lewis, which led to a personal affray between Lewis and McNutt in Staunton." If McNutt's journal ever existed nothing whatever is now known of its fate. See "Annals of Augusta County, Virginia," by Joseph Addison Waddell.

7. New Hampshire State Papers (Town Papers), Vol. 9. See index. The name here signed "Alexander McNutt" can reasonably be no other than that of the Virginia Captain, for no other person of the McNutt name can be found in or near Londonderry at this date. As we have elsewhere intimated, we have had no opportunity to examine Virginia local records, but it would seem incontestable that the Alexander McNutt of the Sandy Creek expedition and the town of Staunton was the Nova Scotia colonizer. If it were not for the notices of him in Virginia we should suppose that when he appeared first in New Hampshire he had newly arrived from Ireland. If he came from Virginia, as we suppose he did, we are under the necessity of believing that after he began to colonize Nova Scotia he induced his three brothers and his sister to remove from Virginia also.

one pounds, nineteen shillings and seven pence (to each person or order the sum respectively due), for their service at Pemaquid [Maine] from the 2nd day of October, 1759, to the 18th of October, 1760.”⁸ On a later page of the same volume of Records we find recorded a warrant “for payment to Alexander McNutt and company, the sum of four hundred and seventy-two pounds, sixteen shillings, and one penny (to each person or order the sum respectively due) for their service in the pay of the Province, to discharge the muster roll beginning the 28th day of April, 1760, and ending the 30th day of November following. To Captain Alexander McNutt the sum of nineteen pounds, three and two-pence, for sending supplies to the men. Amounting on the whole to the sum of four hundred and ninety-one pounds, nineteen and threepence.⁹ In one of the volumes of the unprinted Massachusetts Archives that record the military services of Massachusetts troops before the Revolution, under date of December 8, 1760, we find McNutt swearing to the accuracy of an account of £491. 19.3., “for payment of a party of thirty-two men belonging to a company of Provincials under his charge,” who had enlisted April 28, 1760, for Fort Cumberland, Nova Scotia, and had served to November 30, 1760.¹⁰ Accompanying this charge is a muster roll giving the names of the men and the amount of wages due each. Several of the company were from Windham, New Hampshire, one of the Windham men being Samuel Clyde, who later became a colonel and saw service in the Revolution on the American side.¹¹ Clyde’s wages were £12.3.0., and it seems that he did not return from Nova Scotia with McNutt and the rest of the company, but remained, probably at Halifax. Curiously, in some miscellaneous unprinted “Suffolk Court Records,” in Boston, we find it recorded that January 1, 1761, Clyde, then in Halifax, sued McNutt in Boston for a debt of £21.3.0., due him, and attached a chest of McNutt’s. In the Inferior Court of Massachusetts, Clyde obtained a judgment against McNutt, and without legal protest McNutt paid the debt.¹² The Windham men in

8. Massachusetts Council Records, unprinted, Volume 14, p. 289.

9. Massachusetts Council Records, Vol. 14, p. 293.

10. Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 98, pp. 146, 221.

11. Morrison’s History of Windham, New Hampshire, p. 60.

12. Suffolk SS. George the Third by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc. To the Sheriff of Our County of Suffolk, his under Sheriff or Deputy Greeting: We command you to

this company of McNutt's, the History of Windham says, all served at Fort Cumberland. In the Council Records of Massachusetts, under date of November 29, 1760, stands a warrant for the payment to Captain Alexander McNutt of sixteen pounds, sixteen shillings, to discharge his account for the passage of himself and twenty-seven men from Halifax, at two dollars each¹³ In the Massachusetts Archives are also two undated bills of McNutt's, one for the sum of £1.12.6., for having enlisted five men and an ensign for the total reduction of Canada, and one for the sum of £10.10.8., for payment of a company of sixty men and a lieutenant, that he had raised for the reduction of Canada, "out of Colonel Osgood's regiment." The sixty-one names in the billeting roll accompanying this charge are plainly written, and many of them prove to be Scotch-Irish names, some of whom, from New Hampshire towns, we find among the first grantees and settlers in Truro, Nova Scotia, directed thither, as is well known, by McNutt.¹⁴

The last record of McNutt in the military archives of Massachusetts is dated December 6, 1760. At this date McNutt renders an account to the General Court for his expenses in making two journeys from Boston to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in quest of deserters; for David Robinson's expenses in travelling to Bedford and Framingham for deserters; for payment to

attach the goods or estate of Alexander McNutt, gentleman, now residing in Boston in sd. county, to the value of thirty pounds, and for want thereof to take the body of the said Alexander (if he may be found in your precinct) and him safely keep, so that you have him before our Justices of Our Inferior Court of Common Pleas next to be holden at Boston within and for our said county of Suffolk on the first Tuesday of April next, then and there in our said court to answer unto Samuel Clyde of Hallifax in our Province of Nova Scotia, yeoman, in a plea of the case for that the defendant on the fourteenth day of January current, at Boston aforesaid being indebted to the plaintiff in the sum of twenty-one pounds and three shillings for that sum which the Defendant before that had received at two different times, viz., twelve pounds and three shillings at one time of Harrison Gray and the rest before that, and in consideration thereof the Defendant though requested has not paid them but neglects to pay it to the damage of the said Samuel Clyde as he saith, the sum of thirty pounds which shall then and there be made to appear, with other damages and have you there this writ with your doings therein.

"Witness, Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq., at Boston this 10 day of January, in the 1st year of our reign. Annoque Domini, 1761. Middlecott Cook, Clerk."

On the back of this warrant is endorsed: "Suffolk, January 16, 1761. Then and by virtue of this writ I attached a Chest of the Defendant and would have left him a Summons but the Defendant paid the plaintiff his demand. Benjamin Cudworth, Deputy Sheriff." Below is Clyde's receipt: "I acknowledge the above to be true. Witness my hand.

SAMUEL CLYDE."

13. Massachusetts Council Records, Vol. 14, p. 291.

14. Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 98, pp. 146, 147.

James Cowan and Moses Blaisdell, "as per account;" for the payment of the passage of one of his soldiers to Halifax; and for the payment of a clerk who had made up his muster roll.¹⁵

In 1755, as the world knows, occurred that pitiful tragedy, the forcible expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia, and shortly afterwards, the Nova Scotia governor, Colonel Charles Lawrence, with the authority of the crown issued two proclamations^{15½} offering the recently depopulated and hitherto unsettled lands in the fertile Acadian province freely to settlers of British stock. That these proclamations should have stirred the imagination of McNutt as they stirred the ambition of thousands of native New Englanders, who accepted their terms and transferred themselves and their belongings to Nova Scotia, is not at all strange, McNutt, with more than the usual ambition of energetic young manhood was looking for worlds to conquer, and the alluring possibility of making himself a great colonizer and peopling the fair province by the sea with families of his own race soon began to fire his restless brain. It was not until seven months after Lawrence's second proclamation, however, that he presented himself to the governor and council in Halifax as desiring to assist emigration to the province. In the meantime a good many agents representing considerable groups of New England people who had read the proclamations and were seriously contemplating removal to Nova Scotia, had arrived at Halifax and been received by the government. According to the careful memorial of the Committee of Council to the English Lords of Trade,¹⁶ McNutt came first to Halifax in the month of August, 1759, and applied to Governor Lawrence for grants of land "for himself and sundry persons his associates," and his request was met by a written engagement of the Governor to have one township set apart for him at Port Roseway, in what is now the county of Shelburne, at the extreme southwestern end of Nova Scotia, and six townships in the district of Cobequid, in what is now Colchester County, on or near Cobequid Bay and along the Shubenacadie river, with leave to settle families in

15. Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 98, p. 222.

15½. The dates of the issuing of these proclamations were respectively, October 12, 1758, and January 11, 1759. See Eaton's History of King's County, Nova Scotia, p. 60.

16. This memorial is given as an appendix to the present paper.

thirty-five "rights" in the township of Granville, in Annapolis County. McNutt's visit at this time could not have lasted long, and it is doubtful whether he was again in Halifax until April, 1760,^{16½} when he took, as we believe, the little company of thirty-two soldiers to the province to serve for a few months in the garrison at Fort Cumberland. At that time he produced, the Committee of Council say, a list of six hundred subscribers who had engaged with him to settle in Nova Scotia, among these, no doubt, the names of the men who soon after became grantees in the Nova Scotia township of Truro, in Colchester County. The first Truro grantees number by actual count, fathers and their young sons together, only eighty-two, and this substantiates the Committee of Council's statement that of McNutt's six hundred subscribers only fifty families came to Nova Scotia.

McNutt's first successful efforts at colonizing Nova Scotia were made among his friends in the Scotch-Irish colony at and near Londonderry, New Hampshire. On his movements as a militia captain, and the organizer of the New Hampshire company which settled Truro, Nova Scotia, in 1761, interesting sidelights are thrown by the Diary of Hon. Matthew Patten of Bedford, New Hampshire.¹⁷ It has been questioned whether McNutt was really the organizer of this company, but certain entries in this Diary show plainly that he was. With the exception of the Truro colony and one other, the Essex County, Massachusetts, group of families that in 1762 settled Maugerville, on the St. John River, in what is now the province of New Brunswick,¹⁸ in spite of McNutt's own ambitious claims that he had been instrumental in bringing to Nova Scotia virtually all the New England people who settled in the province, we have not

^{16½}. A careful examination of the Council Books at Halifax shows that Nov. 3, 1760, is the earliest date on which McNutt is mentioned in these records. At this date it is said that McNutt petitions the Council, as the late Governor of the Province had promised him land at Cobequid, Shubenacadie, and Port Roseway on the Cape Sable shore, on condition that he would procure settlers, to give him all the help this body could.

¹⁷. "Diary of Matthew Patten of Bedford, N. H., from 1754 to 1799," published in 1903.

¹⁸. Archdeacon Raymond's History of the River St. John, chapters 13 and 16, and his first monograph, pp. 81-83. In his "St. John River," chapter 13 (p. 277), Dr. Raymond says: "Lieut.-Governor Belcher in 1763 complained to the Lords of Trade of McNutt's 'percipitate and unjustifiable' act in sending so large a body of settlers to the River St. John without previous notice or indeed any suspicion of such a measure on the part of the authorities of Nova Scotia."

the slightest reason to believe that any one of the other townships peopled by New Englanders in any measure owed its settlement to him. Even with the settlement of Onslow, the adjoining township to Truro, whose people came largely from towards the western part of Massachusetts, we find no evidence that McNutt had anything whatever to do.¹⁹ At this period of his life, as indeed throughout his whole career, McNutt kept himself pretty closely identified with the Scotch-Irish race, to which he belonged, and as early as November, 1760, he tells the Nova Scotia Council that he has already sent a vessel to the North of Ireland to bring out settlers from there, and that he soon intends to go to Ireland himself.²⁰ In the beginning of 1761, even before his New Hampshire colony had sailed for Truro he did go to England, with a letter from Lieutenant-Governor Belcher recommending him as a proper agent to bring over settlers from Ireland. From that country, the October following, he brought to Halifax a company, which he himself represents as "near four hundred persons," but which Lieutenant Governor Belcher in the year that they came speaks of as "upwards of two hundred," and the Report of the Committee of the Council in 1766 gives as "about two hundred and fifty."²¹ In November, 1762, he brought out from Ireland a smaller group, of about a hundred and fifty persons, which number in his memorial to the Lords of Trade, read March 23, 1763, he likewise characteristically exaggerates to "near four hundred."²²

Returning soon to England McNutt remained abroad until the autumn of 1764, his occupation in the interval, he says, being "sending away French Protestants to America." What he really was doing or how he managed to live, is a mystery to us, but during the time the new scheme evidently formed in his mind of inducing Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishmen and perhaps others to remove to Nova Scotia, and in the autumn of 1764 he recrossed the ocean to Philadelphia. Like other "promoters" he naturally

19. See Eaton's "Settlement of Colchester County, Nova Scotia," in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1912.

20. Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, p. 64. It is not likely that he had really sent a vessel to Ireland at this early period of his colonization schemes.

21. Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, p. 69, and the Report of the Committee of Council, in the appendix.

22. The Report of the Committee of Council gives the number as about a hundred and fifty.

went first with his project to conspicuous men, and Benjamin Franklin, who was then at home, was probably one of the first persons he approached. What his representations to Franklin and other Philadelphia gentlemen of influence were we can easily conjecture, for McNutt never minimized his own authority or presented his schemes in a less alluring light than the facts warranted. That in some way, in the course of his brief negotiations with Franklin, he became liable to the latter for money, we have evidence in letters from Franklin's business associate in Woodbridge, New Jersey. In a letter of November 23, 1764, Parker mentions "Colonel McNott," and in another of January 14, 1765, he says: "I was returned from Pennsylvania before your letter from the Capes came up, wherein you mention Mr. Nott's affair. I upon the notice you wrote about it, wrote to Dunlap and Mr. Nott—the latter of which informed the other that he had agreed to pay you, and that those orders were gone home; that however he, Mr. McNott, agreed to give you a bond for the money due, which if paid in England could be afterwards taken up, which bond he executed and sent to me, so I give Dunlap credit for it. This I hope will be agreeable to your instructions or intentions. The sum is £48.4.10., payable ye first of May next.²³ In the "Draft Scheme" of his autobiography Mr. Franklin has the item, "Grant of Land in Nova Scotia," but the autobiography is not carried far enough to give any mention of the obtaining of the grant. The Grant Books at Halifax, however, inform us that on the 31st of October, 1765, a grant of 100,000 acres was given at Peticodiac, to Alexander McNutt, Matthew Clarkson, Edward Duffield, Gerardus Clarkson, John Nagle, Benjamin Franklin, Anthony Wayne, John Hughes, John Cox, Jr., Isaac Caton, John Relfe, James Caton, William Smith, Hugh Neal, Thomas Barton, William Moore, Joseph Richardson, John Hall, William Craig, Jobina Jacobs, John Bayley, and Benjamin Jacobs. On the same date another grant of 100,000 acres on the River St. John, was given to almost the same group of men, Benjamin Franklin among them.

Accompanied by several prominent Philadelphians, no doubt

23. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1902, Second Series. Vol. 16, pp. 195, 196.

from the group whose names we have just given, in March, 1765, as both McNutt himself and the Committee of Council relate, McNutt arrived in Halifax. In one of his wordy memorials he declares that he brought with him "a great number of families," but the Committee of Council in their categorical statement of McNutt's services to the Province mention no such company though they say that "another Association from Philadelphia, who had contracted with the Government to settle a Township at Sepody, sent a ship *about this time* with twenty-five families, agreeable to their contracts, seated them on their lands, furnished them with stock, materials for building and farming, and have supported with provision ever since, *in which Colonel McNutt had no kind of concern whatever.*" The only other emigrants that we know of from Pennsylvania to Nova Scotia were six families who arrived at Pictou in the *Hope*, from Philadelphia, June 10, 1765, to settle on the so-called "Philadelphia Grant." Of these a family of Harrises remained permanently in the province, as did also a family of Pattersons, but concerning the others we are not informed. It may or may not have been due to McNutt's influence that these families came.²⁴

With regard to the gentlemen who accompanied McNutt from Philadelphia to Halifax, the Committee of Council further say: These gentlemen "informed the Government that Colonel McNutt had assured them that his Majesty's Instructions to the Governor of Nova Scotia, dated the 20th of May, 1763, directing the terms of settlement to be granted to the settlers he had introduced into this province from the Kingdom of Ireland, included them and all others whom he should introduce, and promised that they should have lands on those terms, which was not only deceiving those people, but also created many difficulties for the Government here, and those gentlemen declared that they would have no further concern with Colonel McNutt, and accordingly made their applications to Government without taking any notice of him."

We have here, no doubt, the exact facts concerning the emigration of Pennsylvanians to Nova Scotia in 1765, except that the Association sending the twenty-five families may possibly

24. Rev. Dr. Patterson's "History of Pictou, Nova Scotia," and Campbell's "The Scotsman in Canada," pp. 94-99.

have been formed owing in some measure to the interest aroused in Nova Scotia by the efforts of McNutt. As a matter of fact, probably not more than half a dozen, if so many, of the twenty-five families remained, for we have Mr. Franklin's authority for saying that most of the Pennsylvanians who came to the Province, "with great complaints against the severity and length of the winters," before long returned to the middle states.²⁵

In this comparatively unimportant migration of Pennsylvanians to Nova Scotia in 1765, we reach the extremest limit of McNutt's success in colonizing Nova Scotia. His own claims to the Lords of Trade concerning the number of people he had brought to the Province widely transcend the facts, it is clear now that the various groups he had brought or induced to come, limit themselves to the New Hampshire colony that settled Truro, the two groups he himself led from Ireland in 1761 and 1762, respectively, the Essex County, Massachusetts, people he influenced to come to Mangerville in 1762, about fifty people who came from Ireland to join their old friends and neighbors in the province, in 1765,²⁶ and the very few permanent settlers who may have been influenced by him to come from Pennsylvania in 1765.

In 1911 an able Canadian historian, Ven. Archdeacon Raymond, LL. D., published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada a remarkable monograph on "Colonel Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlements of Nova Scotia."²⁷ In the archives at Ottawa Dr. Raymond found copies of a large number of papers relating to McNutt and his colonization schemes during the seven years from 1759 to 1766, and in his monograph he has given us the main facts of McNutt's tangled negotiations with the Nova Scotia Government and the Lords of Trade in England in the prosecution of his schemes during those years. At first the government showed him great favor, for settlers for the province were strongly desired, and McNutt made representations that seemed to promise a speedy occupation

25. "The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, Collected and Edited, with a Life and Introduction," by Albert Henry Smyth, New York, 1907, Vol. 5, p. 508.

26. See the statement of the Committee of Council in the Appendix.

27. In 1912, Archdeacon Raymond, having in the meantime discovered some of the facts that we have embodied in this paper, published in the "Transactions." Another shorter monograph on McNutt, which considerably modified the first.

of a great part of the unsettled Nova Scotia land. Very soon, however, the colonizer began to complain bitterly of obstruction to his plans, and until he finally retired from the field he pursued a course of loud recrimination against the government that we believe to have been largely unwarranted and to give evidence chiefly that he was possessed of an unbalanced mind. It is strongly our opinion that the Nova Scotia Committee of Council spoke truly when they finally declared with warmth that the obstruction to his plans on the part of the Government that Colonel McNutt so persistently complained of, was chiefly due to his own "intemperate zeal and exorbitant demands," and that the Government had been disposed to show him "the indulgence and kind treatment that any reasonable man could properly desire." Of the Government's willingness to give proper assistance in any reasonable effort to settle the province we need no further assurance than the fact that between the first of June and the last of October, 1765, to McNutt and his brothers and large groups of men whom the colonizer represented as intending to settle in the province and for whom he claimed to be acting, the governor and council granted the enormous sum of about a million and three-quarters acres of land. That McNutt's claims concerning the number of people who had empowered him to act for them in obtaining grants were greatly exaggerated, seems to us certain from the fact that before 1812 by far the greater part of these huge grants, because of the absence of settlers, by formal escheatment was once more restored to the crown^{27½}

A remarkable feature of McNutt's character, indeed, was his tendency to make exaggerated claims. This is nowhere more conspicuous than in the declarations he makes to the Lords of Trade of service he had actually rendered in the matter of col-

^{27½}. The appearance of McNutt's own name on a great many of the grants in question is explained by the Committee of Council, and we believe truthfully, to have been due to the Government's conscientious desire to do McNutt no injustice in its apportionment of lands. Not always satisfied with his conduct, and finally altogether distrusting the man, they yet recognized "his apparent zeal for settling the vacated lands" in the Province, and as they conceived that it might *in some measure primarily* be owing to him that various groups of men had applied for land, which persons if they should become settlers would prove a great acquisition to the young colony, thought it only "just and right" that his name should be included in grants to all "associations" with whom he appeared in any way to have been concerned.

onizing Nova Scotia. Before us lie four memorials, of the many which in the course of his efforts to colonize he formally presented to the Lords of Trade,²⁸ in which McNutt makes statements that are truly astounding. In 1760, he says, he procured about one thousand families, from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, to settle in Nova Scotia. He has employed, he states, at great expense more than thirty agents, in ten different provinces to prosecute the colonization of Nova Scotia, and he has an agent at Halifax to attend to his business there. He has settled in the Province two thousand families, including a number of German families, and he has contracts for settlement with six thousand families more. In March, 1765, he took, he says, "a great number of families" from Pennsylvania to Nova Scotia, and he adds that the gentlemen who accompanied him had been appointed to represent "many thousand families who had engaged to settle in Nova Scotia." He is able and ready to introduce into the province any number of people from other American colonies, or Protestants from Germany and France. The expenses he has incurred in his vast undertakings have been enormous, and the damages he has sustained by the Nova Scotia Government's bad treatment of him have reached startling figures. The real facts of this strange man's services to the colonization of Nova Scotia, as we have shown, are not now difficult to make out, and many of these statements of his are so grossly at variance with facts that we hesitate to believe that a person who could so boldly make them can properly be regarded as sane. At the time when McNutt said he had settled a thousand families in Nova Scotia there were only about five hundred families in all the townships.²⁹ Not only from the plain statements of the Committee of Council but influenced by many other considerations we say without hesitation that with the removal of the greater part of the Massachusetts, as with the Connecticut and

28. These Memorials bearing the Expective dates of reception by the Lords of Trade of January 19, March 18, and March 23, 1763, and April 17, 1766, as well as the Report of the Committee of Council, read November 6, 1766 (See Appendix), in which McNutt's charges are indignantly refuted and his actual services to the Province categorically and with due acknowledgment set forth, were copied at Ottawa by Archdeacon Raymond, and have very generously been lent by him for use in preparing this paper.

29. Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, p. 63.

Rhode Island, settlers to Nova Scotia, in 1760 and 1761, McNutt had not the slightest connection. That he was ever concerned or had any marked influence in sending to any part of America large numbers of German or French Protestants we do not believe.³⁰ That he had ever directed to Nova Scotia any German families at all we have seen no evidence of. His assertion that he had brought to Halifax in 1765 a great number of families from Pennsylvania we know to have been false. The plain truth about the man and his statements is without doubt told in the indignant memorial of the Committee of Council, in refutation of his exaggerated claims of service, and his fierce charges against the Government, presented to the Lords of Trade in August, 1766. "Upon the whole," says the memorial, "the Committee of His Majesty's Council are of the opinion the memorial of Colonel Alexander McNutt addressed to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations is almost and altogether false and scandalous, that the facts are misrepresented, and his complaints without just grounds." "That the obstruction Colonel McNutt complains of from the rulers in this province since the death of Governor Lawrence have proceeded from his own intemperate zeal and exorbitant demands." "That the great expense incurred by Colonel McNutt in pursuing his scheme of making settlements in this province cannot be charged to any obstruction he met with from the Government here in any respect, nor can

30. "A rather curious proposition," says Archdeacon Raymond, "was made by McNutt to the Lords of Trade early in 1763. McNutt offered at four weeks' notice to provide vessels, properly fitted and victualled, to transport foreign Protestants without any cost to the Government, to South Carolina, on consideration that he should receive for every man, woman and child embarked, at the rate of fifty acres of land on the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island)." "The Lords of Trade were not disposed to grant so large a quantity of land on the Island of St. John to one individual, as it might tend to a monopoly inconsistent with the public interest. They therefore offered the Colonel the grant of a tract in Nova Scotia, free from the payment of quit rents for ten years, in proportion to the number of people he should carry to Carolina. In consequence of the engagements entered into, McNutt at the close of the year submitted a memorial to the Lords of Trade stating that he was entitled to 10,000 acres of land and desired to have a grant on each side of Indian Bay, in the Island of Cape Breton, with Cape Sherburne and other such parts as he might choose upon Spaniard's Bay or Harbour." Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, p. 84.

If McNutt was entitled to the 10,000 acres he claimed, i. e. fifty acres for every person he had taken or directed to South Carolina, then the number of his emigrants would have been two hundred. Regarding this alleged enterprise we can only say that no history of South Carolina we have seen makes any mention of it, and with so many other false statements of McNutt's before us we have no faith that McNutt here tells the truth. The whole matter, as Archdeacon Raymond says, is indeed most extraordinary.

we tell how it arose that Colonel McNutt, though often called upon for that purpose, never produced vouchers for the expenditure of one shilling, except he means some accounts from his agents,³¹ not signed by them and otherwise very blind and imperfect." "That after inquiry we cannot find any agent Colonel McNutt ever had at Halifax, unless he means some one of his creditors of whom he borrowed money, and at his going away deposited in his hands sundry securities that he had taken from the settlers he brought into this province for payment of their passages." "And we could wish that the great concern Colonel McNutt expresses at being under the necessity of mentioning anything in the least tending to the disadvantage of any man's character, had in any degree prevented his departure from truth and decency, his reflections on that head being altogether without either."

"The year 1766," says Archdeacon Raymond, "witnessed the decline of Alexander McNutt's fortunes. His plans for the promotion of Irish immigration, which at one time looked so promising, had been frustrated by the action of the ministry in England. He had ceased to be a middleman between the immigrants of Pennsylvania and the Nova Scotia government. He had quarrelled with Governor Wilmot and his council at Halifax. In consequence he seems to have concluded it best to retire to Port Roseway and do what he could to promote his settlement there."³² From the beginning of his negotiations with the Nova Scotia Government McNutt seems to have had a special liking for the country bordering on what is now Shelburne harbor. This harbor is indeed a beautiful and spacious one, and so attractive did it prove at a later time that when in 1783 the New York Loyalists determined to remove to some part of Nova Scotia it was here that they planned to settle and did for a time locate. In 1759 the Nova Scotia government had promised McNutt a township at Port Roseway, but it was not until 1765 that a grant at this place was actually given him. On the 26th of September, 1765, a memorial from him was read at a meeting of the Council in Halifax asking for a grant at Port Roseway in order that he might

31. Who the "more than thirty" agents McNutt says he had in various colonies were we should much like to know.

32. Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, p. 95.

found there a township to be called by the extraordinary name *New Jerusalem*. This petition was granted and on the 15th of October the grant was formally made out and McNutt entered into possession of an immense tract of land, containing roughly one hundred thousand acres, including islands lying south of the tract.³³ Of these islands the most important was the large island at the mouth of Shelburne Harbor which still bears the name "McNutt's Island," and here McNutt himself, we presume in conjunction with his brother Benjamin, built a house in which Benjamin evidently lived until near the time of his death, and to which Alexander in the intervals of his wandering frequently returned.³⁴ Of McNutt's efforts to settle his township, New Jerusalem, we have found no records whatever, but careful study of the early history of Shelburne County has made certain the fact that he brought at least one family, that of his brother Joseph, to a spot on the mainland a little to the southwest of the Island, called Point Carleton or Round Bay. That he may have induced a few other families to settle in the township is quite possible, for in 1786, as we shall later see, one or two men in the Shelburne tax list are designated, as was the widow of Joseph McNutt, "old settlers." The period of McNutt's ownership of his hundred thousand acres at Port Roseway was, however, very short. On the 14th of December, 1768, to satisfy an execution of Henry Ferguson, a merchant of Halifax town, against McNutt,

33. This tract is described as "100,000 acres near Cape Negro River." Crown Land register, Vol. 7, fol. 18. In his Akins Prize Essay, in manuscript, in King's College Library, Nova Scotia, Mr. Thomas Robertson minutely describes the boundaries of this Port Roseway grant, as "beginning at the first Lake in Cape Negro River and running from thence N. 33° 15' West and measuring ten miles, then N. 66° 15' East till it meets with the line beginning at the falls of Green River and running North 33° 15' West, and is bounded by the ocean on the South East, and West by the Harbour and River of Cape Negro, together with all the Islands South of said limits, containing in all about 100,000 acres." "A short time after this [the giving of the grant]," says Mr. Robertson, "he [McNutt] asked leave of the Government at Halifax to allow *the first settlers who should arrive at Port Roseway* to settle on the vacant lands in the Townships of Bar- ington and Yarmouth, together with a small island called Cape Negro Head." Archdeacon Raymond says: "In one of his later memorials to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, McNutt speaks of having laid out a tract of land at Port Roseway, near Cape Sable, on which he proposed to build a city, a plan of which he submits, and prays their Lordships to obtain for him a charter for establishing and confirming the said city in its rights and privileges. He proposed to call the city *New Jerusalem*."

34. Mr. Thomas Robertson says that in 1871, when he wrote his prize essay on Shelburne "the site" of McNutt's house (by which he probably means traces of the foundation) was still to be seen.

the provost marshal (sheriff) of Halifax County "set off, made over, and sold" to Ferguson this whole enormous tract. On the 9th of March, 1771, the sheriff gave a formal deed of the property to Hon. Benjamin Gerrish of Halifax, the township of New Jerusalem having been put up at auction by this officer and sold for Ferguson's benefit to the highest bidder. For his newly acquired property Mr. Gerrish, one of the most prosperous merchants of Halifax, gave the not inconsiderable sum of three hundred and fifty pounds currency. In the *Halifax Gazette*, three years after Mr. Gerrish's death, which took place in 1772, the Port Roseway grant entire was repeatedly advertised to be sold at auction, by the executors of his estate. That it was never transferred to any other person, however, seems clear from the absence of the record of any such transfer in the Halifax deeds.³⁵ After the Loyalists came to Shelburne, or about the time of their coming, it became necessary to distribute the Port Roseway land, and whether with or without recompense to the estate of Mr. Gerrish, if the estate still held it, the property was formally escheated, the instrument of escheat declaring that the original grantee had never fulfilled the conditions under which he had obtained the grant, he having neither paid quit rent nor settled the required number of families on his land.³⁶ After 1768, as we know, no part of the island properly belonged to McNutt or his brother, but as his brother Joseph and whatever other settlers he had introduced into the township were allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of the land on which they had been placed, so he and his brother were permitted still to occupy the upper end of the island, where their house stood. To that island, in the intervals of his wandering, McNutt no doubt occasionally returned, but his brother Benjamin probably stayed there, farming and fishing most of the time. On the 7th of July, 1785, the island (which Archdeacon Raymond says in some of the early plans is called "Roseneath") was distributed among thirty-

35. The facts given here have been gleaned from the registers of deeds in Halifax and from the *Halifax Gazette*. In the advertisement in the *Halifax Gazette* the land is described as formerly granted to Alexander McNutt, "but lately the property of Benjamin Gerrish." The auction was to take place at the house of Mr. John Rider in Halifax.

36. The record of escheatment of this property may be seen in the Crown Land Office in Halifax, but the endorsement has nothing to show that money was paid the Gerrish estate when the land was taken by the crown.

eight proprietors, thirty-seven of these receiving fifty acres apiece, the thirty-eighth, Benjamin McNutt, no doubt in consideration of his having lived there so many years, receiving two hundred and fifty.³⁷ When we come to speak more definitely of Benjamin McNutt we shall see that in his will he bequeathed his property on the island to his "friend" Martin McNutt, cooper, probably of Shelburne town.

During the twelve years between 1766 and 1778, Alexander McNutt lived probably much of the time on the island where he and his brother had their house, but he was a restless spirit, and moreover he had interests in other parts of the province, notably Truro, and in this township we sometimes find him, among the Archibalds and others whom he had directed from Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1761. In 1771 McNutt is reckoned in a census of Truro as living, a single man, in Truro, and on the 8th of May of that year we find him executing in Truro a deed of two rights (a thousand acres) he had received in Londonderry, Colchester County, to his "loving son Samuel Archibald McNutt of Truro, surveyor." To an historian unacquainted with McNutt's eccentricities this extraordinary deed would be a puzzling document, for McNutt is believed never to have married, and the history of Truro shows no such person living there at any time as Samuel Archibald McNutt. The deed begins: "I Alexander McNutt, Esqr., of Jerusalem Pilgrim," and states that for and in consideration of the love and affection he has and bears towards his loving son, he gives and grants freely and clearly and of his own good will and mere motion, to Samuel Archibald McNutt the land in Londonderry he had received by a grant from Government, October 31, 1765. Instead of "Samuel Archibald McNutt, surveyor," the person intended in this deed was undoubtedly Samuel Archibald, surveyor, a young man of twenty-eight, whose father, David Archibald, was one of the Londonderry, New Hampshire, settlers whom McNutt had directed to Truro. The deed is executed before David Archibald, as justice of the peace, and witnessed also by David Archibald,

37. See Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, pp. 95, 96, and manuscript records in Shelburne. Dr. Raymond speaks of a plan of the island preserved at Ottawa, which is marked "Survey'd, laid out, and granted Benjamin McNutt and 87 others." The number is properly 37.

and that McNutt should have given young Archibald, apparently seriously, a name to which he had not the least claim, and which would of course make the deed to him valueless is to be as little understood as many other freaks of this curious man. McNutt's land at Londonderry, which if we remember rightly comprised the only other individual grant besides Port Roseway, with which the Nova Scotia Government endowed the colonizer, like the Port Roseway grant to him, was finally seized by the Sheriff for debt, and on the 29th of June, 1776, the creditor, James Fulton, of Colchester County, sold it all, except sixty acres of marsh, which was "occupied by the inhabitants of Chignoise," to a group of Colchester men.³⁸

Whatever McNutt's chief interests were between the time that he ceased his colonization schemes and his leaving Nova Scotia in the early stages of the Revolution, it is evident that he did not cease to annoy the Government with rash and unwarranted acts. This is shown by the fact that in 1769 Attorney General Nesbitt informed the Council that McNutt had "parcellled out land to several persons, pretending to have authority under the King's sign manual to settle all ungranted lands in the province. On this it was ordered that the Attorney General should prosecute McNutt, and that a proclamation should issue forbidding unauthorized occupation of land and cutting timber under penalties."³⁹ So far as we know the ordered prosecution was never carried out, and it is natural to suppose that McNutt, learning of the order of Council felt it wise to desist from the particular offensive acts of which the Attorney General had complained.

II

In the early summer of 1778, McNutt left Port Roseway on a vessel for Boston, in which city he took up his residence and at once began a new species of activities. He was apparently never so happy as when memorializing governmental bodies, and he had no sooner reached Boston than he began a series of

38. These facts have been discovered, like the facts concerning the Port Roseway grant, in the registers of deeds in Halifax, Truro registers also furnishing important information concerning the latter grant.

39. Records of the Council, quoted also by Murdoch in his History of Nova Scotia.

appeals to the Massachusetts Council, complaining of the robbery of his house at Port Roseway by a party of "armed ruffians" from a Boston privateer called the *Congress*, on the preceding 22nd of June, and begging that the Council would give him redress. His brother, he says, was with him when the robbery was committed and like himself had suffered violence at the robbers' hands.⁴⁰ As soon as the scoundrels left, he tells the Council, he had departed for Boston, and he relates that on his passage thither, in a small vessel, he had been seized by a British frigate but had afterwards been released and set on shore. From whatever point he landed he had proceeded in a whaleboat to Falmouth, Maine, from which place he had continued his journey to Boston on foot." In his memorials he declares strongly his sympathy with the American revolutionists and challenges "even Enmity itself" to produce one single instance in which he has "deviated from the Resolves of Congress" since the year 1774. Before he left Nova Scotia, he complains, he had been deprived (he means, no doubt, by the Government) of property worth forty thousand pounds sterling, probably much more having likewise been taken from him since he came away. A certain Dr. Prince, he says, "with others of like kind," had applied to Britain for his lands, and for his life, representing him as disaffected to the crown, which application had been supported by the Governor and Council.

Almost immediately after he reached Boston he also began a series of appeals to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, imploring that body to take steps to draw Nova Scotia into the Revolution. The people of this maritime province, he claimed, were anxious to get free from Britain's rule and would thankfully receive any assistance in securing their freedom that Congress might give. How early after this McNutt visited Philadelphia we do not know, but his first appeal was read there before Congress on the 29th of September, 1778. His memorial was referred by Congress to a committee of three, and a month later

40. McNutt claimed that he had been robbed by these ruffians of fire-arms and ammunition, furniture, "superfine Scarlet and Bleu Cloths, Books, Silver Spoons, Silver Buckles, Plain, Set and Carved, Gold lace, Diamond Rings, with a number of other articles." McNutt's memorials are found in the Massachusetts Archives, and have been printed by Edmund Duval Poole in his "Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington in the Revolutionary War" (1889).

the committee reported that "after a conference with the memorialist, it appears unnecessary to take any further action at present," and recommended that the sum of three hundred dollars be given McNutt in consideration of the expenses he had incurred in his efforts to serve the United States. In January and March, respectively, 1779, he makes similar appeals, in the March petition being joined by Phineas Nevers, one of his original colony at Maugerville, New Brunswick, and Samuel Rogers, who had settled at Sackville, in the same province.⁴¹ On the 7th of April the Committee to whom these appeals had been referred report on the "memorial of Alexander McNutt and others, agents for several townships in Nova Scotia," that in their opinion "it is greatly interesting to the United States of America that Nova Scotia should not remain subjected to the government of Great Britain, to be used as an instrument to check their growth or molest their tranquillity. That the people in general of that Province have been thoroughly well disposed towards the United States from the beginning of the present war. That they made early application to Congress for direction how they might be serviceable to the Continental cause, offering to raise three thousand men in ten days. That they have since repeatedly applied for countenance and aid to enable them to assert their independence. That they have as often received friendly assurances from Congress, though circumstances prevented any vigorous efforts in their favor. That they begin now to apprehend the United States will rest satisfied with their own independence, and leave Nova Scotia under British despotism. That the memorialists were sent forward by the people to obtain from Congress some assurances to the contrary, hoping they may not be reduced to ask for ammunition and a guarantee of their freedom in France or Holland. That it would tend greatly to animate the well-disposed in Nova Scotia and to secure the Indians to the United States, as well as to promote desertion from the enemy and facilitate supplies of live stock to the eastern parts of the Union, if a road was opened through the country from Penobscot to St. John's River. That for such a work a body of faithful men

41. Rogers at a certain date appeals to the Continental Congress to be allowed to have Sackville and come with his family and their effects to the United States. See the Journals of Congress.

strongly interested to accomplish it might be found among those who have been driven by the hand of oppression from Nova Scotia. Your committee therefore propose the following Resolution: Resolved, That Lieut.-Col. Phineas Nevers and Captain Samuel Rogers be employed to lay out, mark and clear a road from Penobscot river to St. John's river in the most commodious line and in the most prudent manner. That they be empowered to enlist for such service a body of men not to exceed fifteen hundred. That fifteen thousand dollars be advanced to them for carrying on this work, for the faithful expenditure of which they shall become bound to the United States on a bond to be given to the Continental treasurer." What debate there may have been in Congress on this report we do not know, but it is clear that the recommendations of the Committee were not acted upon, and after two more appeals to Congress in 1779, one of which signed also by Joseph "McKnutt," Samuel Henderson, and Anthony Henderson, prays that certain persons may be allowed to come from "Great Britain and Ireland" to the United States; and still two other appeals, the substance of which we have not ascertained,⁴² McNutt in 1781, ceases his memorials to the Continental Congress.

On the attitude of the people of Nova Scotia generally in the war of the Revolution, it becomes increasingly clear that the last word has not yet been spoken. From the entries we have given and from other mentions in the Journals of Congress we see how strong the desire of Congress was to draw Nova Scotia also into the revolt against the British Crown, and as time goes on more and more echoes reach us of the sympathy that was undoubtedly felt in various parts of the province with the war for independence that was so successful in the thirteen colonies that became the original United States. From these appeals of McNutt's to Congress we judge that before he left Nova Scotia he had been actively engaged in fomenting rebellion, but how true his claims are to be the authorized representative of any considerable body of Nova Scotians in seeking aid from Congress, we are left to imagine. From what we know of the man and his habitual ten-

42. The two memorials in 1781 were dated respectively, January 3rd and June 15th. The first of these was read January 13th, and the second, which inclosed "Extracts from memorials presented at Whitehall" by McNutt, was read October 15th.

dency to falsify we may believe that in his appeals to Congress he characteristically misrepresents facts, and in regard to himself claims authority to represent the Nova Scotia people which no important community had given him. In this judgment we are strengthened by the following scathing arraignment of him in a letter to Major Studholme at Fort Howe, on the St. John River, received by that officer about the middle of October, 1781: "I am to inform you that there is a certain Colonel McNutt, who is well known in Nova Scotia, that he has pawned [palmed] himself upon the Congress at Philadelphia for some time past as an agent to transact business with that body for the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, by virtue of certain powers invested in him for that purpose; as he is a subtle, designing fellow, and has endeavored to circulate several letters and dangerous pamphlets throughout the Province, I wish to acquaint Government of it in order that such necessary steps should be taken as may be thought proper to suppress such unwarrantable proceedings and prevent the ill consequences that may attend it." This letter Major Studholme sent to Lieutenant-Governor Francklin with the request that after he had read it he would inclose it to Mr. Bulkeley, the Provincial Secretary.¹³

Local Virginia tradition says that at the close of the Revolution McNutt went again to Nova Scotia and remained there some years, and this Virginia tradition records preserved in the town of Shelburne fully bear out. In his manuscript history of Shelburne County, to which we have several times referred, Mr. Thomas Robertson says: "In September, 1791, Colonel McNutt was living on the island in Shelburne Harbor, as I find by a letter in an old letter book addressed to him from one of the merchants of Shelburne." In tax lists of Shelburne of the years 1786 and 1787 Alexander McNutt's name is found, in that of 1787 his brother Benjamin's also appearing. In the list for 1786, Alexander is designated "gentleman," his residence being given as McNutt's Island, but in the list for 1787 both Alexander and Benjamin are called "farmers," their taxes respectively being

43. Our authority for the reception by Major Studholme of this letter is, "Biographical Sketches," in Mr. Thomas Robertson's "History of Shelburne County," in manuscript in King's College Library, Nova Scotia. Mr. Robertson wrote his essay in Halifax, and he no doubt found the information above in the Nova Scotia Archives or the Minutes of Council.

3/3 county tax and 2/9 poor tax. In the previous year Alexander's taxes had been 20/ county tax and 10/ poor tax, but for both years the taxes remained unpaid until October 5, 1790, when a summons and execution compelled them to be given in. From a capitation tax list of Shelburne in 1794, preserved in Halifax,⁴⁴ we know that Alexander was still in Shelburne, but from a deed (of property he did not own and had never owned) which he executed in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on the 20th of March, 1797, we see that he had left Nova Scotia some time earlier than this date.⁴⁵

Of Alexander McNutt's last years in Virginia we know very little. The statement that he spent these years at the home of a brother John at the "Forks" in Lexington, Virginia, is of course untrue, for his brother John never left Nova Scotia after his settlement there in 1765. In the County Court records of Rockbridge County,⁴⁶ in a document dated September 18, 1802, McNutt is designated "Colonel Alexander McNutt from Nova Scotia, now in Rockbridge County, and State of Virginia," but with whom he was living we have no idea. He is said to have died in 1811, but local tradition is uncertain as to where he was buried, one statement being that his grave was in the cemetery at Lexington, the capital of Rockbridge County, the other that he was buried at Falling Spring. Twenty years after his death conspicuous notices of him began to appear in Virginia publications. The first of these, probably, in permanent form, was in Alexander Scott Withers' "Chronicles of Border Warfare," first published in Northwestern Virginia in 1831. In his "Historical Collections of Virginia," published in 1852, the historian Henry Howe says: "In the Falling Spring churchyard, on the forks of the James River, is the grave of

44. Four capitation tax lists of Shelburne are preserved in Halifax, of the years 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794, respectively, and in all the names of both the McNutt brothers appear. In all the lists both men are designated farmers, and their relative ownerships of property are thus indicated; in all four lists Alexander's tax is one shilling, in 1791 and 1792 Benjamin's being the same; in 1793, however, Benjamin's is 2/7, and in 1794, 2/2. In both 1793 and 1794, Benjamin McNutt is credited with having three horses and ten sheep, while Alexander's property is not specified.

45. See Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, pp. 99, 100.

46. Will Book, No. 2, p. 300. See Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, p. 101. We have never been able personally to examine Virginia records, but we take for granted that this particular record is there.

Governor M'Nutt, who died in 1811. He was a lieutenant in the company of Captain John Alexander (father of Dr. Archibald Alexander), in the Sandy Creek voyage, in 1757. Shortly after, he was appointed *governor of Nova Scotia*, where he remained until the commencement of the American Revolution. In this contest he adhered to the cause of liberty, and joined his countrymen in arms under Gates, at Saratoga. He was afterwards known as a valuable officer in the brigade of Baron de Kalb in the South."⁴⁷ Mr. Joseph Addison Waddell, in his much more recent "Annals of Augusta County," says: "For some years McNutt resided in Nova Scotia, but the popular belief that he was governor of that province is unfounded. After the Revolutionary War he joined the American Army at Saratoga, and was afterward an officer under DeKalb in the South. He died in 1811, and was buried at Falling Spring Churchyard, Rockbridge."⁴⁸ Describing McNutt's connection with the Sandy Creek expedition of 1756, Mr. Waddell says: "McNutt is supposed to have been in confidential relations with Governor Dinwiddie, to whom (and not to Governor Fauquier) he delivered his account of the Sandy Creek expedition. After his affray in Staunton with Andrew Lewis he went to England, and being recommended by the Governor of Virginia was admitted to an audience with the King. Ever afterwards he wore the prescribed court dress." "The French having been driven out of Nova Scotia, McNutt received from the Government grants of extensive tracts of land in that province upon condition of introducing other settlers. He accordingly brought over many people from the north of Ireland, including persons of his own name, and a sister, who married a Mr. Weir. Admiral Cochrane, of the British Navy, is believed to be a descendant of Mrs. Weir, and others of her descendants are now living in Nova Scotia." "Alexander McNutt seems to have returned to Nova Scotia after the Revolution, as in the deed of 1785 he is described as 'late of Augusta

47. "Historical Collections of Virginia," by Henry Howe, Charleston, S. C., 1852, p. 456.

48. "Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871," by Joseph Addison Waddell, first published at Richmond, Va., in 1888. (See p. 84, and Supplement, pp. 440-442); 2nd Edition, revised and enlarged, published at Staunton, Va., 1902 (pp. 72, 130, 230).

county, now of Halifax, Nova Scotia.’⁴⁹ But he did not remain there long. He appears to have been a visionary man, and in his latter days at least, somewhat of a religious enthusiast. While living in Nova Scotia he attempted to found there a settlement to be called ‘New Jerusalem.’ It is presumed that his lands in that Province were confiscated when he came away and joined the American ‘rebels;’ but in 1796 he undertook to convey by deed 100,000 acres in Nova Scotia [sic] to the Synod of Virginia, in trust for the benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in Rockbridge, among other purposes ‘for the support of public lectures in said seminary, annually, on man’s state by nature and his recovery by free and unmerited grace through Christ Jesus, and against opposite errors.’ Possibly finding that this deed would not do, he executed another next year directly to the trustees of Liberty Hall, for the same uses. The second deed was witnessed by Andrew Alexander, Conrad Speece, and Archibald Alexander. It is unnecessary to say that Liberty Hall did not get the land. McNutt never married, and left no posterity. His old-fashioned dress sword was preserved by his collateral descendant, Alexander McNutt Glasgow, of Rockbridge; but at the time of Hunter’s Raid, in 1864, the silver-mounted scabbard was carried off, leaving only the naked blade. John McNutt, a brother of Alexander, settled on North River, Rockbridge.”

In the Staunton, Virginia, *Spectator*, of February 29, 1888, appeared a letter from the Hon. William A. Glasgow, of Lexington, regarding the McNutt family of Virginia, from whom the writer was descended, and especially concerning his collateral ancestor “Colonel” Alexander McNutt. Mr. Glasgow repeats

49. “While living in Nova Scotia in 1761, McNutt executed a power of attorney, authorizing his brother John to sell and convey his real estate. In pursuance of his instrument John McNutt, on August 16, 1785, conveyed to Thomas Smith, in consideration of £110, lot No. 10 in Staunton, which was purchased by Alexander in 1750 for £3, as stated on page 72. . . . John McNutt, a brother of Alexander, settled on North River, Rockbridge,” etc., etc. “Annals of Augusta Co., Va., from 1726 to 1871.” Second Edition, 1902. We have not been able to do any genealogical work in Virginia, and as we have said, we know very little of the McNutt family settled there. By Virginia census returns of the years 1783-1786 we learn, however, that at that time, somewhere in Greenbrier County, West Virginia, there were living, probably as heads of families, a James, a John, and a Francis McNutt. Who the John McNutt who is said to have settled on North River, Rockbridge, may have been we cannot tell, it was certainly not Alexander’s brother John, for he was a blacksmith in Nova Scotia, where, as we have said, he lived continuously probably from 1765 to the end of his days.

the statement that not long after the expedition against the Shawnees, McNutt took passage for England, "it is supposed," with strong testimonials from Governor Dinwiddie, in intimate relations with whom "he is supposed" to have been. When he returned from England it was with the military title of Colonel, and "in court dress, which he always afterward wore, and with a dress sword at his side."

A still later publication in the United States, dealing with Alexander McNutt, is a volume entitled "Genealogies and Reminiscences," compiled under the auspices of Mrs. Henrietta Hamilton McCormick, a descendant of the John McNutt of Virginia who is said to have been Alexander's brother.⁵⁰ In this volume appears a most uncritical sketch of the Virginia McNutt family, in the course of which many of the preceding tales of Alexander McNutt's greatness are re-told, and the additional flattering distinction given the gentleman of having been *knighted by King George II "for his services and gallantry."* "The sword which was then presented to him by the King," says this writer, "is still preserved, though despoiled of its silver mounting, chains, and ornamented scabbard, by the soldiers of General Hunter's command, when they made their raid in the Valley of Virginia during the Civil War." The writer of the sketch repeats the fond story that after he left Nova Scotia McNutt joined the Continental forces under General Gates at Saratoga, and then was a "meritorious officer" on the staff of De Kalb in the South. At the close of the war, the writer says, McNutt "returned to his estate on McNutt's Island," from which fact "it would seem that his original house in Halifax [sic] and his *island estate* were left untouched by the British Government." It was Governor Dinwiddie, the writer explains, not Governor Fauquier, who presented McNutt at the court of George II, and paved the way for the honors and favors afterwards heaped upon the colonizer. "As long as this distinguished personage lived," adds the writer, "he wore the court costume of the reign of George II, with buckles and ornamented buttons of silver, and trimmings of gold lace, a cocked hat, powdered hair, and top boots. His sword never left his side." The writer concludes by

50. Genealogies and Reminiscences, Compiled by Henrietta Hamilton McCormick. Revised Edition. Chicago: Published by the Author. 1897, pp. 53-64.

saying that McNutt "expired" in 1811, and was "interred" in the cemetery at Lexington.⁵¹ In view of the actual facts of McNutt's life as we know them from reliable documents, most of these flattering statements have to be pronounced entirely untrue. That McNutt in earlier life was in confidential relations with Governor Dinwiddie is a baseless assumption, and that soon after the obscure Shawnee raid, in which as a rustic subaltern he had taken part, this young militia officer, with Dinwiddie's introduction, went to England and had an interview with the King and received a sword from him is quite impossible, especially as his supposed patron, Dinwiddie, left the governorship of Virginia as early as January, 1758. In any case, McNutt's quarrel with Lewis took place in Staunton at some time between 1756 and 1758, and as early as September, 1758, and probably somewhat earlier he was settled among the Scotch-Irish in Londonderry, New Hampshire. That McNutt was ever in England before 1761, when he went there to further his colonization schemes, seems next to impossible, and on the 25th of October, 1760, George the Second had died. That the colonizer ever saw any distinguished military service whatever is impossible, nor can we believe that he properly bore the title "colonel." As a militia officer in Massachusetts he was to the end of his slight service there, captain, not colonel, and there seems no way that he could ever have reached any higher military rank.⁵² Nor did he, after he left Nova Scotia, serve with General Gates at Saratoga or Baron de Kalb in the South. On the 17th of October, 1777, Burgoyne surrendered to Gates at Saratoga, and it was not until late in June, 1778, that McNutt came to Boston from his Port Roseway home. Baron de Kalb died August 19, 1780, and at that time, as at least for a year afterward, McNutt was clearly living between Boston and Philadelphia, busily engaged in his favorite pastime of drawing up memorials, and publishing through the

51. "Genealogies and Reminiscences," pp. 61-64.

52. In a letter from the Lords of Trade to Jonathan Belcher, Esq., President of the Nova Scotia Council, written March 3, 1761, McNutt is referred to as "Captain Mac Nutt." More frequently he is spoken of in official correspondence of the time as "Mr." McNutt. In a letter dated at Halifax, November 13, 1762, from Honbles. John Collier, Charles Morris, Henry Newton, and Michael Francklin, to His Excellency Governor Ellis, annexed to a petition from McNutt to the Lords of Trade, and received April 12, 1763, the gentlemen writing the letter call McNutt "Colonel." On what grounds they do this, unless it is on some representation made by McNutt himself, it is impossible to see.

printing press of Robert Aitken of Philadelphia a series of strange pamphlets, some of which have come to us, furthering a scheme he had conceived of making the Maritime Provinces an independent republic with a democratic government which he somewhat ably outlines, and bearing the not hitherto unheard of name of "New Ireland." That most of the popular stories of his greatness were invented by himself in Virginia after he finally left the North seems almost certain, for McNutt was quite equal to such inventions, and in the remote southern country where he had been brought up, he no doubt found a receptive audience.⁵³ In one particular, however, Virginia tradition concerning McNutt is very likely correct, after he returned to Virginia he is said to have been on friendly terms with Thomas Jefferson, sometimes visiting this gentleman at Monticello, whither from Rockbridge County he always travelled afoot.⁵⁴

The culminating act of McNutt's singular career, was the giving, as we have intimated, of worthless deeds in 1796 and 1797, to a Presbyterian academy in Rockbridge County, Virginia, of a hundred thousand acres of land on the St. John River, which he speaks of as still "lying in the Province of Nova Scotia." The lands which he describes in this deed had never belonged to him, nor indeed with one exception had he ever had any actual share in lands on the St. John River, and Archdeacon Raymond's chief explanation of his performance is, that he had now passed his three-score and ten years, and his mind and memory may have been confused.⁵⁵

Regarding the publications of McNutt to which we have just referred, a few words ought to be said. In the Boston Public and the Massachusetts Historical Society's libraries are to be found

53. McNutt's militia service in Virginia and in New England was so slight that we cannot help being amused at the statement he boldly makes to the Lords of Trade that (See Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, pp. 62, 111) he had raised three hundred men for Louisburg, a tale which finds not the least confirmation in Massachusetts records, nor astounded at the falsehood which also occurs in a memorial he presents to the Lords of Trade that ever since the defeat of Braddock he had been engaged in defence of the Protestant interest, had been in upwards of twenty engagements by sea and land, and had always served as a volunteer, having never asked nor received one shilling for all his expenses." See Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, p. 75, and compare McNutt's statement quoted there, which we have just paraphrased, with the payments he received for military services from the Massachusetts Council, as recorded in Mass.

54. Archdeacon Raymond's first Monograph, p. 99.

55. Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, pp. 99-101.

copies of a 16 mo. pamphlet entitled, "The Constitution and Frame of Government of the Free and Independent State and Commonwealth of New Ireland. As prepared by the special dictation of the people, for the consideration of their convention, when met. Composed by those who are invested with proper authority for that purpose. Printed by R. Aitken, for the free and independent State of New Ireland." The pamphlet covers, besides a title page and one blank page, thirty-seven pages, and comprises, in all, four divisions: An opening address "to the good people of New Ireland," of four pages; a declaration of the rights of the inhabitants of the State of New Ireland, of between five and six pages; "the Constitution and frame of government of the free and independent state and commonwealth of New Ireland," of eight pages; and a detailed scheme of "government of the state of New Ireland," of nineteen pages. To this is appended, in larger type, an "Advertisement," of a little less than five pages, unnumbered, signed "A. M' N. of J. P." In the library of Harvard University is another copy of this same pamphlet, bound cheaply, together with three separate appeals or addresses "to the peace makers," numbered respectively iv., v., and vi., covering in all twenty-two consecutively numbered pages, each address, like a sermon, headed with a Scripture text, and signed in the following inscrutable way: "A. (a symbol of the sun) N. P. of S. J. A. & N. I."⁵⁶ A title-page to the little volume in which these several publications are brought together bears the following: "Considerations on the sovereignty, independence, trade and fisheries of New Ireland (formerly known by the name of Nova Scotia)⁵⁷ and the adjacent islands: Submitted to the European powers that may be engaged in settling the terms of peace, among the nations at war. Published by order of the sovereign, free and independent commonwealth of New Ireland." On the back of the title page is this remarkable pretended authorization of the appeals: "By virtue of the author-

56. We have found it impossible fully to interpret this collection of initial letters and symbols. The symbol of the sun is probably a hieroglyphic denoting son (Mac), and this is part of McNutt's name, and the last letters N. I. mean undoubtedly "New Ireland," but what the others mean, or what the foregoing signature, "A.McN. of J. P." means, we cannot tell.

57. It will be remembered that Nova Scotia never bore the name "New Ireland," nor so far as we know did any one ever propose to call it so. An effort was once made, however, we believe by Prince Edward Islanders to call their island by this name.

ity derived from the people of New Ireland, formerly known by the name of Nova Scotia, comprehending the islands adjacent, viz., St. John's, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, etc., etc., these numbers are published and forwarded for the consideration of the European courts: the preceding numbers more especially concern the people of New Ireland, and the United States. A person vested with full power to act in behalf of the people of New Ireland, in the treaty of peace, when this shall take place, will soon be dispatched to Europe." At the top of the general title page of this small volume in the Harvard Library is written: "Col. McNut to Jno. White," and in the back of the volume is inscribed in a much more modern handwriting: "Written by Col. McNutt who was in Salem just before the close of the war of the American Revolution." Below this is written in still another hand: "The above notice was written by the Rev. Wm. Bentley of Salem. It appears by the title page that this copy was presented to John White of Salem by Col. McNutt himself."

In the letter to Major Studholme we have given on a previous page, the writer says that McNutt "has endeavoured to circulate several letters and dangerous pamphlets throughout the province." These pamphlets, we must believe, were the earlier pamphlets, Nos. I, II, and III, of the series of which McNutt in the little volume in the Harvard Library, gives Nos. IV, V, and VI, for McNutt says that these earlier pamphlets, no copies of which have so far come to our hand, were addressed particularly to the people of America. In the governmental scheme for New Ireland that McNutt outlines, an intelligence in matters of government is manifested that would in any age stamp the originator as a man of unusual clearness of mind and consecutive judgment, but when one remembers that no such state as the New Ireland commonwealth he assumes as existing really did exist, and when in his "Advertisement" he says that "Europeans panting after the sweets of liberty and independence will flock thither, as well as many well disposed persons from other states," and adds, "we are happy that it is in our power to offer them such encouragement as is not to be found in any other spot on earth;" and when he boldly announces that "wherever a sufficient number appears, a vessel will be appointed to take them on board, at the most convenient port or harbor, for the

customary freight," and further advises people to apply early, "as the season is advancing," we wonder again whether the curious man who wrote these pamphlets was sane.⁵⁸ This whole series of pamphlets is undated, but they were undoubtedly all printed by Robert Aitken of Philadelphia, at intervals between 1776 and 1781.

Concerning the relatives of "Colonel" Alexander McNutt who settled in Nova Scotia many highly inaccurate statements have been put in print. As we have already stated, the names of his parents we do not certainly know, but Nova Scotia records give us considerable light on the brothers and probably the sister he brought to this province as early as 1765. In the registry of deeds of Truro will be found a declaration from McNutt, apparently made to prevent the escheatment of a grant he had secured for his brothers, partly in Londonderry, Colchester County, and partly in Noel, Hants County, that the owners of the grant, Benjamin, Joseph, and John McNutt, were his "three brothers."⁵⁹

58. Archdeacon Raymond says: McNutt "was quick to think, quick to act, quick to *write*. His memorials to the Lords of Trade and Governors of Nova Scotia are in some cases very voluminous, seemingly written with haste, not always elegant in style, and expressed with greater freedom than was customary in those days. Many of his suggestions were wise, his criticism was often trenchant and well timed; but on the other hand, some of his plans were very unpractical and the claims he advanced not always reasonable. He was a staunch upholder of the cause of civil and religious liberty." First monograph, pp. 61, 67, 68, 93.

59. The declaration is as follows:

"Be it hereby made known and manifest to all whom it may concern that I the Subscriber did procure a Grant of a Tract of Lands at the Village Noel, and also in the Township of Londonderry, to Benjamin Mc nutt, Joseph nutt, John Mc nutt, &c., which I obtained for them, the said Benjamin Mc nutt &c. in the time of Govr Wilmot and that the said Benjamin Mc nutt, Joseph Mc nutt and John Mc nutt are my three Brethren, and further that my Brother Benjamin did in the year 1761 Introduce into this Colony of Nova Scotia and pay the Passage of a Sufficient Number of Settlers to fully Secure the aforesaid Grants of Lands forever, from forfeiture, agreeable to my Proposals and Covenants at White Hall or Westminster, all which is Hereby Certified this 27th Day of October 1787 By

Alexander McNutt [Seal]

Signd Seald in presence of
George Cochran

5/ Kings County Ss, Horton Nova Scotia October 27th 1787 Personally appeared Alexander McNutt Esqr and made Solemn oath To the truth of the above manifest or Certificate

Before me Jonathan Crane J. P.

The grant which Alexander McNutt here mentions was given to Benjamin, Joseph, and John McNutt and Patrick McCollum, June 15, 1765. The subsequent history of this grant has been clearly made out. One thousand acres of it lay in Noel, Hants County, and this was sold by the McNutt brothers to James Densmore and then on petition of Densmore, probably in order that he might be able to get a clear title, formally escheated, the petitioner paying the Crown for escheating. The remaining three thousand acres, which lay in Londonberry, Col-

This, of course, is decisive, and tradition has it that Esther McNutt, who in Newport, Hants County, where John McNutt, blacksmith, at first lived, was married to Benjamin Wier, was a sister of these men.⁶⁰ The most prolific McNutt family in Nova Scotia was a family founded in Onslow, Colchester County, in 1761, by a certain William McNutt and his wife Elizabeth (Thomson), but this family came directly from Palmer, Massachusetts, and had nothing whatever to do with the colonizer. William McNutt's father, Barnard, and grandfather, Alexander, both came from Donegal, Ireland, to Massachusetts, about 1720, Barnard having at least twelve children, of whom William, born in Palmer, July 25, 1733, was one. The name of this family uniformly in Massachusetts, and frequently in Nova Scotia, was spelled "McNitt."⁶¹ Of Benjamin McNutt, Alexander's brother, no doubt the eldest of the three whom Alexander mentions, we know a good deal. He lived on McNutt's Island with Alexander, when the latter was there, and farmed and no doubt fished. He died, probably in Shelburne town, between September 10th and 21st, 1798, leaving all his property to his "friend," which

chester County, remained long in the McNutt family and was never escheated. It will be noticed that Alexander McNutt states that his brother Benjamin in 1761 paid the passage of a sufficient number of settlers into Nova Scotia to settle on the grant procured in 1765 and thus secure the grant. What truth there may have been in this statement no one can tell. It would be interesting to know where Benjamin McNutt lived in 1761, whether he was in any way concerned in his brother's colonization schemes, and whether at this time he did introduce settlers into Londonderry, Nova Scotia, whose presence there before the grant was obtained might have been considered as fulfilling the conditions of the settlement mentioned in the later given grant.

60. In Archdeacon Raymond's second monograph the incidental statement appears that a certain Lieut. John Wier of Londonderry, N. H., was Alexander McNutt's brother-in-law. For this statement, which is not true, the writer of the present paper and *not* Dr. Raymond is responsible, the Nova Scotia Wier family was founded in Newport, Hants Co., N. S., in 1761, by Daniel and Phebe (Mumford) Wier from Rhode Island and so far as we know had nothing to do with the N. H. Wiers. In Nova Scotia the Wiers intermarried with the Cochranes of Newport township, to whom Admiral Cochrane of the British Navy was in no way related. Admiral Cochrane, however, did live in Nova Scotia for some years.

61. In "Genealogies and Reminiscences" William McNutt or McNitt is mistakenly said to be a brother of Alexander McNutt the Colonizer, and to have come to Nova Scotia with him. This statement has no foundation in fact, William McNutt, the grantee in Onslow, farmer, and carpenter (for he had the contract to build the first Presbyterian church in Truro, the adjoining township to Onslow), had a family, the births of part of whom are recorded in the town of Palmer, Massachusetts, part in Onslow. From this family descends a very successful physician, Dr. William Fletcher McNutt of San Francisco, whose name appears in "Who's Who in America." Other descendants are mentioned in "Genealogies and Reminiscences."

probably means nephew, Martin McNutt, cooper.⁶² It seems certain that he died unmarried. Joseph McNutt settled early in Shelburne County, as a farmer, probably at Round Bay, and we believe died there, or was drowned, in 1785. It seems certain that his wife was Agnes McNutt, who appears in 1786 and thereafter as a widow at Round Bay, and his children, probably, Joseph, mariner, John, Jr., Arthur, farmer and fisherman, who lived at Shelburne but was dead in 1795, Francis, mariner, who lived first at Shelburne but afterwards for many years in Londonderry, Colchester County, where he probably died, Martin, cooper, who lived and died at Shelburne, Margaret, who was living, a spinster, at Point Carleton (Round Bay) in 1807, and in Shelburne town in 1809, and Ann, a widow Belcher, living in Londonderry, with or near her brother Francis in 1819. John McNutt, blacksmith, probably the youngest of Alexander's brothers, born about 1747, as we learn from his tombstone, was living in Newport, Hants County, in 1781, but sometime between 1785 and 1795 he removed to Londonderry, Colchester County, where he continued his useful calling. He married, as we have good reason to believe, Ann Wier, born in Rhode Island, sister of the Benjamin Wier who married his sister Esther McNutt, and died childless in Londonderry, June 16, 1813. His wife and he are both buried in the "Folly" burying ground.

A more active adventurer than Alexander McNutt has perhaps never been seen on the American continent. He conceived great schemes, and showed remarkable energy in prosecuting them, but he seems to have been constitutionally unbalanced, and after tracing him carefully through the various stages of his checkered career we are forced to the same conclusion concerning him that Lieutenant Governor Jonathan Belcher arrived at as early as 1761, that he was from first to last "an erratic individual, lacking in mental ballast, and one whose proposals needed to be watched."⁶³ Where he managed to get sufficient money to travel as much as he did in the enthusiastic pursuit of his schemes we can hardly see, for he belonged to a family that must have been comparatively poor, and from the first he was evidently depen-

62. Martin McNutt, cooper, and his wife Rebecca (Stewart) were the parents of Rev. Arthur McNutt, a well known Wesleyan minister in Nova Scotia.

63. Archdeacon Raymond's first monograph, p. 73.

dent chiefly on his own exertions. The great expense he claimed to have incurred in bringing settlers to Nova Scotia was, however, undoubtedly largely met by North of Ireland shipping merchants whom he had managed to interest in his projects, and most likely in part by his emigrants, from whom he probably exacted head money, but we know that he was often unable to pay large bills he had contracted, and it seems quite certain that he was occasionally forced to borrow of men with whom he had business relations. At one period of his life in Nova Scotia he was evidently appropriating timber that did not belong to him, and it is possible that by means of vessels trading between Port Roseway and Boston he and his brothers and his nephews may have been able to establish some little general trade on the Shelburne shore. As to the honors claimed for him by Virginia historians, we have shown that these were for the most part imaginary, and as we have intimated, the most reasonable explanation we can find of the stories of them that came into circulation in the region where he spent his last years is that he characteristically invented them himself.

APPENDIX

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES M, 466, PP. 16-35

B. T. N. S., Vol. 121, N. 108, 1766, 30 Augst.

“The Committee of H. M. Council, appointed to examine into the facts stated in the memorial of Colonel Alexander McNutt addressed to the Rt. Hon. the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations dated the 17th of April, 1766, transmitted by their Lordship to His Excellency Governor Wilmot, and laid before H. M. Council by the Hon. Michael Francklin, Esqr., Lieut. Governor of the Province on the 26th inst. Having deliberately and maturely considered the several Allegations and examined into the particular facts therein asserted, do report vizt.

“That His Excellency Governor Lawrence issued a proclamation dated the 12th of October 1758 (as Colonel McNutt sets forth) for the settling the vacated lands in this Province.

“That being found Necessary to declare the terms on which the same would be granted another Proclamation of the 11th of January 1759 was publish'd and transmitted to Thomas Hancock Esqr. then Agent for this Government at Boston.

“That in Consequence of those proclamations many Commit-

tees Appointed by Persons in the Colonies proposing to settle themselves on the said Lands came to Halifax early in the Spring of the year 1759, who were sent at the expense of Government to view the Lands intended to be granted, and on their return to Halifax, a contract was made with those Committees for the introduction of twelve Thousand Inhabitants in three years from the date of their Grants, in the following Townships, Falmouth, Horton, Cornwallis, Annapolis, Granville, Cumberland, Amherst, Sackville, Truro, Onslow, Liverpool, and Yarmouth, an Account of which was transmitted to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

“That the Contracts above mentioned were made previous to any Application to Government by Colonel McNutt and many Thousand Inhabitants are now settled in consequence thereof, in which Colonel McNutt had no Merrit or concern whatever.

“That in the Month of August of the same year, Colonel McNutt arrived at Halifax & applied to Governor Lawrence for Grants of Land for Himself and sundry persons his Associates, and obtained a reserve or large tract of Land for that purpose, which appear by a Written engagement of Governor Lawrence’s to have been one Township at Port Rosaway, and six Townships in the District of Cobequid, and on the Shubennaccada River, with leave to settle Families on Thirty-five Rights in the Township of Granville in consequence of which in the Spring following He produced a List of Six Hundred Subscribers being persons of the Colonies who had engaged with Him to settle those Lands, but of those Six Hundred Subscribers, Fifty Families only came into the Province who were transported Hither at the expence of Government, had Lands assign’d them in the Township of Truro and were supported there two years, with an additional expence to Government of building Forts and Barracks for their Security and Troops were sent for their Protection & lately five Hundred pounds of the Provincial Funds has been expended, for opening Roads of Communication from Halifax to those Settlements, without One Shilling expence to Col. McNutt.

“That no care was taken by Colonel McNutt to Settle Families on the vacant Rights at Granville in the Time Limitted for that purpose, therefore those Rights were assign’d to Substantial Settlers from the Colonies, that He also neglected to send a sufficient number of Inhabitants to settle on the resedue of the Lands reserved for Him, at Cobequid and the Bason of Minas, and the Terms of Agreement being exposed, the Government have granted some of those Lands to other Persons, but Coll. McNutt has obtained Grants for Himself and Associates of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Acres, part of that reservation to

be hereafter settled, also the Township of Truro and London-Derry, other part of the before mentioned reserve consisting of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Acres more, on part of which are settled some of those Persons He has already introduced.

“That in October, 1761, Colonel McNutt arrived at Halifax from Ireland with about Two Hundred and Fifty Persons a very unseasonable time in this Climate for Seating them on their Lands, and as most of them were indigent People without means of Subsistance they clearly remained at Halifax the ensuing Winter, and were supported by the Government the Charitable Contribution of the Inhabitants, and some Provisions borrowed by Colonel McNutt from the Government for which he still stands indebted.

“That early in the Spring 1762 a contribution was actually made by the Council and Principal Inhabitants of Halifax, for the hire of a Vessel to transport those indigent People and their Families, to the District of Cobequid where the best Lands, and greatest Quantities of marsh in that part of the Country were Assigned them also to furnish them with Provisions out of the Provincial Fund and without One Shilling expense to Colonel McNutt.

“That in August [It was November], 1762, Colonel McNutt arrived at Halifax from Ireland, with about One hundred & Fifty Persons more, and was much dissatisfied that the then Lieut. Governor would not Grant them Lands on the Terms Stipulated between the Lords of Trade and Him, Nevertheless the Settlers had Lands Assign'd them at Le Have on the usual Terms, and were transported for [from] Halifax to their Lands, and furnish'd with Provisions for the Winter at the expence of Government without One Shilling expence to Colonel McNutt.

“That in consequence of His Majesty's Instruction to the Governor of this Province dated the 20th of May, 1763, Lands have been since Granted to all such persons as were introduced by Colonel McNutt, on the Terms formerly Stipulated between the Lords Commissioners of Trade and him.

“That after enquiry we cannot find any Agent Colonel McNutt ever had at Halifax unless he means some one of his Creditors of whom he borrowed Money, and at His going away deposited in His Hands Sundry securities that He had taken from the Settlers He brought into this Province for the Payment of their Passages.

“That from Colonel McNutt's return to England in 1762 He never came into this Province till the year 1765, when he arrived again at Halifax from Philadelphia, and then produced to the Government sundry lists of Persons in the Colonies associated

together with a design of making Settlements in this Province, & was then accompanied by several Gentlemen of ability of Philadelphia who came in behalf of themselves and others concern'd in those associations to view the Lands in the Province, and to apply for Grants, who informed the Government that Colol. McNutt had assured them that His Majesty's Instruction to the Governor of Nova Scotia dated the 20th of May, 1763—directing the Terms of Settlement to be granted to the Settlers he had introduc'd into this Province from the Kingdom of Ireland included them and all others whom He should introduce and promised that they should have Lands on those Terms which was not only deceiving those people, but also created many Difficulties for the Government Here, and those Gentlemen declared they would no further concern with Colol. McNutt and accordingly made their applications to Government for Lands, without taking any Notice of Him. Notwithstanding which the Government in consideration of Colol. McNutt's apparent zeal for settling the Vacated Lands of this Province & as they conceived it might in some measure primarily be owing to him that these Associations were entered into for that purpose and that the procuring such a number of Inhabitants of Ability was a great Acquisition to this Infant Colony, they thought it but just and right to have Colonel McNutt included with each & every Association wherein he appear'd to have been any way concern'd and his Name was accordingly inserted in the Grants made to them of about Sixteen Townships.

“That another Association from Philadelphia who had contracted with the Government to settle a Township at Sepody sent a ship about this Time with Twenty-five Families agreeable to their contract seated them on their Lands furnish'd them with Stock, materials for Building & Farming and have supported with Provision ever since in which Colonel McNutt had no kind of concern whatever.

“That in the same year a Vessel arrived at Halifax from Ireland which brought about Fifty Persons chiefly belonging to Families before introduced and settled by Colonel McNutt, and we know of no other Embarkation of Settlers whatsoever, made by Colonel McNutt notwithstanding He asserts to have introduced in several Vessels, several Hundred Families about this time.

“That the measures complained of by Colonel McNutt practised by this Government which he says has obstructed the settlement of the Province, have been Conformable to His Majesty's Instructions, and directions from the Lords Commissioners of Trade & Plantations except in the Terms of those Grants made

to Him and His Associates, where the Government departed from those Instructions and directions in order to favour & Encourage him and his undertaking.

“That those Grants of Twenty Thousand Acres made to sundry persons of which Colonel McNutt complains, were made in consequence of their Petition to His Majesty, and laid out at their own expence, under the direction of the Chief Surveyor, in such parts of the Province as they chose, and were intituled to, by the Tenor of His Majesty’s order to the Governor of this Province, and under the Terms and conditions therein prescribed, but not within the limits of any of the tracts of Land reserved by Governor Lawrence for Colonel McNutt or any other Person, and notwithstanding, His Majesty was graciously pleased to allow them ten years for the first period of their Settlement nevertheless upon the Grants being passed to those Gentlemen One of the Grants was immediately employ’d to procure protestant Families from Germany to settle on those Lands, and a very considerable Sum of Money was advanced for that purpose and the Settlers are now daily expected.

“That in July 1765 Mr. Green Commissary of Provisions for the Garrison of Fort Frederick on the River St. Johns acquainted Governor Wilmot that the Indians were assembled near the Fort in great numbers, and had given out that there was several French Ships of War on the Coast and that they should soon commence hostilities, and immediately after several reports were sent to the Governor from other parts of the province to the same purpose, upon which the Governor thought it advisable to send expresses to those parts of the province where it was most likely to discover the truth of these reports, and as several of the Deputy Surveyors (being persons best acquainted with the course through the Country) were sent on this Occasion, Orders were given them to make Surveys of the Land they passed over, which they perform’d and of the Land so survey’d Two Hundred Thousand Acres was Granted to Colonel McNutt and His Associates.

“That the great expence incurred by Colonel McNutt in pursuing His Scheme of making Settlements in this Province, cannot be charged to any obstruction he met with from the Government Here in any respect, nor can we tell how it arose, that Colonel McNutt tho’ often called upon for that purpose never produced Vouchers for the expendature of One Shilling except He means some Accounts from His Agents, not signed by them, and otherwise very blind and imperfect wherein He is charged with the Hire & Damage of those Vessels that transported the few families He introduced from Ireland, and the Money advanced for

sundrys by His Account was idly expended in bringing & hiring Vessels to coast about the Province in search of, and surveying Lands, in so much that His Associates made great complaints and protested against his Measures and refused payment of the Bills drawn on them for that expence as they found he was or might have been furnish'd from the Surveyor's Office at Halifax, with everything sufficient to answer all His and their purposes.

“That the Obstruction Colonel McNutt complains of from the Rulers in this Province since the Death of Governor Lawrence, have proceeded from his own intemperate Zeal & exorbitant demands from the Government were by His Majesty's Instructions forbid to Grant in all other respects having had that Indulgence and kind treatment from the Government that any reasonable Man could desire, not on Account of His Knowledge or Ability, but from a hope the Government had that His Zeal and application to make Settlements in this Province might be a means of inducing men of much more knowledge and ability than Himself to become Inhabitants in it.

“That the remarks already made on the expence incurred by making these Settlements to Colonel McNutt may be sufficient yet we must observe further on that head that the proportion of Land stipulated to be given Him by the plan settled between the Lords Commissioners of Trade & for him for His trouble and expence in introducing Settlers into this Province, has been granted to him by the Governor and Council in such tracts of Land as He himself chose and fixed upon.

“And we could wish that the great concern Colonel McNutt expresses, at being under the necessity of mentioning anything in the least tending to the disadvantage of any Man's Character, had in any degree prevented his departure from Truth & Decency, his reflections on that head being altogether without either.

“That Colol. McNutt complains, that the Settlers introduced by Him have been denied several of the Privileges promised and granted to them, but We know of no Persons who are deprived of those Rights and that Liberty, which the Laws & Constitution of Great Britain, or of this Province intitle them to.

“Upon the whole the Committee of His Maesty's Council are of Opinion that the Memorial of Colonel Alexr McNutt address'd to the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, is almost, and altogether, false, and scandalous, that the facts are misrepresented & his complaints without Just grounds, that His proposals in the Latter part of His Memorial, are Presumptuous, that several of them if granted would be very injurious to Private Persons, as He proposes to disposses many of those Grantees of the

Conditions contained in their Patents, which they obtain'd by Vertue of the King's Order, or by His Majesty's Proclamation making provision for disbanded Officers, Soldiers and Seamen, and of their Lands also, unless they submit to the new Terms proposed by Him.

“That other of His proposals would if Granted be highly prejudicial to the peace and good Government of this Colony, particularly that of sending two Members to represent the people in General Assembly, from each Town He settles, more especially should those He may hereafter introduce into this Province be of the same troublesome disposition with the few He has brought, The Government Here having experienced more difficulty in Keeping peace and good order in the Two little Towns of Truro and Londonderry settled by Colonel McNutt's followers, than with all the other Settlements in the Whole Province, they being mostly composed of Persons from the Charter Governments who still retain so great a degree of republican principals that they make it a point to oppose on all Occasions every measure of Government calculated to support the Honor and Authority of His Majesty's Crown and Dignity. The dangerous Influence of which Spirit cannot be too much garded against as the late unhappy disturbances in America more than abundantly prove.

“That the Laws of Great Britain, & the Laws of this Province sufficiently secure the Rights Civil & Religious of all His Majesty's Subjects in it, and the Committee cannot conceive what inducement Colol McNutt had to suggest, Assert & propose the several matters contained in His Memorial as we find from the matter of fact inquired into, that the Government here have promoted, & forwarded His undertaking to introduce Settlers into this Province, by every means in their Power, and flattered themselves that He was employing His Time in collecting Persons to fulfill His engagements.

“Halifax 30 Augt. 1766

Endorsed:

Report of the Committee of the Council of Nova Scotia on the Memorial of Mr McNutt

In Lt Govrs Letter of 2. Sept. 1766.

Read Novr. 6. 1766.

N. 108.”

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