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# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## Nova Scotia Historical Society

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"Out of monuments, names, wordes, proverbs, traditions, private records, and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of bookes, and the like, we do save, and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."—Lord Bacon: *The Advancement of Learning*.

"A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great structures, and fosters national pride and love of country, by perpetual references to the sacrifices and glories of the past."—Joseph Howe.

VOLUME XVIII.



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1914.

"The care which a nation devotes to the preservation of the monuments of its past may serve as a true measure of the degree of civilization to which it has attained."

(*Les Archives Principales de Moscou du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères* Moscow, 1898, p. 3.)

"To discover and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the records which yet remain of the earliest history of Canada. To preserve while in our power, such documents as may be found amid the dust of yet unexplored depositories, and which may prove important to general history, and to the particular history of this province."—*Quebec Literary and Historical Society*.

## NATIONAL MONUMENTS.

(By Henry Van Dyke).

Count not the cost of honour to the dead!  
The tribute that a mighty nation pays  
To those who loved her well in former days  
Means more than gratitude for glory fled;  
For every noble man that she hath bred,  
Immortalized by art's immortal praise,  
Lives in the bronze and marble that we raise,  
To lead our sons as he our fathers led.  
These monuments of manhood, brave and high,  
Do more than forts or battle-ships to keep  
Our dear bought liberty. They fortify  
The heart of youth with valour wise and deep;  
They build eternal bulwarks, and command  
Eternal strength to guard our native land.

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## OBJECTS OF COLLECTIONS.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers, old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and the wars of 1776 and 1812; biographical notes of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives and documents relative to the Loyalists, their expulsion from the old colonies and their settlement in the Maritime Provinces.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues, minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and all other publications, relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting articles of pre-historic antiquities, especially implements of copper, stone, or ancient coins or other curiosities found in any of the Maritime Provinces, together with the locality and condition of their discovery. The contribution of all such articles to the cabinet of the society is most earnestly desired.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities, with their signification, and all information generally respecting the condition, language and history of the Micmacs, Malicetes and Bethucks.

7. Books of all kinds, especially such as relate to Canadian history, travel, and biography in general, and Lower Canada or Quebec in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from historical societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced,—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the best of our ability.

9. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliments of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library, where they may be expected to be found always on file and carefully preserved. We aim to obtain and preserve for those who shall come after us a perfect copy of every book, pamphlet or paper ever printed in or about Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

11. Nova Scotians residing abroad have it in their power to render their native province great service by making donations to our library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, etc., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers, we especially appeal on behalf of our Society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, etc., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.



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## ACT OF INCORPORATION.

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### CHAPTER 87.

#### SECTION.

1. Incorporation.
2. May hold real estate.

#### SECTION.

3. Property vested in corporation.

An Act to incorporate the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

(Passed the 17th day of April, A. D., 1879).

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, as follows:

1. The Honourable John W. Ritchie, the Reverend George W. Hill, the Reverend Thomas J. Daly, the Honourable William J. Almon, Thomas A. Ritchie, William D. Harrington, George E. Morton, and John T. Bulmer, and their associates, members of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, and such other persons as shall become members of such society, according to the rules and by-laws thereof, are hereby created a body corporate by the name of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

2. The said corporation may purchase, take, hold, and enjoy real estate not exceeding twenty thousand dollars in value, and may sell, mortgage, lease, or otherwise dispose of the same for the benefit of the corporation.

3. Upon the passing of this act the property of the said Nova Scotia Historical Society, whether real or personal, and all debts due thereto, shall vest in the said Nova Scotia Historical Society hereby incorporated.

## AN ACT.

To provide for the Amalgamation of the Library of the Nova Scotia Historical Society with the Legislative Library and the Management of the Joint Collection.

(Passed the 10th day of April, A. D., 1881.)

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, as follows:

1. The Library of the Nova Scotia Historical Society shall be amalgamated with the Legislative Library of Nova Scotia, and the regulation and management of the Joint Collection and any additions that may be made thereto is hereby vested in a commission of nine persons to be called the Nova Scotia Library Commission, of whom the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province for the time being shall *ex officio* be one, and the remainder of whom shall be appointed annually, one half by the Nova Scotia Historical Society and the other half by the Governor in Council.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor for the time being shall be *ex officio* the President of the Commission.

3. Should the Nova Scotia Historical Society at any time fail to appoint any or all of the Commissioners whom said Society are hereby authorized to appoint, the rights and powers vested by this Act in the Commission shall devolve upon the other members of the Commission.

4. The Librarian shall be appointed by the Governor in Council, and shall be such person as the Commissioners shall nominate, and shall hold office during good behaviour.

5. The Commissioners may make bye-laws from time to time for the regulation and management of the Library and prescribing all matters necessary for the control thereof, but such bye-laws shall not go into force until approved by the Governor in Council.

6. The Commission shall make an annual report of the expenditure, the general state of the Library, and on all such matters in connection therewith as may be required by the Governor in Council, which report shall be laid upon the table of each branch of the Legislature during the session.



# RULES AND BY-LAWS.

REVISED MAY 27, 1910.

1. The Society shall be called the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

## OBJECTS.

2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all documents, papers and others objects of interest which may serve to throw light upon and illustrate the history of this country, the reading at the meetings of the Society, of papers on historical subjects, the publication, as far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish, the formation of a library of books, papers and manuscripts, affording information, and illustrating historical subjects.

## MEMBERS.

3. The membership shall consist of Ordinary, Life, Corresponding and Honorary Members. The Ordinary or resident members, shall pay at the time of admission, an entrance fee of Five Dollars, and Two Dollars after each succeeding annual meeting. The Ordinary Members residing outside the limit of 15 miles from the city, may become members on payment of Two Dollars entrance fee, and One Dollar annually thereafter. Any Ordinary Member may become a Life Member by the payment of Forty Dollars. The Corresponding and Honorary Members, shall be elected by the unanimous vote of the Society, and are exempt from all dues.

4. Candidates for membership may be proposed at any regular or special meeting of the Society by a Member. The proposition shall remain on the table for one month, or until the next meeting, when a ballot shall be taken, one black ball in five excluding. No person shall be considered a member until his entrance fee is paid, and if any member shall allow his dues to remain unpaid for two years, his name may be struck from the roll.

## MEETINGS, OFFICE-BEARERS, ETC.

5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held at 8 p. m., on the first Friday of each month, from November to May, both months inclusive, and special meetings may be convened on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence, by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.

6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held at 8 p. m., on the first Friday of April, at which meeting there shall be chosen a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and two Auditors, and a Council of four members, who with the foregoing shall constitute the Council of the Society. The election of members to serve on the Nova Scotia Library Commission, under the provisions of Chapter 17, N. S. Acts of 1880, shall take place at the annual meeting, immediately after the election of office-bearers and Council.

7. All communications which are thought worthy of preservation, shall be minuted in the books of the Society and the originals kept on file.

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, but at the annual meeting, in April, ten members shall form a quorum.

9. No article of the constitution nor any by-law shall be altered at any meeting when less than ten members are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at the previous meeting, or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

10. The duties of the Office bearers and Council shall be the same as those performed generally in other Societies.

11. The Publication Committee shall consist of four members and shall be appointed by the Council, to them all manuscripts shall be referred, and they shall report to the Council before publication.

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

12. All elections of officers shall be made by ballot, and a majority of those present shall be required to elect.



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OFFICERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
1914.

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PRESIDENT.

The Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, M. A., Ph. D.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

David Allison, LL. D.

Major J. Plimsoll Edwards.

Joseph A. Chisholm, K. C.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Harry Piers.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

William L. Payzant, M. A., LL. B.

TREASURER.

George E. Nichols, LL. B.

AUDITORS.

W. L. Brown,

Lt.-Col. F. H. Oxley.

OTHER MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

A. H. McKay, LL. D.

George Mullane.

George W. T. Irving,

W. C. Milner.

LIBRARY COMMISSIONERS.

James S. MacDonald,  
J. Johnston Hunt, D. C. L.

Rev. John Forrest, LL. D.  
A. H. McKay, LL. D.

LIBRARIAN OF SOCIETY, AND OF AKINS LIBRARY.

Miss Annie Donahoe.

## THE TREASURER'S LIST OF MEMBERS

who have qualified by paying their entrance fees as required by Nos. 3 and 4 of the Rules and By-Laws.

- Abbott, Very Rev. H. P. A., (Hamilton, Ont.)  
 Allison, David, LL. D.  
 Allison, J. Walter  
 Archibald, L. B., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Almon, Dr. W. Bruce  
 Archibald, Charles  
 Archibald, Mrs. Charles  
 Archibald, Wm. C. (Wolfville, N. S.)  
 Archibald, Chas. C., M. D. (Bear River, N. S.)  
 Archibald, R. C., (Wolfville, N. S.)  
 Armitage, Ven. Archdeacon, Ph. D.  
 Armstrong, F. W., (Glance Bay, C. B.)  
 Baird, Rev. Frank, (Woodstock, N. B.)  
 Baker, G. Prescott (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Barnes, H. W.  
 Bent, Barry D., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Bill, Caleb Rand, (Wolfville, N. S.)  
 Bill, J. Philip W., (Ottawa.)  
 Bissett, Dr., M. P. P.  
 Bell, Hon. Senator, A. C., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Bell, Charles  
 Bernasconi, G. A., (N. Sydney, C. B.)  
 Black, W. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Blackader, H. D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Bond, Rev. Geo. J., D. D.  
 Borden, Hon. Sir F. W., K. C. M. G., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Borden, Sir Robert, K. C., D. C. L., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Bourinot, John C., (Port Hawkesbury, N. S.)  
 Boutilier, Arthur, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Bowes, F. W.  
 Bremner, J. J. Col., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Brookfield, S. M., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Brown, Richard H.  
 Brown Wm. L.  
 Browne, Rev. P. W., (St. Jacques, N. F.)  
 Browne, Rev. J. D. H., (Santa Monica, Cal.)  
 Bryden, Rev. C. W., (Westawasis, Sask.)  
 Buchanan, G. O., (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Buckley, A. H.  
 Burchell, C. J., K. C.  
 Burpee, L. R., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Cahan, C. H., K. C., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Calkin, Hugh E., (Londonderry, N. S.)  
 Cantley, Thos., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Cameron, H. W.  
 Campbell, A. J., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Campbell, Dr. D. A.  
 Campbell Dr. Geo. M.  
 Campbell, Geo. S.  
 Carter, R. S., (Maccan, N. S.)  
 Chambers, R. E., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Chipman, L. deV., Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
 Chesley, A. E. H., (Kentville, N. S.)  
 Chesley, Judge S. A., K. C., (Lunenburg, N. S.)  
 Chisholm, J. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Chisholm, J. Scott, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Chisholm, Dr. Murdoch.  
 Christie, Loring C., (Washington.)  
 Chute, Rev. A. C., D. D., (Wolfville, N. S.)  
 Clarke, M. S., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Clarke, Willard G., (Bear River, N. S.)  
 Clayton, W. J.  
 Cobb, A. R.  
 Cohoe, Rev. A. B., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Congdon, Fred. T., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Cowie, Dr. A. J., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Cox, Dr. (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Cox, Geo. H. (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Cox, Rob. M. D., (Upper Stewiacke, N. S.)  
 Connolly, E. W., Prof., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Covey, L. E. Mrs. (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Creelman A. R., K. C., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Crowe, Harry J., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Crowe, Geo. R., (Winnipeg, Man.)  
 Crowell, Rev. J. O., (Portsmouth, Ont.)  
 Cumming, M. Prof., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Curry, J. M., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Cutten, Rev. Geo. E., D. D., (Wolfville, N. S.)  
 Cutler, R. M., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Cutler, R. M. Mrs. (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Dawson, Mrs., (Montreal, P. Q.)  
 Dawson, Robert, (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 Daniels, Hon. O. T., K. C., M. P. P.  
 Davidson, A. L., M. P., (Middleton, N. S.)  
 Davison, Frank, (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 DesBarres, Rev. F. Q. Q., (Sackville, N. B.)  
 DeCarster, Capt. W. S.  
 Dennis, Senator Wm.  
 Densmore, Dr. L. D., (Sherbrooke, N. S.)  
 Dickie, Alfred, (Stewiacke, N. S.)  
 Dickson, M. S. Dr., (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
 Dickson, W. A., (Pictou, N. S.)  
 Dimock, W. D. (Truro, N. S.)  
 Doane, H. L., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Donaldson, Rev. L. J., M. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Douglas, John C., M. P. P., (Glance Bay.)  
 Doull, Very Rev. A. J., (Victoria, B. C.)  
 Drysdale, Hon. Mr Justice, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Dumaresq, S. P.  
 Dustan, J. F. Rev., (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 Eager, W. H., M. D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Eaton, B. H., K. C.  
 Edwards, Major J. P., (Londonderry, N. S.)  
 Elliot, Dr. C. S. (Stellarton, N. S.)  
 Elliot, F. E. Mrs. (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Ellis, Hon. Dr. J. F., M. P. P., (Sherbrooke, N. S.)  
 Fairbanks, Edw. B. (Campbellton, N. B.)  
 Falconer, Rev. Prof.  
 Farish, Dr. Geo. T., (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Faulkner, Hon. Geo. E., M. P. P.  
 Faulkner, Prof. J. A. (Madison, N. J.)  
 Fenerty, E. Lawson.  
 Ferguson, Wm. McM., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Fergie, Chas. M. E., (Montreal, P. Q.)  
 Fielding, Hon. W. S., D. C. L., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Fleming, Sir Sandford.  
 Flemming H. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Flint, Thos. B., LL. D., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Fogo, Fred C., (Pictou, N. S.)



- Forrest, Rev. John, D. D.  
 Fortier, L. M., (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
 Francis, Thos. H.  
 Frame, Joseph F., (Regina, Sask.)  
 Fracklyn, Geo. E.  
 Fraser, A. L. Rev., (Great Village, N. S.)  
 Fraser, D. Stiles, Rev., (Elderbank, N. S.)  
 Fraser, Rev. W. M., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Fraser, Dr. C. F., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Fraser, Mrs. D. C., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Fraser, A. S. M., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Friel, James, (Moncton, N. B.)  
 Fielding, J. N. Mrs. (Windsor, N. S.)  
 Gillis, Rev. D. C., Ph. D., (Antigonish, N. S.)  
 Gilpin, Edward L., (Sydney, N. S.)  
 Gisborne, F. H., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Gordon, Rev. Principal D. M., D. D., (Kington, Ont.)  
 Harrington, C. S., (Glace Bay, C. B.)  
 Harris, Prof. David Fraser, M. D., D. Sc.,  
 Harris, Robt. E., K. C., D. C. L.  
 Harrison, Major H. J., (Maccan.)  
 Hart, Miss L. H., (India)  
 Harvey, W. C.  
 Haslam, Mrs. H. Leo., (Liverpool, N. S.)  
 Hebb, Willis E.  
 Hemeon, Rev. E., (Hamilton, Bermuda.)  
 Henderson, D. H., (Two Rivers, Wash. U. S. A.)  
 Henderson, Geo., Halifax.  
 Hendry, A. W., (Liverpool.)  
 Hensley, Mrs. G. W., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Hetherington, J. L., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Heward, Capt. S. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Hewitt, H. W., (Saskatoon, Sask.)  
 Hill, Rev. A. M., D. D., (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Hill, Arthur E. B., (Vancouver.)  
 Hill, Albert J., (New Westminster.)  
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 Howe, Sydenham, (Middleton, N. S.)  
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 Hunt, Dr. J. J., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Hunt, Louis, Dr., (London, Eng.)  
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 Irvine, J. A., (Calgary, Alta.)  
 Irvin, John, K. C., (Bridgetown, N. S.)  
 Irving, Geo. W. T.  
 Jameson, Clarence A., M.P., (Digby, N.S.)  
 Jack, A. M.  
 Jack, Rev. T. C., D. D., (N. Sydney, C. B.)  
 James, Rev. Willis G., (Calgary.)  
 James Clarence, M. P., (Digby, N. S.)  
 Jeffers, Rev. E. T., D. D., (York, Pa.)  
 Jenks, Stuart, K. C.  
 Jennison, J. L., K. C., (Calgary, Alta.)  
 Jennison, H. V., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Jennison, W. F., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Johnson, Jacob A., (Calgary, Alta.)  
 Johnston, Rev. Robt.,  
 Jones, Herbert L., (Weymouth, N. S.)  
 Jones, Dr. J. Edgar, (Digby, N. S.)  
 Jones, Jas. C., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Jordan, Rev. Louis H., (Eastbourne Eng.)  
 Jost, Dr. A. C., (Guysboro, N. S.)  
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 Keator, J. Gillis, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Kellogg, W. B., (London, Eng.)  
 Kennedy, W. M. P., Prof. F. R., H. S. Antigonish, N. S.  
 Kent, W. G.  
 King, Donald, A.  
 King, Rev. W. B., M. A., (Cambridge Mass.)  
 Knight, J. A.  
 Knight, Rev. M. R., (Sackville, N. B.)  
 Laing, Rev. Robt., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Lane, Charles, W., (Sackville, N. B.)  
 Lawson, A. E., (Winnipeg, Man.)  
 Lawson, J. Murray, (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Leckie, Lt. Col. R. G. E., (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Lockhart, Rev. Arthur John (Winterport, Maine.)  
 Laurie, M. Miss, (Oakfield, N. S.)  
 Levatte, H. V. C. Hon., (Louisburg, N.S.)  
 Lockwood, Dr. T. C., (Lockport, N. S.)  
 Logan, Daniel, (Honolulu.)  
 Logan, F. J. M. P. P. (Musquodoboit Harbor, N. S.)  
 Logan, J. D., Ph. D., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Logan, J. W.  
 Longard, E. J.  
 Longley, Hon. Mr. Justice J. W.  
 Lugar, E. L. Mrs. (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Lumsdon, Rev. James, (Gabus.)  
 Mader, A. I., Dr. (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Margeson, J. W., M. P. P., (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 Marshall, W. E., (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 Martell, Archdeacon, D. C. L., (Windsor, N. S.)  
 Martin, Capt. E. H., R. N., (Dockyard.)  
 Masters, C. H., (Ottawa.)  
 Masters, John, F., (Boston, U. S. A.)  
 Mathers, Isaac H., R. St. O.  
 Maynell, W. B., (Louisburg, C. B.)  
 Milner, F. L., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Milner, W. C.  
 Mills, Col. D. A., (Beaulieu, Hants, Eng.)  
 Minard, Asa R., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Mitchell, Archibald S.  
 Mitchell, C. H., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Moffatt, T. I. D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Morrow, Mrs. Geoffrey, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Morse, Rev. Wm. T., (Lynn, U. S. A.)  
 Morton, Rev. A. D., (Sackville, N. B.)  
 Morse, Rev. E. B. (Halifax.)  
 Moore, H. C., L. C. B., A., (Halifax N. S.)  
 Muir, H. A. Mrs. (Shelburne, N. S.)  
 Mullane, Geo.  
 Murray, Prof. D. A., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Murray, President Walter C., LL. D., (Saskatoon, Sask.)  
 Murray, Mrs. L. M., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Muir, Rev. W. Bruce, (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
 Mylius, L. J., (Winnipeg.)  
 McClare, Chas. H., (Cambridge, Mass.)  
 McCurdy, F. B., M. P.  
 McCallum, J. D., Ottawa.  
 Macdonald, C. Ochiltree.  
 MacDonald, Daniel F., (Stellarton, N. S.)  
 MacDonald, E. M., K. C., (Pictou, N. S.)  
 MacDonald, J. A., "The Globe," (Toronto, Ont.)  
 MacDonald, Jas. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacDonald, Margaret, (Quebec.)  
 MacDonald, Mr. J. G., (Elizabeth R., Nelson, B. C.)  
 MacDonald, Hon. James, M. P. P., West Bay, C. B.)  
 MacDonald, John D., (Pictou, N. S.)  
 MacDonald, Roderick

- McGregor, His Honor Lt. Gov. J. D.  
 McGregor, Hon. R. M., M. P. P., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 MacGregor, Jas., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 McGillivray, Hon. A., (Antigonish, N. S.)  
 Macgillivray, D.  
 McInnes, Hector, K. C.  
 McKay, Alexander.  
 MacKay, A. A., K. C.  
 MacKay, A. H., LL. D.  
 MacKay, Prof. E., Ph. D.  
 McKay, W. Senator, (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 MacKeen, Hon. Senator David.  
 MacKenzie, President A. S., D. C. L.  
 MacKenzie Wm. F., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 MacKinlay, Andrew, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacKinnon, Prof. Rev. C., D. D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 McLean, Jas. A., K. C., (Bridgewater, B. S.)  
 MacLean, Hon. A. K., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacLean, Rev. John, D. D., (Winnipeg, C. B.)  
 McLennan, Daniel, K. C., (Port Hood, C. B.)  
 MacLennan, Donald, M. P. P., (Port Hood, C. B.)  
 McLennan, Chas. A., (Truro, N. S.)  
 McLennan, S. D., (Truro, N. S.)  
 McLeod, Prof. C. H., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Macnab, Brenton A., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Macnab, John.  
 Macnab, Wm.  
 MacPhie, Rev. J. P., (Lynn)  
 McNeil, Archbishop, (Toronto, Ont.)  
 McRae, A. O. Dr., (Calgary, Alta.)  
 Nicholson, C. B., (Detroit.)  
 Nichols, E. Hart, (Digby, N. S.)  
 Nichols, Geo. E. E.  
 Nicolls, Rev. W., (Mulgrave, N. S.)  
 Orde, J. F., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 O'Dwyer, J. S. (Moncton, N. B.)  
 O'Mullin, J. C. (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Outram, Capt., (S. S. Alsatian)  
 Owen, D. M.  
 Owen Mrs. J. M., (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
 Oxley, Col. F. H.  
 Paint, Henry N.  
 Parker, Rev. Lewis W., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Patterson, His Hon. Judge Geo., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Payzant, J. Y., K. C.  
 Payzant, W. L.  
 Pearson, Mrs. B. F., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Perry, Mrs. N. Irwin, (St. Catharines, Ont.)  
 Piers, Harry.  
 Pollok, Rev. Allan, D. D.  
 Pope, Miss Georgina, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Power, J. J., K. C.  
 Power, J. U., (Toronto.)  
 Power, Hon. Senator L. G., K. C.  
 Powell, W. R., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Prescott, C. A.  
 Primrose, J., Mayor, (Pictou, N. S.)  
 Putman, Harold, (Truro, N. S.)  
 Pyke, John Geo., (Liverpool, N. S.)  
 Ragsdale, J. W., U. S. Consul General.  
 Ralston, J. L., M. P. P.  
 Ralston, Mrs. J. L.  
 Rand, Mrs. C. D., (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Reid, Rodie L., (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Regan, John W.  
 Richardson, Ven. Archdeacon, D. C. L., (London, Ont.)  
 Richardson, H. A., (Toronto.)  
 Ritchie, Miss Eliza, Ph.D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Ritchie, James D., (Head St. Margaret's Bay.)  
 Ritchie, Hon. Mr. Justice J. J.  
 Ritchie, Miss Mary.  
 Ritchie, Reginald L., (Regina, Sask.)  
 Ritchie, W. B. A., K. C., (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Roberts, Arthur, (Bridgewater.)  
 Robertson, T. Reginald, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Robertson, Wm., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Rogers, Mrs. H. W., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Rogers, T. Sherman, K. C.  
 Ross, Senator, K. C.  
 Ross, Edwin B., (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Ross, H. S. K. C., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Rowley, W. H., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Rowley, C. W., (Winnipeg, Man.)  
 Ruggles, J. R., (Lockport, N. S.)  
 Rutherford, R. W., Col., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Sterling, J. W. Dr., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Shreve, R. Rev. D. D. (Sherbrooke, Q.)  
 Salter, Frank, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Sare, R. C., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Sedgwick, Rev. T., D. D. (Tatamagouche, N. S.)  
 Saunders, Edward M., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Saunders, Miss M., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Savary, His Hon. Judge A. W., (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
 Shand, F. A., (Windsor, N. S.)  
 Shatford, A. W., (Hubbards, N. S.)  
 Shatford, Rev. A. P., (Montreal, P. Q.)  
 Shaw, Leander, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Shortt, Alfred.  
 Schwartz, W. E., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Silver, A. E., K. C., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Silver, L. M., Dr., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Simson, Frank C.  
 Sinclair, John H., M. P., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Slade, F. M., (Montreal, Q.)  
 Slayter, J. M., Maj., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Smith, Rev. A. W. L., (River John, N. S.)  
 Smith, C. R., K. C., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Smith, Edmund A.  
 Smith, F. P., M. D., (Mill Village, N. S.)  
 Smith, L. Mortimer.  
 Smith, Dr. M. A. B., (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
 Soloman, David, LL. D., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Smithers, A. W. Canon, (Frederickton, N. B.)  
 Sedgwick, F. R., (Granville Ferry, N. S.)  
 Sponagle, J. A., Dr., (Middleton, N. S.)  
 Stairs, Geo. W., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Stairs, Geo. W.  
 Stairs, A. P., Miss (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Starratt, F. A., (Prof., (Hamilton, N. J.)  
 Starr, Mrs. F. N. G., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Steele, Rev. D. A., D. D., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Stewart, Rev. John H., (Upp. Stewiacke, N. S.)  
 Stewart, Frank E., (Sydney, C. B.)  
 Stewart, W. B., (Digby, N. S.)  
 Stuart, Geo. W., Mayor, (Truro, N. S.)  
 St. Louis Mercantile Lib., Assoc., (St. Louis, Mo.)  
 Studd, W. H., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Sumichrast, Prof. F. J. de., (Boston, Mass.)  
 Tanner, C. E., K. C., M. P. P., Pictou, N. S.)  
 Theakston, Henry, (Halifax, N. S.)



- Thompson, Alfred, M. P., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Thompson, A., Very Rev. D. D., (Gloucester Bay, N. S.)  
 Thomson, Arthur, M. B. C. M., (Stratford on Avon, Eng.)  
 Thorne, E. L.  
 Tory, President H. M., LL. D., (Edmonton, Alta.)  
 Tory, Mrs. John A., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Tory, Mr. J. A., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Tremaine, R. A., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Tory, James C., M. P. P., (Guysboro, N. S.)  
 Townshend, Hon. Sir C. J., Ch. Justice.  
 Trefry, J. H.  
 Townsend, Rev. W. T., (Carcross, Y. T.)  
 Tremaine, A. DeB., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Tremaine, H. B., M. P., (Windsor, N. S.)  
 Tufts, Prof. J. F., D. C. L., (Wolfville, N. S.)  
 Tupper, Hon. Sir C. H., K. C., (Vancouver, B. C.)  
 Tupper, Rev. Joseph Freeman, (Dominion, C. B.)  
 Uniacke, C. J., Lt. Col., (Southsea, Eng.)  
 VanBuskirk, G. E., (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
 Vickery, Edgar, J., (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
 Vidito, Lt. Col. I. W., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Walker, E. M., (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
 Walker, Smith L., M. D., (Truro, N. S.)  
 Wallace, O. C. S. Rev., (Westmount, P.A.)  
 Warman, Charles, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Webster, David, Dr. (New York, U. S. A.)  
 Webster, H. B., (Kentville, N. S.)  
 Wetherbe, Hon. Sir R. L., (Late Ch. Justice.)  
 Whidden, C. Edgar, (Antigonish, N. S.)  
 White, Hon. N. W., K. C., (Victoria, B. C.)  
 Wilson, Secies, (Windsor, N. S.)  
 Whitman, A. Harfield.  
 Whitman, C. H., (Canso, N. S.)  
 Whitman, E. C., (Canso, N. S.)  
 Whitman, F. C. (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
 Wilson, Canon W. Chas., (Springhill, N. S.)  
 Wiswell, Wm. H., (Halifax.)  
 Warner, F. A., (Halifax.)  
 Wilson, J. T., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Willis, A. P., (Montreal, P. Q.)  
 Willis, Rev. J. J., (Westmount.)  
 Wilson, J. T., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Wood, Geo. M., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Woodbury, Dr. F.  
 Woodworth, J. E., (Berwick, N. S.)  
 Worrell, Rt. Rev. C. L., D. D., Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia  
 Yorston, Fred., (Montreal, P. Q.)  
 Young, Mrs. Frank, (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
 Zwicker, Edward J., (Cape North, C. B.)  
 Zwicker, Rupert G., (Cape North, C. B.)

A number of persons have been nominated and duly elected, but have not yet qualified by paying their entrance fees as required by Nos. 3 and 4 of the Rules and By-laws.

### Life Members.

- Whitman, Wm., (Boston, Mass.)  
 Ellis, Hon. J. V., (St. John, N. B.)  
 Curry, Hon. Nath., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Macdonald, James S.

### Corresponding Members.

- Goldsmid, Edmund, F. R. S., (Edinburgh.)  
 Ward, Robert, (Bermuda.)  
 Griffin, Martin, J., M. G., (Ottawa.)  
 Wrong, Prof. Geo. M. M. A., (Toronto.)  
 Bryce, Rev. Geo., D. D., (Winnipeg.)  
 Eaton, Rev. Arthur Wentworth, D.C. L. (Boston, Mass.)  
 Adams, Chas. Francis, (Boston.)  
 Prowse, Judge D. W., (St. John's, Nfld.)  
 Ganong, Prof. W. F., (Northampton, Mass.)  
 Doughty, Arthur, G., LL. D., C. M. G. (Ottawa.)

### Honorary Members.

- Sir. Conan Doyle, (London.)  
 Chas G. D. Roberts, (London.)  
 Ven. Archdeacon Raymond, (St. John. N. B.)  
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## THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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1891.

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MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.

1907-1909.

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY. SENATOR POWER.

VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE.

1910.

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY. VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE.

DR. M. A. B. SMITH.

1911.

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY. LT.-COL. F. H. OXLEY.

A. H. BUCKLEY, PH. M.

1912.

DAVID ALLISON, D. C. L., JOHN Y. PAYZANT, M. A.,

A. H. BUCKLEY, PH. M.

1913-1915.

DAVID ALLISON, D. C. L. MAJOR J. PLIMSOLL EDWARDS

J. A. CHISHOLM, K. C.

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1879. DR. W. J. ALMON. REV. T. J. DALY. GEO. E. MORTON. W. D. HARRINGTON.	1891. HON. DR. ALMON. DR. A. H. MACKAY. J. J. STEWART. REV. T. W. SMITH.	1903. ARCHIBALD FRAME. PROP. A. MACMECHAN. J. J. STEWART. REV. DR. SAUNDERS.
1880. DR. W. J. ALMON. J. J. STEWART. G. E. MORTON. WM. COMPTON.	1892. HON. DR. ALMON. J. J. STEWART. DR. POLLOK. REV. T. W. SMITH.	1904. REV. DR. SAUNDERS. PROP. A. MACMECHAN. ARCH. FRAME. J. J. STEWART.
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1889. HON. DR. ALMON. THOS. BAYNE. REV. T. W. SMITH. PETER LYNCH.	1901. J. J. STEWART. REV. DR. SAUNDERS. REV. T. W. SMITH. PROP. A. MACMECHAN.	1913. A. H. BUCKLEY. G. W. T. IRVING. W. C. MILNER. HON. MR. JUSTICE RUSSELL
	1914. A. H. MCKAY, LL. D. G. W. T. IRVING. W. C. MILNER. GEORGE MULLANE.	



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## THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

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The Venerable Archdeacon Armitage, gave the President's Report.

The Archdeacon said that the year 1913-14, had been marked by many signs of development, which were most distinctly encouraging. The regular meetings of the Society had been well attended, and the interest in every department of the Society's work had increased. The membership continues to grow steadily. During the year 164 new members were added to our roll; and of this number your President had the pleasure of nominating no less than 145. The membership roll of the Nova Scotia Historical Society is fast becoming the roll of honour of Nova Scotians who have distinguished themselves in various walks of life. While we have associated with us a very large number of educationists, as is natural, we have also a remarkable list of men of affairs in the commercial and industrial world. It is noteworthy also, that we have many of the leaders in political life. The legal profession is worthy of special mention, so large is their contribution. We are favoured also with a great increase in the number of ladies who have joined our ranks. There is no reason, in my judgment, why we should not have at least 1000 members, which would secure an income for the Society which would enable it to prosecute its work with far greater efficiency, especially in the direction of the publication of historic information.

It has been well remarked: That the care which a nation devotes to the preservation of the monuments of its past may serve as a true measure of the degree of civilization to which it has attained.

The aim of the Nova Scotia Historical Society may be stated in brief terms. It is to discover and preserve the documents which relate to the history of the Province. It is to make available to the historical student the mass of information which has been gathered in the Archives concerning the settlement and development of Nova Scotia. It is to encourage all workers in the field of historical research. It is to suggest proper methods of research, and to cultivate the critical faculty in the use of materials. It is to inculcate the scientific spirit in the study of history. It is above all to assist in the historical domain personal research of original documents, and to make accessible to students, manuscripts and other material of an antiquarian and historical character.

The greatest historian on the formative period of English history, wrote his monumental work from printed books, and did not consult a mass of original material, which formed the true mine in which he should have explored. It has remained for later students to dig deeper, and to enrich the subject from the ore in which the wealth of knowledge was to be found.

These facts, and others of a similar nature, place upon us only a heavier obligation to pursue the scientific method, and to insist on its rigid application in our chosen field of study.

A society with such a high standard, and with such lofty aims, requires money for its operations. For thirty-three years it has carried on its useful work with poverty staring it in the face. Its membership was small, its fees trifling. Only one life member was on the roll with a payment of \$40.00. The society has entered upon better times, with a greatly increased membership, however, and consequently a larger income.

We have laudable ambitions; we have a large measure of responsibility; we have a great work to be accomplished, and for such work we need money. It is only in the light of contrast that we are able to see our needs. The Massachusetts Historical Society has \$417,892.91 in invested funds. Its re-



ceipts in 1911 were \$32,000.00. The Nova Scotia Historical Society had in that year no invested funds, its income was below \$600.00.

There are a few objects of a secular character towards which our men of means could give with better results. The Society needs a building of its own in which to house its records, and in which to do its work. The investment of \$100,000.00 for that purpose would be of inestimable benefit to the province.

We need a fire-proof building where historical manuscripts may be deposited with safety, if the highest functions of the society are to be fulfilled. The irreparable losses recently suffered in the United States by the fires in the State houses of New York and Kansas, ought to be a sufficient warning to all governments.

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The President handed to the Archivist a photograph of Colonel Charles James Stewart who on the 5th November, 1913, completed his ninety-second year; a picture of the tablet on the Royal Bank, Annapolis Royal, marking the birthplace of Sir Fenwick Williams; a picture of the inscription marking the visit of the first French bishop at Ste. Anne's, Church Point, with the inscription legibly written out kindly drawn up by Canon Vroom, of Windsor.

The inscription, which is quite legible is:—

III NON IVN  
MDCCCIII  
DOM: P DENAVT  
QVEBEC  
HAS IN ORAS  
PRIM. APPVLIT  
EPISCOP  
ET  
TRIBVS  
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ  
DIEBVS

On the side of the stone is:—

HIC STETIT ARA CHRISTI

The President stated that he had an inquiry from Captain Hicks, R. N., private secretary to the Lieut. Governor, regarding the original journal of Charles Mason, who with Jeremiah Dixon surveyed the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1764-7. Mr. Thatcher T. P. Luquer, consulting engineer of New York, in a letter to the Private Secretary says: "In the encyclopaedias reference is made to the finding in 1860, among some waste papers in the basement of Government House at Halifax, of the original Journal." "Mr. Porter C. Bliss described the journal in the Historical Magazine of July 1861, and states that it was then in the possession of a gentleman of Nova Scotia."

The President exhibited a State paper of great historical interest, the original document, bearing the Royal signature and seal:—The Additional Instructions of King George I to Governor Phillips of Nova Scotia, dated August 31st, 1724, regarding import duties on European goods, imported in English vessels into our Province. This document is now in the possession of Mr. Beckles Willson, of Clifton Grove, Windsor, N. S.

The President stated that Dr. J. Johnston Hunt, had presented the Library with a bound copy of the first volume of "The Mayflower, or the Ladies Acadian Newspaper," first published in 1851.

The President handed the Archivist a copy of "The Mayflower," a patriotic song, by the late Ernest E. Leigh, formerly organist and choir master of St. Paul's Church, Halifax.

The President referred to the sad loss which historical circles in the Maritime Provinces had suffered by the death of David Russell Jack, one of the foremost historical students in Canada. The late Mr. Jack was a man with large sympathies, a wide out-look upon life, and of indefatigable energy. He possessed the true historical spirit in a large degree, and gave of his time, energy and means for the furtherance of the work he so dearly loved. We sympathize with the members of the New Brunswick Historical Society in their great loss.



The President handed to the Archivist a photograph from an old Silhouette, of Mrs. Rebecca Clements Hill, wife of William Hill, Loyalist. The picture bears the date 1738-1813. He also handed over a photograph of Major John Lewis Hill, 1805-1888, Cape Breton Militia, for 15 years Sheriff of Cape Breton County, 1860-1875. The photographs are presented to the Society by a member, Mr. Albert J. Hill of New Westminster. Mr. Hill has presented the Society with an excellent likeness of Rev. Ranna Cossitt, one of the early Church missionaries who died at Yarmouth in 1815, and with a genealogical record of the Cossitt family from 1700 to the present time.

The President stated that he had a communication from Miss M. I. Willet of 354 West 57th Street, New York, asking for information concerning Samuel and James Willet, who were taken prisoners in the Revolutionary War and brought to Canada.

The President stated that Frank Dyer Chester, Ph. D., had written from The Bristol, Boston, asking for information: May I inquire whether you have in your library the colonial record of the family of Simeon Chester (from New London-Groton, Conn.) and his wife Elizabeth Bent (of Milton, Mass.) who settled at Truro, N. S. about 1760.

This Simeon Chester had nine children perhaps all born in Nova Scotia:

Simeon b Mch. 30, 1767.	triplets.	{	Eliah (Elisha) b Dec. 24, 1773
Elizabeth b June 12, 1768.			Elijah " " " "
Calvin b			Elias " " " "
twins { Lydia b			Susannah " Mch 31, 1776
			Caleb d

They all later moved to the State of Ohio, except perhaps the branch of Eliah (Elisha) who married Hannah Ladowney (LeDernier?) about whom I would like information. Elijah may have died young; but Elias married Oct. 15, 1797 Hannah Vincent Freeman of Pomfret, Conn. whose father was Capt.

Elisha Freeman of Truro, Mass. and Norwich, Conn. Her sister Abigail married Col. Street of St. John, N. B. Another sister, Ann Frances, married a LeDernier.

I have a feeling that there must be a family of Chesters in your province related to us, either from this Simeon branch, or from an earlier member of the family.

Please accept my hearty thanks for all that you can do for me in this regard.

The Freemans and Bents were in Amherst, N. S.

P. S. It is stated that Simeon Chester was head of Cumberland County Committee of Safety in November, 1770.

The President stated that he had a communication from the distinguished historical student, Professor Ganong, congratulating the Society on Volume XVII, not only for the value of its contents, but also on the good judgment displayed, in the selection and arrangement of the material. Professor Ganong is anxious to have the inscriptions on the Yarmouth stones reproduced photographically.

The President had a communication from the Rev. Dr. Eaton of Boston, in regard to the Greenough family, concerning which inquiry was made at the December meeting. Dr. Eaton writes: "In the grant of the Township of Newport in 1761, Daniel Greeno, or Greno, or Greenough does not appear, but in the Newport Township book are the following entries:

Daniel Greno, and Elizabeth Little, widow, were married 7th October, 1762, by Isaac Deschamps, Esq., J. P. Daniel and Elizabeth, born 25th December, 1764. Allen, born 27th April, 1764.

Daniel Greenough was not a Loyalist, he evidently came in 1761 or 1762. What property he may have owned can be found only from Crown Land records in Halifax, (if he had any grant) and from Deeds in Windsor, N. S."



The President announced that papers had been promised by the following members:—

Mr. Horace Flemming, of the Bank of Nova Scotia, on the subject of: "The Old Currency of Nova Scotia."

The Rev. Arthur John Lockhart of Winterport, Maine, known as "Pastor Felix," in the literary world, on the subject: "Acadian Reminiscences of Fifty Years Ago."

The President presented the Report of the Committee appointed at the February Meeting to wait on the Provincial Government, to ask for the publication of the Acadian Documents relating to the Expulsion which, it is claimed, have come to light since Dr. Akins published the volume of the Record Commission. The Government, it is understood, will take action in the matter.

The President reported that there had been a very considerable demand on the part of learned bodies, for the early volumes of our "Collections." We had recently a request from the University of Hong Kong; and "The Western Reserve Historical Society" of Cleveland, Ohio, has made application for volumes 1 to 10. It would be well to reprint some of the earlier volumes, as soon as the Society is in a financial position to do so. Volumes 1, 2 and 5 are out of print.

The condition of the French Burial Ground near Rockingham Bedford Basin has aroused considerable interest.

The Historical Society has started a movement to interest the French Government, the Government of Quebec, and Canadians generally in erecting a monument to the memory of the dead of the Duc d'Anville's fleet who perished of fever in large numbers while in temporary camp at Bedford Basin.

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The President reported that Mr. John Howard, Agent General of Nova Scotia through whom inquiries had been made

by Mr. A. M. Payne, as to the whereabouts of the painting of Lord Halifax, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, after whom the City of Halifax was named, and the possibility of obtaining a copy of the same, had stated that the picture had been offered at Christie's Art Sales and had been purchased by Lord Curzon, ex-Viceroy of India. His Lordship courteously permitted a photograph to be taken of this fine picture and copies were forwarded to Mr. Payne for the Society.

Through the kindness of Mr. I. C. Stewart, a valued member of our Society, copies of this picture were distributed, at the Annual Meeting, when Mr. A. M. Payne took the Earl of Halifax, as the subject of his paper.

The President submitted a resolution unanimously passed at a meeting of the Maritime Board of Trade, where the Society was represented by Mr. W. C. Milner August 21st, 1913.

*"Whereas*, the territories embraced within the limits of Ancient Acadia first settled three hundred years ago, being the first European Settlement made in America, north of St. Augustine, wherein the struggle for national supremacy, were the scenes of many conflicts in the French, Indian and Revolutionary wars, and were associated with many historic individuals and with deeds of valor and heroism, and with acts of self sacrifice and patriotic devotion;

*And whereas*, except in five cases, the sites of such scenes have passed into private hands and in no case, but one, has the Federal Government taken any steps to preserve and perpetuate such sites for the benefit of future generations;

*Resolved*, that this Board of Trade strongly recommends the Federal Government to acquire by purchase, or otherwise, such historic sites as they do not now possess and to mark the same by appropriate monuments, and also, that the management and perpetual keep of the same be placed in the hand of a Government Department or Commission; also that copies



of this resolution be sent to the Right Honourable R. L. Borden, and Honourable Messrs. White, Foster, Hazen and Col. Hughes."

At the January Meeting his Honor Judge Savary gave the following appreciation of the late David Russell Jack—The Judge expressed his regret for the loss to the literature and history of the Maritime Provinces by the passing away of Mr. Jack in the midst of his career of usefulness which was tinged in his mind with the sense of a personal bereavement, for he was one of his most esteemed and valued correspondents. "Mr. Jack's knowledge of the history and genealogy of the Maritime Provinces was wonderful, and he was always delighted to communicate his knowledge to others. He would spare no pains to give enquirers any information they asked of him. As a proof of his generosity and public spirit in this respect may be cited the fact, that although not a rich man he carried on his valuable Magazine "*Acadiensis*" ten years at a loss of \$200 a year. If in the trite old adage *poeta nascitur, non fit*, the word *poeta* applies to the historian as well as to the poet in the English sense of the term. Mr. Jack was a striking example of a man possessing an "historical instinct," for he wrote his history of the City of St. John when he was only 19 years old. He was engaged at the time of his death on a history of the Loyalists of New Brunswick which no doubt would have been a most valuable book."

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The Council wishes to put on record that the portrait appearing under the name of Governor Charles Lawrence, Vol. XVI, Folio 11, which had been published by the Society in good faith, is now believed to be the portrait of Dr. Adam Ferguson.

The Council desires to state that the Society does not hold itself responsible for the views expressed by the writers of papers or for the authenticity of the portraits furnished.

### Members Elected at the November Meeting.

- McClare, Charles Herbert, Architect, Cambridge Mass.  
 MacKenzie, Alexander, Halifax.  
 Schwartz, William E., Halifax.  
 Salter, Frank, Halifax.  
 Logan, Daniel, Commercial Editor Star-Bulletin, Honolulu.  
 Morse, Rev. Wm. Inglis, B. D., Lynn, Mass.  
 McLeod, Prof. Clement Henry, (Professor of Geodesy) McGill University, Montreal.  
 Moffatt, Thos. Inglis Dunlap, Halifax.  
 Pottinger, David, Moncton, N. B.  
 Mylius, L. J., Winnipeg.  
 Lockhart, Rev. Arthur John, (Pastor Felix) Winterport, Me.  
 Pope, Miss Georgina, Halifax.  
 Minard, Asa Raymond, Toronto.  
 Townsend, Rev. Wm. Thos., B. A., Carcross, B. C.  
 Crane, Lt. Colonel J. Noble, Halifax.  
 Willson, Beckles, "Clifton", Windsor.  
 Newcombe, Edmund Leslie, K. C., Deputy Minister of Justice, Ottawa.  
 Nicholson, Chas. Butler, M. A., "Detroit Free Press."  
 Richardson, Harry A., General Manager, Bank of Nova Scotia, Toronto.  
 Primrose, Alex., M. D., Toronto.  
 Masters, John F., Supt. Dominion Atlantic. Railway, Boston.  
 Egan, Lt. Col. Thos J., Halifax.  
 Longard, Clarence, Halifax.  
 Blackadar, Henry Douglas, Halifax.  
 Lugar, Mrs. Wm. R., Halifax.  
 Laurie, Miss, Oakfield, N. S.  
 Anderson, Mrs., 3 North Bland Street.  
 James, Rev. Willis, G. B. A., Calgary.  
 Harris, Rev. George D., Fall River, Mass.  
 MacKenzie, Archdeacon Chas., Gallipolis, Ohio.  
 Thorne, S. J., North Sydney Herald.  
 Wylde, Chas. Fenwick, M. D., Montreal.  
 Morrow, Mrs. Marion S., Halifax.  
 Elliot, Mrs. F. E., Halifax.  
 Ryan, Mrs. Frank W., Halifax.  
 Ross, Howard Salter, D. C. L., Montreal.  
 Fenerty, Lloyd Hamilton, Calgary.  
 MacDonald, Henry Kirkwood, M. D., Halifax.  
 MacKenzie, Wm. F., J. P., New Glasgow.  
 Cutler, Robert Mollison, Halifax.  
 Moberley, Thomas Ed., Toronto.  
 Starratt, Prof. Frank A., Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.  
 Sponagle, Lt.-Col., M. D., Middleton, N. S.  
 Hare, Henry Mather, M. D., Harrington Harbor, Cote Nord, Q.  
 Webster, Henry Duntley, M. D., Kentville.  
 Tremaine, Dunsier Lambton, Halifax.  
 Wiswell, William H., Halifax.  
 Russell, Bernard W., Halifax.  
 McCarthy, Professor Joseph B., Windsor, N. S.  
 Rand, Benjamin, Ph. D., Harvard Philosophical Library.



Cutler, Mrs. Robert M., Halifax.  
Wilson, Edwin Alonzo, Halifax.  
Starr, Chas. C., Halifax.  
Schaffner, I. B., Halifax.  
MacLean, Dr., North Sydney.  
MacDonald, Capt. Donald, Sydney.  
Gray, F. W., C. E., Sydney.

**Members Elected December Meeting.**

Holmes, Hon. Simon H., Halifax.  
Warman, Charles, Liverpool.  
Dickson, Dr. M. S., Dartmouth.  
Whitman, Frank C., Annapolis Royal.  
Fortier, Loftus Morton, Annapolis Royal.  
Clark, Willard G., Bear River.  
Betton, J. Edgar, Toronto.  
Warner, Frederick Alex., Halifax.  
Sare, R. G., Halifax.  
Bowser, W. H., Halifax.  
Covey, Mrs. Lorenzo E., Halifax.  
Young, Mrs. Frank, Dartmouth.

**Members Elected January Meeting.**

Thompson, Alfred M. P., Dawson City.  
Finn, William D., M. D., Halifax.  
Fraser, Rev. D. Stiles, D. D., Musquodoboit Harbor.  
Richardson, Rev. Marshall Sterling, Truro.  
Buckley, Avery F., M. D., Halifax.  
Sterling, John William, M. D., Montreal.  
Sedgewick, Rev. Thomas, D. D., Tatamagouche.  
Roper, Henry, Halifax.

**Members Elected February Meeting.**

Smith, Charles, R., K. C., Amherst.  
Starr, Mrs. F. N. C., 112 College Street, Toronto.  
Fairbanks, Edward Binney, Campbellton, N. B.  
Swaine, James Malcolm, Assistant Entomologist, Ottawa.  
Smithers, Canon Allan, W., Fredericton, N. B.  
Whitman, O. H., Canso, N. S.  
Fielding, Mrs. Jean U., Editor Windsor Tribune, Windsor, N. S.  
Slayter, Major James M., R. G. A., Halifax.  
Heward, Captain Stephen, A. R. C. A., Halifax.  
Wier, Hedley Vicars, Halifax.  
Uniacke, Lieut-Col. Crofton J., 4 Allhambra Road, Southsea, Eng.  
McLeod, John D., Barrister, Pictou.  
Phillips, Arthur Lang, 38 Cedar St., Halifax.  
Macdonald, Alvin F., Editor, The Morning Chronicle, Halifax.  
Outram, Captain Edmund, "Alsatian," Liverpool, Eng.  
Grierson, Rev. Robert, M. D., Seoul, Corea.  
Farrish, Henry E., Esq., M. D., Liverpool, N. S.  
Archibald, W. C., Wolfville.  
Studd, W. H., Halifax.

**Members Elected March Meeting.**

Ross, Edwin Byron, Vancouver, B. C.  
 Shreve, Rev. Canon Richmond, D. D., Sherbrooke, Que.  
 Wilson, J. T., Halifax.  
 McLeod, John R., Halifax.  
 Bligh, Harris Harding, Halifax.  
 Henderson, Donald H., Two Rivers, Washington, U. S.  
 Clarke, Frederick John, Halifax.  
 Chambers, Robert E. C., New Glasgow.  
 Smith, Dr. Freeman P., Mill Village, Queen's County, N. S.  
 Walker, E. M., Dartmouth.  
 Owen, Hon. W. H., Bridgewater.

**Corresponding Member.**

Eaton, Arthur Hamilton Wentworth, D. C. L., Boston.

**Members Elected April Meeting.**

Hensley, Mrs. George, Halifax.  
 Stairs, Miss Anna, Bland Street, Halifax.  
 Kennedy, Professor W. M. P., M. A. F. R., Hist S. (Eng.), Professor of Modern History, University of St. Francis Xavier, Antigonish.  
 Stewart, W. B., Digby, N. S.  
 Thompson, The Very Rev. Alexander, D. D., Glace Bay.  
 Whitman, William, Boston, Mass (Life Member).  
 Wallace, Rev. Oates Chas. Symonds, D. D., Westmount, Montreal.  
 Harrington, Gordon Sydney, Mayor of Glace Bay.  
 Webster, David Esq., M. D., 24 East 48th Street, New York.  
 Shand, F. A., Sec., Windsor Furniture Company, Windsor.  
 Sedgewick, Major F. R., late Royal Field Artillery, Granville Ferry.  
 Cox, George Hastings, M. D., New Glasgow.  
 Harrison, Laurie Longley, M. D., Halifax.  
 Archibald, Chas. C., Bear River.  
 Ross, A. David, Amherst.  
 Friel, James Barrister, Dorchester, N. B.

**As Corresponding Member.**

Greenwood, Charles, Esq., F. C. I. S., Registrar, The Manorial Society, 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London Eng.

**Members Elected at May Meeting.**

Guest, William Taylor, 841 Chempagne Avenue, Montreal.  
 Powell, Alderman William Robert, Halifax.  
 Hewitt, G. Trafford, Halifax.  
 Pearson, Mrs. Benjamin Franklin, "Emscote," Halifax.  
 Thomson, Arthur, Esq., M. B., C. M., (Edin.), D. P. H., (Canada), Whytegates, Stratford-on-Avon, England.  
 Lockerby Mr. R. Archibald, Halifax.  
 Dyer, Mr. Arthur F., Halifax.



## HISTORIC TABLETS

There have been many interesting and impressive ceremonies in connection with the work of the Society in marking the historic sites of the Province. At H. M. Naval Yard Halifax there was a large contingent of men drawn up from the "Cumberland," under command of Lt. Cowan. Captain Doughty of the "Melpomene," Captain Aubrey Smith of the "Cumberland," Captain MacDonald of the "Niobe," Major Clark of the "Marines," Lord George Seymour of the "Melpomene," and Lt. Ravenshaw with other naval officers were present. The army was represented by Colonel Rutherford and Captain Gibsone. There was a representative gathering of citizens. Archdeacon Armitage presided.

Captain Martin, head of the Naval Yard, gave an eloquent and most interesting speech. He recalled the fact that as a midshipman on the "Shannon," Sir Provo Wallis visited the ship and presented them with a memento of the famous "Shannon" of 1813 fame. The old Admiral was always a great advocate of good gunnery and of the constant need of practice. It was then that he used the famous saying: "If you have the guns use them, and use them properly." He was indeed the "Father of the British Fleet."

Captain Martin unveiled the Tablet which reads as follows:—

Near this spot in  
H. M. Naval Yard, was born,  
Sir Provo William Parry Wallis, K. C. B.,  
1791-1892.

Who served with great distinction for 88 years in the Navy: first won fame on board the "Shannon" in her famous action with the "Chesapeake," and brought the Prize to Halifax, 1813: rose to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet; and long bore the great honour of being "The Father of the British Fleet."

The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

Archdeacon Armitage called upon Colonel Rutherford, officer commanding the Maritime Provinces to unveil the Tablet to General Beckwith. Colonel Rutherford spoke most warmly of the distinguished services of the Halifax boy who rose to the rank of a Major-General of the British Army. Beckwith was every inch a soldier. His crowning honours were won on the fateful field of Waterloo, and he has since been associated with the great name of Wellington. Beckwith was not only a soldier, but having lost his leg at Waterloo, he gave up his life to missionary service in the Alps.

The Tablet Colonel Rutherford unveiled reads as follows:—

Near this Spot in  
H. M. Naval Yard was born  
Major General  
John Charles Beckwith.  
1789-1862.

Knight of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus;  
who rendered Distinguished Service in the  
Peninsular War, and on the  
famous field of Waterloo.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

The massed bands of the R. C. R. Regiment and of the "Cumberland," under band-master Ryan struck up "God save the King," Rule Britannia," and brought the function to a close by playing "O Canada," a tribute to two of our most distinguished Canadians. It is of interest that Prince Albert was at this Station during the function.

The following Historic Tablets have been placed to mark historic objects and sites: the house of Mrs. S. E. Moren, 310 Pleasant Street, the site of the residence of Bishop Charles Inglis, afterwards the residence of Professor Hagarty.

The tablet reads:—

The site of the Bishop Inglis House,  
and the birthplace of Sir John Eardley Wilmot Inglis, K. C. B.,  
1814-1862.

"The Hero of Lucknow."

The Nova Scotia Historical Society.



Archdeacon Armitage presided. The tablet was unveiled by the Hon. Colonel Sam. Hughes, Minister of Militia.

There were present, the Lieutenant-Governor, Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton, G. C. B., D. S. O., Colonel Rutherford, Col. Humphrey, Major Maddocks, military secretary; Colonel Victor Williams, A. S. C., Lt. Col. Vidito, Lt. Col. Oxley, Dr. McKay, Superintendent of Education; Dr. David Allison, J. C. MacKintosh, W. C. Milner, of the Dominion Archives, and a number of leading citizens. Archdeacon Armitage presented Mrs. A. MacMechan and Mrs. Powell as representing the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the order having contributed to the object of erecting historic tablets.

The memorial tablet unveiled by General Sir Ian Hamilton, G. C. B., D. S. O., Inspector General of the Overseas Forces, in the Province Building grounds contained the following inscription:

Tradition saith  
That this cannon was used  
On board H. M. S. Shannon  
In the historic sea fight  
Between the Chesapeake and the Shannon  
June 1st, 1813.  
It was used as the noon and evening gun.  
1882-1905.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

The Canadian Bioscope Company secured films of the two scenes, which have been widely shown throughout Canada, and the British Isles.

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A worthy memorial tablet has been set up in St. George's Church, Halifax, immediately over Colonel DesBarres' grave in the crypt. The tablet, at the president's request, was unveiled by Mr. James S. Macdonald, who also delivered an

excellent address embracing the varied and prolonged career of Governor DesBarres.

This Tablet Commemorates  
Col. Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, Cartographer, Engineer,  
Administrator, who served in this Garrison as Captain of the  
Royal American Regiment of Foot, 1756.  
Won distinction at Louisburg, 1758, Aide-de-Camp to Gen. Wolfe  
at Quebec, 1759.  
Surveyor-General of the North Atlantic Coast, Preceptor of  
Captain Cook, the Circumnavigator.  
Author of the Atlantic Neptune.  
Founder of Sydney, C. B.; Lt.-Governor of Cape Breton and of  
Prince Edward Island, buried beneath this church,  
Nov. 1st, 1824.  
At the reputed age of 103 years.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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His Honour Judge Savary unveiled a tablet on the old Fort at Annapolis Royal.

This Tablet Commemorates  
Two distinguished sons of Annapolis Royal, Admiral Phillips Cosby,  
1727-1808; and Admiral William Wolseley, 1756-1842 whose fa-  
thers were officers serving in this Fort, and their mothers  
descendents of William Winniett, the first permanent  
British resident.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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Sir Robert Borden Prime Minister of Canada, unveiled a tablet to the memory of Samuel G. W. Archibald, the distinguished Nova Scotian who in the earlier years of the nineteenth century played such an important part in the government of the Province.

There was a large gathering in the Assembly chamber, the tablet, which is of cast bronze with a medallion, being placed on the east side of the room.

Among those present were Sir Robert Borden and Lady Borden, Archdeacon Armitage, Sir Sandford Fleming, K. C. M. G.; The Hon. Mr. Justice Longley, The Hon. Mr. Justice



Graham, Hon. E. H. Armstrong, Hon. G. E. Faulkner, Hon. R. McGregor, C. E. Tanner, M. P. P., Mayor Bligh, Rev. Dr. Forrest, G. E. Franklyn and others.

Archdeacon Armitage presided, and speeches were made by Sir Robert Borden and Dr. David Allison.

The inscription is as follows:

This Tablet Commemorates  
The Public Services of a distinguished Nova Scotian, The Hon.  
Samuel George William Archibald, born at Truro, 1777, died  
1846, Orator, Jurist, Statesman, Speaker of the House of  
Assembly, Attorney-General, and Master of the Rolls  
of the Province of Nova Scotia and Chief Justice of  
the Province of Prince Edward Island.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

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The Programme for the season was as follows:—

November: Paper on Charles Inglis, First Bishop of Nova Scotia, by Archdeacon Armitage, M. A., Ph. D.

December: Paper—"The Settlement of Guysboro' and Hallowell Grant," by A. C. Jost, Esq., M. D.

January: Paper—"A Brief History of the Town of Bridgetown, illustrating the changes which have taken place in the manners, customs and habits of the rural population of Nova Scotia during the Century just closed; with a Sketch of the career of Colonel Poyntz, a Peninsula Veteran," by John Irvin, Esq., K. C.

February: Paper—"Wolfe's Men and Nova Scotia," by Beckles Willson.

March: "Jonathan Belcher" by Hon. Sir Charles Townshend, D. C. L.

April: Paper—"The Earl of Halifax," by A. M. Payne.

May: Paper—"Artists in Nova Scotia," by Harry Piers.

**OBITUARY.****The Honorable William Ross, P. C., 1825-1912.**

The Hon. William Ross was one of our foremost public men, having served his country with conspicuous devotion in the Provincial legislature, 1859-67, in the Dominion Parliament, first as a private member, 1867-74, 1900-4; as Minister of Militia and Defence, 1873-4; and as a Senator 1905-12. The late Senator Ross was a keen student of provincial history and brought to our meetings the wealth of his long experience.

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**The Hon. John Neville Armstrong, K. C., M. C. L.,  
1854-1913.**

The Hon. John Neville Armstrong, was a man of large and of distinguished public service. He was a wise counsellor and possessed of fine executive ability. His interest in historical matters was intelligent and constant, and his knowledge of the history of Cape Breton extensive.

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**The Hon. John Valentine Ellis, 1835-1913.**

The Hon. Senator Ellis, was one of the first to accept Life Membership in our Society. An able Journalist, a gifted writer and man of affairs, he left his mark on the history of New Brunswick and the Dominion.

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**The Hon. Adam C. Bell, 1847-19.**

The Hon. Senator Bell, was one of the most distinguished Pictonians of his day, who served the Province and Dominion with great fidelity, as a member of the Legislative Assembly,



(1878-1887) and House of Commons (1896-1904); as Provincial Secretary, 1882; and as Senator 1911-12. His interest in historical matters was deep and abiding.

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**Brigadier General Charles William Drury.**  
(1856-1913).

General Drury, while in command of the Maritime Provinces, took a deep interest in the work of our Society, and stood always ready to advance our interests. He was strongly in favour of marking our historic sites.

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**John W. Gorham.**

*Joseph* The name of John W. Gorham linked the Halifax of to-day with the historic past, for the progenitor of the family was the famous Colonel Gorham who played such an important part in the early history of the Province, as head of the "Indian Rangers" in 1747, as member of the first Council in 1749, and for many years after in the settlement of Halifax. *?*

*Col. John Gorham died of small pox in London 1750. Col. Joseph Gorham was head of the Gang*

**The Ven. James Albert Kaulbach, D. D.**  
(1839-1913).

Archdeacon Kaulbach was a distinguished son of Lunenburg County, whose unfailing courtesy and blameless life, marked him out as a man of light and leading. He took a special interest in the history of Lunenburg.

**The Hon. James McDonald.  
(1828-1912).**

The Hon. James McDonald was long a foremost leader of the bar, sat for Pictou in the local legislative, 1859-67; in the House of Commons, 1872-4 and 1878-81; Minister of Justice, 1878-81; was appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, 1881, retired 1904. He was a man of fine attainments and sterling character, and was characterized by Sir John Macdonald in 1873, as "the best man in the House of Commons."

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**Frank Davison.**

Frank Davison was one of our foremost captains of industry and might well be called a "lumber King." He came of a family long associated with the development of the Province; and did yeoman service himself. He was especially valued as a member of the Royal Conservation Commission (1909).

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**James Simon Macdonald.  
(1837-1914).**

The following resolution on motion of Hon. Mr. Justice Longley, seconded by Sir Charles Townshend, was ordered to be spread on the Minutes of the Society.

The death of J. S. MacDonald, Esq., is more than an ordinary event to this Historical Society. His positions in life were variable, but to this Historical Society he was always one commanding force and he contributed more to the historical transactions of the Society than any other member.

Four years ago the Society chose Mr. MacDonald for its President and during his entire year he worked steadily and consistently for the upbuilding of the Society and the promulgation of fine historical work.



Although at his death he was seventy-eight years of age, Mr. McDonald wore few marks of old age or decrepitude. He was bright and interested in the promotion of historical work. His death came as a surprise to himself as well as to others. He has passed away as all the rest of us will some day go and he leaves behind him valuable work, which will endure for a long time to come. He made a collection of books and papers which are of great value.

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**Monsignor Thomas J. Daly, M. A.**  
(1839-1914.)

The passing away of the Right Reverend Thomas J. Daly, M. A., Vicar-General of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax, who departed this life Sunday, 27th September, 1914, removes the last survivor of the Society whose names appear in the Act of Incorporation of 1879. The unfailing courtesy of the late Monsignor Daly endeared him to the members of the Society, as they did to all who came in contact with him. The community is the poorer for the loss of one who was in the truest sense of the words "a Christian gentleman."

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The attention of the Council of the Society having been called to a criticism of Parr's portrait, published in our Collections, Vol. XIV (1909) p. 14; a statement was prepared for publication by the late Jas. S. Macdonald.

It is claimed that the portrait is not one of Parr, but is a copy of a portrait of Nelson, in possession of Sir W. Biddulph Parker, Bart. Blackbrook House, Faraham, Hants, sketched by John Whichelo, September, 1805. This picture appears in Mahan's Life of Nelson, Vol. II, p. 364.

## THE PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR PARR.

When Lt. Gen. John Parr held the office of Governor of Nova Scotia between the year 1782 until his death in 1791, he was on most intimate terms with a number of the wealthy Scottish merchants of Halifax, among them he was specially friendly with Alex. Brymer and Matthew Richardson, two leading men, who had amassed large fortunes not only on purchases in the Admiralty Court but on the immense contracts they made for needed supplies with the Government during the war years, which marked the latter part of the 18th century in Halifax. From the day of Parr's landing here the two gentlemen mentioned were special friends of his and with Bulkeley formed an inner circle for advice which Parr often availed himself of. Brymer for many years occupied the position of Paymaster of the Forces in Nova Scotia and was respected by all for his integrity, his success in business and also for his generous hospitality, a strong factor in that generation. His close friend Matthew Richardson was also a successful man, and at times when weighty operations had to be handled, a partner upon whom he could depend, as he was noted for his foresight and sagacity, and his genial management of his rivals when among the quicksands of the Admiralty Court. After Parr's death in 1791, Brymer retired from business and subsequently removed to London, and in 1796 he married Gov. Parr's eldest daughter, Catherine, a youthful widow of Capt. Dobson, an officer in Parr's old regiment, the 20th. Brymer was rich, entertained generously and his position as agent of the Province in London, and having occupied in former years the position of Paymaster of the Forces in Halifax, which had brought him in close contact with the leading officials stationed there, were factors which no doubt influenced the young widow in closing with her old admirer.

Richardson visited London several times and made Brymer's house his home, and then became acquainted with Col. Ramsay,



afterwards Earl Dalhousie and Lt. Governor of Nova Scotia, which subsequently resulted in a close intimacy, very similar to that of his friend Brymer, during Parr's term of Governor of our Province.

When in Halifax as Commander of the Forces and Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, Dalhousie was looked upon as a silent partner in Richardson's business as large dealings almost at once began with the Jardines, the great agents of the East India Company, on Dalhousie's arrival. Joined to this, his many visits to Studley, Richardson's home, accompanied by his Aide-de-Camp, Capt. Bazalgette and the evident pleasure he evinced in meeting Richardson, proclaimed his confidence in his friend. During 1817 the Earl and Richardson became perpetual members of the North British Society of Halifax, the Earl stipulating that Richardson must also be elected to the Perpetual list; they each paid their fee, £10 and attended the same meeting of the Institution and each thanked the members for the honor conferred on them by their countrymen.

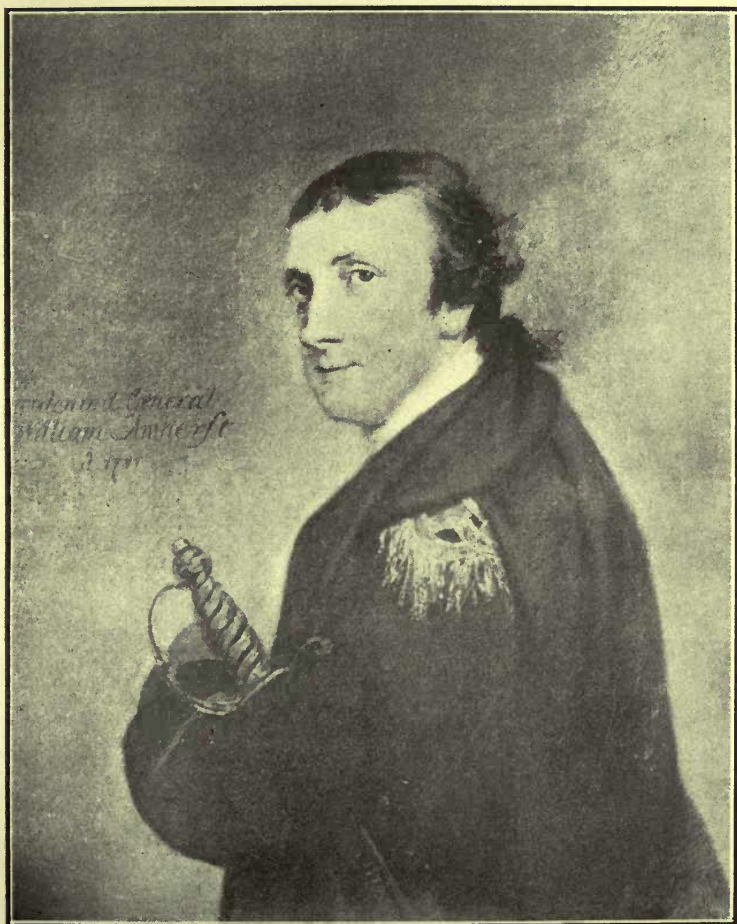
Before leaving Halifax in 1818, Dalhousie presented to Richardson a miniature portrait of the late Governor John Parr as a memento of his old friend Brymer's father-in-law. This portrait now brought into question is a miniature in vellum, framed in an old time setting; it remained in possession of Matthew Richardson until his death, when with all his property it passed into the hands of his eldest son the late well known Wm. M. Richardson, a foremost West India merchant here for many years. About the close of the late American Civil War, Mr. Richardson unfortunately lost Studley in a land boom started in Halifax by a Col. Hornsby which resulted disastrously to so many of our citizens. Mr. Richardson subsequently removed from the old homestead and resided until his death very close to his old property. I knew him well and he would often call at my office and talk over old times in Halifax. As he grew old he appeared anxious about some of his relics and one morning he brought this Parr miniature with him and asked

me to take care of it as he felt anxious about its safety and so few had evinced any interest in the preservation of such treasures. I have had the portrait for over thirty years and when completing a paper on the life of Gov. John Parr, I opened up a correspondence with his great grandson Hallam Parr and by his request I had the miniature copied and sent him a proof. In his reply of thanks, he speaks of the strong family features of the copy and the likeness so well shown of himself, his father and grandfather. The paper was subsequently published by the N. S. Historical Society and with the portrait forms part of Vol. XIV of transactions of the Institution.

**James S. MacDonald.**

July, 1914.





**Lieut.-General William Amherst.**  
(From the painting in the possession of Earl Amherst.)





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**Colonel Jno. Scott.**

(From a miniature in the possession of the late  
Brandon Thomas, Esq.)



## WOLFE'S MEN AND NOVA SCOTIA.

By BECKLES WILLSON, Windsor, N. S.

Read before the N. S. Historical Society, 6th February, 1914.

In the year 1738 when that youthful ex-subaltern of the King's Own Horse, William Pitt, was angering the Walpole ministry by his intrepid speeches in the House of Commons and the preposterous tale of "Jenkin's Ear" was inciting England to war against Spain, there dwelt in the Kentish village of Westerham a family of the name of Wolfe. The head of this family, Lieut. Col. Edward Wolfe, was then in his fifty-third year: he had served with Marlborough and albeit a sterling soldier, the long peace had cut off any chance of further promotion. His abundant leisure was spent in cultivating the society of his family and neighbours. Occasionally he went over to Ireland to visit certain of his friends and kindred who had emigrated thither during the Cromwellian régime; or they came on visits to this Kentish village of Westerham. Col. Wolfe's family consisted of his wife, formerly a Miss Thompson of Long Marston in Yorkshire, and two surviving sons, James and Edward. Although not yet at this time twelve years old, the elder of the two had already decided to embrace a military career and was admired by his schoolfellows for his spirit and love of manly sports. Four miles away at Riverhead, lived a family named Amherst; and here also were two sons, Jeffrey and William, destined for the army, and both naturally on terms of great intimacy with the Wolfes. Jeffrey had begun life as a page of the Duke of Dorset, whose mansion of Knole House near by the Wolfes used to visit. It was there they frequently met a youthful scion of the house, a collegian of Trinity College, Dublin, George Sackville, who knew Ireland well, and for whom a commission in the army had lately been purchased. This collocation of names is not without its significance, because the fortunes

of James Wolfe became very intimately associated with those of Jeffrey and William Amherst and Lord George Sackville, both of whom were in turn associated with Nova Scotia and are to-day commemorated on the map of our Province.

There is yet another name, John Lawrence, to whom Wolfe was indebted for his first instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic; a graduate of Oxford, and one of the Lawrences of Hampshire. This Lawrence had been educated for the Church, but for some reason or other had never accepted a charge; but, having been promised by the local squire, John Warde, of Squerries Court a certain number of pupils, he married, moved to Westerham and there set up a school. All traces of that school have vanished, with the exception of the school-bell, which I found last year in the possession of a lady in the adjoining town of Sevenoaks: the bell which summoned James Wolfe and his brother Edward together with George Warde, the future cavalry leader of his day, to their appointed lessons. It was impossible but that Lawrence's young pupils should hear something of a young relative of their tutor, a Lieutenant Charles Lawrence, then serving in Col. Montague's Regiment in America and the West Indies. I have not been able to ascertain the exact degree of relationship which existed between these two; but Mr. Wright hazards the opinion that Charles Lawrence was the Rev. John Lawrence's younger brother. At any rate it is established that this John Lawrence was born at Portsmouth, and that John was a family name with the Hampshire Lawrences; the father of the future governor of Nova Scotia was named John and a great uncle who was killed in a sea-fight with the Dutch was also a John Lawrence.

More than a dozen years after he had left Mr. Lawrence's school, we find Wolfe writing to his friend Capt. William Rickson, then stationed in Nova Scotia:

"Perhaps I am talking at random, but it is conformable to the idea I have of this Colonel Lawrence, whose name we often see in the papers. I suppose him to be amongst the



first officers of the expedition, high-minded himself, and a judge of it in others; his ready march to the enemy marks the first, and his being the head of your undertaking gives one an opinion of his judgment. If 'tis to his advantage, I desire you to let me have his character at full length."

This relationship of Wolfe's tutor and his friends and comrades in arms to the events of Nova Scotia history extends in so many directions, is so remarkable and has hitherto been so little observed that I think you will comprehend why I have chosen it as the subject of this paper to-night.

Young Wolfe, at the age of sixteen, was astonishing the army in Flanders, by his precocity and indefatigable zeal. On June 27th, 1743, the French and British armies faced each other on the field of Dettingen. It was Wolfe's baptism of fire and by a singular coincidence he also had as comrades in action on that memorable day, who were also having their first taste of bloody war, not only his friends, the Amhersts but Ensign Robert Monckton and Lieutenant George Townshend, his first and second brigadiers sixteen years later at Quebec. Amongst his regimental intimates were also two brothers, with whose family the Wolfes, both in England and Ireland, had long been acquainted, Guy and Thomas Carleton and the William Rickson already mentioned. These three, although by some years his senior, recognized Wolfe's genius and regarded the inspired youth with devotion. They attached themselves to his fortunes and were, as will be seen in the sequel, repaid by his interest whenever he had any opportunity of exerting it. Other men came to join the circle as time went on, a little band which history may well denominate Wolfe's men. There was, for instance, in the 20th Regiment of Foot commanded by Col. George Sackville to which Wolfe, (a Captain at seventeen and a Major at nineteen) came to be transferred, a young subaltern, John Parr, who became one of his own captains and ultimately his successor in the Lieutenant Colonelcy to whom he addressed many affectionate letters, and who died, Lieutenant-Governor

of this Province, whose crowning fortress Wolfe's hand aided to wrest from the French.

It was in 1749, that Major Wolfe, then aged 22 years, joined Lord George Sackville's Regiment, then actually commanded also by another old friend of his, Lieut. Col. Edward Cornwallis.

In the Warde Collection of Wolfe letters to his parents now temporarily deposited, at my suggestion, in the British Museum, pending the minority of the present head of the Warde family, there is one, dated the 25th of March, 1749, in which Wolfe writes thus to his mother:

"Col. Cornwallis does certainly go to Nova Scotia (or New Scotland) to be absent two years; all his share of duty will fall upon me; six or seven campaigns and an age in Scotland! I shall be sick of my office: the very bloom of life nipped in this northern climate. I am determined" he adds, "to make some use of my stay here, at least; two hours every day are given up to application. In the morning I have a tutor to instruct me in mathematics and in the afternoon another comes to assist me to regain my lost Latin."

Naturally the impending departure of Cornwallis for Nova Scotia turned the eyes of all the officers of the Twentieth Regiment to that country. All were curious to learn something about it and the intentions of the Ministry in despatching him on this mission. In the college at Glasgow were several books and pamphlets relating to Nova Scotia, and from these Wolfe would derive such knowledge of the geography and characteristics of the country as were then available.

At this time, his friend, Rickson, was serving in Lascelles' regiment (the 47th Foot,\* which afterwards distinguished itself at Halifax and Quebec) then stationed in Ireland.

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\*A highly interesting and valuable document giving particulars of Lascelles' Regiment and the military expedition at the founding of Halifax is in the possession of my friend Mr. J. B. Kenny.



This young man was eight years Wolfe's senior, they had been subalterns together in "Duroure's," and had fought in Flanders together, once when Rickson was wounded at Fontenoy, Wolfe wrote home to his parents informing them of that fact. One gathers that a greater degree of intimacy existed between Rickson and the future hero of Louisburg than even between Wolfe and Carleton or Warde.

Capt. Richard Bulkeley was an Irishman, nine years Wolfe's senior, born and reared in Dublin where Wolfe's uncle Walter was a retired major about town. When Captain Wolfe was fighting in Flanders and moving back and forth between that country and England, Captain Bulkeley was a King's Messenger bearing despatches to and from the seat of hostilities. Early in 1749, Capt. Rickson and his fellow captain, Bulkeley were both in Dublin and to the former and both were at Lucas's Hotel. To the former Wolfe wrote under date of April 2nd, 1749:

"Cornwallis is preparing all things for Nova Scotia; his absence will ever bother me; my stay must be ever-lasting; and 'thou knowest Hal, how I hate compulsion!' I'd rather be a Major upon half-pay, by my soul! These are all new men to me and many of them but of low mettle. Besides, I am by no means ambitious of command when that command obliges me to reside far from my own, surrounded either with flatterers or spies and in a country not at all to my taste. Would to God *you* had a company in this Regiment, that I might at least find some comfort in your conversation. Cornwallis asks to have Loftus with him. The Duke laughed at the request and refused him."

When this letter was penned from the headquarters of the Twentieth Regiment at Glasgow young Wolfe feared that his friend and Lieut. Colonel Cornwallis's acceptance of the post of Governor of Nova Scotia would mean that a new lieutenant-colonel would be put over his head in the regiment. "In this great demand for employment, Lord George (Sack-

ville)'s interest, or even the Duke's own, will hardly be sufficient to keep out a new man." A good deal, of course, depended on whether Lieut. Col. Cornwallis remained in Nova Scotia. Soon it appeared that Wolfe's fears for his promotion were groundless; his friend Sackville was transferred to Ireland and a new Colonel-in-chief of the Twentieth in the person of Lord Bury, son of Lord Albemarle, appeared on the scene. On the heels of this, and doubtless owing to Sackville's influence Wolfe, at the age of 23 was granted the much coveted Lieut. Colonelcy. There was a general shake-up of the regiment and it was not at all certain that some of the other captains and lieutenants would not join Cornwallis. Captain Thomas Gray and Lieutenant Hinchelwood had already gone out and a little later Rickson to whom Wolfe had written "would to God *you* had a company in this regiment," announced that he, too, was off to Nova Scotia. Cornwallis had likewise prevailed on Capt. Bulkeley to accompany him.

Thenceforth, Wolfe's interest in and knowledge of the Acadian peninsula were greatly increased by the letters from his friend Rickson. Wolfe's eye detected Rickson's merit; unfortunately the young captain lacked influence and I believe, like many another officer, like the Carletons and Isaac Barre, nearly everything that came to him he owed to Wolfe. Seven years later, we find Wolfe interceding for a place in Scotland for his friend. Otherwise Rickson's two years in Nova Scotia would hardly have been so barren, if indeed, we can call barren the great service he rendered of *avant-courier* and general intelligencer to the hero of Louisbourg and Quebec. Rickson appears to have been disappointed in his expectations of being in Cornwallis's personal service, preference being given to Mr. Cotterell.

Thus Wolfe wrote: "The disappointment you speak of affects me greatly, and the more, as I have been told that you lived with Cornwallis, and, consequently, had some employment near him that must be creditable and profitable, which



I imagined you filled with all the integrity, diligence, and skill that I know you possessed of. I cannot otherwise account for the preference given to Mr. Cotterell, than that there has been an early promise, or some prevailing recommendations from England that Cornwallis could not resist. However, if I was governor, methinks I should choose about my person some experience and military ability, as requisite in the affairs of a new colony, situated as yours is, as any branch of knowledge whatever."

I have been unable to ascertain precisely the nature of Rickson's services in Nova Scotia, except that he was employed with Lawrence at Forts Edward and Cumberland.

Wolfe, at this time was engaged in pushing forward other friends. Thus on March 19, 1751, he writes Rickson, then probably at Fort Edward:

"The young gentleman who delivers my letters has served in the regiment with me. Want of precaution and not want of honesty has obliged him to leave it. You'll learn his story from Cornwallis. I desire you to countenance and assist him a little and I hope you may not think any services that you may do him thrown away."

The name of this subaltern, was Porter. He had got himself into an awkward scrape, in which a lady was concerned, yet, we have Wolfe's own words, "he left his regiment with the approbation of all his brethren and with the reputation of honesty and upright behaviour."

As a result of Wolfe's intercession, Cornwallis found employment for Lieut. Porter, in Halifax and at a later period, I find from the records that he is serving as Army Paymaster in Cape Breton.

Another young officer whom Wolfe befriended at this time was Lieutenant Scott, the son of an old friend and neighbour of the Wolfe family. Wolfe and he had been schoolfellows at

Greenwich, and although Scott was a sterling officer somehow he did not rise. There is a letter of Wolfe's about him as early as May 31st, 1750, showing how he had urged his promotion upon the Duke of Cumberland, through his friend Jeffrey Amherst. Scott was induced to come to Nova Scotia; he became accustomed to Indian warfare and when Wolfe came out in '58, was put by him in charge of a battalion of Rangers, and Light Infantry. Scott, as we shall see, greatly distinguished himself at Louisburg.

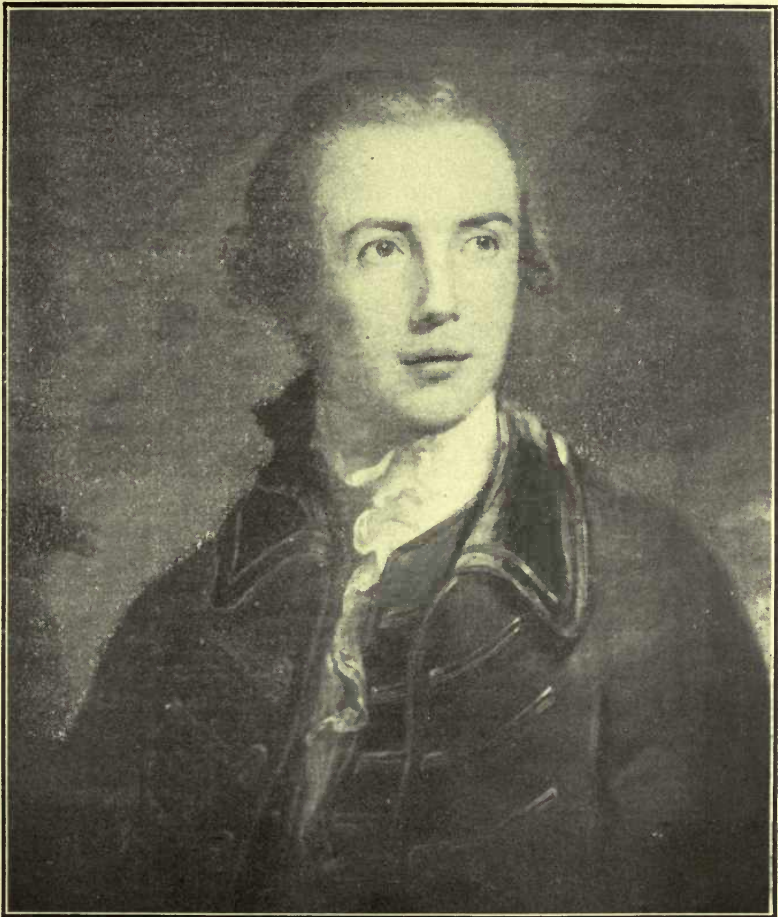
I must also mention another of Wolfe's men *par excellence*, Alexander Murray, who was commanding at Fort Edward, now Windsor, in 1754, and who had since gone home to England. There are several letters extant from Wolfe to Murray. Wolfe stood godfather to Murray's infant boy, who was christened, James Wolfe, and became the ancestor of a long line of Wolfe Murrays, culminating in the present Sir James Wolfe Murray.

I am indebted to an unpublished paper by the late Dr. Henry Youle Hind for some interesting particulars concerning Murray. During his stay at Fort Edward he wrote numerous letters from "The Hill" as he termed the Fort, to his wife in Halifax, which gave interesting particulars of the life there. On July 31st, 1755, about a month before the Acadian Expulsion, he writes:

"I can say nothing of the people here; they are in as great anxiety as I am about their fate; they are poor, unlucky, obstinate, blind to their own interests and insensible of every benefit bestowed on them by an indulgent government."

After Louisbourg Murray was with Wolfe at Quebec, leaving his wife and children at the former fortress. On the day of the battle he despatched this brief letter to Mrs. Murray. Its existence, as well as that of the longer description of the same event a week later, was unknown to me when I published my *Life and Letters of Wolfe*:





**Lt.-Col. Alexander Murray.**

(From the oil painting in possession of Lieut.-General J. Wolfe Murray.)





*Field of Battle above or rather behind Quebec, Sept. 13th, 1759.*

My Dear Wife:—This day we forced the landing above Quebec. We got a shore by surprise as at Kennington Cove. When we had been about two hours ashore, the French Regulars and Canadians about 12,000 attacked us in a set battle, when we beat them in about an hour. Our loss is great as poor Wolfe is killed, Montcalm wounded, Coman, Pinkorne and Niven wounded. I escaped unhurt according to my usual good luck, by the blessing of God. Adieu, my dear, believe me, always truly yours always. A. Murray.

In his further letter Murray says that after Wolfe's order for general fire,

"there was no restraining the men; the Grenadiers ran in with their bayonets and a general rout ensued. Several of my grenadiers' bayonets were bent and their muzzles dipt in gore; but so soon as the action was over there was no slaughter. Never was there a greater victory. Our loss is great, as poor General Wolfe was killed on the right with my people. I have stolen this time to tell you this story from sleep, for I am now regulating officer to Brigadier Murray as I was to Brigadier Whitmore at Louisbourg."

As commander of the 48th Murray later took part in the capture of Martinique by Rodney and died there on the 19th March, 1762.

There is a letter extant from a Colonel Fraser, to Lieut-Col. Murray about his promotion. He tells him how he is "indebted particularly to honest Wolfe, whose warmth of heart makes him as amiable as his bravery does respectable." Notable indeed is the number of meritorious men whom Wolfe brought into notice. There too was the famous Colonel Isaac Barré, who subsequently acknowledged,—“For want of friends I had lingered a subaltern officer eleven years, when Mr. Wolfe's opinion of me rescued me from that obscurity.” There is

(as Wright says) something very pathetic in the expression of this political gladiator's grateful remembrance of his "only protector and friend," his "zealous and sole advocate," his late General. "All were swift to follow whom all loved."

"You are happy in a governor," Wolfe writes to Rickson,\* "and he'll be happy to have one near him that can be so serviceable to him as you have it in your power to be. I daresay you are on good terms together and mutual aid will confirm your former friendship. He will require from you industry and assiduity; and in return you may expect his confidence and trust. I look upon his situation as requiring one of his very way of thinking, before all things else; for to settle a new colony, justice, humanity and disinterestedness are the high requisites; the rest follows from the excellent nature of our Government which extends itself in full force to its remotest dependency.

"I am very anxious about the success of this undertaking and do most sincerely wish that it may have a prosperous issue. I think it is vastly worth your while to apply yourself to business, you that are so well acquainted with it; and without any compliment, I may venture to assert that Cornwallis has few more capable to do him and the public considerable justice than himself."

"I beg you will tell me at large the condition of your affairs, and what kind of order there is in your community; the notions that prevail; the methods of administering justice; the distribution of lands, and their cultivation; the nations that compose the colony, and who are the most numerous; if under military government, how long that is to continue; and what sect in religious affairs is the most prevailing. If ever you advise upon this subject, *remember to be moderate*. I suppose the Governor, has some sort of council, and should be glad to know what it is composed of. The southern colonies will be concerned in this settlement and have probably sent some able men to assist you with their advice, and with a proper plan of administration. Tell me likewise what climate you live in, and

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\*Oct. 1750.



what soil you have to do with; whether the country is mountainous and woody, or plain; if well watered."

A little later he writes to Rickson:

"I hope to hear in your next letter that (Halifax) it is considerably improved in strength. You gentlemen, too with your parapet three or four feet thick that a heavy shower would dissolve. You ought to increase it, and put yourselves into a state of security. You appear to be the barrier and bulwark of our settlements on the land and should be lodged in a sufficient fortrees and with an eye to enterprise. I understand by your account that the post you occupy is at a very small distance from the end of the bay; and should be glad to know how far that is from the nearest part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or from what in the map appears to be a lake, or harbour communicating with that gulf.

"I rejoice much that you commanded that detachment with which your Lieutenant-Colonel (Lawrence) marched; the Indians might have had courage, in that case you would have overcome them in battle under the eye of your chief; as it was, he says, you well disposed to fight."

He also tells Rickson that his interest in Nova Scotia was such that he actually sat in the gallery of the House of Commons while the debate on Nova Scotian affairs was on.

"Great sums of money were proposed for you, and granted readily enough, but nothing said of any increase of troops. Mr. Pelham spoke very faintly upon the subject; wished gentlemen would well weigh the importance of these undertakings before they offered them for public approbation and seemed to intimate that it might probably produce a quarrel with our everlasting and irreconcilable adversary.

"This I took to be a bad prognostic; a minister cool in so great an affair, it is enough to freeze up the whole! But perhaps there might be a concealed manoeuvre under these ap-

pearances, as, in case of accidents, 'I am not to blame,' 'I was forced to carry it on,' and so forth; in the meantime I hope they are vigorous in supporting our claims. The country is in all shapes better than we imagined it, and the climate less severe; the extent of our territory, perhaps won't take a vast deal of time to clear; the woods you speak of are, I suppose, to the west of Sheganecto, and within the limits that the French ascribe for themselves and usurp.

"Yours is now the direct as well as the most insignificant and unpleasant branch of military operations; no room for courage and skill to exert itself, no hope of ending it by a decisive blow, and a perpetual danger of assassination; these circumstances discourage the firmest minds. Brave men, when they see the least room for conquest, think it easy, and generally make it so but they grow impatient with perpetual disadvantages. I should imagine that two or three independent Highland companies might be of use; they are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to a rough country."

Here again is suggested an important issue, one which has its bearing, not only on the capture of Louisbourg and Quebec, but on the Highland settlement of this Province of 1773.

Wolfe during his years of service in Scotland had been struck by the possible advantage of employing the fine fighting qualities of the Highlanders in behalf of, instead of against their actual sovereign. Hitherto, the idea seems never to have occurred to any one at the War Office as practicable. In May, 1756, as we know, a plan for conducting the war in America was submitted to the Commander in Chief, the Duke of Cumberland. It showed the feasibility of raising two battalions in the Highlands for American service, provided that grants of land at the close of the war were made. The paper, which was anonymous, was sent to Pitt, the bearer thereof being *the Earl of Albemarle*. Now, this Earl of Albemarle was none other than Lord Bury, Colonel of the Twentieth Regiment, of which James Wolfe was the actual Commander! It is not to be supposed



that the plan was Bury's because everything he knew of the Highlanders and their disposition and qualities he derived from his second in command. During the whole period that the Twentieth was quartered in the North, Bury paid it but two brief visits. On the 31st January, 1751, he writes:—

“My Colonel (Lord Bury) and I have every exact correspondence. He is extremely bent upon procuring all the knowledge of regimental affairs that the distance between us will allow of, in order, I suppose, to make such alterations and amendments as seem requisite, and to be the better prepared against he comes amongst us. I answer his letters very punctually and endeavour all in my power to satisfy him in such particulars as are properly within my sphere; confining however my judgment of men and things to what is purely military and belonging to my office. He can give you weekly intelligence as far as the assurance of a letter can go, whenever you are so good as to make inquiry after me.”

I came to the settled conviction therefore, some years ago, that the scheme was Wolfe's, that he had transmitted it to his Colonel, who showed it first to Cumberland and afterwards to the Prime Minister. Pitt's eye saw its merit at a glance and in the words of Sir Walter Scott appended in a Note to *Redgauntlet*:

“The Highland Regiments were first employed by the celebrated Earl of Chatham, who assumed to himself no small degree of praise for having called forth to the support of the country and the Government the valour which had been too often directed against both.”

Moreover, in my opinion, it was this very paper of Wolfe which first directed the attention of the great Minister to the rising young soldier, the Lieut. Colonel of the Twentieth, and resulted shortly afterwards in the appointment to serve in the Rochefort expedition, the precursor of Louisburg and Quebec. Be this as it may, we know that amongst the martial Highlanders who founded Pictou were many of the men who had compos-

ed these Highland battalions, while here and there was a Fraser or a Cameron or a MacDonald who had actually served with Wolfe at Louisburg or Quebec or against him at Falkirk and Culloden.\*

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Years passed on: Wolfe had been serving with his regiment in Scotland, at Dover, at Exeter. He had gone to Paris to perfect his French, been presented to Madame de Pompadour: Cornwallis and Rickson had returned from Nova Scotia. The Rochefort episode had shown Wolfe's mettle and now, at last, in the early spring of 1785, he and his friend Amherst had been sent out by Pitt to capture Louisbourg. He had asked for Guy Carleton; but the King had refused; but he had got Thomas Carleton and Murray and Scott and Barré and a new man, named Des Barres to serve with him.

On Des Barres a paper has already been read by Canon Vernon before this Society. It will suffice to state that Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres was born at Paris of Huguenot parents in 1722. In 1758 he was present at the second siege of Louisburg, when he so distinguished himself by his bravery and engineering skill that General Wolfe made special mention of him to the King, as a result of which signal honor he was ordered to accompany that general as engineer on the famous expedition against Quebec. When Wolfe received his death wound upon the heights of Abraham, Des Barres is said to have been just reporting to him an order he had executed. He continued to serve in Canada for two succeeding years, and in 1761 went to Nova Scotia to prepare plans and estimates for fortifying the harbor of Halifax. Des Barres in 1784 became Governor of the Island of Cape Breton. *~*

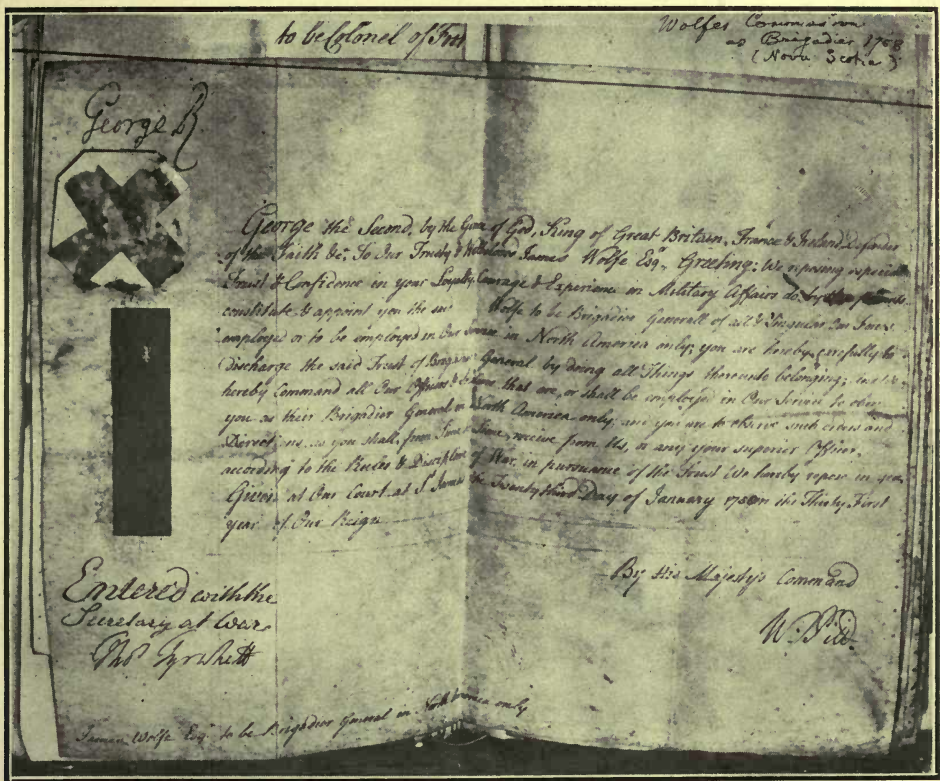
It will now be seen how it was that Brigadier General Wolfe when he stepped ashore from the *Princess Amelia* at Halifax on the 9th of May 1758 had a pretty exact idea of the fort and

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\*From Halifax May 12th 1758, Wolfe wrote to Sackville: "The Highlanders are very useful, serviceable soldiery, and commanded by the most manly corps of officers I ever saw."



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Wolfe's Commission as Brigadier-General in North America, 23rd January, 1758.  
From the original in the possession of John Warde, Esq., Squerryes Court, Westerham, Kent, Eng.)





settlement which his friend and comrade-in-arms, Cornwallis, had founded nine years before.

Amongst the young officers whom he may have encountered on shore was Captain John Knox of the 43rd Regiment, who has left us a description of the town as it then was:

"The town of Halifax is large: the streets (which are not paved) are tolerably regular, and of a good breadth; but their houses, upon a nearer view are mean, and do not display any great knowledge of architecture, much less of traffic, in those who erected them; which in general, together with a capacious church, are of wood, and covered with the same.

"This edifice is remarkable for two particulars: in the first place, it is the only English church, chapel, or house, dedicated to Divine worship throughout this whole province; and, in the next, it differs in situation from churches in general, standing due North and South.

"The gardens (Knox goes on to say) and the country are now in great beauty; if an European was to visit us at this season, who had never wintered in America, it would be almost impossible to persuade him to credit the extreme length and severity of our winters, and he would be inclined to think all he had heard and read of this climate was fabulous; it is really astonishing to behold the length of our grass, and the forwardness of the fruit-trees, as well as of vegetation in general, in the short space of a very few days."

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 Rangers are come, which to appearance are little better than *canaille*."

However, it was soon arranged that his friend Scott was to be put in charge of a joint body of Light Foot and Rangers and Wolfe was more content. This body ultimately became a battalion of that Royal American Regiment upon whom Wolfe himself conferred the motto "*Celer et Audax*."

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 for even for the sick and wounded, which besides the inhumanity is both impolitic and absurd. Mr. Boscawen 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."

I should not be surprised if Wolfe's criticisms were hardly taken in good part by Mr. Joshua Mauger and others!

One or two other passages in this recently-discovered letter deserve quoting:

"Too much money and too much rum necessarily affect the discipline of an army. We have glaring evidence of their ill consequence every moment. Sergeants drunk upon duty, two sentries upon their posts and the rest wallowing in the dirt."





**Rare Silver Louisbourg Medal, 1758.**

(From the original in possession of Beckles Willson, Esq.)





Wolfe saw instantly that warfare in Nova Scotia, as on the African veldt, a century and a half later was a different thing from warfare in Europe. He told Sackville (May 24, 1758) that,

"Our clothes, our arms, our accoutrements, nay, even our shoes and stockings are all improper for this country." Then he adds, "Lord Howe is so well convinced of it that he has taken away all the men's breeches."

Exactly what he meant by this I am at a loss to determine. Either it was a particularly warm spring in Halifax or he wished to assimilate the outward aspect of all his troops to the rough rugged and unbreeched Highlanders!

It was during this stay in Halifax that Wolfe probably gave that famous dinner to his friends at the Great Pontac Hotel, at which the reckoning for wine has somewhat astonished subsequent and less seasoned companies. We can picture in our mind's eye, that martial gathering, and the tall, youthful, keen-eyed, redhaired Brigadier, their host. You must live with James Wolfe, so to speak, for years before you get a proper idea of the outward man. You must dismiss from your mind most of the portraits, perhaps all of the portraits you are familiar with. There is in Mr. McCord's collection in Montreal an unpretentious, faint little water-colour sketch, perhaps by George Townshend. It shows, as none of the others do, except perhaps the Schaak profile, just what kind of face Wolfe was endowed with and just what kind of dauntless, shrewd, half-humorous spirit animated it. His physiognomy was something like his second cousin Oliver Goldsmith's, but it was lit up by a flashing blue eye; and whereas the author of "The Deserted Village" was short and squat in figure Wolfe was very tall and wiry, with a long neck and somewhat sloping shoulders.

In the dining room of the great Pontac Hotel, at the board would be seated Lawrence, the relation of his old tutor John

Lawrence, of Westerham; Monckton, full of his adventures amongst the French and Indians at Annapolis and Fort Cumberland, Alexander Murray, young Lord Dundonald, and Lieutenant Des Barres. Jeffrey Amherst did not arrive in the "Dublin" until the 28th of May; and then it was that the whole fleet with 12,000 men set sail for Louisbourg.

I do not propose to deal with this memorable siege, except to point out one really serious misconception affecting some of those who have written on the subject. One thing emerges as clear as daylight—the lion's share of that business fell to Wolfe and the chief honour was accorded him, too, by the public on his return to England.

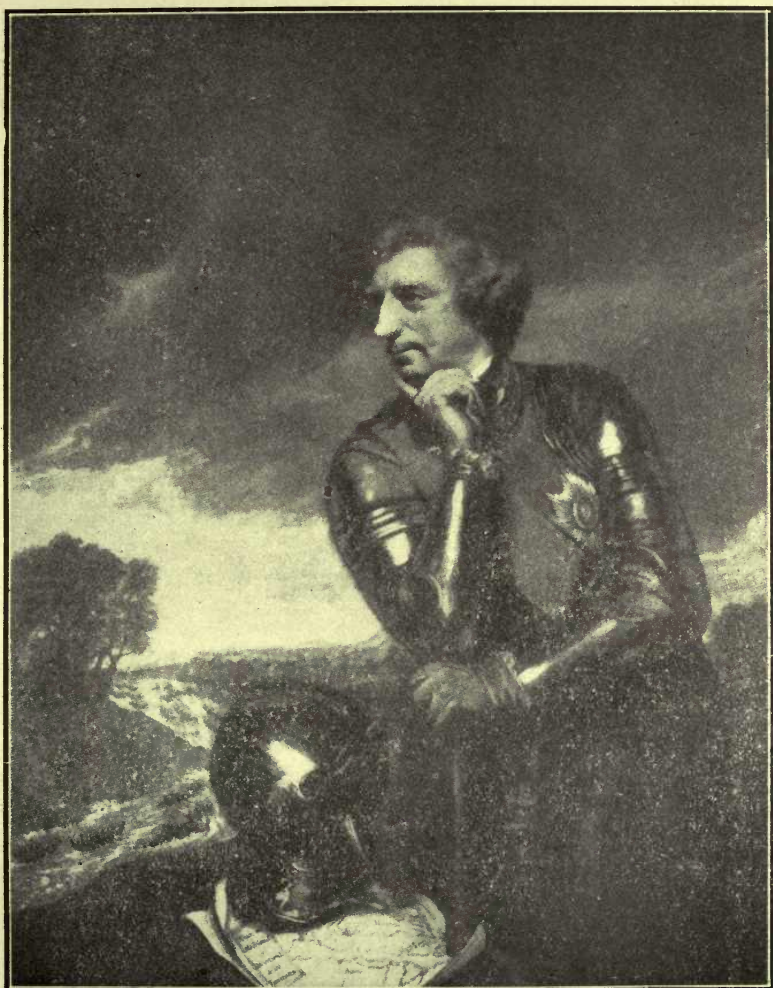
It is commonly stated that the spot at which Wolfe landed was within Coromandière or Kennington Cove, when of course the attempt to land *within* the Cove was repulsed, the landfall taking place just round the point marking the eastern extremity of Col. St. Julien's battery.

With regard to this landing it is stated by Parkman, (whom I quote because he is the authority perhaps most widely consulted,) that the English landing party at Kennington Cove were allowed to come within close range unmolested. "Then the batteries opened and a deadly storm of grape and musketry was poured upon the boats. It was clear in an instant that to advance further would be destruction, and Wolfe waved his hand as a signal to sheer off. Whereupon two subalterns in charge of three other boats to the right, mistaking the signal, or wilfully misinterpreting it, made directly for the shore before them."

Now Knox received a detailed description from a fellow officer at Louisbourg which runs thus:

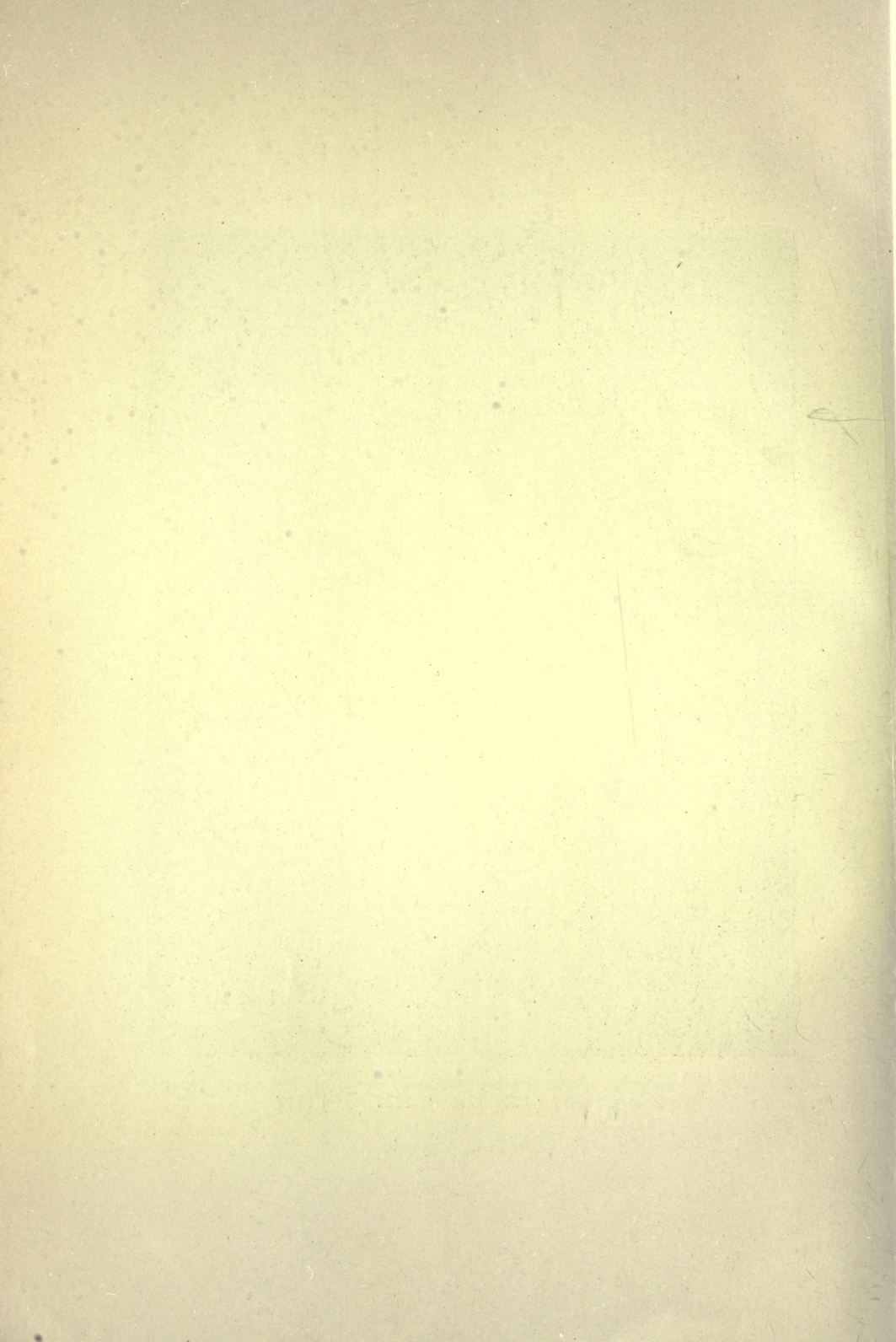
The weather continued obstinate until the morning of the eighth, when we were again ordered into the boats, the swell being abated, and the wind more moderate; the frigates at





**Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Commander-in-Chief of H. M. Forces in North America, 1758 to 1764. Born 1717, died 1797.**

(From a mezzotint by J. Watson, from King Louis Philippe's collection, after the portrait by Reynolds.)





the same time edged in shore, to attack the enemy's intrenchments, and to cover the landing. After the ships had been some time engaged, a signal was made for the troops to put off, and they rowed up and down, making feints, as if intending to land in different places, and thereby divert the enemy's attention from any one particular part of their coast: this in a great measure answered our wishes, and Brigadier Wolfe (whose flag-staff was broke by a swivel shot) pushed ashore, with his detachment, under a furious fire, and landed upon the left of the enemy's works, then briskly engaged, and routed them; the remainder of the army followed the example without loss of time, landing almost up to their waists in water. The ardour of the troops, in this enterprise, is not to be conceived nor paralleled; many boats were destroyed, and several brave fellows drowned; yet our whole loss at landing, I am well assured, did not exceed one hundred and ten men of all ranks, killed, wounded, and drowned. The enemy fled with great precipitation, and Brigadier Wolfe pursued them almost to the gates of the town with the light infantry, rangers, Fraser's Highlanders, and the grenadiers of the 1st, 15th, 17th, and 22nd regiments.

Again, I cannot understand why the account given by Pichon is not more implicitly credited by those who would seek to rob Wolfe of the credit for the landing.

Le Major Scott fit dans cette occasion une des plus belles actions qu' on puisse faire. Le Général Wolfe, qui était occupé du soin de faire rembarquer les troupes, et d'éloigner les batteaux, *lui fit signe de gagner les rochers* où l' on avait envoy, déjà cent hommes. Ce Major marche aussitôt avec les troupes qu'il commandait; mais sa chaloupe était arrivé la première, et s'étant écrasé dans le moment qu'il met pied à terre, il grimpa les rochers tout seul. Il espérait trouver les cent hommes qui l' avaient précédés aux prises avec les nôtres; mais n'en ayant trouvé que dix, il ne laissa pas, avec un si petit nombre, de gagner le haut rocher.

Certainly, it was considered in the army that the honours of Louisbourg were with Wolfe and that view was echoed in military circles in England, Knox puts it in this fashion:

Mr. Amherst has displayed the General in all his proceedings, and our four Brigadiers are justly intitled to great praise: Mr. Wolfe being the youngest in rank, *the most active part of the service fell to his lot*; he is an excellent Officer, of great valour, which has conspicuously appeared in the whole course of this undertaking. The troops behaved as British troops should do, and have undergone the fatigues of this conquest cheerfully and with great steadiness; the light infantry, who are inconceivably useful, did honour to themselves and to *that General who first saw the necessity of forming these corps.*"

Knox relates how one day a sloop arrived from Boston, and, as soon as she came near to the wharf, the troops and town's people eagerly ran down to inquire for news; every soul was now impatient, yet shy of asking; at length the vessel being come near enough to bespoken to Knox called out—"What news from Louisbourg? to which the master simply replied, and with some gravity, "Nothing strange." This answer, which was so coldly delivered threw us all into great consternation, and we looked at each other without being able to speak; some of us even turned away, with an intent to return to the fort. At length one of our soldiers, not yet satisfied, called out with some warmth—"Damn you, Pumkin,—is not Louisbourg taken yet? The poor New-England man then answered—"taken! ay, above a month ago, and I have been there since: but, if you have never heard it before, I have got a good parcel of letters for you now."—If our apprehensions were great at first, words are insufficient to express our transports of joy at this speech, the latter part of which we hardly waited for; but instantly all hats flew off, and we made the neighboring woods resound with our cheers and hazzas, for almost half an hour. The Master of the sloop was amazed beyond expression, and declared he thought we had heard of the success of our arms to the eastward before, and had sought to banter him.



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1759. General Wolfe's Journal  
 May  
 13<sup>th</sup>.... Mr Saunders's Squadron sailed  
 from Halifax, met R. A. Holmes with  
 the Somerset, Terrible, Exmoor, Ordnance  
 ships going in; R. A. went into the  
 Dublin, reckoned about 10 Transp. <sup>to</sup> <sup>be</sup>  
 missing, but not one Ordnance one.  
 14<sup>th</sup>.... at Sea - Alcidely Sterling got the  
 with 5 Sloops or Schooners detached to  
 join Mr DuRoi.  
 15<sup>th</sup>.... The fleet anchored in Louisbourg  
 Harbour - Bedford & P. S. & derick not  
 ready for sea - Northumb. arrived  
 from England.  
 17<sup>th</sup>.... Arrived the Highlanders.  
 22<sup>nd</sup> Relief sailed for John's, 40 of  
 Boats on Duty there, part of  
 Landees arrived from N. York.  
 23<sup>rd</sup>.... A prodigious Quantity of the  
 the King

Entry in Wolfe's Journal, made at Louisbourg, 13th—23rd May, 1759.  
 (In Captain Bell's handwriting. Now in possession of F. T. Sabin, Esq.)



In the following year, Wolfe came back to Halifax and to Louisbourg. There is a great deal of interesting data concerning his sojourn which might well be given, but to do so would swell this paper beyond its assigned proportions.

I often think of that tall figure wandering about in the Cape Breton swamp "gathering strawberries and other wild fruits," with one of which he has stained a letter to his mother—perhaps has enclosed a leaf as a proof of the fertility of the region.

The frigate *Sutherland* bearing the body of the dead conqueror of Quebec passed north of Louisbourg, on its way to England in October, 1759.

In 1775, when the American Revolution broke out, Wolfe had been fifteen years in his grave. The spirit with which he had animated the Army had slumbered during the long North régime and the professional ability of the officers had sunk to the low level of the Howes, Gages and Burgoyne.

It was then that Wolfe's friend Guy Carleton whose employment he had forced on the government was chosen to hold Quebec for the Empire. It was Carleton who first maintained and protected and afterwards despatched the Loyalists from New York who came to Nova Scotia after the war. When they landed here they were received by another old friend Col. John Parr of the XXth regiment, then Governor of this Province.

Of Guy Carleton and his brother Thomas it may be said that they were, *par excellence*, Wolfe's men: and while the former's direct personal connection with Nova Scotia was slight, yet a perusal of his official correspondence with Parr, when the latter shared the Governorship of the original Province with Thomas Carleton, evinces the debt which Nova Scotia owes to Lord Dorchester; nor is it always now remembered that Dorchester's official title designated him Governor of Nova Scotia.

Thomas Carleton and Parr were old friends. The former's first letter to Lord Sydney, Secretary of State, on his arrival at Halifax, after 58 days passage, dated October 30th, 1784, describes his cordial reception by Parr. What reminiscences of Wolfe they must have indulged in! Parr had just written to Sir Guy Carleton that he had named one of the townships Carleton in honour of him and a little later came another, Guysborough in honour of Sir Guy. And Thomas Carleton, with little knowledge as yet of the bickerings and jealousies in store for him, also had rejoiced that the chief town of his Governorship should have been christened Parr Town and that another was Parrsboro. If by this time the third Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Des Barres had arrived in Halifax — he whom Wolfe had introduced into the army, perhaps over the walnuts and the wine the trio could recall the additional surprising fact that both the Secretaries of State under whose orders they now acted were Wolfe's particular friends and cronies, for Lord Shelburne was none other than that "Fitz" (Fitzmaurice) referred to by Wolfe in his letters, who afterwards nobly interceded with the War Office on behalf of Wolfe's mother in her application for her son's pay; while Lord Sydney, the Colonial Secretary, was that youthful Tommy Townshend who came to Wolfe to ask his advice about entering the army. Think of it — the son of a powerful peer and the nephew of a Minister coming to a simple Lieutenant Colonel of twenty-nine humbly to enquire how he should succeed in his profession! And Wolfe wrote him a letter which deserves to be read by every young British officer today, after more than a century and a half of military doctrine and discipline.

Is it nothing to us today that the towns of Sydney and Shelburne, commemorate those two young friends of Wolfe on the map? But unless we can induce the good citizens of Wolfville to alter the spelling of their town James Wolfe himself is, I believe, wholly without eponymous honour in this Province.

It went a good deal against Parr's inclinations to sink his Governorship in a Lieutenant Governorship. On June 6th,





**Thomas Carleton,  
Governor of New Brunswick, 1784-1803.**

(From a miniature in the possession of Lord  
Pembroke.)





1786, we find him writing to Lord Sydney "as a friend," expressing his humiliation and asking for some mark of the King's favour to raise him in the eyes of the people "of the world." Parr had a hard time of it with the Halifax clique of those days, and it needed all his strength of character to endure and combat it. He, himself wrote, (May 5th 1788) with a wealth of vituperation:

"I am surrounded by a number of fanatical, diabolical, unprincipled, expecting, disappointed, deceitful, lying scoundrels, who exist upon Party of their own creating, eternally finding fault with and complaining against their superiors in office." Happily, he was able to add, "We have some worthy, deserving characters, to them I pay every attention." Bulkeley and Finucane were among these.

Parr died in harness, as Lawrence and Finucane had done, on November 25th, 1791, and lies buried here in St. Paul's church.

With a touch almost of melodrama, it so chanced that when Parr died, Wolfe's and Cornwallis's old regiment, the Twentieth, which he also had commanded,—the regiment that had sent several of its officers out in the budding time of the colony, was stationed at Halifax Citadel. It attended his funeral and fired a volley beside his grave.\*

Parr's descendants still cherish the memory of Wolfe and the precious letters which the hero of Louisbourg addressed to their ancestor. The head of the family today is Major Clements Parr, late of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry.

To Nova Scotians it must surely appear a notable thing that Wolfe and the young men upon whom he exerted the most direct personal influence should play so prominent a

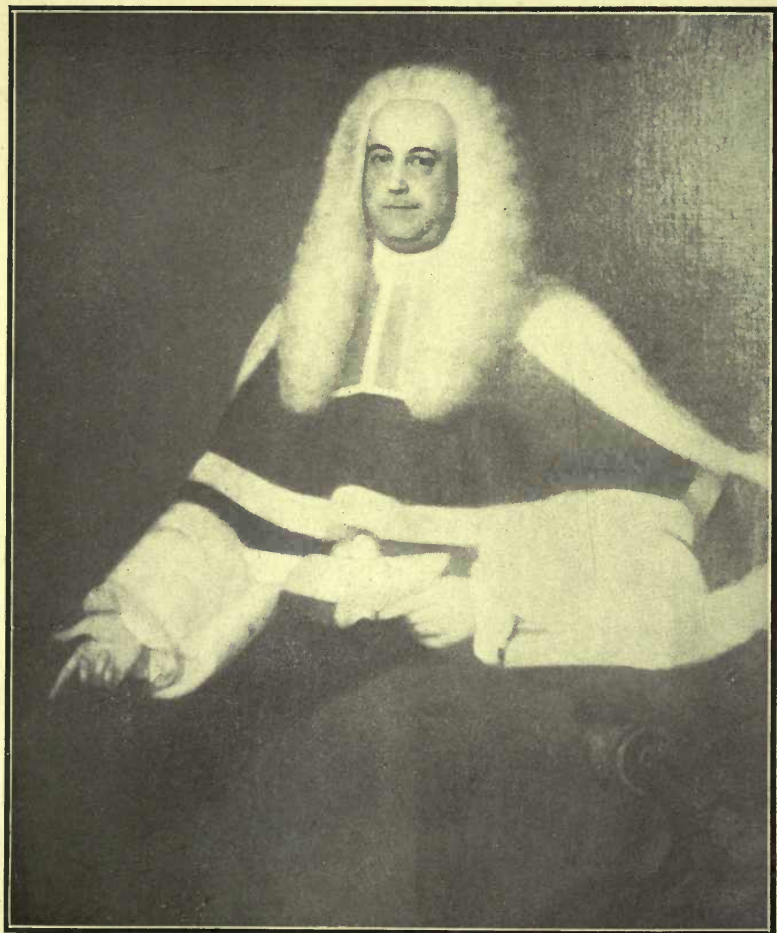
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\*One of Parr's daughters married Capt. Dobson of the 20th. She afterwards married Hon. Alexander Brymer, formerly paymaster of the Halifax forces.

part in the conquest and upbuilding of this Province. It is an association which lends an additional lustre to our annals. Long after Wolfe had perished in battle at Quebec, and been laid to that rest his ardent spirit had never known in life, so great was the prestige of his name that his personal intimates — men like the Carletons, Parr, Des Barres, and Barré, who had languished for a generation in obscurity, were summoned into light and given profitable employment in the governance and upbuilding of our country; and the names of many of them are today enshrined in the story and on the map of this Province.



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**The Hon. Jonathan Belcher,**  
**Born 1710, Died 1776.**  
**First Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, 1754-1776.**  
(After a painting by J. S. Copley.)



**JONATHAN BELCHER,**  
**First Chief Justice of Nova Scotia,**

**Born July 1710—Died March 29, 1776.**

**By the HON. SIR CHARLES J. TOWNSHEND, Chief Justice of  
Nova Scotia.**

**Read March, 1914.**

The times in which Chief Justice Belcher lived and did his work, were stirring ones, covering as they did the fiercest combat waged by England to drive the French from North America, the expulsion of the Acadians, and the wars of the American Revolution or rebellion. In all these momentous events, Halifax, owing to its geographical position, was largely involved. The great naval and military armaments formed for the conquest of Louisbourg and Quebec were for weeks anchored in the Harbour. Wolfe, the great Commander, and other distinguished officers, resided in the Town, and must have been well known to Belcher. Winslow, Monckton and Lawrence were his every day associates. With these and others, from his position as President of the Council, he must have participated in the measures for carrying out such great undertakings. Over a century and a half has passed since the Honorable Edward Cornwallis with some three thousand intending settlers entered Chebucto Harbour, and founded the City of Halifax. The shores must, at that time, have been clothed with virgin forest to the waters edge. The first great work before them was to cut out of the primeval wilderness places whereon to build their habitations, and forts to protect themselves against the hostile Indians who infested the surrounding country.

Under instructions contained in the Royal Commission to him as first Governor, many and important duties necessary to the welfare and good government of the Colony were specified. One of the most urgent was the establishment of

Courts of Justice for the preservation of peace and good order in the community. Accordingly, shortly after his Council were sworn into office, an ordinance was passed constituting the Council a General Court for the trial of all cases civil, and criminal. Soon afterwards the so-called County Courts and Inferior Courts of Common Pleas were called into being, and these Courts, composed principally of laymen, represented the Judicial system of the province for the first five years after the settlement at Halifax. By that time it was realized that a better, more efficient, and learned Court of Justice was necessary. The Governor and Council had their time fully occupied with other serious and pressing matters requiring their undivided attention; such as the hostility and encroachments of the French then in possession of Louisbourg and Quebec, and parts of what is now New Brunswick; the ever present danger of the savage Indians, and the unsatisfactory position of the French Acadians. It is probable also that as conditions became more settled, difficulties and disputes between the inhabitants became more frequent and more intricate, and they found themselves incompetent, and unable to adjust their rights and differences. All these considerations, no doubt, were the moving causes which led them in the interests of the Colony to take measures for the establishment of a Supreme Court.

The Imperial Government which made all Judicial appointments at that time, made a happy choice in the selection of Jonathan Belcher, Esq., of Boston, Massachusetts, to be the first Chief Justice of the Province of Nova Scotia. Massachusetts was then, it will be remembered, a Colony of the British Empire, and Belcher of course a British subject.

As in the case of so many of our illustrious forefathers, the material for a biographical sketch of this great Judge and Administrator are scanty. Newspapers, in which his acts and proceedings might have been chronicled from day to day, were non-existent at that period of our history.



By searching the public records and consulting the archives of the Province, a fair, although far from complete, idea may be formed of the character and work of this distinguished man, who played such a prominent part in the early history of Nova Scotia.

Fortunately in his case a complete record of his family, his parentage, and descendents exist. He was appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia in 1754, and arrived in Halifax in the early part of October of that year. He was then forty-five years of age, in the prime of life, with about twenty years' experience at the Bar. Immediately after his arrival he was made a Member of Council as all the Chief Justices were until the era of Responsible Government. Jonathan Belcher came of quite a distinguished family in Colonial annals. From the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 60, published in 1906, I take the following account of his family history.

Andrew Belcher born about 1615, was son of Thomas Belcher, of London, and grandson of Robert Belcher Weaver of Kingsroad, Wiltshire, England. He first appears in New England in 1659 and settled in Cambridge. Although there was but one male who married in each generation of his descendents, this family attained great distinction. His son Andrew Belcher was a Royal Councillor, and the greatest merchant of his day in New England. His grandson, Jonathan Belcher, was Royal Governor of Massachusetts; and also of New Jersey. His great grandson, Jonathan Belcher, was Chief Justice and Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, and his great-great grandson, Andrew Belcher, was a Royal Councillor of Nova Scotia, whose children settled in England, of whom a son, Sir Edward Belcher, K. C. B. was a distinguished naval officer, attaining the rank of Rear Admiral in the British Navy. A few of his descendents remain in England, but the name is extinct in the United States. In a previous Vol. 27, p. 242, will be found some further particulars which are of interest. "He

was the second son of the Governor, born in 1711. Studied law and was one of the early settlers of Chebucto, now Halifax. Eliot says of him, "He was a man of excellent habits, prudent, upright, and of great political integrity. His prejudices were much in favor of New England."

He married April 8, 1756, at Kings Chapel, Boston, Abigail, daughter of Jeremiah Allen. Their children all born at Halifax, were Jonathan, and Albert who died in infancy. Mary who married Dr. Thomas Lindell Jennison, Abigail, Jonathan and William, who died in Childhood, and Andrew, born July 22nd, 1763. He died March 29, 1776, and was fortunately spared the necessity of choosing between his native country, and that of his adoption. Andrew Belcher the only representative of the male line was a member of the Council of Nova Scotia. Sir Edward Belcher, K. C. B. Rear Admiral, R. N., was his son, a well known naval officer whose services in every quarter of the world will be found recorded in Journals of the time."

Andrew Belcher son of the Chief Justice and father of the distinguished Admiral had several sons and daughters. One of the daughters married a former well-known clergyman of this city, the Rev. Wm. Cogswell, Curate of St. Paul's, and on his death married Major John Claridge Burmester, also well known here, and no doubt there are persons now living who were well acquainted with both of them. Andrew Belcher's eldest son Alexander Brymner had two sons and several daughters. The eldest son became a clergyman, The Rev. Brymner Belcher, and of his family the Rev. Gilbert Edward Belcher, Rector of Chaldon, Surrey, England, is the eldest male representative of the Chief Justice now living. We have thus a complete record of his family history extending back to Andrew Belcher, the first of the name who settled in New England about 1652, covering seven generations in the male line, a fact in itself noteworthy.

These particulars I have given in some detail to correct a misapprehension which exists in some quarters that families



of the same name living in the province are descendants or connections of the Chief Justice.

This is an obvious mistake as pointed out by Eaton in his history of Kings County p. 560, in which he gives the lineage of the Belchers residing there and says, "The Hon. Jonathan Belcher of Halifax, Lieutenant Governor, and Chief Justice, was a descendent of Andrew Belcher of Boston, whose grandfather Robert Belcher was of Kingsroad, Wiltshire, England, and between the two families there is no known connection."

We get some additional information as to the early career of the Chief Justice from a note in Mr. Akins' valuable collection of the Nova Scotia Archives, in which he says, "He graduated at Harvard, Cambridge, and was educated for the profession of the law. He afterwards went to England to complete his studies, where he became a member of the Society of the Middle Temple."

From these references we gain some notion of the training, and character of the man destined to be such a worthy builder of the fortunes of Nova Scotia. His birth, his education, and his abilities were well calculated, as we shall presently see, to serve the Province in the formation of its institutions. Let us for a few moments take a brief survey of the situation at the time he was appointed. At the date of his coming to our shores Cornwallis had resigned, and departed. Governor Hopson had succeeded him, but was then absent and never returned.

Lieut. Governor Charles Lawrence was in charge, and about the same time was made Governor, a position which he filled with eminent ability until 1760, when he died. Lawrence was a strong and energetic man, and apt to impose his will on those who sat at the Council board. It was not long before Belcher came into collision with him; and carried his point with the Imperial Authorities. Apart from this he must have been, indeed it is known by the records he was, of invaluable assistance, and support to the Governor. These were perilous

times for the comparatively few English settlers in the Province. The great struggle for mastery in America was then brewing, and shortly afterwards broke out between the English and the French, and Halifax was a danger point, giving great cause of anxiety to those entrusted with its government. Lawrence was constantly engaged with military matters for the protection of the Province, and it must have been a great satisfaction, and relief to him to have had in the Council, such an able adviser in the general affairs of the country.

Halifax, on his arrival in 1754, must have been a rough and unattractive place. The bulk of the inhabitants were uncultivated and illiterate, composed as they were of discharged sailors, soldiers, and artisans with a sprinkling of officers and others of a higher grade socially. There could have been no substantial public buildings, and from all accounts of the time the houses were little better than shanties for temporary protection from the weather. To an educated man, from the city of Boston, it must have been a depressing scene, and we can but admire his courage in devoting himself to the work.\*

It is now time to record the ceremonies which took place at the inauguration of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia with Chief Justice Belcher assuming his office. A description of the interesting, and dignified proceedings on that occasion has been frequently given, it seems appropriate to a sketch of Belcher's life to include all that took place, which I have extracted from Vol. 2 p. 250 of Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia.

"On Monday, 14th October, Jonathan Belcher, the newly appointed Chief Justice of the Province, was (by H. M. 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 Char-

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\*Since writing the foregoing a letter has been placed in my hands which shows that Belcher did not come to Nova Scotia direct from Boston, but was practicing as a barrister in Ireland.



les 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 letters 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 Michalmas term, Chief Justice Belcher walked in procession from the Governor's house to the Pontac, a tavern. He was accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor, Lawrence, the member of the Council, and the gentlemen of 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 robe 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 Rev. Mr. Breynton preached from this text: "I am one of those 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 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 were sworn, and the Chief Justice delivered his charge to them. After this the Court adjourned, and his Honour the Chief Justice, accompanied and attended as before, went back to the Governor's house. Such was the first opening of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

A few days after the Chief Justice went up in his robes of office, attended by the Bar, the Grand Jury, and officers of his court, and addressed the Lieutenant Governor in his own and their names, congratulating him on his appointment, to

which he replied, assuring them of his support of the law, which he said was "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 display of pomp and ceremony on this important occasion reveals the high sense he had of the power and dignity of the office of Chief Justice, and his determination at the outset to impress on the public feelings of respect, and reverence.

He presided in that Court for a term of twenty-two years, and from the few notes which have come down to us, proved himself to be an able, vigorous, and learned judge. Not a vestige of any of his decisions remains. There is a note of a Criminal trial before him which is worth recording. On December 9, 1758, Peter Marquis de Conte and Gravina having in Michalmas term been convicted of an assault with intent to commit a rape on the body of an infant under ten years was adjudged by the Court to walk in the custody of the Sheriff, and Constables between the hours of seven and twelve, this day, from the North to the South side of the Parade, and from thence to the gaol, having a paper on his breast with his crime therein inscribed, and also to be close confined thereafter for three months, and fined in thirty pounds, and remain in gaol until the same is paid. I do not know anything of this Marquis de Conte, but it seems to me considering the offence, this punishment was none too severe.

I have not been able to find the authority under which the first part of the punishment was awarded, and which Governor Lawrence in mercy as we are told, remitted. He was the sole Judge of the Supreme Court until 1764. The House of Assembly met in October 1763, and on March 3rd a proposal was made to have two judges in the Supreme Court associated with the Chief Justice "as it is conceived His Majesty's subjects ought not to rest satisfied with the judgment of one person only, and on the 24th the House addressed the Governor to that effect with a view to this Court being held



in every county, and further that so important a Court should not consist of one man, however capable and upright."

The Governor and Council complied with this request, and John Collier and Charles Morris were appointed in 1764. As we shall presently see the Chief Justice took good care so to draft their Commissions that his absolute power remained unaffected.

Haliburton in his History of Nova Scotia, Vol. I, p. 164, says, "The practice in the Supreme and Inferior Courts continued the same until the Convention of the House of Assembly in 1758, when the practice of the Common Pleas was changed by a temporary Act of the Legislature, and a new mode was prescribed, compounded partly from the practice of Massachusetts, and partly from the practice of England. Thus constituted the Courts continued and practised until 1764 when a change took place in the Supreme Court. Upon an address of the House of Assembly Governor Wilnot added two assistant Judges, and appointed two members of the Council to fill their situations. The powers granted to the Assistant Judges by their Commissions, (which were drafted by the Chief Justice) were so qualified and limited that the intent of the Assembly was altogether frustrated. Not having power to try a case, but in conjunction with the Chief Justice, or even to open or adjourn the Court without his presence, and concurrence.

It is evident from the course adopted, and carried out by the Chief Justice in this regard that he possessed a strong, not to say, arbitrary will, and was quite determined to be sole master in his own Court. It can hardly be doubted that no Barrister nor even brother Judge would venture to question his rulings in any case. One instance is to be found however in which presumably he felt some doubt, and referred the question to the law officers in England. Two persons were convicted before him of counterfeiting Spanish dollars, and pistareens under an English Statute, making it a criminal of-

fence. The law officers transmitted their opinion that the Statute making it an offence, did not extend to the Colonies. Murdoch Vol. 1, p. 37.

It may be that there were other occasions on which he did not rely on his own opinion, of which there is no record available, but there is enough to show that although a man of independent judgment he was not above seeking advice when he had reasonable doubt.

From the records of the Council an incident in the course of his judicial career is well worthy of mention both on account of the high position of the parties as well as the subsequent action—It is referred to by Murdoch in Vol 11, p. 508—

“On May 4 (1763) in Council present the Governor & Messrs. Belcher, Bulkeley & others, the Chief Justice Belcher stated that in the week before Joseph Frederick Wallett DesBarres one of the Justices of the Peace had grossly insulted and abused him in a forced conversation, directly threatened him with an affidavit imputing prejudice and partialty in his cause now remaining in the Court for judgment. Belcher claimed protection and that suitors might be deterred from the high presumption of conferring with any Judge relating to their cause.

The Governor and Council determined that DesBarres' offence was of the most heinous nature and required the most public acknowledgment of the crime.

Mr. Bulkeley, the Secretary accordingly wrote to DesBarres who replied from Windsor May 9th, stating that he was conscious that he had not said anything with any intent to abuse or insult Mr. Belcher in the capacity of Chief Justice, nor in that of a man. He was sorry Mr. Belcher thought he meant to insinuate any doubt of his integrity and justice while he DesBarres had often expressed a high opinion of Belcher.

The Council pronounced this apology evasive but thought it sufficiently vindicated the Chief Justice's character.



To a Judge or a lawyer the first thought that naturally occurs is why did the Chief Justice appeal to the Governor and Council when by virtue of his office he possessed a much more effective and summary way of punishing the offender. For the benefit of laymen I may point out that to speak to a judge on the subject of a case being tried before him, especially in the terms DesBarres is alleged to have used is a high contempt, and the judge has it in his power to summon the person before him in Court, and have him fined and imprisoned. Belcher as we have seen was not the man to shrink from exercising all the authority he possessed—The only explanation I can suggest is that Colonel Desbarres was at that day a person of high Military and political standing in the Province and that even such a bold and determined judge as Belcher undoubtedly was, hesitated to tackle him in the ordinary way single handed.— [He may have feared difficulty in enforcing proceedings in contempt against such an important personage and that the surest and best way was to take the course he did.]

Although from all that is known of him, it would seem 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 the Acadians, and afterwards from the outbreak of the American Revolution, a strong and fearless man in office was required.

Murdoch who lived and wrote nearer to his day and probably was familiar with tradition respecting him says, Vol. 1, p. 59 of his *Epitome of the laws of Nova Scotia* "He was highly qualified by education and talent for that office. He was a native of Massachusetts and to his exertions it may be presumed it was owing that the Government, and Tribunals of the Colony began to assume rapidly an appearance of order, and method, and his Legislative exertions contributed much to procure for us the simple and elegant structure of laws which long experience has rendered an object of public attachment."

It is regrettable that some specimen of his judgments, and opinions in the legal controversies before him have not been preserved. There are however some compensations for this loss in the universal testimony of his contemporaries and those writers who lived near his time of his great abilities, learning and integrity and of his devotion to the interests of the Province. In the preface to the Laws of Nova Scotia as revised, and published by Richard John Uniacke in 1815 he says, "Finding that one Edition of the Acts of the Province up to the sixth year of his present Majesty's reign was published by the late Chief Justice Belcher with notes of law cases, and marginal references to British Acts of Parliament, I considered it proper to republish the same notes, and references in this work, not only as a mark of respect to the high and learned character of Mr. Belcher, who was Chief Justice of the Province but also as affording to the people of the Province a convincing proof that our predecessors anxiously endeavored as nearly as local circumstances would permit to copy the laws of the Mother Country and to form our establishment agreeably to the British Constitution.

Mr. Uniacke was formerly Attorney General of the Province, and one of the most prominent men in public affairs in the early part of the last century, and to some extent in the century before. He lived near the time of Belcher and must have been well acquainted with many who knew him personally, and probably practised before him, so that his comments are particularly valuable, Richard Bulkeley, Secretary of the Province, gives the following particulars of the Laws of Nova Scotia prepared by Belcher in a prefatory note. "This Edition of the Laws of the Province as prepared and collated with the Records by John Dupont Esq., with the Revisal, and marginal references to acts of Parliament, and authorities in law by Mr. Chief Justice Belcher was begun by order of the General Assembly on the special recommendation of the Hon. Lieutenant Governor, Francklin; and continued, and perfected with the approbation and by order of His Excellency the Gover-



nor the Right Honorable Lord William Campbell." This Edition was published 13th May, 1767, during Belcher's life time and was evidently collated from his own copy of the Laws then extant with his notes therein.

In a similar strain Mr. Aikins says, "Chief Justice Belcher arranged and revised the Laws as they appeared in our first Statute Book, and rendered good assistance to Governor Lawrence in founding the settlements at Horton, Falmouth and Cornwallis."

Belcher himself presents to His Excellency the Right Honorable Lord William Campbell the Statutes so revised, and prepared with this inscription.

"This Edition of the Laws of the Province of Nova Scotia perfected by your Lordship's patronage is most humbly inscribed with all due respect.

Your Lordship's most devoted and obedient servant, Jonathan Belcher.

What is written in the preceding pages practically exhausts all that is known respecting the Judicial career of Chief Justice Belcher. In passing it may be interesting to note that the first Court House in Halifax stood at the corner of Buckingham and Argyle Streets, in which the Chief Justice held his Courts. This Society, a year or more ago, placed a tablet commemorating this fact. It was destroyed by fire in 1783. We are also informed by Mr. Akins that he resided in Argyle St. north of the Methodist Chapel, and occupied afterwards by the Rev. William Black. The exact location, I presume, would now be difficult to fix.

There was however another and very important side to his life to which some allusions have already been made, and to which I now turn. He was not only Chief Justice, but was also a member of the Council, President of the Council and Lieutenant Governor or Administrator of the Government of

Nova Scotia for nearly four years between the death of Lawrence in October 1760, and the coming of the next Governor.

Not long after his arrival in the Province and taking his seat at the Council Board he raised the question of the legality of the ordinances, and proceedings of the Council. Lawrence and his predecessors in office 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 only be made 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. On April 29, 1755, the Crown officers in England gave their opinions in which they stated they had read over the Governor's Commission, and instructions and the observations of Chief Justice Belcher thereon, and that they were of opinion that the Governor's Council alone were not authorized by his Majesty to make laws for the public peace, welfare, and good protection of the Province, and the people and inhabitants thereof, that until an Assembly can be called his Majesty has ordered that the Government of the Infant Colony shall be pursuant to his Commission, and instructions, and such further directions as he could give under his sign Manual in order in Council. The position taken by Belcher was thus entirely upheld, and directions were sent to Lawrence forthwith to take steps for calling together a representative Assembly. Lawrence as is well known did not at once comply with the instructions fearing as he himself reported that the men who



would compose such an Assembly might thwart and otherwise embarrass him in the conduct of the serious and difficult work he had in hand in providing for the Government and protection of the Country. He also justly pointed out that except in Halifax there were few or no people to elect representatives. The Home Government declined to accept these reasons, and in 1758 sent him peremptory orders to call an Assembly. This no doubt presented a serious and difficult undertaking in the then state of the Province when the inhabitants outside of the town of Halifax were few, and no electoral districts existed. Happily for him and the Province the right man sat beside him in the Council. The Chief Justice undertook this onerous work, and prepared the necessary scheme for carrying into effect the representative Assembly which with some modification was accepted by the Council.

This was his first great political achievement, and is well worthy of all praise. He next devoted his energies to preparing the necessary legislation to be passed when the Assembly met, for it must have been evident to him that a body of such inexperienced men, called together for the first time, would be wholly incompetent for such a task. As Mr. Akins informs us, p. 315, Archives. "The early enactments of the Legislature which formed the groundwork of the Statute law of Nova Scotia were prepared by him." It would not be profitable, nor of much interest, to describe these enactments further than to remark that the result proves they were all of a sound, necessary and useful character. Anyone who will consult our early Statutes will agree in the justice of the many encomiums passed upon them. This was the second great boon he conferred on the Province in his political capacity. It must not be forgotten that in his legislative role as member of the Council, which then constituted the second Chamber, all the Acts of the Assembly would come before him, so no doubt he supervised and shaped them into the Statutes as we now have them. But his solicitude for the public welfare did not stop here. As

we know by the extracts from Mr. Uniacke's edition of the Statutes and other sources he laboriously annotated the laws which were passed with references to the English Statutes on similar subjects with marginal notes of cases decided in England, explaining and interpreting their scope and meaning. The value of such annotations, especially at that early date, cannot be overestimated, and the comments on them indicate how greatly they were appreciated. The remaining phase of his life which requires some notice was in his administration of the government of the Province. Lawrence died suddenly in October, 1760, and Chief Justice Belcher as President of the Council became Administrator. A year later he was appointed Lieutenant Governor, and continued to govern the Province until the arrival of Governor Wilmot who was sworn into office 31 May, 1764. As recorded by Murdoch, on the death of Lawrence occurring, the Council assembled (Sunday October 19th) Present, the Hon. Jonathan Belcher, Esquire, the President, Benjamin Green, John Collier, Richard Bulkeley, and Joseph Gerrish, Councillors. A proclamation was agreed on to be signed by Mr. Belcher to notify the public that he assumed command of the Province, its Government devolving on him by the death of Mr. Lawrence and requiring all officers to continue, etc. Murdoch, Vol. 2, p. 199.

It is not desirable, nor would it be of much interest to follow in detail his Governmental acts. A study of the proceedings of the Governor and Council during the period shows the same masterful spirit, and energetic action in matters of state as he exhibited in his judicial sphere. The chief subjects which occupied the attention of the Council were the laying out of the Township, and districts of the Province and preparing them for settlers who, by that time, were coming from the older Provinces, and from the Old Country. The Acadians who had been deported were in numbers finding their way back to the Province, and numbers who had concealed themselves, and escaped deportation were now coming out of their hiding places,



and giving much trouble, and it became a very difficult question how to deal with them. The Home Authorities, and the Imperial Generals appear to have favored—allowing them to make homes in certain parts of the Province. To this method Belcher was strongly opposed, contending that they would be a constant source of danger. "President Belcher, Murdoch says apprehended mischief from the Acadians remaining in Restigouche and that vicinity in privateering against English trade, and interfering with the new settlements projected at Chignecto. Want and terror only, he thought had produced submission on the part of any of the Acadians." It should be added that the House of Assembly were of the same opinion and passed an address to the Governor asking that steps be taken for their removal, "Since they are convinced that they never will become good subjects while left in the Province."

Chief Justice Belcher has sometimes been criticised for the course he adopted in dealing with the French Acadians. I am not referring to the original expulsion in the time of Laurence, but to the later period when he was Lieut. Governor—Many of the Acadians at the date of the general expulsion had escaped deportation, and concealed themselves and some of those deported had begun to return to the Province. As was natural they combined with the Indians and were actively hostile to the new settlers who had been induced to come to the province. This was a serious matter, particularly dangerous to the inhabitants as war between England and France was raging, and Newfoundland had been actually captured by the French. The Acadians were led to believe that the province would be retaken by the French and that they would have their lands again. Under these circumstances it became the duty of the Lieut. Governor and Council to use great vigilance. In all that he wrote and did he was simply carrying out the decisions of the Council, and the wishes of the Assembly, although there can be no doubt he fully sympathized in their views. Anyone who will read the extensive correspondence between Belcher and the home authorities and General Amherst then Com-

mander-in-Chief in North America will be easily convinced that they had ample reason to be alarmed. Belcher in his action and correspondence was particularly solicitous about the effect these marauding bands would have on the new settlers whom it was all important to protect—ultimately as we all know the Acadian or such of them as desired were permitted to settle in certain parts of the Province, and have become loyal and industrious subjects.

The settlement of the Province was the principal and pressing business which occupied the Governor and Council. Large numbers, induced by the liberal terms offered in Lawrence's proclamations were applying for grants, and arriving in the Country from New England, and also immigrants from the north of Ireland. About this time one Colonel Alexander McNutt was interesting himself greatly in bringing people out to settle in Nova Scotia. He appears to have placed innumerable schemes and projects before the Government and the Lords of Trade with that view, and as a matter of fact was the means of introducing many settlers. But the expense was great and led to trouble between McNutt and Governor Belcher, and between Belcher and members of the Council. This led Major Collier, Morrison, Newton, and Francklin in a letter to the Lords of Trade to observe.

"We cannot help remarking that this unsteady and irresolute kind of conduct which indeed tinctures the whole of the Lieutenant Governor's administration must necessarily give the new inhabitants an unfavorable impression." These Councillors were very inimical . . . . . to Belcher who was striving to reduce the expenses of these arrivals and we must therefore receive their statement in regard to Belcher with great caution. As remarked by Archdeacon Raymond, Vol. 5, Royal Society, page 77, "The British Government had already spent half a millions pounds sterling in the establishment of Nova Scotia, and was disposed to retrench. Belcher had been repeatedly censured for the large expenditures consequent upon the immi-



gration policy instituted by Governor Lawrence. Whatever may have been his faults, the Lieutenant Governor does not appear to have been guilty of speculation. A man of hasty temper, and a Tory of the olden time, there is nevertheless nothing to show that he was selfseeking and that he profited by his position. Had such been his character he could hardly have filled for more than twenty-five years the office of Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. Yet he was a man of high temper, and strong will is evident from one or two episodes which have come down to us. "On the 19th November, 1762, the majority of the Council agreed that it was not desirable that such settlers (that is who became immediately a burden to the Government) should be brought into the Province. The Lieutenant Governor therefore declared that he should construe their resolutions as condemnatory of Colonel McNutt's proceedings, that he had already made a representation to the Ministry in England against the schemes of McNutt, and would do so again. One of the Council ventured to suggest that the resolution declaring it inexpedient to admit settlers who were liable at the outset to require assistance, should serve as a basis of a request of Council that the Lieutenant Governor should apply to the Lords of Trade for a fund to assist indigent settlers at their first coming into the Province. To this Belcher replied that he would save the Council the trouble of giving him any such advice by assuring them that he would not comply with it."

On another occasion "In December at a meeting of Governor and Council (after he had ceased to fill the office) the language used by the late Lieutenant Governor Belcher was complained of in a memorial from Mr. Francklin. Belcher had stated that the letter of Francklin did not contain a word of truth, and was a libel on the Government and directed the Clerk of Council to record his remarks. The Council heard both Francklin and Belcher and read a letter from the Lords of Trade of 3 December, 1762, after which they decided that there was sufficient authority for Mr. Francklin's letter and that it was founded on truth."

I have given these extracts not because of any importance or interest in themselves, but as throwing some light on the temper and disposition of the man. He evidently had the courage of his convictions, and was disposed to carry on the affairs of Government with a high hand. If he could treat fellow members of the Council in this cavalier manner, one wonders how the barristers and litigants fared in the Court where he was absolute master.

Passing them from this subject with the remark that during his regime much substantial work was done in the survey of the Province, and in locating settlers, the only other matter deserving special notice is that war broke out between England and Spain in which the French joined. In consequence active preparations for the defence of Halifax had to be made. Councils of war were held at Government House, and measures adopted for its protection, and on Tuesday, July 13th, in Council Lieutenant Governor Belcher declared martial law to be in force. Also he laid a embargo on all shipping in Halifax harbor for ten days. It would appear from the steps he took in conjunction with the naval and military authorities that he showed himself quite equal to the occasion.

It will be a matter of interest and no doubt gratifying to the advocates of a prohibitory liquor law to note that Chief Justice Belcher was among the first, if not the first, to place himself on record in favor of the prohibition of the importation and sale of spirituous liquors. On Monday 25th of April 1763 he then being Lieut. Governor opened the session of the Legislature and among other things in his speech from the throne he says—"As to the revenue we rely upon the consumption of noxious manufactures which it is the very object of the laws to restrain nor would it be an unpolitical wish that we could wholly prohibit." The Assembly evidently did not share his sentiments. In their reply to his speech they say that they cannot think of any other tax more suitable than that on spirituous liquors which notwithstanding the wholesome laws for suppressing de-



bauchery will we fear yet be consumed by the profligate in immoderate quantities.

There were of course many other matters of a political character which Chief Justice Belcher dealt with while in charge of the Government of the Province and in which so far as we can judge from the records he displayed his usual vigor and sound sense. To such it is unnecessary to make further allusions. Enough has been given to enable us to form a fairly correct idea of what manner of man he was and to what extent we are indebted to him for his watchful oversight over our early Provincial affairs.

In writing the story of Belcher's life reference to the part he took in the expulsion of the Acadians must necessarily be made. As already stated at his coming to the Province their position and conduct was one of the most difficult and embarrassing questions with which the Government had to deal. He of course from his high office was one of the most influential members of the Council. There can be no doubt that he entertained strong views as to the necessity for removing them from the Province as appears from the records, and official correspondence. At a meeting of the Governor and Council on July 25th 1755 these views were expressed in a very able memorandum read before the Council in which he pointed out the serious danger to which the English population was constantly exposed by their continuance in the Country, and includes his observations in these words "I think myself for these reasons and from the highest necessity which is *lex temporis* to the interests of his Majesty in the Province humbly to advise that all the French inhabitants may be removed from the Provinces." At that meeting the final decision was taken to expel and deport the Acadians.

It is not my intention here to enter into that burning controversy as to the justice or necessity for the removal of these unfortunate people. Chief Justice Belcher must bear his share of responsibility for that drastic measure whether justifiable

or not. It is a question on which probably there never will be unanimity. As this episode in our Provincial history was of primary importance on which there has always been great differences of opinions, and volumes of prose, and poetry have been written on the subject, it is only fair to Belcher's memory that a statement in full of the reason for his advice to the Governor and Council should be given here.

1755, July 28th.

The Question now depending before the Governor and Council as to the Residence or removal of the French Inhabitants from the Province of Nova Scotia, is of the highest moment to the Honour of the Crown and the settlement of the Colony, and as such a juncture as the present may never occur for considering this question to any effect, I esteem it my duty to offer my reasons against receiving any of the French Inhabitants take the oaths and for their not being permitted to remain in the Province.

1. By their conduct from the Treaty of Utrecht to this date they have appeared in no other light than that of rebels to His Majesty, whose subjects they became by virtue of the cession of the Province and the inhabitants of it under that Treaty.

2. That it will be contrary to the letter and spirit of His Majesty's Instruction to Governor Cornwallis, and in my humble apprehension would incur the displeasure of the Crown and the Parliament.

3. That it will defeat the intent of the Expedition to Beau Sejour.

4. That it will put a total stop to the progress of the Settlement and disappoint the expectations for the vast expence of Great Britain in the Province.

5. That when they return to their perfidy and treacheries as they unquestionably will, and with more rancour than before,



on the removal of the Fleet and Troops, the Province will be in no condition to drive them out of their possessions.

1. As to their conduct since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Tho it was stipulated that they should remain on their lands on condition of their taking the Oaths, within a year from the date of the Treaty, they not only refused yet to take the Oath, but continued in acts of hostility against the British Garrison, and in conjunction with the Indians in that very year killed a party of English consisting of eighty men, and for the space of three years from the Treaty committed many other acts of hostility.

In 1725 when General Philipps sent a force to require them to take the Oaths, they for some time refused but at last consented upon condition that they should not be obliged to bear arms against the King of France, upon this condition some swore allegiance, but many others refused, and they have since presumed to style themselves neutrals tho' they are the subjects of His Majesty.

By their instigation the Settlement at the Coal Mines at Chignectou by a company of English gentlemen at an expense of \$3000 was broken up by the Indians, and by order of the Inhabitants they drove off the settlers, burnt their houses and storehouses, robbed them of their stock and goods which were shared between the Indians and the Inhabitants.

In 1724 they spirited up and joined with the Indians in destroying the English Fishery and killed above 100 fishermen, a few English and French were taken for this act, and hanged afterwards in Boston.

In 1744 under Le Loutre 300 Indians supported by these neutral French, marched thro' all their districts, and lodged within a quarter of a mile of that garrison, and no inhabitants gave any intelligence to the Government.

They in like manner supported and maintained in the same year M. Duvivier who had near surprised the garrison and

only one inhabitant gave intelligence which put them on their guard and prevented it.

In 1746 they maintained 1700 Canadians in their districts the whole summer waiting for the arrival of Duke D'Anville's Fleet, and when part of the Forces came before the Fort, they assisted them, and made all their fascines, and were to have joined in the attempt, being all armed by the French.

The winter following when the English with about 500 Troops were canton'd at Minas, by advice of the situation of the English Troops given by the French inhabitants to the French Troops, they drew them to attack the English, and even brought the French Officers into the English Quarters before the attack was made, and they joined the French in the attack, whereby 70 of His Majesty's Subjects lost their lives, above two-thirds of whom were sick persons and were murdered by the French Inhabitants. This was attested by some of the soldiers who escaped. They were afterwards before the capitulation in arms, and kept guard over the English Prisoners, and treated them with more severity, than the French King's subjects themselves did.

They frequently afterwards received and maintained different parties of the French during the continuance of the war.

When the English first made the Settlement at Halifax, and ever since they have spired up the Indians to commit hostilities against the English, always maintaining, supporting and giving intelligence to them, where they might distress the Settlement to the best advantage, it having been always noted that before any Indian attempts, a number of the French inhabitants have been found hovering about these places.

They have constantly since the Settlement obstinately refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, and have induced many of our Foreign settlers to desert over to the French, and have always supplied the French Troops who have intruded upon



this Province with Provisions, giving them a constant intelligence of all the motions of the English, and have thereby forced the English to live in Garrison Towns, and they were unable to cultivate and improve lands at any distance, which has been the principal cause of the great expense to the British Nation, and a means of more than half the inhabitants who came here with an intent to settle, quitting the Province and settling in other Plantations, where they might get their bread without resigning their lives.

From such a series of facts for more than 40 years, it was evident that the French Inhabitants are so far from being disposed to become good subjects that they are more and more discovering their inveterate enmity to the English and their affection to the French, of which we have recent instances in their insolence to Captain Murray hiding the best of their arms and surrendering only their useless muskets, and in their present absolute refusal to take the Oaths of Allegiance.

Under these circumstances I think it cannot consist with the Honour of the Government, or the safety and prosperity of the Province, to permit any of the inhabitants now to take the Oaths.

✓ It will be contrary to the letter and spirit of His Majesty's instructions.

The instruction took its rise from the Governor's representation of the hostilities of the French inhabitants and from the recitals of the instruction it was plainly intended to secure a better obedience of the French, and to strengthen the hands of the Government against them, and when they have declared as they have implicitly, by refusing to take the Oaths, that they will not be subject to His Majesty, the instruction by the proposal from the Governor and Council for taking the Oaths and their refusal, will be literally observed by their removal from the Province, nor can there be any confidence in their fidelity after an absolute refusal of allegiance to the Crown.

and for this reason persons are declared recusants if they refuse on a summons to take the Oaths at the session and can never after such refusal be permitted to take them as by once disavowing their allegiance their future professions of Fidelity ought to receive no credit.

The Instruction was sent at a time when the Government was not in a capacity to assert its rights against the French forfeiting inhabitants, and it is hardly to be doubted that if the present circumstances of the Province were known to the Crown that the instruction if it is now in force would be annulled.

Governor Cornwallis, according to this Instruction summoned the French Inhabitants to swear allegiance, and as they refused, the Instruction seems to be no longer in Force, and that therefore the Government now have no power to tender the Oaths, as the French inhabitants had by their non-compliance with the condition of the Treaty of Utrecht forfeited their possessions to the Crown.

I would put the case. That His Majesty had required the answer of the French inhabitants to be transmitted to the Secretary of State, to be subject to His Majesty's future pleasure, and the present answer of all the French inhabitants should be accordingly transmitted "That they would not take the Oath unless they were permitted not to bear arms against the King of France and that otherwise they desired six months to remove themselves and their effects to Canada and that they openly desired to serve the French King that they might have Priests, it is to be presumed that instead of examining the instruction, orders and possibly a force would be immediately sent for banishing such insolent and dangerous inhabitants from the Province.

As to the consequences of permitting them to take the Oaths after their refusal.



3. It must defeat the intention of the Expedition to Beau Sejour.

The advantages from the success of that Expedition, are the weakening the power of the Indians and curbing the insolence of the French Inhabitants, but if after our late reduction of the French Forts, and while the Troops are in their borders and the British Fleet in our harbour, and even in the presence of His Majesty's Admirals and to the highest contempt of the Governor and Council, they presume to refuse allegiance to His Majesty, and shall yet be received and trusted as subjects, we seem to give up all the advantages designed by the Victory.

and

If this be their language while the Fleet and Troops are with us, I know not what will be their style, and the event of their insolence and Hostilities when they are gone.

4. It may retard the progress of the settlement and possibly be a means of breaking it up.

The proportion of French to English inhabitants is deemed to be as follows:

At Annapolis 200 Families at 5 in each Family is.....	1000
Minas, 300 at 5.....	1500
Piziquid, 300.....	1500
Chignectou, 800.....	4000
	<hr/>
	8000
600 English Families at 5.....	3000
Balance of the French against the English Inhabitants	5000

Besides the French at Lunenburgh and the Lunenburghers themselves who are more disposed to the French than to the English.

Such a superiority of numbers and of persons who have avowed that they will not be subject to the King will not only dis-

tress the present settlers but deter others from coming as adventurers into the Province, for if they should take the oaths, it is well known, that they will not be influenced by them after a Dispensation.

5. As no Expedient can be found for removing them out of the Province when the present Armament is withdrawn, as will be inevitably requisite, for they will, unquestionably resume their perfidy and treacheries and with more arts and rancour than before.

And as the residence of the French Inhabitants in the Province attached to France occasions all the Schemes of the French King, and his attempts for acquiring the Province.

I think myself obliged for these reasons and from the highest necessity which is *lex temporis*, to the interests of His Majesty in the Province, humbly to advise that all the French inhabitants may be removed from the Province.

(Signed) **Jonathan Belcher.**

Halifax, 28th July, 1755.

I think it is a fair deduction from all we know of him 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 determination we are largely, perhaps principally indebted for our constitutional rights and the law and order which have prevailed in Nova Scotia from the first. He died at Halifax, 30th March, 1776, at the age of 65, leaving as has been stated one son, Andrew Belcher, who became member of the Council, and one daughter. He was buried beneath St. Paul's Church on the 31st March, as appears from the entry in St. Paul's register. To his daughter the House of Assembly voted a pension of £50.00. This unusual act of generosity on the part of the Assembly is indicative of the high esteem in which he was held throughout the province, and further that as a public servant no use of his high position was



made to enrich himself, as was too often the case in those days. The proud legacy left to his descendants was that of a high and honorable character, fearless and upright in the discharge of his manifold duties, marked with untiring industry and conspicuous ability. Nova Scotians do not seem to have worthily appreciated the great services he rendered to the province, at least no public mark or monument has been raised to his memory, not even a portrait of him hangs in our Legislative Halls. While there are many fine portraits of some of his successors not to be ranked with him, there is none of Belcher. This is an omission not creditable to the Province and let me indulge the hope that in the near future it will be rectified. Possibly it has been due to the fact that it was unknown whether any portrait of him was in existence. Search for some years has been made by myself and others, and at last I am glad to say our search has been rewarded. The Rev. Edward Gilbert Belcher, already alluded to, informs me that he has in his possession an oil portrait of his distinguished ancestor by Copley. If the original cannot be obtained I have no doubt he would permit a copy to be made which should be placed amongst other portraits of those men who have spent their lives in the service of our country.\*

In the course of my search for material to prepare this sketch of his life I visited the Registry of Probate and found some few facts which may be of interest. It appears that he made no last will, dying intestate. By an entry in the registry I find that administration to his estate was granted to John Kirby on 13th April, 1776. The inventory of his estate shows that he owned some real estate, that is to say a house on Argyle Street, lands at Sheet Harbor, and a farm at Windsor, known as the Belvidere Farm. This last must have been of considerable value, as it was rented for £70.00 per annum, and sold after his

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\*Since this was written the Rev. Gilbert L. Belcher, Henry Belcher, and another brother have presented to the Province a fine copy in oil of the portrait of the Chief Justice, the receipt of which the Governor-in-Council have gratefully acknowledged.

death for £1748.00. By the accounts on file it seems that all his lands were heavily encumbered, and with his personal property combined no more than discharged his debts and obligations leaving nothing for his children. In glancing over the list of personal assets I observe that he was the owner of quite a lot of valuable silver, and other table appointments such as gentlemen in his lofty position would naturally possess; from all of which we can fairly presume that at his hospitable board many of the notable men who lived in and visited Halifax were worthily entertained. His library was full of the standard legal works and reports of the times, showing as we have already seen that he kept himself well abreast of all the learning of his profession. Evidently he was to some extent interested in shipping to his great loss, as I notice one of his heaviest liabilities was a charge of £457 for the Brig Polly. There are some other items amongst these papers but not sufficiently interesting or important to dwell upon here. All tend to show that he had not amassed wealth during his strenuous career as Chief Justice and Lieut.-Governor of the Province.

The Supreme Court of Nova Scotia has had eleven Chief Justices, excluding Charles Morris, who was appointed temporarily by the Governor on the death of Belcher. The Honorable Bryan Finucane succeeded him in 1778 and of him we know little or nothing, except that he was an Irishman. Of the intervening Chief Justices to the time of Sir Brenton Halliburton, very little of their lives and careers has been preserved. The four Chief Justices since are well known to the present generation. In connection with this sketch of our first Chief Justice it may be of interest to give their names, and dates of appointment. I have already mentioned Chief Justice Finucane appointed in 1778. The Honorable Isaac Deschamps appointed in 1785. The Honorable Jeremiah Pemberton, appointed in 1788. The Honorable Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, appointed in 1790. The Honorable Sampson Blowers, appointed in 1797. The Honorable Sir Brenton Halliburton, appointed in 1833. The Honourable Sir William Young appointed in 1860



The Honorable James McDonald, appointed in 1881. The Honorable Sir Robert L. Weatherbee, appointed in 1905, and the Honorable Sir Charles Townshead, appointed in 1907. I may add that the Honorable Charles Morris is not included, as he never held an Imperial appointment, but was named temporarily by the Governor in Council as first Justice until a successor to Belcher was appointed.

In looking over this list I think it can be fairly said that so far as our knowledge extends, Chief Justice Belcher deserves to hold the first place as an able and accomplished Judge. While it is true we possess none of his Judicial opinions by which to test his legal acumen and knowledge, yet I think we can deduce from his acts, and writings sufficient to justify us in awarding to him the high place accorded to him by his cotemporaries and later generations. That he had an imperious temper, and was impatient of opposition hardly admits of a doubt, but those were days where a firm hand, and strong will were very necessary. In estimating his character and career it is but just to his memory to bear in mind that he filled an important and responsible position in troublous times. When everything was new, and unorganized, and when the community was beset with many foes within and without that under such conditions he bore himself uprightly, and did his duty as Judge, Legislator and Governor with dignity, and success, fearing no man. As probably the best educated man in the community he no doubt felt that he was entitled to speak with authority, and the high office he filled so worthily gave weight to the opinions he so vigorously expressed.

From this brief and imperfect presentation of his life and career it may be fairly claimed that it is due to the memory of Jonathan Belcher our first Chief Justice — that his name should be inscribed on the roll of eminent Nova Scotians, who in the past have well served their country, and that the useful part he took in the formation of our institutions should have a permanent place in the historical records of the Province.

By REV. ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, D.C.L.

**Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher**, second son of Governor Jonathan and his wife Mary (Partridge) Belcher, was born in Boston, July 23, 1710, and graduated at Harvard College in 1728. He died in Halifax, March 29, 1776, aged nearly sixty-six. He married in King's Chapel, Boston, April 8, 1756 (he being in his forty-seventh year), Abigail Allen of Boston, born probably in 1727, daughter of Jeremiah and Abigail (Waldo) Allen, and sister of Jeremiah Allen, who was for some years sheriff of Suffolk County, Massachusetts. Mrs. Belcher died according to her tombstone in St. Paul's burying-ground, October 9, 1771, "aged 44 years." On her tombstone, which bears the arms that were probably used by her husband, are inscribed also the names of her children, Jonathan (1st.) Gilbert Jonathan; Abigail; William Jeremiah. (the last is said in his inscription to have died on the day he was born). Whatever sermon may have been preached in St. Paul's Church, Halifax, on the occasion of Mrs Belcher's death, there was delivered at Halifax, probably in St. Mathew's Church, October 20, 1771, by the Rev. John Secombe A. M., Congregational minister at Chester, Nova Scotia, "A sermon occasioned by the death of the Honorable Abigail Belcher, Late Consort of Jonathan Belcher, Esq., late Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief and His Majesty's present Chief Justice of his Province of Nova Scotia." This sermon, of which copies are extant, was printed in Boston in 1772, with an Epistle by Mather Byles, D. D., of Boston—the elder Mather Byles.

Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher's children, all born in Halifax and baptized by Rev. Dr. John Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's Church, are:

- I. Jonathan, Jr., born January 22, 1757; died August 26, 1757.
- II. Gilbert Jonathan, born May 17, 1759, died August 31, 1763.



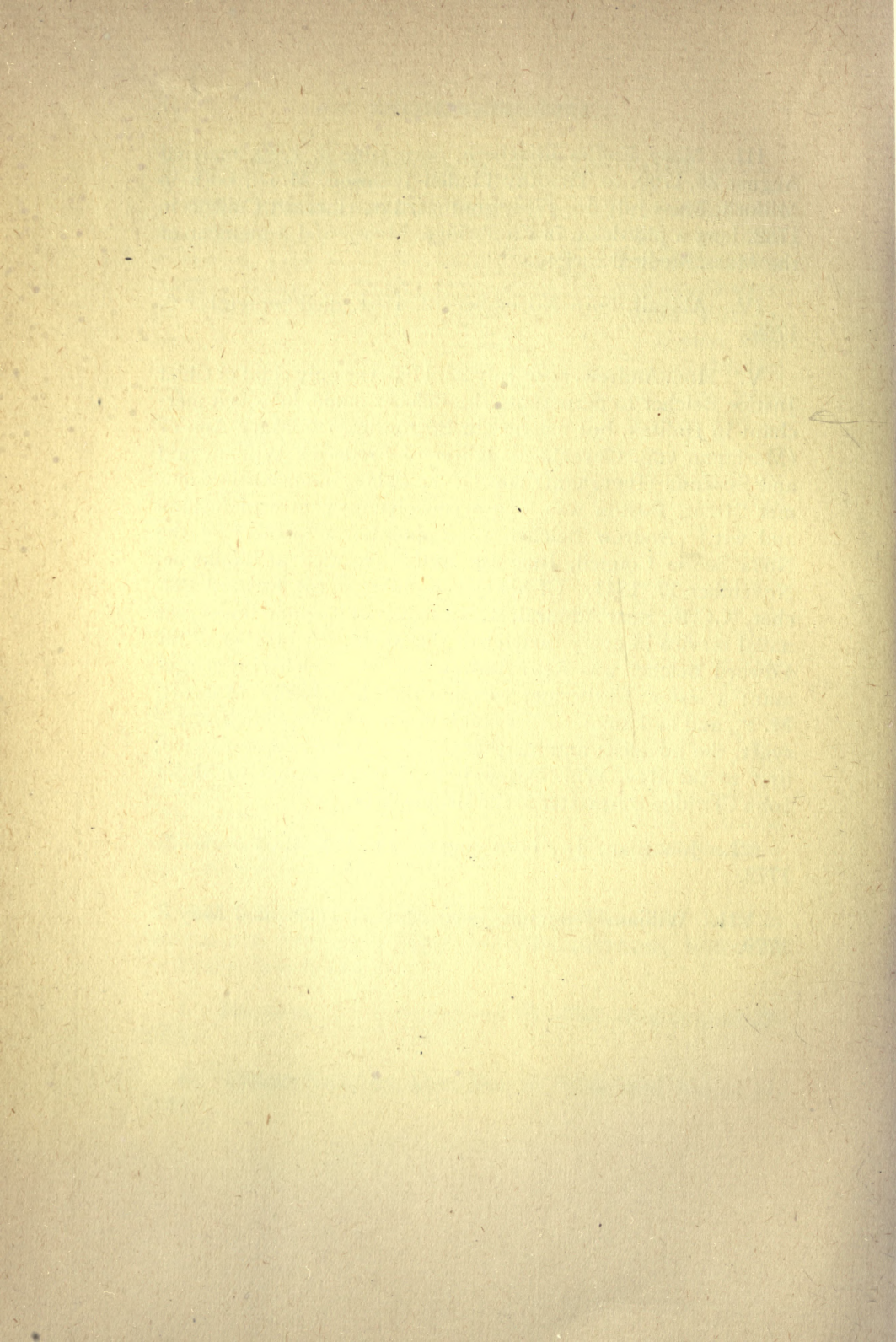
III. Mary Emilia Elizabeth, born June 3, 1760, married August 24, 1790, to Timothy Lindell Jennison, M. D., born in Milford, Mass July 15, 1761, graduated at Harvard College in 1782, long a physician in Cambridge, Mass., and a member of the Mass. Medical Society.

IV. Abigail, born November 12, 1761, died September 6, 1766.

V. Hon. Andrew, born July 22, 1763, the only child of Chief Justice Belcher to perpetuate the Belcher name, he was a merchant in Halifax, but married in Boston in 1792 Mary Ann or (Marianne von. Geyer), a daughter of Frederick William and and Susanna (Ingraham) von Geyer (whose mansion in Summer Street, Boston was long a conspicuous centre of fashion and wit.) Andrew Belcher was appointed a member of the Nova Scotia Council, June 16, 1801. He died at Boulogne, November 17, 1841. Of his eleven children, Sir Edward Belcher, K.C.B., Rear Admiral, R. N., rendered England important naval service in every quarter of the world. A brother of Sir Edward Belcher was Rev. Andrew Herbert Belcher, a clergyman; a sister, Catherine, was married to Charles Maryatt, M. P., and had among other children, Captain Frederick Maryatt, the novelist; and another sister, Eleanor, was married, first to the Rev. Wm. Cogswell of Halifax, second to Major John Claridge Burmester of the British Army. ✓

VI. Jonathan, Jr., born August 14, 1765 died June 29, 1772.

VII. William Jeremiah, born May 7, 1770, died May 8, 1770.





## DOCKYARD REMINISCENCES.

**An Account of the Action between the "Chesapeake,"  
and the "Shannon," gleaned from Statements  
made by Eye-witnesses.**

By CHARLES ROCHE, Halifax.

The Halifax Dockyard in 1813 was an extensive establishment; sixteen hundred men were employed; ships were built there, the "Halifax," "Indian," "Emelous," and others, and many smaller craft. The land defences consisted mainly of Martello Towers, one on George's Island, another at Fort Clarence, York Redoubt, Sherbrooke Tower in Point Pleasant Park, Camperdown, Mauger's Beach and Sambro, now the bases of lighthouses; a battery at Point Pleasant, another at the Lumber Yard; a chain across the N. W. Arm. The following buoys were in Halifax Harbour, Litchfield Rock, depth of water 15 feet, colour of buoy white; shoal between George's Island and Cornwallis Island, 30 feet of water, red buoy; Mars Rock between Chedabucto and Litchfield, 21 feet, buoy white; Point Pleasant Shoal, S. E. part of it, 22 feet, buoy white.

The Dockyard staff comprised J. E. Inglefield, Commissioner; Elias Marshall, Master Shipwright; Mr. P. F. Wallis, Clerk to Commissioner; D. E. Dawes, Storekeeper; Mr. Alexander Anderson, Chief Clerk; John Ross, Clerk to Master Shipwright; George Patterson, Master Attendant; Mr. William Hughes, Foreman of Shipwrights; Mr. Casper Rhodes, Foreman of Mast Makers; Mr. John Brush, Foreman of Smiths; Mr. William Lee, Foreman of House Carpenters; Mr. Duncan Clarke, Surgeon; Mr. Thomas Matthews, Gate Porter, Boatswain, Mr. David Ridgeway.

The loss of so many ships and the loss of so much property at the beginning of the war by the merchants, caused widespread dissatisfaction and grief. "England with 1000 pennants in her Navy, and yet unable to protect her commerce or capture a dozen of American men-o'-war." In Halifax the grief and astonishment was wide-spread. On no one did it fall with more chagrin than Capt. Broke of the "Shannon." The escape of the "Constitution," the loss of the "Guerriere" when under his command, preyed on his mind. To his friend, Mr. William Minns he would often unburden himself when they resorted to the Exchange Coffee House. He had 85 bluejackets he could depend upon and he had the promise of 65 volunteers from the Dockyard. He wanted good men who were afraid of nothing. His officers would stand by him; no ship in the service had better. So loud did Minns and he become in their discussions that the boys would call out in the street when he was passing "Look at that redhead Captain; he is sure to take a Yankee frigate." Capt. Sir Hyde Parker of the "Tenedos" was as rash as Broke. They claimed that they would not hesitate to attack the "President" or "United States." The "Majestic," Capt. Hayes, of 57 guns, was a match for any of these ships, but never had the luck to fall in with any of them till near the close of the war.

The "Shannon" was fitted out in the Halifax Dockyard for her last and most memorable cruise on the North American coast. Many of her men who sailed in her then, lived in Halifax many long years after, and some never returned but slept in the bed of old Ocean.

A cooper in the Dockyard invented a sort of keg of hard wood hooped with iron and filled with bullets. These were discharged from the carronades on the spar-deck and caused great havoc on the crowded decks of the "Chesapeake."

Some years after, Col. Broke, the brother of the "Shannon's" Captain, gave a dinner to all the survivors of the crew then residing in Halifax. Among these were Jacob West, Robert Weston, James Rivers, Charles Hughes, William Oxford (pilot



of the Shannon") Charles Abel, John Jackson, William Fenton, James Bulger, George Gatton and Arthur Steele.

The "Shannon" was a different looking ship from the "Tenedos," "Nympthe," "Larne" and "Statira," the other 38-gun frigates. Her builders, Thomas and Joseph Brindley, whose yard was at Chatham, built two-deck ships for the Navy and the East India Company. They built very few frigates; therefore, the "Shannon" at a distance had the look of an East Indiaman. Notwithstanding her fullness she was a good sailer, well timbered and planked with British oak.

In the last days of May she was cruising off Boston with the "Tenedos." The weather was thick and the "President" and "Congress" came out of that port without being discovered by the British ships. This left the "Chesapeake" alone in the harbour. Broke, now in virtue of his superior command, ordered the "Tenedos" to Shelburne for wood and water. No sooner was this ship out of sight than he sent a challenge to Captain Lawrence, naming the number of his crew and guns. Lawrence was just as rash and impetuous as Broke and his easy victory over the unfortunate "Peacock," when in command of the "Hornet," a far superior vessel, had given him undue confidence.

On the first day of June, the "Shannon" at 10 a. m., stood into Boston Harbour just outside of the range of the guns of Fort Warren and Fort Independence. She was prepared for action, chain braces rove, top gallant and royals furled tight and small, but the yards across. She was under her three top-sails and jib, her mizzen in throat brails, colours hoisted, the crew at quarters, magazine open, lockers full of shot, everything ready for action. On standing over the east side, the "Chesapeake," was discovered at anchor. The day wore on; the crew were piped to dinner (the last to many). Dinner was just concluded when the watch on deck hailed "She's getting under way." Instantly the crew were ordered back to quarters; the men began to strip off their shirts; some wound their silk

handkerchiefs around their necks, some around their knees, some around the head. Wallis took command of the after main deck guns, Falkiner the forward main deck, the Captain and Watt on the spar deck with the boatswain, Stevens; Meehan, the gunner, to the magazine, Surgeon Jack to the cockpit with his assistants. "We could see by the rapidity with which the American's sails were loosed and then set, and the many men on the yards that her crew was numerous." The day was fine and bright, the wind west and light. The sun shone on her snowy canvas of cotton, her bright copper, her painted sides. When under way her studding sail booms were rigged out and sails set. She carried three great American ensigns, one at the main yardarm. At her foremast head a large white flag inscribed "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." When we saw she was coming out, the "Shannon's" head was turned to sea, the ship not making more than three knots, the "Chesapeake" making three feet to our one. A number of small craft accompanied her, which led our Captain to think there might be an attempt made to carry the "Shannon" by boarding. We kept on our course till well out in a line with Cape Ann. The "Chesapeake" now fired a lee gun to notify us that she would not go any further to sea. The "Shannon" then hove to. She was a strong contrast to the other ship, with her hempen sails, her foul copper, weather-beaten sides and rusty old blue ensign. While the "Chesapeake" was shortening sail and sending down her royal yards preparatory to action, Capt. Broke, standing on the break of the quarter deck, now addressed his crew who had been called aft: "Shannons," you know that through various causes the Americans have triumphed over us. This will not daunt you because you know the truth that disparity of force was the chief reason. But they have said more, and published in the newspapers that the British have forgotten how to fight. You will let them know to-day there are Englishmen in the "Shannon" who still know how to fight. Don't try to dismast her; fire into her quarters, main deck into main deck, quarter deck into quarter deck. When you board her, don't strike for the the head for they wear steel caps, but thrust them through the



body. Don't cheer. Go quietly to your quarters. I know you will all do your duty, for you have the blood of hundreds of your countrymen to avenge." Silence ensued, till some of the "Guerrieres" called out for revenge, although not many of them had taken part in the action which had ended in her going to the bottom, but had been sent in with prizes, and afterwards joined the "Shannon." Jacob West, one of them, called out "Can't we have three ensigns like her," pointing over his shoulder to the Chesapeake," now approaching. "No," said Broke. "We were always an unassuming ship; you know what happened another ship which flew three ensigns."

The "Chesapeake" was now closing fast, the wind had decreased and we had bare steerage way. She was coming at an angle of impunity on the starboard quarter of the "Shannon." Everything was so still we could hear the water rippling at her bows and the voices of the officers giving orders. We could see her booms and boats full of small arm men, as well as her top. We had only 330 men, including 23 men taken out of the ship "Duck" of Waterford. The "Chesapeake" had one hundred more men. Orders were given to fire gun by gun as they bore on her ports, the after maindeck first, then the quarter deck gun above it. It was uncertain what Lawrence's tactics were, until all uncertainty was removed by the "Chesapeake" rounding so as to bring her alongside the "Shannon." In the same manner he had brought the "Hornet" alongside the "Peacock."—"Peacock" her, my lads, "Peacock" her," he had called out to his men.

This was a fatal error on Lawrence's part, for in the light wind it took a long time for his ship to come around.—"She bares, sir," said William Mindham, the captain of the gun.—"Fire," said Wallis. Overhead the quarterdeck guns were being fired before you could take time to tell it. The broadside was fired, not a second between the report of each gun. Shrieks were heard from both ships, for the shot was bounding along our decks with fatal effect. The American riflemen were

pouring in their bullets from deck and tops, to which our marines and Dockyard volunteers sent back bullet for bullet. Lawrence, who was standing on a carronade slide on the side next our ship giving orders, was shot in the stomach and carried below, his white clothes dripping blood; while Ludlow, the first Lieutenant, was shot in the head and carried below also. It was said afterwards that Lawrence repeated the words of brave Admiral Carter, at LaHogue, "Don't give up the ship: fight her as long as she will swim."

Both ships kept up a constant fire of great guns and small arms, but the "Shannon's" fire had swept the spar deck of the "Chesapeake." Out of 150 men stationed on that deck, 100 had been struck down and the rails and bulwarks of pitch pine had been shattered to pieces, the splinters inflicting fearful wounds. A shot had shattered the "Chesapeake's" wheel and another had cut her jib sheet. These disasters had caused her head to come up in the wind. She then took a stern board and came down upon the "Shannon," her larboard quarter striking the "Shannon" about the fifth gun on her maindeck. As soon as the ships came in contact, boatswain Stevens and his gang lashed the ships together. The brave boatswain was badly wounded by the pikes of the Americans, but jumping to the deck, he said to Captain Broke, "Now is your time; her deck is almost deserted." Broke called out "Boarders away! follow me who can." Amongst those who followed Broke, was James Bulger, who had been taken out of the "Duck" of Waterford and sent to the work at the guns. Captain Broke and the first Lieutenant Watt boarded with about 60 bluejackets and marines. With these were some Dockyard men, among them a very powerful young man, who was the first to break through the Americans, who were drawn upon the quarter deck close to the mizzenmast. About a dozen big men in front had on steel caps and were armed with boarding pikes. Behind these were about 25 men, some armed with muskets and some armed with cutlasses and pistols. Most of the boarders had cutlasses only; few had firearms.



The boarders could not at first force the pikemen back, and a Mr. Livermore, said to be the Chaplain, pointed a pistol at the Captain, but the pistol missed fire and the Captain slashed his face across with his sword, and he fell against the mizzenmast. The young volunteer with a handspike struck two of the pikemen, on which the bluejackets with their cutlasses slashed at the Americans, and Sergeant Molyneux with a party of marines, charged them in the flank with bayonets. Then all parties were hurled off the quarterdeck and down the ladders upon the spar deck. Lieut. Falkiner, with the maindeck boarders, now joined. Some of the Americans climbed over the bulwarks and gained the maindeck, but most of them were hurled down the main hatch. Capt. Broke with a party of seamen and marines now rushed along the gangways to the forecastle for a party of Americans were trying to drop the foresail, for a breeze had filled the "Chesapeake's" sails. The lashings parted and the ships separated.

Falkiner took possession of the waist and put a marine named William Hill on sentry over the hatch. The Americans on the deck below fired up the hatch and killed Hill. The "Shannon" marines then fired down among the Americans. But Falkiner stopped them and called to the men below that if they did not give up the man who shot the marine, he would bring them all up and shoot them one by one. This threat was not carried out, for just then a commotion aft drew the attention of all hands. Lieut. Watt had brought a white ensign on board under his coat. He with a small party had gone aft to lower the "Chesapeake" ensign, which was still fluttering at the gaff end. He hauled it down with a run and it fell over the taffrail. He called out to Rexworthy, the signal man, to be lively and bend on quickly. Rexworthy in his eagerness pulled on the wrong halfyard and hoisted the American flag again. The people on the "Shannon," thinking the boarders were overpowered, for the ships were some distance apart, fired a gun loaded with grapeshot upon the crowd on the quarter deck, and Watt, who was more than six feet high, was shot through

the head. Some others were killed or wounded, but Rexworthy, who was stooping down, escaped and hoisted the white ensign again, this time above the others.

Some Americans in the fore-castle, seeing the American flag going up again, renewed the fight. They attacked Capt. Broke and wounded him in the head. He was carried aft with his head bound up, bringing a boy mid-dy by the arm, whom he had rescued from mid-shipman Smith, who was a blood thirsty young rascal and who had driven the young Yankee out of the fore-top. They slid down the "Chesapeake's" backstay and landed on the deck, Smith on top. The men who wounded Broke were not Americans but British deserters, who would have been hanged or flogged around the fleet, as five others who taken were after we arrived at Halifax.

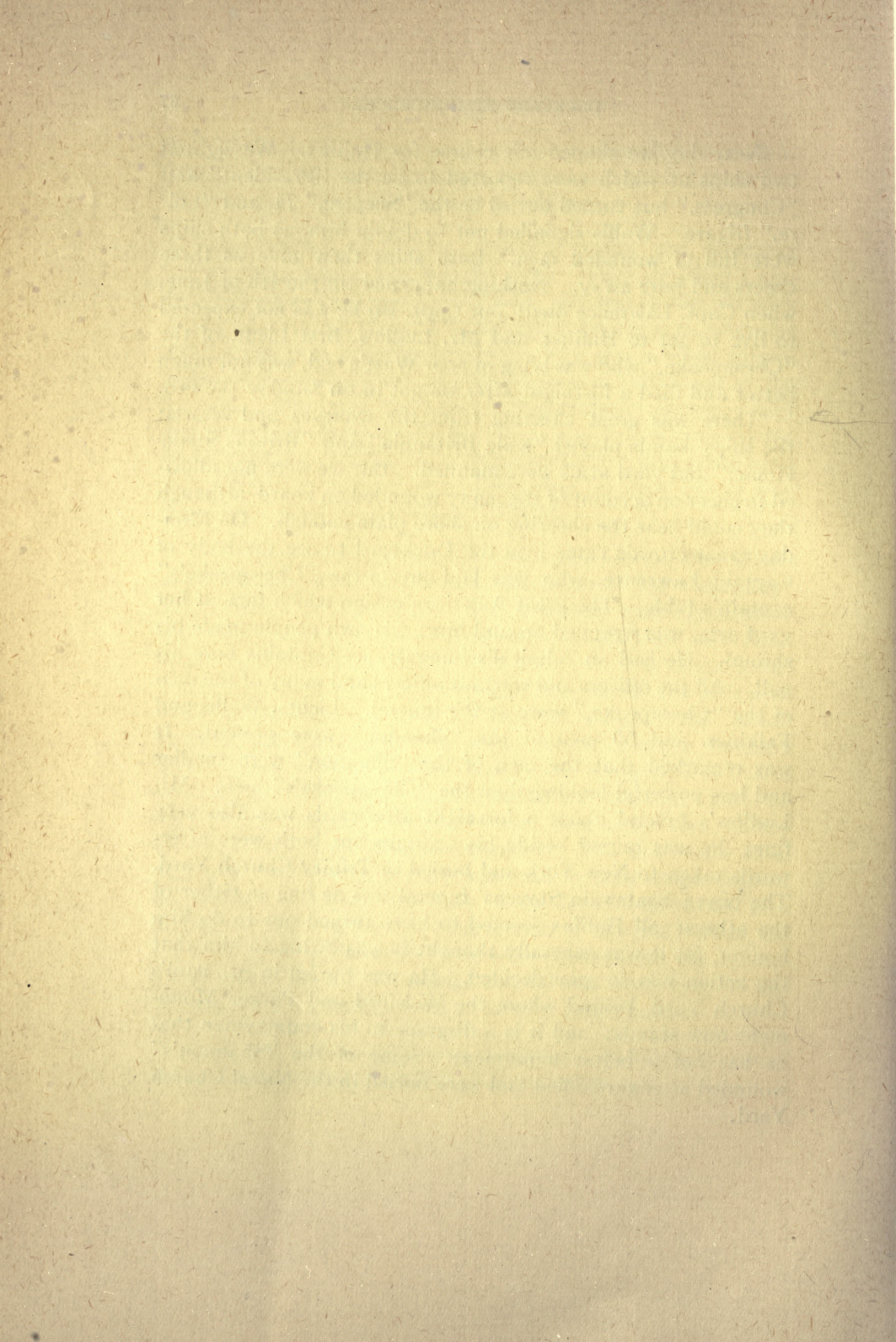
The Captain being desperately wounded and the first Lieutenant killed, Lieut. Wallis took command of the "Shannon" and Falkiner of the prize. The prisoners were handcuffed with their own irons which they had provided for us. Both ships stood off the shore and then hove to. The moon shone bright and revealed a horrible sight; the decks, the bulwarks torn, hammocks and pieces of rope all stained with blood, while there could be heard the groans and cries of the wounded below in the cockpits. The rigging was knotted, the braces now rove; and then the mangled dead were collected, sewn up each in his hammock with two round shot at his feet. They were laid in a row in the lee scuppers. The ships were close together. The burial service was read in both ships, and at the words "we commit his body to the deep to be turned into corruption, looking for the resurrection of the body when the sea shall give up her dead," the white forms were one by one lowered into the sea,—a plunge and all was over: and, as the old song says, "the billows rolled as they rolled before."

The losses in this action were "Shannon," 26 killed, 56 wounded; "Chesapeake," 70 killed, 100 wounded.



Next day we shaped our course for Halifax. We sighted two ships at which were reported to be the "President" and "Congress," but turned out to be the "Sceptre," 74, and "Loire," frigate. Wallis signalled not to detain him, as both ships were full of wounded men. Both ships then gave us three cheers and bore away. Nothing happened till the 4th of June, when Capt. Lawrence died; our Capt. Broke was not expected to live to get to Halifax, and Mr. Ludlow, first Lieut. of the "Chesapeake," who was lying in poor Watt's bed, was not much better and died a fortnight after we got in on Sunday the 6th.

There was great cheering from the wharves and vessels; the ships' bands played "Rule Britannia" and "Britons Strike Home," and yard arms were manned. But we were not allowed to cheer on account of the many wounded on board, although they could hear the cheering on shore plain enough. On Monday great crowds came into the Dockyard to see the body of Captain Lawrence, who was laid out on the "Chesapeake's" captain's table. The great American ensign which flew at her yard arm, was wrapped around him; his own people made his shroud. He had an Admiral's funeral; six Captains bore his pall. All the officers and warrant officers and many of the men of the "Chesapeake," were at the funeral. Lieuts. Wallis and Falkiner and 50 men of the "Shannon" were present. It was remarked that the men of the "Shannon" were smaller and less powerful looking than the "Chesapeake's" men. Mr. Ludlow's funeral about a fortnight afterwards was also very fine; he was buried beside his Captain but both were afterwards taken to New York and buried in Trinity Church Yard. The brave boatswain Stevens' funeral was as fine as either of the others; all Halifax seemed to have turned out to do him honour, for it was generally thought it was owing to him that the action was so soon decided. He was buried in St. Paul's Church Yard, behind where the Welsford and Parker Monument now stands; and it is a disgrace to his countrymen that he has not a better monument. Some of the "Shannon's" wounded afterwards died and were buried in the Naval Church Yard.





## EARLY SCOTTISH SETTLERS IN CAPE BRETON.

By MRS. CHARLES ARCHIBALD, Halifax, N. S.

(Read before the N. S. Historical Society, Jan. 21st, 1898.)

Before entering upon the subject matter of my paper, which deals with the Scottish settlers in Cape Breton, it may be well to take a brief retrospective glance at the previous history of the country in which they found a home.

From a very early period, the Island of Cape Breton has been the scene of romance, adventure and military prowess. As early as the 10th century according to the Icelandic Saga it was visited by Norse rovers; while, in 1347, we hear of a vessel being wrecked upon the coast of Iceland while returning with a cargo of wood from "Markland," (woodland or forestland) which, by many historians, is supposed to be the ancient designation of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. As Cape Breton is the nearest country to Iceland which produces any wood, we may reasonably suppose that this theory is correct. Dr. Bouwinot, in his most interesting descriptive and historical monograph on the Island, inclines to this belief, although he refers also to the theory of Professor Gustav Storm, that Cape Breton was the northern extremity of that mysterious "Vinland," to which the bold adventurer, Lief. Ericsson, came at last in his wanderings, and where he made a temporary settlement.

There is every reason to believe that the bays and harbors of the Island were well known to the Basque and Breton fishermen from a very remote period. The name of "Baccalaos," (the Basque for cod) is found in the earliest maps of the 16th century, and it is not improbable that the Cabots may have heard from some such source as these adventurous fishermen of

the lands beyond the sea; indeed the much-disputed location of the land-fall of Cabot, is by many considered to have been beyond a doubt the High-land of northern Cape Breton.

The discoveries of Cabot opened the way for many other expeditions, and we learn that the first attempt to establish a settlement in this part of the country was made at Canso by Baron de Lery in 1518. The names of Verrezano, Roberval, Cartier, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert next appear on the scene. But their attempts to establish permanent settlements on the long coast line stretching from Labrador to Florida all failed signally, and up to the year 1600, 103 years after the discovery of the continent of North America by the Cabots, "not a single European," says Brown in his History of Cape Breton, "was then known to be living within these limits, save a few miserable outcasts left by the inhuman De la Roche on the desolate Island of Sable."

During the 17th century, when the struggle for pre-eminence between France and England was so fierce, and the issue so uncertain, it was a question whether Acadie was to be French or English; but, as every student of history knows, after the decisive battles of Ramillies, Blenheim, and Oudenarde, the Treaty of Utrecht ceded Acadie to England, and Cape Breton from this time forward became an important factor in the affairs of New France. On the cession of Newfoundland to the English in 1713 the French inhabitants there removed to Cape Breton. The name of the island was changed to Ile Royale, and Louisbourg, then called English Harbor, was chosen as its capital.

Of the romantic history of Louisbourg,—the Dunkirk of America, of its two sieges and its gallant defence and the glorious victory by which under the expedition of Wolfe and Boscawen it was finally taken for England in 1758, all here present are doubtless familiar; and we do not propose to speak of it within the limits of this paper further than to relate some incidents which will serve to show the condition of the country



at the time when the Scottish immigration began. That the Island of Cape Breton was regarded as a valuable possession of France there can be no doubt; certainly, no stronger proof of this can be adduced than the fact that, when in the year 1761, negotiations for peace were entered upon with Great Britain, the French Minister, Duc de Choiseul, offered to cede the whole of Canada to England upon certain conditions, of which the most important was the restitution of Cape Breton. This being refused, the negotiations were broken off. The treaty of Paris at the close of the Seven years' war finally ceded to the British the whole of the territory now including the present Dominion of Canada, France losing all her possessions on the continent of North America except the colony of Louisiana and obtaining in return only the miserable islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

Peace being once more restored, inducements to settle in Canada and Nova Scotia were offered by the British government. To officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the late war, free grants of land were given as a reward for their services, and to mark the sense of gratitude entertained by the government for the services of the navy in the conquest of Cape Breton similar grants were offered to such reduced officers as had served on board ship at the time of the capture of Louisbourg. But that these grants did not extend to Cape Breton is certain, from reasons mentioned in a letter addressed by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to Governor Wilmot in November, 1763, in which the great importance of the island with reference to the cod-fishery is dwelt upon, and Governor Wilmot is instructed to order an accurate survey made both of Prince Edward Island (then called St. John's) and Cape Breton; reporting in the meantime the extent of their resources, soil, etc., etc., and of the establishments which might be necessary for uniting them to Nova Scotia. Until this survey was completed he was ordered to make no grants on either of the islands, and to discourage every attempt to establish any business that might in its nature and consequences

operate as a monopoly. This policy very naturally retarded the settlement of the Island for several years. The survey, however, made known many of the natural resources of the country, and about this time we hear of the valuable coal fields of Cape Breton first attracting the notice of speculators, several competitors having applied for leave to develop this important industry. (See Brown, P. 363)

The late Rev. Alex. Farquharson, of Sydney, a well known Presbyterian minister, to the great kindness of whose widow I am indebted for the perusal of his valuable manuscripts, from which I propose to quote freely in the course of this paper, writes of this period that it was the policy of Great Britain to preserve the island for naval purposes, and he cites a letter from the report of Charles Morris in 1774 to Governor Legge comparing it with other provinces. After describing the advantages of the former from its superior timber, rich coal mines, etc., it concludes thus:

"I am therefore of the opinion that the whole island of Cape Breton should be reserved for the purpose of preserving to H. M.'s use timber for shipbuilding and other purposes, this island being the nearest tract of land to England where such quantities of timber are to be procured and having many excellent harbors for the exportation thereof."

Governor Parr, nine years after this, was unable to grant the request of the considerable number of refugees at New York to form a settlement on the island of Cape Breton, owing to restraint by Royal instructions from granting any land on that island without asking His Majesty's pleasure on the application. This accounts for the small number of settlers on the island for so many years after British possession. According to the census taken in 1774, its population was only 1011 whites and 230 Indians. Of the whites, 502 were of French descent. This policy was persisted in until after the separation of Cape Breton from Nova Scotia in 1784 and its establishment as a separate colony under Governor DesBarres, who fixed the site



of the capital at Spanish River, which name he changed to Sydney in honor of the Secretary of State.

As soon then as it became known that grants of land would be issued, as in other provinces, many persons directed their attention towards the island, among whom were 140 persons styling themselves "associated loyalists" some of whom settled near St. Peter's, others at Baddeck and Louisbourg, but the greater part at Sydney. They were followed by hundreds of others. Thus at the opening of the 19th century the population of the entire island was estimated at 2513, 801 of whom inhabited the Sydney district, while 192 were at Louisbourg and 1520 at Arichat and the northwest shore. Many of these latter were of French descent. The population being thus scanty, there was ample room left for the hordes of hardy Highlanders who now first began to arrive from Scotland, some via Pictou and P. E. Island, about the opening of the century.

Two causes led to this influx of the Scotch. Some, no doubt, were influenced to brave the dangers and discomforts of a foreign country by the representations of those of their relatives who fought under Wolfe at Louisbourg in the Highland regiments which he himself was instrumental in forming. No less than ten thousand of these brave, hardy soldiers, by his wise and prudent counsel, were added to the British Army.

"On the return of peace in 1763" we are told by the late Mr. Richard Brown of Sydney Mines (whose history of Cape Breton, now very rare, is both reliable and interesting) "a great number of troops were disbanded, among the rest many of the Highlanders, who with that prudence and foresight peculiar to their countrymen, had noted with observant eyes the fertility of the Province in which they served, in every respect so much superior to the bleak and barren Highlands of their native land, and determined to make it their future home. Those who settled in Canada, Nova Scotia and St. John's Island up to the year 1773 sent home to their friends such glowing accounts of their new homes that the latter prepared to join them

as soon as possible." As an additional impetus to this wave of immigration, it happened that at that time many of the Highland chieftains who had discovered that the raising of cattle and sheep would afford them greater profits than the leasing of their lands to unprofitable tenants, were dispossessing the latter of their farms and holdings, and thousands left,—whether willingly or not,—from every district in the Highlands, to join their friends in the colonies.

Says Brown, quoting from "A Summer in Skye" by Alexander Smith:

"In the course of the twenty or thirty years following 1773 whole baronies were turned into sheep farms, and hundreds of families were driven across the Atlantic to look for a home in the backwoods of America. Many of those who had friends in the colonies and knew what they had to expect, emigrated with great alacrity, but thousands who had no such desire, felt the greatest repugnance to leave the land of their fathers, the familiar hills and the 'green slopes of Lochaber,' and were heartbroken at the idea of being separated from them by a thousand leagues of raging sea.

"It is all well enough to say now that the Duke of Sutherland and other great Scottish landlords who banished men from their estates to form deer forests have conferred a lasting benefit upon the tenants by driving them across the Atlantic, where they found more comfortable homes than they ever possessed in their native land; but the banished had little consolation in reflecting that their houses were unroofed before their eyes and they were made to go on board ships bound for Canada, even although the passage money was paid. An obscure sense of wrong was kindled in heart and brain. It is just possible that what was for the landlord's interest might be for others also in the long run, but they felt that the landlord had looked after his own interest in the first place. He wished them away and he got them away: whether they would succeed in Canada was a matter of dubiety." (Brown, Hist. of C. B., p. 423)



The first shipload of these unfortunates arrived at Pictou, Nova Scotia, in 1773 on the "Hector," having on board 220 immigrants. She was followed during the next eight or ten years by others in rapid succession.

Patterson, in his history of Pictou, thus speaks of the importance of the arrival of this pioneer emigrant ship to these Lower Provinces:

"With her passengers" he writes "may be said to have commenced the really effective settlement of Pictou. But this was not all: the 'Hector' was the first emigrant vessel from Scotland to these lower Provinces. That stream of Scottish immigration which, in after years, flowed not only over the County of Pictou but over much of the Eastern part of the Province, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, portions of New Brunswick and even the Upper Provinces, began with this voyage, and even in a large measure originated with it; for it was from the representations of those on board to their friends that others followed, and so the stream deepened and widened in succeeding years. We venture to say that there is no element in the population of these Lower Provinces upon which their social, moral and religious condition depended more than upon the Scottish immigrants; and of these, that band upon the 'Hector' were the pioneers and vanguards." (History of Pictou, p. 82)

Up to 1791 most if not all of those who had arrived were Scottish Presbyterians, but two ships which arrived in that year having Roman Catholics on board, they were persuaded by the Reverend Father McEachren, of St. John's (P. E. I.) to leave Pictou and settle along the Gulf shore towards Antigonish. Some of these persons dissatisfied probably with the poor nature of the soil, crossed over to Cape Breton and settled upon its north-western shores at several places between the Strait of Canso and the Margaree or Marguerite River, where they found a more congenial soil and greater facilities for prosecut-

ing the seal fishery, in which they had been engaged in the Western islands of Scotland.

Although there were of course no roads or highways at that time from the sea coast to the Bras D'or, some of the settlers were successful in finding their way to the fruitful sheltered shores of the Lake, where its many bays and creeks offered such desirable places for settlement that the emigration agents who had furnished ships for conveying the people hitherto to Pictou or Canso were induced to send their vessels direct to the Bras D'or Lakes.

From an extract from the Nova Scotia Archives and taken from the Minutes of Council held at Sydney, August 16, 1802, we find that the first ship of this route had just arrived there, and that she had on board 104 heads of families, 95 children above 12 years of age and 100 children under that age.

The Governor having laid before the Council for their consideration the policy of encouraging good and loyal settlers, and at the same time, the strong claims of these poor people to government aid, in view of the lateness of the season, recommended that some measures be at once taken for their support. The Council subsequently voted a small sum of money as a loan, to enable them to subsist until they could be provided for.

From this time until 1828 the influx of immigration continued, reaching its highest point in 1817. The number of these Highland settlers is stated to have exceeded 25,000 souls, and necessarily gave to the character of the population its preëminently Scottish complexion, which, no doubt, it will continue to retain to the end of time.

The larger portion of the contingent settled in the part of the country around Sydney and in the districts of Mira and Catalone, and the lower end of the Bras D'or Lakes.

We have now to consider what was the nature of this new country to which these hardy pioneers had come, before relat-



ing some of the trials and dangers to which they were exposed. With the exception of a few localities the greater part of the island was totally unsettled. Around the shores of the great inland sea stretched a vast solitude of trackless forests. No sign of human habitation met the eye, save here and there, the curling smoke from the wigwam of the red man; and the stillness was only broken by the wild cry of the water fowl and the shriek of the sea gull. True, the waters teemed with fish, and the virgin soil, once cleared, yielded wonderfully productive crops; but before them lay weeks and months of weary labor, and of lonely winter days, when cold and hunger must be endured.

Rev. Mr. Farquharson thus picturesquely describes the principal features of the Island:

"Of the many interesting features which it possesses, the Bras D'or Lake may be considered the most striking. Starting at the entrance at Big Bras D'or it stretches along with the rugged heights on the West and Boulardarie on the East for over 82 miles, where it joins the Little Bras D'or arm of the lake, holding the Island of Boulardarie in its peaceful embrace. There the Lake widens, giving a beautiful expanse of water. From this point of observation stretches out to view the little Narrows Arm, rounding Red Head, and skirting the green slopes of Baddeck, where it forms a bay beautiful in all its eternal stillness, and stretching onwards against the northern and southern shores of the famous range of hills on the one hand, and of cliffs of Boisdale on the other hand, till it terminates in Whycocomagh Bay at the foot of Salt and Indian mountains. And from the same point of observation appears in a southern direction the Grand Narrows, widening out into Grand Lake, forming East and West Bays, and onwards, following the same southerly course, till it passes through innumerable islands and headlands and terminates at St. Peter's.

The scenery opening up to the view of the observer as he sails upon these Lakes is most enchanting with its creeks, bays, inlets blending with rugged headlands and forest clad slopes,

touching the water's edge. The extent and peculiar features of this inland sea may be noted in the survey by D. N. McNab, Esq., Government Surveyor, who found that, in following its shore in all its windings, the distance covered exceeded that between the Island and Great Britain.

"Cape Breton can boast of the beauty of its landscape and mountain scenery as well as the uniqueness of its lakes. In no part of the Maritime Provinces is the scenery so high and grand. Passing on towards the north all the way from St. Ann's Bay, where you leave behind you the frowning Cape Dauphin, the tourist has on his right the waters of the great Atlantic and on the left a succession of rugged hills, some clad in rich foliage from the top to the base and others bare and seamed by the action of mountain torrents, with deep ravines, opening up to view, through which the waters from the plains beyond rush in torrents. The scenery increases in grandeur, Alp upon Alp rising to view till the whole ranges culminate in Cape North, one of the highest mountains in Cape Breton and from the summit of which a scene of rare beauty opens up to the admiring view. Further north is the Sugar Loaf rising majestically high above the surrounding hills, from which on a clear day is discernible a large extent of the country towards the south, the Magdalen Islands on the west, and St. Paul's on the east. Cape North and Malagawatch and Ben Cregan are grand, not only in themselves and their surroundings but the extent of scenery over land and water which they command, the former commanding a view across the Northumberland Straits to Prince Edward Island beyond and the Magdalen Islands under the setting sun. From the latter looking towards the north lies at your feet 18 Islands in Malagawatch Bay, and beyond, rising in majestic grandeur Salt mountain on the east and Skye mountain on the west of Whycocomagh Bay.

As we have said hardship and privation of every kind met these people from the very outset. Rev. Mr. Farquharson, from whose admirable manuscript on "Presbyterianism in Cape Breton" I glean these extracts, says:



"These people little knew when leaving their native land the trials that were in store for them ere they attained that which they so fondly anticipated. Indeed, their trials began at once on their embarkation. Many of the vessels in which they took passage were old and in other respects inadequate for the purpose of carrying passengers. It is related of the 'Hector' that she was so old that the passengers could with their hands pick the rotten wood out of her sides. Some of them took even months to cross. The state of these people can be easily imagined, crowded up under the deck of the ship, with provisions scant and from age unsafe to eat. Even the pure air of heaven was denied them. For days under closed hatches these poor people were often long intervals without seeing the light of the sun. The consequence was sickness and death. Instances were not rare where the mother had her child die in her arms and a few hours thereafter consigned to the deep. Old men and women succumbed to the trying ordeal, and their weeping children saw them consigned to their watery grave. But what must have been the experience of those among whom plague broke out, doing its deadly work among the poor and unprotected passengers! One of these unfortunate ships came into Sydney and while at quarantine at Point Edward had several of its passengers buried on that Point.

"Their trials did not terminate with their landing. Their first work was that of building houses for themselves, there being no shelter for them. These houses consisted of miserable huts built of round logs cut on the spot, thatched with spruce bark, and a rude fireplace at the end with an opening in the roof immediately above it. This often was the work of a day, the people helping each other. Here for the first time they experienced the great disadvantage of not being accustomed to the use of the axe. Evidences till this day are seen in the stumps yet standing of the awkward manner in which they used the axe. Their worst trials are yet ahead. The winter, the severity of which they have no idea, is slowly but surely approaching. We have no idea, in our day of privileges, what the sufferings of these

people were throughout a winter season; in huts unfit to keep out the cold wind charged with the keenest frost, but with little to cover them during the night. Their fires had to be kept going day and night, and even then they were cold. Another hardship to which they were exposed was that of missing their way and perishing in the storm, the smallest fall of snow covering their footpath. Men have even been known to miss the path between the house and the brook which supplied them with water and wander all night within a few yards of their houses. One man isolated on one of the mountains found out after the first snow had fallen that he could not make his way to the settlement and had with his wife and child to content himself in his rude hut feeding on potatoes and herring till the snow disappeared. Painful instances of loss of life occurred for many years in this way. Two sisters during a snow-storm left their home to see a cow that was sick in the barn; they missed their way and a search was made for them; they were not found till daylight the following morning locked in each others arms a short distance from the barn, frozen dead. The same night a woman perished on Whycocomagh Bay, and two men perished on their way to Catalone. Suffering from actual want was severely felt by many of these settlers during their first few years residence in the place. Owing to the limited extent of their fields, nothing but potatoes could be raised for the first and second year. Meal was scarce, and they had to subsist on potatoes and fish, and often on fish alone. Stores in those days where provisions could be obtained were far from the great body of the people and were only accessible by foot and boat. A poor woman at the head of a large and weak family in a rear settlement, while her husband was away from home was constrained in midwinter to leave her home and collect what meal she could in the settlement for her famishing children. Towards evening she directed her course to a relative of hers; on her way she through weakness and fatigue failed to reach her destination and on the next day was found near by the footpath, frozen dead, with the bag of meal clutched in both hands.



Trials not a few often arose more from an ignorance on their part of the requirements necessary to their situation, and to meet the emergency of the moment, everything being new to them. In the winter season of 1823 a man with his boy left Malagawatch for Red Islands, taking the ice, which was supposed to be good, all the way across, a distance of twenty miles. On the following morning they undertook the journey home, which they expected to reach that evening, snow falling all the time. As they proceeded on their journey the storm increased, shutting out from their view even the high bluffs of the surrounding land. They became bewildered. The boy became fatigued, the father helping him by hauling him on the sled with the potatoes. Night was coming on, but no trace of land. The old man finally gave up and could journey no longer. The boy regaining strength left in the hope of reaching the shore and obtaining help, which in good Providence of God he did. Neil McLennan and his brother Donald, afterwards settled at Middle River, and Christopher McRae at once upon learning the circumstances went in search of the man. But in so doing Neil and Christopher came to a bad spot in the ice and fell through. The former got out with difficulty, while the latter immediately sank but never to rise. On the following day the man was found frozen on the ice. An acquaintance with the treachery of ice travelling during a storm would have led this man not to undertake the journey homeward when a storm was rising."

There would also seem to have been a vein of what for want of a better definition may be termed "Scotch-Hibernianism" in these good people. Some of the instances related by Mr. Farquharson tend to show that the Scottish mind, when fully aroused, is evidently aware of the old adage of "looking out for number one." As an illustration of this we may give the following story. Bears, it seems, in those days were numerous throughout the island, and the early settlers soon learned the wisdom of keeping at a safe distance from them. A young fellow, named Malcolm who is described as being "a powerful man

of gigantic stature" was one night aroused from his slumbers by the continued lowing of a heifer in his byre which animal was his most valuable earthly possession. On rushing out hastily to see what was the matter he found himself confronted by a large bear, before whose unfriendly advances Malcolm beat a hasty retreat into the house and hurriedly climbed up into the loft, pulling the ladder up after him. Bruin, however, followed closely in his wake, and was actually inside the house at the moment when Malcolm, suddenly remembering that his wife lay sleeping below, called to her "to be sure and pull the blanket over her head so that the bear should not see her." The bear, with more consideration for her safety than was shown by her stalwart husband refrained from further investigation of the premises.

Ignorance of new conditions, and a certain constitutional dislike of admitting this fact so far as to receive advice when offered, often led to various ludicrous but certainly annoying blunders.

It is related of a certain "Sandy" that he went a distance of twenty miles in the spring of the year for a bushel of salt to cure his Gaspereaux. On the following day he started home with his bag of salt on his back; the tied end downwards. After a hard day's tramp over muddy roads and under a heavy burden he at last came in sight of home, but alas! as he was fording the intervening river the string by which the bag was tied gave way and away down the stream went every grain of salt.

The population of Cape Breton has from the earliest of these times to the present day been almost equally divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Of the Protestants, the larger proportion were Presbyterians. For years after these latter began to pour into the island they were as sheep without a shepherd. Months and years passed without their being called to the sanctuary or having the Sacraments dispensed among them. Few among them possessed any education; whilst owing to the poor condition of the people there were no schools.



The young in consequence were growing up in ignorance. There was not in the whole island a depository where the Bible or any religious book could be bought. To a people so naturally jealous of their dearly won religious privileges as these descendants of the covenanters, it was little wonder if they should regard their spiritual destitution as the greatest of their many trials.

Among the first ordained ministers to visit these few people in the wilderness was the well known and much esteemed Rev. Dr. McGregor of Pictou, who started from that town in the autumn of 1799 in a boat with a crew of three men. Sailing down the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gut of Canso they dragged their boat across the narrow isthmus which separates St. Peter's Bay from the Bras D'or Lakes and embarked upon the waters of the inland sea which was then surrounded by unbroken forests unrelieved by a solitary settler. After making ineffectual attempts to find their way across the land from East Bay to Sydney they once more embarked upon the waters of the lake, which they followed to the open sea, and around Cranberry Head to Sydney, a distance in all of over 100 miles.

Mr. Farquharson mentions, however, other visits at rare intervals, from the Revs. Fraser, McLennan and McLean to different parts of the island. He also gives an interesting sketch of a rather odd character by the name of Chisholm, who is described as being a minister's son from Lewes, and who was a sort of peripatetic medical missionary, it would appear, who travelled about with his medicine box on a small sled, drawn by two huge Newfoundland dogs called "Bony" and "Baddeck" an equipage regarded with great wonder by the simple folk among whom he labored. He is described as a very peculiar man, as eccentric in his dress as in his manner. With all his eccentricities, he seems to have been practical and kind-hearted; a sort of early type of "Weelum McClure." His fees were collected in kind, and at his death he was found to be the owner of over 100 sheep, which he had obtained as remuneration for his medical services.

Perhaps the best idea of the life of these early settlers is given in the exceedingly interesting personal letters also found among the papers of the Rev. Mr. Farquharson, and evidently written in answer to enquiries sent out by him to aged Scotch settlers in various parts of the island, to ministers and others. A few extracts from some of these with their quaint and simple phraseology and often touching recitals of incidents long past but not forgotten, will give the clearest and most thrilling word picture of the trials and privations, the joys and sorrows of these good old Highland settlers. The farmer, the school-master and the saintly man of God, some of them still living, others gone to their rest, outline for us in a few graphic strokes the record of a heroism as grand as it is simple, and an industry as persevering, and untiring in its determination to wrest a living from the rugged soil; second only to the tenacity with which, amid a loneliness that might well appal the stoutest heart, they clung to their religion and to their integrity of purpose in the face of many and serious difficulties.

*Mabou.*

Mabou, Broad Cove, Intervale and Chimney Corner, seem to have received their Scottish immigrants early in the century, about 1802 to 1810, although in or near Mabou, there were several families who had settled there some years before. Prominent among these we may notice the family of William McKeen, father of Senator McKeen, and the Smiths, from whom also he claims descent. These two were respectively of North of Ireland and English descent.

This part of Cape Breton is noted for its grand and picturesque scenery. One who is evidently a lover of nature thus writes of the enchanting view from Cape Mabou:

"Away to the west is the broad bosom of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with P. E. Island in the distance, right beneath the setting September sun. The dim blue outline of the Magdalen Islands stretches more towards the north: but right beneath



your feet, a thousand feet below, and steep as a plumb line, roll the deep blue waters of the Gulf, Margaree Island, though three miles away directly in front seems but a stone's cast away, the inward sweep of the landscape and coast line forming Broad Cove trends away to your right, and to your left, around the Cape on which you are standing, is the shallow bend of the land which forms Mabou harbor with its sand bar and low flats. Then turn your face to the east and you will survey the broad and elevated plateau which lies behind; and, around the Cape to the east, and south, a well cultivated tableland stretching away to Lake Ainslie, which, in all its beauty and extent, is visible from the spot on which you stand, and lies below you like a mirror, fully 800 feet. From that elevation the lake looks like what your imagination chooses to make it. The white cottages may be noblemen's chateaux or shepherd's dwellings. Take it all in all, the view from Cape Mabou is intensely beautiful."

But to the hardy pioneers there was menace of danger in all this wild beauty. The fierce winter storms which howled around that coast and swept over the beautiful lake not unfrequently brought death and destruction to the lonely dwellers in their rough log cabins as they watched and waited for those who it may be perished in the blinding snowdrift almost within sight of home: or whose frail craft were engulfed in the stormy ocean on that bleak and inhospitable shore.

For there are many heart-rending stories of wrecks all along that coast, which is most unsafe for vessels, there being no harbor of refuge nearer than Port Hood.

*Hector McLean on Mabou, etc.*

A characteristic letter from one Hector McLean speaks of the utter absence of carts and roads in those days, and describes the mode of conveying goods as follows:

"Creels and sacks," he says "were the order of the day then, one on each side of the horse's back, with a breeching composed

of a stick about 3 feet long passing under the horse's tail and fastened by lines to the creels or sacks. It was customary to dock the horses' tails, leaving them only about nine or ten inches long, and that"—he adds—"with the stylish breeching must have given the horse and owner a comical appearance. The turnout was passing Taylor's shop one day and unluckily the end of the breeching or stick struck the window and broke some glass. "Confound you," cried Taylor "can't you shorten your main boom a bit?"

"About this time, we are told, (1828) two grist mills were established, one at the foot of Cape Mabou, the other distant about 10 miles from it. These were great conveniences to the people as before this time the meal had either to be ground in the quirn by hand and we have heard of some settlers taking their grain all the way to Antigonish in Nova Scotia to be ground, a distance of 80 miles."

A touch of humor in this letter is the sketch of a noted local character whose ways of doing business were, to say the least, both original and peculiar. This gentleman kept a small shop at Margaree Harbor, where he carried on a general trade which seems to have included the purchase of whale fat, on which occasion the narrator says:

"He would, as a matter of course, give his customers plenty of rum, and then stand at the scales with his hand on the beam singing out to his customers "pile on there! be smart!" and when he would find that the *fat* end of the beam was raising *himself* on his tiptoes, together with the 200 lb. weight for the draft, he would say "That will do just now, take it off and hand over another barrow."

(From this incident it will be noted with regret that among the few possessions brought into the country by the early settlers they did not, it would appear, forget to import a modicum at least, of *original sin*.)



*Cape North.*

"The first white men who came to Cape North at the end of the 18th century (writes Mr. Peter Clark) with a view to possibly settling there were called Stanley and Matatal. The first permanent settlers in 1812 came from the Gut of Canso in a small boat about fifteen feet long; this they dragged across the isthmus from St. Peter's Bay into the Bras D'or Lake.

The settlement nearest to them was Englishtown, fifty miles away. Four years after they were joined by five families from the north of Scotland. For twelve years after the first settlers came they did not see the face of an ordained minister. Old John Gunn, an Englishman, held meetings (Methodist) but not, we are told, to the edification of the Scottish settlers, who understood only Gaelic. They had however occasional visits from Mr. Farquharson of Middle River, and Rev. Mr. John Stewart of West Bay. As there was no church or meeting house these services were conducted in the open air, on the hillside or under the spreading branches of an old oak tree. The first building used as a church in Cape Breton was erected at Malagawatch.

*St. Ann's.*

St. Ann's, on the north shore of Cape Breton, has a character all its own. It was settled by a number of Scottish people from Pictou, N. S., under the leadership of the extraordinary Norman McLeod, who seems to have arrogated to himself claims which far transcended those of priest or pope. Patterson in his history of Pictou thus speaks of him;

*Norman McLeod.*

"He was not only not connected with any religious body but denounced them all, even going so far as to say that there was not a minister of Christ in the whole establishment. Those who have heard him at this time describe his preaching as consisting of a torrent of abuse against all religious bodies and even

against individuals the like of which they had never heard and which was perfectly indescribable. He had never been licensed or ordained but regarded himself as under higher influences than the ministers of any church."

But though so wildly fanatical he was a man of great power, and gained an influence over a large portion of the Highlanders such as no man in the country possessed. Thus although his practice was to refuse baptism to the children of his parishioners, very few of whom he is said to have considered qualified to receive the ordinance and fewer still, it is believed, to partake of the Lord's Supper, he yet retained such a hold over the affections of a considerable number as to induce them to emigrate. For this purpose they built a vessel which they called the Ark and sailed in this way to St. Ann's.

Many stories are told of the unlimited sway which Norman McLeod for many years continued to exercise over his people in this place, and although "an extraordinary mixture of the fanatic and the pharisee," his influence was always used on the side of morality and temperance. His justice was administered however in a truly Spartan manner and somewhat after the fashion of Judge Lynch. It is related of him on good authority that one of his congregation, a young boy, having been accused by a wandering peddler of some petty theft, McLeod constituted himself both judge and jury and proceeded with his own hands to carry out the severe sentence which decreed that for his real or fancied offence the poor boy should have a portion of his ear cut off. A correspondent who was personally acquainted with the victim of this mutilation believed the boy to be innocent but adds of Norman McLeod "and yet for all that he was a good man."

Certainly he must have possessed to a wonderful degree the confidence and esteem of his people when, in his old age, he a second time induced them to emigrate and again to build a vessel for this purpose. In this vessel they left with him for Australia and thence to New Zealand, where he died. (See Note).



*Rev. Mr. Stewart.*

From an interesting letter of the late Rev. Mr. Stewart, of Pictou, N. S., formerly of Whycocomagh, (father of Dr. John Stewart, of this city) to his friend, the late Rev. Mr. Farquharson, we glean the following with regard to the settlement of West Bay, for many years the scene of Mr. Stewart's labors

"The first settlers in West Bay arrived there in 1813. They were but few in number and came there one or two families at a time, not directly from Scotland but from Pictou, where they first landed and where some of them lived for a year or two. No doubt all had trials and privations to meet with on their first arrival, especially the first few settlers."

One of their greatest hardships, he continues, was the difficulty of conveying potatoes (the only food to be had) from the earlier settlements to their own homes in the new.

"I heard some tales in reference to that" he says "such as that one of the first, if not the first, settler in West Bay carrying on his back through the pathless forest bags of potatoes from River Inhabitants to Black River, a distance of 9 or 10 miles. His plan was, when he brought his first load to the height of land between the two places to leave it there and return for a second load, thus securing a comparative rest while he walked back without a load. On coming to the same spot with the second load, he rested a while, preceeded home with one load, and then returned for another."

"I believe the people suffered much more hardship in the matter of clothes and shoes more than in the matter of food. When you consider the state of poverty in which many of the first settlers came out, how soon their stock of clothing would be far spent and how long it would be before they could provide clothing from their own sheep, of leather from cattle that they could spare to kill, it may easily be imagined what many must have suffered from scant clothing during the long and cold Cape Breton winters."

*Middle River.*

The story of the settlement of Middle River, of which the Indian name is Wagamatcook, is so graphically told by a Mr. John McLennan in a letter to Rev. Mr. Farquharson that if time permitted it would be but right to read it in this connection. A few extracts however are all that in the space of this paper can be given here. The writer gives an account of how the families of McRaes and Campbells were induced to emigrate from P. E. I. to Middle River, or as it was then called by the representations of Father Angus MacEachern a priest who told them of its advantages. It describes their long voyage in a boat down the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Canso and St. Peter's Bay; of their dragging their boat across the narrow neck of land where now runs the St. Peter's Canal, into the great inland sea of the Bras D'or, and of their voyage to Baddeck, then settled some years previously mostly by English or Loyalists, of their encounters with the Indians, who afterwards were friendly enough, and of their various trials and tribulations which, however, were not nearly so great as those experienced in many other parts of the island. Describing the social and daily life of the settlers, the letter tells us in picturesque language of their truly pastoral existence in this fertile and lovely interval region between Baddeck and Margaree. Their only farming implements were an axe and a hoe, but the ground was kindly, and yielded large increase. Their potatoes, grain, and various farm produce, found a market at Arichat or at Sydney, both long distances away, where they obtained their winter supplies. Everything was trucked on large sleds on bare ground or to a landing place by the lake.

"At the time of shipping" says the narrator, "it was not uncommon to see twenty pair of oxen or more with loads of butter, pork and flour at the loading ground when going to Sydney and the same commotion when coming back with their fall supplies. About the year 1830 the Middle River people built a small



church for themselves and had a minister of the name of Angus McLean who, however, only remained with them a few years and then left for Canada. His place was taken by the Rev. Alexander Farquharson, (father of the late Mr. Farquharson of Sydney) who was the first missionary sent out from Scotland by the Ladies' Society of Edinburgh, which was then under the leadership of Mrs. McKay, a woman to whose energy and christian spirit Cape Breton owes a never-to-be-forgotten debt of gratitude.

We are told that the race of people then were more industrious in their ways, and moderate in their requirements, particularly as to dress, than at the present. They spun and manufactured their own dress materials and were their own tanners and shoe makers. "Cotton wool" says Mr. McLennan, "was the go of the day, instead of cotton warp and brown cotton, the women used to card this cotton wool and spin it into yarn." Their necessities, he writes, were all supplied by their own industry and they had a horror of getting into debt and would buy nothing that they could go without. The ladies generally went to church with a cotton handkerchief on their heads and felt themselves as well dressed as they now do with the most costly fashions." Until the first communion service held by Mr. Farquharson in 1838, he affirms there was not a bonnet going inside of Middle River church except those of the minister's wife and three others of the ladies whose names are duly chronicled. "After that," he adds sorrowfully (for doubtless it was a sore subject in the family) "the bonnets came in by the dozen!"

The first marriage at Middle River was a double one, Mr. Campbell to a Miss McRae from Margaree, and Philip McRae to Miss Ross of Margaree. Both parties had to tramp all the way to Margaree on snow shoes to the nearest magistrate in order to have the ceremony performed. An account of an Indian wedding at which many of the settlers assisted is also very interesting but too long for insertion here.

*Privations of Ministers, etc.*

I cannot bring this paper to a close without referring briefly to the noble work of those first missionaries of the Cross who came out from Scotland to the Island about the year 1830. Mention has already been made of the Ladies' Society of Edinburgh, which was the means, directly or indirectly, of sending out several of these devoted men. The first of these as we have already seen, was the Rev. Alexander Farquharson, mentioned by Mr. McLennan in his account of the settlement of Middle River as being greatly beloved and esteemed by all who knew him, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike. He was followed by Rev. John Stewart of West Bay, Rev. Mr. Gunn of Broad Cove, Rev. Mr. Miller of Mabou and in 1842 the Rev. Matthew Wilson of Sydney Mines, a saintly and scholarly man greatly esteemed, whose place in the affections of the people is yet unfilled.

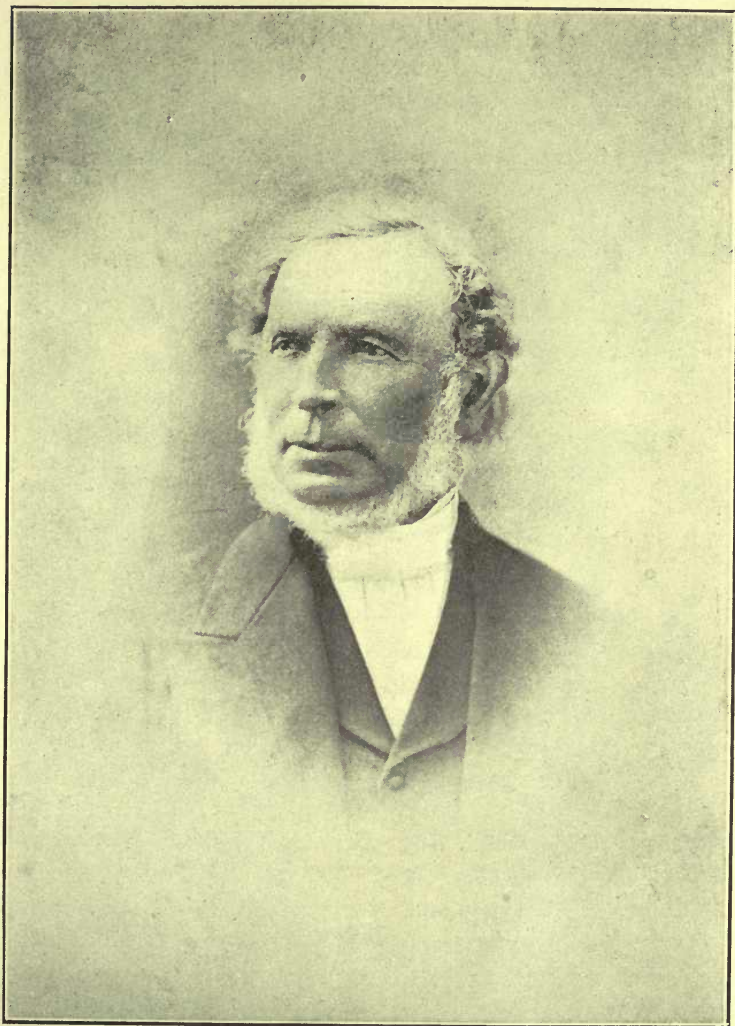
In July 1843, came the Rev. Mr. Stewart, of Whycocomagh, afterwards of Pictou, father of Dr. John Stewart, the well known surgeon of this city.

With these, and the name of the late Dr. Hugh McLeod of Sydney who also came out about that time or a little later, many present will be, doubtless, more or less familiar.

They were men of no mean attainments, both mental and spiritual, and the life on which they were now to enter, banished as they were from congenial companionship, and all which renders life pleasant to a cultivated taste, was no small test of both their christian fortitude and their physical endurance.

Rev. Mr. Stewart of Pictou mentions amongst their trials and tribulations the long and fatiguing journeys they were obliged to undertake on foot, there being absolutely no roads, and the fording of rivers often rendered dangerous by swollen mountain streams. He speaks of his colleague and friend Rev. Mr. Farquharson suffering much in this way, so that he was





REV. DR. HUGH McLEOD,  
Sydney, Cape Breton.





accustomed to carry leeches in his pocket to apply to his sore and swollen feet when they were very bad, and when he chanced happily to reach a house where he could rest for a day or two in comparative comfort.

The accommodation, even at the best of these houses, was of the scantiest, and the food of the poorest kind, although given with a hearty Highland welcome. Over the horrors which however beset the tired traveller on his couch, it is best to draw a veil.

It is related of three of these godly men that on one occasion they were journeying together after a communion season at some distant locality, and losing their way on the mountains they wandered, footsore and hungry, for hours, until at last they espied a small hut, to which they joyfully directed their steps. The good woman of the house, seeing such an unusual sight as three men approach her lonely dwelling, fled into the woods. The ministers entered, and to their delight beheld a large pot boiling over the fire. They sat in silence waiting for the return of the good wife for some time, but it is chronicled that before long, one, whose appetite was increasing, approached the fire and lifting the lid of the pot *looked in*, the second following and seeing that it contained potatoes and fish went so far as to try a potato with a fork (to see if it was done). At this point, the third lifted the pot off the fire, and honesty giving place to hunger, all sat down to enjoy a good meal. This purely human act of weakness so convinced the good woman of the house who was quietly watching their proceedings through the window that there was nothing to fear from her clerical guests, that we are told, in the quaint words of the correspondent she forthwith returned, "and made savoury diet for these saintly men, who are now in the paradise of God where they neither hunger nor thirst any more."

A story is told of Rev. Mr. Farquharson, senior, that on one or two occasions he spent the night out on the wild mountain

between Middle River and Lake Ainslie. At another time he was landed late one evening in the autumn at the foot of Middle River from whence he was to walk home. He was not able, however, to find the footpath (little more than a blaze). There were no Indians about at that time, but he found a deserted camp which it was evident the inmates had left quite lately. The fire however was quite out, but he found some half burnt sticks, managed to gather a handful of dry grass or moss, with his knife he struck a spark from the flint he always carried with him, together with a piece of punk. The very first spark caught and soon he managed to make a good fire. He was hungry, but there was nothing to eat, so he contented himself with a smoke, "and, you may be sure, committing himself to Him that keepeth Israel, he composed himself to sleep and slept soundly till a late hour next morning."

Dangers by flood and field, both winter and summer, beset these devoted men; perils on the frozen lake in winter and from fording swollen rivers in the early spring. Rev. Mr. Stewart instances a journey he once took to Sydney from West Bay in the winter time, which occupied six days, he having left West Bay on Tuesday, travelling chiefly on the ice and not reaching his destination until the following Wednesday evening, with the ninth horse employed after leaving home. "On leaving Baddeck on a cold morning" he relates, "I had to come out of the sleigh, and hold my horse by the head opposite Red Head, till a squall of snow and drift cleared up so far that I could see Kempt Head," (the opposite shore some three miles distant) "then jump into the sleigh and drive as hard as the horse could go, with the snow up to my knees, in order to reach the other shore before the next squall came on. I did so just in time to avoid, not the next squall merely, but a whole day of drift and intense frost". He describes this storm as being so wild and terrible that three or four persons in different parts of the island who were overtaken in it perished. He was so fortunate as to reach shelter before night came on, and the next day arrived at the Hon. T. D. Archibald's house at Sydney Mines and thence to



Sydney. Nearly a month elapsed before he could again return to his home in West Bay, where the anxiety of his family can be better imagined than described.

Pioneers such as these must leave an indelible mark upon their descendants; and we of the New Scotland, which includes Cape Breton, may well be proud that in our veins there runs the blood not alone of the loyalist refugees who for love of King and country chose banishment and loss of earthly possessions and the exile's lot, but also of those sturdy sons of nature from the Western Highlands, rugged as the rocky shores of their adopted home, shrewd and yet kindly, leal and true.

Little wonder then, if, reared amid the lonely grandeur of the island shores, or on swelling uplands by the smiling waters of the beautiful Bras D'or,—that "arm of gold" which winds its tortuous way from end to end of the romantic island; from the green depths of the pine forest or from the blackened districts of the mining country, there should come forth to-day to the building up of this our great Dominion, men of sterling worth, of bed-rock principle;—thinkers and workers, playing their parts right faithfully in the every day world, leavening with their solid good sense rugged honesty and Scotch shrewdness the whole mass of society.

To illustrate this point, I will read in closing a letter from a schoolmaster Mr. Alexander Munro of Boulardarie, who relates with evident satisfaction the names of several of his former scholars, now of various honorable trades and professions, and all doubtless none the worse for having been in their early youth subjected to a somewhat Spartan mode of life. The letter is dated, 1st January, 1883, and is evidently written in answer to enquiries made by the Rev. Mr. Farquharson:

My dear sir:

"The report I sent you by last mail will give you an idea of the privations the people had to endure in Cape Breton 40 years ago."

"Their dwellings were log huts, generally covered with bark, consisting in most cases of one apartment and that far from being so clean and tidy as might have been. The general dress of the women,—blue cotton print with a white spot or sprig, a cotton handkerchief on the head. The only bonnets on Boulardarie were Mrs. Fraser's and Mrs. Munroe's. Flowers and ribbons were not so plenty as now. The men dressed in blue homespun, which had a flavor not like lavender. Both men and women wore homemade shoes or moccasins and frequently shanks; boots were of an after date. The living was poor; very few had anything but potatoes and fish, both of which were plentiful; at Christmas all would try to have a little oatmeal; if the best farmers could make two barrels of meal in the year it was considered very good. Most raised a little wheat; it was kept for the sacrament time. Yet, for all the poor living, people were healthy, only I observed a great many infants died from sore mouth, and since they live better it is very rare.

"I was sent to Cape Breton by Mrs. McKay and arrived at Boulardarie in October, 1839, commenced teaching in November and soon had a large school, the first winter nearly 100; a number lived in small huts in the woods near the schoolhouse; those within six or eight miles would go home Friday night and return Monday morning. Young men from a distance would board in neighboring houses. Many then in school have left the country and are in different parts of the States, Canada and New Zealand. The most of them I have lost sight of and no doubt many are dead. Those I know of are Rev. Mr. McIntosh, St. Ann's, Lauchlin Campbell, Tasmania; M. Fraser, New Zealand and Donald McNeil, P. E. I. Priest, John McDonald, (I think Pictou County) and the McKenzie, an M. D., Newfoundland. "I never had," says the good man naively, "any hand in making a lawyer." Hon. Wm. Ross, John Ross and Donald Ross, and his partner Donald McKenzie, New Zealand, with a number of others are in good positions in New Zealand and other parts of the world.



"Mrs. Munro did good work teaching girls sewing and to keep themselves clean and tidy. My school was the only one on Boulardarie: in two years there was one opened at Big Band and one at Kempt Head. At one time I could count 40 teachers who had been with me teaching in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. The largest number I ever had at school was 120 in winter. I generally had eight or ten seamen learning navigation; all I believe are now dead except Capt. Donald Matheson, who is now building a vessel at LaHave, 350 tons; he is in the West India trade.

"Our postal service in those days was not very regular. Tom Battersby brought the mail from Sydney on foot; if he was six hours late one thought nothing of it; if a day we began to think something was wrong but not very anxious until the second day, when he came along. Mr. Howe was Postmaster General then. When Mr. Woodgate came matters were changed and went on like clock work. Two or three letters came to this office a week and two papers. Now something like from 150 to 300 a week, and I do not know how many papers. The first two letters I got from Scotland were 5/ each; then they came down to 2/6 and on to 3 cents. I do not remember any more to say only that in a few years at most all then alive will be gone and forgotten. Man-of-War Point received its name from a vessel which was building there and not finished when the Island was taken by the British, and they burned her. The marks of the forge are still to be seen and scraps of iron and pottery are turned up by the plough, and a few years ago the blocks on which the ship rested could be seen sunk in the sand.

"I have written the foregoing as it came to my mind without any order, and were you with me for an hour much would be remembered that I cannot think of now but I hope the above will assist you. I wish you and Mrs. Farquharson a Happy New Year."

My dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd) A. MUNRO.

Those present will doubtless notice the name of our distinguished townsman Hon. William Ross, and probably there are others familiar to some of us. The story of one is the story of nearly all. It is the living illustration of making the most and the best of opportunities as they present themselves; of the determination to win. Neither poverty, privation or hardship can deter such men as these. Frank Ferguson but a few years ago the ill-clad, but honest and ambitious son of poor parents on a little farm near Sydney, today the brilliant and popular physician, chief pathologist in the New York Hospital, and a son-in-law of another self made man, and millionaire, Mr. P. Armour, of Chicago. Or the clever young lawyer and M. P. for New Westminster, Aulay Morrison, the miner's son of Port Morien; held in such high esteem for his moral worth and integrity, that he was chosen by acclamation, no man opposing, to represent his constituency; a large band of devoted ministers and priests, many of them scholarly men, lawyers, business men, merchants, many well known in this city.

In conclusion, just a word about the Lowland Scotch in Cape Breton, a large number of whom, mostly coal miners, mechanics, and artisans with their families, came out about 1827 and years following attracted by the opening up by the General Mining Association of large coal areas, both in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. Many, if not most of these settlers (as of the highland immigrants) were of a very fine type of character: honest, industrious and intelligent above the average; and they too have left their impress not alone upon their immediate environment but have sent out from their humble homes, sons and daughters who today, not alone in this Canada of ours but in the great country to the South of us are everywhere making good, and are building up the national character in a way that proves conclusively the value of plain living and high thinking as important factors in the growth of that righteousness which, alone, exalteth any nation.

All honor then to these sturdy Island pioneers, whether from the North or South of old Caledonia—these simple, honest,



God-fearing men and women, whose courage faith and patience are the rich heritage of their children and grandchildren today.

May they sleep well in their quiet graves on the lonely mountain side or beside the blue waters of the "Arm of Gold!"—for

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

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### Note 1.

(*"Re The Rev. Norman MacLeod of St. Ann's*).

Since this paper was read the writer has been informed by the Hon. Wm. Ross, that the statement made in Patterson's History of Pictou Co., to the effect that the Rev. Norman McLeod "was not connected with any religious body"—is incorrect. Mr. Ross, himself a connection by marriage of the Rev. Norman MacLeod, is in a position to speak authoritatively and has shown the writer a letter from Mr. McLeod, dated October 28th, 1843, in which he refers to the time, "about a score of years back," when he was licensed and ordained by the Presbytery of Geneva in the state of New York, 'according to the fundamental principles of the Church of Scotland.' " That he was, however, an independent thinker appears in the following passage from the same letter in which he says, "My privilege on this ground is both singular and sure; for, being placed at the distance from the body of the clergy, besides the particular lenity of those of them with whom I had more immediate concern—I have never yet on this score experienced the least restraint or control but ever enjoyed the full and free liberty of my own conscience, otherwise I would never have thought of joining any clergy for all my time in the world."

Hon. Mr. Ross says of him: "He was certainly a puritan of the real rigid red type and leaned more to the early leaders than to the Kirk of Scotland."

Before sailing for Australia he donated his church and some land to the Free Church. I was then one of the Trustees, mentioned in the Deed of Gift."

Rigid puritan as he was he was a man whose influence for good was deeply felt both in the region of Cape Breton where he first ministered and where his memory is still revered as that of a holy man by the country folk; and, also, in his later home in New Zealand. The Presbytery of Auckland, after his death gave public utterance to their esteem by a most glowing and eulogistic tribute to his many good qualities.

While there is no doubt then of his original and somewhat eccentric modes of teaching and preaching, there can be no doubt to as his personal influence and character having left their imprint for good upon the widely differing communities in which his lot was cast.

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#### Note 2.

It will be apparent from this paper that it has only chronicled the story of Scotch Presbyterian settlers in the island of Cape Breton. There must yet be a rich store of information about the pioneering experiences of settlers on what may be called the French shore of Cape Breton. The same heroic fidelity to duty which marked the earlier Presbyterian ministers was shown by the devoted priests of the Roman Catholic Church, who shared the hardships of their people in these rude and trying times. It is earnestly to be hoped that some contributor will arrange to give a paper on this interesting subject before the N. S. Historical Society.



## ARTISTS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

By HARRY PIERS, Curator of the Provincial Museum of N. S. and  
Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, Halifax, N. S.

(Read 22nd May, 1914.)

Hitherto there has never been prepared an account of those artists who have worked in Nova Scotia. It is only with the greatest difficulty that any information whatever can be gained regarding them, and then merely in the most fragmentary and disjointed scraps. Some of their work is scattered throughout the province, while much of it has gone to other lands with descendants of the older opulent families into whose possession such heirlooms have descended. Sometimes even the name of a portrait's subject has been forgotten, and in very many cases the artist's name is lost in oblivion.

For some years past, inclination has induced me to collect such data as might be met with in old newspaper files and documents, or found lingering in very scanty tradition; and these notes have since been arranged, and form the basis of the account herein presented. Besides being a slight record of the names, lives, and lines of work of various local artists, it will probably serve a purpose in assisting persons having pictures, to form an approximately correct idea as to who might have produced them; and furthermore it is earnestly hoped it may induce others to contribute even a tittle to a subject that should be of interest. Above all, however, it seems only just and meet that we record something of a class of cultured men, which, notably enthusiastic, painstaking and altruistic in its character, has done its utmost in the face of inappreciation, and too often beset by poverty, to keep alive a spark of artistic taste in a new country where we seem to think of what is brutally utilitarian to the exclusion of the elevating influences of what are termed the fine arts.

In preparing a paper on a new subject such as this, it will no doubt be found on further research that some men have been included who would not have deserved notice had we been fully acquainted with their productions. As, however, examples of the work of many of our artists are unknown, we are at present not justified in using undue discrimination. I have gathered all the available information, and when possible have presented brief critical remarks which may assist in giving the subject due perspective. The expressions used in describing the skill of our painters, are more or less relative ones, and must not be considered as unduly magnifying their artistic ability. The lists of paintings ascribed to the various artists, have been compiled with considerable care, and have been verified in a large number of cases, but they cannot hope to be entirely free from criticism.

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If we cast about for the first man who happened to use a pencil in what is now Nova Scotia, we would doubtless have to give SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN that credit, as he left an uncouth and illdrawn sketch of his house at Port Royal in 1605, which will be found reproduced in various historical works. He, however, had not a glimmer of artistic ability (1). In 1731 VERRIER (?) made a poor topographical drawing of Louisbourg, the original of which is in the Paris archives; and a sketch was also made, and engraved, of the landing of the New England forces in the expedition against Cape Breton in 1745, of which Dr. Warren of Boston has a print. There also exists in England (at Woolwich, I think,) a poorly executed drawing of the bombardment of Louisbourg in 1758 made on the spot by CAPT. LIEUT. THOMAS DAVIES, Royal Artillery (2); and the Museum

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(1). It may be noted that L'Abbe Jean Antoine Aide Crequi, who was born at Quebec, 6th April, 1749, ordained priest 24th October 1773, and died 7th December, 1780, was the first native Canadian painter. Several of his paintings are in the Basilica at Quebec, and the painting of the "Annonciation," over the main altar in the church at l'Isley, is also by him. Vide Cat. Chateau de Ramezay, Mont., 1907, p. 11.

(2) A reproduction of Davies's sketch of Louisbourg was published about June, 1895 on the occasion of the erection of a monument at Louisbourg, and a copy is in the Provincial Museum, Halifax, (acc. no. 1122).



of the Chateau de Ramezay, Montreal, contains a view of the town and harbour of Louisbourg in 1758 made by CAPT. INCE of the 35th (Otway's) regiment (1).

A miserable little sketch of the picketted settlement of Halifax, taken from a ship's topmast in 1749 or 1750, and appearing as an inset in a map of the locality, although of interest historically, as being the first pictorial representation of that town, does not at all deserve notice as an artistic production.

This brings us to the first of the more noteworthy topographical landscape artists, so termed to distinguish them from the true landscapists who occupy a much higher artistic place, although the work of the former is eagerly sought for by historical and archaeological students who are satisfied with mere accuracy of portrayal.

In May, 1759, RICHARD SHORT, while at Halifax with the British fleet bound for Quebec (2), made six painstakingly accurate sketches of the town: namely, one from Dartmouth, two from the citadel, one from George's Island, one of the old Governor's house (site of the present Province Building), and one of St. Paul's church. Dominic Serres, afterwards a member of the Royal Academy and marine-painter to George the Third, worked up paintings from these sketches, and they were engraved in copper-plate (four of them by James Mason, the eminent English engraver, one by François Antoine Aveline, a French engraver who died in indigence at London in 1762, and one by John Fougerson) and published by Short at London on 1st March, 1764, with a dedication to the Earl of Halifax (3).

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(1) Vide Catalogue of Museum and Portrait Gallery, Chateau de Ramezay, Montreal, 1907, p. 11.

(2) I think I have seen somewhere that Short was on the *Prince of Orange*, a 60-gun ship of the line.

(3) James Mason, 1710-1783, the English landscape engraver, belonged to the Incorporated Society of Artists, and was very eminent in his line, his works being held in great esteem by foreign amateurs. He was employed by Boydell. (See Bryan's Dict. of Painters, and Dict. of Nat. Biog.). Some particulars of Aveline (1727-1762) will be found in the former work.

These prints were re-issued by the famous John Boydell of Cheapside, London, on April 25th, 1777. (1).

The first edition is excessively rare and for years was unknown here, thus leading even Dr. Akins into error as to the period in the town's history they applied to, as he knew only the 1777 issue. The only copies of the first (1764) issue known to be in the province (except one in the vestry of St. Paul's Church) belong to the estate of my late father, Henry Piers, and formerly were in the possession of the late Senator W. J. Almon. The Piers set, which is mounted on canvas, consists of the following views: (a) Halifax from Dartmouth, (b) Halifax looking down Prince St., (c) Halifax from George's Island, and (d) The Governor's House. The St. Paul's Church copy, which is in bad condition, unfortunately being much discoloured, is the one representing that church (2). Copies of the later edition may be seen in the Halifax City Hall (J. T. Bulmer's set of six) and Dalhousie College (J. J. Stewart's set of six), as well as in the J. R. Robertson collection at Toronto. Four of these 1777 prints (Dr. S. E. Dawson's set) are reproduced in Bourinot's *Builders of Nova Scotia*, pp. 18, 20, 24 and 26. The Archives Department, Ottawa, has three of the 1764 prints and six of the 1777 ones.

Historically these views of Short are by far the most important ones of the town that have appeared, both because of the date (1759) at which they were made, and of the large amount of accurate detail they contain, their historic value being largely increased by the explanatory references to the various buildings, etc., given in the attached legends.

Practically nothing is known of Short, although possibly search in the naval or military records might bring to light a few items regarding him. No mention is made of him in the 1886 edition of Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and En-*

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(1) Francis Edwards, printseller, London, in 1914, listed two of Short's 1777 prints of Halifax, for £5; and Congdon and Britnell in 1901 offered a set of the same edition for \$50.

(2) The Governor's House picture in the vestry of St. Paul's Church is merely a copy made by "M. J. R. 1832" after the engraving.



gravers, nor in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Besides the Halifax plates, he made a series of twelve sketches at Quebec on the conclusion of the siege, which were engraved by C. Grignion, P. Canot, A. Bennoist, James Mason and four other engravers, and published by Short at London on 1st September, 1761, photographic copies of which are before me, made from the original prints in the Robertson collection at Toronto (1). He also, made some drawings of Belleisle, France, at the time of its capture by Keppel in 1761, which were engraved and published.

Each of the six Halifax prints bears the following legend, "To the Right Honourable George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, &c, &c., &c. This Plate representing [here is inserted the particular title], Is most humbly Inscribed by His Lordship's most devoted Servant, R. Short." In the centre of the legend are the arms of the second Earl of Halifax. The particular title is also given in French.

Below are given, *verbatim et literatim*, the particular titles and explanatory matter inscribed on the series, which are incorporated with the above-mentioned dedication:

The Town and Harbour of Halifax in Nova Scotia As they appear from the opposite Shore called Dartmouth. 1 St. Paul's, 2 St. Mather's, 3 Governor's House, 4 Market Place, 5 George Street, 6 Duke Street, 7 Major's Houses & Wharf, 888 South Middle & North Batteries. Drawn on ye Spot Design'd & Publish'd as ye Act directs by R. Short, 1764. Serres pinx. Mason sculp. [Size of engraved view, exclusive of legend, 20 by 13 inches.]

Part of the Town & Harbour of Halifax in Nova Scotia, Looking down George Street to the opposite Shore called Dartmouth. 1 King's Yard. 2 Barracks. 3 Printing House. 4 Pontack's. Serres pinxit. Jas. Mason sculpsit. [Original 1764 edition of this print not seen by me, but doubtless the rest of the inscription is the same as in the following print.]

Part of the Town and Harbour of Halifax in Nova Scotia, looking down Prince Street to the Opposite Shore shews the Eastern Battery, George & Cornwallis Islands, Thrum-Cap, &c. to the Sea off Chebucto Head. 1 Pontack's. 2 Governor's Summer House & Gardens. 3 Work House. Drawn on the Citadel Hill des'd & Pub'd by R. Short Mar 1, 1764. Serres pinxit. Jas. Mason, sculpsit. [Size of engraved view, 19½ by 13 inches.]

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(1) Of Short's Quebec views, C. Grignion engraved three, P. Canot two, A. Bennoist two, and James Mason, William Elliott, Anthony Walker, P. Benazech, and J. Fougéron, one each. These plates although published by Richard Short, were sold by Thomas Jefferys.

The Town and Harbour of Halifax in Nova Scotia, As appears from George Island looking up to the King's-Yard and Bason. Drawn on the Spot, design'd & Publish'd (as ye Act directs), by R. Short March 1, 1764. Serres pinx. Jas. Mason sculp. [Size of engraved view, 20 by 13½ inches.]

The Governor's-House and St. Mather's Meeting House, in Holles Street, also looking up George Street, shews Part of the Parade and Citadel-Hill at Halifax in Nova-Scotia. Drawn on ye Spot design'd & publish'd (as ye Act directs) by R. Short March 1, 1764. Serres pinx. Aveline sculp. [Size of engraved view, 20 by 13 inches. This plate must have been actually engraved in or prior to 1762, as Aveline died in that year.]

The Church of Saint Paul, And the Parade at Halifax in Nova Scotia. 1 The Printing House. Drawn on ye Spot design'd & publish'd (as ye Act directs) by R. Short March 1st 1764. Serres pinx. Jno Fougerson sculp. [Size of engraved view, 19½ by 13 inches. An original 1764 copy of this print is in the vestry of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, having been obtained from the late J. G. Wetmore, picture-framer of that place. It is mounted on canvas, as is the Piers set, and is much discoloured.]

No doubt the view on the original engraved plates, measured 20 inches long by 13 inches high, and the very slight variations shown in the above measurements of the 1764 edition and those given by Robertson of the 1777 edition, were merely the result of shrinkage or unequal stretching of the paper in mounting. The names of the painter and engraver are given last in the above transcripts of the titles, but actually they occur above the legend, immediately below the view.

In the 1777 edition the following changes are made in the plate: "R. Short delint" is added after "Serres pinx"; and the statement at the bottom, about the drawing having been made on the spot, etc., and published by Short, is replaced by the inscription "Published Ap. 25th 1777 by John Boydell Engraver in Cheapside London." Otherwise the two editions seem to be identical, but of course the plates must have been worn by the time the later edition was run.

Despite the two dates at which these very interesting plates were issued, historians must bear in mind that the original drawings were made by Short in 1759, just ten years after the settlement of the town, otherwise they will continue to be misleading as in the past.



COLONEL JOSEPH FREDERICK WALLET DESBARRES, in his magnificent set of admiralty charts, *The Atlantic Neptune* published at London in 1780-81, followed Short with some large and interesting topographical views of Halifax from the Dartmouth shore, Annapolis Royal, Louisbourg, Sable Island, etc., as well as many smaller insets of coastal views, which were engraved in aquatint, and the smaller ones sometimes washed with colour (1). The original drawings were presumably made by himself. DesBarres, who was born about 1722, was engaged surveying the coast of Nova Scotia from 1763 to 1773, and died at Halifax in 1824. Particulars of his life will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in the various histories of the province. I conjecture that the views were made about 1773 when he completed his survey, although the results were not published till several years later.

I suppose we should here very briefly refer to GILBERT STUART and his short connection with Nova Scotia, which really was of no artistic moment as far as we are concerned. He was born near Wickford, Rhode Island, on 3rd December, 1755, and died at Boston in 1828. His father, also named Gilbert, removed to Newport, Hants County, Nova Scotia, in 1775, and his wife and family followed him apparently in the next year. They appear to have eventually moved to Halifax, where the father is said to have died in 1793 and been buried in St. Paul's cemetery. The artist's elder sister, Anne, married Hon. Henry Newton, and so became the mother of Gilbert Stuart Newton, another great painter, who was born at Halifax in 1795.

There can be very little doubt that Stuart, the artist, spent some of his early manhood's days at Newport, N. S., and Mr. Mullane tells me that he went as supercargo on vessels sailing from Halifax to the West Indies. It is also said that at the time of his early struggles with poverty, he once worked his way back to America in a collier bound for Nova Scotia. In later

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(1) DesBarres's view of Halifax, is reproduced in Bourinot's *Builders of Nova Scotia*, 1900, opp. p. 28. The original, which measures about 22 by 14 inches, is undated, but is next to a chart published 1 Mar., 1781. The Annapolis view, about the same size, was published 1 Jan., 1781. They are mainly in outline, with an added effect as if broad washes had been applied. "The Atlantic Neptune" may be seen in the Legislative Library, Halifax.

years the Duke of Kent invited him to come from Dublin to Halifax to paint his portrait, offering to send a warship to bring him here, but as he was then rapidly rising in the art world, he declined. We know nothing further of his connection with Nova Scotia, although some of his earliest work must have been produced here (1).

LT. COLONEL EDWARD HICKS, Major of the 70th Regiment of Foot, which was stationed at Halifax during the American War of Independence from 1778 to 1782, is stated to be the artist of two excessively rare and interesting views of the town of Halifax, mainly in outline, which were engraved and published in London. Indian-ink copies of these, made by Dr. T. B. Akins, in 1839, may be seen in the Provincial Museum. One shows the town as seen from the then new military post at Fort Needham, with the Naval Yard, Fort Coote, Dutch Town, and the old rambling fortifications on Citadel Hill and the Harbour in the distance. The other drawing depicts Halifax from a spot a little south of Black Rock Point, Point Pleasant, with Citadel Hill in the distance, as well as Fort Massey with its blockhouse, the Grand Battery at the Lumber Yard, and a military encampment behind the citadel (whence the name Camp Hill, no doubt.) The first-mentioned view is dated by Dr. Akins 1783, and the Point Pleasant one, 1780. In 1782 Col. Hicks had advertised that he had taken nine views about Halifax, which he proposed to have engraved in London and published by subscription. It is regrettable that the location of the original set of these drawings is not known. Nothing further is known about Hicks but that he was commissioned major of the 70th Regiment on 9th February, 1775; lieutenant-colonel, on 17th November, 1780; and was succeeded as major of the 70th by Boulter Johnston on 6th March, 1782. As his name then drops from the Army List, he must have retired from military life (2).

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(1) See Dr. A. W. H. Eaton's "Gilbert Stuart, the Painter: his connection with Nova Scotia," in *Morning Chronicle*, Hx., 27 June, 1912; also verbal information from George Mullane.

(2) See Akins's *History of Halifax*, 2nd ed., p. 84; Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 10; Army Lists. Hicks's prints doubtless resembled in style those in DesBarres's *Atlantic Neptune*, and probably were in equatint.



It is said that from about 1787 to about 1817 there was a chess, pencil and brush club in Halifax, of which the HON. RICHARD BULKELEY (1717-1800), the versatile and aristocratic secretary of the province, was president (1). If so, this was the first organization at all resembling an art club in Nova Scotia. Bulkeley seems to have done a little very mediocre amateur work himself, as witness his wretchedly-executed, straddle-legged, chalk representation of himself, now in the Provincial Museum (2).

About the same period, HON. HIBBERT NEWTON BINNEY (born 1766, died 1842), collector of imports and excise at Halifax, first cousin of Gilbert Stuart Newton, the artist, and grandfather of Bishop Binney, worked as an amateur in water-colours, and painted some third-rate topographical views, an example of which is a washed drawing of Halifax from the Dartmouth shore near Black-rock Point, dated 1791. It shows men hauling a seine in the foreground, George's and McNab's Islands, two men-of-war, the town with St. Paul's and Mather's Churches, citadel hill with its blockhouse (demolished in 1789) and the barracks on Brunswick Street (3). There is also in the Provincial Museum a poorly executed bust portrait by him of his brother, Barrack-Master Stephen Hall Binney, painted about the same year (4).

We now come to the advent of professional artists into Nova Scotia, when GEORGE MACCRAE, from Edinburgh, painted oil portraits at Halifax from about 1783 until his return to Scotland in 1802. He was steward of the North British Society here in

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(1) See J. S. Macdonald's "Richard Bulkeley," Col. N. S. His. Soc., vol. 12, p. 81, 86.

(2) Engraved to illustrate Macdonald's paper above mentioned. It is said the portrait was drawn by Bulkeley by aid of a mirror. There is an abominably executed crayon portrait, at King's College, of Speaker William Nesbitt (died March, 1784), in a blue coat; and also I think one of his wife; but no one now knows who they were by, nor does it much matter.

(3) The sketch belonged to the late W. H. Hill and now is the property of C. S. Blakeney of Halifax. A photographic copy of it is in the Provincial Museum (acc. no. 3699). See Report of Provincial Museum for 1911, p. 15.

(4) Reproduced in Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc., vol 17, opp. p. 76.

1783, having joined in that year (1). J. WEAVER who signed a small full-length oil portrait, on panel, of the Duke of Kent (1794 to 1800), in the Legislative Library, Halifax, cannot be traced, nor does his work show any real skill.

About 1800, G. J. PARKYNS made an excellent series of four topographical views of scenes about Halifax, which were published as coloured aquatints at London on 29th April, 1801, and are now very scarce, a set having been sold in London in 1913 for fifty guineas. Nothing is known of Parkyns. He may have belonged to the army. The prints represent (a) "View of Halifax from George's Island," with the circular battery in the foreground, and in the distance Citadel Hill, the Duke of Kent's town house, the new Government House, Belle Vue, etc.; (b) "View from Fort Needham near Halifax" with the Naval Yard and Commissioner's House in the middle distance, and the citadel, Duke of Kent's house, St. George's church, etc., in the distance (perhaps the best of the set); (c) "View from Cowie's Hill near Halifax, N. S." overlooking Melville Island Cove and the prison; and (d) "View of Halifax from Davis's Mill" at Albro's Cove, between Dartmouth and Tufts Cove. A set of these prints is in the King's Library, British Museum, another set belongs to J. Ross Robertson of Toronto, and I have seen a few copies about Halifax. They do not bear the name of the artist, engraver or publisher; and the first has only been ascertained from an old catalogue in London (2). The British Museum was unaware of the artist's name.

Brief reference may be made to the REV. BENJAMIN GERRISH GRAY, an amateur, who in 1803 painted four topographical views, namely the old bridge over the Avon River, King's College from Saulsbrook Farm and from the ferry-house (Windsor), and also Fort Cumberland. These interesting but not very skilful little sketches are in a quarto-sized manuscript

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(1) Macdonald, *Annals of N. Br. Soc.*, 1905, p. 39.

(2) The British Museum copies are probably undated, as its authority only approximates the date, but Mrs. L. M. Murray's copy of the Davis's Mill is inscribed "Published as the Act directs, April 29th, 1801." It may be



catalogue, by Gray, of the books in King's College library, which he dedicated to Sir John Wentworth (1). In July, 1805, Wentworth wrote to the poet Moore, sending him a pen-and-ink drawing of a Nova Scotian landscape by Mr. Gray, saying, "I hope the drawing will meet with your approbation, and that both it and the scenery it represents will be brought into favorable notice by being prefixed to your intended publication, which I shall be anxious to possess, that I must now solicit you to send me the book as soon as it is published"(2).

This brings us to the period of the silhouette-makers, who delicately cut profiles from black paper, many of them in a highly artistic style, from 1806 till about 1845 when this kind of portraiture was driven from the field by photography. Most of these silhouettes are in black on a white ground, but a very few are white on black. Some were produced with the assistance of various instruments, but the more skilful worked with no such aids.

It would appear that WILLIAM KING first introduced this cheap but dainty style of likeness to Halifax people in September, 1806 (3). His studio or room was in the house adjoining that of the Hon. Andrew Belcher, and there he labored at the "black art" from eight o'clock in the morning till nine at night. He claimed to have had extensive practice, and the cutting of the portrait did not take over five minutes. He produced his silhouettes with the aid of a new instrument, or machine as he terms it, which one is led to think may have been Wollaston's

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noted here that there is in the Provincial Museum (acc. no. 3589) a small stipple engraving of the "Commissioner's House, in the Naval Yard, Halifax," about the year 1803, which was engraved by Wells, and published 29th February, 1804, by J. Gold, Shoe Lane, London, but it does not mention who drew it and it is of no value artistically. The Commissioner's House was built about 1785 and demolished in November 1909.

(1) See Piers, Catalogue of King's Col. Library, p. 111.

(2) See Murdoch's Nova Scotia, iii, p. 242.

(3) See his long announcement in N. S. Royal Gazette, Halifax, 11th September, 1806. A silhouette portrait of Mercy (died 1816) wife of Temple S. Piers of Halifax, must be either the work of King, Moore, Thomson, or Metcalf. It is somewhat unusual, the profile being cut out of white paper, which is mounted on a background of black cloth. The general custom was to cut the profile in black paper which was attached to a white card.

camera-lucida, although that instrument was not perfected until 1807. He announced that his sitters would not be inconvenienced by anything passing over the face, as was the case with some machines used by others. So delicately was the cutting done, that he could produce profiles so small as to go into a locket, for which he charged five shillings. His charge for larger sizes, "on a beautiful wove paper," was 2s. 6d. for two. He also had for sale, polished black oval frames as well as gilt ones suitable for the profiles.

He was followed in June, 1808, for a brief time, by SAMUEL MOORE, another silhouettist, who worked in the long room at the Golden Ball at the southwest corner of Sackville and Hollis Streets, and charged two shillings for a portrait (1).

We now come to the most gifted portrait painter who has ever resided in Nova Scotia, a man who was highly esteemed for his character as well as for his artistic ability. I refer to ROBERT FIELD, an English artist of culture and skill who came to Halifax about May, 1808, and laboured here with success until about 1818. He worked in both oil and water-colours, and also produced miniatures, the latter being the first productions in that style of which we find any record here. Besides this he engraved moderately well in line and stipple. We will dwell a little on him and his work.

He was born, it is said, in Gloucester, England, and then went to London (2). About 1793 he went to New York, and also worked in Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore, painting very good miniatures, which was his chief occupation at that time (3). Seguier in his *Critical and Commercial Dictionary of Works of Painters* (1870) tells us that Field painted "clever portraits which in style and lightness of pencilling remind us a little of Hamilton."

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(1) See his announcement, dated 31st May, in Royal Gazette, Halifax, for 14th June, 1808. He states that his stay in Halifax will be but short.

(2) According to information from Jas. S. Macdonald. Before 1792 there was published in London an engraving by R. Field after T. Stewart's oil portrait of John Lewis, which very likely was our Robert Field. (Vide D. McN. Stauffer).

(3) Wm. Dunlap: *History of the Arts of Design in U. S.*, New York, 1834, vol. i, p. 430.



He was in Philadelphia in January, 1795, as we find a letter of his, addressed to Robert Gilmer, Jr., of Baltimore, dated from the former town on the 13th of that month, which is preserved among the "Drew Manuscripts" belonging to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. In this letter Field refers to W. Robertson's portrait of George Washington, which he afterwards engraved. "This miniature of the President," he writes, "is as good a likeness and as fine a piece of painting as I ever saw." He states that he had been engaged to engrave it of the size of the original painting, "with some ornaments to surround and make it more interesting." As Robertson intended to go to India, he declined the large plate and proposed to sell the miniature to Field for \$1,000, a price which Field thought was extravagant, although he says "it might be worth while even on these terms, if in my power." The terms are not known on which he finally obtained the portrait to engrave. He states that he already had plenty to do in Philadelphia, where he was "making a figure" in the Academy of Arts and Sciences lately established in that town. He hoped to succeed Robertson as a miniature painter. This is the only letter of Field's that has come to light.

On 1st August of the same year (1795) he published in Philadelphia and New York, his stipple engraving of Robertson's miniature of Washington, referred to above. In the same year he published at the first-mentioned city his engraving of Shakespeare after the oil portrait in the collection of the Duke of Chandos, which appeared as a frontispiece to an edition of the works of the dramatist. Others of his engravings published while in the United States, are portraits of Alexander Hamilton, published at Boston, 31st August, 1806, after J. Trumbull's oil painting; and of Thomas Jefferson, published at the same place on 14th March, 1807, after G. Stuart (1). All of these were executed in stipple in a pleasing manner.

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(1) J. B. Longacre made an engraving after Field's Jefferson, which was published at Philadelphia in 1823, "drawn and engraved by J. B. Longacre from the Portrait of Field after Stuart."

Miniature painting, however, was occupying most of his time, and among his works in this style produced in the United States, were portraits of William Clifton and of John E. Harwood, both of which were engraved by David Edwin, the former published at Philadelphia in 1800. He also painted, in oil, Charles Carroll of Carrollton; which was engraved at Philadelphia in 1823 by J. B. Longacre. Dunlop (*History of Arts of Design in U. S.*) mentions that he painted miniatures of Mrs. Thornton of Washington, and Mrs. Allen of Boston. We know that he was in Boston in August, 1806, and March, 1807, as two of his plates were then issued at that place, and that is the last definite information we have of him in that country (1).

About May, 1808, as mentioned, he removed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, doubtless from Boston, being induced to do so by Governor Wentworth. His first advertisement in the *Royal Gazette*, is dated 30th May, and states that "Robert Field, at Alexander Morrison's, bookseller, intends, during his residence in Halifax, to exercise his profession as portrait painter, in oil and water-colours, and in miniature; where specimens of his painting may be seen and his terms made known" (2).

Under Wentworth's patronage, he soon was commissioned to paint many of the most notable people of the town. Somewhat as Kneller had done for the famous Kit-Cat Club, he painted in oils various kit-cat portraits of the wealthy members of the old Rockingham Club, which portraits hung for a time about the walls of the club's room in the Rockingham Inn near Wentworth's lodge on Bedford Basin (3).

Among his Halifax portraits, the most ambitious ones were full-lengths of Gov. Sir George Prevost (1808-11) and his successor

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(1) What is known of Field's work in the United States will be found in David McNeely Stauffer's *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, issued in two volumes in a limited edition, by the Grolier Club of New York, in 1907.

(2) *Royal Gazette*, Halifax, 7th June, 1808.

(3) Akins's *History of Halifax*, p. 125.



Sir John Coape Sherbrooke (1811-16), probably painted for the Rockingham Club. The Prevost is finely composed and executed, and was engraved and published by S. W. Reynolds, the eminent mezzotinter, in London on 21st December, 1818, but without Field's name (1). The Sherbrooke, though a good likeness and dignified, was not quite so fine a production (2). Tradition says that Sherbrooke, who was irascible, got tired of posing for the painter, and when the face was finished told him to fill in the rest of the figure as best he could. A substitute was found in a Mr. Boggs who posed for the legs of the picture, as the governor and Boggs resembled each other in that respect. (3). Field himself engraved, in line and stipple, and coloured, a degenerate variation of Sherbrooke's portrait, and published the print at Halifax on 24th June, 1816. Very little idea of the original may be gained from the engraving, as the latter changes the posture, introduces new accessories, omits the background, and loses the dignity of the painting. These portraits I am told, were for a time in the institute reading-room on Bedford Row. There is no doubt that they once hung in the Province Building, but they now are on the walls of the Halifax Club, and there are some who would be glad to know the history of their transfer there.

One of his very best portraits is that of Governor Sir John Wentworth, painted for the Rockingham Club, probably about 1808, a picture which had a peculiar sojourn out of the province for many years, but which some time ago was restored to the Province and now hangs in Government House (4). His Bishop Charles Inglis, also one of his very best productions, is

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(1) Reynolds's print of Prevost may be seen in the Legislative Library, Halifax.

(2) "Sir John Coape Sherbrooke; fine full-length by Field; a good picture and much like the worthy old knight." (Vide account, probably by T. B. Akins, of art exhibiton at Halifax, 1848; in *British Connoist*, 3rd, October, 1848). A poor half-tone reproduction of Field's painting of Sherbrooke is in the Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc., vol 17, opp. p. 80.

(3) This story, which I have often heard, will also be found in Kingsford's *History of Canada*, vol. 9, footnote on page 61.

(4) This portrait shows him in old age. Copley's portrait of him, at Portsmouth, N. H., shows him in middle-age when governor of New Hampshire, 1767-75. A reproduction of Copley's picture may be seen in the Provincial Museum, Halifax.

honoured by a permanent place in the National Portrait Gallery in London, and has been lithographed by M. Gauci (1). His portrait of John Lawson, the founder of the Halifax family of that name, is a fine piece of work, with some good tender colouring in the face (2). It is poorly engraved in miniature on the first banknotes of the Bank of Nova Scotia.

Besides these, he painted in Halifax oil portraits of the following: Sir Alexander Cochran (belonged to late H. Harts-horne); Sir Edward Parry, the arctic explorer, (this small portrait of the navigator by Field was in 1848 the property of his friend J. W. Nutting, and had probably been painted when Lt. Parry was in Halifax about 1818 in the "Niger"); Commissioner John Nicholson Inglefield of the Naval yard (once in the committee room of the Legislative Council, but afterwards presented to Admiral Inglefield, father of Sir Edward); Hon. Richard J. Uniacke; Hon. Michael Wallace (belonged to late John Wallace); Hon. Lawrence Hartshorne (belonged to late H. Hartshorne); Hon. Andrew Belcher (3) and Mrs. Belcher; Hon. Charles Morris the 3rd (1759-1831), a small half-length, seated, in Provincial Museum); the loyalist Adam DeChezeau the elder (belonging to Mrs. Henry Piers); Rev. Dr. Archibald Gray (a half-length, seated), and Mrs. Gray; Andrew Wright (of the firm of Belcher and Wright) and his sister Mary; Dr. William J. Almon (died 1817, grandfather of Senator W. J. Almon); Hon. James Fraser (died 1819); Judge James Stewart (son of Anthony); William Bowie, who was killed in a duel in 1819, a fine portrait, poorly reproduced in *Annals N. British Society* (belonged to the late Jas. Richardson, Sr.); Dr. John

(1) In 1848, when exhibited at Halifax, this portrait of Inglis was described as "a jewel of a picture—one of Field's very best performances. The bishop was a fine majestic-looking old man. He is represented in his canonicals. This is one of the best works of art in this country." Vide account of art exhibition, *British Colonist*, Hx., 3rd, Oct., 1848.

(2) This portrait (which measures 2 ft. by 1 ft. 10 ins.) in 1901 became the property of John W. Lawson, of the Commercial Cable Company, now of Jamaica. A copy of it, by William B. T. Piers, belongs to Mrs. Henry Piers of Halifax.

(3) This is doubtless the portrait of Andrew Belcher which now belongs to Rev. G. E. Belcher.



Halliburton, father of the chief justice (a good portrait, now in Virginia); Charles Geddes; John Bremner (good); Capt. Thomas Maynard, R. N., in uniform (now in the United States); Rear Admiral Herbert Sawyer (belongs to Miss Maynard, Windsor); Hon. William Lawson (in Bank of Nova Scotia) and probably Dr. Joseph Prescott (belongs to Miss Fairbanks, New York), and Dr. Mather Byles (1735-1814, (belongs to Frederick L. Gray of Brookline, Mass.); as well as many others (1).

The portrait of Hon. Richard John Uniacke was not one of Field's best performances, but the family features are well marked. "We expect to see the aged Attorney General with his fine white locks falling over his herculean shoulders, the big ivory-headed cane and the eye-glass; such a picture would have been invaluable" (*British Colonist*, Halifax, 3rd, October 1848). Field's portrait was painted when Uniacke was a much younger man than he was when the people of 1848 remembered him. It may prove to be the original from which J. Clow's miniature of 1831 was printed, as mentioned on a subsequent page.

He also painted in Halifax a few good miniatures; those I have seen being inconspicuously signed with the initial F. in the background. The finest is that of Captain Nicholas Thomas Hill in the uniform of the Royal Staff Corps, a gentleman afterwards well known in Halifax, painted about 1817 (2). It is a very

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(1) This list, which may be subject to correction in a few instances, is founded on statments in Akins's History of Halifax, p. 125, verbal information from J. S. Macdonald and the plates in his Annals of the North British Society (1905), catalogues of various art exhibitions, and personal knowledge of the writer. Considerable information may also be obtained from an account, doubtless by Dr. Akins, of an art exhibition held at Halifax in September, 1848, in the *British Colonist*, Halifax, of 3rd, 5th and 7th October, 1848. The oil portrait of Dr. Hoffmann, noted as "by Field" in the Loan Exhibition, Halifax, of 1894, is by John Hoppner, and is correctly ascribed in a catalogue of 1881.

A halftone of the Wallace portrait appears in the Collections of the N. S. Historical Society, vol. 16, opp. p. 32; the Sherbrooke in vol. 17, opp. p. 80; and the Bremner, opp. p. 108; while the James Fraser, Dr. Gray, Wallace, Jas. Stewart, Dr. Halliburton, Bowie, Geddes, and Bremner appear in Macdonald's Annals of North British Society.

(2) Capt. N. T. Hill's eldest daughter, Mary, married Asst. Com. Genl. Hector J. Macaulay, whose only daughter, Harriet (known as Kathy) Macaulay became well known in England as a skilful watercolor painter of fishing boats.

beautiful piece of work, nobly designed, boldly executed, the hatching being not overclose or niggled, and is excellently coloured. It passed to Capt. Hill's son, and in 1913 became the property of Miss Grace Hill of Vancouver, B. C. Mrs. S. Creed has a miniature by Field of Dr. Matthias Hoffmann, but it is not so well executed.

I have estimated that in order to make a living he must have produced at least 150 portraits while in Halifax. There is no doubt he had steady employment here. He had one very reprehensible practice, namely that he occasionally, but fortunately very rarely, painted small oil portraits on tin-plate, as is the case in the Morris and DeChezeau pictures.

Regarding his life in this town, practically nothing is known. We find that in July, 1812, he was a member of the First Company of Volunteer Artillery under command of Capt. Richard Tremain (1). Mr. George Mullane informs me that he once found in a Halifax newspaper an advertisement of the sale of Field's furniture at his house in "Dutchtown," Halifax, and says that he afterwards went to board in a house opposite some military office in the town, but we have not succeeded in again finding the notice and ascertaining the date.

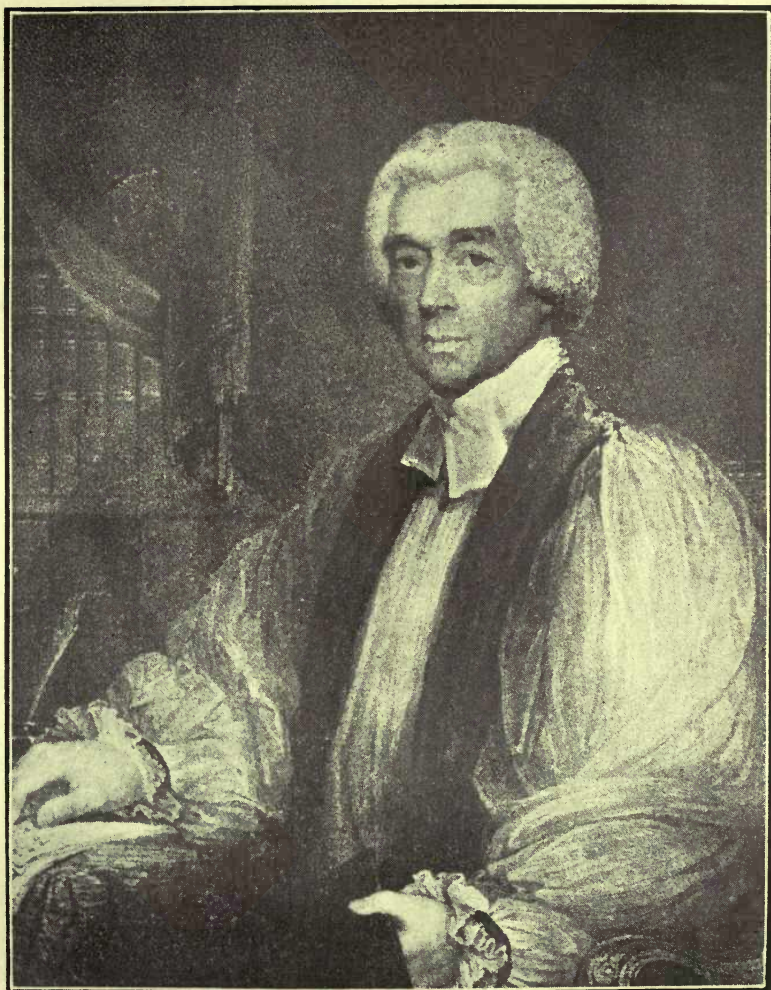
We have stated that in June, 1816, he published here his print of Sherbrooke. Sometime between that date and 1818, doubtless in or about the latter year, he finally left Halifax for England, after a quarter of a century spent in busy and at times lucrative work in America, about ten years of which period he painted in Halifax. In 1818 he exhibited, as "a portrait painter of Halifax," in the Royal Academy at London (2), and no doubt was then there, a supposition which is strengthened by the fact that in December of that year Reynolds issued his mezzotint of the Prevost portrait.

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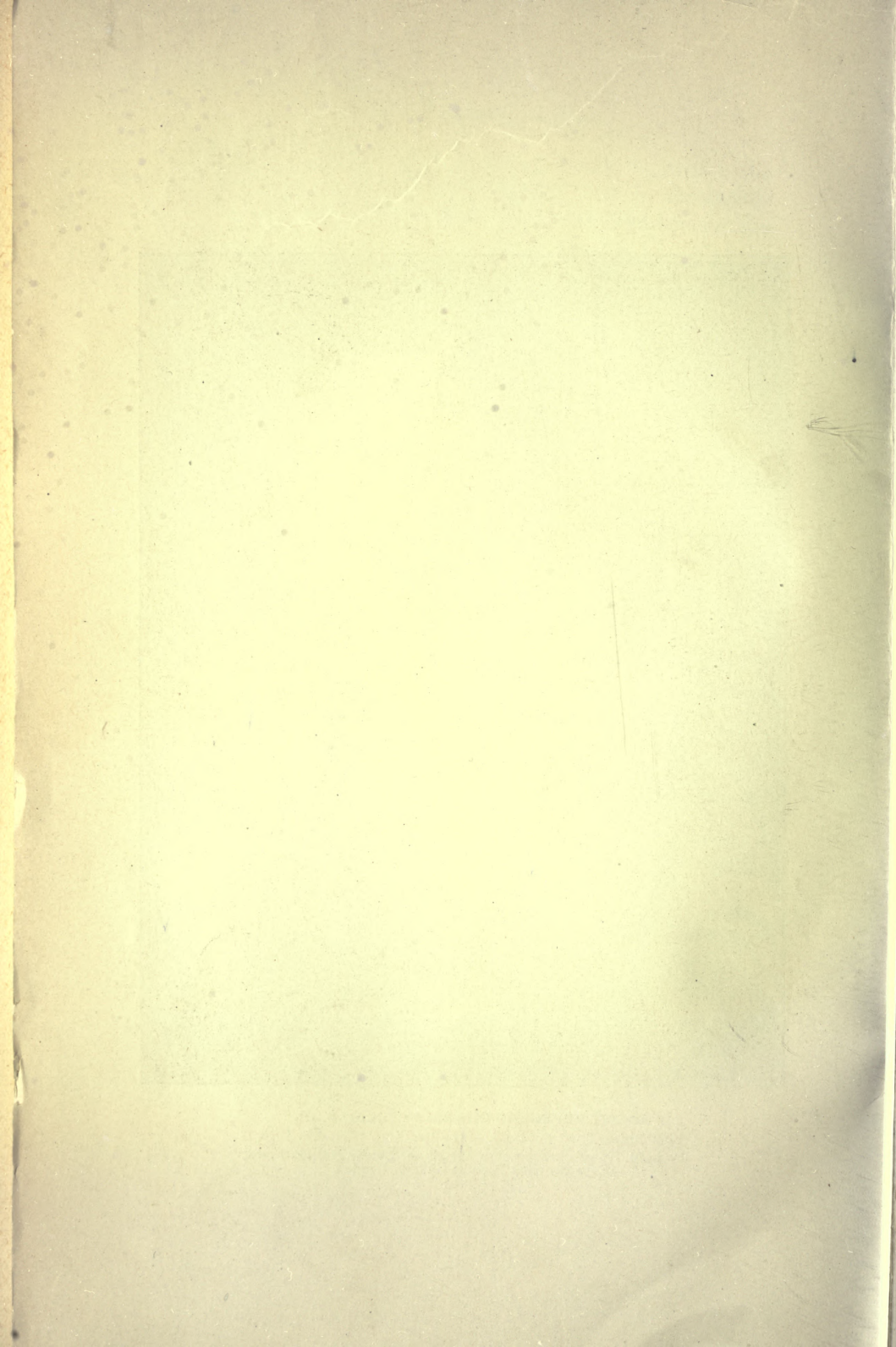
(1) Akins's History of Halifax, p. 272.

(2) Vide Algernon Graves's Dictionary of Artists. One might surmise that this was the Bishop Inglis portrait, but that that picture was exhibited at Halifax in September, 1848.

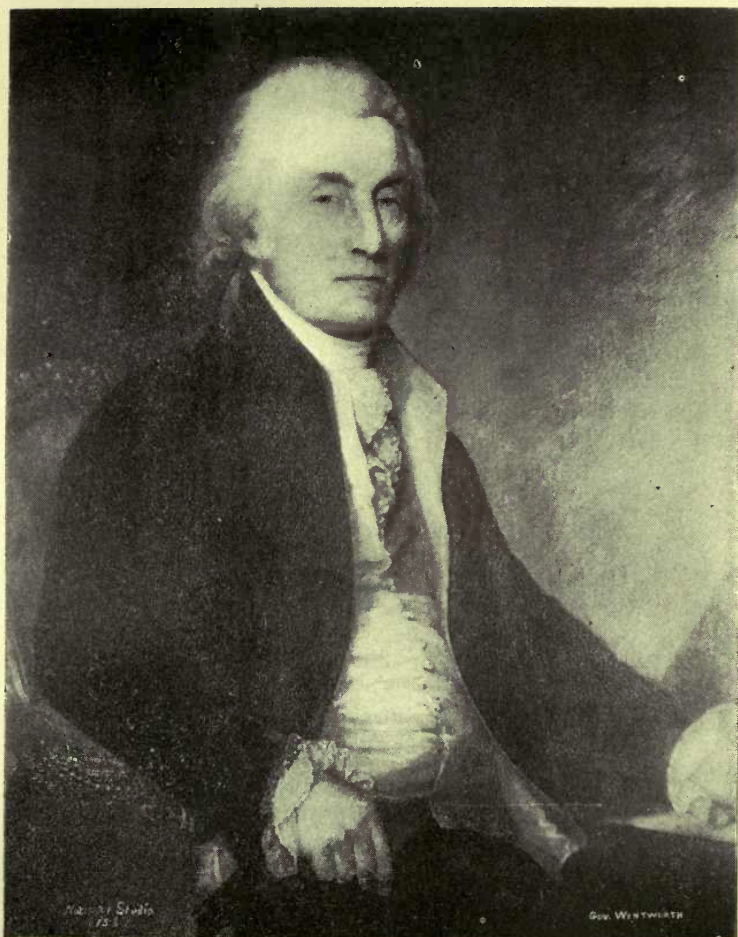




**RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES INGLIS, D. D.,**  
First Bishop of Nova Scotia, 1787-1816; born 1734, died 1816.  
From M. Gauci's lithograph of the oil portrait by **Robert Field,**  
in the National Portrait Gallery, London.



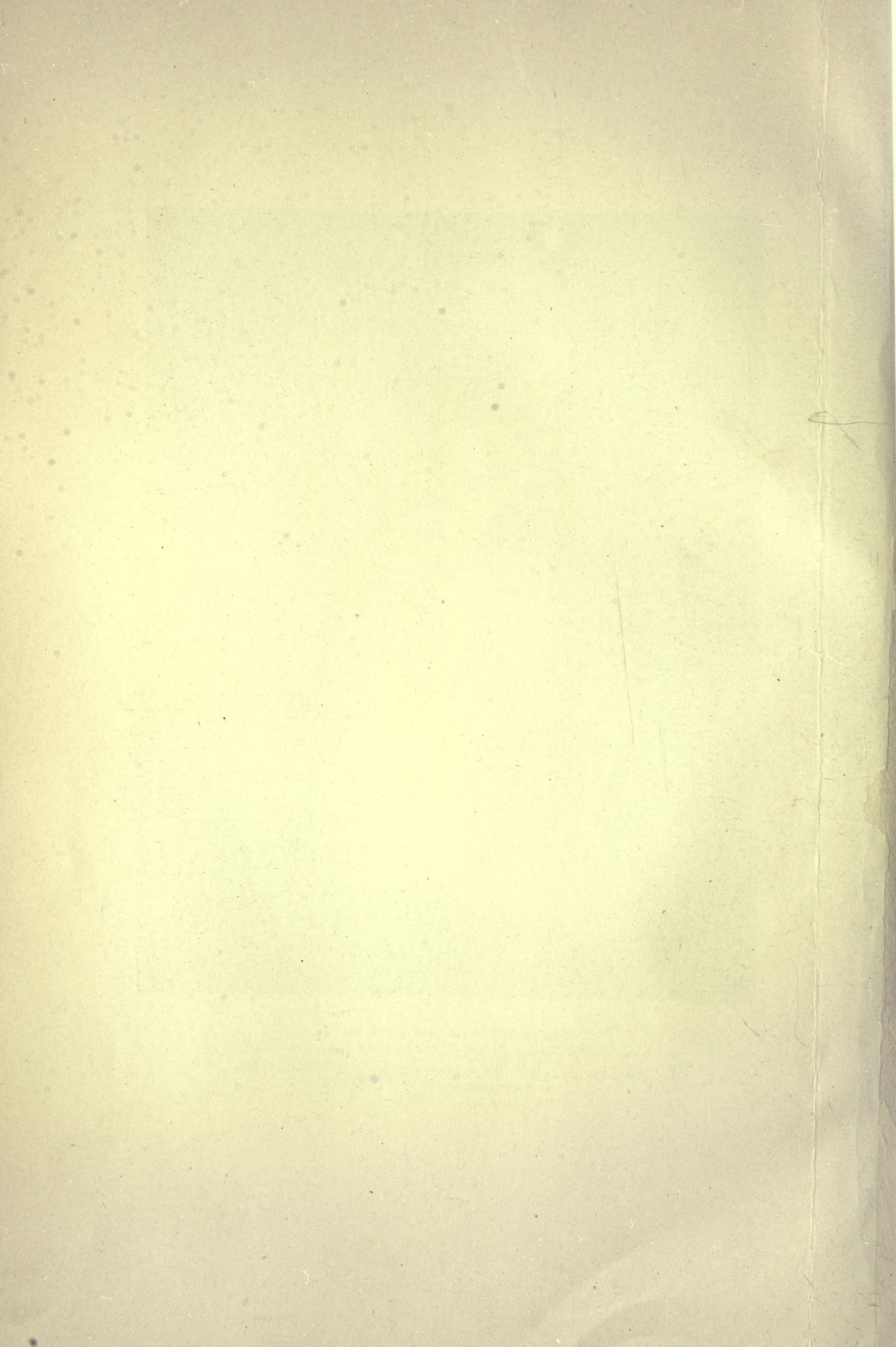




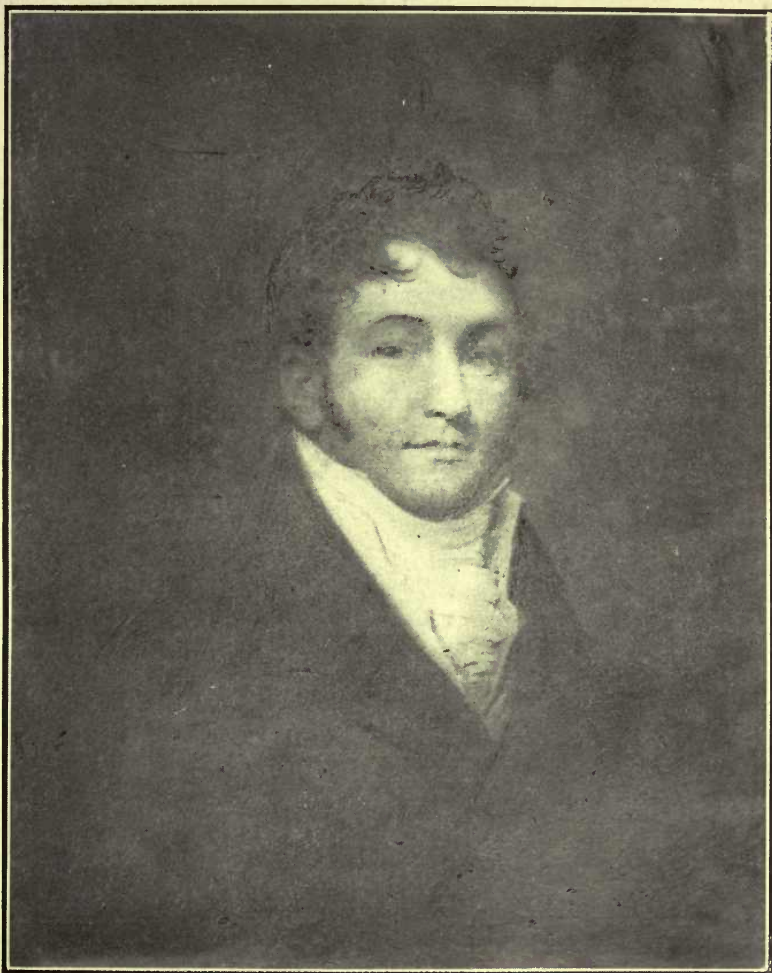
**SIR JOHN WENTWORTH, Bart.,**

Governor of Nova Scotia, 1792-1808; born 1737, died 1820.

From the oil portrait by **Robert Field**, painted about 1808,  
in Government House, Halifax.







**WILLIAM BOWIE.**

Merchant; born about 1782, came to Halifax in 1803, and killed in a duel with R. J. Uniacke, Jr., in 1819.

From the oil portrait by **Robert Field**, which belonged to the late Jas. Richardson, Sr.

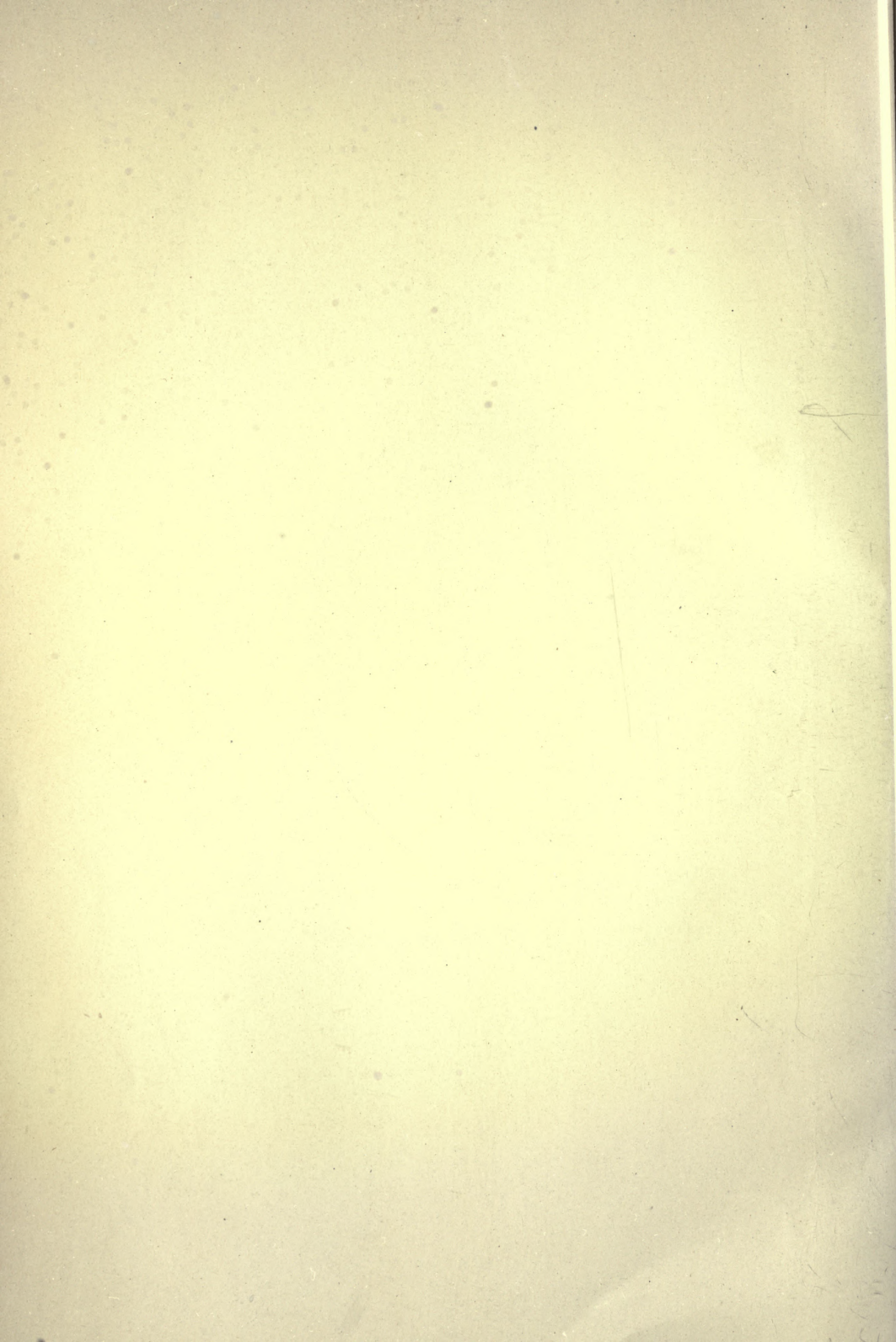






**CAPT. NICHOLAS THOS. HILL**, Royal Staff Corps  
Born about 1792, came to Halifax in 1816, died 1870.

From the miniature on ivory, by **Robert Field**, painted  
about 1817, now belonging to Miss Grace Hill,  
Vancouver, B. C.





He finally left England and went to Jamaica, where he died on 9th August, 1819 (1). Dunlap (2) tells us that he was a handsome, stout, gentlemanly man, and a favourite with gentlemen; and tradition in Halifax states that he was somewhat of a dandy and wore Hessian boots with tassels at the top. He was undoubtedly the best portrait painter we have had here, and deserves notice in any comprehensive dictionary of English painters, and probably is only so little known to the artistic world because his works are buried in the colonies. So far as I can ascertain, to him is due the credit of introducing miniature painting into this province, as well as engraving (3).

While Field was practicing his profession in Halifax under the patronage of the *élite*, we had some lesser lights here for short periods, to whom brief reference will be made (4).

JOHN THOMSON, a portrait painter in oils, a miniaturist and silhouette-cutter, as well as probably our first drawing-master, came to Halifax about April, 1809, from Kingston, Jamaica, having "returned," he says, "to accomplish his tour through British America," and took rooms opposite Smith's hotel. In a long and somewhat florid advertisement in the *Weekly Chronicle* of 3rd March, 1809, he alluringly sets forth his numerous accomplishments and his prices. He announces that he is prepared to produce likeness of any size, from so small as to bear setting in a ring, to life-size; portraits in oils from \$20 to \$100; miniatures on ivory from \$20 to \$40; full or three-quarter

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(1) Died "at Jamaica, August 9th, Robert Field, Esq., an eminent artist, very much regretted" (N. S. Royal Gazette, Halifax, 15th September, 1819). See also Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 445. Kingsford's *History of Canada*, vol. 9, p. 28, and footnote to p. 61, contains considerable information about Field.

(2) William Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design in the U. S.*, New York, 1834.

(3) One brief biographical notice erroneously states that Field "went to Canada, studied theology and later became prominent in the Episcopal Church." It is unnecessary to state that search in the official church records of Canada disproves this.

(4) According to J. S. Macdonald, a Mr. Rugeley, lieutenant in the Engineers, left the service and stayed in Halifax, where he painted some portraits. I do not know exactly to what period he belongs.

faces on vellum or paper, from \$5 to \$10; profiles in gold or silver leaf, \$5; in colours or painted on glass, \$3; in india-ink, \$1; cut on paper, four of one person, half a dollar, or two for one quarter. He also undertakes to teach drawing at private lodgings, boarding schools or at his own rooms, for from \$7 to \$4 a month. Further than all this, he will undertake the drawing and painting of signs and scenes, transparencies for windows, views of estates, coats-of-arms and antiquities for antiquarians, landscapes, birds, flowers, figures, and lastly, patterns for ladies to draw or work on silk, satin, velvet, tiffany, etc. This advertisement, which might be termed a breathless one, shows that at least he was versatile; and his prices were fairly high for the time, which may indicate that he was not without skill.

E. METCALF, a miniaturist and silhouette-cutter, was here in 1810, and states that he met with liberal encouragement, his prices for his work, framed or set, ranging from 5s. to £4. He left here in December of that year (1). In May of the next year, F. B. S. SPILSBURY opened a school for teaching drawing and painting (2). In 1813 one RALPH STANNETT, artist, was married at Halifax, to a Mary McDonald (*vide* Mr. G. Mullane); but nothing further is known of him.

J. E. ACRES, late a Royal Academy student, London, practised here as a drawing-master and miniature painter from September, 1815, till the next year or later, his rooms being at Mrs. Wright's near Thomas Donaldson's, and he gave the name of Hon. Charles Morris as a reference (3). Acres must have again been in Halifax in 1823, for a small round miniature on ivory, supposed to be of Mr. Wilkie, once the property of the late Miss Wilkie but now owned by Mr. George Ritchie, is inscribed on the back, "Halifax, Jan. 1823, Acres, Painter."

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(1) Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, Halifax, 5th December, 1810.

(2) Notice dated 17th May, in Weekly Chronicle, Halifax, 26th July, 1811.

(3) Vide notice dated 13th September, in N. S. Royal Gazette of 25th October, 1815, 26th June, 1816, etc.; and catalogue of art exhibit, Provincial Exhibition, Halifax, 1909.



The workmanship is not very good. The date is added in ink, and possibly may not be the date of painting.

In 1819, R. FOULIS of Edinburgh and London, was painting portraits in oil and miniature, his studio being at Mrs. Sturmeys, No. 14, Barrington Street, just north of the then post-office; and on 6th July of that year he opened a class for teaching the principles of landscape and figure drawing at Mr. Burns's English and Commercial Academy, No. 4, Cheapside, opposite the northeast corner of the Province Building (1). In July of the same year a MR. PATRIDGE was another drawing-master at Halifax (2).

In 1819 there was published at Halifax a creditable "Perspective View of the Province Building from the N. E.," drawn and etched by J. E. WOOLFORD, a copy of which is in the "Acadian Recorder" office. The date of publication is not very clearly inscribed; but as the building, which was begun in 1811, was first occupied by the legislature on 11th February, 1819, on its completion, I believe the latter date to be the correct one for the plate. It is printed in inks of two colours, a warm brown for the foreground, and blue for the distance, and may have been washed over with the brush to accentuate this, producing a pleasing effect, very closely resembling a pen drawing tinted with broad washes of colour. The new building occupies the centre of the plate (which measures about 13 by 8½ inches); to the left is seen the old Cochran building, three stories high; and St. Matthew's and St. Paul's Churches appear in the distance. It is the first etching produced and published here.

In December, 1819, and early in 1820, JOHN POAD DRAKE, a young English artist, was here painting the excellent full-length of Chief Justice S. S. Blowers in his official scarlet robes and wig, which was ordered by the magistrates and grand-jurors of the county of Halifax. The portrait is inscribed by

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(1) N. S. Royal Gazette, Halifax, 30th June, 1819, and other issues.

(2) Vide Geo. Mullane, from Halifax newspaper of 1819.

the artist, "Painted by J. P. Drake, 1820." This picture till 1909 hung in the Province Building, but was then loaned to the barristers' society and is now in the County Court House. Some misunderstanding took place between Drake and his clients, and when the former was paid, the money was delivered to him in bags of halfpence, and the disgusted painter had to send a wheelbarrow to convey it away. It was apparently the only portrait he painted here. Drake was an artist of some note who was born at Stoke Damerel, near Plymouth, Devonshire, in 1794, and died at an advanced age at Fowey, Cornwall, on 26th February, 1883. He was fifth in descent from John Drake (1564-1640), a cousin of the famous admiral. The artist was first employed with his father in Plymouth Navy Yard, and took up the study of painting. He saw Napoleon on board the "Bellerophon" in Plymouth Sound in 1815, and produced a picture of the scene which he carried to America with him. Having painted the beforementioned portrait of Justice Blowers, he visited Montreal, where he painted an altarpiece, and then went to New York where his picture of Napoleon was exhibited. He spent much time in inventing new devices and improvements, and among other things is said to have discovered the principle of the Snider-Enfield gun in 1835. He left an only child, H. H. Drake, who was the editor of a new "History of Kent" (1). The artist was a brother of the grandfather of the late William H. Drake of Halifax.

The lack of data covering the period from 1820 to 1828, seems to indicate that my searches may not have happened to cover those few years; or that, less likely, there may then have been really a dearth of art-workers here. I regret that since bringing my notes together, I have not been able to go carefully over the newspapers of the nine years in question, in order to ascertain if they had been overlooked.

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(1) See fuller account of Drake in the Dict. of Nat. Biography, vol. 15, p. 447. See also correspondence, etc., in Royal Gazette, Halifax, 22nd December, 1819; Murdoch's History of N. S., vol. 3, p. 443; Akins's History of Halifax, p. 189; and Report of Prov. Museum, Halifax, for 1911, p. 23.



Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, 1829, contains some line engravings of drawings of the Province Building, View of Halifax from Dartmouth Cove (by a lady of that place), View of the Front Street of Windsor, and View of the Fort and Part of the Town of Annapolis; but they are poorly done and badly engraved, and we do not know who drew the originals.

In 1829, MR. GELLESPIE of London, Edinburgh and Liverpool, was in Halifax practising as a profile miniature painter, his outlines being made by means of "several mechanical and optical instruments." His prices were, for "features neatly painted in colours," two dollars each; in plain black, one-quarter dollar; shaded in black, one-half dollar; and finished in bronze, one dollar. (1). Two authentic profile miniatures on paper by Gellespie, of James McNutt a builder of Halifax, and Amelia A. Gaetz, aged eighteen, who became his wife, belong to J. McN. Gabriel. They are unsigned, but a pen note on the back of Mrs. McNutt's portrait, states it was by Gellespie. I am also quite certain I identify this artist's work in another profile miniature, on paper, of Judge Emerson, born at Windsor, N. S., about 1801, but afterwards of St. John's, Newfoundland, which belongs to Miss C. M. Sinclair of Halifax; as well as in one of Henry Goudge (1805-1841), father of Hon. M. H. Goudge, of Windsor. Gellespie's fleshtints are very thinly applied, with no indication of stippling, and his profile outline is clean and decisive though somewhat faint. Probably his skill was not of a very high degree. (2).

In 1829 and 1830, and doubtless later, W. H. JONES, an artist from Boston and Philadelphia, was successfully teaching painting in Halifax, his classes in Dalhousie College, on the

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(1) Vide George Mullane, from Halifax newspaper.

(2) Major Henry Piers of the Royal Staff Corps, an Englishman who was stationed at Halifax from about 1830 till after he was placed on half-pay in November, 1831, was an amateur who painted some original water-colour landscapes which showed a trained hand; and a couple of his paintings of coast scenes in Sicily and Calabria are in Halifax. He was born in England about 1781, entered the service in 1809, and after returning to England went to Cape Colony in 1834 as a special magistrate under the slave emancipation act, and died there in 1872. His son Henry, who was with him in Halifax, did some good pen drawings after the style of etchings.

Parade, being attended by a number of notable persons, including Lady Mary Fox (daughter of William IV. and Mrs. Jordan, and wife of the then Col. Charles R. Fox), as well as Maria Morris the flower painter (1). Jones, when in the United States, had by imparting a portion of his own enthusiasm to some of the more wealthy and influential citizens, organized very respectable and lucrative art exhibitions in Boston and Baltimore; and under his energetic initiation a similar exhibition of paintings was held at Halifax, under his charge, in his rooms at Dalhousie College, from 10th to 29th May, 1830. This was the first art exhibition ever held here (2).

PHIPPS, a miniature painter on ivory, was here in 1829, having his studio at Mr. Loveland's, corner of Hollis and Sackville Streets, the price of his portraits being ten dollars (3); and L'ESTRANGE, an English portrait painter in oils, miniaturist and instructor in oil painting, etc., of some merit, who claimed that his "style of copying nature in her richest attire has been acknowledged by the best informed artists in Great Britain," practiced here from about 1832 until at least 1834. The latter's prices for portraits were from two to ten pounds; and for instruction, one pound a month, for three afternoons a week (4). Phipps's and L'Estrange's work is not now recognized, although there should be a fair number of the latter's canvases about the province.

Possibly I may be pardoned for here referring briefly to one who for some fifteen years after about 1826, as a well-trained

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(1) One of a series of large pencil drawings of heads, executed no doubt at Jones's classes by my aunt, Elizabeth Piers, is dated May 29th, 1829, which tends to show that he was teaching here as early as that. The late T. S. Hill of Halifax also received instruction from him. I have seen some of Lady Mary Fox's water-colours, which belonged to Mr. Hill, but they were not well executed. Capt. Wm. S. Moorsom (1804-63), 52nd Regt., who was here in 1826-31 in his "Letters" (1830) gives views of the Province House, Cape "Blow-me-Down," and Lochaber Lake, no doubt from his own sketches, (See life, Dict. Nat. Biog.

(2) See long article regarding Jones and this exhibition, in the Nova Scotia, Halifax, 11th February, 1830, also 8th April, 1830.

(3) Notice dated 19th February, 1829, in Nova Scotian, Halifax, of 26th March, 1829.

(4) See L'Estrange's notice dated 6th December in the Nova Scotian of the 6th December, 1832; and others in the same newspaper of 11th July, 1833 and 16th January, 1834.



and enthusiastic amateur, produced some oil portraits which evinced unusual skill, a facile, confident and free brush, and good drawing and colouring, and which showed that had he taken up art as a profession he would have at least equalled his contemporary and friend, Valentine. The stress and cares of business, however, were to be his lot, and his brushes were regretfully laid down later in life when the pressure of other occupations denied any leisure for the work he most loved. I refer to WILLIAM B. T. PIERS, and think it may be not untruthfully said that he was the most gifted amateur portraitist of those days. Among his original oil paintings may be mentioned portraits of his wife, Sophia; and of the latter's neice, Fanny, daughter of Capt. Robert J. Langrishe, R. N., afterwards wife of Rev. W. W. LeGallais; and also one of his father-in-law, the Hon. William Carson, M.D., Speaker of the Assembly, St. John's, Newfoundland, who died in 1843. There is also a picture by him (one of his last), entitled "The Key of the Harem," which may not be original. His two portraits of John Lawson, who died in 1828, are known to be after Field; and one of Montgomery, the poet, was of course a copy (1).

Doubtless the finest silhouettist we have had, was young HANKES, who, after practising in Great Britain and America, came to Halifax and in the winter of 1830-1 cut profiles which are really notable for their very masterly execution. He worked with great rapidity but rare skill and delicacy in

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(1) William Bevil Thomas Piers, eldest son of Temple F. Piers, was born 24th March, 1808, at St. John's, Newfoundland, where his father was then ensign and paymaster of the N. S. Regiment of Fencible Infantry. He received instruction in painting from an English artist at Halifax. He lived in Halifax till 1836, in Bedford till about 1842 when he returned to Halifax, resided at Horton from 1846 to 1851, when he went to Lansing, Iowa, and three years later to near Wabasha, Minn., where he died, 15 April 1855. His paintings were doubtless all produced prior to 1842. One of the Lawson copies and the "Key of the Harem," belong to Mrs. Henry Piers, the other Lawson copy to J. G. A. Creighton of Ottawa, while the portrait of his wife belongs to W. C. Piers, Minneapolis. Carson's picture was considered by the Doctor's family as superior to one of him by William Edgar. It is doubtless with a descendant of the Carson family in St. John's. Piers's sister, Elizabeth (1814-1839), afterwards Mrs. Wm. G. Green, also had artistic ability, having apparently been a pupil of W. H. Jones in 1829.

this lesser style of portraiture. His price for a bust portrait was half-a-dollar for adults, and half-price for children. Some of his profiles were neatly and very sparingly touched up with bronze by an assistant named Reynolds. I have seen one portrait, doubtless by Hanks, in which the method of producing the profile is reversed, the portrait being cut out of the white background paper, a piece of black paper being afterwards placed behind it. This is a method very seldom practiced. Hanks came here about 15th December, 1830, worked in the large upper room of the Exchange Coffee House, afterwards the City Court House, was patronized by the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, and cut the portraits of very many important people of the town. His gallery (open 11 a. m. to 4 p. m., and 7 to 9 p. m.) was brilliantly lighted and elaborately fitted up as a lounging place, and crowds inspected his greatly admired collection, which included family groups, full-lengths and bust portraits, as well as pictures of horses, dogs, etc. He finally announced he would close his gallery or "papyrotomia" at 10 p. m., 27th January, 1831, and the collection was sold by auction the next day. My father, Henry Piers, whose full-length profile was cut by him in 1831, when six years of age, remembered him well and described him to me as a dark man, who worked exceedingly rapidly, cutting out the portrait with scissors directly from the sitter, without any preliminary drawing or the aid of subsidiary appliances that were sometimes used by less expert men (1.)

Since his arrival here in 1818 there had been patiently studying and working, under somewhat adverse circumstances, one who next to Field was to achieve the most success as a portrait painter in Nova Scotia, and who besides was to gain universal respect for his admirable character. Perhaps no local artist's name was more familiar to the last generation than that of WILLIAM VALENTINE, who from about the first quarter of the nineteenth century until his death in 1849, laboured in our midst, preserving the lineaments of many notable persons, more particularly during the period of 1830-49. Often as his

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(1) See also Hanks's advertisements in Royal Gazette, and Nova Scotian, from 15th Dec. 1830, to 26th Jan. 1831. Among his silhouettes are those of T. F. Piers's family, 1831, including William B. T., and his wife (full-lengths), Temple S., Lewis E., Elizabeth, Mary, and Henry (a full-length). The portrait cut from the background, referred to above, is of Edward H. Harrington, barrister, Halifax.





THREE SILHOUETTES BY HANKES.

Cut in January, 1831.  
(About  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths size of originals.)

Wm. B. T. Piers (on right), 1808-1855; Elizabeth Piers, 1814-1839;  
and Henry Piers, 1824-1910.





name may be heard, not very much definite information can be gathered regarding his career.

He was born at Whitehaven, Cumberland, on the northwest coast of England, in 1798 (1), and is said to have been a relative and pupil of Field's, but I very much doubt that he received instruction from the latter as he is referred to by Howe as having been self-taught (2).

He came to Halifax in 1818 (*vide* his obituary notice), at the age of twenty, the very year that Field is supposed to have left this town. Art with him was a deep passion; although to eke out the little he thereby won in the earlier years, he was forced to take up also the more commonplace trade of a house painter and decorator, being in partnership with one Bell, under the firm name of Bell and Valentine, painters, until 3rd May, 1824, after which he did business alone (3). I well remember the elaborate but tasteful freehand coloured borders and corner-pieces from his brush, which adorned a room of about 1828 in my old home, and as a wee chappie I viewed them with a feeling of veneration when they were discovered beneath a subsequent paper and I was told they were his work. His workshop was formerly at Starr's wharf, but in May, 1827, he moved to a two-and-a-half story, pitchroofed building in Bell's (Marchington's) Lane, at the northeast corner of that lane and Barrington Street, where he had his studio till his death. This building was afterwards Oxley's, and has since been demolished and another taken its place (4).

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(1) Vide obituary notice in Halifax newspaper of December 1849, and inscription on tombstone in Camp Hill Cemetery.

(2) The late J. S. Macdonald informed me that Valentine was either a grandnephew or nephew of Field, and that he was a pupil of the latter. If so, it could have only been for a very short time. Compare Joseph Howe's statement that he was self-taught, in his poem to his memory.

(3) Vide notice in N. S. Royal Gazette, May, 1824. In the same paper of 27th September, 1826, we find Valentine's name as a passenger on the cutter "George Henry," bound for Boston.

(4) Vide notice of his removal, Nova Scotian, Halifax, 17th May, 1827. In the notice he styles himself "painter and glazier," and states that his new shop is "next door to Mr. Bell's brewery."

The earliest of his paintings I have happened to come upon, is a small oil portrait of a unknown man, signed and dated 1828, which a few years ago had been knocked about an auction-room in Halifax until it had a couple of holes in it (1). Although of somewhat fair merit, it does not at all show the finer colouring of his mature productions of the late thirties. I believe that the original of a very poorly-executed crayon portrait of Anthony Holland (died 1830) which belongs to the Provincial Museum, was an oil portrait by Valentine which was in the Vinecove family of Halifax. If so, the latter picture must be one of his earlier works. The crayon copy, by an unknown bungler, gives no idea of the original which I have never seen.

A pretty little oil profile portrait of Henrietta C. Morris, aged twenty-two years, in pink-ribboned lace cap and green dress, inscribed on the back as having been painted in 1828, seems to be by Valentine, as it looks like his earliest style, and I believe H. B. Sellon considered it to be from Valentine's brush. The profile is good and the face generally is attractively worked up, but the drapery is crudely done. It is on tin-plate,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  by 6 inches, and belongs to J. McN. Gabriel. (2).

He took an interest in the Halifax Mechanics' Institute, being one of the original committee in 1831-2 and again in 1833-34, and in 1832 painted and presented to that society a portrait of its first president, the Hon. William Grigor, M. D., and some seventeen years later made a companion portrait of another president, Andrew Mackinlay, which I believe was the last painting he executed (3). The former is the better in pose, the latter in colouring, bearing evidence of more mature work.

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(1) It is now, I believe, in the possession of Melvin S. Clarke.

(2) In an old undated manuscript list of articles belonging to the Halifax Mechanics' Institute, is a portrait of "Andrew Angus, once an eccentric vendor of mutton pies at Halifax, presented by Mr. Valentine." This is not now in the Provincial Museum, and very likely it is the small profile head in oil, on tin-plate, dated 1829, now in the Legislative Library, Halifax, which looks like Valentine's earliest style. I always was told that it was a portrait of an eccentric character of not much importance in Halifax.

(3) George Mullane informs me that he has seen it noted that the Mackinlay portrait was the last picture that Valentine completed. It was most likely painted in 1849, when Mackinlay retired after having served



About August, 1836, he visited London (1), where he gave himself up to painstaking study and executed three-quarter-length copies in oils of the portraits of three successive presidents of the Royal Society, namely, Dr. William Hyde Wollaston after John Jackson, R. A., Sir Humphry Davy after Sir Thomas Lawrence, P. R. A., and Dr. Davies Gilbert after Thomas Phillips, R. A., the originals of which hang in the society's rooms. On the same occasion he made a copy of John Jackson's portrait of the Duke of Wellington in the uniform of the Master General of the Ordnance. A description of this copy states that "it is painted in a very peculiar style, full of strong touches and deep glazing. It is said to be a most exact copy and Valentine was highly complimented in London on producing so good a copy; he should, however, have finished up the lower part of the picture" (2). It afterwards belonged to Dr. Akins and must be the picture which is now at King's College, Windsor: but if so, I have not so high an opinion of it as the writer of the preceding extract.

The Wollaston, Davy and Gilbert portraits became the property of the Mechanics' Institute and with the Grigor and Mackinlay passed in trust to the Provincial Museum, where they now hang, and are among the best of Valentine's work. The Wollaston is said to possess all the spirit and touch of the original, and the Davy is a close imitation of Lawrence's style. The copy of Gilbert's portrait is very ably executed, particularly the head, which is unusually well modelled and delicately coloured, the pearly grays being notably tender; and this picture, although unfortunately not his own original composition, is undoubtedly the best example of Valentine's work as far as mere brush technique is concerned. These canvases

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eleven years as president of the Mechanics' Institute, the year when the artist died. The Grigor portrait is inscribed by the artist, "Portrait of Dr. Grigor, painted for Mechanics Institute."

(1) Vide notice in *Nova Scotian*, Halifax, 9th June, 1836, and 9th March, 1837. The latter announces his return from London. It is very probable that Valentine visited London on more than one occasion.

(2) Account, probably by Akins, of art exhibition in Halifax; *British Colonist*, Halifax, October, 1848.

were painted at the beginning of his best period (1). His studies in England had given him a more delicate sense of tone and colour, and his subsequent paintings were much the better for it.

His dignified portrait of the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, master of the rolls, also a three-quarter length, in black gown, painted after this time (Archibald died in 1842), is a masterly piece of work, one of his very best originals, and a fine likeness as well. It shows Archibald in his palmy days, and the peculiar expression of rich humour which lighted up his fine countenance when addressing an audience, was happily hit by the artist (2). It was complimented by being shown in 1907 at an art exhibition in Halifax as being from the brush of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P. R. A., a kind of error that is not infrequent in the case of pictures! It was long the property of the Provincial Museum, having come to it with the other Mechanics' Institute pictures, of which it was one. On 21st August, 1899, it was transferred to the Province Building, and in January, 1909, was loaned, with Drake's Blowers, to the Barristers' Society to be hung in the Halifax Court House, where it now is. It is said that they suffered somewhat in being incautiously cleaned. The picture is reproduced in the *Collections of the N. S. Historical Society*, vol. 16, page 198, and the head portion in Bourinot's *Builders of Nova Scotia*, opposite page 22.

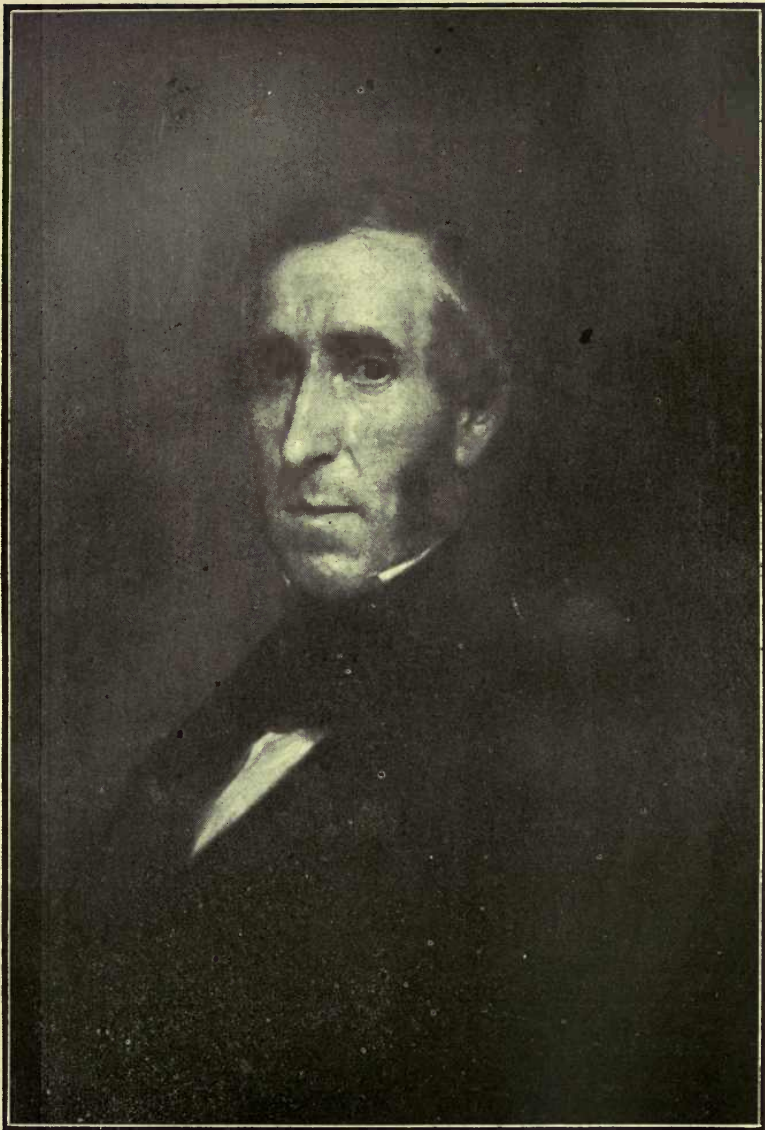
On 9 March, 1837, Valentine published in the *Nova Scotian* a notice expressing his gratitude for the patronage with which he had been honored since his return from London to Halifax, and stating the terms on which he was prepared to execute paintings. These charges were: £1s. 10 for profiles in oil, 11 by 13 inches; and £3 for the same style, 16 by 19 inches; while for ordinary portraits they were, £5 for 16 by 19 inches

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(1) It is just possible the Gilbert was of later date, but only for the reason that it is not mentioned in the account of the art exhibition at Halifax in 1848. Vide *British Colonist* of 5 October, 1848.

(2) Vide *British Colonist*, 3 October, 1848; also *Nova Scotian*, 9th October, 1848.

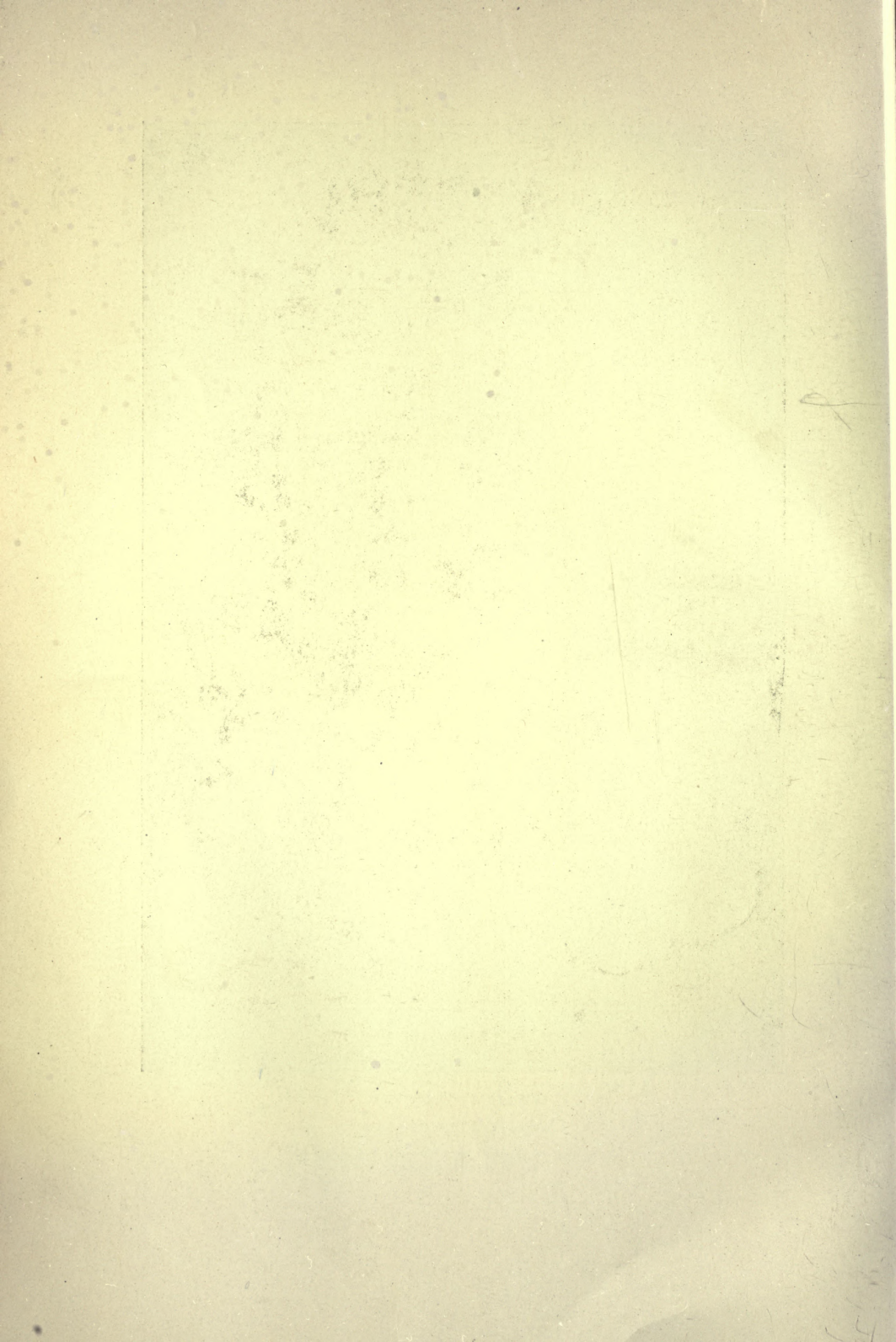




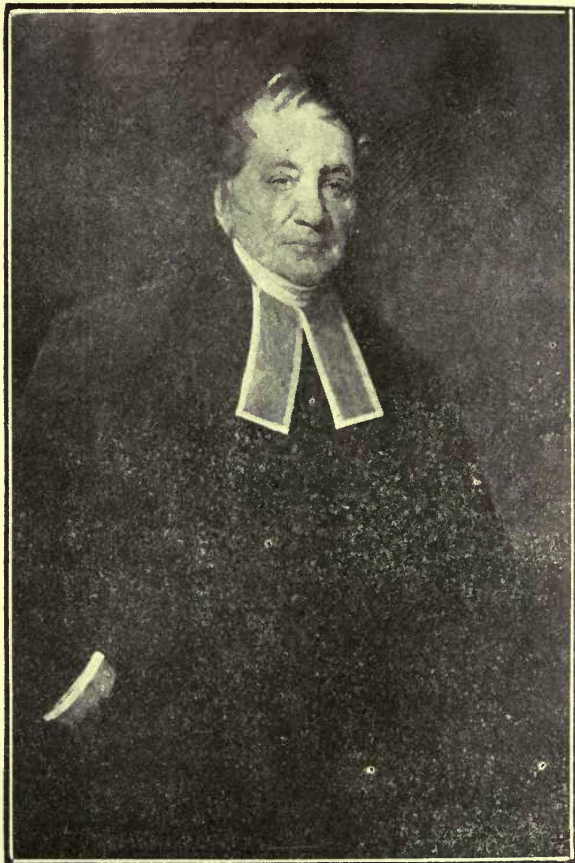
**WILLIAM VALENTINE.**

Artist; born 1798. died 1849.

From the oil portrait by **Himself**, belonging to  
G. M. Smith, Halifax.



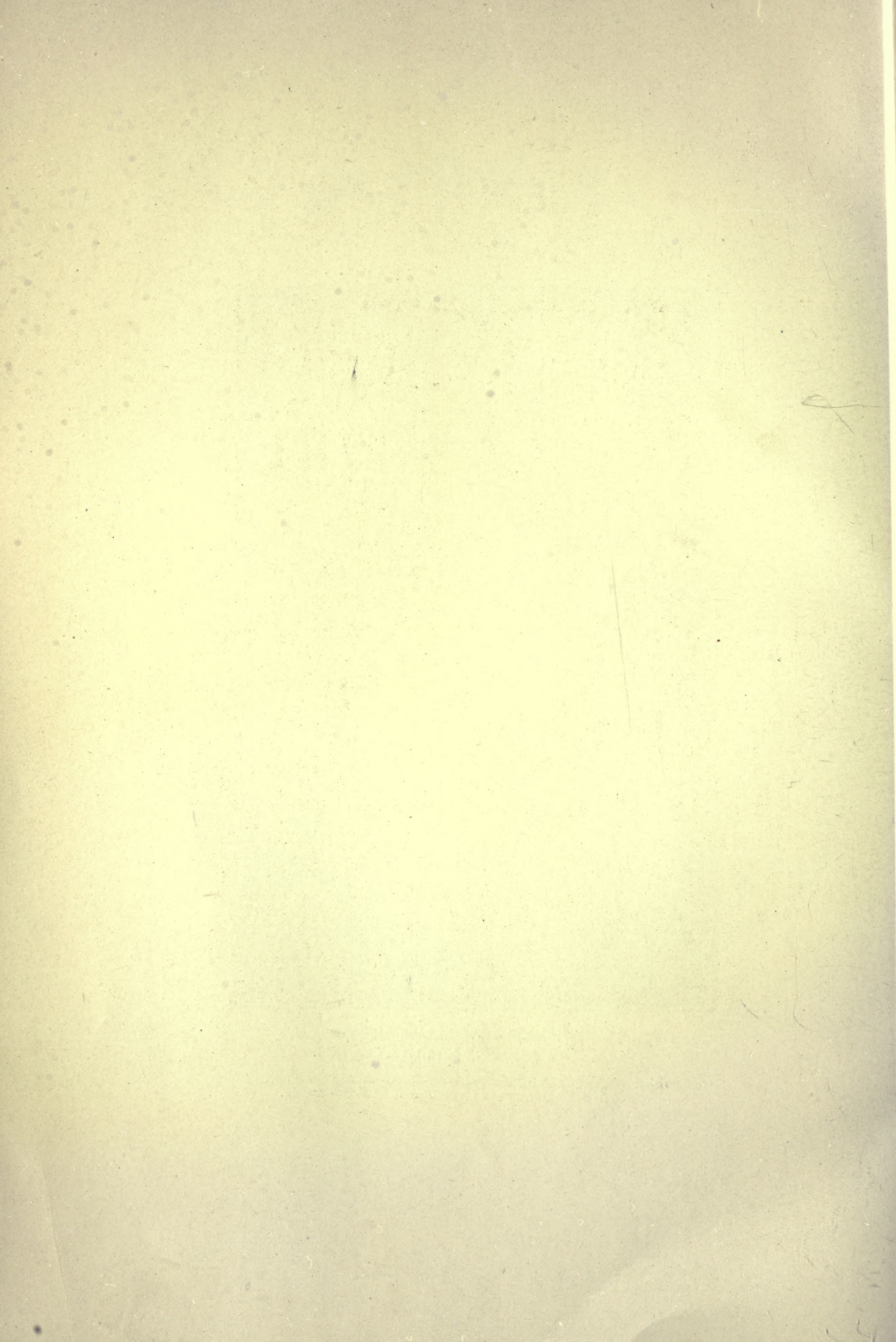




**HON. SAMUEL GEORGE WILLIAM ARCHIBALD,**

Master of the Rolls, etc.; born 1777, died 1846.

From the oil portrait by **William Valentine**, formerly in the Provincial  
Museum, belonging to the Government of Nova Scotia.





size, £10 for three-quarter size (25 by 30 inches), £15 for kit-cat (28 by 36 inches), and £30 for half-length (42 by 56 inches) (1). That is, he got fairly good remuneration for his work, if there was enough of it, which probably there was not. Other artists had worked here for longer or shorter periods during his time, but there is no doubt that he obtained the best of the local patronage during the thirties and forties, during which period he had grown to be a professional portrait painter of good reputation. It was the hey day of his artistic career, his best original work being done after 1836.

Science, however, was now about to step into the field of portraiture, for in January, 1839, Daguerre's experiments in photography were made public, and in the same year Talbot published his mode of multiplying photographic impressions by means of a negative photograph, the Talbotype or calotype (on paper) patent being dated February, 1841. The new process very soon found its way to Canada, and in October, 1840, daguerreotypes were taken in Quebec (2). Having first, it is said, received instruction from Daguerre himself in Paris, Valentine sometime about 1844 introduced the new daguerreotype process into Halifax, thus becoming our first photographer, and in so doing dealt a heavy blow at his beloved art (3). A large number of his photographs, in their ornate velvet-lined, clasped cases, are still about Halifax, but without the photographer's name as is now the custom. His artistic skill permitted of his posing his subject with some taste, a thing that was made difficult by the long period of exposure that was then necessary. He was still eking out his earnings

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(1) See Nova Scotian, Halifax, 9th March, 1837.

(2) F. A. McCord, Hand-book of Canadian Dates, Mont., 1888, p. 77.

(3) The late Horacio Sellon, architect, who was connected with Valentine, assured me that the latter had told him that he had received instruction in photography "at the very fountain-head in Paris," which he supposed referred to Daguerre, although someone in London may have been meant. I regret that I have not the exact date when Valentine introduced photography here, but a careful search of his advertisements in the local newspapers, will bring it to light. I think I came upon the advertisement years ago, but can find no note of it among my memoranda. Parish, Chase, and others followed Valentine as photographers here.

by practicing in the humbler but perhaps more lucrative trade of house, sign and ornamental painting (1).

A few years before his death, a fire occurred at his studio in Bell's Lane, which resulted in the destruction of some of his finished and unfinished pictures, and others were stolen in the confusion. This loss preyed considerably on him, and thereafter he seemed somewhat to fail. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the day following Christmas, 1849, he passed away at Halifax, in the fifty-first year of his age, after thirty-one years residence among us, some eighteen or twenty of which were devoted more or less to active artistic production, his most prolific period probably being from about 1837 to about 1844. The last picture he is said to have completed was that of Mackinlay, which was most likely executed in 1849, as before noted. (2). A short obituary notice in the *Nova Scotian*, written doubtless by his friend Howe, truly says that "few men have lived in this community more deeply respected or died more deeply regretted;" and his humble tombstone, hidden away in a little iron-railed plot in Camp Hill Cemetery, justly states that he was "much respected as a worthy man, a skilful artist, and humble Christian" (3).

Howe in lines addressed to his memory, which well describes the artist's temperament, says:

I would not, if I could, thy form restore,  
To toils that tasked it far beyond its strain;  
Nor win they spirit back, now free to soar,—  
To struggle in the world's harsh strife again.

(1) See notice dated 2 May in the Times, Halifax, of 1848. The advertisement leads one to understand that he was taking up this business anew.

(2) At a lecture before the Mechanics' Institute, 12th November, 1849, reference was made to the likeness by Valentine of the former president, Andrew Mackinlay, Esq. The picture, the account continues, "now graces the walls of the lecture room."

(3) The full inscription on the headstone, which is eight yards northward of the Keith monument, reads: "Sacred to the Memory of William Valentine, [Born, 1798,] Died, 1849.] Much respected as a worthy man, a skilful Artist, and humble Christian. [In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.] John 16, 33 vs."



Unfitted thou the thorny steeps to dare,  
 Where lucre dazzles, and where fame is won,  
 Not thine the vaunt that makes the vulgar stare:  
 Art's unpretending, artless, genuine son.

Self-taught, without the coarseness which betrays  
 The sturdy nature humble life imparts;  
 Self-poised, yet shrinking from the flickering rays,  
 Which Fortune flung thee but by fits and starts.

Loving the pencil for its innate power,  
 To seize and consecrate what others love—  
 Pure thoughts, and childlike, were thy richest dower,  
 Thou noble men, yet gentle as the dove." (1)

The day will surely come when Halifax will be pleased to erect a befitting monument over his last resting place in God's acre, but the simple inscription on the present stone cannot be bettered.

Valentine has been described to me by a close friend, and connection of his (2), as tall in stature (5 feet, 11 inches or 6 feet), thin, with light brown hair, bluish eyes, clean shaven except for the characteristic "mutton-chop" whiskers of the period, with a high Roman nose, high forehead, and the long hands of a gentleman and an artist. In religion he was a Methodist, and a most upright-living man. He was twice married, first, on 1st June, 1822, to Miss Susannah E. Smith, daughter of John and Elizabeth Smith, by whom he left an only child, Mary Ann, who died unmarried at Halifax on 29th June, 1899, aged seventy-five years, leaving directions in her will that her grave and that of her father and mother should be kept in order. His second wife, by whom he had no children, was Sarah Ann Sellon, sister of Edward Sellon, and an aunt of the late Horatio B. Sellon, architect of Halifax, who survived him and was

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(1) Joseph Howe, *Poems and Essays*, Mont., 1874, page 128. The above is merely an extract from the longer poem. Howe was a friend of Valentine's and Horatio Sellon told me that Howe had first discovered the former when engaged in painting on a scaffold. Valentine painted a portrait of the statesman's father, John Howe.

(2) Horatio B. Sellon, architect, formerly of Halifax; born at Halifax, 4th August, 1839 (son of Edward Sellon, died 1875, Chief Clerk in Quarter-master General Dept.) and died at Windsor, N. S., on 8th May, 1913, age 74 years. He was a nephew of Valentine's second wife, Sarah Ann.

afterwards housekeeper at Mount Allison College, Sackville, N. B. Not one of Valentine's descendants now exists.

He was almost solely a portraitist in oils, and besides the Grigor, Wollaston, Gilbert, Davy, Wellington, Archibald, and Mackinlay canvases already referred to, he painted oil portraits of the following, all unsigned as far as I know: John Howe (died 1835, father of Joseph Howe, now belonging to Sydenham Howe, and a replica in Montreal); Rev. Matthew Richey, M. A., (engraved in stipple by T. A. Dean on a plate  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches); John Sparrow Thompson (father of Sir John, one of Valentine's best portraits, reproduced on page 459 of J. C. Hopkin's *Life and Work of Sir John Thompson*); George E. Morton (Loan Exhibition, 1894); Sir William Young (first portrait of him, when a young man); Hon. John Black; Chief Justice Sir Brenton Halliburton (not to be confounded with Hoit's full-length in the Legislative Council Chamber); Captain Thomas Maynard of Windsor (a portrait in civilian clothes), 1 John Albro, George N. Russell, Richard Kidston, James Thomson, William Forsyth, Mr. Benvie, Robert Noble, Alexander Keith, Andrew B. Jennings (now belonging to Walter T. Symons of Halifax), Samuel Sellon of Liverpool, N. S., (said to be a beautiful piece of work), and the mother of George Snadden representing her as Erin (these two last pictures belong to George Snadden of Liverpool). He also painted, about 1832, a portrait of Lila, daughter of W. B. T. Piers, afterwards Mrs. Charles H. Brown of Lower Horton, representing her as a child of about four years of age, holding a bunch of grapes, this being the only child's portrait by him that I know of. It was vivacious and well executed. As I have stated, the crayon portrait of Anthony H. Holland, belonging to the Provincial Museum, is said to be

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(1) There exist two portraits of Capt. Thomas Maynard, R. N., one in uniform, and one in civilian clothes. The former is by Field and belongs to a member of the Bowman family in the United States. The other one is by Valentine and belongs to Martin W. Maynard of Ottawa. Capt. Maynard came to Halifax, about 1805, and died at Spa Spring, Windsor, in January, 1857, aged 87 years.



a very poor copy of an oil one by Valentine which was in the Vinecove family of Halifax. He also painted an excellent oil portrait of himself, which belongs to G. M. Smith of Halifax.

He painted a few miniatures, among which are Edward Sellon (son of Samuel; on paper), and his sister, Sarah Sellon (Valentine's second wife). Mrs. Charles S. Pickford of Halifax, possesses two of his profile miniatures, on bristol-board, which are of much interest, as one is a portrait of himself made with the aid of a mirror, and the other is supposed to be his first wife. (1). The outlines of the features are cleanly and precisely drawn (perhaps a little over-accentuated) and the modelling and colouring of the faces are quite good. They are finished in a very smooth style, without any noticeable effects of stippling, unless examined with a lens, and in this respect resemble the still smoother workmanship of Gellespie (1829), but are more strongly coloured in the flesh. The style differs altogether from the bold decisive stippling which characterized Robert Field's miniature work.

Among his other oil pictures is an historical one of "King John signing Magna Charta," a large canvas 41 by 40 inches, containing nineteen faces, which is an ambitious undertaking, and fairly well composed and executed. The king and the armed barons, standing in a sombre stone hall, have their right hands raised in the act of swearing assent to the great charter, while behind the sovereign are three ecclesiastics. The centre figure of the king is unfortunately the weakest part of the whole composition, while the strongest figures are those of two steel-clad barons on either side of the table. The faces generally are too flat. The picture now belongs to T. S. Bowser of Halifax, but was formerly in the Fredericks family.

Another ambitious picture by Valentine, of an historical character, now belongs to G. M. Smith of Halifax, to whose grandmother the artist had presented it very many years ago.

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(1) Or can this be his second wife Sarah Sellon, of whom Valentine painted a miniature according to H. B. Sellon.

It measures 42 by 30 inches, and represents a young man seated, with head bowed in his hand, while a young woman, kneeling before him, urges him to don a helmet and shield which lie before them, while behind her is an old bearded man and three women. The subject of this picture, I think, is doubtless an Homeric one, representing "Thetis presenting the Vulcan-wrought armour to Achilles grieving for the death of Patroclus." The left side of the picture is in shade, while to the right, beyond, is the bright outdoor light. Greys, greens, and pinks compose the draperies. While the composition is moderately good, the flesh-tints are too white and the shadows rather harsh, particularly in the drapery. The hands are poorly done.

A third and one of the best of these large paintings by Valentine, now belongs to Mrs. Charles S. Pickford of Halifax, and measures about 40 by 30 inches. The subject is not at all clear, but in effect it represents a family group of seven figures in ancient costume. In the centre is a young man standing, leaning on a chair in which is seated a lady in a white gown. He is clad in a greenish-grey tunic and reddish mantle and has buskins on his feet. In the left background are two women in blue and red and reddish-yellow gowns, one carrying a small kettle-like utensil, . In front of them are two children playing with a white-plumed helmet or cap, and another child in red holds an antique bird-cage. In the background are fluted columns and dark green curtains. The picture does not seem to tell any particular story, but it is really well composed, the grouping being particularly good. The very poorly drawn hands are the weakest feature, and the faces are a trifle too flat. It was probably intended as a companion picture to what I call the "Achilles." These three pictures are supposed to be original, but possibly may prove to be copies, particularly as the composition of Mrs. Pickford's picture seems almost too good for a painter who did not devote much attention to such representations. These three pictures, which are



not signed or dated, but are positively his work, are the only ones of the kind by him that I know of. (1).

There are of course many portraits that are unknown to be his work or that have not been brought to my notice, and several of his canvasses are said to be in Windsor and other provincial towns. I roughly estimate that he must have painted about 125 or 150 portraits in all (2).

Having sketched the career of the second best of the portrait painters who worked here for a considerable time, we will now notice our first woman professional artist, one who occupied a foremost place in her particular line, namely the production of most accurately drawn and coloured representations of our flowers of woods and fields—a botanical artist of rare ability. I know nothing of her skill in composing flower pictures, or what knowledge she possessed and could exercise in the way of artistic grouping, subordination and restraint, as well as of aerial perspective, as I have seen no such work from her brush; but for the portraiture of a single plant or spray of flowers, with the closest fidelity to nature in form, pose, parts, colour and texture, she stands absolutely unrivalled in this province.

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(1) The preceding list of some of Valentine's productions, is of course subject to correction, but is probably accurate. H. B. Sellon vouched for the Sellon and Snadden pictures as well as for the King John and other historical ones. James S. Macdonald is authority for the Young, Black, Halliburton, Russell, Kidston, Thomson, Forsyth, Benvie, Noble and Keith portraits. S. Howe verifies the Howe, and the J. S. Thompson is referred to in the account of the 1848 exhibition. In the memoirs of Rev. William Black of Halifax, published in 1839, is an engraved portrait of Black, but without the artist's name, which was probably by Valentine.

(2) This account of Valentine's life was made up from the following sources: numerous extracts from various Halifax newspaper files; article by G. Mullane in Occasional's letter, Acadian Recorder, Halifax, 11th July, 1908; valuable information supplied me verbally by the late H. B. Sellon; names of some portraits from James S. Macdonald; account of picture exhibition of 1848, in British Colonists, Halifax, 3rd, 5th and 7th October; catalogues of various other picture exhibitions at Halifax; probate registry, Halifax; Howe's Poems; and Report of Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, for 1911.

MISS MARIA MORRIS, afterwards MRS. GARRET T. N. MILLER, was born at Halifax in 1813, a member of a cadet branch of the well-known Morris family of that place. Her father, Guy Morris, dying while she was young, her mother, Sibylla E., and the latter's daughters taught school for some time. Maria, who while quite young had shown indications of artistic taste and power, took lessons in drawing and painting from W. H. Jones for two years in 1829-30, and further, in 1833, "availed herself of the instructions of an eminent professor [L'Estrange] for the last nine months" (1).

In September, 1830, she first opened a school at her residence next to the Acadian School, for the instruction of young ladies in drawing; to which in the following year, having moved with her mother's seminary to the rear of the National School, she added a course in oil and water-colours, besides landscapes and figures in pencil, crayon drawing, poonah painting (on rice or other thin paper, in imitation of oriental work), etc. (2). From December, 1832, to August, 1833, she was instructed by L'Estrange, and on the 26th of the last-mentioned month she re-opened her school of drawing and painting at her residence next south of the Acadian School, and taught figure work in water-colours on paper or ivory, and in pencil or chalk; landscape work in pencil, chalk or water-colours; and flower, fruit, bird and shell painting on paper or on such petty material as velvet and satin to satisfy the whims of the time. She devoted herself exclusively to instruction in the fine arts, while her sisters took charge of other branches taught in their school (3). From this time she seems to have abandoned oil colours, and well she might after attempting to hold so many reins in her hands!

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(1) See her notices of 23 Sept. 1830 (Nova Scotian, Hfx., 13 Jan. 1831); and 24th Nov. 1831 (Nova Scotian, 24th Nov. 1831).

(2) See the two notices, referred to in proceeding footnote.

(3) See her long notice, dated 22 August 1833, in [the Nova Scotian of the same date. She therein speaks of herself (unless a misprint) as Miss Mary E. Morris.



About this time she began to give especial attention to the painting of the beautiful wild-flowers of her native land, a kind of work which had been hitherto neglected, and for which she was unusually well fitted. The talented local botanist, Titus Smith of the Dutch Village, collected flowers for her for this purpose, correctly determined them, labelled her drawings, and generally encouraged her in the undertaking. (1). Ninety-nine sheets (representing 146 species) of her flower paintings, natural size, on paper measuring 16 by 12 inches, watermarked 1834 and 1835, which approximately determines the time of their production, became the property of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute and are now a most valued possession of the Provincial Museum. This set is different from and fewer in number than the one retained by herself, which latter was to be the original of a publication to which we will now refer.

Apparently early in 1840 she began, through a London publisher, to issue in parts (each number to contain three plates, quarto size) a most beautiful series of coloured full-sized lithographs of her water-colour drawings, entitled "The Wild Flowers of Nova Scotia," with descriptive text by Titus Smith, and under the patronage of Sir Colin Campbell. Part 1 contained plates of the mayflower, pigeon-berry, and white water-lily; and part 2, Indian cup, tree cranberry, and Indian hemp or milkweed. The price of each part was five shillings (2.)

A second series, same size, with text by Dr. Alexander Forrester, (Smith having died in January, 1850,) was issued in 1853, under the patronage of Lt. Governor Sir Gaspard LeMarchant, she having previously become Mrs. Miller. I have seen two or three issues of this series, which belonged

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(1) Vide verbal information from my late father.

(2) On 3 October, 1839, she first announced the proposed publication of her Wild Flowers of Nova Scotia, by subscription. (See Nova Scotian, 3 Oct.-7 Nov. 1839). On May 28th, 1840, she announced that she intended to publish Nos. 3 and 4 of her Wild Flowers with descriptions by Titus Smith; to be issued in the course of the summer. See notices in the Nova Scotian. A notice, dated 18 Nov. 1840, gives a list of the plates in parts 1 and 2. (See Nova Scotian, 10 Dec. 1840.) It is doubtful if parts 3 and 4 actually appeared.

to my family, and am fairly certain they were published conjointly by Snow of London and Mackinlay of Halifax, but unfortunately I cannot now verify this. Probably only very few parts of this series were issued.

Part 1 of what may be considered as a third series, with the title of "Wild Flowers of British North America," was published under the patronage of His Excellency Sir William Fenwick Williams, by Reeve and Co., London, in 1867, with information on the history, properties, etc., of the subjects, by Prof. George Lawson, Ph. D., of Dalhousie College. The size of the work was  $14\frac{1}{4}$  by  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches, and the first part contained six hand-coloured lithographic plates, viz., the may-flower, pigeonberry, white waterlily, cranberry-tree, Indian cup (?) and common silkweed. These were the same plates which appeared in parts one and two of her first issue of 1840. It is not known how many of these parts appeared—doubtless very few. The sumptuous style of the plates was far ahead of the time—for Nova Scotia, I mean—and only a few parts were published and they seem to be now exceedingly rare. The venture was financially a failure. A full collation of the various parts would be of interest, but the material for so doing is not available.

These beautiful plates, and the much more lovely originals, are sufficient to place this artist in the very first rank of botanical painters. Some of her paintings shown at the London exhibition of 1862 were highly praised by the London press.

On 8th July, 1840, Miss Morris married Garret Trafalgar Nelson Miller of LaHave, and she died at Halifax on 29th October, 1875, at the age of sixty-two years. Her husband died on 21st July, 1897, aged ninety-three years. Not many years ago her original paintings were in the possession of her daughter, Mrs. James A. Grant of 34 Russell Street, Halifax (1).

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(1) Particulars of Mrs. Miller and her work have been gathered from notices in the Halifax newspapers of the period, which have been referred to; and there is also a short biographical sketch of her in H. J. Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, 1867, p. 279. Her daughter, Rose, I am informed, painted fruit very well in water colours.

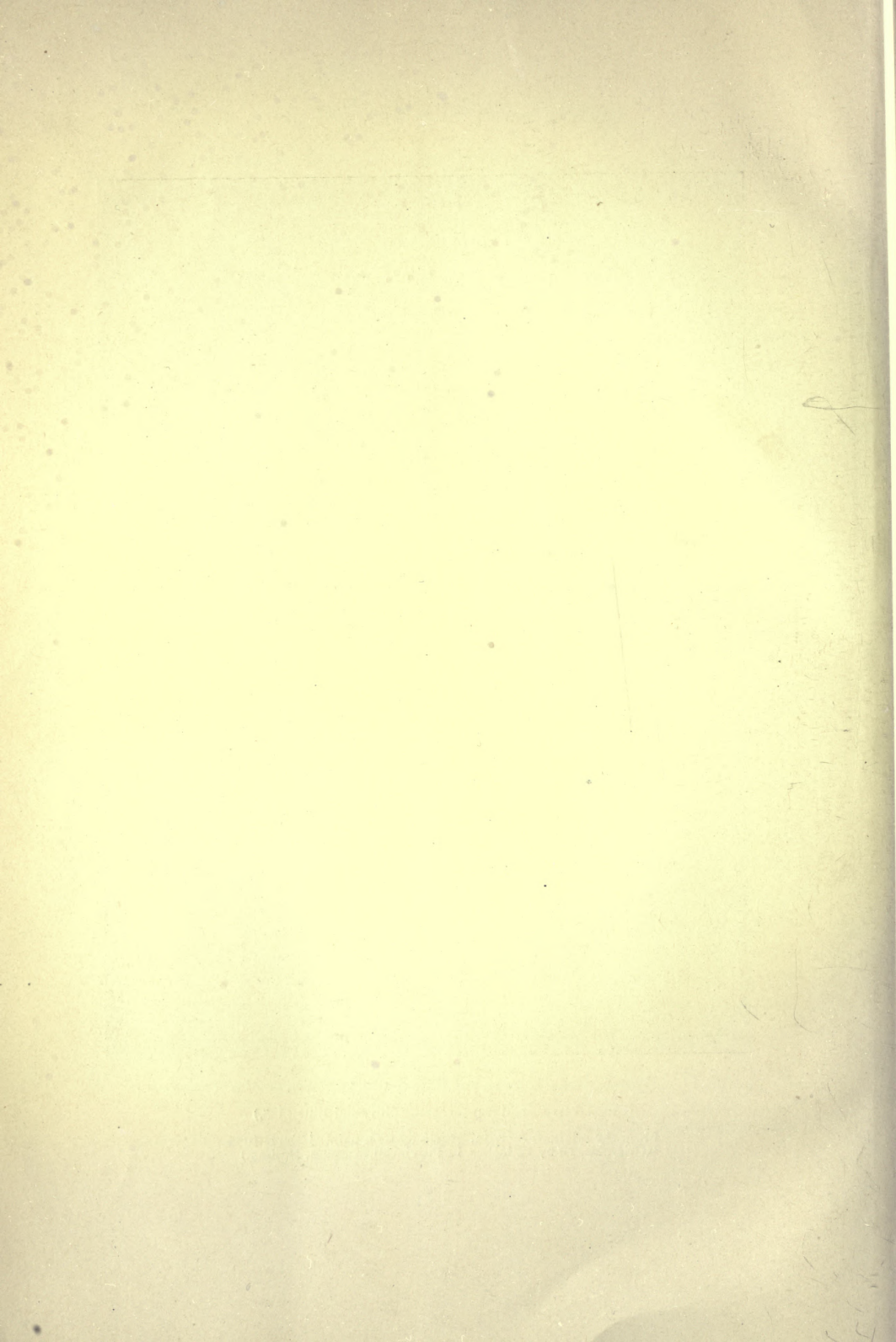




**Water-colour Paintings of Wild Flowers of Nova Scotia.**

(Choke-berry, Sea-lavender, Water-lily, and Blue Flag.)

From the originals by **Mrs. Maria Miller**, painted about 1835.  
(Originals, 16 by 12 inches, in Provincial Museum, Halifax.)





L'Estrange (p. 124) was followed in 1834 by WILLIAM EAGAR who began here as a landscape and portrait painter in oil and water-colours, although his lack of skill as a portraitist and the successful competition of Valentine caused him to specialise in the former branch (1). He was probably the best topographical artist we have had, a few of his drawings even rising to the plane of excellent landscapes. He also frequently drew directly on stone, and shares with Petley (see p. 144) the of credit having introduced lithography into this province.

He was an Irishman, probably from one of the southwest counties, born about 1796, who took up art as a mere accomplishment, which later he utilized as a means of livelihood. It is not known who instructed him, but it is thought that he may have studied in Italy for a time. He went to St. John's, Newfoundland, where in June, 1831, he made a drawing of the town from Signal Hill which was engraved in stipple (2). He also painted a portrait of Hon. William Carson, the well-known whig politician and speaker of the Assembly of Newfoundland, not to be confused with W. B. T. Piers's portrait of the same gentleman (3).

In 1834 he left St. John's and settled at Halifax. For the reason given, he did little or nothing at portraiture, but devoted himself to the representation of Nova Scotian scenery for which he was better fitted and in which he reached a commendable degree of proficiency. Some of his drawings, notably one of the two of Halifax from Fort Needham, evince excellent pictorial composition and good balance,—in fact the one particularized is a creditable landscape. On 14th December, 1837, he announced the proposed publication of a series of Landscape Illustrations of British North America, to be issued in parts, and ultimately to form two volumes, the first devoted to Nova Scotia, the second to New Brunswick, and to consist of

(1) See his notice in *Nova Scotian*, Halifax, 25th December, 1834.

(2) See Catalogue of J. R. Robertson Collection, Toronto, 1912, p. 35, No. 202. It is reproduced, I think, in Prowse's *History of Newfoundland*.

(3) Vide the late Mrs. Charles Wilson of Quincy, Mass.

lithographs by himself, J. Gellatly, A. Ferguson, etc., after his own sketches (1). This, if completed, would have been a worthy work, but death took him before it was finished. Evidently the title of the work as issued was *Illustrations of Nova Scotia Scenery*, and the first number undated, apparently appeared about June, 1839. Only five or six parts, of three plates each, were published. Among the plates issued, which are now quite rare, were the following:—

1. Halifax from McNab's Island.
2. Halifax from the Eastern Passage.
3. Entrance to Halifax Harbour from Reeve's Hill ["The Brae?"] Dartmouth, drawn on stone by Eagar himself.
4. Halifax from the Red Mill [Albro's Cove, Dartmouth.
5. Halifax (from Fort Needham, with large tree, cattle and figures, harbour in distance; his very best picture).
6. Halifax from Fort Needham (a different view, lithographed by Allan Ferguson, Glasgow.
7. View on the North West Arm (showing Melville Island and Hosterman's grist-mill in distance).
8. View on Bedford Basin (looking toward the Narrows).
9. Ruins of the Duke of Kent's Lodge (Bedford Basin).
10. Windsor, N. S., from Fort Hill.
11. View from Retreat Farm, Windsor, N. S. (Major Thomas King's.)
12. View from the Horton Mountains (looking over the Grand Pré with Blomidon in the distance; a rather good composition, spoilt by the introduction of

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(1) See Eagar's notice, dated 14th December, in *Nova Scotian*, Halifax, 21st December, 1837, and also same paper of 4th January, 1838. The title of the work as issued was probably "*Nova Scotian Scenery*." It appeared under the patronage of Lt. Gen. Sir Colin Campbell, from the lithography of Moore and Thayer of Boston, and was issued in wrappers, the size of the paper being 17 by 11½ inches, with a vignette view (the Rotunda at the Prince's Lodge) on title-page. The lithographed portion measured about 10 by 7 inches. Each part contained three prints, the price of which was one dollar. On 4th July, 1839, C. H. Belcher, bookseller of Halifax, announced that he had just received part one of Eagar's "*Nova Scotia Scenery*," consisting of the three plates numbered 4, 3, and 8 in my list, and part two would be issued shortly. (Vide *Nova Scotian*, 1 Aug., 1839). Part three (May, 1840) contained Nos. 10, -12 of my list. On 18 Oct., 1840, Belcher advertised that he had "a few remaining copies of the late Mr. Eagar's *Illustrations of Nova Scotia Scenery*, parts 1, 2, 3 and 4, each containing three views." (Vide *Nova Scotian*, 10th Dec. 1840). This would make twelve views, as issued; but as we know of about sixteen of the prints, probably five or six parts eventually appeared. The publication continued for over a year after Eagar's death. Part four (July, 1840, continued Nos. 14-16 of my list).





HALIFAX, N. S.; from Fort Needham.

From the drawing by William Eggar, made about 1839;  
Lithographed by J. Gellatly.

(From Eggar's "Nova Scotian Scenery;" size of original print about 10 by 7 inches, exclusive of margin.)





a tree at each margin instead of at one only; drawn on stone by Eagar). 13. Cornwallis, Grand Priare (sic) and Basin of Minas (from the North Mountain;) a moderately good composition. 14. Pictou from Mortimer's Point (looking northeast;) 15. Pictou from the Road to Halifax (a rather good composition). 16. Pictou from Fort Hill (looking west-southwest). I think I have seen another plate of this series, being a near view of Hosterman's stone grist-mill at the head of the North West Arm, not to be confounded with No. 7 of the previous list. Many of these plates, were drawn directly on stone from nature by Eagar himself. He also left a lithographic print of the Provincial Building, Halifax, from the corner of George and Hollis Streets, sketched directly on stone by himself (not one of his regular series, being smaller); and likewise a print showing the Tandem Club meeting on the Parade, Halifax.

Besides these he made some original water-colour drawings, which now belong to Emile A. Vossnack of Halifax. They represent: 1. Review on North Common, Halifax, on occasion of the celebration of the Queen's Coronation, 28th June, 1838. 2. Provincial Parliament Building and old St. Matthew's Church. 3. St. Paul's Church from corner of Argyle and Duke Streets. 4. St. Mary's Church, Glebe House and Convent. 5. Ferry Slip, foot of George Street. 6. Pleasant Street, looking north from Morris Street, and showing the Stewart and Inglis houses. Miss J. Eagar has a copy by him of a portrait of Madam Barneveldt, probably from the very fine original, said to be by Rubens, which in 1848 belonged to Mrs. R. J. Uniacke. He also painted a portrait of his daughter (1).

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(1) The list of works by Eagar is compiled from pictures in the possession of his grandsons, R. F. and Dr. W. H. Eagar, Miss J. Eagar, J. Ross Robertson, G. E. E. Nichols, E. A. Vossnack, and others. The original drawings of the Illustrations of Nova Scotia Scenery, are not now in the possession of his family, and where they are is not known. The numbers given in my list are not inscribed on the prints, and the order given is not that adopted in course of publication. A full set in the original wrappers is not available in order to ascertain the correct sequence of the prints, or even the precise title.

On returning from England, whither he had gone doubtless on business connected with the engraving of his plates, while travelling by coach from Boston to his home, he was exposed to wet in crossing the St. John River, N. B., from the effects of which he died of pneumonia at Halifax on 24th November, 1839, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in St. Paul's Cemetery, but just where is not known, as no stone marks the spot. The publication of his work was never completed. No authentic portrait of him is known to exist. He married Miss Saunders of St. John's and left a family of six sons and three daughters; one of the former being the late Martin F. Eagar, who died in 1902, aged sixty-four years.

While ROBERT PETLEY was stationed at Halifax from August, 1832, to August, 1836, as a first lieutenant of the 1st Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, he drew from nature and on stone a "View of York Redoubt" from Sleepy Cove, near Halifax, which was printed by C. Hullmandel, tinted with colours, and published doubtless about 1837 by J. Dickinson, of New Bond Street, London, the view measuring  $11\frac{1}{2}$  by  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches. A copy of this lithograph, which is not without merit, is in the Provincial Museum (acc. no. 3654). Petley also made sketches of the "Rocking Stone near Halifax," and of "Bedford Basin from near the Three Mile House." The two latter are in the J. Ross Robertson Collection at Toronto. Petley in December, 1836, transferred to the 50th Regiment, and in September, 1838, to the 92nd (Highland) Regiment, as first lieutenant in each (1).

To Lieutenant Petley or William Eagar is to be accredited the introduction of lithography into Nova Scotia; as each of them drew to some extent on stone. As Petley was here from 1832 to 1836, and Eagar from 1834 to 1839, in the absence of more definite information I suppose it is fair to surmise that the

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(1) Vide Army List; MS. list of regiments on this station; and letters of J. R. Robertson to the writer. In his print of York Redoubt, he describes himself as of the 50th Regiment, which makes me think it was not published until 1837. Hullmandel was a lithographer of note, who established the first lithographic firm in London in 1822.



former was the earlier worker here in this style. The general introduction of lithography into England had taken place about 1817, some eighteen years before the production of Petley's drawings. Gesner's *Geology of Nova Scotia*, 1836, contained some poorly designed and executed lithographs (Parrsboro, after a drawing by Miss A. A. Jeffrey, and Cape Split after Gesner), but they were lithographed in Boston, the drawings on stone being the work of B. F. Nutting. About 1838 there was printed at T. Moore's lithography, Boston, a  $14\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inch lithograph of the "Position of Piers', Howe's and Mabury's Boats, coming in at the last Regatta held at Halifax, 26th September, 1838," after a drawing by J. (?) C. BEAMIS, JR., but beyond representing a notable yacht race of the period, it has no artistic merit (1).

On 5th August, 1835, there died at Chelsea, England, GILBERT STUART NEWTON, R. A., a native of Halifax, N. S., where he was born in 1795, being a son of Hon. Henry Newton, collector of customs, and his wife Anne, elder sister of Gilbert Stuart the noted artist. I very strongly suspect that Newton may have received early instruction, or at any rate encouragement, from Field, and on his return from a visit to Italy, about 1818, he became a student of the Royal Academy in London, and soon rose to eminence, being elected an academician in 1832. He was unquestionably the greatest artist Nova Scotia has ever produced; but as all his work was done abroad, he unfortunately does not come within the scope of this paper (2).

WILLIAM HENRY BARTLETT (born 1809, died 1854) the noted English topographic landscape artist, made four voyages to

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(1) M. G. Hall drew two views of Digby, N.S., and of some places in New Brunswick, which were issued as coloured lithographs from Pendleton's lithography, Boston, size about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; but as they were undated, I do not know just where to place them in this paper. They may be comparatively recent. Copies of them are in the Robertson collection at Toronto (Cat. Nos. 408 and 417). I have never seen them.

(2) Full accounts of Newton's life will be found in all dictionaries of painters and artists. I may, however, refer to less-known sketches of his life in Rev. G. W. Hill's *Nova Scotia and Nova Scotians*, 1858, p. 42; in the *Provincial Magazine*, Halifax., vol. I, p. 49; and in the *Nova Scotian*, Halifax, 5th October, 1826.

America between 1836 and 1852, came to Nova Scotia, and in 1842 published at London a work somewhat of the style which Eagar had contemplated, but with text added by N. P. Willis, which contained a number of Nova Scotian views. His drawings, however, always had an eastern savour to them.

For a short time after 9th February, 1837, J. Clow, a miniature painter who seems to have done good work, practiced for a short time in Halifax, his studio being in the Exchange Coffee House; and he returned here again about 27th February, 1840, occupying the same room in the Coffee House. Besides miniatures on ivory, he also painted small-sized portraits in oils (1). There is a rectangular miniature of Hon. Richard John Uniacke, who died at Mount Uniacke, N. S., on 11th October, 1830, representing him with short hair, seated, three-quarter length, with books beside him, which is clearly signed and dated, "J. Clow, 1831;" which would strongly suggest that Clow was here on a previous occasion (2). As it was painted after Uniacke's death, and as it represents him as a comparatively young man, without the long hair which characterized him in later life, I believe that it will prove to be a copy by Clow of Field's oil portrait of the attorney-general, before referred to in this paper, but I regret to say I have not had an opportunity of comparing them. There is a miniature of my uncle, Temple Stanyan Piers, which I have good reason to believe was painted by Clow, although unsigned.

In the summer of 1838, MONSIEUR ROSSE, from Paris, was for a brief period in Halifax as a portraitist in oils, and was prepared to execute full-lengths, his rooms being at Mrs. White's boarding-house, Granville Street (3); while in 1840, SEAGER from

(1) See his notices, dated 9th February, 1837, and 27th February, 1840, in the *Nova Scotian*, Halifax, of 23rd Feb., 1837, and 30th April, 1840.

(2) The original of Clow's portrait of Uniacke now belongs to the latter's grandson, Lt. Col. Crofton J. Uniacke of Southsea; Eng., and a reproduction of it appears in the Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 17, opp. p. 18.

(3) See notice dated 23rd, August, 1838, in the *Nova Scotian*. I do not suppose it is possible that the excellent portrait of Bishop John Inglis (who was bishop from 1825 to 1850) by "W. C. Ross" (vide M. Gauci's engraving), could have been by Rosse referred to above.



London, England (lately from the United States), produced miniatures and made profiles in bronze, and also gave instruction in drawing from nature, painting, and miniature painting, at his room, corner of Barrington and Sackville Streets (1).

In the last-mentioned year (1840), T. AND J. H. ABBOT, from London, opened a drawing academy at Flohr's house, Brunswick Street, near St. George's Church (2); and MONSIEUR LE CHAUDELEC, professor of drawing at St. Mary's Seminary, also gave lessons at his residence at Mrs. Flohr's, on Barrington Street (3).

ALBERT GALLATIN HOIT, a skilful Boston artist, in the same year painted a fine full-length (signed and dated) of Chief Justice Sir Brenton Halliburton which hangs in the Province Building (4); and also, it is said, made a portrait of the late William Nyan Silver of Halifax, but did no other work here that I know of, unless the portrait of Hon. William Stairs is by him. Hoit was born in Sandwich, New Hampshire, in 1809, worked for a while in St. John, N. B., prior to 1839, painted President Harrison of the United States in 1840, and died in 1856 (5).

DR. THOMAS BEAMISH AKINS, our local historian, who was born at Liverpool, N. S., in 1809, and died at Halifax on 6th May, 1891, was an amateur copyist of moderate skill in oils and water-colours during the period of about 1840 to 1850, as evidenced by some portraits, copied by him, which are now in King's College Library, Windsor, N. S. One of these, his portrait of Governor Paul Mascarene after Smibert, was shown at a picture exhibition at Halifax in 1848. The best piece of work

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(1) Notice dated 25th June, 1840, in the Nova Scotian, Halifax.

(2) Nova Scotian, 5th November 1840.

(3) Nova Scotian, December 1840.

(4) Reproduced in Macdonald's Annals of N. British Soc., opp. p. 147.

(5) See sketch of Hoit's life in Appleton's Cyclopaedia of Am. Biography; also Report of Prov. Museum, Hfx., for 1911. The present W. N. Silver informs me that he is unaware of the name of the man who painted his namesake, but says it was the same artist who painted Hon. William Stairs. The Silver portrait, which is a fairly good one, was shown at a loan exhibition, Halifax, in 1894, as by "Hoyt", having been loaned by its then possessor, the late Wm. C. Silver.

reputed to be by him, is a copy of J. Singleton Copley's portrait of Lt.-Gov. Michael Francklin, the head of which is reproduced in the *N. S. Historical Society Collections*, vol. 16. I would have never thought of this as Akins's work, but for the label pasted on the back, which is apparently Akins's own writing (1). The original Copley ("in a rich old carved frame") was shown at the picture exhibition at Halifax in 1848, without a statement as to whom it belonged (2). In 1881 it and Copley's portrait of Mrs. Francklin belonged to Rev. James Uniacke (3). There is not another of Akins's pictures that at all approaches it in manifestations of skill. All of his other work is more or less mediocre, as seen in the Mascarene. He also painted a fancy picture on panel, (size  $13\frac{1}{2}$  by  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches) representing the Meeting of the First Council in the Beaufort's cabin in 1749; which is also at King's College. His indian-ink views of Halifax after Short, etc., in the Provincial Museum, were prepared to illustrate his History of Halifax read before the Mechanics' Institute in April, 1839 (published in 1847).

GEORGE SMITHERS in the middle of the last century painted in oils some genre subjects of moderate merit, and also had a taste for heraldic painting. He was self-taught. Among his pictures are, "The Smugglers," "Shaving," "Taking Snuff," and "Taking a Night-cap," as well as scenes suggested by Burns's poems. The first-mentioned now belongs to his grandson, Lewis E. Smith, and the next three to his daughter, Mrs. G. H. Taylor. The present location of the Burns pictures is not now known. He also lectured on drawing before the Mechanics' Institute in January, 1840.

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(1) The label on the back of the picture reads, "Michael Francklin, Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia from 1766 to 1776. Copied by T. B. Akins from the original by Singleton Copley." It measured 24 by 20 inches, and is on canvas prepared by Robinson & Miller, London, and as this firm was in business in the middle of the nineteenth century, it strengthens the statement that the picture is a copy by Akins. The picture was given to King's College, with others from Akins, on 22 May, 1891. It may be mentioned that there is also at King's College an oil profile portrait of Sir James Kempt, in red uniform, 26 by 22 inches in size, which has no artist's name, and may be a copy by Akins. It was presented by him.

(2) Nova Scotian, 3rd Oct., 1848.

(4) Catalogue of R. C. Acad. Exhibition, Hx., 1881, Nos. 215, 216.



He was born at Crewkerne, Somerset, Eng. 23rd Sept., 1810, and came to Halifax when about eighteen years of age, and in 1829 founded a firm of house painters and decorators which was long known in the town. We find that when on 5th January, 1832, Blake advertised the opening of the Halifax Theatre on Grafton Street, it was stated that the decorations of the house were by Smithers. It may be mentioned that he and his son of the same name painted the banners of St. George's, St. Andrew's, and St. Patrick's societies. He died, after a long illness, at Halifax on 1st March, 1868 (1).

MAJOR GENERAL ANTHONY REYNOLDS VVYAN CREASE, R. E., who as a lieutenant in the Engineers is said to have been stationed at Halifax, made some water-colour drawings, two of which (7 by 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches in size) are in the Robertson collection at Toronto, namely, "Halifax, looking up the Harbour from the Citadel, 1849" and "Halifax, looking down the Harbour from the Citadel, September, 1849" (2). Crease, who made several pictures of different places in Canada, was born on 25th April, 1827, and died I think about 1892, as his name then drops from the Army List. He entered the Army in 1846, became captain in 1855, lieutenant-colonel in 1869, and colonel in 1874, retiring with honorary rank of major-general in 1885. He served in the Crimea, 1855-6; with the Central India Field Force, 1858; and in South Africa, 1881-5.

We have scant information about the progress of art work in the province outside of Halifax, but it may be very briefly mentioned that ELIZA (GILPIN) MILLIDGE, born Dec., 1819, died 14th January, 1856, wife of Rev. A. W. Millidge of Antigonish, N. S., worked as an amateur in water-colours; and FRANCES A. HARRINGTON, (born at Halifax, 1832; died 1865), afterwards the wife of Lieut. John D'Arcy Irvine, R. N., one of her pupils, did some creditable work as an amateur in that style; as did also MISS KATHERINE E. McDOUGALL, daughter of Hon. Alex.

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(1) Information regarding Smithers has been mostly furnished by Lewis E. Smith.

(2) See Catalogue of J. Ross Robertson collection, Toronto, 1912, nos. 347 and 359.

McDougall, afterwards Mrs. J. E. Wilson of Halifax, who I believe also received instruction from Mrs. Milildge. She was born at Antigonish about 1833, and died 10th Aug., 1893.

In JOHN O'BRIEN we had a man who did some fairly creditable work as a marine painter—the first of the kind here. Unfortunately in order to find a market for his productions, he was forced to spend much of his time in making more or less trivial representations of ships under a fine spread of canvas, with everything “drawing,” to gratify the demands of vain ship-owners, which minimized the amount of higher-class marine work he did. His oil-painting of Strachan's famous clipper barque “Stag,” (1) the pride of Moseley's shipyard, painted about 1855, is a good example of his best “pot-boilers;” and one representing a 26-gun frigate shortening sail in a squall, fore-course drawing, main-topsail being clewed-up, and men on the fore-topsail yard—mostly painted in quiet greys—initialed and dated 1856, is a fair example of a much higher grade of work produced at the same period. This canvas belongs to James McCormack of Halifax. Three of his pictures belong to Mrs. T. J. Egan. They represent H. M. S. “Galatea,” a fine 26-gun frigate which was on this station from about 1864 to 1867, and was later commanded by the Duke of Edinburgh: (a) lying-to under sail in Halifax Harbour; (b) under full sail and steam in a seaway; (c) on her beam-ends in a cyclone in the Indian Ocean. Each of the three is signed and dated 1888. The sea is handled best in (b); and (c) is very poorly done. One of O'Brien's faults was that in many of his pictures he unduly accentuated the cordage, which is most unrealistic and not found in good marine work. Many of his paintings may be met with about Halifax, and no doubt they will prove to be of widely different merit. He painted at least one portrait, namely of Hon. J. W. Johnstone, which he presented to the latter in February, 1857 (2).

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(1) The barque “Stag” of 209 tons, probably the fastest clipper vessel built in this province, was designed by Ebenezer Moseley and built in his and his brother Henry's shipyard at La Have, N. S., in 1854, for John Strachan of Halifax, and was lost at Bermuda in 1859 or 1860. The picture represents her under sail, off Mauger Beach lighthouse.

(2) An acknowledgment from Johnstone of the gift is printed in the Recorder, Hx., of Feb. 1857, being copied from the Sun newspaper.



O'Brien, who was the eldest son of Daniel O'Brien, formerly of Cork, Ireland, was born it is said during his parents' passage to Halifax about 1832. One of his brothers was the late J. J. O'Brien, the secretary and historian of the Charitable Irish Society. He evinced strong artistic tendencies, and with the assistance of Halifax admirers and friends was sent to study in England, Paris and probably Italy, after which he returned to Halifax and devoted himself to marine painting, but was forced later to do less artistic brush-work in order to make a living, somewhat at due, perhaps, to a failing which he unfortunately possessed, and which undermined his constitution. After a lingering illness, he died unmarried at Halifax on 7th September, 1891, aged 59 years, and was buried in Holy Cross Cemetery. The fact that nothing but an ordinary death-notice appeared in our newspapers, shows how much thought we give to one whose bent leads him along the lesser trodden paths! We can merely say that he was the best marine-painter we have had, and under other circumstances he might have made a reputation for himself after the promise of his youth (1).

WILLIAM GUSH, a skilful artist of 15 Stratford Place, London, England, was commissioned by the provincial government to paint a full-length of General Sir Fenwick Williams, which was completed in 1860, and first hung in the Legislative Council Chamber on 21st December of that year. Two or three years later he also painted a second full-length portrait for the Province, that of another gallant Nova Scotian, Major-General Sir John Inglis, which hangs beside Williams. On the back of this picture is the inscription, "The late Sir John Inglis, Bart., K. C., B. by Mr. Gush, 15 Stratford Place," which seems to show that it was not completed until after Inglis's death in September, 1862. In composition the Williams picture is the better of the two.

While in Halifax, Gush also painted a fine bust portrait of Mrs. M. B. Daly, afterwards Lady Daly, as well as portraits

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(1) The dates of O'Brien's birth and death were ascertained from the burial record at the City Hall, Halifax.

of her parents, Sir Edward and Lady Kenny, and possibly others. He also, it seems, painted a three-quarter length of Rev. George McCawley, D. D., President of King's College from 1836 to 1875, which hangs in the convocation hall at Windsor. It is signed "Gush," in unnecessarily large letters, and otherwise would not suggest itself as from his brush, as it is a poor production compared with the Williams and Daly portraits. His other pictures are unsigned, and why he should have appended his name to a poor example of his skill, I cannot understand. I have not succeeded in ascertaining anything further regarding him, save the tradition that (like many artists) he was an inveterate smoker, and that his daughter is said to have married Lord Hope (1).

About 1862 we find that FREDERICK CRAWLEY of Wolfville, brother of Dr. Crawley, gave drawing and painting lessons at that place, and had classes in connection with Acadia College. Alfred T. B. Barrett, now a portrait painter in Roxbury, Mass., was one of his pupils. He was a son of Capt. T. Crawley, R. N.

CAPTAIN WESTCOTE WITCHURCH LYTTLETON, late of the 64th Regiment, was at Halifax with his regiment in 1840-43 and returned to reside here on retiring from service about 1849 lived in the city and on McNab's Island for about seventeen years, and died at Keswick, Eng. about 1879. He was an amateur who did some original landscapes in water-colours, and exhibited at the International Exhibition, London, 1862, two pictures, a "Sketch of Halifax" and "American Winter Scene" (2).

MAJOR GENERAL CAMPBELL HARDY, the well-known sportsman-naturalist and author of *Forest Life in Acadie* while stationed at Halifax as a captain in the artillery from 1852 to 1867, painted some Nova Scotian forest scenery in water-colour in an excellent manner. Two of his pictures were published in

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(1) Gush's name seems to have been pronounced *goosh*, which has led to the name being variously spelt here, but all authoritative references give it correctly as Gush. Just what the Williams picture cost, I do not know, but in the public accounts for the year ending December, 1860, we find noted the payment to "William Gush, balance of cost General Williams picture, \$192.00."

(2) See sketch of his life in *Proc. N. S. Inst. Sc., Hx.*, vol. 13, pt. 3. also Catalogue of International Exhib. of 1862.



colours—a camping scene in the woods in summer, and a woodroad in winter. There was issued at London, 2nd June, 1863, by Day and Son, lithographers to the Queen, their size being 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 16 inches. Other of his drawings appear in *Forest Life in Acadie*. He was born at Norwich, England 10th October, 1831 (1).

JOHN BERNARD GILPIN, M. D., who was born at Newport, Rhode Island, 4th September, 1810, lived in Halifax from 1846 till about 1886, and died at Annapolis Royal on 12th March, 1892, was a naturalist of ability and an amateur zoological artist of moderate skill, who illustrated with coloured chalk drawings, his lectures on the mammalia of Nova Scotia, 1863-71. (2). He was related to Sawrey Gilpin, R. A., (1733-1807,) the animal painter.

EMIL VOSSNACK, who was a civil and mechanical engineer, had a taste for art, taught drawing in the old Halifax Technological Institute of 1878 and produced an excellent picture of "Moose Hunting in Nova Scotia," the studies for which were made with considerable care, and which is a most truthful representation of a characteristic forest scene in this province. His son (E. A. Vossnack) informs me that this picture, which he thinks was not in colours, has been lost or destroyed, but I possess a photograph of it. He also produced other pictures in water-colour, one representing H. M. S. "Bellerophon" and Halifax Harbour during a regatta in 1879. He was born at Remscheid, Germany, 11th Aug. 1837 came from New York to Halifax, about 1871 where he built at the Montgomery Iron Works, Freshwater, the only two locomotives ever constructed in this city, and died here on Sept. 1885

Sometime after 1857 there was published by Day of London, a large, undated, coloured lithograph of Halifax, from a

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(1) See sketch of his life in publication referred to in preceding footnote. Copies of his two published pictures belong to Mrs. George Piers of Halifax, I am much pleased to say that my venerable friend, General Hardy, is yet active at the age of eighty-three years, lives at Dover, England, and still takes a keen interest in all that relates to Nova Scotia. I cannot refrain from including him in this paper, as the impressions of our forest scenery which inspired his brush, were all made in the years from 1852 to 1867.

(2) See sketch of his life in Proc. N. S. Inst. Science, Hx., vol. 13. pt. 3. No doubt many officers on this station were accomplished water-color artists, but their work has not happened to come to my notice.

drawing by WILLIAM HICKMAN, B. A., a copy of which is in the Legislative Library. It shows Wellington Barracks, built about 1857, which is the only way of dating it. It is of no value pictorially. In 1860 he published eight colored sketches of the Nipisaguit River, N. B. made during a tour with Lord Mulgrave.

From 1862 until 1879 we had in Halifax the late FORSHAW DAY, R. C. A., whose landscapes in oil and water-colours, of various degrees of merit, are numerous and well-known. He was born in London, England, in 1837, and educated at Dublin and South Kensington, being trained as an architect. He came to Halifax in 1862, and was for many years draftsman in H. M. Naval Yard, and at the same time painted many pictures of local scenery and taught art students. In 1879 he accepted the position of professor of freehand drawing and painting at the Royal Military College at Kingston, Ontario, and in 1880 was selected as one of the foundation members of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts—the only Nova Scotian artist on the original roll. In 1897, after eighteen years service at Kingston, he retired owing to age and ill-health; returned to Halifax for a while, but finally went to Kingston and died there on 22nd June, 1903. Former cadets will long hold in memory the kindhearted but eccentric and bluff old artist (1).

Two of his most notable works are "Grand Pré" and "Louisbourg," both Nova Scotian subjects, which gained favourable notice in Paris. His work varies a good deal in merit, some of his canvases, pot-boilers no doubt, being faulty in composition and balance, and overcoloured, for he had a slight partiality for the garish tints of autumn, which like those of gorgeous sunsets have played sad havoc with the reputation of many an artist who is not extremely gifted. Perhaps his patrons were most to blame for this. His pictures are signed and therefore easily recognizable, and there is no need of listing them (2).

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(1) See Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time, 1898; also obituary notice (from Toronto Glob ) in Halifax Chronicle, 29 July, 1903.

(2) It may be merely noted that from at least 1871 to about 1880, when he died, CHAS. CHAUNCEY GREENE, portraitist who resided at 54 Agricola Street, Halifax, and although I remember the old man well, I



The portrait of Sir Hastings Doyle, late Lt.-Governor of Nova Scotia, hanging in the Province Building, was painted about 1874 by A. R. Venables of London, but I do not think he was ever in the province (1).

This brings us down to the period of LIVING ARTISTS with whom I have no intention of specially dealing, and will therefore merely mention the names of some of those who have worked here, such as: Robert Harris, afterwards president of the Royal Canadian Academy, who when a young man in Halifax in 1873, painted a portrait of Hon. William Garvie which hangs in the Provincial Museum; William Gill, born in Halifax I think, a scenic artist who also did some landscapes of moderate merit until he left Halifax about 1878 for Boston, where he is now prominent in the former line of work; George Harvey, landscapist and well-known art teacher, who was at Halifax from about 1882 till about 1895, being the first head-master of the Victoria School of Art and Design from 1887 till 1894; Ozias Dodge, principal of the same institution, 1894: C. Waterbury, 1895, and Miss Catherine N. Evans, 1896 to 1898, who succeeded Dodge; Henry M. Rosenberg, landscapist, figure painter and etcher, who was also principal of the Art School from 1898 till 1910, and still works among us; Lewis E. Smith, landscapist, designer, and etcher, a native of Halifax, and principal of the Art School from 1910 till 1912; George Chavignaud, landscapist, a native of France and later of Toronto, who has been principal since May 1912; Miss C. F. Howard,

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known nothing whatever, of his work, and fear it may not have evinced much skill. HERBERT CROSSKILL, died 1902 deputy provincial secretary from 1867 to 1878, and from 1882 until he retired about 1898, did some amateur landscape work in oils, chiefly copies however. CAPT. BLOOMFIELD DOUGLAS R. N. R., (born 1832), of the Board of Examiners for Masters and Mates, who was in Halifax from about 1897 until his death, Mar. 1906, was an amateur who did some very fair marine work. MATILDA MAUD CRANE daughter of John Muncey and wife of Dr. Chandler Crane of Halifax, was an amateur painter who from about 1884 until 1888 conducted art classes in Morris St. and the Queen Building, where she was one of the first to teach china painting. She also taught landscape painting in oil-colour. She was born at Halifax in 1830, received instruction from Forshaw Day, and died at Bay Verte in 1901.

(1) See Report of Prov. Museum of N. S. for 1911.

art teacher at the Halifax Ladies College; Miss I. Ridd (now Mrs. Howard P. Jones) who was teacher at the Church School for Girls, Windsor, and other teachers at that institution, as well as at the Convent of the Sacred Heart and the Academy of Mount St. Vincent, Halifax; F. Leo Hunter, who was at Halifax about January, 1888, and produced several delightful etchings of picturesque scenes along our waterfront; Louis A. Holman, who in 1890 made sketches in Nova Scotia which were published in the *NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE* Oct., 1892, p.175; Mrs. Frances Bannerman, now of England, who was born at Halifax in 1855, daughter of Lt.-Governor A. G. Jones, and has exhibited at the Royal Academy and the Paris Salon; Mrs. Florence Rogers (wife of Dr. Henry Rogers), an English water-colour and oil landscapist, who was here from about 1889 till about 1895, taught art at the Halifax Ladies College and afterwards had private pupils; John J. Dillon of London and Southampton, who paid many visits here from about 1880 till February, 1906, selling pictures, including some of his own; J.L.Blauvelt, landscape and portrait painter, who was here about 1887; Arthur T. B. Barrett, born at Gaspereau, N. S. 1852, afterwards resided at Halifax, and now lives at Roxbury, Mass., who has painted a number of portraits here and at Acadia College, Wolfville; Gyrth Russell, a native of Dartmouth, N. S., a young painter of marines and dockside subjects; Miss Charlotte VanBuskirk of Dartmouth, now in London; Miss Florence Seely of Dartmouth; Miss Edith Smith; Miss Agnes J. Vondy; Miss Bessie Brown of Halifax and Hantsport; Miss Kate Foss Hill; Miss Hetty D. Kimber of Sydney, N. S., afterwards of Montreal; Miss Minnie R. Wyman of Yarmouth, who studied in Paris; Miss Marion K. Graham; Miss Louise Cornelius (Mrs.A. Fulton Johnson); Miss Lear; Miss L.Collins; Mrs. M.U.LeNoir (wood-carving); A. C. Wyatt, a skilful painter of landscapes and flowers who came to live in Nova Scotia in 1913; and others whose name I do not happen to remember. Mrs.Geo. K. Thomson, Mrs.J. C. Hagen (*née* Egan), and others, are prominent china painters. John A. Wilson, a native of Potter's Brook, Pictou County, N. S., who in 1902-3 was studying at Boston, Mass., is a young man who has shown promise as a modeller and sculptor, his figure of a lion (1902), representing



Great Britain in South Africa, being an admirable piece of modelling from one of his age. Reference must also be made to Ernest Lawson, of 106 Northern Avenue, New York, a landscape artist of much reputation, who is a son of Dr. Archibald and Anna E. Lawson of Halifax, where he was born on 22nd March, 1873. He received his art education in New York and Paris, but none of his pictures were produced here, so that his only connection with Halifax is his birth and his boyhood days here.

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Just a few words as to ART EXHIBITIONS in Nova Scotia. The first exhibition of pictures at Halifax was held in Dalhousie College building, from the 10th to the 29th May, 1830, through the exertions and under the charge of W. H. Jones, a successful teacher of painting to whom reference has elsewhere been made. He had previously organized similar ones in Boston and Baltimore. The patrons of the Halifax exhibition were His Honor the President (Michael Wallace), Admiral Sir Charles Ogle, and Col. Norcot; and the managing committee was Col. Charles R. Fox, Lord Charles Russell, Capt. P. Maitland (military secretary), and Beamish Murdoch. Among the pictures shown were some which had been captured in the war of 1812, loaned by Chief Justice Blowers, some of Sir Peregrine Maitland's own drawings and others in his possession, as well as about fifty examples in oils of the work of Jones's pupils, many of them original work (1).

The next exhibition of paintings and works of art held at Halifax, was opened on 25th September, 1848, at Dalhousie College, under the management of a committee of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute, a society which did much to foster local art since its formation in 1831. This exhibition contained a number of good pictures, and fortunately we have a very full critical account of the most noteworthy ones, written doubtless by Dr. T. B. Akins, which appeared as consecutive articles in the *British Colonist* newspaper, Halifax, of 3rd,

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(1) See Nova Scotian, 11 Feb., and 8 April 1830; also p. 123 of this article.

5th and 7th October, 1848, articles which are of much value to anyone interested in painters and paintings in this province as they often fix the authorship of many of the latter which might otherwise be much in doubt.

On 5th July, 1881, there opened at the Province Building, Halifax, the second annual exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, the most noteworthy collection of modern paintings ever brought together in this province. The printed catalogue listed 380 items, including paintings, architectural designs, etc.

This was followed by a Loan Exhibition held in the same building from 17th to 25th June, 1887, in aid of the Victoria School of Art and Design, at which were shown paintings, antique furniture, china, coins, textile fabrics, bric-a-brac, etc., the printed catalogue having 810 entries, of which 213 were paintings and engravings. Another art loan exhibition was held from 6th to 11th August, 1894, in the old exhibition building, Tower Road, under the superintendence of George Harvey, the catalogue of which contained 213 numbers, all of them paintings, many of them old. Again in 1904 a loan collection of fifty old pictures was shown at the Victoria School of Art. In 1906 there was inaugurated a series of annual art exhibits in connection with our provincial exhibition, a somewhat incongruous association in the minds of some, but deserving of praise.

The full-length portraits in the Province Building constitute the finest collection of pictures the public owns (1); while the Provincial Museum, as before stated, has several good canvases of Valentine's which came to it in trust from the Mechanics' Institute. Government House contains a collection of prints and photographs of persons connected with the history of the province, which was brought together by the late Governor Jones. A public picture gallery, however humble, is much

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(1) See account of them and of those in the museum, in Report of Prov. Museum for 1911. Enoch Seeman painted Queen Caroline and George II., and Beatham painted Judge J. C. Haliburton.



needed, such as may even be seen in mere villages in the United States and Great Britain (1).

THE VICTORIA SCHOOL OF ART AND DESIGN founded in 1887, and opened in the Union Bank building on 31st October of that year under the head-master, George Harvey, has a bare existence, is now housed in what has been sometimes termed a barn-like building, and has inadequate financial support (2). This is not at all a reflection on the management, which does all it can; but the conditions are the result of a lamentable lack of interest in art matters on the part of the general public. On 24th November, 1909, an art association (the N. S. Museum of Fine Arts) was organized at Halifax, with an ambitious and laudable list of "objects" in its constitution. It held one or two general meetings, an exhibit of etchings, and then went sound asleep, awaiting perchance, as in the fairytale, for some fine prince in the future to push his way through the thorns of public apathy and arouse it once more into active being (3).

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Now to sum up. While Gilbert Stuart Newton, who is beyond the range of my paper, was undoubtedly the greatest and only really great artist Nova Scotia has produced, yet Field was the most talented one and best portraitist and line engraver we have had actually working here to any extent; with Valentine close behind him in portraiture (5). Day was the best landscapist, and Eagar the best topographic landscapist and lithographer, Miller the best flower painter, O'Brien the best marine painter ("of sorts" as they say), and Hanks the best silhouettist. Miniatures are very difficult to assign to their

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(1) I am glad to be able to state that a small but definite beginning was made in this direction in the autumn of 1914, when the Nova Scotia Museum of Fine Arts (incorporated in 1908) decided to accept a bequest of a few pictures from the late Dr. Thomas Trenaman and to show them in a room in the Art School.

(2) The headmasters or principles of the Art School have been as follows: George Harvey, 1887; Ozias Dodge, 1894; C. Waterbury, 1895; Miss Catherine N. Evans, 1896; H. M. Rosenberg, 1898; Lewis E. Smith, 1910; and George Chavignaud, 1912 to date.

(3) This revival I hope has come, as noted in a footnote above.

(4) I have just learned that Valentine in 1846 painted portraits, at Acadia College, of Edw. Manning, Theodore and Harris Harding, and Jos. Dimock.

artists, but judging by such as we can, we strongly believe Field's to have been the best, but this may be open to question. We have never had a real historical painter, although Valentine tried his hand at such work; nor a marine painter of the highest class of such work; and no sculptor, although I trust that John A. Wilson from Pictou County will be able to bring us that credit in the near future (1).

It is sad to record that of all these bygone professional artists in Nova Scotia, only Miller was actually born in the province. From about 1830 to about 1840 might perhaps be termed the heyday of art in Nova Scotia, and the advent of photographs naturally largely replaced portraits on canvas, miniatures and silhouettes.

I will conclude by most regretfully expressing the belief that art is at a lamentably low ebb in our province, with none of the vitality that characterized it in the past. Our houses are filled with poor pictures, and we are frankly told by the Royal Canadian Academy that it will not exhibit here, because its members would not be able to sell their productions. The present roll of that academy does not, I think, bear the name of a single Nova Scotian painter. It behoves us in some way to at least see that we keep up with the bright promise of the earlier days.

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(1) George Lang ("Geordie" as he was familiarly called) was well-known to the last generation as a good artisan carver in freestone, after other's designs. He cut the lion on the Parker-Welsford monument at Halifax (erected 1860) but chiselled a little too much at it, and got it a trifle too small. Much of his architectural carving exists on various buildings here. He was 6ft. 1 inch tall, and had a great beard like the Apostle Paul. The Briannia on the Post Office, Halifax, was cut by Andrew Wood, and various men worked on the festoons which are on the walls. All of these men were artisans, not sculptors in the proper sense. (Vide H. B. Sellon).



## Addenda.

RICHARD SHORT (page 104).—The three prints of Short's Halifax views, 1764 issue, which are in the Archives Department, Ottawa, are, Halifax from George Island, the Governor's House, and the Church of St. Paul.

GILBERT STUART (page 107).—Further investigation into Stuart's life, makes it extremely likely that I was in error in supposing that he must have spent some of his early days with his father's family at Newport, Nova Scotia, as it is stated that he embarked from America for London in the spring of 1775, and it was not till the summer of that year that his father came to Nova Scotia and was followed there apparently in 1776 by the latter's wife and daughter Ann (afterwards the wife of Hon. Henry Newton of Halifax). It was in or about 1774 that the young artist worked his passage to America in a collier bound for Nova Scotia. It is stated that he was in Scotland from 1772 to 1774, then at Newport, Rhode Island, in London from 1775 to about 1788, and in Dublin from the latter date till he finally returned to the United States in 1792. (*Vide* Dict. of Nat. Biog., and Appleton's Cyclop. of Am. Biog.) He must have landed here at least in 1774 on his way from Scotland, and it is just possible that it may have been then that he sailed as a supercargo on West India vessels out of Halifax, as stated by Mr. Mullane. He may have visited his relatives here in subsequent years. He began to be successful in 1785 when he set up a studio of his own in London, after having been about seven years with Benj. West. Dr. Eaton (*Morning Chronicle*, Hx., 27th June, 1912) must be mistaken in saying that the Duke of Kent invited him to come from Dublin to Halifax to paint his portrait, as the prince did not arrive at Halifax till May, 1794, at which time the artist was in America. It must have been while the prince was in Canada after 1791.

SIR ALEXANDER CROKE, KT. (insert on page 110).—Dr. Alexander Croke, an English lawyer and author, who was born in 1758 and died at Studley Priory, Oxfordshire, on 27th December, 1843, having been judge of the vice-admiralty court at Halifax from November, 1801, until his return to England in 1815; had some reputation as an amateur artist. He made sketches of Nova Scotian scenery while here, and some of his paintings are said to have been well spoken of by Benjamin West. While at Halifax he resided in the old Studley house, which he built and which was subsequently destroyed by fire. He was knighted in 1816. (*Vide* Archibald's *Sir A. Croke*, Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc., vol. II, p. 128; and Dict. of Nat. Biog., vol. XIII, p. 116).

MAJOR ROBERT PETLEY (page 144).—Petley was the eldest son of Col. Joh Cade Petley, Royal Artillery, of the Riverhead, Kent, family of that name. He must have been born about 1809, as he received his first commission in December, 1829. Previous to coming to Nova Scotia in Aug., 1832, he was stationed with the Rifles in New Brunswick. He was placed on half-pay, as captain, on 18th January, 1859, and became a major in Nov. of the next year. About 1868 he became professor of military surveying at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and died in 1869. (*Vide* Army Lists). He published at London, in 1837, a work entitled, *Sketches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, drawn from Nature and on Stone*. These sketches, he says, were originally not intended for publication, but were merely done to while away some part of the idle hours of a soldier's life abroad; but were afterwards published at the urgent entreaties of many brother officers and others who had visited the provinces, as a means of recalling pleasant recollections. The following untinted lithographs by Petley appeared in the work: Rocking Stone;

Bedford Basin from the Three Mile House; Fredericton, N. B., from the Oromocto Road; View of the Cobequid Mountains; Windsor, N. S., from the Banarks; A Sleigh leaving Windsor; Stream near the Grand Schub-inacadie Lake; View of Halifax from the Indian Encampment at Dartmouth; Indian of the Micmac Tribe; Interior of a Wigwam. If he actually drew on stone from nature, before coming here from New Brunswick in 1832, as the title of the work indicates, then it is clear that he, not Eagar, must have introduced lithographic drawing into Nova Scotia.

FREDERICK SIDNEY CRAWLEY (page 152).—Mr. Crawley, brother of Rev. E. A. Crawley, D. D., was a son of Capt. Thomas Crawley, R. N., surveyor-general of Cape Breton Island. He was born at Ipswich, England, about 1797, received his art education at London and in France, and resided for about fifteen years in the latter country. He conducted art classes at Wolfville, N. S., for some years, and about 1868 became teacher of drawing and painting in the female department of Horton Collegiate Academy (now Acadia Ladies' Seminary), where he taught until succeeded by Miss E. Morse about 1872. He was chiefly a landscapist, working in oils, water-colour and crayons. He died at Wolfville about 1880 (*vide* E. S. Crawley). Regarding the art department of Acadia Ladies' Seminary, Wolfville, it may be noted that Miss Anne Fowler was teacher of drawing in the female branch of Horton Academy (afterwards Grand Pré Seminary and now the Ladies' Seminary) from about 1863 till about 1865, Miss Randall about 1865-66, and Miss Fowler again about 1867-68; then the teachers of drawing and painting were F. S. Crawley about 1868-72, Miss E. Morse about 1872-73, Miss Marie Woodworth about 1873-78, Miss Annie Woodworth about 1878-79, and Miss Eliza T. Harding for several years after 1879. Another teacher was Miss R. Elinor Upham (1896), and the present instructor is Miss Isa Belle Andrew.

PICTURE EXHIBITION, 1863 (insert on page 158).—In addition to the art exhibitions mentioned on page 157 of my paper, I find that on the 19th, 21st and 23rd of November, 1863, an exhibition of oil and water-colour paintings and engravings was held in the armoury of the volunteers' drill-room, Halifax, as the result of the efforts of Capt. W. W. Lyttleton, Capt. C. Hardy, and Capt. W. Chearnley. It was largely attended, and the admittance fees of 7½ d. and 1s. 3d., amounted to about \$300.00, which sum was given to various charitable institutions. The exhibits included paintings by celebrated artists, several Art Union prize pictures, and others from the brushes of local artists. Among the latter were excellent water-colours by Capt. Lyttleton (see page 152), whom General Hardy believes was the best local artist he knew here during the period of 1862-67. Hardy exhibited his two water-colours, "The Forest Road: Summer and Winter," which had been published as coloured lithographs in June (see page 153), and other sketches, principally relating to moose hunting, etc. Mrs. Miller showed her water-colour drawings of wild flowers; and Forshaw Day, who had arrived here the previous year, exhibited several oil paintings. There was also shown a fine old painting, the "Hop-picker," which a contemporary newspaper (Nova Scotian, 23 Nov., 1863) refers to as the work of "Mr. Bullock, a young Nova Scotian," although the Rev. Dr. R. H. Bullock knows nothing of him and I have never elsewhere heard him spoken of as belonging to this province. The newspaper statement regarding Bullock must certainly be a mistake. This picture, which has been seen at loan-exhibitions here, belonged to Capt. Hardy, who gave it to the late W. M. Harrington, and it is still in the city. (*Vide* letter of Gen. Hardy, Dec., 1914; and Nova Scotian, Hfx., 23 Nov., 1863.)



**Summary of Professional and Amateur Artists  
referred to in the preceding paper.**

Name.	Class of work.	Birth & Death.	Approximate active period here.	Page.
Champlain, S. de.	Rough sketch.....	1570?-1635	1605	102
Verrier (?).....	Topographic view.....		1731	102
Davies, Capt. T. T.	Topographic view (amateur).....		1758	102
Ince, Capt.....	Topographic view (amateur).....		1758	103
SHORT, RICHARD	Topographic views.....		1759	103
DesBarres, Col. J.				161
F. Wallet.....	Topographic views, charts..	1722?-1824	1763-1780	107
(Stuart, Gilbert).	Portraits in oils. (He was in Nova Scotia for a short time, about 1774, and perhaps on other occasions; but probably did no painting here.).....	1755-1828		107
Hicks, Lt.-Col. E.	Topographic views (amateur).....		1778-1782	108
Bulkeley, Hon. R.	Very mediocre amateur work	1717-1800		109
Newton, Hon. Hy.	Topographic views and poor portraits in water-colours (amateur).....	1766-1842	About 1791	109
MacCrae, George	Portraits in oils. (First professional portraitist).....		1783?-1802	109
Weaver, J.....	Portraits in oils.....		About 1798	110
Parkyns, G. J....	Topographic views in water-colours (reputed to be his).....		1800-1801	110
Croke, Sir Alex.	Topographic views in water-colours (amateur).....	1758-1843	1801-1815	161
B. G..	Topographic views in water-colours (amateur).....	1769?-1854	about 1803	110
King, William....	Silhouettes. (First silhouettist).....		1806	111
Moore, Samuel...	Silhouettes.....		1808	112
FIELD, ROBERT..	Portraits in oils, miniatures, engravings. (First miniaturist and engraver).....	-1819	1808-1818?	112
Thomson, John ..	Portraits in oils, miniatures, silhouettes; first (?) drawing classes.....		1809	119
Rugeley, —.....	Portraits. (Formerly lieutenant in Engineers.).....	Period	unknown.	119
Metcalf, E.....	Miniatures, silhouettes.....		1810	120
Spilsbury, F. B. S.	Art classes.....		1811	120
Stannett, Ralph..			1813?	120
Acres, J. E.....	Miniatures, drawing classes..		1815-1816	120
Foulis, R.....	Portraits in oils, miniatures, drawing classes.....		1819	121
Patridge, —.....	Drawing classes.....		1819	121
Woolford, J. E...	Topographic etching. (First work in this style).....		1819	121

Name.	Class of work.	Birth & Death.	Approximate active period here.	Page.
DRAKE, JOHN P.	Portraits in oils.....	1749-1883	1819-1820	121
Gellespie, ———	Profile miniatures.....		1819	123
Piers, Maj. Henry	Landscapes in water-colours (amateur).....	1781?-1872	1830-1831	123
Jones, W. H. ....	Art classes.....		1829-1830	123
Moorsom, Capt. William Scarth	Topographic landscapes (amateur).....	1804-1863	1826-1831	124
Phipps, ———	Miniatures.....		1829	124
L'ESTRANGE, ———	Portraits in oils, miniatures, art classes.....		1832-1834	124
Piers, William B. T.	Portraits in oils (amateur).....	1808-1855	About 1826-1841	125
HANKES, ———	Silhouettes (some touched up with bronze by Reynolds).....		1830-1831	125
VALENTINE, WM.	Portraits in oils, miniatures, a few historical subjects. First photographer.....	1798-1849	1828-1849	126
MILLER, MRS. M. (MORRIS).....	Flowers in water-colours, art classes.....	1813-1875	1830-1875	137
EAGAR, WILLIAM	Topographic landscapes, lithographs.....	1796?-1839	1834-1839	141
Petley, Maj. Rbt.	Topographic landscapes drawn on stone (amateur). (First to work in lithography).....	1809?-1869	1832-1836	144
Gesner, Dr. A. ....	Topographic views, poor, (amateur).....	1797-1864	1836	145
Jeffery, Miss A. A.	Topographic views, poor, (amateur).....		1836	145
Beamis, J(?)..C. ....	Topographic view (poor).....		1838	145
(Newton, Gilbert S., R. A.).....	Familiar and historical paintings. (Born at Halifax; no known work produced here, except perhaps earliest efforts).....	1795-1835		145
BARLETT, WM. H.	Topographic landscapes.....	1809-1854	about 1838	145
Hall, M. G. ....	Topographic views.....	Period	uncertain.	145
CLOW, J. ....	Miniatures, small oil portraits.....		1831?, 1837 and 1840	146
Rosse, Monsieur.	Portraits in oils.....		1838	146
Seager, ———	Miniatures, profiles in bronze, art classes.....		1840	146
Abbot, T & J. H. .	Art classes.....		1840	147
LeChaudélec, Monsieur ———	Art classes.....		1840	147
HOIT, ALBERT G.	Portraits in oils.....	1809-1856	1850	147



Name.	Class of work.	Birth & Death.	Approximate active period here.	Page.
Akins, Dr. T. B...	Copies of portraits in oils, etc., (amateur) .....	1809-1891	1840-1850	147
Smithers, George.	Genre subjects in oils. ....	1810-1868	1829?-1868	148
Crease, Maj.-Gen. A. R. V. ....	Landscapes in water-colours (amateur) .....	1827-1892?	1849	149
Millidge, Mrs. E. (Gilpin) .....	Landscapes in water-colours (amateur). Antigonish ...	1819-1856	1839-1856	149
Irvine, Mrs. F. A. (Harrington) ..	Landscapes in water-colours (amateur) .....	1832-1856	.....	149
Wilson, Mrs. K. E. (McDougall) ..	Landscapes in water-colours (amateur) .....	1833?-1893	.....	149
O'BRIEN, JOHN ..	Marines in oils. ....	1832?-1891	1855?-1891	150
GUSH, WILLIAM.	Portraits in oils. ....	.....	1806	151
Crawley, Fred'k S.	Chiefly landscapes in oil and water-colours, art classes. Wolfville) .....	1797-1880?	1862-1872	152 162
Lyttleton, Capt. Westcote W. ...	Landscapes in water-colours (amateur) .....	1818-1879?	1849-1866?	152
Hardy, Maj. Gen. Campbell .....	Landscapes in water-colours (amateur) .....	1831-	1852-1867	152
Gilpin, Dr. John B.	Zoological subjects (amateur).	1810-1892	{ About 1863-1871	153
Vossnack, Emil. .	Landscapes in water-colours	1837-1885	1871?-1885	153
Hickman, Wm. ...	Topographic views .....	.....	About 1860	154
DAY, FORSHAW ..	Landscapes in oils, art classes	1837-1903	1862-1879	154
Green, C. C. ....	Portraits. ....	-1880?	1870-1880	154
Crosskill, Herbert	Landscapes in oils, mostly copies, (amateur) .....	1826-1902	.....	155
Douglas, Capt. B.	Marines (amateur) .....	1832-1906	1897-1906	155
Crane, Mrs. M. M. (Muncey) .....	Landscapes in oils, china-painting, art classes. ....	1830-1901	(1884-1888	155
Living artists, 1873-1914 .....				155
Art exhibitions at Halifax, 1830, 1848, 1863, 1881, 1887, 1894, 1904, 1906-13 .....				157, 162
Pictures in Province Building, Provincial Museum and Government House .....				158
Victoria School of Art and Design, 1887 .....				159
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Addenda .....				161

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6

Nova Scotian Postage Stamps.  
Plate 1.



**THE POSTAGE STAMPS OF NOVA SCOTIA.  
WITH A REFERENCE LIST INCLUSIVE OF THE  
BISECTED PROVISIONALS.**

**By DONALD A. KING, Post Office Department, Halifax, N. S.**

**Read April 12, 1912.**

A large amount of matter has at one time and another been published on the stamps of Nova Scotia, and the subject has been pretty well written up.

This information, however, is scattered about in different publications, and is not always available.

The work of the Royal Philatelic Society of London, on the stamps of British North America, issued in 1889, contained valuable data—valuable because of its reliability, and yet it, as it were, but opened up the subject. A great deal had still to be brought to light in regard to the stamps of Nova Scotia,—interesting features that on discovery quickly engaged the attention of what may be called the philatelic world.

For my part, I may say that I was greatly impressed with the conviction that a complete history of the postage stamps of the Province should be furnished ; and that, too, while it was yet possible to gather the facts, and that the available records of the Post Office Department should be laid under contribution.

The Post-office commissioners had, as early as 1844, recommended that postage stamps should be issued for the use of the Colony, and a petition to that effect was forwarded to the Postmaster-General of Great Britain.

This memorial was ignored by the Imperial authorities. When approached again on the subject they sent out a dis-

patch saying that the matter could not be considered, for the reason that there would be great risk of loss owing to danger of the stamps being forged, and the likelihood of the forgers escaping.

This reply silenced the Commissioners for the time, but as great dissatisfaction existed with the postal service in all the British North American Colonies, a strong agitation was commenced in favour of each of the Provinces having an independent service, and accounting to the English Post-office Department for letters addressed to the United Kingdom, or foreign letters forwarded *via* that route alone.

All the North American Provinces united in this demand, and under this pressure the Imperial Government yielded, and the agitation was ended on the part of Nova Scotia by the passing of the Post-Office Act of 1850.

This Act is as follows:

### "CHAPTER XXIII.

#### OF THE POST-OFFICE.

*(The first five sections are of no interest, and are omitted.)*

"6. In conformity with the agreements made between the Local Governments of British North America, the Provincial postage on letters and packets, not being newspapers or printed pamphlets, magazines, or books entitled to pass at the lower rates hereinafter referred to, shall not exceed the rate of threepence currency per half ounce, for any distance within the Province, and the increase of charges on letters weighing over half an ounce shall be regulated according to the British rate and scale of weights; no transit postage shall be charged on any letter or packet through the Province to any other Colony in British North America, unless it be posted in this Province and the sender choose to prepay it, nor on any letter or packet from any such Colony if prepaid there; and the rate



of twopence sterling the half ounce shall remain in operation as regards letters by British mails, to be extended to countries having postal communication with the United Kingdom, unless Her Majesty's Government shall see fit to alter the rate thereon to be charged to threepence currency.

"7. The prepayment of Provincial postage shall be optional to the sender.

"8. All Provincial postage received within the Province shall be retained as belonging to it, and all Provincial postage received within any other of the British North American Colonies may be retained as belonging to such Colony.

"9. The British Packet Postage, and other British postage collected in this province, shall be accounted for and paid over to the proper authorities in the United Kingdom; but the Colonial postage on the same letters shall belong to the Colony collecting it, or if prepaid to the British Post-office it shall be credited and belong to the Colony to which such letters or packets are addressed.

"10. No privilege of franking shall be allowed as regards Provincial Postage.

"11. Provincial stamps for the prepayment of postage may be prepared, issued, and sold under the orders of the Governor-in-Council; and such stamps, prepared, issued, and sold under the direction of the proper authorities in the British North American Colonies, shall be allowed in the Province as evidence of the prepayment of Provincial Postage in such Colonies, respectively, on the letters or packets to which they are affixed.

"12. All newspapers published in this Province shall pass through the Post-office in this Province free of charge.

"13. Printed books, periodical publications, and pamphlets may be transmitted by post within the Province at the rate

of twopence per ounce, up to six ounces in weight, and three-pence for each additional ounce up to sixteen ounces, beyond which weight no printed books, publications, or pamphlets shall be transmitted by post; but the Governor-in-Council may by order alter, modify, and reduce the rate of postage on such printed books, periodical publications, or pamphlets.

"14. The Packet Postage for letters shall be one shilling sterling the half-ounce—tenpence of which shall belong to the English Post-Office, and two-pence to the Nova Scotia office.

\* \* \* \* \*

"28. The postage marks, whether British, Foreign, or Colonial, on any letter brought into this Province, shall, in all Courts of Justice and elsewhere, be received as conclusive evidence of the amount of British, Foreign, or Colonial postage payable in respect of such letters, in addition to any other postage chargeable thereon, and all such postage shall be recoverable in this province as due to Her Majesty.

"40. . . . . To forge, counterfeit, or imitate any postage stamp issued or used under the authority of this chapter, or by or under the authority of the Government or proper authority of the United Kingdom, or of any British possession, or of any Foreign country; or knowingly to use any such forged, counterfeit, or imitated stamp, or to engrave, cut or sink, or make any plate, die, or other thing whereby to forge, counterfeit, or imitate such stamps, or any part or portion thereof, except by the permission in writing of the Post-master General, or of some officer or person, who, under the orders to be made in that behalf, may lawfully grant such permission; or to have possession of any such plate, die, or other thing without such, or to forge counterfeit, or unlawfully imitate, use, or affix to or upon any letter or packet, any stamp, signature, initials, or other mark or sign, purporting that such letter or packet ought to pass free of postage, or that the postage thereon or any part thereof, hath been prepaid or ought to be paid by, or charged to any person or department, shall be felony,



punishable by imprisonment for life, or for a period not less than five years."

This Act did not immediately become law, as it had first to be sent to England to be approved of, and beside this delay, the various Provinces did not agree at once to all the provisions of it; this necessitated a long correspondence between their respective Governments, until at last an agreement was made, which was practically the same as the Act, and was embodied in a minute of Council made at Government House in Halifax, on the 8th of February, 1851.

"Council at Government House at Halifax, 8th February,  
A. D., 1851.

"Present his Excellency, etc.

"In pursuance of the authority vested in this Board by law, and for establishing a uniform rate of postage in Nova Scotia, and for regulating a postal arrangement with other countries.

\* \* \* \* \*

"2nd. That the uniform rate of 3d. currency, shall be the charge for all letters up to half-an-ounce sent by mail to and from any part of British North America, and the increase for additional weight to be regulated by the British scale.

\* \* \* \* \*

"5th. That no transit postage shall be charged between the Provinces.

"6th. That each Province shall retain the amount of postage collected therein.

\* \* \* \* \*

"10th. That Colonial Postage Stamps shall be engraved for the Province, and used for prepayment of postage on letters."

A copy was sent to the Governments of the different Provinces interested, and was acquiesced in by them all. The

Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick, Sir Edmund Head, sent a copy of it to the Governor General of Canada, with a letter containing his views on the subject, which is so curious that I give it nearly in full.

“Government House,

“Fredericton, *February 20th*, 1851.

“My Lord,—I have the honour, etc. . . . .

“The Executive Council of New Brunswick entirely concur with your Excellency’s advisers in thinking it desirable to act on the suggestion of Her Majesty’s Postmaster-General, and thus assimilate our scale of weights and charges to that in use in the United Kingdom.

\* \* \* \* \*

“The only difficulty will arise as to the charge of 2d. sterling, or 3d. currency. His Excellency Sir John Harvey proposes 3d. currency in Nova Scotia; but 3d. of the Nova Scotia currency does not correspond exactly with either 3d. currency in Canada and New Brunswick, or with 2d. sterling. It is believed, too, that the currency of Prince Edward Island varies slightly from the currency of any of these Continental Colonies.

“Two courses only are open—either that the single rate of Colonial postage should be fixed throughout British North America at 2d. sterling, and each Colony left to adapt this sum as they can to their own currency; or that the Governors of the several Colonies should agree on such a rate in the currency of each as may best correspond with the British rate, and with the intrinsic value of that rate in Colonial money.

“The former of these plans is by far the most simple, but it would be much more convenient for the public if a small piece of money, of mixed silver and copper, of the value of 2d. sterling could be struck, and be made current in all these Colonies when the new rate of postage is introduced.



172<sup>1</sup>



Mrs. Sarah Wilson



April 13 - 1855

4 for

Miss Susan  
Carmichael



Donald MacKay  
Carmelite Street  
Aberdeen





"I would also submit for your Excellency's consideration, whether it is not expedient that the design for the postage stamps should be one and the same in all the British North American Provinces, saving only that the words 'Canada,' 'Nova Scotia,' or 'New Brunswick' might appear on such of the stamps, respectively, as will be distributed within limits of each Province.

"This can easily be effected by concerted action between the Executives of the several Colonies before the 6th of July.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"(Sgd.) Edmund Head."

This letter is no doubt the explanation of the resemblance in design of the stamps of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Not being able to have his way in the proposed issue of a coin, the Lieutenant-Governor no doubt used his influence to have the stamps as much alike as possible.

With some few amendments the Act was passed by both Houses of Legislature, and sanctioned by the Imperial authorities. It became law by a proclamation of Lieutenant-Colonel Bazalgette, who was then the Administrator of the Government of Nova Scotia, dated the 17th of June, 1851.

On the 5th of July the official notice from the Provincial Secretary was published in the "*Royal Gazette*," and includes many of the minor details which are not given in the Act. The notice reads:

"Provincial Secretary's Office.  
2nd July, 1851.

"His Honour the Administrator of the Government, by the advice of Her Majesty's Council, has been pleased to approve and establish the following regulations, to come into operation in the Post-Office Department in this Province on and after the 6th of July, instant:

"1st. Letters addressed to any part of Nova Scotia or British North America will be liable to a uniform rate of 3d. currency the half-ounce, prepayment optional.

"2nd. Packet letters to and from England, 1s. sterling, or 1s. 3d. currency, prepayment optional.

"3rd. Letters to and from Newfoundland, 8d. currency, 5d. packet rate, instead of 4 1-2d., and 3d. inland, prepayment optional.

"4th. Letters to and from Bermuda and the British West Indies, 8d. currency, 5d. the packet rate, instead of 4 1-2d. inland 3d., which latter rate must be prepaid in advance on letters for Bermuda and the British West Indies.

"5th. Letters addressed to the United States will be liable to the rate of 3d. currency the half ounce, between the place of posting and frontier line; by Contract Packet 5d., currency, instead of 4 1-2d., in addition to the inland rate (3d.), which must be prepaid.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Newspapers, Pamphlets, etc.

"1st. Newspapers published in the Province of Nova Scotia, addressed to any part of British North America and the United States, when forwarded by land mail pass free of charge.

"2nd. Newspapers to and from the United Kingdom by Contract Packet from Halifax, free; if forwarded *via* the United States, 1d. each, payable on delivery.

"3rd. Newspapers for the United States, by packet from Halifax, 2 1-2d. currency each, which must be prepaid.

\* \* \* \* \*

"8th. Pamphlets, printed books, and periodical publications will be liable to a charge of 2d. per ounce up to six



ounces in weight, enclosed in covers open at the ends, and 3d. for every additional ounce up to sixteen ounces, beyond which weight no printed book, publication, or pamphlet can be forwarded by post.

"9th. Printed books, magazines, reviews, or pamphlets, whether British, Colonial, or Foreign, will, after the 5th of July next, be permitted to be sent through the Post-office from the United Kingdom to Nova Scotia, or vice-versa, whether forwarded by packet or private ship, and in all respects (except as to weight) subject to the same conditions and restrictions to which newspapers are liable, at the following rates, viz., not exceeding a half pound, 6d. sterling, or 7 1-2d. currency; exceeding half a pound and not one pound, 1s. sterling, or 1s. 3d. currency; exceeding one pound and not two pounds, 2s. sterling, or 2s. 6d. currency; and so on, adding 1s. 3d. currency for every additional pound, or fraction of a pound. When forwarded by packet they must be sent by the direct route from Halifax, the postage in all cases to be prepaid.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Stamps.

"Letters with stamps affixed to them equal to the rate of postage chargeable upon such letters, pass free of all other postage in whatever part of Nova Scotia they may be posted, and to whatever part of British North America addressed.

#### Money Letters.

"Registered money letters will be liable to a charge of 6d. currency each, in addition to the postage, which must in all cases be prepaid in advance."

The Postmaster-General must have been unaware of the orders given for stamps, as in the letter-book of the Post-office Department I find the following letter:

"Halifax, *April 21st*, 1851.

"Sir,—As the period is fast drawing near when the reduced rate of postage is to take effect in Nova Scotia, and as I perceive by the Provincial Act that provincial stamps are to be provided for the convenience of the public, and not being aware that any steps have been taken by the Government to obtain them, I request to be informed whether His Excellency would authorise me to make application for a supply from the authorities of the General Post-office.

"I would beg to suggest that a requisition for 5000 sheets, or more, be made, each sheet containing 240 heads, which at 3d. would be equal to £15,000, or £3 for each sheet.

"Also £5000 of 6d. stamps for double letters or letters exceeding the half-ounce; and also 60 *defacing stamps* for the use of the several postmasters throughout the Province.

"I would further suggest that the head be something similar to that represented in the margin, the field to be blue instead of red, or any other colour His Excellency would prefer.

"This supply would, I imagine, be sufficient for the first introduction of this reduced rate, when, should His Excellency think proper, other arrangements could be made for keeping up the supply.

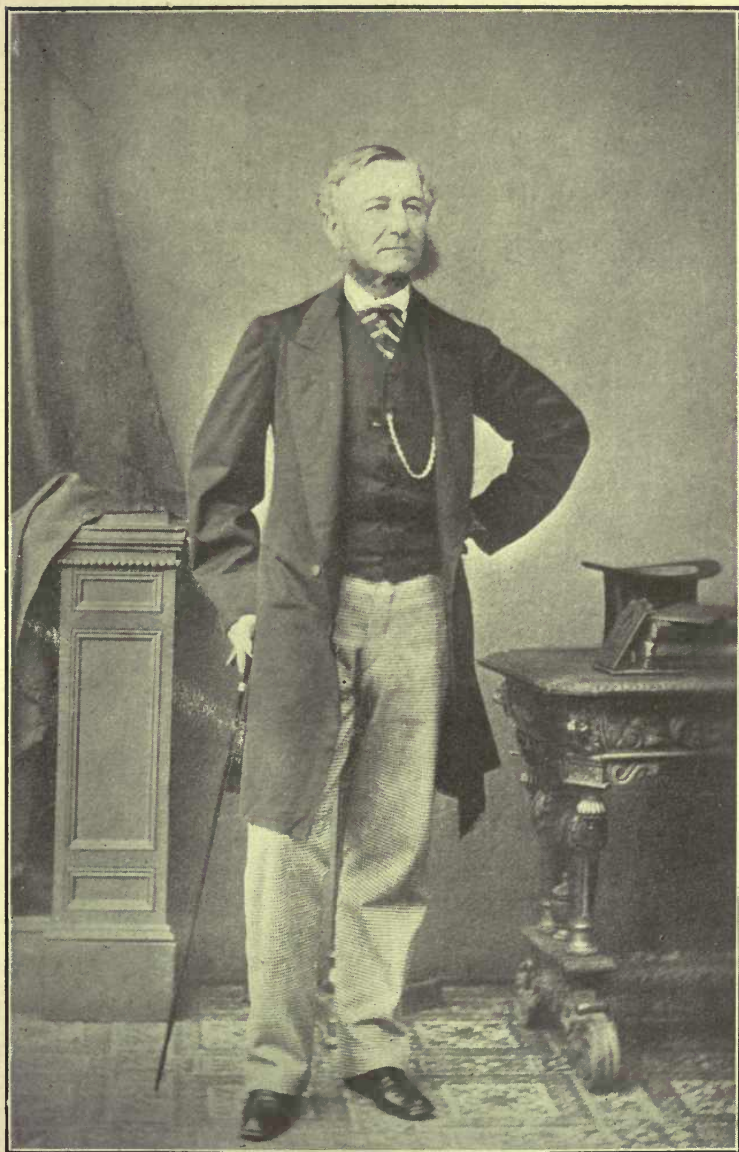
"Should the Lieutenant-Governor approve of this proposition, I will apply to the Post-office in London by the next packet.—I have, etc.,

"(Sgd.) A. Woodgate.

"The Honourable Joseph Howe."

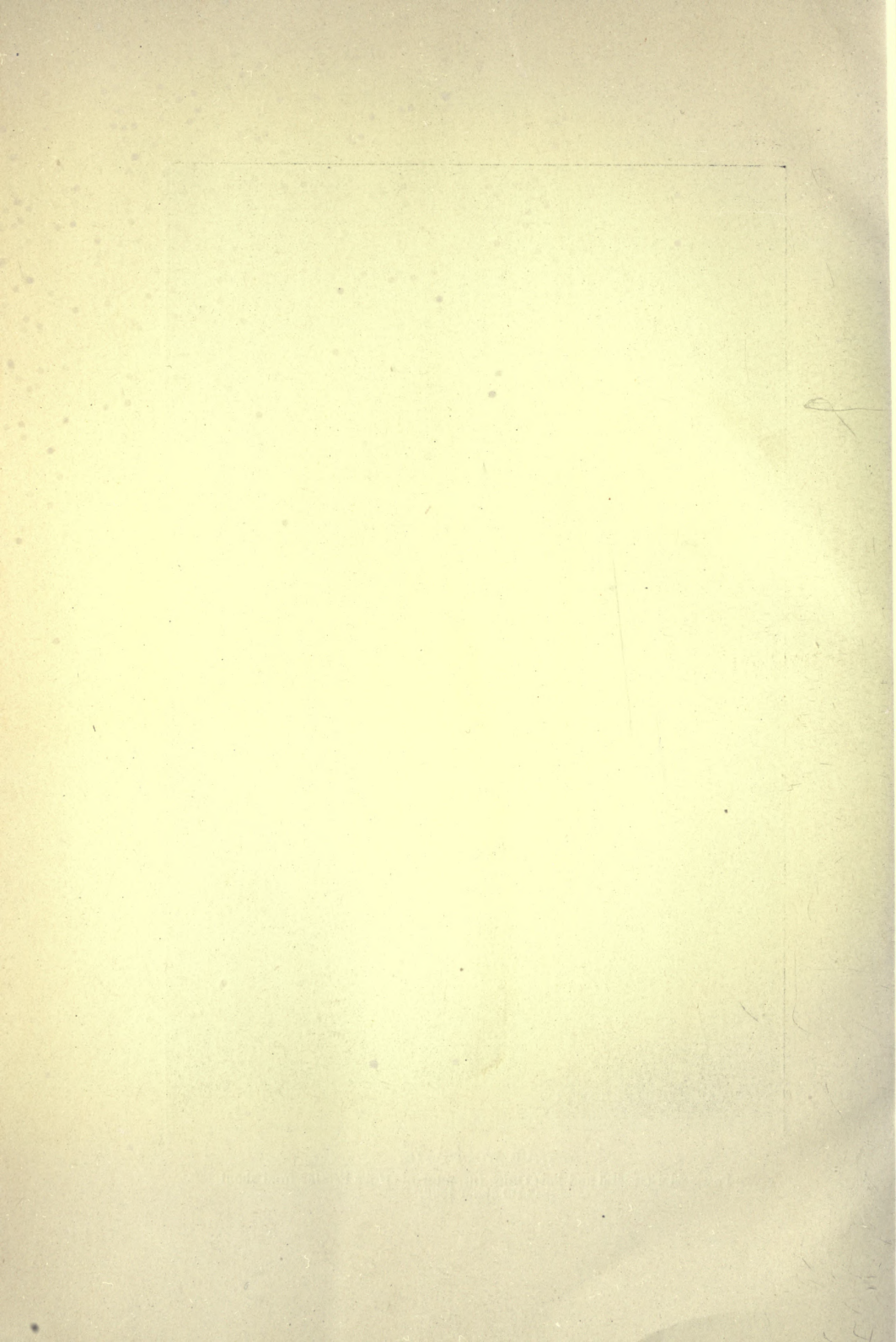
A copy of the design mentioned in this letter is on the margin of the letter-book. Plate 1, No 1. It is of large rectangular shape, in the centre the head of the Queen, of a type somewhat like that of the early Mauritius, excepting that there is no crown or





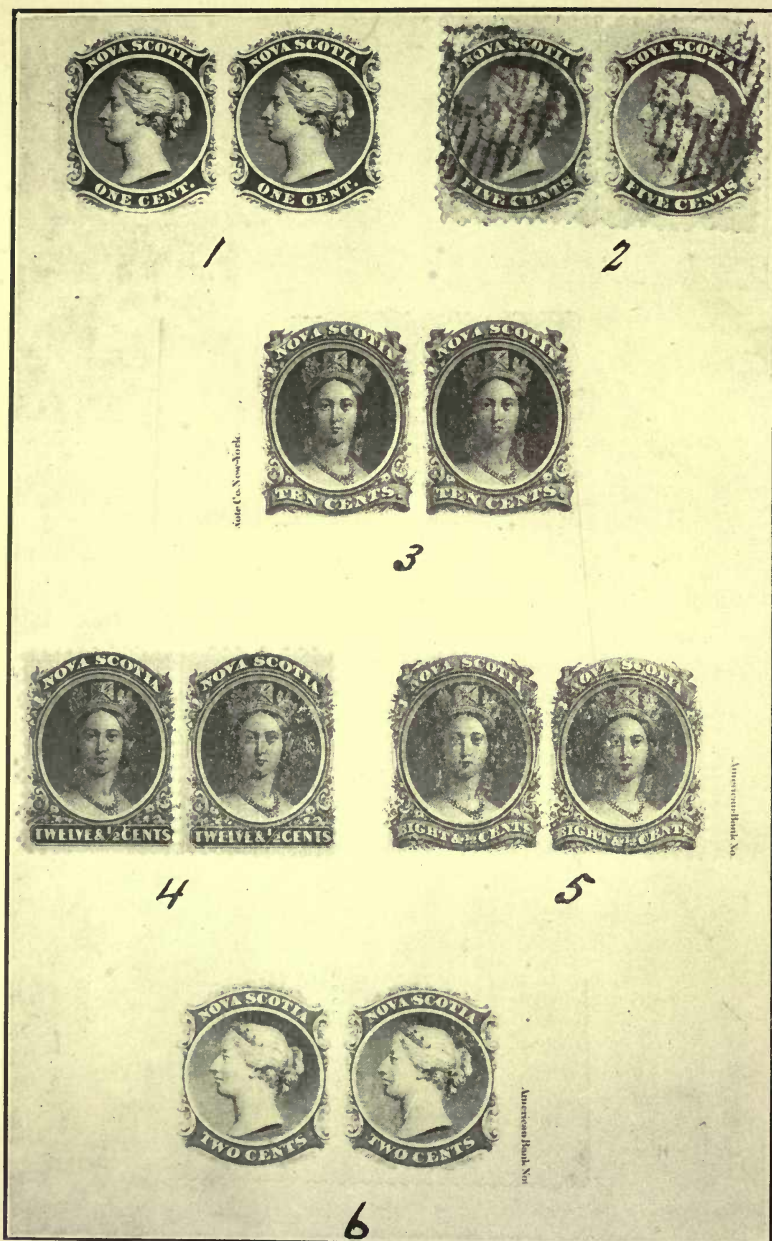
ARTHUR WOODGATE,

Postmaster-General and Post Office Inspector of Nova Scotia, from about  
1843 till about 1876,





176<sup>2</sup>



Nova Scotian Postage Stamps.  
Plate 3



wreath upon it. This is drawn on a square of red. At top "Postage," at bottom "*Three Pence*" in small script letters, on left side "Nova" reading up, and on right side "Scotia" reading down. In each corner a small square, with figure "3" in it. The entire appearance of the design is much like the early Mauritius, although probably meant for an imitation of the then current English 1d. stamps.

The design of the "defacing" or cancelling stamp is very much like the one adopted, having the same oval shape, but the lines on the face are perpendicular instead of horizontal, Plate 1. No. 2.

This proposal for stamps did not go further than the office of the Provincial Secretary to whom it was written, and it would appear that stamps must have been ordered before this, as there would not be time enough between this date and that on which they were issued (September 1st, 1851) to have designs approved of and plates prepared. It is more than probable that the Hon. Joseph Howe, the Provincial Secretary, who, I am informed, was in London the previous winter, had had designs then submitted to him and approved of, and had ordered the necessary stamps without the knowledge of the Postmaster-General.

At the same time he probably ordered the stamps for New Brunswick, as the following memorandum from the same letter-book would imply. It is dated the 8th of July, 1851.

#### Memo.

"When Mr. Howe made the application for stamps it was proposed that after the first supply had arrived the plates could have been sent out, and impressions taken off by engravers in Halifax. As Mr. Saunders however seems to report against the proposition, I would beg to suggest for the consideration of the Government, that £10,000 worth of stamps for Nova Scotia, and a similar amount for New Brunswick, viz.,

3d.	.	.	.	.	£5000
6d.	.	.	.	.	2500
1s.	.	.	.	.	2500

be furnished for immediate use, or should this amount be considered too small to double the above numbers.

"I would also recommend that 200 half-pound canisters of obliterating ink be also provided—100 for the use of this Province and 100 for New Brunswick, and directions for its use.

"(Sgd.) A. W.

"W. H. Keating, Esq., *July 8th, 1851.*"

What amount or number of stamps was ordered it is now impossible to say. The books of Messrs. Perkins, Bacon & Co., of London who manufactured them would probably show if they could be examined.

In the *Chronicle* newspaper of the 30th August, 1851, the Postmaster-General had an advertisement inserted, notifying the public of the introduction of stamps.

#### Notice to the Public.

"Postage stamps having been received from England, notice is hereby given that stamps of 3 pence, 6 pence, and 1 shilling can be purchased at this office on and after *Monday, the 1st day of September, next.* Plate 1. Nos. 3, 4 and 5.

"Note.—Postage stamps before using should be examined to ascertain that they will firmly adhere (as in the event of their falling off, the letters become charged with postage), they should then be placed on the front of the letter, *and upon the right hand corner of the upper side.*

"Should this direction not be attended to, from the rapidity with which the duty must be performed, letters which bear stamps will frequently be taxed, while the parties receiving them will be put to much trouble in obtaining a return of the postage improperly charged.

"In all cases of complaint of any irregularity, the covers of the letters (and contents in all practicable cases) must invari-



ably be kept and sent to the Post-office, as affording the only means of investigating the complaint.

"A. Woodgate, D. P. M. G.

"General P. O., Halifax, *August 25th*, 1851."

The Postmaster-General in his report for 1852, says:—

"Postage stamps valued at 1 shilling, 6 pence, and 3 pence have been procured from Trelayne Saunders, Esq., Stationer, of London, and supplied to stationers, postmasters, merchants, and others, at a discount of 5 per cent. allowed on sums of £5 and upwards. During the past year there have been issued from my office postage stamps to the value of £355 2s. 6d. This is a much smaller circulation than was anticipated at the time of their introduction into the Province, the public generally, I apprehend, not yet clearly understanding their use, nor appreciating their advantages.

"They are deposited with the Receiver-General for safe keeping, from whom I procure them when a supply is needed. Application has been made for 1 penny stamps, which are expected to arrive shortly."

The only mention of a bill for the stamps is in the accounts for the quarter ending 5th October, 1851. It is—

"By cash paid to Hon. Jos. Howe, being amount remitted by him to Trelayne Saunders, Esq., for postage stamps for Nova Scotia	£221 14s. 8d."
---	----------------

This seems to be a very small amount for the plates and stamps, but it more probably is a part payment, as the plate and printing of the 1 penny alone cost £191 3s. 2d. I cannot however find any mention of any further sum paid.

The stamps were not long in use before it was found that the want of a 1 penny label was a great inconvenience as it was necessary for the local drop letters in Halifax, and also

to make up the rate on letters prepaid in stamps to the United States, Bermuda, Newfoundland, &c.

The Post-office Commissioners spoke of this in their first report after the Province had taken over the postal administration.

"The Committee recommend that the Governor-in-Council should be legally empowered to introduce a 1 penny stamp, in addition to those now in use, the same being necessary to prepay letters to the United States, Bermuda, Newfoundland, and to accommodate the people of Halifax; and also to make regulations to secure the safe passage of money letters."

At this time the postal rates with the United States were the same as in 1848:—"The United States rates to be taken on letters forwarded between the United States and the British North American Provinces, under Article 13 of the Convention of December the 5th, 1848, shall be as follows:—

"On any letter not exceeding half-ounce in weight, conveyed, or to be conveyed, any distance within the United States not exceeding 300 miles a rate of 5 cents, and for any distance exceeding 300 miles a rate of 10 cents.

"When the United States rates of postage are collected in British North America, 5 cents shall be considered equivalent to 3d., and 10 cents to 6d., Provincial currency.

"The Provincial rates of postage, to be taken under the provisions of the same article, shall be as follows: On any letter not exceeding half an ounce in weight, conveyed, or to be conveyed, any distance within British North America, not exceeding 60 miles a rate of 4d. sterling, or 9 cents. Above 60 miles but not exceeding 100 miles a rate of 6d. sterling, or 12 cents, and so on an additional rate of 2d. sterling or 4 cents for every distance not exceeding 100 miles."



In 1852 a new agreement was made between the respective Governments of Nova Scotia and the United States, causing a very great reduction in the postal rates. It is as follows:

"No. 12.

"Articles of agreement between the Post-office Department of the United States, and the Post-office Department of Nova Scotia.

"For the purpose of establishing and regulating the exchange of mails between the United States and Nova Scotia, it is agreed between the Post-office Department of the United States, and the Post-office Department of Nova Scotia:

"1. That there shall be an exchange of mails between the United States and Nova Scotia at the following points, viz.,

On the side of the United  
States at Boston.

On the side of Nova Scotia  
At Halifax.

"2. The postage to be charged in the United States on a letter not exceeding half an ounce in weight, to and from Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, shall be 5 cents (three pence) for any distance within the United States not exceeding 3,000 miles, and exceeding 3,000 miles within the United States 10 cents (sixpence) the single letter, every additional weight of half an ounce, or additional of less than half an ounce, to be charged as an additional rate; the rates of this section mentioned having been agreed upon by the Postmaster-General of the United States by and with advice and consent of the President.

\* \* \* \* \*

"8. The postage stamps of either country shall be taken as evidence of the prepayment of postage.

"9. The Post Office designated for the dispatch and receipt of the Provincial mails on the side of the United States, will stamp "U. States" upon all letters sent into Nova Scotia for

delivery; and the office designated for the dispatch and receipt of United States mails on the side of Nova Scotia, will stamp "Nova Scotia" upon all letters sent into the United States for delivery."

Clause 9 of this agreement will explain to a certain extent the existence of some of the Nova Scotia 3d. and 6d. stamps with a new value of 5 or 10 cents stamped on them. Although the clause only calls for "U. States" or "Nova Scotia" to be stamped on letters exchanged between the respective countries, yet I have never seen one cover with that inscription alone on it. The commonest form of these inscriptions is PAID 6d." on United States letters, and "Paid 10 cents" on Nova Scotia letters. This hand stamp is usually found in two lines, "PAID" above and the value in a half circle beneath. Other types of these hand stamps are not uncommon in either country; I have seen a letter mailed at Providence, R. I., and postmarked "June 4, 1859," prepaid with the United States 10 cent stamp of 1857, it has a small, double-lined oval stamped on it, within which are the words "United States," and in the centre of these words "6d." The stamp is cancelled with "PAID" in a circle. Although all the stamping on this cover is done in *red*, yet the ink of the postmark and cancellation is quite different to that in which the "United States 6d." is struck. The hand stamps used may sometimes have been struck on the stamp, and thus would make the so-called surcharge; this however does not in any way resemble that which would be made by printing. I do not believe in the least in any such variety made by the latter means.

To return to the 1d. stamps. The recommendation of the Post-office was acted upon as soon as possible, and a One Penny stamp was issued. Plate 1. No. The exact date of the issue I cannot find, although I have searched the *Royal Gazette* and all the newspapers of the time; apparently there was no advertisement published of their proposed use. The nearest approach to the date is the first requisition for them made by the



Postmaster General on the Receiver General, who in Nova Scotia held the stock of stamps; this is dated—

“Halifax, *May* 12, 1853.

“Sir,—I have the honor to request that I may be furnished with a supply of 200 sheets of 1 penny stamps (amounting to £100) for the use of the Post-office in this Province.”

(Sgd.) “A Woodgate, P. M. G.”

The next reference to the 1d. stamp is in the report for 1853, where the Postmaster-General says that “One Penny postage stamps having recently been received from London, and put into circulation, are now to be had in nearly every Post-office in Nova Scotia.

“There are at present stamps for 1 shilling, 6 pence, 3 pence, and 1 penny; and the public have thus every facility afforded them to prepay their letters to any place to which stamps can free them. His Excellency’s Government having at considerable outlay introduced into the country the system of prepayment by stamps, it is a subject of gratulation that the public at large are beginning to feel and appreciate their convenience and advantages, a much larger amount having been issued from my office during the past than the present year, being an increase of over 25 per cent., as will be seen by reference to Report 1.”

In the accounts for this year there is one lettered “K.”

“Penny postage stamps . . . £191 3s. 2d.”

This no doubt is Perkins, Vacon & Co’s bill for making the plate and for printing.

In 1853 the question of a reduced rate of postage to the United Kingdom was raised, and a petition was drawn up and forwarded on the 17th of March, 1853, by Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, Lt.-Governor of Nova Scotia, to the Parliament of Great Britain, praying for a reduction of postage to a uniform

prepaid 1d. postage rate to all the English Colonies and Great Britain.

An answer was sent to this petition on the 8th April, 1853, by the Duke of Newcastle, who encloses a copy of a circular dated 5th April, 1853, of which he also forwarded copies to all the governors of British Colonies.

The circular says: "..... Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to adopt a uniform 6d. rate for all Colonial letters within a specified weight, so soon as the circumstances which the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury may think it their duty to take into consideration will permit, and upon its being ascertained that those Colonies, whose postal arrangements are independent of this country, are willing to acquiesce in the proposed arrangement.

"In order to avoid any misconception, I beg to repeat that the object of the Postmaster-General in the first instance is to enquire whether the Governments of the several Colonies will consent to the measure contemplated. Should their consent be obtained it will then remain to fix a period for bringing the arrangements into effect, simultaneously in the United Kingdom and Colonies."

On Lord Canning's accession to power the reduction was made.

"The details of the arrangement are that the present postal charges on letters between the United Kingdom and all the British Colonial possessions shall be reduced to a uniform rate of 6d. the half-ounce, according to the following scale, which is that in use in the United Kingdom, viz.,

Not exceeding 1-2-ounce	.	.	1 Rate.
Exceeding	"	and not 1 ounce	. 2 Rates.
"	1	"	" 2 ounces . 4 "

and so on. The postage to free the letter to its place of destination, and to be prepaid or not at the option of the sender."



When the reduced rate went into operation in Nova Scotia, there was no stamp of the value of  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. (equal to 6d. sterling) for the use of those who wished to prepay their letters. This difficulty was overcome by a notice to the public allowing the 3d. stamp to be cut and used for half its value. This is alluded to in the report for 1854, which says of this:—"The Imperial Post-Office authorities having completed the necessary arrangements for reducing the comparatively high rates of postage charged on the correspondence between the United Kingdom and British North America, &c., the reduced rate came into operation on the 1st August last.

"This considerate act on the part of the parent country cannot but be considered as a great boon, especially to the poor man, who can now send or receive his letters by packet for the comparatively small sum of  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. currency, the single rate of half an ounce.

"To remedy to some extent the serious inconvenience said to be experienced by merchants and others, in consequence of there being no seven and one-half penny currency postage stamp, by which parties who feel desirous could thus prepay their letters to England, and not wishing to put the Province to any further expense in having another *die* prepared, I considered it expedient to allow *half* stamps to be used with those now in use, to obviate the want of accommodation complained of, and a circular was accordingly forwarded to my deputies, and a notice issued to the public to the effect that letters could be prepaid to England by stamps by parties using a sixpence, or two threepenny stamps together, with *half* a *threepenny stamp*. Plate 2, Nos. 5 and 7. The threepenny stamp to be cut *diagonally*, and the half to be equivalent to  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.

"The threepenny stamp alone to be used for that purpose."

This I believe is the only known instance in which a half stamp was authorized as a permanent issue, and used for such a long period of time—seven years—1854-1860. Other

countries have authorized the use of bisected stamps, but only until a new one had been issued to meet the want of the new value.

The order to divide the 3d. stamp alone was not adhered to, as I have seen several covers prepaid with half of a 1s. and half of a 3d. stamp to make the rate; and I saw in an auction catalogue of a sale in New York last winter, a cover described as being prepaid  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., made up of a 6d. and a quarter of a sixpenny stamp. I have no doubt that the 1d. was also used for the same purpose. The circular only permits the 3d. stamp to be cut; but the letters I saw prepaid with the cut 1s. passed through Halifax and were not taxed, and I do not think that any letters so prepaid with cut stamps were taxed, even though such were not alluded to in the regulations.

The discount of 5 per cent., that had been allowed to all purchasers of stamps to the value of £5 and upwards, did not appear to give satisfaction to the country postmasters, as in 1855 the Postmaster-General asked that this privilege should be cancelled. The report says, "When stamps were first introduced into this province not only were postmasters authorised to sell them on commission, but merchants, stationers, and others obtained a discount of 5 per cent. on their purchase on all sums of £5 and upwards. This was done with a view to their general circulation, and in the hope that in this manner the public would sooner perceive their utility and convenience. The object then sought having been to a great extent attained, and postage stamps being now in circulation throughout the Province, I would therefore beg to suggest that in future the commission or discount, as the case may be, be confined to *postmasters* alone (including the Halifax office). This course would somewhat increase the postmasters' emoluments, and give them a privilege, which in my opinion they are fairly and justly entitled to."

This not unreasonable request was acceded to.



That the use of stamps was largely increasing there is no doubt, as in the report for 1857 we find "The amount of postage stamps sold during the year was

	£2,855	5	2
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In 1852	335	2	6
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Increase of	£2,520	2	8
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good evidence, I conceive, of their convenience, and of their appreciation as such by the public generally.

"A further supply of postage labels has been procured from England for the use of this Department, which for safe keeping are deposited with the Receiver-General, viz., 13,750 sheets, valued at £40,000, the cost of which, including premium on exchange on London, amounted to £120 16s. 1d currency."

The requisition for this supply is the only one I have been able to find. It is in one of the letter-books of the Post-office Department.

"General Post-Office, Halifax,  
"July 2nd, 1857.

"Sir,—The stock of postage stamps procured from England some time ago being nearly exhausted, I have the honour to request that you will be good enough to issue the necessary directions to Mr. Stanford, No. 6, Charing Cross, London, for a further demand, viz.,

10,000	sheets of 3d. postage stamps, value	£20,000
2,500	" 6d. "	" 10,000
1,250	" 1s. "	" 10,000

Each sheet to contain 160 labels of 3d., 6d., and 1s. stamps, making each sheet of the value of £2, £4, and £8 respectively, and to be the colour of those affixed on the margin.

"The last supply of stamps were furnished by Mr. Trelawney Saunders, who has transferred his business to Mr. Stanford. In applying for these postage labels, therefore,

it will be necessary you should furnish Mr. Stanford with your authority to produce the key for opening the box containing the dies, which are now in the possession of the engravers, Messrs. Perkins, Bacon & Petch, who are also in possession of a key for the safe custody of the dies.

"It is particularly requested that the stamps may be forwarded at as early a period as possible, those remaining on hand being not only nearly expended, but much injured. When making the requisition it would be as well to caution the engravers not to pack the parcels too close, for when they are strictly confined they adhere and become useless, as was the case with some of the packages in the last supply furnished. I have, &c., &c.,

"(Sgd.) A. Woodgate.

"The Hon. C. Tupper, M. D., M. P. .P., Halifax."

I do not think that more than two supplies of stamps were ever sent from England. The accounts contain but two, there are two only mentioned in the reports, and there are but two distinct series of shades in the stamps. The foregoing applies to the three higher values alone.

Although I can find no trace of any but the one charge for 1d. stamps, I am inclined to believe that there was more than one supply, as there is more variety in the shades of paper and ink than in the other values—pointing, I should think, to more than one printing.

The bisecting of stamps in Nova Scotia was not authorized except in the case of the 3d., as before stated. But although not legalized it was a well-known and practised custom, Plate 2, Nos. 3 and 6, and such stamps were always allowed to prepay postage. One peculiarity is that in both issues a stamp cut any way but diagonally is extremely rare. In the last few years I have seen and handled many covers prepaid by cut stamps, and I have only met with three divided otherwise. These were two 6d. cut perpendicularly, Plate 2, No. 4, and one 10 cents cut horizontally.



I have been informed by an employe of the Nova Scotian post-office that those only that were cut diagonally were recognized, and if so the public and postmasters who did this bisecting were probably acquainted with this fact.

Considering the length of time stamps were in use in Nova Scotia the number sold was not very great. The reports give the amounts for all except the last year. They were:

	£	s.	d.
During years 1851 and 1852.....	335	2	6
" " 1853.....	473	4	8
" " 1854.....	898	0	6
" " 1855.....	1656	14	3
" " 1856.....	2536	15	9
" " 1857.....	2855	15	2
" " 1858.....	3172	13	5
" " 1859 (to 30th Sept.)..	3619	1	10

The stamps issued by Nova Scotia are too well known to need any description. They are perhaps the handsomest of the many beautiful designs manufactured by Messrs. Perkins, Bacon & Co. for the British Colonies. There is one detail of which perhaps many collectors are not aware, and that is, that the fourth flower in the diamond is the May flower, the national emblem of Nova Scotia. It is one of the hardiest of wild flowers, its delicate pink and white blossoms perfuming the air long before the snow is off the ground.

The 3d., 6d., and 1s. stamps were printed in sheets of 160, and the 1d. in a sheet of 120 stamps, on a paper of very even weight, no varieties in thick or thin paper being found. The gum used for the first printing was of a very dark brown colour, and of a pliable nature, as even on unused specimens now it does not show any cracks, and it can be bent without cracking.

The first printing of the 3d. was in a very dark blue colour on a clear blue paper, printing and paper varying slightly in

shade. The 6d. is printed in a yellow-green on a bluish paper, printing and paper varying slightly in shade, as in the 3d. I have lately been shown an unused specimen of the 6d. printed in a pale yellow-green on an almost *white* paper, no trace of *blue* whatever, more yellowish-white than anything. If it had not been for the gum on the back, and its perfect unused condition I should say it had been treated to an acid bath.

The 1s. is in a light violet colour, on a very slightly bluish paper. The paper used for this value appears to be the whitest of the series.

The 1d. is found in three very distinct shades, both of paper and ink: 1st, a very dull reddish-brown tint on a pale blue paper; 2nd, a much richer tint of the same colour on a bluish paper; and 3rd (the scarcest variety), a very bright red-brown (showing little trace of brown at all) on bright blue paper. This shade is so marked that it can easily be recognised by any one. I had a specimen of the 1d. in a distinct brick-red colour, but am not satisfied that it had not been changed in shade, although, if such was the case, the change was confined to the ink alone, as the paper was of the normal tint.

The second printing of the 3d., 6d., and 1s. were issued about the end of 1857. For a long time past I have taken notes of the varieties and dates of postmarks on the covers I have seen, and it is somewhat uncommon to find the 3d., dark blue, or the 6d., yellow-green, used after the end of 1857. From that date the 3d., light blue, and the 6d., dark green, are the ones met with.

This second lot is entirely distinct from the first. The paper is of a lighter shade, the colours are different, and the gum is yellowish-white and crackly. It is very brittle; if a stamp is bent the gum cracks all over, and in some cases the paper will nearly break. There are two varieties of paper, one almost white, the other bright blue.



In the 3d. there are three distinct shades or varieties: *a.* On almost white paper, generally tinted on the face by the plate, printed in a light blue. *b.* Same paper and colour, but there is the appearance of a cloud or haze on the printing which gives it a cold look; the border lines also look as if printed in a deeper shade. *c.* On a bright blue paper, the impression of a lighter shade than the paper.

In the 6d. there are two varieties: *a.* On the same whitish paper as the 3d., printed in dark green. *b.* On the bright blue paper. There do not appear to be any shades in the ink of this value, as the green is of the same tint on both papers.

The 1s. is in three varieties: *a.* On the whitish paper of the other values. *b.* On same paper, but with the cloud over it like the 3d.; this is printed in a much deeper shade than the first. *c.* On the bright blue paper of the 3d. and 6d., the colour of this is a very deep mauve. The last two shades are exceedingly rare.

In the following list where the paper is spoken of as being almost white it must be understood that there is always more or less of a bluish tint. This applies to the second printing only, as in the first the paper is more decided in colour. It would perhaps be more correct to describe it as being slightly bluish, but this would be misleading in the case of some, that show so little of the blue tint that it is rather suggested than seen.\*

#### REFERENCE LIST.

1st Sept., 1851.

3d., black blue on blue paper.

3d., dark blue on blue paper (shades).

3d.       "       on sky-blue paper.

6d., yellow-green on slightly bluish paper (shades)

6d       "       on very       "       "       "

6d.       "       on yellowish-white paper.

1s., violet on slightly bluish paper (shades).

1s.     "     on very bluish paper.

1s., cold violet on yellowish white paper.

12th May, 1853.

1d., dull reddish brown on pale blue paper.

1d., deep     "     "     on blue paper (shades).

1d., bright brown-red on bright blue paper.

Last quarter, 1857.

3d., light blue on almost white paper (shades).

3d.     "     cloud on impression, almost white paper.

3d.     "     on bright blue paper.

6d., dark green, on almost white paper.

6d.     "     on bright blue paper.

1s., mauve on almost white paper (shades).

1s.     "     cloud on impression, almost white paper.

1s., very dark mauve on bright blue paper.

A list of the cut stamps of Nova Scotia can only be considered as approximately correct, new varieties are liable to be unearthed at any time. I have thought it best to head the list with the official variety, and to give the full prepayment of the cover on which the cut stamps are found. The list could be very much extended by giving the different parts of the stamps used, as right-hand side, left-hand side, side, etc.; but this I think would be carrying the varieties to extremes, although I know more than one collector in the Provinces who is collecting in this manner.

#### REFERENCE LIST.

1854.

7½d., made up with a 6d., yellow green on slightly bluish paper, and half a 3d., black-blue.

7½d., made up with a 6d., yellow-green on very bluish paper, and half a 3d., dark blue on blue paper.

7½d., made up with two and a half 3d., dark blue on blue paper (shades).



- $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., made up with a 6d., and a quarter of a 6d.  
 $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., " " the half of a 1s., violet, and half a 3d.,  
 dark blue on blue paper.  
 1s.  $10\frac{1}{2}$ d., made up with three 6d., yellow-green on very bluish  
 paper, and one and a half 3d., dark blue on blue paper.  
 $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., made up with one and a half 3d. dark blue on blue paper.  
 3d., made of half a 6d., yellow-green on bluish paper (shades).  
 3d., made of half a 6d., yellow-green on very bluish paper.  
 3d. " quarter of a 1s., violet on whitish paper.  
 6d. " half a 1s., violet on slightly bluish paper.  
 9d., made up with one and a half 6d., yellow-green on bluish  
 paper.

## 1857.

- 3d., made of half a 6d., dark green on whitish paper.  
 3d. " " 6d., " on bright blue paper.  
 3d. " " 6d., " " " "  
 perpendicularly.  
 $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., made up with a 6d., dark green on bright blue paper,  
 and half a 3d., light blue on whitish paper.  
 $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., made up with two and a half 3d., light blue on whitish  
 paper.

Before leaving the pence series, it is well to speak of some varieties of these stamps that have been found with a new value, in decimal currency, overprinted on them.

Only two varieties of these have come under my observation; the threepence, overprinted, or rather cancelled, with a large double-lined oval enclosing the value "5 c.," and the sixpence with a similar overprint of the figures "10," unframed.

Of the threepence, I have seen three covers mailed at Baddeck, C. B., Plate 2, No. 2, and postmarked January 13th

and 20th, 1860 (the third date was illegible), and all three addressed to the same person.

As will be seen by the dates, these letters were mailed after the Decimal Currency Act went into operation, but before the new stamps were issued.

As the then postmaster at Baddeck was still living, I wrote to him enclosing the covers, and he informed me that this overprint was used as a canceller, the stamps bearing no other cancellation than the oval described above.

The sixpennies with the overprint were also on the original cover; there were two of them on a letter mailed from Whycomagh, C. B., Plate 2, No 1, postmarked February 29th, 1860, but, as with the threepennies, there was no other cancellation than the figures "10" on each of the stamps.

Another manner in which these overprints might occur was in the stamping of the postage paid on the face of letters passing between Nova Scotia and the United States, as described earlier in this paper.

Personally, I do not believe there ever was a stamp of the pence issue of Nova Scotia surcharged with a new value and sold in the Province; if there had been they would certainly have come to light in greater or less quantities before this, as the Province has been thoroughly overhauled for the old issues of stamps, and it is about cleaned out, and we have yet to see these surcharged stamps turn up.

During the session of the Legislature for 1859 the Decimal Currency Act was passed. It was as follows:—

#### "Chapter 111.

"Be it enacted, &c., the several coins hereinafter mentioned shall be legal tender at the following rates:—

"1. The gold sovereign of the United Kingdom at five dollars.



"The silver coins of the United Kingdom at the following rates:—

Silver crown of the United Kingdom, one dollar and twenty-			
five cents.			
"	half-crown	"	sixty-two and a half cents.
"	florin	"	fifty cents.
"	shilling	"	twenty-five cents.
"	sixpence	"	twelve and a half cents.
"	fourpence	"	eight cents.

"5. In the laws of the Province now in force, whenever any fees, charges, or other sums in currency, are mentioned, the amounts so mentioned shall hereafter be computed and taken to represent dollars and cents in the following scale:— a £ shall represent \$4.00; a 1s. shall represent 20 c.; a 1d., 2c.; 2d., 3½c.; 3d., 5c.; 4d., 6½c.; 5d., 8½c.; 6d., 10c.; 7d., 11½c.; 8d., 13c.; 9d., 15c.; 10d., 16½c.; 11d., 18c.; 12d., 20."

This Act made a complete change in the keeping of accounts, and necessitated the issue of a new series of stamps. It was put into effect in the Province before there were decimal coins ready to be placed in circulation, or stamps to be issued. This naturally created confusion and loss, especially to the Post-office, so much so that it was spoken of at some length in the Postmaster-General's report, dated January 20th, 1860, when the currency had only been changed 20 days. He says:—

"The Act to establish the 'decimal system of accounting,' published in the *Royal Gazette* on the 8th of November last, for the information of all public functionaries, was given practical effect to by this department on the 1st of January inst.—the necessary instructions, together with the various forms of accounts, &c., having previously been issued by me to all Postmasters and way office keepers. Much difficulty however has already been experienced by the Postmasters in satisfactorily carrying out the provisions of the Act, owing to the want of proper coins to represent the decimal currency,

a value, much beyond its intrinsic worth, having been given by the law to the copper coin, whereby the revenue of the Department will sustain a very material loss."

The particular part of the complaint relates to a want of the proper copper coins, and to the excessive value attached to those in circulation. This, however, was to a certain extent remedied by extra charging for letters prepaid in coppers, as in the postal notices which now appeared in the *Royal Gazette* I find one relating to the establishment of a book post to Bermuda and Newfoundland, where the rate of postage is given in coppers altogether. This was as follows:

"Notice to the Public.

"Book Post to Bermuda and Newfoundland.

"The Government of this Province having consented to the establishment of a book post to Bermuda and Newfoundland, under an arrangement proposed by the Postmaster-General of England, said arrangement will come into operation on the 1st of June next.

"The regulations for the transmission, &c. .... and the rates of postage will be as follows:

"Not exceeding 4 ounces . . . . .	15 coppers.
Above 4 ounces and not exceeding 8 ounces . .	15 "
" 8 " " 16 " . . .	15 "
" 1 lb. " " 1½ lbs . . .	45 "

"The following condition must be observed:

"1. The entire postage must be prepaid by postage stamps.

"(Sgd.) A. Woodgate, P. M. G.

"General Post-office, Halifax, 11th May, 1860."

A better illustration of the extra amount charged for letters prepaid in copper coin is an advertisement relating to the dis-



patch of an English mail by the way of Quebec, in the *Royal Gazette* of June 6th, 1860.

"Notice to the Public.

"Notice is hereby given that a closed mail for the United Kingdom and Europe by this channel will be made up at this office on Saturday next, 2nd inst., at 8 p. m., and on every alternate Saturday during the summer season. The postage on a letter not exceeding  $\frac{1}{2}$  an ounce will be 6d. sterling, or  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents; when paid in copper coins 15 half-pennies.

"(Sgd.) A. Woodgate, P. M. G."

Toward the end of the year the new bronze coinage was issued and the old copper coins withdrawn, so that the post-office rates came down to their normal charge. The *Royal Gazette* for September 5th contains the notice to the public and instructions to postmasters relative to the new postal regulations, the chief one being the compulsory prepayment of postage. The notice says:

"Notice to the Public and Instructions to Postmasters.

"Compulsory Prepayment of Letters by Postage Stamps.

"Commencing on Monday, the 1st day of October next, the postage on all letters posted in Nova Scotia, and addressed to any place in this Province, the other British North American Provinces, and the United States, as well as to the United Kingdom, must be prepaid by stamps.

"The design, colour, and value of each class of perforated stamps are as follows, viz.:

Plate 3, Nos 1, 2, 3 and 4.

"The 1 cent stamp, the Queen's head in profile, black.

" 5 " " " " blue.

" 10 " " " " full face, red.

"  $12\frac{1}{2}$  " " " " " black.

"Any letter which may be posted, prepaid, by the Nova Scotia stamps now in circulation, will be allowed to pass through the Post-office in this Province for *one month* after the system comes into operation.

"Letters sent unpaid to any part of the above-named places will be charged with a double rate of postage.

"The Postmaster-General would respectfully suggest to the merchants and others the expediency of their keeping themselves constantly supplied with postage stamps, to prevent disappointment and annoyance in the event of a postmaster or way-office keeper being out of stamps when applied to.

"It should be distinctly understood that no other stamps than those issued by the department are to be taken in this Province in prepayment of letters posted within the same.

"These stamps can be had at the General Post-office, Halifax, and of all the postmasters and way-office keepers.

"General Post-office, Halifax, *August 22nd, 1860.*"

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#### "INSTRUCTIONS TO POSTMASTERS.

"Circular No. 9.

"General Post-office,

"Halifax, *22nd August, 1860.*

"Sir,—The system of compulsory prepayment of letters by stamp having been adopted by the House of Assembly in the last session, and the necessary stamps, effectually to carry out the system, being now ready for circulation, I have to acquaint you that the compulsory prepayment of postage will commence on the first day of October next, under the following conditions, viz., The postage on all letters posted at any post or way office in Nova Scotia, addressed to the United Kingdom, the United States, or to any part of the British North American provinces, must be prepaid by stamp, otherwise the postage will be DOUBLED.



"The design, colour, and value of the new stamps are as follows:—

"The Queen's Head (profile),	black,	1 cent.
" " " "	blue,	5 cents.
" " " (full face)	red,	10 "
" " " "	black,	12½ cents.

"Any stamps now in use, remaining in the hands of Postmasters, are to be returned to the head office at Halifax, and the amount to be taken credit for in account current for quarter ended 30th September.

"All letters which may be posted at your office prepaid by the stamps now in use are to be allowed to pass, as at present, for *one month* after the system comes into operation.

"To prevent as far as possible the possibility of a stamp being used a *second time*, Postmasters are particularly enjoined to be very careful in examining the letters, to see that the stamps are effectually obliterated, either by using the obliteration stamp, or by crossing the stamp with pen and ink.

"(Sgd). A. Woodgate, P. M. G.

"The Postmaster of——."

In the Postmaster-General's Report for 1860 he gives the description and values of the new issue, including the 8½ cents, which value was not in the list in the circular. He says:

"Postage stamps of a new design, and adapted to the decimal system, were obtained with the consent of the Governor in Council, from the New York Bank Note Co., and circulated on the 1st of October last.

"The design, colour, and value of the stamps are as follows:

"The Queen's Head (profile),	black,	1 cent.
" " " "	blue,	5 cents.
" " " (full face),	green,	8½ " Plate 3, No. 5
" " " "	red,	10 "
" " " "	black,	12½ "

"A supply of 19,000 sheets or 1,900,000 heads, equal in value to \$132,000, has been obtained from the above firm, costing for their manufacture and incidental expenses \$991.50."

In this Report the  $8\frac{1}{2}$  cent stamp is described, although no mention is made of it in the "Instructions to Postmasters"; this was due to the fact that it was not ordered until some months after the other values were.

The account for making the stamps shows the date:

"Voucher M.

"Amount of sums paid for postage stamps during year ended 30th September, 1860.

"The American Bank Note Company of New York.

"1860.

"May 29.

"	Engraving steel plate, 100 stamps, 1 cent.	\$100	
"	" " 100 " 5 "	100	
"	" " 100 " 10 "	100	
"	" " 100 " $12\frac{1}{2}$ "	100	
			— \$400.00
"	Printing 2500 impressions, 100 stamps of 1 cent		
"	" 7500 " 100 " 5 "		
"	" 5000 " 100 " 10 "		
"	" 2000 " 100 " $12\frac{1}{2}$ "		

17000 impressions at 25 cents per 1000. 425.00

"American Bank Note Company.

"Oct. 6.

Engraving steel plate, 100 stamps $8\frac{1}{2}$ cents.....	100.00
Printing 2000 impressions of ditto.....	50.00
	<u>\$975.00</u>

"E. G. Fuller.

"Expenses incurred in forwarding postage stamps by express from New York to Halifax.....	16.50
	<u>\$991.50</u>



There seems to have been some loss to the Post-office by the use of this value ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  cents) when first issued to the public, perhaps due to the lack of  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent coins, although these should have been in circulation by this date. Whatever the cause was, the loss is frequently mentioned in the accounts for 1861-2, as

“Account for quarter ended 30th June, 1861.

“Loss of 10d. a sheet on 25 sheets of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  cent stamps..... \$4.16.”

Again, in the accounts for the September quarter, there is “Loss on 31 sheets of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  cent stamps, being 10d. on each sheet, \$5.16.” This loss did not occur in the country offices only, as in the accounts for the March quarter of 1861 there is “Loss on  $8\frac{1}{2}$  cent stamps sold at Halifax office, \$9.33.”

In 1863 the County Postage Act was introduced. This was designed for a reduction of the postal rates, but it never worked satisfactorily, the difficulty being in the smaller offices, which were not properly acquainted with the county limits. The Act is as follows:

#### Chapter 23. Rev. Stat.

##### Of the post-office.

“Be it enacted, etc.

“2. Letters mailed at any office in the Province for delivery within the county in which the office is situated shall, if prepaid by stamp, be liable to a charge of 2 cents per  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce. If not prepaid such letters shall be subject to the ordinary rate.”

In his report for 1863 the Postmaster-General speaks very unfavourably of the change, saying:

“To enable me to carry out that part of the Act passed during the last session, in reference to the Post-office, reducing

the postage to 2 cents on a letter posted in the county for delivery within the same county, it is necessary to procure for the public convenience a stamp for the prepayment of this particular class of letters. Application was accordingly made to the American Bank Note Company for a supply, and 5000 sheets, Plate 3, No. 6, were procured at a cost to the Department, including the die, of \$226.00.

"The reduced rate came into operation on the 11th May last, and has yielded for the five months ended 30th September last (as far as I have been enabled to glean from the returns in my possession) a revenue of \$450.00—a less amount, in my opinion, than would have been realized under the higher rate for the same period."

This is the last report of any philatelic interest, and closes the official history of the stamps of Nova Scotia.

The total number of the cents issue received from the makers is as follows:

	1 cent.	2 cents.	5 cents.	8½ cents	10 cents.	12½ cts.
1860—						
May 29...	250,000	.....	750,000	.....	500,000	200,000
Oct 6.....				200,000		
1862.....	400,000	.....	1,000,000	400,000	500,000	400,000
1863.....		1,000,000				
1864.....	500,000	.....	1,200,000			
1866.....			1,000,000			
	1,150,000	1,000,000	3,950,000	600,000	1,000,000	600,000

The second and last series of the stamps of the Province of Nova Scotia were manufactured by the American Bank Note Company of New York; they were engraved in *taille douce* and printed in sheets of one hundred, ten rows of ten stamps.

They may be divided into two broad varieties, those on yellowish paper and those on white. The 1, 5, and 12½ cents are found on some minor varieties of paper, which will be found in the reference list. The yellow tint of the paper may be due to some extent to the gum used, but I have seen unused



copies on white paper with gum as brown as possible, and yet not tinting the paper in the slightest degree.

The earlier printing of this issue was on the yellowish paper. The 5 cents is the only value that is rare on that paper, and it is exceedingly so, as I cannot find more than about one in a hundred of this variety. The 10 and 12½ cents are probably the commonest values.

The 1 and 12½ cents are found on a distinctly grey paper, but these varieties are very rare. The 5 cents is found on a very distinctly blue-faced paper, but this I think is due to insufficient cleaning of the plate. This same value is also found on a very thin soft paper, and printed in a light milky-blue shade. The 5 cents is the only value of the set in which the thickness of the paper varies; it runs from a very heavy stiff paper to the thin soft one mentioned above. The set on white paper is the commonest of the series, indeed all the varieties spoken of above are more or less scarce.

There is no great variety of shades to be found except from light to dark. The only value in which any distinct tints exist is the 2 cents, and varieties in the colour of this value might be expected. I have seen this stamp in a delicate *pearl-grey* tint, but believe this to be produced by exposure to light or by some chemical change.

The perforation usually given for these stamps is 12, but I have carefully measured a very large number of all values, and find that the gauge varies from 11½ to 12, simple and compound. The varieties of perforations are found on both the papers used.

All the different varieties are given in the reference list, and in the case of compound perms. the first measurement is for the top and bottom, and the second for the sides.

## REFERENCE LIST.

October 1st, 1860.

Yellowish paper.

- 1 cent, black (shades grey to black), perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12
- 5 cents, blue (shades light to dark), perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12.
- $8\frac{1}{2}$  cents, green (shades light to dark), perf. 12.
- 10 cents, red (shades light to dark), perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12,  $12 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ .
- $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents, black (shades grey to black,) perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12.

White paper.

- 1 cent, black (shades grey to black), perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12.
- 2 cents, mauve (many shades), perf. 12,  $12 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ .
- 5 cents, blue (shades light to dark), perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12,  $12 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ .
- $8\frac{1}{2}$  cents, green (shades light to dark), perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12,  $12 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ .
- 10 cents, red (shades light to dark), perf. 12,  $12 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ .
- $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents, black (shades grey to black), perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12.
- 1 cent, black on grey paper, perf. 12.\*
- 5 cents, blue (shades), on blue-faced paper, perf.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , 12.\*
- $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents, black on grey paper; perf. 12.\*

As might be expected, the bisected stamps of this issue are not as numerous as those in the preceding one; there was not the same necessity, stamps being provided for all rates of postage. What varieties do exist are much rarer than in the pence issue, and some are nearly unique in their rarity. A cover with  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents, made up of two and a half 5 cent stamps, is now in the Tapling collection in the British Museum; this was the only such specimen known until a few months ago, when I procured a piece of an envelope with the same combination on it, prepaying it to England, for which purpose the  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents stamps was issued. The 5 cents, made of two and a half 2 cents stamps, is equally rare; I know of only two specimens in existence. The two other varieties of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  and 15 cents are, as far as I know, absolutely unique



The 10 cents cut diagonally is the commonest variety; split in any other manner. It is rare.

## REFERENCE LIST.

- 5 cents, made of half a 10c., cut diagonally,
- 5 " " " 10 c., cut horizontally.
- 5 " " " 10 c., cut vertically.
- 5 " " two 2 c., stamps, and half of a third, cut diagonally.
- 12½ cents made of two 5c. stamps and half of a third, cut diagonally.
- 12½ cents made of one 10 c., one 2 c., and half a 1 c. stamp, cut diagonally.
- 15 cents, made of one 10 c. stamp and half of another, cut diagonally.



## LIST OF DONORS AND BOOKS.

Donated to the Library of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

---

American Historical Society:—

*Annual Report.*

Atkinson, Mrs. Margaret Lindsay:—

*Annual Report of Lindsay Association.*

Bent, Gilbert O:—

*Literary Monthly (Sept. 1913)*

Boston Book Company:—

*Annual Magazine Index.*

Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Society:—

*Journal.*

Canadian Military Institute:—

*Selected Papers.*

Chicago Historical Society:—

*Charter, Constitution and List of Members.*

Cornell University:—

*Catalogue of the Icelandic Literature.*

Department of Agriculture:—

*Agricultural Gazette of Canada.*

Eaton, Rev. Arthur N. H:—

*Alexander Mc Nutt.*

*Old Boston Families (No 1)*

Elliot, Mrs. Charles:—

*Maps of Halifax, 1758.*

Flint, T. B:—

*Historical Colonial Elections.*

*Recollections of Crimean Campaign.*

*The Cruise of the Neptune.*

*European Schools of History.*

*Crown and Parliament of Sweden.*



Gay, F. L:—

*A Rough List of Transcripts Relating to the History of  
New England, 1630-1776.*

General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church  
of United States:—

*Archives.*

Halifax City Club:—

*Evening Mail (eng) for 1815.*

Harvard University:—

*Report of President and Treasurer of Harvard college  
1912-13.*

Kansas State Historical Society:—

*Collections.*

Lawson, B. J:—

*One Hundred years with Baptists of Amherst.*

McGill University:—

*Calendar of University.*

MacKinnon, Jas:—

*Report of Eastern Township's Bank, 1859-1912.*

Massachusetts Historical Society:—

*Proceedings.*

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:—

*Collections.*

Nebraska State Historical Society:—

*Collections.*

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*Register.*

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*Collections.*

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*Bulletin.*

New Berry Library:—

*Report for 1913.*

Queens University:—

*Calendar of Faculty of Education.*

*Calendar of College and University.*

Rhode Island Historical Society:—

*Charter and By-Laws. Proceedings.*

Royal Colonial Institute:—

*Year Book, 1914.*

Royal Commission on Industrial and Technical Education:—

*Report.*

Royal Society of Canada:—

*Transactions and Proceedings.*

Saskatchewan University:—

*Calendar.*

"Shelburne Gazette."

Toronto University:—

*Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada.*

University of North Carolina.

*Publications.*

University of Trinity College:—

*Calendar.*

Vermont Historical Society:—

*Proceedings.*

Vickery, E. J.:—

*Kemptville.*

"Weekly Monitor"—(Bridgetown).

Western Reserve Historical Society:—

Wisconsin Historical Society:—

*Collections.*

*Catalogue of Newspapers in Library of Historical Society*

Wisconsin History Commission:—

*An Artilleryman's Diary.*

*Service with Third Wisconsin Infantry.*

Woman's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa:—

*Annual Report, 1912-13*



## LIST OF PAPERS.

READ BEFORE THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JUNE 21, 1878, TO MAY, 1913.

DATE.	TITLE.	WHENCE OBTAINED.	Published in Collections.
1878.			
June	21 Inaugural Address.....	Hon. A. G. Archibald.	Vol. i. p. 18.
Sept.	5 History of St. Paul's Church. Part I.....	Rev. Dr. Hill.....	do. 35
Oct.	3 Autobiography of Revd. Wm. Cochran.	Rev. Dr. Cochran.....	
Nov.	7 Telegraphy in Nova Scotia and neighboring Provinces.....	G. E. Morton, Esq....	
1879.			
Jan.	2 Early Settlement of Shubenacadie.....	Miss E. Frame.....	
Mar.	6 Journal of Colonel Nicholson at Siege of Annapolis.....	T. B. Akins, Esq.....	Vol. i. p. 59
June	5 Translation from the French, relating to the religious beliefs of the Indians prior to the discovery by Cabot.....	Robt. Morrow, Esq....	
Nov.	6 Journey to Yarmouth in 17—by Mather Byles.....	Hon. Dr. Almon.....	
1880.			
Feb.	5 Early Journalism in Nova Scotia.....	J. J. Stewart, Esq....	Vol. vi. p. 91.
Mar.	11 History of St. Paul's Church. Pts II III	Rev. Dr. Hill.....	Vol. ii. p. 63.
Apr.	1 Governor Cornwallis and the First Council.....	T. B. Akins, Esq.....	Vol. ii. p. 17.
May	6 Witherspoon's Journal of the Siege of Quebec.....	do. ....	Vol. ii. p. 31.
May	13 Walter Bromley and his labors in the cause of Education, by late John Young. (Agricola).....	J. T. Bulmer, Esq....	
June	3 Sketches of the Winniett, DeLancy, and Milledge families.....	W. A. Calnek, Esq....	
Nov.	11 Revolutionary Incidents in Nova Scotia 1776-1778.....	J. T. Bulmer, Esq....	
Dec.	3 Sketch of Brook Watson, by Revd. Hugh Graham.....	do. ....	Vol. ii. p. 135
	Brook Watson's account of the Expulsion of the Acadians.....	do. ....	Vol. ii. p. 129.
1881.			
Jan.	6 Early History of the Dissenting Churches in Nova Scotia.....	Rev. Dr. Patterson...	
	Biographical Sketch of Rev. Jas. Murdoch.....	Miss E. Frame.....	Vol. ii. p. 100.
Feb.	3 Biographical Sketch of Alexander Howe	W. A. Calnek, Esq....	
Mar.	14 Account of the Manners and Customs of the Acadians, with remarks on their removal from the Province; by Moses Delesdernier, 1795.....	T. B. Akins, Esq....	
Apr.	7 Letter (dated June 27, 1751) from Surveyor Morris to Governor Shirley, with a plan for the removal of the Acadians.....	do. ....	
May	5 Extracts from the Boston News Letter, 1704-1760, and from Halifax Gazette 1752.....	Miss E. Frame.....	
Sept.	1 Judge Croke (a Biography).....	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. ii. p. 110.
Oct.	6 Chapter from the life of S G W Archibald	Israel Longworth, Esq	
Nov.	3 Government House.....	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. iii. p. 197.
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# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## Nova Scotia Historical Society

*"Out of monuments, names, wordes, proverbs, traditions, private records, and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of bookes, and the like, we do save, and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."—Lord Bacon: The Advancement of Learning.*

*"A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great structures, and fosters national pride and love of country, by perpetual references to the sacrifices and glories of the past."—Joseph Howe.*

VOLUME XIX.



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1918.

2  
"The care which a nation devotes to the preservation of the monuments of its past may serve as a true measure of the degree of civilization to which it has attained." (*Les Archives Principales de Moscou du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères* Moscow, 1898, p. 3.)

"To discover and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the records which yet remain of the earliest history of Canada. To preserve while in our power, such documents as may be found amid the dust of yet unexplored depositories, and which may prove important to general history, and to the particular history of this province."—*Quebec Literary and Historical Society*.

#### NATIONAL MONUMENTS.

(By Henry Van Dyke).

Count not the cost of honour to the dead!  
The tribute that a mighty nation pays  
To those who loved her well in former days  
Means more than gratitude for glory fled,  
For every noble man that she hath bred,  
Immortalized by art's immortal praise,  
Lives in the bronze and marble that we raise,  
To lead our sons as he our fathers led.  
These monuments of manhood, brave and high,  
Do more than forts or battle-ships to keep  
Our dear bought liberty. They fortify  
The heart of youth with valour wise and deep,  
They build eternal bulwarks, and command  
Eternal strength to guard our native land.



12



BEAMISH MURDOCH, Q. C., D. C. L.. M. L. A.  
Born about 1800; Died at Lunenburg, N. S., 9th February, 1876.

Author of "Epitome of Laws of Nova Scotia" (1832), and  
"History of Nova Scotia" (1865-67).

[From a photograph.]

[Frontispiece.]



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## OBJECTS OF COLLECTIONS.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers, old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and the wars of 1776 and 1812; biographical notes of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives and documents relative to the Loyalists, their expulsion from the old colonies and their settlement in the Maritime Provinces.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues, minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and all other publications relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting articles of pre-historic antiquities, especially implements of copper, stone, or ancient coins or other curiosities found in any of the Maritime Provinces, together with the locality and condition of their discovery. The contribution of all such articles to the cabinet of the society is most earnestly desired.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities, with their signification, and all information generally respecting the condition, language and history of the Micmacs, Malicetes and Bethucks.

7. Books of all kinds, especially such as relate to Canadian history, travel, and biography in general, and Lower Canada or Quebec in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from historical societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced,—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the best of our ability.

9. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliments of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library, where they may be expected to be found always on file and carefully preserved. We aim to obtain and preserve for those who shall come after us a perfect copy of every book, pamphlet or paper ever printed in or about Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

11. Nova Scotians residing abroad have it in their power to render their native province great service by making donations to our library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, etc., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers, we especially appeal on behalf of our Society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, etc., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.



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## ACT OF INCORPORATION.

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### CHAPTER 87.

#### SECTION.

1. Incorporation.
2. May hold real estate.

#### SECTION.

3. Property vested in corporation.

An Act to incorporate the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

(Passed the 17th day of April, A. D., 1879).

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, as follows:

1. The Honourable John W. Ritchie, the Reverend George W. Hill, the Reverend Thomas J. Daly, the Honourable William J. Almon, Thomas A. Ritchie, William D. Harrington, George E. Morton, and John T. Bulmer, and their associates, members of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, and such other persons as shall become members of such society, according to the rules and by-laws thereof, are hereby created a body corporate by the name of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

2. The said corporation may purchase, take, hold, and enjoy real estate not exceeding twenty thousand dollars in value, and may sell, mortgage, lease, or otherwise dispose of the same for the benefit of the corporation.

3. Upon the passing of this act the property of the said Nova Scotia Historical Society, whether real or personal, and all debts due thereto, shall vest in the said Nova Scotia Historical Society hereby incorporated.

## AN ACT.

To provide for the Amalgamation of the Library of the Nova Scotia Historical Society with the Legislative Library and the Management of the Joint Collection.

(Passed the 10th day of April, A. D., 1881.)

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, as follows:

1. The Library of the Nova Scotia Historical Society shall be amalgamated with the Legislative Library of Nova Scotia, and the regulation and management of the Joint Collection and any additions that may be made thereto is hereby vested in a commission of nine persons to be called the Nova Scotia Library Commission, of whom the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province for the time being shall *ex officio* be one, and the remainder of whom shall be appointed annually, one half by the Nova Scotia Historical Society and the other half by the Governor in Council.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor for the time being shall be *ex officio* the President of the Commission.

3. Should the Nova Scotia Historical Society at any time fail to appoint any or all of the Commissioners whom said Society are hereby authorized to appoint, the rights and powers vested by this Act in the Commission shall devolve upon the other members of the Commission.

4. The Librarian shall be appointed by the Governor in Council, and shall be such person as the Commissioners shall nominate, and shall hold office during good behaviour.

5. The Commissioners may make bye-laws from time to time for the regulation and management of the Library and prescribing all matters necessary for the control thereof, but such bye-laws shall not go into force until approved by the Governor in Council.

6. The Commission shall make an annual report of the expenditure, the general state of the Library, and on all such matters in connection therewith as may be required by the Governor in Council, which report shall be laid upon the table of each ranch of the Legislature during the session.



## RULES AND BY-LAWS.

REVISED MAY 27, 1910.

1. The Society shall be called the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

### OBJECTS.

2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all documents, papers and others objects of interest which may serve to throw light upon and illustrate the history of this country, the reading at the meetings of the Society, of papers on historical subjects, the publication, as far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish, the formation of a library of books, papers and manuscripts, affording information, and illustrating historical subjects.

### MEMBERS.

3. The membership shall consist of Ordinary, Life, Corresponding and Honorary Members. The Ordinary or resident members, shall pay at the time of admission, an entrance fee of Five Dollars, and Two Dollars after each succeeding annual meeting. The Ordinary Members residing outside the limit of 15 miles from the city, may become members on payment of Two Dollars entrance fee, and One Dollar annually thereafter. Any Ordinary Member may become a Life Member by the payment of Forty Dollars. The Corresponding and Honorary Members, shall be elected by the unanimous vote of the Society, and are exempt from all dues.

4. Candidates for membership may be proposed at any regular or special meeting of the Society by a Member. The proposition shall remain on the table for one month, or until the next meeting, when a ballot shall be taken, one black ball in five excluding. No person shall be considered a member until his entrance fee is paid, and if any member shall allow his dues to remain unpaid for two years, his name may be struck from the roll.

## MEETINGS, OFFICE-BEARERS, ETC.

5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held at 8 p. m., on the first Friday of each month, from November to May, both months inclusive, and special meetings may be convened on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence, by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.

6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held at 8 p. m., on the first Friday of April, at which meeting there shall be chosen a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and two Auditors, and a Council of four members, who with the foregoing shall constitute the Council of the Society. The election of members to serve on the Nova Scotia Library Commission, under the provisions of Chapter 17, N. S. Acts of 1880, shall take place at the annual meeting, immediately after the election of office-bearers and Council.

7. All communications which are thought worthy of preservation, shall be minuted in the books of the Society and the originals kept on file.

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, but at the annual meeting, in April, ten members shall form a quorum.

9. No article of the constitution nor any by-law shall be altered at any meeting when less than ten members are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at the previous meeting, or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

10. The duties of the Office bearers and Council shall be the same as those performed generally in other Societies.

11. The Publication Committee shall consist of four members and shall be appointed by the Council, to them all manuscripts shall be referred, and they shall report to the Council before publication.

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

12. All elections of officers shall be made by ballot, and a majority of those present shall be required to elect.



OFFICERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
1917.

---

PRESIDENT.

David Allison, LL. D.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Hon. Mr. Justice Russell.

Hon. Mr. Justice Chisholm.

His Honor Judge Savary.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Harry Piers.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

William L. Payzant, M. A., LL. B.

TREASURER.

George E. Nichols, LL. B.

AUDITOR.

Col. F. H. Oxley.

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A. H. MacKay, LL. D.

George W. T. Irving.  
George Mullane.

LIBRARY COMMISSIONERS.

Hon. Mr. Justice Chisholm.  
Rev. J. Forrest, D. D.

J. J. Hunt, D. C. L.  
A. H. MacKay, LL. D.

LIBRARIAN.

Miss Annie Donahoe.

## THE TREASURER'S LIST OF MEMBERS

who have qualified by paying their entrance fees as required by Nos. 3 and 4 of the Rules and By-Laws.

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 Hunt, Dr. Louis, (London, Eng.)  
 Irvine, J. A., (Calgary, Alta.)  
 Irving, Geo. W. T., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Jack, Rev. T. C., D. D., (N. Sydney, N. S.)  
 James, Rev. Willis G., (Calgary)  
 Jamison, Clarence, M. P., (Digby, N. S.)  
 Jeffers, Rev. E. T., D. D., (York, Pa.)  
 Jeffery, Rev. S., (Port Dufferin, N. S.)  
 Jenks, Stuart, K. C., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Jennison, J. L., K. C., (Calgary, Alta.)  
 Jennison, H. V., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 Jones, Herbert L., (Weymouth, N. S.)  
 Jones, Jas. C., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Jordan, Rev. Louis H., (Eastbourne, Eng.)  
 Jost, Dr. A. C., (Guysboro, N. S.)  
 Jost, Rev. Roland M., (Arcadia)  
 Kaulbach, R. C. S., (Lunenburg, N. S.)  
 Keator, J. Gillis, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Kennedy, Prof. W. M. P., F. R., H. S., (Antigonish, N. S.)  
 Kent, W. G., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 King, Donald A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 King, Rev. W. B., M. A., (Cambridge, Mass.)  
 Knight, J. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Knight, Rev. M. R., (Saskville, N. B.)  
 Laing, Rev. Robert, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Lane, Charles W., (Sackville, N. B.)  
 Lawson, Rev. G. A., (Moncton, N. B.)  
 Leckie, Brig. General R. G. E., (Vancouver B. C.)  
 Lockhart, Rev. Arthur John, (Winterport, Maine)  
 Laurie, Miss M., (Oakfield, N. S.)  
 Levatte, Hon. H. V. C., (Louisburg, N. S.)  
 Lockwood, Dr. T. C., (Lockport, N. S.)  
 Logan, Daniel, (Honolulu)  
 Logan, J. D., Ph.D., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Logan, J. W., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Longard, E. J., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Longley, Hon. Mr. Justice J. W., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Lugar, Mrs. E. L., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Lumsdon, Rev. James, (Gabusar)  
 Mader, Dr. A. I., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Margeson, J. W., M. P. P., (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 Marshall, W. E., (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 Martell, Archdeacon, D. C. L., (Windsor, N. S.)  
 Masters, C. H., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Masters, John F., (Boston, U. S. A.)  
 Mathers, Isaac H., R. St. O., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Milner, F. L., (Amherst, N. S.)  
 Milner, W. C., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Miller, Rev. W. F., (Herring Cove, N. S.)  
 Miller, Rev. G. W., (Wolfville, N. S.)  
 Mills, Col. D. A., (Beaulieu, Hants, Eng.)  
 Minard, Asa R., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Mitchell, Archibald S., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Mitchell, C. H., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Mitchell, G. MacG., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Moberly, Thos. E., (Toronto, Ont.)  
 Moffatt, T. I. D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Morrow, Mrs. Geoffrey, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Morse, Herman C., (Bridgetown, N. S.)  
 Morse, Rev. Wm. T., (Lynn, U. S. A.)  
 Morton, Rev. A. D., (Sackville, N. B.)  
 Muir, Mrs. H. A., (Shelburne, N. S.)  
 Mullane, George, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Murray, H. V., M. D., (Honolulu)  
 Murray, Prof. D. A., (Montreal, P. Q.)  
 Murray, President Walter C., LL.D., (Saskatoon, Sask.)  
 Muir, Rev. W. Bruce, (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
 Mylius, L. J., (Winnipeg)  
 McClare, Chas. H., (Cambridge, Mass.)  
 McCurdy, F. B., M. P., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 McGillivray, H. J., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 McCallum, J. D., (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 MacDonald, Daniel F., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 MacDonald, E. M., K. C., (Pictou, N. S.)  
 MacDonald, J. A., "The Globe", (Toronto, Ont.)  
 MacDonald, Jas. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacDonald, Margaret, (Quebec, P. Q.)  
 MacDonald, Mrs. J. G., (Nelson, B. C.)  
 MacDonald, Hon. James, M. P. P., (West Bay, C. B.)  
 MacDonald, John D., (Pictou, N. S.)  
 MacDonald, Roderick, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 McGregor, Hon. J. D., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 McGregor, Hon. R. M., M. P. P., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 McInnes, Hector, K. C., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacKay, A. H., LL.D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacKay, Prof. E., Ph.D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacKenzie, President A. S., D. C. L., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacKenzie, Wm. F., (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
 MacKinlay, Andrew, (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacKinnon, Prof. C., D. D., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 MacIntosh, Rev. John, (Whitney Pier, N. S.)  
 McLean, Jas. A., K. C., (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
 McLean, Hon. A. K., (Halifax, N. S.)

- McLennan, Daniel, K. C.**, (Port Hood, C. B.)  
**McLennan, Chas. A.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**McLennan, S. D.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**McLeod, John D.**, (Pictou, N. S.)  
**Macnab, Brenton A.**, (Val Morin, P. Q.)  
**Macnab, William**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**MacPhie, Rev. J. P.**, (Monrovia, Cal.)  
**McNeil, Archbishop**, (Toronto, Ont.)  
**McRae, Dr. A. O.**, (Calgary, Alta.)  
**Nicolson, C. B.**, (Detroit)  
**Nichols, E. Hart**, (Digby, N. S.)  
**Nichols, Geo. E. E.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Nicolls, Rev. W.**, (Mulgrave, N. S.)  
**Orde, J. F.**, (Ottawa, Ont.)  
**O'Dwyer, J. S.**, (Moncton, N. B.)  
**O'Mullin, J. C.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Outram, Capt.**, (S. S. Alsatian)  
**Owen, D. M.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Owen, Mrs. J. M.**, (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
**Oxley, Col. F. H.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Paint, Henry N.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Parker, Rev. Lewis W.**, (M. Stewiacke, N. S.)  
**Paton, V. J., K. C.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Patterson, His. Hon. Judge Geo.**, (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
**Payzant, J. Y., K. C.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Payzant, W. L.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Perrin, Frederick**, (MacNabs Island)  
**Piers, Harry**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Pollok, Rev. Allan, D. D.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Pope, Miss Georgina**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Power, J. U.**, (Toronto, Ont.)  
**Power, Hon. Senator L. G., K. C.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Powell, W. R.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Prescott, C. A.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Primrose, James**, (Pictou, N. S.)  
**Putnam, Harold**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**Pyke, John Geo.**, (Liverpool, N. S.)  
**Ralston, J. L., M. P. P.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Ralston, Mrs. J. L.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Rand, Mrs. C. D.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Reid, Robie L.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Regan, John W.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Richardson, Ven. Archdeacon, D. C. L.**, (London, Ont.)  
**Richardson, H. A.**, (Toronto, Ont.)  
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**Ritchie, James D.**, (Head St. Margaret's Bay)  
**Ritchie, Reginald L.**, (Montreal)  
**Ritchie, W. B. A., K. C.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Roberts, Arthur**, (Bridgewater, N. S.)  
**Robertson, T. Reginald**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Robertson, Wm.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Rogers, T. Sherman, K. C.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Ross, Senator W. B., K. C.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Ross, Edwin B.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Ross, H. S., K. C.**, (Montreal, P. Q.)  
**Ross, H. T.**, (Ottawa, Ont.)  
**Rowley, C. W.**, (Winnipeg, Man.)  
**Ruggles, J. R.**, (Lockeport, N. S.)  
**Rutherford, R. W., General**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
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**Salter, Frank**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Sedgewick, Rev. T., D. D.**, (Tatamagouche, N. S.)  
**Saunders, Miss M.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Savary, His Hon. Judge A. W.**, (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
**Shand, F. A.**, (Windsor, N. S.)  
**Shatford, A. W.**, (Hubbards, N. S.)  
**Shatford, Rev. A. P.**, (Montreal, P. Q.)  
**Schwartz, W. E.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Silver, A. E., K. C.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Silver, Dr. L. M.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Sinclair, John H., M. P.**, (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
**Slayter, Maj. J. M.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Smith, C. R., K. C.**, (Amherst, N. S.)  
**Smith, Edmund A.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Smith, F. P., M. D.**, (Mill Village, N. S.)  
**Smith, L. Mortimer**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Smith, Dr. M. A. B.**, (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
**Soloan, David, LL.D.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**Smithers, Canon A. W.**, (Fredericton, N. B.)  
**Sedgewick, F. R.**, (Granville Ferry, N. S.)  
**Sponagle, Dr. J. A.**, (Middleton, N. S.)  
**Stairs, Miss A. P.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Stanfield, Walter G.**, (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
**Starr, C. C.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Starr, Mrs. F. N. G.**, (Toronto, Ont.)  
**Steele, Rev. D. A., D. D.**, (Amherst, N. S.)  
**Sterling, Dr. J. W.**, (Montreal, P. Q.)  
**Stewart, Rev. John H.**, (Upper Stewiacke, N. S.)  
**Stewart, W. B.**, (Digby, N. S.)  
**Stewart, W. D.**, (New Glasgow, N. S.)  
**Stuart, Geo. W.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**St. Louis Mercantile Lib. Assn.**, (St. Louis, Mo.)  
**Studd, W. H.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Sumichrast, Prof. F. J. de.**, (Boston, Mass.)  
**Tanner, Senator, C. E.**, (Pictou, N. S.)  
**Theakston, Major**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Thompson, Alfred, M. P.**, (Ottawa, Ont.)  
**Thompson, Very Rev. A., D. D.**, (Glace Bay, N. S.)  
**Thomson, Arthur, M. B. C. M.**, (Stratford-on-Avon, Eng.)  
**Tory, President H. M., LL.D.**, (Edmonton, Alta.)  
**Tory, Mrs. John A.**, (Toronto, Ont.)  
**Tory, J. A.**, (Toronto, Ont.)  
**Tremaine, R. A.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**Tory, James C., M. P. P.**, (Guysboro, N. S.)  
**Townshend, Sir C. J.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Trefry, J. H.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Townsend, Rev. W. T.**, (Carcross, Y. T.)  
**Trueman, Mrs. Margaret**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Tufts, Prof., J. F., D. C. L.**, (Wolfville, N. S.)  
**Tupper, Hon. C. H., K. C.**, (Vancouver, B. C.)  
**Vickery, Edgar, J.**, (Yarmouth, N. S.)  
**Vidito, Lt. Col. I. W.**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Walker, E. M.**, (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
**Walker, Smith L., M. D.**, (Truro, N. S.)  
**Wallace, O. C. S., Rev.**, (Westmount, P. Q.)  
**Warman, Charles**, (Liverpool, N. S.)  
**Webster, Dr. David**, (New York, U. S. A.)  
**Webster, H. B.**, (Kentville, N. S.)  
**Whidden, C. Edgar**, (Antigonish, N. S.)  
**Willson, Beckles**, (Windsor, N. S.)  
**Whitman, A. Hanfield**, (Halifax, N. S.)  
**Whitman, C. H.**, (Canso, N. S.)  
**Whitman, E. C.**, (Canso, N. S.)



Whitman, F. C., (Annapolis Royal, N. S.)  
 Wilson, Canon W. Chas., (Springhill, N. S.)  
 Wiswell, William H., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Warner, F. A., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Wilson, J. T., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Willis, A. P., (Montreal, P. Q.)  
 Willis, Rev. J. J., (Westmount, P. Q.)  
 Wood, Geo. M., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Woodbury, Dr. F., (Halifax, N. S.)

Woodbury, Dr. Ralph H., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Woodworth, J. E., (Berwick, N. S.)  
 Worrell, Archbishop Clare L., (Halifax, N. S.)  
 Yorston, Fred., (Montreal, P. Q.)  
 Young, Mrs. Frank, (Dartmouth, N. S.)  
 Zwicker, Edward J., (Cape North, C. B.)  
 Zwicker, Rupert G., (Cape North, C. B.)

### Life Members.

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 Ellis, Hon. J. V., (St. John, N. B.)

Curry, Hon. Nath., (Amherst, N. S.)

### Corresponding Members.

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 Bryce, Rev. Geo., D. D., (Winnipeg)  
 Doughty, Arthur G., LL.D., C. M. G.,  
 (Ottawa, Ont.)  
 Eaton, Rev. Arthur Wentworth, D. C. L.,  
 (Boston, Mass.)  
 Ganong, Prof. W. F., (Northampton,  
 Mass.)

Goldsmid, Edmund F. R. S., (Edinburgh)  
 Griffin, Martin J., M. G., (Ottawa)  
 Prowse, Judge D. W., (St. Johns, Nfld.)  
 Ward, Robert, (Bermuda)  
 Wrong, Prof. Geo. M. A., (Toronto)

### Honorary Members.

Eaton, Rev. Arthur Wentworth Hamilton, D. C. L., (Boston)  
 Doyle, Sir Canon, (London)

Raymond, Ven. Archdeacon, (St. John N. B.)  
 Roberts, Chas. G. D., (London)

## PRESIDENTS.

THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
1878-1917.

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HON. MR. JUSTICE JOHN W. RITCHIE.....	1878-1879
REV. GEORGE W. HILL, D. D.....	1880-1881
THOMAS B. AKINS, D. C. L.....	1882-1883
REV. GEORGE W. HILL, D. D.....	1883-1885
LT.-GOV. SIR A. G. ARCHIBALD.....	1886-1892
LT.-GOV. M. H. RICHEY.....	1893-1895
HON. MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE.....	1896-1897
HON. MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.....	1897-1904
REV. JOHN FORREST, D. D.....	1905-1906
PROF. ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN, M. A., PH. D. . .	1907-1909
JAMES S. MACDONALD.....	1910-1911
VEN. ARCHDEACON W. J. ARMITAGE, M. A., PH. D..	1911-1917
DAVID ALLISON, LL. D.....	1917.



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NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.  
1878-1914.

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DAVID ALLISON, L. D. ....	1880-1881
REV. GEO. W. HILL, D. D.....	1882
HON. SENATOR W. J. ALMON, M. D.....	1883-1889
THOMAS B. AKINS, D. C. L.....	1890

1891.

THOS. B. AKINS, DAVID ALLISON, L.L.D., MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE.

1892.

MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE, HON. SENATOR POWER  
HON. M. H. RICHEY.

1893-1895.

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY. HON. SENATOR POWER.  
REV. JOHN FORREST, D. D.

1896-1897

HON. SENATOR POWER. REV. PRINCIPAL FORREST, D. D.  
DR. A. H. MACKAY.

1898-1901.

HON. SENATOR POWER. MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.  
DR. A. H. MACKAY.

1902-1904.

W. H. HILL. MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND. HON. SENATOR POWER.

1905-1906.

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY. SENATOR POWER,  
MR. JUSTICE TOWNSHEND.

1907-1909.

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY. SENATOR POWER.  
VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE.

1910.

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.

VEN. ARCHDEACON ARMITAGE.

DR. M. A. B. SMITH.

1911.

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY.

LT.-COL. F. H. OXLEY.

A. H. BUCKLEY, PH. M.

1912.

DAVID ALLISON, LL. D.,

JOHN Y. PAYZANT, M. A.,

A. H. BUCKLEY, PH. M.

1913-1915.

DAVID ALLISON, LL. D.

MAJOR J. PLIMSOLL EDWARDS.

J. A. CHISHOLM, K. C.

1915.

DR. DAVID ALLISON.

J. A. CHISHOLM, K. C.,

JUDGE SAVARY.

1916.

DR. DAVID ALLISON.

MR. JUSTICE CHISHOLM.

JUDGE SAVARY.

1917.

MR. JUSTICE RUSSELL.

MR. JUSTICE CHISHOLM.

JUDGE SAVARY.



## COUNCIL, 1878-1917.

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1878.	1888.	1898.
Dr. W. J. Almon. Jas. S. MacDonald. Rev. T. J. Daly. Geo. E. Morton.	Peter Lynch. Thos. Bayne. Dr. Pollok. Peter Ross.	Rev. Dr. Forrest. Rev. T. W. Smith. Prof. A. MacMechan. Rev. Dr. Saunders.
1879.	1889.	1899.
Dr. W. J. Almon. Rev. T. J. Daly. Geo. E. Morton. W. D. Harrington.	Hon. Dr. Almon. Thos. Bayne. Rev. T. W. Smith. Peter Lynch.	Rev. Dr. Forrest. Rev. T. W. Smith. Rev. Dr. Saunders. Prof. A. MacMechan.
1880.	1890.	1900.
Dr. W. J. Almon. J. J. Stewart. G. E. Morton. Wm. Compton.	Hon. Senator Almon. Peter Lynch. Dr. A. H. MacKay. Rev. T. W. Smith.	Rev. Dr. Forrest. Rev. T. W. Smith. Rev. Dr. Saunders. Prof. A. MacMechan.
1881.	1891.	1901.
Dr. W. J. Almon. G. E. Morton. J. J. Stewart. Joseph Austin.	Hon. Dr. Almon. Dr. A. H. MacKay. J. J. Stewart. Rev. T. W. Smith.	J. J. Stewart. Rev. Dr. Saunders. Rev. T. W. Smith. Prof. A. MacMechan.
1882.	1892.	1902.
Hon. Senator Almon. Dr. J. R. DeWolf. James S. MacDonald. Peter Ross.	Hon. Dr. Almon. J. J. Stewart. Dr. Pollok. Rev. T. W. Smith.	Rev. Dr. T. W. Smith. J. J. Stewart. Prof. A. MacMechan. Rev. Dr. Saunders.
1883.	1893.	1903.
Hon. Senator Power. Peter Lynch. R. J. Wilson. Peter Ross.	Hon. Dr. Almon. J. J. Stewart. Dr. A. H. MacKay. Rev. T. W. Smith.	Archibald Frame. Prof. A. MacMechan. J. J. Stewart. Rev. Dr. Saunders.
1884.	1894.	1904.
Hon. Senator Power. W. D. Harrington. Dr. D. Allison. F. B. Crofton.	Hon. Justice Townshend. J. J. Stewart. Dr. A. H. MacKay. Rev. T. W. Smith.	Rev. Dr. Saunders. Prof. A. MacMechan. Arch. Frame. J. J. Stewart.
1885.	1895.	1905.
R. J. Wilson. Dr. D. Allison. F. B. Crofton. W. D. Harrington.	Hon. C. J. Townshend. J. J. Stewart. Dr. A. H. MacKay. Rev. T. W. Smith.	Rev. Dr. Saunders. Dr. A. MacMechan. J. J. Stewart. Archibald Frame.
1886.	1896.	1906.
Sir Adams Archibald. T. B. Akins. Dr. David Allison. Rev. Dr. Forrest.	J. J. Stewart. Mr. Justice Townshend. Rev. T. W. Smith. Prof. A. MacMechan.	Dr. A. MacMechan. J. J. Stewart. Archibald Frame. Harry Piers.
1887.	1897.	1907.
Judge Weatherbe. Dr. D. Allison. Peter Lynch. Rev. Dr. Pollok.	J. J. Stewart. Mr. Justice Townshend. Prof. A. MacMechan. Rev. T. W. Smith.	J. J. Stewart. J. P. Edwards. A. H. Buckley. Archibald Frame.

1908.

James S. Macdonald.  
A. H. Buckley.  
Archibald Frame.  
G. W. T. Irving.

1909.

Archibald Frame.  
A. H. Buckley.  
G. W. T. Irving.  
J. H. Trefry.

1910.

G. E. E. Nichols.  
A. H. Buckley.  
Dr. A. MacMechan.  
G. W. T. Irving.

1911.

G. E. E. Nicholls.  
J. H. Trefry.  
Jas. S. Macdonald.  
Dr. John Forrest.

1912.

G. E. E. Nicholls.  
G. W. T. Irving.  
Dr. M. A. B. Smith.  
W. C. Milner.

1913.

A. H. Buckley.  
G. W. T. Irving.  
W. C. Milner.  
Hon. Mr. Justice Russell.

1917.

Major J. P. Edwards.  
Dr. A. H. MacKay.  
George W. T. Irving.  
George Mullane.

1914.

A. H. McKay, Ll. D.  
G. W. T. Irving.  
W. C. Milner.  
George Mullane.

1915.

Dr. A. H. MacKay.  
George W. T. Irving.  
George Mullane.  
Rev. Dr. Forrest.

1916.

Dr. A. H. MacKay.  
George W. T. Irving.  
George Mullane.  
Rev. Dr. Forrest.



## REPORT OF THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

For the Years 1914-15-16.

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The Meetings have been held regularly and as a rule well attended.

There have been 71 persons elected as members.

Rev. Dr. Arthur Wentworth Eaton, Martin J. Griffin and Dr. John Reade, F. R. S. C., were elected Honorary Members.

We have sustained serious loss in the death of the following members:—

James S. MacDonald, at one time President, Sir Wallace Graham, W. L. Brown and Sir Frederick W. Borden.

The following portraits and photographs have been presented to the Society:—

Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher.

Dr. John Garvie, presented by Mr. Guy L. Mott.

Judge in equity John Ritchie, in 1858 and 1868, presented by Miss Eliza Ritchie; and Judge J. Norman Ritchie, presented by Miss Eliza Ritchie.

Photograph of Dr. Slayter.

Photograph of Sir Robert Weatherbe, presented by Lady Weatherbe.

Photograph of Dr. Thos. B. Akins and Beamish Murdoch, both presented by Mrs. Beamish.

Photograph of W. J. Tempest, presented by Ven. Arch-deacon Armitage.

Photograph of William Best, presented by George Mullane.

Tablets have been erected as follows:—

To the memory of the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald in the Assembly Chamber, Province Building.

On the gate-post of the light-house at the old Government House, Annapolis Royal, commemorating the birth-place of Sir Charles Darley.

To the memory of the Rev. James McGregor, former Presbyterian missionary, at Pictou.

At Pictou Academy and at New Ross.

No further tablets commemorating historic sites have been erected, for lack of funds.

A Committee was appointed to go through the Archives and to select unpublished documents relating to the Acadians.

By-laws have been passed defining the qualifications of corresponding and honorary members.

Volume 18 has been published.

Representatives were sent to Annapolis Royal to attend the celebration commemorating the Baptism of the Micmac Chief, Membertou, June 1610.

The Society has joined the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada.

The following presentations have been made:—

Two scrap books, containing extracts from the "Liverpool Advance" from the Journal of Col. Simeon Perkins 1779-1806, presented by his great-grandson Rev. J. N. Perkins, of New York.

A copy of the "Nova Scotia Gazette," July 22nd, 1806, and the parchment certificate of D. D. conferred upon Simon Bradstreet Robie in 1822, presented by Mrs. Robie Uniacke.

Fifteen or twenty drawings relating to different parts of the Province, by Albert J. Hill.



Photograph of the old church at Bedford, presented by C. C. Blackadar.

At the Annual Meeting held April 13th, 1917, the following resolution was passed to the retiring President:—

“Resolved that the warmest thanks of the Nova Scotia  
“Historical Society are due and are hereby tendered to the  
“Venerable Archdeacon Armitage, for the untiring zeal and  
“care and the unfailing courtesy which, as President, he has  
“devoted to promoting the interests of the Society.

“That his success in adding largely to our membership,  
“and in maintaining the regularity of our meetings is the more  
“remarkable when we take into consideration the number of  
“calls made upon his time and energy by other occupations.

“And that the outgoing President may feel assured that the  
“members of the Society shall be slow to forget the great obli-  
“gations under which he has placed them during his term of  
“office.”

XXIV



XXIV



**HON. JOHN WILLIAM RITCHIE,**

**Born 1808, died 1890.**

**Judge in Equity, Supreme Court of Nova Scotia;  
First President of th N. S. Historical Society.**

*[From a photograph.]*

*[To face page 1.]*



OUR FIRST PRESIDENT,  
THE HONORABLE JOHN WILLIAM RITCHIE, 1808-1890.

By the HON. LAWRENCE G. POWER, K. C., Halifax.

(Read, 3rd December, 1915).

Theophilus Parsons, who was many years ago Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University, delivered about once a year an address to the students, on the great lawyers whom he had known. I had the pleasure of hearing the address which has never altogether left my memory. I still recall some of the things he told us of men like Pinckney and Jerry Mason; but nothing so vividly impressed itself on my mind as a quotation which he used. "Gentlemen," the old Professor said, in a rather tremulous voice, "The names of our profession are written in water." The object of the yearly address was to preserve from oblivion the names and the deeds of the leaders of the profession with whom in his earlier days he had been more or less closely associated. He pointed out that, no matter how able or successful a lawyer might be, if he confined himself to the work of the profession and did not enter public life, he was sure to be forgotten, except of course, by the members of his immediate family, very shortly after quitting the scene of his labors.

I had long realized the soundness of the views set before the law students by Professor Parsons; and I had felt for some time that it was in a sense the duty of the society to pay a tribute to the memory of its first President, while it was also the duty of such of our members as belong to the legal profession to place before the public an appreciation of the character and works of one who, whether as a practising barrister, or as a judge, had no superior. The performance of this duty has been too long delayed; and, during the twenty-five years that have passed since Judge Ritchie's death, most of those who knew him best have followed him into another world. Then again, the sub-

ject of this paper never kept a diary and, having lived almost continuously in Halifax, did not leave behind him many such letters as might be used to eke out a biography. Under all the circumstances, I trust that the members of the Society will be a little blind to the shortcomings of this paper.

If we have little information as to the record of Judge Ritchie, we are better off as to his forbears. A deal of valuable information with respect to his father is to be found in the *History of Annapolis County* by the late Mr. Calnek and His Honor Judge Savary, while the small volume, *Recollections of a Georgia Loyalist* by Mrs. Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston, is replete with curious and interesting knowledge as to his maternal ancestors.

John William Ritchie, eldest child of Thomas and Elizabeth Ritchie, was born at Annapolis March 26th, 1808. His father, Thomas Ritchie, was at that time a successful barrister and a member of the Provincial Legislature. The father of Thomas Ritchie was John Ritchie, a gentleman of Scottish birth who came to Annapolis from Glasgow by way of Boston, not later than 1774, went into business as a merchant, married Alicia Maria Le Cain, became a captain of volunteers, was elected in 1782 to fill a vacancy in the House of Assembly and died in July, 1790, at the early age of forty-five. Thomas Ritchie was the second son of John Ritchie and was born in Annapolis, 21st September, 1777. He studied law in the office of Thomas Barclay and was admitted to the bar before the close of the century. Shortly afterwards, upon Mr. Barclay's appointment as British Consul-general at New York, he succeeded to that gentleman's large practice. In 1806 he was elected as one of the County representatives in the House of Assembly. He was elected without opposition and continued to be so chosen until his elevation to the Bench in 1824. There is, I believe, no other instance in our provincial history where a member has been elected without a contest at four successive general elections. From this circumstance alone we can gather that Thomas Ritchie was a notable man, both for



character and ability. He married, on July the twenty-seventh  
x 1807, Elizabeth Wildman, fifth child and second daughter of  
Doctor William Martin Johnston of Liguana, Jamaica.

In the Legislature, he helped in the consolidation and revision of the law relating to the Militia. He became Lieutenant Colonel of one of the Annapolis Regiments and so conducted himself in that capacity as to receive in 1827 the special thanks of Sir James Kempt, the Lieutenant Governor of the time.

In 1834 Thomas Ritchie was appointed President of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the Western District, which embraced the present counties of Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth and Shelburne. Beginning with 1824 the President of this court had to be a barrister, although there were apparently four lay members. It was Judge Ritchie's custom to submit to the Lieutenant-Governor after the close of each term, a detailed report of the business of the courts over which he had presided and of other local matters of interest to His Excellency. On the 17th of March, 1828, he was appointed President of the Court of Sessions, and in 1832 he became *Custos Rotulorum*.

In 1830 he was a candidate for the office of Attorney-General, made vacant by the death of Richard John Uniacke. At page 396 of the *History of the County of Annapolis* we read the following: In a document found in the public archives, dated October of that year, his public services are thus summarized: "The public were largely indebted to him for the consolidation and amendment of the Militia Laws; he was the originator of the treasury note system which had proved so beneficial to the country since 1812; the loan bill introduced by him to alleviate the distresses caused by the change from war to peace, which became law in 1819 and had produced the results intended, was his work; as chairman of the Committee on the Consolidated Revenue Acts, he had done good service; he had been offered the Speakership of the House, but felt it his duty to decline, and he was then the oldest member of the

bar after the chief Justice and the Master of the Rolls and Judges Wilkins and Wiswall". Judge Thomas Ritchie died in 1852 being then in his 76 year.

John W. Ritchie's mother was Elizabeth Wildman, fifth child and second daughter of Doctor William Martin Johnston and Elizabeth Lichenstein Johnston, both of Georgia. Doctor Johnston was a son of Doctor Lewis Johnston a native of Scotland and at one time a surgeon in the Royal Navy, who was a considerable land owner in Georgia, and Laleah Peyton of Saint Kitts. William Martin Johnston was a student of medicine in Philadelphia when the revolutionary war broke out. He became a captain in the New York Volunteers, afterwards the Third American Regiment, a loyalist corps which saw much service during various campaigns. William Martin Johnston made a distinguished record in the course of the war, showing a courage and resourcefulness not exceeded by his border ancestors in Annandale. After the close of hostilities, he went to Edinburgh, where in 1784-5 he continued his medical studies. He afterwards went to Jamaica and practised his profession there up to his death in December, 1807. His wife, the author of the *Recollections of a Georgia Loyalist* was the only child of John Lichtenstein (anglicized Lighenstone) a native of Cronstadt and said to be of Austrian descent. He died in Annapolis in 1813, at a ripe old age. Mrs. Lichtenstein Johnston was a woman of great energy and ability, devoted to her family and exceedingly religious. She died at Halifax, 24th September, 1848. It will have been noticed that both of John W. Ritchie's grand-fathers were Scottish or of Scottish extraction. Speaking of his mother, Mrs. William Martin Johnston says, at page 132 of the *Recollections*, "If I were called upon to bear testimony whose individual character I had ever known most free from selfishness, I could with truth and boldness say it was my beloved Eliza's. In early childhood she evinced the disposition to impart to others whatever she had, and the disposition grew with her growth." She died 19th June, 1819. If I seem to have dealt at undue length with the histories of Judge Ritchie's ancestors, it is



partly because there is so little to be known about his own life and partly because much as to his character and abilities can be gathered from what we know of those who had gone before him. That the character and abilities were largely hereditary is indicated by the facts that while John W. Ritchie ended his professional career as Judge in Equity of his native province, the third brother in the family, William Johnstone Ritchie, was successively *puisne* judge and Chief Justice of New Brunswick and a Judge and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, and that Joseph Norman Ritchie was for several years a Judge of our Supreme Court. George Wildman died before attaining the age looked upon as qualifying for a seat on the Bench, and James J. disqualified himself by giving up law for the higher calling of divinity. He however left two sons, who became prominent members of his original profession, and one of whom occupies, to the great satisfaction of suitors and counsel, the judicial position which seems to be in some sort a belonging of the Ritchie family.

Turning now to the more immediate subject of this paper, we learn from the *Recollections of a Georgia Loyalist* that, when Mrs. William Martin Johnston returned from Jamaica to Annapolis in 1810, she found that "My Eliza had two dear boys. John was two and a half years old, Thomas, a stout boy, ten months old." Further on we are told, "As soon as I went to housekeeping I relieved her (Mrs. Thomas Ritchie) of part of her care by having John stay with us." We are also told that John was a special favorite of his great-grandfather John Lightenstone. At page 124 of the *Recollections*, Mrs. Johnston says that, "Until John was three years of age, he lived with me, and from an old fashioned prayer-book with large print I taught him his letters and to spell little words." Mrs. Ritchie died on the 19th of June, 1819, when John was something over eleven years of age. In connection with her daughter's death we have the following from Mrs. Johnston. "I soon broke up housekeeping to live with Mr. Ritchie and watch over his children's health and morals. I stood to them

now in the place of their dear mother, for I knew well her wishes, plans and hopes for her children. Her great principle was to exact from them implicit obedience, and those who were old enough at her death evinced by their conduct the benefit they derived from her discipline."

For many years after this somewhat indirect mention, there is not, as far as I know, any written or printed record dealing with the history of John W. Ritchie. I have learned from a member of his immediate family that he did not go to college, but was educated at home under the care of tutors provided by his father. As to this point, I made a mistake in stating in the memorial appended to the seventh volume of our Collections, that Mr. Ritchie was educated at the Pictou Academy. His brother William did study at that excellent and well known school.

In due course, he was articled as a clerk to his Uncle James W. Johnston, and, after the usual term of service, was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court on the twenty-fifth of January 1831 and as a Barrister on the twenty-fourth of the same month in the following year.

For some time clients were exceedingly few; and Judge Ritchie told me that for ten years after his admission to the bar he had had almost no practice. Wiser than most young lawyers, he devoted his abundant leisure "to patient and thorough study of the law. The result of this quiet work, combined with great business capacity and a most honorable and upright character, was that, when practice came it found him admirably prepared, and increased rapidly, so that in a comparatively short time he took his place amongst the leaders of the profession."

At the general election held in November 1836, young Ritchie was a candidate with W. H. Roach for the County of Annapolis. Their opponents were, William Holland of Wilmot and Frederick A. Robicheau of Clare; and, notwithstanding the personal popularity of Mr. Roach, who had repre-



sented the County for eighteen years, and the high respect in which he and his youthful colleague were held, the opposition was successful. *The History of the County of Annapolis* speaks of the result of the election as being due to the wish of the people of the eastern and the western ends for a division of the County. No doubt this had not a little effect; but the fact that before Mr. Robicheau, no Acadian candidate for the House of Assembly had come forward was probably an equally important factor. Possibly also the reform movement championed by Howe and others was beginning to make itself felt throughout the Province. Mr. Ritchie himself credited the Acadians with his defeat.

He never afterwards appealed to the electorate and often expressed the opinion that his defeat in the Annapolis election was a blessing in disguise. There is no doubt that to a man of his tastes, habits, and character the position of a member of the Provincial Legislature would have offered few attractions and would have presented many drawbacks.

In 1838 Mr. Ritchie married his handsome cousin Amelia, eldest daughter of the Honorable Doctor William Bruce Almon. The young couple lived in a house on the west side of Hollis Street, north of what is now the annex to the Queen Hotel, in which was the bridegroom's office. The Union begun in 1838, lasted without flaw or cloud for over half a century; and, as Judge Ritchie died the year after his wife, it can be said that in death they were not divided.

One finds that in the Session of 1840 John W. Ritchie was Law Clerk of the Legislative Council, having been appointed probably in 1839. The position, which he held for twenty-four years, was one well suited to a man of his training and cast of mind and one which enabled him to do a deal of valuable though unobtrusive legislative work. Were we in a position to learn, we should probably find more than traces of his handiwork in many of the acts passed during his term of office. His appointment is not a matter of surprise, because apart from his

special qualifications for the position, he was the son-in-law of a prominent member of the Council and the nephew of a leader of the Government in that House. In 1850 and the two following years he was associated with the Honorable William Young, Jonathan McCully and Joseph Whidden, Clerk of the House of Assembly, in preparing the First Series of the Revised Statutes, a masterpiece of its kind. No similar Legislative work was undertaken, until after the lapse of some years, by any other British Colony. Mr. Ritchie undoubtedly found it most congenial.

In 1764 the Island of St. John, afterwards of Prince Edward, and at that time part of Nova Scotia, was divided into 67 Lots or Townships of about twenty thousand acres each, which with the exception of three small reservations intended for three county towns and the two lots 40 and 59, were disposed of in London by lottery before the Board of Trade and Plantations in one day. In August 1767 Grants were ordered to the several allottees. These Grants were in the form of long leases and contained provisions for the payment of quitrents and the placing of settlers on the lands, under penalty of forfeiture. As time went on much confusion and dissatisfaction arose in the Island as a result of these leases. The Proprietors, as the allottees and their successors in title were called, failed to carry out the conditions of the leases; while the tenantry did not, as a rule, pay the rent due to the Proprietors. By the middle of the last century, things were felt to call for some effective action. The Island Legislature attempted to deal with the matter in the interest of the tenantry, but its Acts were disallowed in London, and the Imperial Government declined to declare the leases forfeited for non-performance of the conditions by the Proprietors. After much correspondence, a Commission was on the 25th of June, 1860, issued by the Government to John Hamilton Gray of New Brunswick, nominated by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for the Colonies, the Honorable Joseph Howe, nominated by the Prince Edward Island Assembly, acting on behalf of the tenantry, and John William Ritchie,



nominated by the Proprietors. With respect to the differences which had arisen between the Proprietors and the Tenantry, the three gentlemen named were "to be our Commissioners for inquiring into the said differences, and for adjusting the same on fair and equitable principles."

The commissioners met at Charlottetown, on September the fifth, 1860, and continued to sit until October the first. They travelled through all parts of the Island and saw for themselves the exact condition of things; and in December they adjourned to Halifax where their report was prepared. It bore date the eighteenth day of July, 1861, and submitted a thorough, practical, just and effective scheme for settling existing differences. What is unusual in such cases, the report or award was unanimous and, if acted upon, would have brought the differences to a speedy end. His Grace the Duke of Newcastle "said that he was desirous of expressing his appreciation of the painstaking, able and impartial report which the commissioners had furnished, a report which would derive additional weight from its unanimity, and which was the result of an investigation so complete that it had exhausted the material for inquiry into the facts of the case."

Notwithstanding his high opinion of the report, the Duke refrained from allowing it to go into operation. The reasons alleged for this course strike one as being extremely technical, if not flimsy. One cannot go further into the history of the matter and must be contented with saying that the settlement of this urgent question was postponed for fifteen years, at the end of which time it was dealt with by what is sometimes spoken of as the Childers' Commission.

For several years Dalhousie College was in a moribund, or, to speak more accurately, a comatose state. In 1863 a Statute was passed. Chapter 24 of the Acts of that year, entitled "An act for the regulation and support of Dalhousie College," which infused a new and permanent vitality into the old institution and caused it to enter on the career of successful development of which each succeeding year offers additional

proofs. This Act placed the control of the renovated University in the hands of a Board of six Governors. The following were the gentlemen named in the first section, The Honorable William Young, the Honorable Joseph Howe, Charles (afterwards Sir Charles) Tupper, S. Leonard Shannon, John W. Ritchie and James F. Avery, Esquires. His appointment to such an important position goes to show the esteem in which the modest lawyer was held by those best able to judge of his qualifications. As to the way in which he discharged the Duties of Governor, I am pleased to be able to quote the Reverend Doctor Forrest who was associated with him for some eleven years. "When Dalhousie College was reorganized in 1863, Mr. John W. Ritchie was one of the Board of Governors appointed by the Act. He remained in active connection with the College till the time of his death and always took a deep interest in its affairs. Regular and attentive to all the meetings of the Board his judgment could always be depended upon, and he exercised a great influence in developing the reconstructed College. No one seemed so quick and alert in grasping any matter proposed. He seemed always ready with a suggestion which presented the line of action which was best in the circumstances. His judgment was almost invariably deferred to because he seemed always to be right. There was nothing at all overbearing in his manner. He was considerate and courteous. With strong opinions of his own he was willing to listen to the views of others, and the large influence which he exercised was clearly due to his sound judgment, courteous manner, and clear presentation of his case. Brought in close touch with him for many years in connection with College affairs, I was convinced that no institution could have had an abler or more judicious governor. To me he seemed the very ideal of what a judge ought to be".

From 1864 to 1867 he was a member of the Legislative Council and Solicitor General. In these capacities he continued the work to which he had probably devoted part of his time as Law Clerk, that is, bringing the law of the Pro-



vince on various subjects up to that of the Mother Country. One example of this legislation is Chapter 10 of the Acts of 1865, entitled, "An Act to amend the Laws affecting Trade and Commerce," which followed the lines of the English Mercantile Law Amendment Act of 1856; another is Chapter 12 of the Acts of 1866, intended to assimilate the law of this Province with regard to the limitation of actions to that of England.

In the Fall of 1866, Mr. Ritchie was appointed one of the Delegates from Nova Scotia to the Conference which met at London for the purpose of arranging the terms of Union between Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It was understood that no radical change was to be made in the Resolutions adopted by the Conference held at Quebec in October, 1864, but that the phraseology might be altered and certain comparatively small modifications made in their substance. His co-delegates were the Honorable Charles Tupper, Provincial Secretary, the Honorable William A. Henry, Attorney General, the Honorable Jonathan McCully and the Honorable Adams G. Archibald. The Conference met at the Westminster Palace Hotel on the fourth of December, and sat almost continuously until the twenty-fourth of that month when the Resolutions were adopted. After that date, there were made at least five drafts of the Bill, which afterwards became the *British North America Act*, 1867. The final draft was submitted as a revise on the ninth of February, 1867.

We may assume that owing to his legal knowledge and ability and to his long experience as a legislative draftsman, Mr. Ritchie took an active part in the work of the Conference, and for this opinion we find confirmation in the very imperfect report of the proceedings of the Conference, prepared by the Secretary, Mr. Bernard, and, fortunately, made accessible in the volume of Confederation Documents published by Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Pope.

In 1867 Mr. Ritchie was appointed to the Senate of Canada, in 1870 he became a judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia,

and in 1873, upon the declination of the office by the late Sir Adams Archibald, was chosen to succeed his uncle, the Honorable James W. Johnston, as Judge in Equity. In 1882 Judge Ritchie had a slight stroke of paralysis and decided to retire from the Bench. The First Minister of that day, Sir John A. MacDonald, wrote to him trying to induce him to retain his position, intimating that it was not necessary that he should work hard and expressing the opinion that by devoting half his time to the duties of his office he would render as great service as the ordinary judge who gave all his time. Notwithstanding this and notwithstanding that his faculties were impaired only slightly, Judge Ritchie persisted in resigning. In abandoning his high position, because he thought that he should give his country none but the best of his intellectual work he showed the loftiness of his character and "set an admirable example for succeeding judges." The fact that in 1878, when he was seventy years of age, he took part in the founding of this society goes to show that he had inherited the unselfish spirit and the desire for the welfare of others which, in a passage already quoted, Mrs. William Martin Johnston described as characteristic of his mother.

Judge Ritchie spent the eight years following his retirement from the Bench at his historic home of Belmont, devoting no doubt great part of the time to calm preparation for his departure from this life. He died on the eighteenth of December, 1890, aged eighty-two years and nearly nine months.

It would seem fitting to add to the foregoing imperfect sketch of Judge Ritchie's career some little statement of the light in which he presented himself to his associates and fellow-citizens.

He was somewhat below the middle height and remarkably well proportioned. His hair was dark and his nose aquiline, and there was a fair amount of color in his cheeks. Taking him altogether, he was a handsome man. I have fancied that I saw in the portrait of Judge Bliss in the Law Library, a marked resemblance to Judge Ritchie.



In his earlier days he was fond of shooting and riding, and during his whole professional career was alert and quick in his movements. He usually walked to and from his office, at which he arrived comparatively early and in which he generally remained until the close of the business day. In the office of J. W. & J. N. Ritchie, in which I served my apprenticeship, there was no coming back at night; but, as the senior partner did not as a rule leave the building during the day, luncheon being with him almost a matter of form, and as the work went on continuously from comparatively early in the morning till fairly late in the afternoon, there was perhaps as much accomplished as under what are supposed to be the more strenuous modern methods. John Ritchie sat by himself in the inner of the two offices and Norman, who was 26 years younger than he, with the clerks in the outer. Although the senior member of the firm was always courteous and affable, there was a certain element of dignity and aloofness about him which hindered us from being as free and familiar as we were with the junior. John W. Ritchie's attitude towards his clients was almost judicial: unless a case was legally and morally good, he would not undertake it; and he could be very clear and emphatic in the expression of his opinions of those whose cases did not measure up to a fairly high moral standard. The firm were noted for the moderation of their charges for professional work, a characteristic which, if it did not receive the unqualified approval of their brethren of the profession, was very favorably looked upon by their numerous clients.

I was not often a witness of Mr. Ritchie's conduct of a case in Court. He had no gifts of eloquence and was troubled with a slight hesitation of speech, but he was effective even in addressing a jury, because of his evident and well known regard for truth and because his speeches were earnest and to the purpose. In speaking to the Bench he was of course, entirely in his element.

There was about him in Court as elsewhere a complete absence of vanity and conceit. As to his qualities as a judge,

others, and particularly Mr. Justice Russell, are better qualified to speak than I. One cannot help, when reading his decisions as given in that learned gentleman's volume of equity cases being struck by their clearness and comparative brevity. They carry conviction to the readers' intellect as he goes along and are evidently the productions of a mind thoroughly saturated with the principles of law and familiar with its practical working.

From the Memorial of 1890, I may quote the following: "In the preface to the volume containing his decisions as Judge in Equity, the learned reporter, Mr. Russell, describes the Court during his term of office as in the language of Chancellor Kent, presenting the image of the sanctity of a temple where truth and justice seemed to be enthroned and to be personified in their decrees; and in the resolution of the Nova Scotia Barristers' Society, unanimously adopted just after Judge Ritchie's death, the following eloquent language is used with respect to the Equity Court: To the discharge of its duties he brought faculties and attainments of the highest order, and those judicial virtues without which even faculties and attainments of the highest order are no sure guarantee of success. Patient to listen and weigh, keen to detect fallacy, merciless in the exposure of fraud, severe and exacting with seniors, but gracious and condescending to juniors, he discharged for eight years the duties of his high judicial office with an unbending integrity, which is happily not exceptional, but also with an unquestioned authority, which is almost without a parallel in the judicial annals of the Province. After a long and busy career, crowded with the most useful and most fruitful activities through many years, in which he wore the white flower of a blameless life, he has gone from our midst, leaving to the generation that follows him a noble example of high devotion to professional and public duty, and to those that were privileged to know him intimately the memory of his many endearing qualities of head and heart".



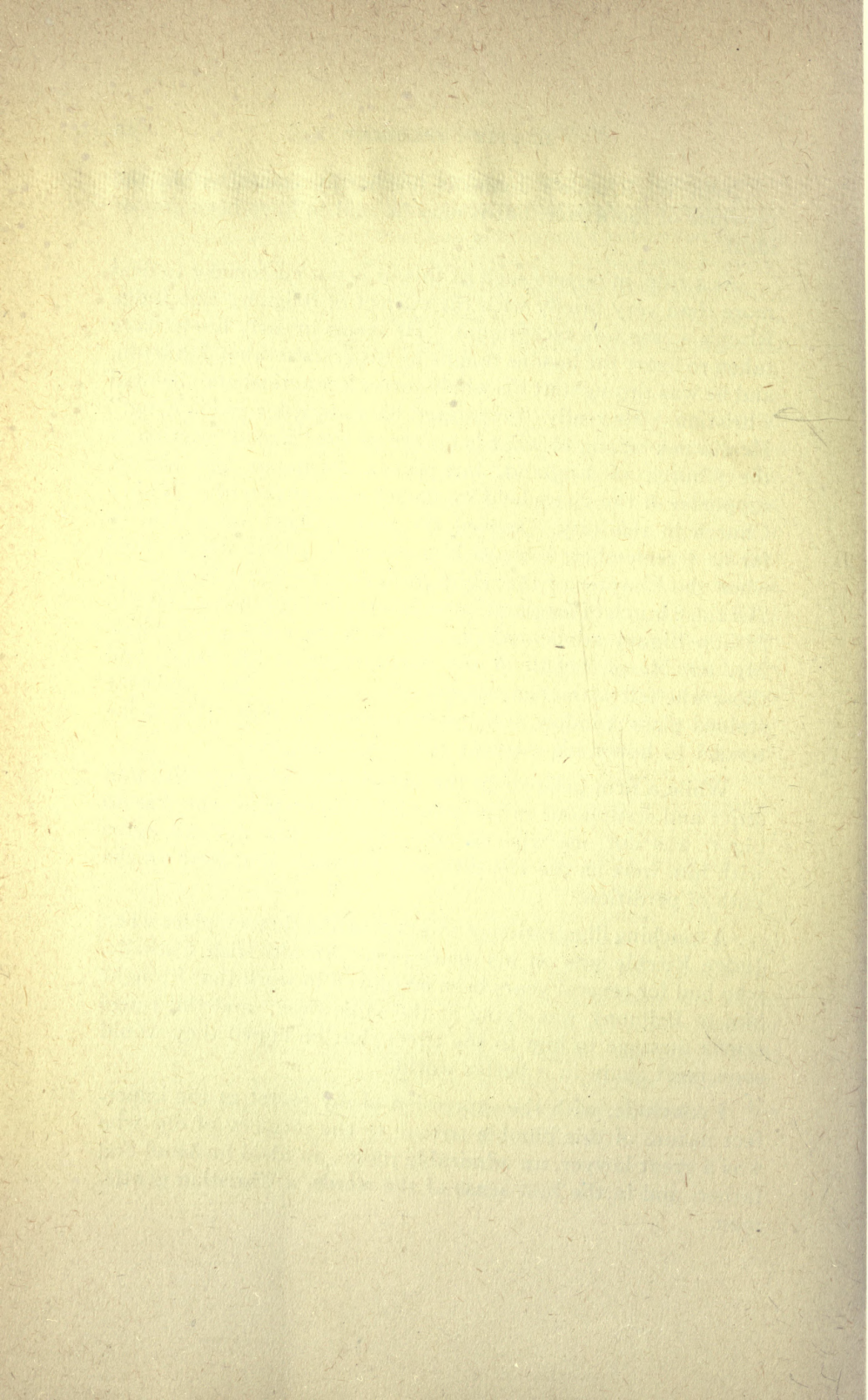
John W. Ritchie's domestic life hardly comes within the province of the writer, but it may be said to have been almost ideal.

As a rule, in papers such as this, it is not customary to deal more than very briefly with the subject of religion; but Judge Ritchie's case was exceptional. He seems in early life to have taken to heart the lessons taught by his grandmother Johnston, and he was throughout his whole career a practical and devoted Christian. He really "reverenced his conscience as his King." He did not belong to what is known as the "Broad" section of the Church of England, but was a strenuous and sincere supporter of the views held by the administration of St. Paul's Church in this city. Indeed the first occasion on which, as far as I remember, I heard him speak in public was in 1863 when the Chapter of the Third Series of the Revised Statutes "Of the Church of England" was before the Legislative Council. Bishop Binney advocated the claims of the episcopate, which Mr. Ritchie on behalf of the parishioners at St. Paul's and those who felt with them strenuously resisted: The handsome stained glass window and the monument in that Church intended to honor his memory are not misplaced.

While a firm believer in the doctrines of his own faith and strict and scrupulous in the practice of his religion, he was no bigot, was not one who thought that all who did not agree with him were as the Heathen and Publican, and were on the path of perdition.

A touching illustration of this characteristic took place when Judge Ritchie was on his death-bed. An old Irish Catholic, who had for several years been employed in work that brought him to Belmont, was dying at the same time; and the Judge sent a message to him to the effect that he hoped they would soon meet again in a better world.

I conclude, with the expression of my regret at the imperfect nature of this humble tribute to the memory of one who was a great lawyer, an admirable judge, an ideal husband and father, and in the best sense of the words, a Christian gentleman.





## RECOLLECTIONS OF SIXTY YEARS AGO.

By the REV. ALLAN POLLOK, D. D., Halifax.

(Read April 9, 1915).

I was one of three young ministers who sailed from Liverpool for Nova Scotia on Christmas, 1852. The passage was long and stormy and we did not land till the 9th of January. The vessels were strong but far from being as comfortable as at present. My two companions were, Mr. G. W. Sprott, Christian name George W., from Musquodoboit and Mr. Maclean, Christian name Alexander, from Pictou. We came by appointment of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland. Mr. Sprott remained in Halifax to assist the ministers of St. Matthew's and St. Andrew's congregations. Mr. Maclean and I went to Pictou and Wallace. All three were alive till the threefold cord was broken by the death of Dr. Sprott three years ago. Dr. Maclean is still alive and well at the age of ninety-four. He has been known for many years as an eloquent preacher in Gaelic and English in Pictou, Cumberland and Prince Edward Island. Dr. Sprott, after returning from Ceylon, where he held a Chaplaincy for seven years, became minister, first, of the Chapel of Garioch and then of North Berwick. He is reputed to be a high authority in the Church History of Scotland subsequent to the Reformation. The Book of Common Order contains more from him than from any other Contributor and he is the author of several works on the Worship and Rites of the Church of Scotland.

One of the best views of Halifax is that from the harbor. To a stranger as I was and wholly ignorant of Nova Scotia and its cities that view was neither attractive nor encouraging. As the boat passed slowly to the dock on that cold winter day one might see a succession of wooden piers, crowned with ragged and unshapely buildings; said to be stores and offices. They

need no description; as they or structures like them, are there still. The people who waited for the arrival of the steamer on the Cunard wharf looked very cold. The "Waverley" to which we drove—the building still may be seen at the south-west corner of Barrington and Blower Streets—did not show a very attractive exterior; but was as comfortable as it could be made in such cold weather. We found within three gentlemen who were said to frequent this house every winter. They seemed to be on the best of terms with themselves and with each other. They were very considerate and kind to us young men and made us feel much at home. As we landed on the Sabbath, we went in the afternoon to St. Matthew's, which was not far distant. I remember well the pew in which we sat and the lady and gentleman who were in it. They were afterwards married and they are now both dead. The service was at 3 o'clock in the afternoon; a very convenient hour for many.

On Monday morning we found that it had snowed during the night and I heard sleigh bells for the first time. On further inspection the city did not appear to extend in one direction much beyond Morris St., though some well-known houses might be seen further south. Toward the west, South Park St., down which a brook ran, might be the boundary with scattered houses beyond. St. Matthews' was in Hollis St., at the corner where the offices of The Eastern Trust Co. offices are now situated. St. Andrew's was right above St. Matthew's on Barrington St., looking across to St. Paul's on the opposite corner. The building is still there and no one, regarding its commercial transformation, would ever suspect that it had been a church. St. Matthew's was entered by a porch with an outside stair. The first object that met the eye on entering was a huge stove, which created such heat as I had never felt in church before. On cold days in Scotland we always expected to have cold feet. When the heart was warm and the feet were cold it was more meritorious. The sides of the church, the gallery and the pulpit were high and the pulpit had a canopy; which aids the voice and is a comfort to many;



while it helps to fill a bare space. The choir was in the front gallery and was assisted by no organ.

In referring to the churches I must speak as I found them within a few days. Where there is no knowledge there can be no partiality. Of the four Presbyterian churches, St. Matthew's was the oldest. It began with the city, was built at the same time with St. Paul's and, as appears by prints in existence, of much the same shape. The frames of both had been brought from New England. By law it was designated for the use of Protestant Dissenters—a phrase meant to describe all such as did not belong to the Church of England and were Protestants. This comprehensive title, whether the worshippers liked it or not, must have called for some mutual toleration. At the commencement of the city it was probably that or nothing. St. Matthew's was originally not Presbyterian but Congregationalist, like the churches of New England and continued long to call their ministers from the Eastern States. When, however, the American Revolution severed Halifax from the United States, the congregation no longer desired any connection with the revolted colonies and applied to the Church of Scotland for ministers. Even then they for a long time came under no presbytery and when I came to this country they were using Watt's version of the Psalms as a mark of their Independent origin.

The first sight which I had of the Rev. John Scott was as he appeared in the pulpit of St. Matthew's on the 9th January, 1853. He must have then been between fifty and sixty years of age. His complexion was pale, his features somewhat angular and his whole appearance delicate. Within the sphere of duty which he laid down for himself no one could be more strict and conscientious. In dress, manners and deportment he was a cleric of the old school. His address was stiff not from pride but modesty and diffidence. Mr. Scott might not have the affability of some but he felt more kindness than he could show or express. Such a manner he carried into his conduct of the services of the Church, which, though plain

always, in his hands were especially so. His sermons were carefully prepared, elegantly composed and read without the least action in a level voice. He had belonged to the Moderate Party in the church; who affected philosophy and literary style and despised popular preaching, which they called highflying. Perhaps his solemn tones and the regular cadence of the sentences might have a somnolent effect upon some, but those who chose to listen would be instructed. Unlike many of the Moderate Party, Mr. Scott was decidedly evangelical. I cannot but remark that he was very kind to myself. In no church had I ever seen so many venerable heads or expressive and thoughtful faces. The aged and not the young seemed to predominate and the quiet service, free from all excitement, harmonized with the maturity of the worshippers.

St. Andrew's had a different origin and history. In contrast with St. Mathew's it was Presbyterian from the first. Without entering into the terrible history of Scottish schisms, I may merely mention that this church was organized in 1818 in connection with the Scottish Synod of Relief and was united to the Church of Scotland soon afterwards, when Mr. Martin was sent out to take charge and remained its minister till 1856. He had been a Covenanter, but he ceased to be one from circumstances which I had from himself. When he was a young man, Dr. Chalmers was electrifying Scotland with his eloquence and Mr. Martin could not resist the temptation of going to hear him. But the stern Covenanters could not tolerate such lax conduct. They allowed no such misdemeanor as occasional hearing. When he applied for license, objection was made to his conduct; when he took up his hat and left them. The Church of Scotland never had a more devoted, zealous and active minister. Shortsightedness caused his peculiar manner of peering into the faces of those whom he met. He was a man of vast information and edited the Guardian and the Monthly Record of the Church of Scotland for many years.

As my theme limits me to personal reminiscence, I can only mention other churches. Chalmer's Church on Barrington St.



enjoyed the ministration of Dr. Alexander Forrester, whose name is indelibly associated with the revival, extension and improvement of our Common School System. He was a large man with pronounced Scottish features and a huge unkempt head of hair. I made the acquaintance of Dr. P. G. Macgregor, the youngest son of Dr. James Macgregor, the distinguished scholar, poet, preacher and missionary. His son in Poplar Grove Church was an able preacher and laborious pastor for many years, who made for himself many friends by his attention to the sick and dying. Archbishop William Walsh occupied the Roman Catholic See of Halifax. Since his death four prelates have ruled that Diocese. Bishop Hibbert Binney occupied the Anglican See. He was but recently appointed and two have followed. Archdeacon Robert Willis was minister of St. Paul's. I attended a meeting in the Grafton St. Methodist Church; which appeared to me to be quite luxuriously fitted up for the comfort of the worshippers. Of the mutual relations which existed among the churches I can say nothing. I cannot affirm that there was much intercourse but there was certainly quite as much as I had seen among the churches in Scotland.

The manner in which political questions appeared to be discussed at that time might admonish me not to attempt to describe the political situation. I was astonished at the violent philippics of the daily papers, and the freedom with which public men were handled. Writers in the British Press generally practised some restraint, while saying all they wished to say. Since Confederation has widened the political sphere, there has been some improvement in this matter. In matters of expediency there must be room for difference of opinion and in matters of opinion for mutual toleration. But few are patient and keep their temper when they meet with difference in opinion. They seem to consider their understanding to be impeached and take it for a personal offence. A difference in judgment is made a moral trespass and then an opponent is pelted with the hardest names, and names well-

chosen do the best work. They are better than arguments and are easily and widely bandied about. They are the hand-grenades that scatter the enemy's ranks. I had the good fortune to be able to see the opening of The House. Joseph Howe was introducing his railway measures. Excitement was intensified by the report that a well known Conservative was to give him the support required for his success. Mr. Howe was pointed out to me. He seemed to be a bright, burley, fresh looking man of medium height with a good humored expression of face. He might be taken for a farmer who enjoyed the benefit of pure country air. Besides eloquence he made friends by frankness of address and agreeable manners. The Conservatives regarded him as a mob orator of doubtful loyalty, which was certainly a false description. He had fought a hard fight, fought it successfully and had hosts of warm friends and supporters. The leader of the opposition was J. W. Johnstone. His body was spare, his face pale, his features sharp and finely chiselled and his hair bushy and snow-white. It would be difficult to find a more venerable figure. I had seen only one such before. He recalled to me Dr. Brown of Broughton St., Edinburgh; one of a remarkable family of Browns in the United Secession Church. I was prepared to hear that, while Mr. Howe was the popular man and the popular orator, Mr. Johnstone was of a different type. His sharp features would lead one to expect keen logic, clear expression and luminous and impassioned exposition. The Attorney General was Mr. Uniacke, a tall man with aristocratic features; said to be one of the most accomplished speakers in the house in his best days.

In this room where we are now met, we cannot but think of the battles fought and won within these walls. We can look back and view them through the mists of many intervening years. Ossian pictures the ghosts of his heroes appearing among the mists of the night and mingling with the clouds of the sky. Their shadowy forms are as real to the soul of the seer as if they were still in the fight. If there were any truth in



supernatural visitations, this house should be full of ghosts. Drawing the line at Confederation; before that time how many reputations were torn to pieces, how many passions were roused, how many fierce fires enkindled, how many friendships blasted, how many ambitions desolated, how many hopes destroyed! Some trod these halls long enough to be accounted old warriors, heroes of a hundred fights and others blazed a short while and disappeared, like shooting stars amid the darkness of the night. Many eloquent voices have been heard within these walls; such as would have commanded attention in any part of the world. All the oratory was not party warfare to be employed for partizan purposes but it rose into higher strains; but the speakers are now silent. We may, however, now pause to remember them for a few moments.

It might have been expected that after a century of existence a city, situated like Halifax, might be larger in population and grander in structure. Its opportunities for enlarged trade and commerce seem to be quite exceptional. The presence of the imperial army and the visits of the navy were special advantages. The fortifications must have caused the expenditure of vast sums of money; though all this tended to restrain individual and independent enterprise. It also created a standard of life and manners, which was unfavorable to habits of honest industry. The army and navy became the sphere of all human ambition for both axes. The foresight of the man who chose the site of Constantinople has been applauded by all historians. He called it, New Rome, but by a spontaneous impulse the world has named it Constantinople: thus blending the name of the City with the name of the founder for all time. It would be absurd to compare the site of this city with one which holds the gate of two great continents and two great oceans. But in all North America there is no such harbor as ours and in spite of all competition it must become the gate of Canada and we now hope that the future will be very different from the past.

St. Matthew's Church was burnt about midnight, 1857-58. It was a pity that the old church should thus disappear. Like St. Paul's, it was a much revered memorial of a past age. Some well known men and many venerable heads might be seen within its walls. Joseph Howe was frequently a worshipper there. Mr. George Thomson, who was Rev. Mr. Scott's executor, told me that he found among Mr. Scott's papers a bank cheque signed by Mr. Howe, which Mr. Scott had never presented for payment. On some occasion Mr. Scott had told Mr. Thomson that he knew that Mr. Howe needed money more than he did. Mr. Scott, left all his money, amounting to two thousand pounds of the old currency, to St. Matthew's. Mr. John Watt, whose duty it was to count and take charge of the collections, was never absent. I remember him very well—also Mr. William Murdoch, Mr. Robert Noble, Mr. William Young, Mr. George Mitchell, Mr. Archibald Scott, Mr. William Sutherland, the Hon. James McNab, Dr. Avery and Mr. David Allison—grand and venerable looking men. Like the old church itself, they have all passed away. J. J. Bremner and two ladies, whose names I might give still survive.

I wish that I could describe appropriately some of the men whom I saw at that time. Mr. J. B. Uniacke, a fine looking man, who was then the Attorney General, I saw in the house and at the table of the most hospitable man that ever lived in this city; the Honorable Alexander Keith. He was a Scotsman from Caithness, a man who was of a most generous disposition. He dispensed much of what he acquired in business in entertaining friends, visitors and especially officers of the Army and Navy. He was a great friend of Mr. Martin; to whom both he and Mrs. Keith, who was a most charitable woman, were most kind and attentive to the last moment of his life. In the house which, after being enlarged, is now the "Elmwood" Hotel (at the northwest corner of South and Pleasant Streets). I met Mr. William Murdoch, his brother Charles, Mr. Archibald Scott, Mr. William Sutherland, the



Hon. Alexander (-) McDougall and Miss Murdoch, by no means the least important of the company. Mr. William Murdoch was tall and portly, strong featured, large-headed and Scottish in appearance, speech and address. In finance he was reported to be quite a genius, and he made a large fortune. He was ready to help young men in business with money and advice. Excellent portraits of all the men mentioned above will be found in Jas. S. Macdonald's "Annals of The North British Society."

It ought to be mentioned that Mr. Murdoch was one of many who have remembered in his gifts Halifax charities and institutions. Scotsmen have been credited with being fond of money and of the business of making it. Certainly they figure largely in banks and other financial societies. William Paterson, a Scot from Dumfriesshire, was the founder of the greatest bank in the world. The English were glad on that occasion to avail themselves of his genius in making a note-of-hand without endorsement legal tender. Looking at the history of this city, Scotsmen have no reason to be ashamed. Mr. Murdoch gave to the School for the Deaf, the Blind Asylum and the Dispensary; one thousand pounds to the North British Society and three thousand pounds to St. Matthew's Church. Sir William Young gave \$10,000 to the North British Society and \$70,000 to Dalhousie University. Alexander Macleod gave an equal sum to Dalhousie University. George Munro, a Nova Scotian from Pictou, but the son of a Scotsman, preserved and perpetuated that University by gifts approaching half a million. Sir Sandford Fleming has lately given a most charming park for the recreation of our citizens, and we have a Scotsman living among us who has bestowed half a million and more upon the Patriotic Fund in this great crisis of our history. Among other national emblems the thistle need not hide its head.

Many will know and some may remember the route by, which on Monday, the 17th January, 1853, we travelled to Pictou, and the kind of conveyance. The old American coach,

hung upon thick straps of leather, was neither smooth nor comfortable. It crossed to Dartmouth at 7 o'clock in the morning and after a run of 17 miles arrived at what was called Shultze's Inn between 9 and 10 o'clock. This old-fashioned tavern now passed away was beside Grand Lake Station or else Oakfield. I have often tried to identify its site from the railway. It was an unshapely old house, where a comfortable warm breakfastal ways awaited the passengers, who, while they had passed alongside of lake scenery which for quiet beauty can hardly be excelled, were always hungry and generally cold in winter. If they wished to *reinforce* the breakfast, they could always do it at Shultze's. I need hardly follow the details of my journey to New Glasgow, which was reached by sleigh from Truro at midnight. The complete novelty could not but make it interesting to a stranger. The stars were visible in the misty night. The jingle of the bells was pleasant amid the silent woods. Tall blasted trees stretched out their bare crooked arms between us and the sky. The sleigh was smooth and noiseless. A number of tall stalwart men met us at Mount Thom and took away my friend Maclean. These were his brothers who are all now dead. To my surprise I was soon told that I was on the ice of the East River and at New Glasgow where I was to dwell for twenty years.

On the following day the scene which presented itself for the first time contrasted with much that I had ever seen before. The town, now a considerable city with a busy population, was decidedly small. The Highland people called it "the little," but small as it was it was not long since it had been much smaller. Only two or three houses were on the west side of the river. Like all rural villages, its unpaved streets were quiet. There was a hill behind and a mountain in the distance. The houses all over the country were of wooden frame; the old log hut had almost disappeared. But the cheerful old log fires were still common. I have slept in the log-house, which might have been *tolarated*, had it not often been, like Julian the Apostate's beard, *populous*. The country was quite



picturesque with hills and hollows, rivers, brooks and meadows. The people were here, and in the whole country, almost all Highlanders, who had been coming out in waves of migration, to these forest lands for nearly a hundred years. They nearly all retained the Gaelic language and spoke it. They came mostly from Inverness shire, Sutherlandshire Rosshire and Caithness. They had undergone in coming and in pioneer work great hardships, but they were strong, patient, industrious and sober. God had prospered their labors and themselves. They left poverty behind.

Why I should be there a stranger amid scenes so new demands some short explanation. The Scottish people, since the Reformation, have always taken a disproportionate interest in Church Government, not from any peculiar turn of mind but because they were never let alone. Interest was created by interference. They were at first half Presbyterian, then Presbyterian, then Prelatist, then Presbyterian, then half Puritan or Cromwellian, then Prelatist, then Presbyterian. Was ever any people so tormented? This was chiefly the work of the Stuart Kings who wished to promote despotic government with the help of the Church, and to make the Church a tool of the State or themselves. A fairly good system was secured by the Resolution Settlement in 1690; which was again upset by the Act of Queen Anne in 1712 restoring lay-patronage. The seceders began furious attacks upon this in 1732 which ended in the Disruption of 1843. Lay-patronage was the bugbear. Doubtless it was not satisfactory. But, neither is popular election of ministers always satisfactory. The late Dr. Macgregor of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburg, in preaching to the parish of Monimail, to which he had been presented, took for his text; "Not this man but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber." The people in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were not unmoved by this agitation which goes under the name of the "Ten Years Conflict." Of 1,200 ministers, 652 remained in the church and 451 seceded. Unfortunately the ministers in Pictou were drawn away to supply Scottish parish-

churches and when I came to that county there would be about twelve large vacant congregations and two settled ministers. One of these, Dr. A. Macgillivray, with the concurrence of his own people, circulated among those congregations, preaching in Gaelic and English. Every summer, communions which were attended by thousands of people kept alive a kind of union among the different congregations. The whole depended upon the life and labor of one man who had remained when the other ministers left. His name must ever be mentioned with affection and reverence in the County of Pictou. I was settled in New Glasgow where I remained for *twenty years*. My congregation covered a space of about twenty miles and involved much fatigue of all kinds. The external result was four more congregations. My great trouble was the constant home mission work extra required by vacant congregations. In four years with long rides on horseback in cold winter weather at all hours I was disabled by rheumatism, but a voyage to Scotland, which lasted for twenty-six days, drove it all out and I have had none since. Of the kindness of those dear old Highland people I could write volumes.

In Nova Scotia sixty years ago the population was small, and there were few industries. The greatest activity was in wooden ship-building, for which an amazing number of harbors offered peculiar facilities. New Glasgow was a centre of industry not surpassed in the province. The coal railway had been opened in 1839. It was engineered and constructed upon plans prepared by Peter Crosar, grandfather of Mrs. MacKeen, of Maplewood, Halifax, who had never seen a railroad. Before that time money had been very scarce. The building of that road and the working of the coal caused a larger circulation of money than in any other part of the Province. The coal brought a large number of ships to the harbor. There was an iron foundry at the mines. The shipbuilding was most extensively prosecuted in New Glasgow. I can recall the shipyard bell: which served the purpose of a town clock to rouse us in the morning and announce the close of the day. The sounds



of innumerable hammers tapping on the sides of vessels and the noise of coal trains were very familiar. The old locomotives, the "Samson" and "Hercules," were quaint and peculiar. The engineer stood upon a kind of shelf in front. Among the many notable men in New Glasgow, the figure and seaman-like characteristic of Capt. George MacKenzie can never be forgotten.

In these sketches I might have been tempted to contrast things sixty years ago with our present state. But I have left my hearers to indulge in such interesting reflections for themselves. To compare the present with the past is a pleasing recreation while mere reminiscence is not always so. Mark Twain called it humiliation, with an adjective prefixed which I shall not repeat. I don't suppose that I have told you anything new. I am not a novelist and I cannot make bricks without straw. When I have to rake amid the ashes of the dead past, I must bring up a good deal that is of small value, but what is of little interest to others is often of painful interest to myself, for the faces and forms of dear friends, whom I shall see no more here, pass across the stage; beautified and spiritualised by the witchery of thought and affection. One thing I desire, that the present, as compared with the past, may awake great hope for the future. May it deepen your love for your native land! May it cause you to feel that there is none better and that it is a beautiful country to live in and worth dying for if loyal affection should ever demand such a sacrifice!

I can scarcely close without some reference to the religious and moral condition of the people. The congregations had been vacant for ten years and it might be inferred that religious apathy would be the consequence, that the Sabbath would be profaned and that the religious life of the people would deteriorate. So it would be anywhere else. But the circumstances were peculiar. Scottish clanship kept them together. Even the language helped in preserving their integrity. The summer Communion, attended by many thousands, promoted a spirit of unity. There was a deep religious spirit among them

as the result of awakenings in the North Highlands from which they had come. Their teachers had been faithful in feeding them with the strong meat of Puritan theology as found in the Westminster Shorter Catechism; acquaintance with which was almost universal. So also was family-worship. In fact, religion was a predominant part of their daily life. Perhaps it was quickened by party spirit and polemic. The hardships of their early settlement and the solitude of the primeval forest solemnized their minds, and the thought of the homes which they would never see again lifted their minds to that home where for good men human misery comes to an end.



## HISTORY OF BRIDGETOWN.

**A Brief Historical Sketch of the Town of Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, Illustrating the Changes which have taken place in the Manners, Customs and Habits of the Rural Population of Nova Scotia During the Last Century; with a Sketch of Lieut. Colonel James Poyntz, a Peninsular War Veteran.**

By JOHN IRVIN, K. C., Bridgetown, N. S.

(Read 2nd January, 1914).

The genesis of the Town of Bridgetown, in Annapolis County, must be placed somewhere between the years 1800 and 1816. At the first date there were just seven houses within the area embraced by the site of the present town, now containing over 150 substantial dwellings, public buildings, and stores, and a population of one thousand souls.

Of these seven houses one deserves more than a passing notice. It stood at the end of the road now known as Queen Street near the Ferry as there being then no bridge crossing the Annapolis River. It was a large one-story building and familiarly known as the "Mud House," having been built of dried clay and rubble-stones. The walls were four feet thick and evidently intended to stand a siege. It was supposed to have been built during the troublesome times of the American Revolution. Its purpose being a place of safety to which the scattered population of that early period, might retire in case of an attack from an enemy. At any rate it must have been a large and roomy house: as for many years before and after 1816 it was used as an inn and was known by the name of the "Tavern House." It was set back from the road a considerable distance, and in front was a large green, which at times presented an animated appearance.

Here would meet the forefathers of the present generation, to discuss the politics of the day, the latest news from the seat of war. (such news being several months old.) Saturday was

a red-letter day at the old Mud House or Tavern. On Saturday afternoons the farmers of the surrounding district would gather on the green in fine weather, or on inclement days in the large tap-room, and spend a holiday time after the strenuous labor of the week on the farm. Many came from long distance, even as far as twenty miles and over, to do business or meet relatives. Each would bring his quota of interesting news of the happenings: deaths, marriages, or the arrival of the last baby in his neighbourhood. It was in this way that news was then circulated. In the very early years of the century most of them would come on horseback with saddlebags. Those who drove, came in two-wheeled chaises or gigs of all sorts and conditions. They were very strangly built, being intended to last for generations. Some of them had evidently served the fathers and grandfathers of the then owners. Four-wheeled waggons were unknown. I have been told that at this early period there was only one four-wheeled waggon in the county, and that had been brought by a family from New York.

Here at the old "Mud House Tavern" would bivouac the troops on their way to and from Halifax, when relieving the detachments at that time stationed at the town of Annapolis Royal. This was of annual occurrence, and the arrival of the soldiers at Bridgetown was eagerly looked for and considered as a holiday. Leaving Halifax several days previously, the troops would march through the country, stopping at certain towns for rest and refreshment, and would arrive at the old Tavern House about the middle of the afternoon. Their arrival would be heralded by an advance guard, and for days previously great preparations would be made to entertain them. Bright English shillings, half-crowns and crowns would be exchanged for fresh butter, cheese, poultry and other farm products. It was a great day when the troops arrived. The country people for miles would ride or drive into the town, with their families, to see the soldiers. Many of them had been members, or their descendants, of a regiment of Scotch who



had been disbanded at the close of the last American war; others again had belonged to those stout German troops which had fought under England's banner in her long struggle with France, and later during the American War. They too had been disbanded when the peace came, and some of them had accepted grants in the lower part of the county; their place of settlement to be ever afterwards known as the Hessian and Waldack Lines. All of these people dearly loved the sight of a red coat: many of them had worn it, and loved to hear again the martial strains of Britain.

One summer afternoon a large detachment of troops en route for the fort at Annapolis, headed by a military band, marched through the town, and took up a position on the green in front of the old tavern. Here, arms were piled and preparations made for the usual halt until the next morning. In the evening, after tea, the people having flocked to the town in great numbers, the officers ordered the band to play for the amusement of those present. Among the sight seers was a farmer named Rice, who had ridden into town on an old horse which had formerly been a military charger. Hitching him slightly to a fence, half way between the Tavern House and the corner of Queen and Granville Street, Mr. Rice strolled leisurely towards the troops. Directly the band struck up the old charger was seen to tug at his fastenings, and making his escape, trotted down the street with head and tail erect, and wheeling into the green took up a position beside the band in review order, the strains of martial music recalling to his sub-conscious memory the manoeuvres of his military days.

In 1805 the first bridge was built, prior to which a ferry had been kept by a man named Hicks, who owned a tract of land fronting on the south bank of the river opposite the town, and which connected the main road, leading from Halifax to Annapolis, with both sides of the river. The building of the bridge gave a great impetus to the town, so that by 1825 it was fast becoming a place of note in the county. Judge Savary, the

editor of Calneck's History of Annapolis County, tells us that "a village sprang up like magic." Business was centering at the place, and as it was the head of navigation of the Annapolis River, the farmers brought here the produce of their farms to be shipped by small schooners to Saint John, Halifax and Boston. Immense quantities of cordwood were shipped to the latter place.

The year 1825 is notable for the fact that the first vessel ever built in the town was launched that year. It was the first of a great and long flourishing industry, bringing wealth and importance to the place.

A little later the first hotel was opened. It was named "Quirk's Hotel" after the proprietor. It was there that the coaches stopped at the last stage between Halifax and Annapolis.

Prior to the early period first referred to there resided in the vicinity of the town a number of families belonging to the Society of Friends or Quakers. They were the ancestors of the Hickses the FitzRandolphs, the Greens and others. Some of them were very wealthy, but all were thrifty and well-to-do. They preserved for a long period the traditions of their peculiar sect, its manners and customs, and adhered in all its simplicity to the peculiar garb of the Quakers. The men wore broad-brimmed hats and snuff-brown suits, with coats of ample skirts, and knee-breeches; while the women on ordinary occasions arrayed themselves in unassuming grey. But the quality of the cloth of their holiday attire made up for its sombreness in color; for on Sunday, and when in town on business, the texture of the clothing worn by the men was of the finest quality; while the grey silks and satins of the women rustled against the counters of the country stores. Though grave in deportment and decorous in speech, they were withal a gentle and courtly mannered people. Their "thee" and "thou" and "friend" were kindly spoken, and evinced the spirit of goodwill in which they daily sought to live. Occasion-



ally they were visited by leading friends from the state of New York, who would hold forth in preaching among them; but no great accession to their number ever taking place, they gradually disappeared as a sect. Their names and families still remain, but their manners and customs have departed. The tide of population that during the last ninety odd years has ebbed and flowed through the valley, has entirely effaced the tenets of their faith, so that they remain no longer as a factor in the religious life of the people.

If a denizen of the valley, of one hundred years ago, were to visit it now, how astonished he would be at the physical changes which have taken place since he left. He would miss the vast forest of timber and hardwood which covered the slopes of the North and South Mountain ranges, and he would observe the shrinkage in the size of the brooks and rivulets, tributaries of the river, caused by the clearing away of the forest, the draining of the swamps and the cultivation of the soil.

Especially would he wonder if he were in Eden, because of the difference in the climate as he remembered it one hundred years ago. Agricola in his Letters, tells us that at the period in which he writes "the snow seldom dissolves till April, and that for several months before it covered the ground to a great depth, while, too, the vernal blush of spring is of short duration, and almost instantaneously lost in the ruddy and full blaze of summer." In old books of French geography published many years previously, Acadia is described as "sterile and joyless in the utmost degree, and as region of perpetual fogs and frost." When this province was granted in the time of James the First, its winters were remarkable for their length and the intensity of the cold.

In the year 1794, just one hundred and twenty years ago, when Halifax was divided and apportioned, the features of the climate were harsh and rugged and the oldest inhabitants of Agricola's time who recalled the severity of the winters fifty years previously, narrated with a kind of touching pathos,

their sufferings from the rigour of the weather. The snow generally set in about November and continued often until May; the harbour was frozen over every winter at Halifax, and waggons and loads of hay, oxen and horse teams and the stage-coach, crossed it without the least danger. The peninsula of Halifax was so deeply buried in snow that fences were overtopped and no trace left of the inequality of the ground, the whole being one even glassy surface without break or impediment. The winter was steady and invariable, without any of the alternations of frost and thaws as observed at the period when he wrote, and he claimed that during the previous fifty years the climate had greatly meliorated, from various causes, chiefly because of the clearing of the land and the access of population, and yet at that time the population scarcely numbered 80,000.

From information gleaned from very old people some twenty-odd years ago, the winters in the early years of the century were very severe. The snow came in November and continued till the last of March, so that our dweller in the valley, who went to sleep a century ago, would experience a different climate on waking up at the present time, when we hardly have any snow till after Christmas, and your noble Harbour has long been freed from its icy fetters.

Some few remaining houses built in the early days of the century, tell us the sort of shelter which our forefathers had. Most of the houses were of one story, and low ceilinged, with very small windows. They had mostly high, pitched roofs giving an attic room, in which were stored the large spinning wheel and weaving loom. Some were long rambling structures, and appeared to have been added to from time to time, as the family increased in size.

But whatever the size of the dwellings, there was one feature which characterized them all. The kitchen was generally the largest and most important room in the house. Its floor was kept as white as sand and soap, with constant scrub-



bing, could make it. It was a matter of pride to keep it so, and on the floor would be laid platted mats, not hooked as now. They were circular in shape and displayed the good housewife's skill as one of the articles of domestic manufacture. In one corner stood the small spinning wheel for winter spinning. Among the few articles of tin-ware, then in general use, was the candle-mould, for making tallow candles, the only light then known, in the country districts, except a lamp made of brass or other metal, containing seal oil, which was used only on rare occasions. Near the fireplace was a small closet, high up out of the smaller children's reach, in which was kept a miscellaneous collection of dried herbs and other simples, in case of sickness, a bottle of opodeldo for aches and pains, some senna leaves and epsom salts, with perhaps a package of sulphur, to be used in the spring, with molasses, for cleansing the blood. On a shelf over the huge fireplace would be a pair or two of metal candle-sticks, with a tray and snuffers to match. The very well to do people had brass candlesticks of various patterns, which were kept brightly burnished by constant polishing.

A clock was rarely to be seen; a few families had eight-day ones, which were heir-looms in the family and stood as an ornament in the hall or otherwise in the best room. Sun-dials were used by some, and there are a few yet preserved as relics by descendants of some of the old families. Watches were not so common as now, few except the head of the family possessed one, and it was probably handed down from father to son, usually where there was no clock in the house, the watch hung on a nail over the kitchen fireplace. From thence on Sunday, it would be transferred to the pocket of the satin vest of the owner and piously carried to church.

The kitchen fire place remains to be described. Modern people can have no idea of this huge cavern for the consumption of wood. Three or four ordinary persons might comfortably seat themselves in some of them and yet not be crowded. In some of the very old houses scattered here and there through

the country they have been bricked up or removed to make way for modern requirements. At one side of the fireplace was attached an iron bar called a "crane," which swung in and out of the fireplace. It had iron hooks attached to it upon which were suspended iron pots for cooking purposes. Meats, game and poultry were not baked as at present, but roasted before the fire. The piece or round of beef, goose or turkey would be suspended on an iron spit made to revolve slowly before the fire. Back of the roast was placed a large tin shield, concaved to the fire, its polished surface reflecting the heat; while underneath was placed a large pan to catch the fast-dripping gravy, from which the cook from time to time, would baste the roast.

In winter, just before dark, the kitchen fire would be made up to last the next twenty-four hours. First a large hardwood log from three to four feet in length and about two feet thick would be rolled in, and placed comfortably at the back of the fireplace. This was called the back-log. On top of this, and resting against the back of the fireplace, was laid an ordinary-sized cordwood stick. In front and at some little distance from the back-log, supported on andirons, was placed another ordinary-sized cordwood stick. Under this would be raked the hot embers; a few dry chips thrown on them, and soon it would burn briskly, and the immense back-log, catching fire, would blaze away merrily, sending forth both light and heat through out the apartment, and from thence through the house.

In winter the evening meal was partaken of quite early, usually at about five o'clock, a long evening being desired. A favorite dish at this meal was composed of Indian cornmeal boiled with milk, which was called "saupon." Its excellence consisted not so much in its ingredients as in the manner of its preparation, which began immediately after the dinner. A goodly sized pot was nearly filled with sweet milk, into this was stirred meal made from home-grown corn sufficient to make a stiff batter, seasoned with salt. The pot was then hung on the crane over the fire, and allowed slowly to boil and



bubble all the afternoon till tea-time. It was then served with sugar and cream or milk. This with bread, made from wheat grown on the farm, carriway-seed biscuit, freshly baked, and home-made cheese, with milk as a drink for the younger members of the family, and a great dish of tea for the seniors, comprized the evening meal.

After tea on very cold or stormy nights all the family gathered in the kitchen, the cheerful glow from the fireplace furnishing light enough for the different occupations to which the evening hours were devoted. The boys did little or nothing except to dry and grease their coarse heavy boots in preparation for the next day's work in the woods, getting out timber and firewood. It was at this period that the districts of Granville and Clarence began to be cleared of the mighty trees, the beeches, the birches and the rock-maples, giving place later on to cultivated fields and miles and miles of orchard which now cover the slopes of the North Mountain range. But the boys were full of the lure of the wild and the incidents of the day in the snow-laden forests, and upon these their converse would run. One had discovered the lair of a fox and was going to set a trap the next day: another had seen the track of a racoon, or he had observed a wild-cat spring upon a luckless rabbit, he had not his gun with him or he would have had such a fine skin. Another with a sly look at Sister Susan busy at her spinning-wheel, would tell how Jim Bolzer, a neighbor's son, had met him on the way home with the last load of wood, and had said he intended being at the singing class next night, while Susan pretended not to hear the mention of her sweetheart's name as the blush on neck and cheek rivalled the red gold of her locks. Ah, happy Susan, pleasant be your dreams when you fall asleep thinking of the next singing class.

But knitting was the chief occupation of the female portion of the family. They knit the most beautiful socks and stockings, mits and gloves and underwear, of the softest yarn, spun from the wool of the flock on the farm. All the girls were taught

to knit and took pride in it, an accomplishment which today has almost ceased to exist.

There was very little reading matter in the majority of the houses, and but few books beyond the family Bible, the Book of Common Prayer in some instances, or Wesley's hymns and sermons, and mayhap a copy of the Pilgrim's Progress. In later years came Belcher's Farmer's Almanac, and in many houses some carefully preserve copies of Agricola's Letters. Among the generality of the people very little was known of the outside world, or even of our own province for that matter. Letter writing was very little practiced,—postage was very expensive and was regulated by the distance. The postage on a letter from Annapolis to Halifax cost sixpence, from Halifax to Quebec, 1 s. 8 d., to Montreal 2 s. 1 d., and to Toronto 2 s. 9 d.

Singing classes, as they were called, were a great source of amusement and recreation for the young people. Hence nearly all could read music, and there was no difficulty in congregational singing. The class would meet weekly at the different houses in the settlement and practice singing by notation. Generally in each settlement there would be some one advanced enough in music to be able to teach singing, and classes would be formed every winter for practice, sacred music being principally used. There were no organs, so the tuning-fork set the pitch of the tunes.

Besides the singing classes there were other gatherings of the people for the amusement and pleasure of both youth and age, but their character differed according as the company viewed the question of dancing. Among the staid and sober-minded friends the strict Baptists and Methodists, the afternoon tea was the fashion for the middle-aged and elderly people. The function was very unlike the afternoon teas of modern society. Very early in the afternoon, near three o'clock, the matrons would meet at the house to which they were invited, knitting or other light work in hand, bedecked in white lace caps and best gowns, the gown being made of silk, coboury



cloth or alpaca, according to the opulence of the wearer. The afternoon would be spent in pleasant gossip until tea was served at the usual family tea hours, at which time the matrons would be joined by their husbands and all would partake of the repast. After tea the men would quietly withdraw to the kitchen, when pipes and tobacco would be produced, and amid a halo of tobacco-smoke conversation became general. It would simply be local affairs and agricultural matters that would be discussed. Of the great world outside, little would be heard. There were then no daily morning newspapers of the city delivered at noon in the country post-office as we have them today. The Halifax "Herald" had not been born and its older rival, the "Morning Chronicle," was still in the womb of time. Nor can I learn of any newspaper circulating in the province, except it might be a stray copy of the "Acadian Recorder."

Evening parties for the young were held after tea, at which games and forfeits were the dissipation indulged in. But among that class of people who did not regard dancing as wicked, "frolics" as they were called were frequently held, at which dancing was the chief, if not the only pastime. Round dances were unknown, but "eights" and "reels" and "fours" were indulged in with a zest that nothing seemed to tire. The "frolic" began early and was kept up till a late hour. There was generally in the neighborhood some one who could play the violin, and whose stock of tunes consisted of "The Flowers of Edinboro," the "Soldier's Joy," "Old Dan Tucker," and "Catch the Squirrel." At midnight there would be a halt in the dancing and supper would be partaken of, and oh, such a supper,—the biggest turkey, the fattest goose, with roast chickens and a round of beef, flanked on each side by huge piles of mashed potatoes and gravy, followed by delicious mince and apple-pies, displaying the culinary perfection of the rural hostess. And such appetites, such fun and jollity, such joking and rare country wit, followed by explosions of hearty laughter as would make the rafters in the old kitchen ring again! Such

ogling on the part of the country swains, such flirting on the part of the rural belles! Oh dear, I wonder if our modern balls and dances can shew the like as compared with the old-time frolic?

After supper for a half hour or so, would come the opportunity of the old folk to shew their accomplishment in dancing, while the younger people looked on. The oldest of the guests would take their place on the floor in eights and fours. Matrons of three-score-and-ten would vis-a-viz with octogenarian patriarchs, and to them for a short while the days of youth would seem to come back as three-score-and-ten curtesied with old-time grace to octogenarian bows. And how the youths and maidens would laugh and clap their hands as the old folk, galvanized by the excitement and pleasure of the moment, would show the young folk how much better and prettier the dances were stepped in their day than in that modern time!

But there were other gatherings of a different character. Death would visit the neighborhood, and again the old farmhouse would be filled with self-invited guests. It was then considered a sacred duty to attend the funeral of a neighbor. There were no flowers used to relieve the gloom of the occasion, but no deeper sympathy could be shown. Nor was there any regular undertaker in those early days. The local carpenter would make the coffin generally of pine-wood stained with black. Nor were there stately hearses with sable plumes such as you find in the country today; but kind neighbors bore the remains on a simple hand-bier to the newly-made grave close by in the little graveyard on the farm. On many old farms in the country, can yet be seen those little cemeteries where sleep the dust of generations of owners. This old custom of burial on the farm has been given up and public cemeteries are now used.

The limit of this paper will not permit me to give at any length many more of the customs of the olden time. A respectable volume could be written from material gathered



many years ago from old people who have since passed away. Otherwise I might tell you of the weddings in the rural district a century ago; of the material of the bride's dress and its cost; of the wreath of artificial flowers, prepared by the hands of her maiden friends, which crowned the bride in lieu of a bridal veil. How the bride was taken home the morning after the evening wedding, with a great procession of relatives, friends and neighbors, mounted on horseback or riding in the vehicles of the time. How on the day following, would be sent from the old homestead to the bride's new home, the bride's dot or portion as it was named, being so many milch cows, sheep, pigs and poultry, half a dozen chairs, and a miscellaneous collection of articles to set up housekeeping, according to the wealth of her family and relatives; also the boxes of linen sheets, pillow-cases and table linen, all homemade from flax grown on the farm, by frequent bleaching made as white as the driven snow, and redolent with the perfume of the dried sweet-grass plucked during the last autumn from the neighboring woods; of the feather beds and pillows; of the counterpane and quilts, the latter made by the bride's own hand many years previously in anticipation of the event.

Then I should like to tell you of the pedlar period, especially of the one on foot with a pack on his back, travelling from house to house with his wares of ribbons, laces, pins, needles, spools of thread, and cheap jewelry. He was always a welcome guest, not alone for the useful articles he supplied, but for the news of the countryside which he brought with him. Of the clock mender, the original of "Sam Slick" of the wool buyer with his great caravan of tin-ware, giving it in exchange with cash for the wool of the farmer which was exported from the country to supply foreign lands, of the cattle buyer or driver for the city.

Then I would like to describe the manner of conducting political elections in the old time; of the open houses where meat and drink was supplied at the cost of the unfortunate candidate for parliamentary honors; of voters stolen from the

other side of hiding them in attics and barns, getting them drunk and keeping them so until the day of the election, when they would be produced and made to vote against their own party; of the bloody fights in the vicinity of the poll while the election was proceeding, produced by the distribution of free rum which was then permitted; of the flags, the ribbons and the mottoes; of the cheering of the crowd as the state of the poll was announced from time to time, because it was open voting then.

Also reference should be made to trips at intervals during the year; to the market in Halifax to sell the produce of the farm, especially in the winter time. Of the preparations made the day before, for the start in the early morning hours, long before daylight, with the stars gleaming in the clear cold atmosphere and the frosty snow crunching under the iron-shod runners of the sleds, loaded to their utmost capacity. Of the two or three days journey going and coming from the city. Of the wayside Inns along the country roads and their comfort and convenience for the traveller. Then the week or so spent by the farmer at the country market in the role of his own salesman, his own commission merchant. How in the latter years of the century about the seventies, there arose a class of people called "middlemen," speculators who bought out the farmers' products wholesale and retailed them at a profit, whereat great complaints were heard on the part of the citizens of Halifax at the practice. Articles appeared in the press condemning this practice, and it was seriously thought of passing a law to prevent it. Vain idea, it could no more be stopped than the resistless tide. It was the march of progress; it was the inevitable change in the mode of commerce between the town and country, consequent upon the introduction of railways with increased transportation facilities and the extension of branch banks to every town in the province. To the middleman, succeeded the produce-buyer and commission agent of the present day, with greater facilities for insuring a constant supply of the country produce and food for the consumption

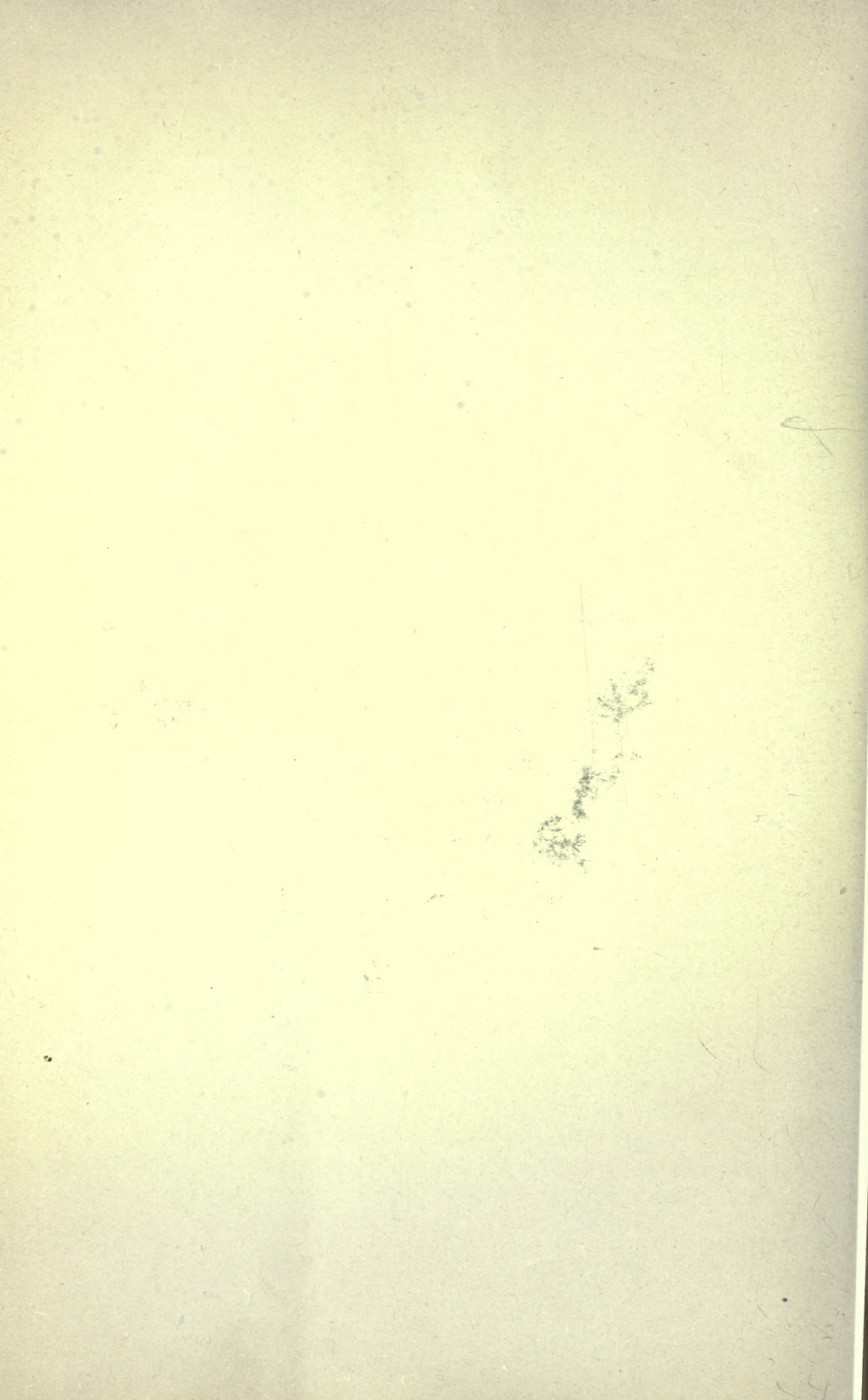




**COLONEL JAMES POYNTZ, Late H. M. 39th Regt.  
Born 1799, Died 1889.**

*[From photograph taken about 1879].*

*[To face page 46.]*





of the city and relieving the public from the fear of a shortness of country produce which often occurred when depending upon the haphazard journeys of farmers in taking his own produce to market. Today the farmer never carries his products to the market; he sells it right at the farm, and ships it at the nearest railway station to his agent in Halifax, then goes to one of the Branch banks, makes a draft on his consignee and in a day or two draws his money, so that the modern way of doing business between town and country is alike preferable to the agricultural classes in the country, as well as of advantage to the consumer in the city.

But to return to Bridgetown. The town had advanced with the growth of the country, and the period of the forties had arrived. At this period there was in the town a refined and cultivated society whose leaders set an example and exercised an influence for good which more or less affected all classes. Among the acknowledged leaders were three ladies preeminent for their good works. First there was a Mrs. Haszard, a Scotch lady of large means; second her daughter, Mrs. Robertson, wife of the Revd. Dr. Robertson, at that time acting episcopal minister in the town; and third Mrs. Poyntz, wife of Lieutenant Colonel James Poyntz, a retired army officer. To these ladies was mainly due the pleasant condition of affairs which happily existed. The cultivation of literature and music among the younger portion of society was encouraged and stimulated by the musical and literary parties held at the houses of these and other residents.

In winter these weekly entertainments were varied by parties at which, after supper, dancing was moderately indulged in by the youthful members, while the elders lingered at the table and related stories and witty anecdotes or sang some of the long old-fashioned ballads which existed in that day. Each guest was expected to contribute something to the evening's amusement, Colonel Poyntz being an excellent performer on the flute, frequently delighted the guests with his skill on this instrument.

*Biographical Sketch of Lieut.-Colonel James Poyntz, 1799-1889.*

It is fitting that I should close this paper with a sketch of this familiar figure in the social life of the town some sixty odd years ago. On all sides I have heard the highest encomiums of this gentleman, his kindly manner, his friendly greeting to all and hearty handgrasp on meeting even casual acquaintances, have been spoken of by those who remembered him. Of a ripe experience, gained through travel in many lands and long acquaintance with men of all ranks, Colonel Poyntz's advice was sought by his friends on occasions of difficulty and his readiness to help and assist those in trouble endeared him to all. Of a robust constitution, he was abroad in all weathers and was frequently met taking his constitutional up the mountain side or along the dykes of the river, the latter being his favorite walk. All the country side knew the tall military gentleman who walked the country roads as though on the line of march. Then a certain romantic interest attended him. The Peninsula War was not so far off as now—he had fought in the wars, had served under the great Wellington, and had helped to defeat Bonaparte. Besides he had memories to relate of Albuera, of Busaco, and the deadly breach at Badajoz, names glorious on Britain's roll of honor. This gave him an interest which otherwise would have been wanting.

Colonel Poyntz had been a soldier from early youth. His family had long been connected with the army. His birth took place in the English Channel, on board a troopship, in the year 1799, while his father and mother were on their way to a government appointment, and at the time when Europe was the theatre of the French Revolutionary wars, and England was contending with a world in arms.

In 1811 he had grown to be a youth of twelve; strong, hearty, and giving promise of a vigorous manhood. His predilections were all for the army. His first breath had been drawn amid preparations for war and his early childhood was associated with the profession of arms. England was still



contending with France, and the martial zeal of the youth of Britain was fired by the feats of arms displayed by the army in Spain. The disasters of Corunna had been effaced by the splendid victories of Talavera and Salamanca. Young Poyntz volunteered for active service, and was attached to the 30th Regiment of Foot, then at Torres Vedras, forming part of the fifth division of the army under Wellington. With the Fighting Fifth, as they were called, he saw much service in outpost duty and frequent sorties, and thus early studied the art of war in that best of all schools, active warfare. Shortly after he joined, the British, bursting from the lines of Torres Vedras, pursued the retreating French under Marshal Massena, during which were fought the hotly contested battles of Subjugal, Almcida, and Fuentes d'Onor, ending with the investment of Badajoz. Here for a time was stayed the onward course of the British. At length, the breaches being reported practicable, Wellington determined to take it by storm in April, 1812. Young Poyntz was present when the orders of the day, containing the dispositions for the assault were read to the troops assigned to the desperate service. Who, that has read Napier's description of that terrible storm, can surmise what must have been the thoughts of the young lad of twelve, as he stood in the ranks of the British host and heard the memorable words, "Badajoz must be taken by storm to-night," with which the orders of the day began. Badajoz was taken by storm that night, and among the five thousand who there died, were many young lads on whose cheek mantled the flush of military glory, only to fade in the paleness of death ere the morning. Preserved from the deadly mine which blew up the leading files of the fourth division, the muddy waters of the moat in which miserably perished hundreds of the survivors of Albuera, and many other dangers, young Poyntz came through the assault unscathed.

For his services he was sent by the Government to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, where he qualified for a commission, and on 14th April, 1814, was appointed to an

ensigny in the same regiment in which he had served as a volunteer. In 1814 he applied to join his regiment, then in France with the army of occupation. His application was in some way delayed and therefore, as he writes in one of his private memos, "I was not at Waterloo." Fortunate, perhaps, for him that it was so, as the young officer who took his place and bore the colors of the regiment was shot dead in the first charge which the regiment made that day.

At the conclusion of the war Poyntz served with his regiment in England until 1818 when he was ordered to India, where he remained eleven years. While in India he gained promotion, at that time necessarily slow in the army, being on 28th Dec., 1828, commissioned Captain. Here, also, he met with the lady who became his life companion and faithful, loving wife. She was the daughter of an officer, high in command in India. Returning to England in 1829, he remained there until 1834 when he embarked with his regiment for Bermuda, where, remaining seven years he filled important staff appointments. On 23rd November, 1841, he was commissioned major.

On 29th November, 1841, he arrived at Halifax, Nova Scotia, with the 30th Regiment. On 2nd June, 1842, he proceeded with the regiment to New Brunswick, where the corps was stationed till December, 1843.

It was while in New Brunswick that, hearing much of the beauty of the Annapolis Valley, he determined to have a look at it. With Poyntz to resolve anything, was to carry it out, so taking passage on a small coasting schooner, after a quick trip across the Bay of Fundy, he landed at Hampton on the Bay Shore. There was no conveyance handy to drive him to the valley, but walking to him was only a pastime. So enquiring the way, he proceeded on foot over the mountain to Bridgetown, a distance of seven miles from Hampton. On reaching that part of the road which overlooks the valley, he was entranced with the beauty of the scene which lay almost



at the feet of the spectator. It was a lovely morn in June and the air was redolent with the perfume of the apple blossom. About fifteen miles to the right could be seen the Annapolis Basin with the old historic town on one side and Digby on the other. From thence up the valley and away to the left was a succession of farms in smiling plenty, dotted with quaint farm houses and orchards in bloom, between fields of growing grain. The mountain ranges, north and south, were covered with the fresh verdure of early summer, while dividing the fruitful land in sinuous winding was the river which has given to the valley its fertility; its tidal waters at the flood lapping the dykes which the industry of man had reared to form the marshes, then, as now a great source of rural wealth. As our traveler stood and gazed on the scene before him there came to him the longing desire to carry out what he had for some time contemplated, retirement from long active service and the enjoyment of a well-earned repose, to which a long and honorable record in the service of his country justly entitled him. To him, accustomed to the changes of a soldier's life, the idea of a settled home, with opportunities of personal attentions to the education of his children, were advantages of such tempting nature as to be irresistible. Hence the resolve, shortly afterwards carried out, to abandon forever the excitement and work of military service and spend the remainder of his days in ease and retirement.

An hour's brisk walk down the mountain road, brought him to Bridgetown, and he found himself in the quiet enjoyment of a dinner at Quirk's Hotel, the chief hostelry of the town. The afternoon and several days following were spent in exploring the vicinity and noting its points of beauty. The long lines of elms and other trees, recently set out, adorning the principal streets, the garden plots in front of the houses, with the well-trimmed hedges and neat fences of the suburban residences, and the busy aspect of the town struck his fancy. The appearance of a distinguished stranger, such as Major Poyntz, in the town, naturally caused more attention sixty

years ago than at present when summer tourists are more numerous. With a friendly and frank personality like his, it was not long for him to make the acquaintance and be invited to partake of the hospitality of the principal families. Here then he determined to make his future home. As he said to one of my informants, "I found in Bridgetown an excellent school, a church and a cultivated minister of the Gospel, one earnest in purpose and work, and a thorough scholar and gentleman; all the comforts of town life with none of the expences attendant upon a city residence. These were the considerations which induced me to reside here."

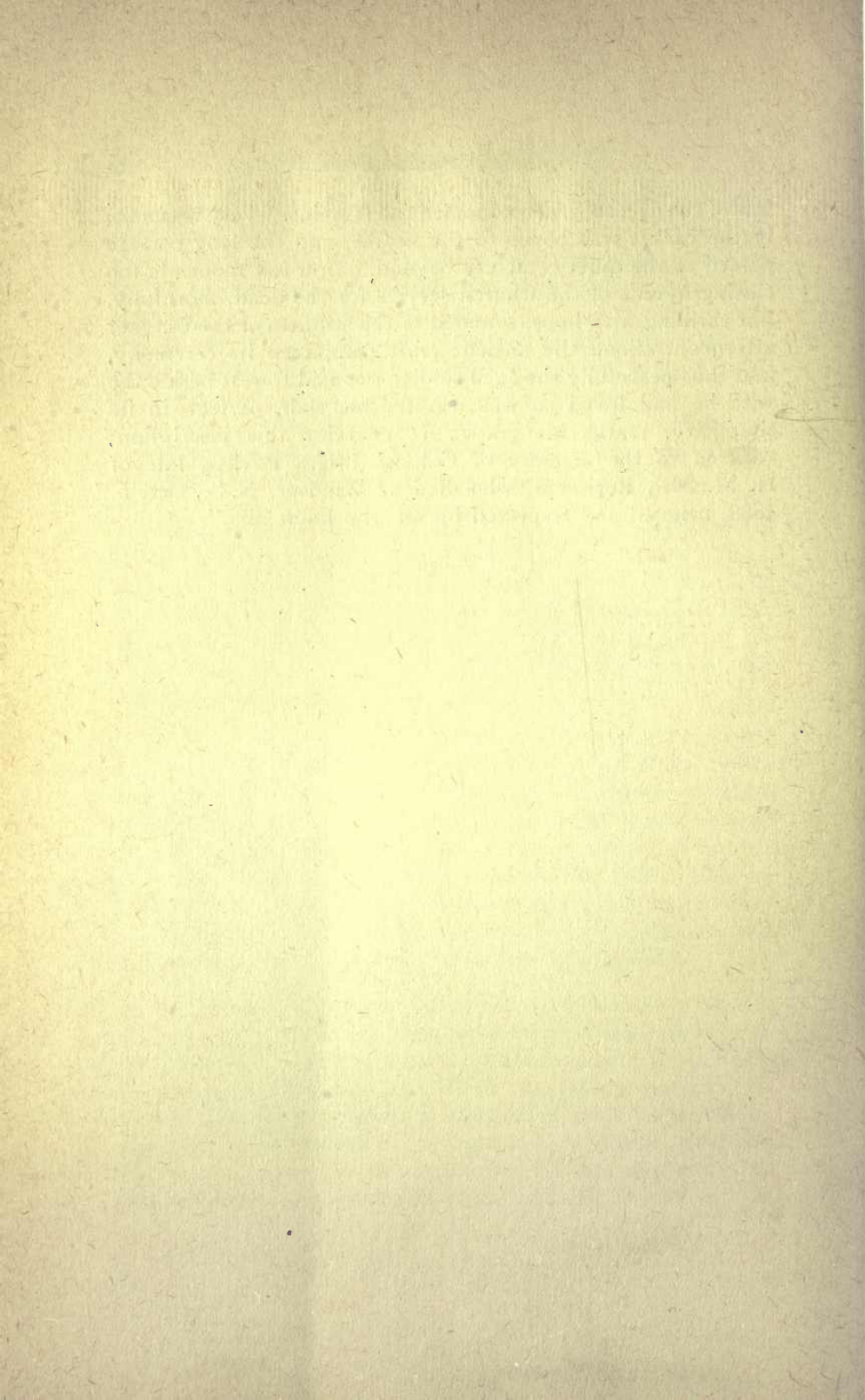
His application to be allowed to retire met with success on the 6th September, 1844, and his long service gained him a retiring allowance on full pay. Some years afterwards he received the Peninsular War medal which was issued in 1848, with an autograph letter from his old commander, the Duke of Wellington, on 28th November, 1854, he received the honorary rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Colonel Poyntz resided at Bridgetown for many years, and closely identified himself with the interest of the place. Here some of his family grew up to manhood and womanhood. Here some of his boys died and are buried in the quiet country churchyard, and here befell him the great sorrow of his life in the loss of his estimable wife, who died in 1859. Here he laid her to rest, and when a few years afterwards he removed to Windsor he never failed once a year to visit her grave, and to spend a week in the town renewing old friendships.

One pleasant afternoon in October, 1889, a large concourse of people gathered at the Dominion Atlantic Railway Station across the river. Among them were the members of the Rothsay Lodge of Free Masons. Their crape-draped regalia indicated that the funeral of a member of their Lodge would take place on the arrival of the train from Windsor. A casket was removed from the car, containing all that was mortal of James Poyntz. An aged clergyman, Rev. H. Stamer, son-in-



law of the deceased, accompanied the remains. Very reverently the casket was borne to the hearse, and the long cortege passed to the quiet cemetery beyond. In a few moments the closing hymns of the Church service for the dead, mournfully, but thrilling with hope, sounded in the stillness of the October afternoon. Soon the ancient craft completed its ceremony, and thus peacefully the aged soldier was laid to rest beside the wife he had loved so well. A marble slab, perfect in its simplicity, marks his grave. It contains this inscription; "Sacred to the memory of Colonel James Poyntz, late of H. M. 30th Regiment, who died at Windsor, N. S., Oct. 5, 1889, beloved and respected by all who knew him."





## THE EARLY POST OFFICE IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1755-1867.

By WILLIAM SMITH, I. S. O.

Archivist Post Office of Canada (1902), now of the Public Archives of Canada.

(Read 3rd November, 1916).

It was with much pleasure that I accepted the invitation with which your president honoured me, to read a paper before your society on the early Post Office in Nova Scotia. There are two reasons for my pleasure. During my connection with the Post Office Department it was my good fortune to visit Halifax rather frequently. These visits were always looked forward to as enjoyable little breaks in the monotony of my life at the desk. The *esprit du corps* which happily reigns throughout the whole postal service, nowhere exercises a stronger influence than in Halifax, and the visitor from Ottawa could depend on a greeting marked by the utmost good will. I would be chargeable with disloyalty to old friendships, if (to mention only those officers who have passed into history), I neglected the opportunity of speaking of the many pleasant and profitable hours I have spent in rambling about the Province in the company of the Inspector Colonel Macdonald, or in chatting with Mr. Blackadar, the Postmaster, in the contracted quarters in which for so many years he was obliged to cabin his ample spirit.

My second reason for pleasure is that in Halifax I am at the beginning of things. It was in this city that *the first office was established in the present Dominion of Canada*. Since, so far as I am aware, there exists no official record of the opening of this office, I will perhaps be pardoned if I relate the circumstance connected with my obtaining this information. While in Boston some years ago, collecting material for the history of the post office, I was invited to call upon a gentleman, who

had written a good deal on the subject, and with whom I had had some correspondence. He was a German—his name told me that much—but on presenting myself at his house on a Sunday morning, I was rather surprised to find myself before a gentleman, who without any change of appearance, might have taken the part of the earlier Faust. He was tall, thin and very grey, and bore himself with a stoop entirely in keeping with the vellum-covered Latin volume in his hand. The volume was one of the twelve, which contained the philosophy of Duns Scotus; and I understood him to say that he was reading the book to improve his English, which, I should add, was remarkably good. He began the conversation with the abrupt question, "which was the oldest post office in Canada?" Promptly I replied "Quebec." He shook his head. "But" I argued "Quebec post office was established in 1763, the very year in which the Treaty of Paris was concluded. "True" he admitted "but Halifax post office was opened eight years earlier (1755)." He knew nothing of the circumstances, but he had seen the fact noted in the Boston Evening Post of that year, which settled the matter. I obtained no further light on this point, until a year later when I was in the Record Office in London, still in pursuit of Post Office material. There I came upon the complete story. You will remember that in 1755, affairs between the French and the English on this continent were approaching a crisis. Expedition and counter-expedition carried out on both sides with ruthless severity kept the Colonies in a state of alarm, and appeals were made to the Mother Country to establish a regular packet service, in order to maintain a closer connection than at that time existed between the two sides of the Atlantic. The British Government boggled at the expense, until Braddock's defeat and the annihilation of his army compelled them to attend to the wishes of the distressed colonists. The Governors of the Atlantic States, including Lawrence of Nova Scotia, addressed a joint appeal to the Home Government, who no longer hesitated. With the establishment of the packet service, a post office was opened in Halifax, and its correspondence with the Mother



Country was carried on by way of New York or Boston, with which ports Halifax had frequent communication by war or merchant vessel.

With this fact begins and ends the history of the Post Office in Nova Scotia for thirty-two years. It was not until the war of the Revolution was over, and the Loyalists had settled themselves dispersedly throughout the Province, that the next chapter opens. It must not be supposed, however, that the settlements which were formed at a distance from Halifax during the period preceding the incoming of the Loyalists were as isolated as the absence of regular postal communication would seem to indicate. In 1767, there were upwards of 13,000 people in the old province of Nova Scotia, and of these only 3,000 dwelt in or about Halifax. The remaining 10,000 were scattered in groups, mainly along the Atlantic coast, or on the shores of the Bay of Fundy. The settlements on the Atlantic were within easy reach of Halifax by means of the sailing vessels running in or out of that port, while those on the Bay of Fundy had equal facilities for going to Windsor, which was connected with the capital by a road made by the Acadians shortly after the city was founded.

Indeed, to the fishing and farming folk who made up these settlements, the Post Office at that time might have proved but a doubtful blessing. Wherever the Post Office chose to advance its lines, it carried with it its monopoly of letter carrying, and as its charges were excessively high, the people may well have preferred to its services the opportunities of receiving or posting their letters, which were afforded by the occasional visits they or their neighbors made to Halifax. There is no evidence that the people living in the outlying parts of the province sought the intervention of the Post Office in carrying on their affairs. When the postal service was first established in Nova Scotia, the aim of the Postmaster General was not primarily the accommodation of the people of the province. It was designed rather as part of a great intercolonial system, binding the settlers in Upper Canada with those of Lower

Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and by means of sailing packets, bringing them all into communication with the Mother Country by what would today be described as an All Red Route.

Until the War of the Revolution broke out, the old province of Quebec carried on its correspondence with Great Britain by a mail courier who travelled between Montreal and New York, where connection was made with the sailing packets from Falmouth, in Cornwall. That communication ceased on the opening of the War, and during the eight years which ensued, the exchange of correspondence between Montreal and Quebec, and Great Britain was limited to such war vessels as happened to come to Quebec, and to occasional trips by military expresses over the land route between Quebec and Halifax. In 1778, trips were made with more or less regularity by a vessel, "The Mercury," plying between Quebec and Tatamagouche, from which point the mails were carried by messenger to Halifax. During the course of the War, the Governor of Nova Scotia recommended the opening of a regular packet service between England and Halifax, but the Home authorities believed this to be impracticable owing to the activities of the American privateers. No doubt, however, was entertained that with the return of peace this reasonable proposal would go into effect.

But this was not the case. Immediately after the Treaty of Paris was signed, which gave the Americans their independence, Lord North wrote to the Governor of Nova Scotia, expressing his belief that the separation of the older colonies would enhance the importance of Halifax, which would be the rendezvous of the fleet, and stating that application was about to be made to the Postmaster General for a regular line of mail packets between Halifax and England. To the general surprise, however, the Post Office, before the end of 1783, reopened the communication with New York, and Halifax remained a dependency, so far as the exchange of correspondence was concerned, on what had become a foreign port. In 1785, a



remonstrance was made by the merchants of Halifax, against this injurious state of things, but without immediate result.

What proved too difficult for Nova Scotia alone, however, yielded to the joint pressure of all the colonies. When the packet service between Halifax and Falmouth was resumed, the Canadians proposed to take advantage of it by reopening the route between Montreal and New York, but the Americans threw obstacles in the way. They did not absolutely forbid intercourse between England and Canada across American territory, but they hindered it to the point that the Canadians felt constrained to make a trial of the longer and more arduous route from Quebec to Halifax. First of all, however, it was necessary to Canada that Great Britain should concede what Nova Scotia had been striving for. Until there was a regular exchange of mails by sailing packets between Halifax and a port in England, it was of no use for Canada to send her English mails to Halifax. Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, opened the correspondence on the subject by informing Lord Sydney, the Colonial Secretary, that by his direction Hugh Finlay, the Deputy Postmaster General of Canada, had travelled over the route from Quebec to Halifax, and had arranged with the Deputy Postmasters General of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for the continuous conveyance of the mails between Quebec and Halifax, adding that all that remained to be done, was for the Postmaster General to direct that the packets should call at Halifax. Sydney expressed his approval of the steps taken by Dorchester to establish regular communication between the several ports of his government, and promised that packets should be despatched to Halifax as frequently as circumstances would permit, though he feared that the expense would preclude regular trips for the time. Lieutenant Governor Parr made a further appeal, which appeared to clench the matter, for on the 18th September, 1787, the Postmaster General advertised that, commencing the following March, monthly trips would be made between an English port and Halifax from March to October of each year. The Admiralty would

not agree to the packets going to Halifax during the winter, declaring that during that period the winds off the coast of Nova Scotia were so contrary that no regular service could be maintained. During the winter months, the mails from England for Nova Scotia were carried to New York and thence forwarded to Boston, where they were placed on board a schooner for Halifax.

The inland conveyance, from Quebec to Halifax followed the route along the St. Lawrence and the St. John rivers to the city of St. John; thence across the bay of Fundy and on to Halifax. Post Offices were opened along the route in Nova Scotia at Digby, Annapolis, Horton (later Wolfville) and Windsor. Finlay in his report stated that the road from Annapolis to Halifax was rough, but that the journey was made in one horse chair in three days and by horseback in two. The courier employed by Mr. Joseph Peters travelled on foot. On arriving at the Annapolis basin, the courier handed over his bag to the captain of the packet "Sally," who delivered it at St. John, whence the Postmaster sent it on its way north.

This route from Halifax to Annapolis remained for many years the only one over which mails were carried. It was not until the outbreak of the War of 1812 that the postal service was extended beyond this route.

Before describing the extensions and arrangements by which they were maintained, it may be well to state what I have been able to gather as to the postal administrators during this early period. The records for this time are defective, and I have had to depend upon almanacs and other casual sources of information for the names of the deputy postmasters-general before 1800. Joseph Peters, who died in 1800, stated not long before his death that he had taken the office of deputy postmaster-general about seventeen years before—that is in 1782 or 3—at the pressing instance of his predecessor, James Stevens. How long Stevens occupied the office, and whether he was the first incumbent, I have not so far ascertained. Joseph Peters,



who died on 13th February, 1800, aged 73 years, was succeeded by James Brittain who had been private secretary to the Duke of Kent. John Howe followed Brittain, his appointment dating from the 6th August, 1803.

In sketching the outlines of the postal service as it gradually spread itself over the province, we have the advantage of the elaborate reports made by Howe to the Postmaster General of England. When the War of 1812 opened, it became necessary for the courier, who carried the mails for Quebec, to abandon the route through the western counties, and the packet service between Annapolis and St. John. The route thereafter pursued was through the settlements of Truro and Cumberland (afterwards Amherst) and a bye-route was established between Truro and Pictou. At the close of the war, the courier reverted to the western route, but the superiority of the overland route was so manifest that it was resumed in January, 1817, and thereafter it continued to be the regular course so long as mails were conveyed by horse and vehicle between Halifax and Quebec. For a few years after the close of the war there was great activity in extending the postal service throughout the province. The impulse seems to have been imparted by the Governors Prevost and Sherbrooke. To them it was of great importance to be able to communicate easily with the Militia centres in the several parts of the province. They impressed their views upon Howe, who would willingly have met their wishes, but he laboured under serious restrictions. He was distinctly forbidden by the Postmaster General in London to enter upon any scheme, which would involve any considerable expense, and there were few, if any, routes, outside the great intercolonial route which would not cost much more for couriers and postmasters than the amount of revenue to be derived therefrom. The governors thereupon turned to the legislature for assistance. I should have mentioned before, what perhaps by this time will be inferred, that the Provincial Post Office was quite beyond the jurisdiction or control of either governor or legislature. The deputy postmaster general was responsible to the postmaster

general of England, and to him alone. The provincial system was neither more nor less than a branch of the General Post Office, whose headquarters were in London. In Upper and Lower Canada, this state of things led to much clashing of authority. On one occasion a deputy postmaster general of Canada was harried out of his office because he refused to accept the orders of the governor, though his master, the Postmaster General, maintained that his deputy had done no more than his duty. On another occasion, the deputy postmaster general came in for sharp censure, because he had opened a new, though not very expensive route; and it was not admitted as a palliation by the authorities at home, that his action was taken at the express and urgent request of the governor. Indeed, the management of the post office in Upper and Lower Canada, was not the least of the grievances that precipitated the rebellion of 1837.

That the Post Office in Nova Scotia managed to steer clear of these embroilments is to some extent a tribute to the tact of the two Howe's, father and son, who between them administered its affairs for 40 years. The Post Office in Nova Scotia never seemed, as it did in the Canadas, to be imposed on the province. From the beginning it was accepted for what it is: an agency indispensable to the varied activities of a civilized state. In Canada the Post Office was not merely an institution for the conveyance and delivery of correspondence. It was, also—and herein is where it differed from the Post Office in Nova Scotia—a considerable revenue getter. The long route between Wuebec and Amherstburg was a very profitable one, and some thousands of pounds were sent annually by the deputy postmaster general to the Treasury in England not to be appropriated to Canadian purposes, but to form part of the general revenue of the United Kingdom. The Assemblies in Upper and Lower Canada not unnaturally demanded that the surpluses should be devoted to extending and improving the postal service in other parts of the country, and prepared reports designed to show that the course of the British Post Office in



taking these sums annually from the country was violating the principles of the acts of 1778 and 1791, as regards taxation of the colonies by the Mother Country. The validity of the argument was disputed by the Postmaster General, but some years later, it was admitted to its full extent by the Law Officers of the Crown. The friction engendered developed into an attitude of active hostility on the part of the Legislature against the Post Office and made impossible the cooperation between the two which was so carefully nurtured in Nova Scotia.

In this Province, the Legislature appointed a standing committee to deal with postal matters, much resembling the Post Roads Committee of Congress. The functions of the Committee included the consideration of all applications for post offices, and post routes; and the settlement of the amounts of the subsidies by which the deficiencies in the revenues from the several routes were made up. All this work was done in close cooperation with the deputy postmaster general.

These arrangements, creditable alike to the Legislature and the deputy postmaster general, led to the expansion of the postal system to all the principal parts of the province. In 1817, the year before the elder Howe retired, there were regularly established services on routes, through the Western Counties to Digby, thence on to Yarmouth and Shelburne; from Halifax to the New Brunswick boundary at Westmorland; and from Truro to Pictou and on to Antigonish, which was the distributing point for all the eastern Harbours and settlements. So energetically and prudently had Howe managed the postal affairs of the Province, that on his retirement in 1818 in favour of his son John, he took with him the warm commendations of the Lieutenant Governors, Sir John Sherbrooke and the Earl of Dalhousie and the hearty good will of the Secretary of the General Post Office.

The postage rates within the system thus established was very high. It was fixed by an Imperial act of 1765. To mention only some of the principal charges, the sum necessary to

carry a single letter—that is a single sheet of paper weighing less than an ounce from Halifax to Windsor—was four pence; to Annapolis nine pence; to Yarmouth one shilling one penny half penny; to Truro five pence; to Antigonish eleven pence; and to Cumberland (or Amherst) nine pence. As stated, these were the charges for single letters. If within the folds of the single sheet of which a single letter consisted, another paper were enclosed—no matter how small—the letter became a double letter, and the charge was doubled. A second enclosure rendered the letter subject to a charge three times as great as for the single letter. If the letter contained three enclosures or weighed as much as an ounce, the charge was quadrupled. Thus an ounce letter on which the postage today would be four cents if sent from Halifax to Windsor in 1818 cost sixteen pence; to Yarmouth, four shillings and six pence; to Cumberland, three shillings; and to Antigonish, three shillings and eight pence. These rates remained unchanged in any way until the system of charging according to the number of enclosures gave way to the present system of charging by weight; and between that date and 1851, the rates themselves were unaltered, the only difference being that they were applied to letters weighing up to half an ounce, instead of to letters consisting of a single sheet.

The arrangements for the conveyance of newspapers were curious, and to understand them a glance back into the history of the British Post Office is necessary. The statute regulating the Post Office in Great Britain and its Colonies was 9 Anne, Chap. 10. When it was enacted, newspapers were few and their development unforeseen; consequently no special provision was made for their conveyance by the Post Office, and if sent in ordinary course they would be subject to the charges on letters. That was out of the question. Imagine sending the Acadian Recorder by post to Annapolis, at a cost of four shillings and six pence a copy! It would be supposed that the remedy for the difficulty would be simple. The act of Queen Anne could be amended by the addition of a clause, providing



for newspapers. But there was an invincible reluctance to bringing this act before Parliament. It might suffer mutilation at the hands of reforming members. If newspapers must be sent by post—and it was plain they must—ingenuity would have to be resorted to. A plan was devised, which must have amused a honourous public, but which was highly profitable to certain servants of the Post Office. A few of the officials, including the Secretary of the Post Office and others known as Clerks of the Road, had bestowed on them the right to frank newspapers, and armed with this right they made bargains with the printers for the transmission of newspapers to all parts of the country, at rates fixed by the officials possessing the franking privilege. The revenue from this business passed, not into the public treasury, but into the pockets of the officials concerned. About 1830, when this plan was brought to an end, and statutory arrangements made for the conveyance of newspapers, the Secretary of the Post Office made £3000 sterling a year from this source alone. The Deputy Postmaster General of Canada thrived mightily under this system. In 1838 Stayner whose official salary was £500 sterling, had a total income of £3053 sterling and of that he took £2103 from the business of newspaper delivery. This was one of the most potent of the causes of the public dissatisfaction with the Post Office.

In Nova Scotia the same state of things existed, but owing to two reasons, popular indignation did not fall on the head of Howe, as it did upon that of Stayner. In the first place, owing to the limited extent of the newspaper business in Nova Scotia, Howe's revenue from this source was not great enough to shock the legislature; in the second, he had sedulously cultivated the good will of the Assembly; and the disposition of that body was to forward rather than to thwart his interests. But the situation in Nova Scotia presented certain peculiar features. In 1833, the proprietors of the Acadian Recorder and the Free Press presented a memorial to the Lieutenant Governor, setting forth their grievance. They were the victims of gross discrimination. The allegation was that Mr. Howe, besides

being Deputy Postmaster General, was King's Printer, and as such had a monopoly of the Government printing. He was also stated to be, either directly or indirectly interested in every paper published in the Province, except the Acadian Recorder and the Free Press. As a consequence of this interest, the Nova Scotian, the Journal, the Acadian and the Royal Gazette were distributed in all parts of the Province free of postage, while every copy of the Recorder and the Free Press sent by post was subjected to a charge of two shillings and six pence a year. The petitioning publishers received little sympathy from the Postmaster General. It was argued that the charges were not illegal, and that, as they had been in operation since the beginnings of the Post Office in Nova Scotia, the publishers must have entered into business with the full knowledge of the charge to which they would be liable. It is interesting at this point, to learn that Joseph Howe assisted his brother the Deputy Postmaster General, for three or four years discharging the duties of clerk, and for eleven months, during the absence of the Deputy Postmaster General in England, Joseph Howe took full charge of the Department.

In 1834, Nova Scotia was drawn into the disputes between the Canadas and the Home Government respecting the control of the postal system in those provinces. For a dozen years past, the Assemblies of Upper and Lower Canada had questioned the right of the British Post Office to dispose of the surplus postal revenues, drawn from those provinces. They based elaborate legal arguments upon the Declaratory act of 1778, which was incorporated into the Canada Constitutional act of 1791. By this act, Great Britain declared that no taxes should be imposed upon any of the colonies by the King and Parliament, except such as were necessary for the regulation of commerce; and that in the case of such taxes the proceeds should be appropriated for provincial and not for imperial purposes. The Assemblies insisted that the surplus postal revenues came within the scope of this act. The case for the Postmaster General was not without its arguable aspects, but



he was not impressed with their strength and consequently directed that the papers be put away. This agitation which was started in 1821, gathered strength as time went on, and in 1832, the Postmaster General became convinced that it was necessary to examine its merits. He sent the papers to the Law Officers of the Crown, and was advised by them that "it would not be safe to agitate the question as one of law with the colony" and if it could be so discussed they were of opinion that the Postmaster General would not succeed. This opinion set up a lively flutter in the dove cotes: the Postmaster General was sure that the colony meant to get into their hands the appointment of Postmaster and the entire arrangements of the Department within its territories. In his picturesque phrase, he declared that "we are beaten off our first position" and therefore a plan should be drawn up by which the Post Office should agree to give up to the Provinces any surplus revenue that may accrue; and complete statements of the Provincial Post Office accounts should be laid before the Legislature. He was persuaded however that he must maintain the right of the Crown to appoint the officers of the Department.

It was along the lines here indicated, that the British Government, after mature deliberation, decided to proceed. An act was submitted to Parliament, and adopted in 1834, providing for the repeal of the Imperial acts, in virtue of which the Postmaster General of England had administered the postal affairs of the colonies; and for the retention in the colonies for their own use, of any surplus revenue, that might remain after all expenses had been paid. The act was not to go into operation until satisfactory legislation had been enacted by the colonies for managing their Post Office on the proposed plan. In maturing the plan to be submitted for the acceptance of the several legislatures, the General Post Office had to keep in view two distinct considerations—Imperial necessities and Colonial rights. It was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the Colonial system, that there should be uninterrupted communication between the Mother Country and all her colonies. Some

of the colonies, such as the Canadas, were so situated that to correspond with them, it was necessary that the mails from Great Britain should pass through the other colonies—Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. It is quite conceivable that differences might arise, between the postal administration of the several provinces, which would hamper the free passage of the mails between the seaboard and the remoter colonies. To remove the possibility of such inconveniences, it was necessary that there should be some authority controlling and coordinating the several local services, so as to produce the effect of one continuous through service between Halifax and Amherstburg, at the western extremity of Upper Canada. There was no person in the colonies possessing the authority necessary, and therefore it seemed essential that the supreme control of the Colonial postal service should remain with the Postmaster General of England. But, in the opinion of the Law Officers, it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the local legislatures for any arrangements that might be made. The difficulty was solved by submitting for the acceptance of each of the Provincial Legislatures, a draft Post Office bill constituting the Postmaster General of England to head of the Provincial Post Office, and providing for the appointment by the Postmaster General of a local Deputy Postmaster General who should actually administer the postal affairs of the Province. The bills submitted to the local legislatures were identical in terms, and the Legislatures were informed that the uniformity of the whole Colonial service required that the bills should be enacted by the several legislatures without substantial amendment.

The bills were unfortunate in their reception. They were either rejected or laid aside by every legislature. In none of the Provinces did their provisions seem to meet requirements. In Nova Scotia the effect of the consideration of the bill was curious. Until it was laid before the Assembly, no one in Nova Scotia imagined that the postal affairs of the Province were not on a satisfactory basis. The desires of the people in the different parts were submitted to the Legislature in the



form of petitions, and these were considered in the Post Office Committee, the meeting of which the Deputy Postmaster General always held himself in readiness to attend; if it were decided to accede to a petition, the amount to be allocated by the Province in support of the service desired was decided upon; and so everything appeared to be moving satisfactorily. But the appearance of the draft bill, with the request that it should be accepted by the Legislature, aroused the Assembly to activity. They investigated the financial relations of the Province with the Post Office, and discovered that the Post Office was each year sending to the Treasury in England, as surplus revenue an amount not much less than what the Legislature was contributing to the support of the Post Office.

So convinced was the Legislature that the Post Office in Nova Scotia was practically self supporting, that they resolved to take its management into their own hands. A bill for this purpose passed the Legislature in 1838, but was declined by the Home Government. In the following year Messrs. Young and Halliburton, who were in England, after a full discussion of the subject with the Postmaster General arranged that the Province should take over the financial control of the Post Office, appropriating any surplus, and making up any deficit. This reasonable arrangement promised a continuance of the good relations which had always existed between the Provincial Government and the Post Office. It was scarcely concluded, however, when the whole question was thrown open by one of those intercolonial misunderstandings, which were always liable to crop up. A dispute arose between Canada and Nova Scotia as to the bearing of the charges for the overland conveyance of the mails brought by the Cunard steamers. Great Britain, after considering the merits of the difference, seems to have agreed with the Nova Scotia view, but as Canada could not be compelled to pay her share of the charge, and as the position Canada had taken was far from weak, Great Britain called upon Nova Scotia to pay the charge, allowing Nova Scotia to retain what was called the packet postage which belonged to Great

Britain. Nova Scotia was firm, however; and as the expenses of the whole Nova Scotia inland service, including the special one under consideration would involve the Nova Scotia Post Office in a deficit of between £500 and £600 which the Legislature declined to meet, the General Post Office determined to reduce the expense of the service by cutting off a number of the routes which did not produce revenues necessary to meet their expenses. An agent was sent to Nova Scotia from the General Post Office to ascertain how the service in the Province could be reduced with the least public inconvenience. The reductions he effected were comparatively insignificant, and were productive of much friction with Canada and New Brunswick.

The difficulty was finally settled in summary fashion, and, in relating the mode of settlement, a word or two is necessary on the establishment of the Cunard service. When the "Great Western" and the "Sirius" successfully crossed the ocean under steam in 1838, at a speed which reduced the time taken by the sailing packets by more than half, it was at once seen that the days of the sailing packet were at an end. The Governors of Upper and Lower Canada directed that their correspondence should be sent out by the "Great Western", and Joseph Howe and William Crane, a member of the Assembly of New Brunswick, representing a number of leading citizens of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick who were in London, urged upon the Colonial Secretary the necessity of utilizing vessels propelled by steam for the conveyance of the mails between Great Britain and the North American colonies. The British Government gave a ready assent to the representations made, and after negotiations, a contract was made on the 4th May, 1839, for a fortnightly mail service between Liverpool and Halifax, with subsidiary steamer services to Quebec and to Boston. The British Government had in contemplation a vast scheme for communication between Great Britain and North America, the central point of which, on this side of the Atlantic, was Halifax. There was to be a regular service, fortnightly each way, at the



beginning, between Liverpool and Halifax. Running in connection with it, were to be auxiliary services to Quebec, Newfoundland, Boston and Bermuda. Contracts were let for these several services, but the plans were scarcely brought to maturity before they withered and faded. So far as the main branches were concerned, they were made in disregard of the facts of geography. The two Canadian provinces were never advantageously served with British mails from Halifax. Before ocean steamships were thought of, the General Post Office in London regretfully admitted that scarcely one letter from Canada was sent out by the Post Office packets, while thousands were sent by the sailing liners to New York and Boston. When considering the plans for the steamships to Halifax, the British Government, thought to overcome the natural advantages enjoyed by Boston, by means of a fast express to Pictou and a steamer to Quebec. But that was for the summer months only. During the winter the long route over indifferent roads between Quebec and Halifax had to be encountered, and then the advantage was clearly on the side of Boston, which throughout the year was connected with Montreal by a railway to Albany, and a fast stage from that point to Montreal. In 1845, the plan of serving Canada by Halifax was definitely abandoned, and an agreement was concluded between the Post Offices of Great Britain and the United States for the embarking and disembarking of the Canadian mails, at the port of Boston. Thus the dispute between Canada and Nova Scotia was settled by removing the occasion for it. Since the mails for Canada brought by the Cunard steamers no longer passed over the route between Halifax and Pictou, the interprovincial agreements and differences came to an end of themselves.

Another question of great importance called for settlement at this time. The adoption of Penny Postage in Great Britain in 1840 and the agitation preceding this measure, aroused in the colonies a desire for a great reduction in the postal charges. It was generally accepted that the circumstances of the country

made the Penny rate impossible, but the principle of the single rate throughout the territory of each of the provinces took a strong hold on the public mind in the Colonies. Memorials were sent from the several Provinces to the Colonial Secretary, and the question was considered by the British Postmaster General and the Treasury. The Postmaster General was of opinion that there should be a very considerable abatement in the charges, but he feared that the result would be a large deficit. The Provinces would, he had no doubt, agree to meet the shortage, but a situation would arise in which the conflicting views and interests of the Postmaster General and the Legislatures would lead to unpleasant differences. To quote the Postmaster General: "In a Department like the Post Office, differences of opinion must necessarily arise between the colonies and the authorities at home as to the regulations upon which it should be conducted, the extent of the accommodation that should be given, the amount of salaries that should be paid, before all, the principle upon which new and frequently expensive posts should be established."

The Postmaster General, after mature reflection, could see no other course open to the General Post Office than to resign his control over the Post Offices in the Colonies. He would, however, accompany his surrender by certain conditions, and by the demand that the Colonial Post Offices should be conducted on such principles as would still retain in effect a great portion of the advantages of central government. The conditions required free co-operation between the several colonies in the conveyance of the mails, and the avoidance of accounts with respect to the revenue collected by each Post Office.

The British Government approved of these views and they were communicated to the Colonial Legislatures. On the 28th August, 1847, Lord Elgin the Governor General, by letter to the several Lieutenant Governors, suggested the advisability of a meeting of representatives from each of the Provinces. The meeting took place in October at Montreal, the Hon. J. W. Johnston being the delegate from Nova Scotia. This confer-



ence virtually settled the Post Office question in British North America. The delegates in their report say that at the threshold of their enquiry, lay the relative advantages of a system of united revenue and management for the four Provinces, or of one which would place the management of the postal arrangements in the hands of the local governments, with no greater central control than should be necessary for securing the Imperial and intercolonial interests. Having decided on the latter as the preferable of the two plans, they laid down the principles on which the several provincial postal systems should be regulated. The chief of these were that there should be maintained throughout the British North American provinces one uniform system and rate of postage, which no greater modification than their circumstances may demand; that where the mails from one province have to pass through another province on their way to their destination, the intermediate province shall not make a charge to the province despatching the mails, for its services; and that the senders of letters should be free to pay their letter at the time of posting, or to leave the payment to the party addressed; and, in any case, all the postage collected by an administration whether as prepayment of letters or as the charge at the time of delivery to the persons addressed, should remain its property, thus dispensing with the necessity of accounts between the provinces. In March, 1848, the Legislature of Nova Scotia adopted this report, and passed a bill in accordance therewith; and sent Mr. J. B. Uniacke, chairman of the Post Office Committee, to Canada to secure the concurrence of that Province in the provisions of the bill, preparatory to reporting the facts to the Colonial Secretary, whose share in the transactions consisted in securing a sanctioning measure from the British Parliament. Mr. Uniacke arrived in Montreal on the 8th June, and two days later explained the views of the Nova Scotia Legislature to the Executive Council. The Council accepted in their entirety the different recommendations, and a report based thereupon was approved the same day. Nova Scotia took the leading part in the negotiations, which prepared the way to Provincial

autonomy. That this should have been so, was probably due to the fact that the discussions which had taken place every session for many years, had familiarised the political leaders of the Province with the several phases of Post Office affairs. The adoption of the uniform three pence rate on letters throughout the several provinces was entirely due to the initiation of Nova Scotia. In Canada while there was a steady determination to have a considerable reduction in the rates, the Postal Commission could not see its way to abandon the old course, and substitute a single uniform charge, for the series of charges based on the distance letters were carried. Nova Scotia's firmness brought about this great beneficial change at that early period, when the several governments were about to take on themselves the management of their postal affairs.

In 1851, the governments of the several Provinces assumed the charge of the Post Offices within their respective territories, and continued to administer them until Confederation effected the amalgamation of the several postal administrations into the one Post Office Department at Ottawa.

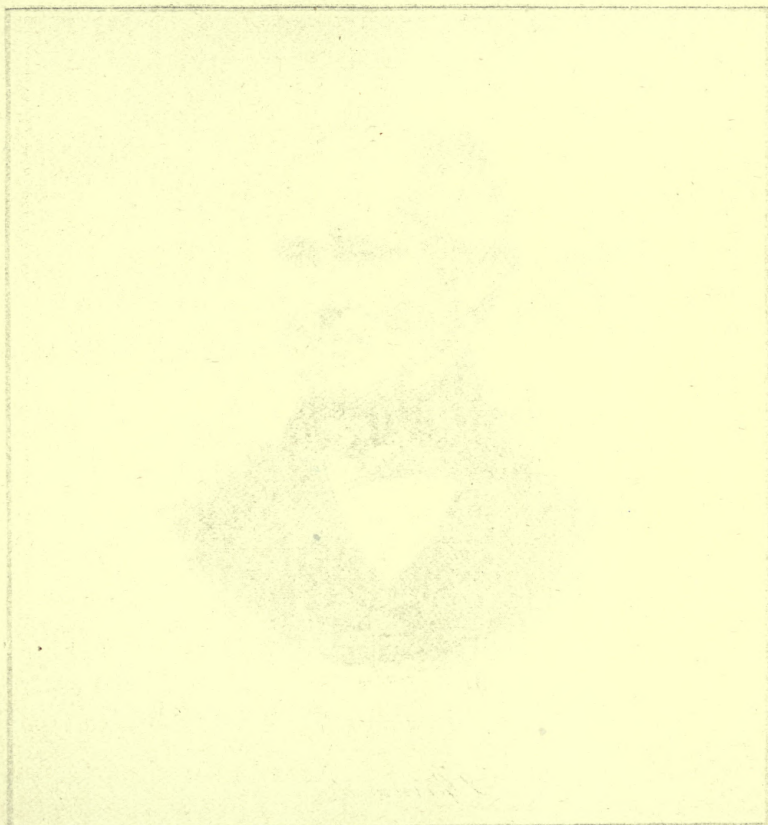
The period of Nova Scotia's administration of its Post Office was undistinguished in any way. In normal times, the Post Office is rather a humdrum, pedestrian affair, like a faithful servant, of whom we seldom think, so long as he does not invite attention by breaking the china or otherwise infringing on the quiet of our lives. There was a steady expansion in every part of the province. In 1851, there were 133 post offices in the province; at Confederation, Nova Scotia took 630 post offices in with her. As was inevitable, at that stage of the growth of the Province, there was a considerable and increasing deficit in its finances. At the end of the first year of its independent administration, the shortage was rather over 10,500; on the 30th June 1867, it was 27,559. Mr. Arthur Woodgate, who succeeded John Howe in 1843, and who was Postmaster-General during the period between 1851 and 1867, became Inspector for the Province, on the reconstruction consequent upon Confederation. In closing I cannot refrain from



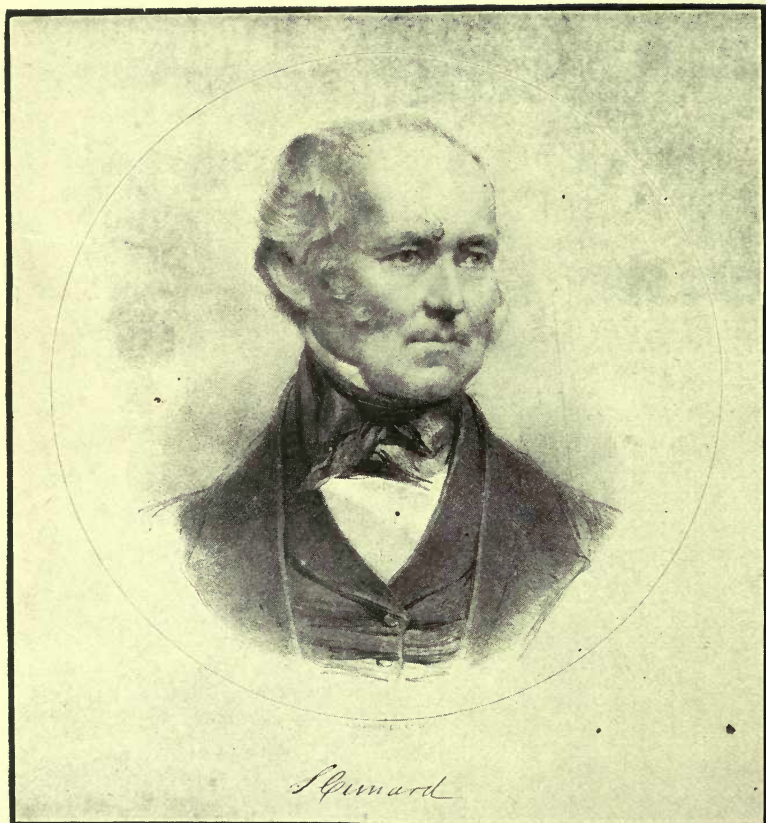
giving a little intimate touch of Mr. Woodgate. It is from a personal letter written by the official, who was sent from Canada, to arrange for the incorporation of the Nova Scotia postal system into that of the Dominion. "I am getting along very well with Mr. Woodgate. Its a fine thing though to listen to the tone of his language towards the callers on him during the day: it is so splendidly official and emphatic,—he must have acquired it somewhere in England. But what has perhaps impressed me most is the spectacle afforded when the Inspector requires the presence of his Messenger from below. Then he proceeds to the top of the old stairs with a long post horn (such a one used of old by Mail Guards in England) and on it performs a short Fantasia!" Could anything be more illuminative of the fine gentleman?

24





SIR SAMUEL CUNARD, Bart., Born 1787, Died 1865.  
 Founder of the Cunard Steamship Line.  
 [From a lithograph.] (To face page 75.)



**SIR SAMUEL CUNARD, Bart., Born 1787, Died 1865.**  
**Founder of the Cunard Steamship Line.**

*[From a lithograph.]*

*[To face page 75.]*



**THE LIFE OF SIR SAMUEL CUNARD,  
Founder of the Cunard Steamship Line, 1787-1865.**

**By ABRAHAM MARTIN PAYNE, Halifax, N. S.**

**(Read 28th March, 1905).**

As the pioneer of regular ocean steam navigation, the life of Sir Samuel Cunard has an abiding interest, not only for his fellow countrymen, but for the whole British race. The Cunard family was of Quaker origin, having emigrated from Wales to Philadelphia, Penn., in the seventeenth century. After the troublous times of the American Revolution, Abraham Cunard, the father of Sir Samuel, came to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where the future founder of the Cunard Line was born on the 21st of November, 1787. The house in which he first saw the light, one of the primitive settlers' habitations, is still standing within the grounds of the family residence on Brunswick Street, now in the occupation of a grandson, George E. Francklyn.\*

Although Abraham Cunard obtained a position at the Halifax Dockyard shortly after his arrival, the early experiences of the family, as in the case of most of the United Empire Loyalists were encompassed by the struggles and anxieties incident to the relinquishment, for the second time, of former associations and comforts and the building up of a new home amid strange scenes and unaccustomed surroundings. Educational advantages were somewhat restricted and it would appear that young Cunard was not able to take regular advantage of such schooling facilities as then existed. As a boy he was noticeably bright and intelligent, steady application and unwearying perseverance being among his marked characteristics. Whatever line of study or effort he undertook was thoroughly and per-

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\*The building in which he was born, is a small one, now somewhat altered, in the rear of No. 257 Brunswick St., and is between that street and Lockman St., and a little north of Proctor's Lane. Sir Samuel's father, Abraham, died at Rawdon, N. S., 10 January, 1824, aged 70 years.

sistently mastered to the smallest detail. Like many others who have attained exalted positions in the world's affairs, Samuel Cunard was to a large extent self-educated. The battle of life began with him early in his teens, as an employee in the Engineer Department of the Halifax lumberyard, where his zeal and activity soon attracted favorable notice from the officials with whom he was brought in contact. It was a time of continuous warfare, and the bustle of naval and military preparations was in full progress every hour of the day. The collection and transportation of supplies and munitions of war, with the arrivals of ships of war and captured prizes, combined to centre a large and lucrative volume of trade in a port of such prominence as Halifax had already become.

His brothers had engaged in a sea-faring life, principally to the West Indies, and he soon gave evidence of a pronounced inclination for marine enterprise himself, embarking in small ventures as opportunity offered. Amid such stirring scenes a business career offered greater inducements to a youth of his temperament and he withdrew from the public service to assist in the foundation of the firm of Abraham Cunard & Son before he became of age. Steadfast industry, undaunted determination and a well regulated habit of prompt decision at once made him a leading spirit in the varied business interests of the community.

It is related on good authority that the fortunate purchase of a prize vessel, resulting in a handsome profit, established a reputation for reliability in large and important transactions which quickly placed the firm in the front rank of the numerous enterprising concerns of the day. His vigorous personality and strict integrity impressed Government officials to such a degree, that, notwithstanding his youth, important contracts were entrusted to him without hesitation.

When only twenty-seven years of age the conveyance of H. M. mails between Halifax and Newfoundland, Boston and Bermuda, by sailing vessels was undertaken at his own financial



risk. This, his first important contract, it may be noted, was carried out to the entire satisfaction of the British Government. The commanding position attained by Abraham Cunard & Son is evident from the fact that they were among the foremost subscribers to the fund for the wounded heroes at Waterloo when a subscription was raised here for that purpose.

When peace succeeded war, dull times overtook Halifax, and in 1819 the Dockyard was reduced and removed to Bermuda, even the gigantic Shears so familiar to oldtimers, being taken down, developing a condition of affairs somewhat analagous to the present day under similar circumstances. Still the Cunard firm maintained solid progress, and Cunard's wharf came to be recognized as a leading vantage point for shipping interests. They kept Lyle's shipyard at Dartmouth Cove constantly at work, employing a large number of workmen.

Eventually Samuel Cunard had no less than forty vessels under his control, and his interests expanded in all directions. He made large investments in P. E. I., and assisted his brothers in establishing a business at Chatham on the Miramichi, in competition with the powerful firm of Gilmour & Rankin, for the rapidly increasing export timber business of that extensive region. Dr. Akins in his annals of our city in the collections of the Historical Society, mentions the charter by the Imperial Government of Cunard's brig "Chebucto" for the protection of the fisheries, visiting the out-harbors for customs' regulations, and carrying dispatches to Quebec and the St. Lawrence. As another illustration of his far reaching enterprise, Murdoch's History records an effort to revive the old whale fishing industry undertaken from the Dartmouth side of the harbor some years previously by Nantucket skippers. Voyages were also contemplated to the South Seas on somewhat similar lines to the ventures promoted in our city within the past two or three years.

Mr. Cunard was one of the earliest Commissioners of Lighthouses, when light-houses were few and far between in our coast.

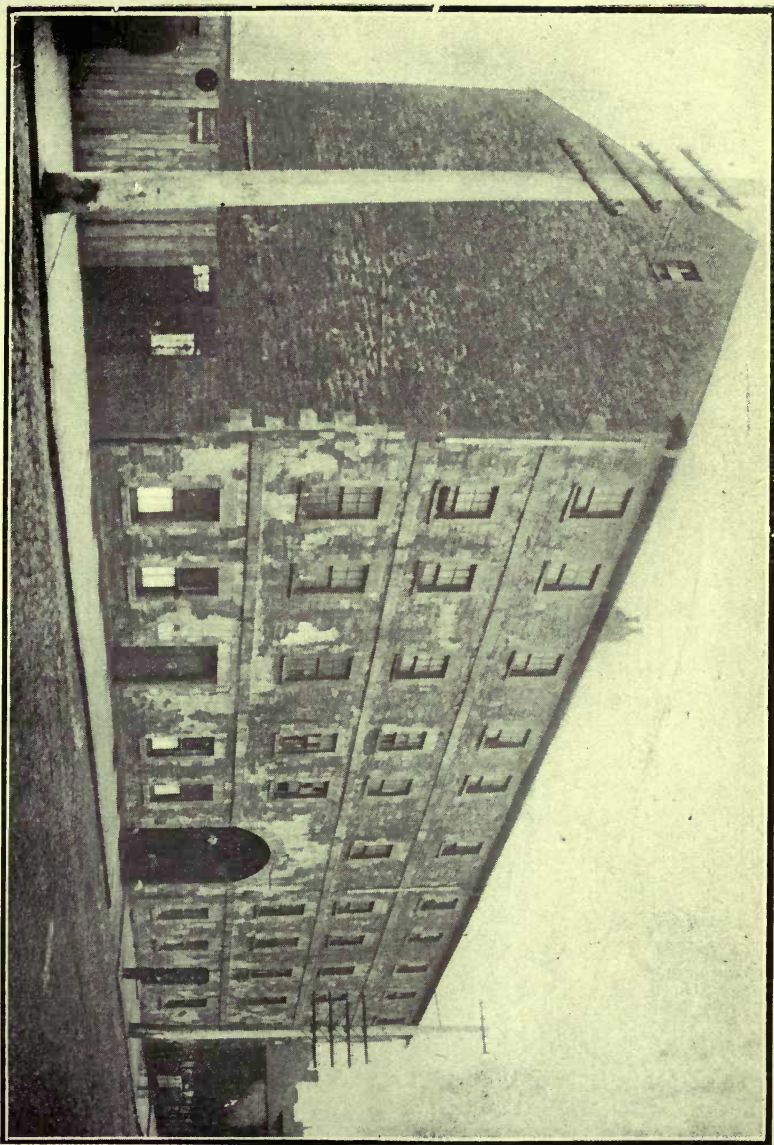
He was also vice-president of the Shubenacadie Canal Co., a famous enterprise, but a sadly unfortunate one. He was one of the leading promoters in the establishment of the earliest banking house, first known as Cogswell's Bank, later as Collins's Bank and still later as the Halifax Banking Company.

As might be expected, Mr. Cunard took a leading part in the affairs of his native city, filling numerous positions of trust and responsibility as the years rolled on. His name appears as one of the first firewardens for the north suburbs, and he was also an active member of the Sun Fire Company, one of the most exclusive of the organizations for rendering assistance at fires. The quarterly meetings, dinners, and balls of the fire companies were notable features in the social events of that period. Every good citizen took a pride in belonging to the militia in those days, and Mr. Cunard soon rose to be colonel of the 2nd Halifax Regiment with its dashing flank company of the elite, popularly nicknamed the "Scarlet Runners," whose social functions were also eagerly patronized by the rank and fashion of the time. His benevolence was conspicuous during the hard winters of the twenties, and he was appointed, with Michael Tobin, to dispense public aid in the establishment of soup kitchens and general relief for the poor of the city, whose numbers had unfortunately been increased by unwisely directed immigration.

In 1814 Mr. Cunard was married to Miss Susan Duffus, daughter of John Duffus, a prominent business man of Halifax. Two sons and seven daughters blessed this union, which sustained a heavy bereavement by the early death of Mrs. Cunard on 2nd February, 1822. The family assemblage of the motherless group in the front pew at St. George's Church on Brunswick Street, is well remembered by parishioners still living in our midst. Mr. Cunard was a regular and generous attendant at this fine old historic church for many years, and most of the members of his family were married within its walls.

In the politics of the times, a man of his active disposition could not fail to be a prominent figure in the administration of

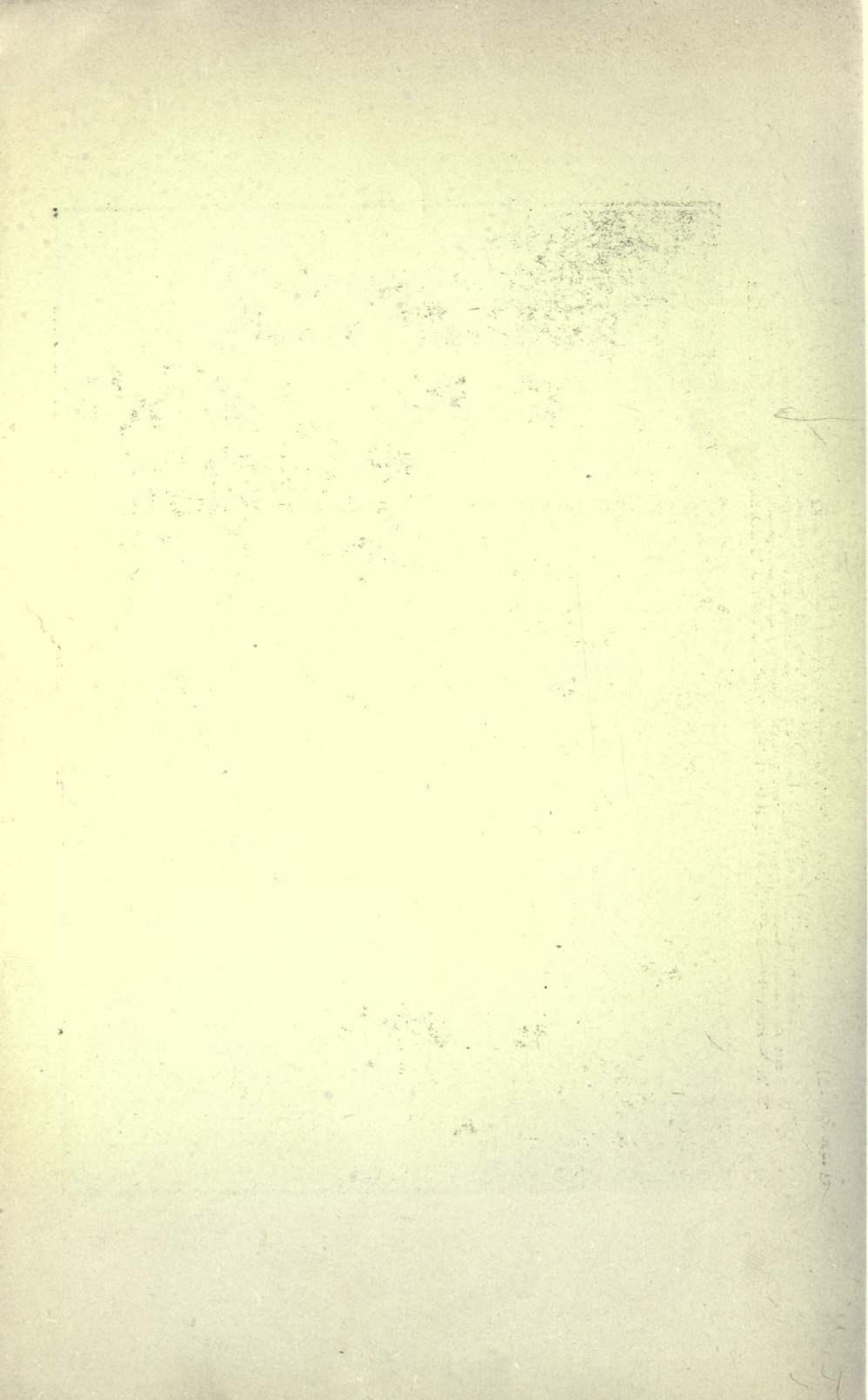




OFFICE AND WAREHOUSE OF S. CUNARD & CO., Nos. 189-193 Upper Water Street, Halifax, N. S.

Built about 1823 of "ironstone" with freestone trimmings. The office was entered by the door to the left, and the archway led to the wharf. The front of the building measured about 110 feet. Demolished, November, 1917.

*From a photograph taken in October, 1917, looking east.*





public affairs. A partizan he never became, but he was a consistent and outspoken supporter of the ancient Tory regime, and he occupied a seat in the old Council of Twelve, "the family compact" as its critics often called it. As the Hon. Samuel Cunard, he was familiarly known for many years, long after the Council had given up the ghost as so humorously related by Sir Brenton Halliburton in an amusing valedictory.

It was, however, in the conduct of mercantile affairs that his energies were chiefly directed. During a visit to England, he obtained the agency of the Hon. East India Company, and the arrival at Cunard's wharf of one of their finest ships soon followed. The appearance in our harbor of the "Countess of Harcourt," commanded by Capt. Delafons of the Royal Navy, with over 6,000 chests of tea, from Canton, was a red letter day, not only for his firm, but for his native city as well. After this, the substantial ironstone warehouses at Cunard's wharf, erected by Burbidge and Best, in the early twenties, were periodically crammed with chests of tea from cellar to attic.

The style of the firm had been changed after the death of Abraham Cunard to S. Cunard and Co., the plain brass plate, still in use, suggesting the solidity of eminent houses in the marts of commerce in the Old Land. A second visit to England secured the agency of the General Mining Association, and further enhanced the prestige and profits of the firm. Some years later Mr. Cunard vindicated the charge of monopoly launched against the General Mining Association with the diplomatic skill and resource invariably displayed by him when exigencies arose. At forty years of age Mr. Cunard was estimated on good authority to be worth not less than £200,000, almost a millionaire, as we should say in our present-day currency.

Eminently successful as Mr. Cunard's business experiences had proved, placing him in the foremost commercial and social rank among his fellow townsmen, his future career was destined to exhibit a wider scope than any of his contemporaries had ever

deemed possible. The dawn of ocean steam navigation had excited his ambition, far beyond mail contracts and marine enterprise, within the narrow sphere of his environment. His penetrating foresight contemplated the establishment of regular communication by steam vessels, between Great Britain and the whole of the seaboard of the North American continent. He firmly believed "that steamers properly built and manned might start and arrive at their destination with the punctuality of railway trains on land." The metaphor of an ocean railway was a favorite theme with him for years.

As a preface to the grand achievement of his maturer years, his connection with the "Royal William" may be said to mark the first stage in carrying out a long cherished project. At the head of the list of 144 subscribers, incorporated to build the "Royal William," stands the name of Samuel Cunard.

Much controversy has arisen with reference to the honor of the first Atlantic voyage by a steam vessel. The honor has been claimed for the "Savannah" in the year 1819, but as her adjustable paddles were only used for eighty hours in the passage of thirty days, between Savannah and Liverpool, the claim of first place can hardly be conceded. Moreover, the Savannah's toy engine was subsequently taken out, and she reverted to her former role of a sailing packet pure and simple.

The "Royal William" was built at Quebec, and her launching in 1833 was an event of no small importance, graced by the presence of the Governor-General, Lord Aylmer, and an immense concourse of people, the band of the 32nd Regiment assisting in the ceremony. She was originally intended to run between Quebec and Pictou, but owing to financial reasons it was decided to send her to London. Her performance of 17 days between Pictou and the Isle of Wight, in September 1833, doubtless clinched the convictions of Mr. Cunard as to the soundness and practicability of his views for the future of ocean steam navigation. Prejudices were rife, and by men of eminence in the scientific world. Dr. Dionysius Lardner, a learned



savant, asserted as his opinion, at a lecture in Liverpool, England, in 1835, that "men might as well project a voyage to the moon as to attempt steam navigation across the stormy Atlantic ocean." Even such an influential personage as the great Duke of Wellington stated that "he would give no countenance to any schemes which had for their object a change in the established system of the country." Strong opposition prevailed on the part of those interested in the sailing packets. The clippers of the Shakespeare Line, the Dramatic Line, and the famous Black Ball Line were by no means disposed to yield the palm readily. Their skippers still made record runs and "cracked on the dimity" in fine style; old Captain Bailey on one occasion accomplishing the run from Sandy Hook to Holyhead in  $13\frac{1}{2}$  days. Regardless of cost, their models, rigging and cabin appointments were improved as soon as the rivalry of steam began to threaten their interests in serious earnest. The climax of endeavor to stem the tide was the construction, as late as 1854, of the "Great Republic" by Donald McKay, a widely known builder hailing from Shelburne, Nova Scotia, who, by the way, did no discredit to his native land. The "Great Republic" was 205 feet in length with a 30 feet hold and a measurement of 3400 tons. She made a record passage of thirteen days between New York and the Scillies in March, 1855, literally a dying struggle with the new factor of steam power.

During the period between 1833 and 1838, the Hon. Samuel Cunard while distributing the British mails to their various destinations in Canada, the United States, Newfoundland, and Bermuda, as they arrived at Cunard's wharf in the old uncertain "ten-gun brigs," keenly noted the transition gradually going on and bided his time. His opportunity came in 1838, when the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty issued circulars asking for tenders for a steam packet service to carry H. M. mails on the Atlantic. Not a single steamship owner in Great Britain tendered. Even George Burns, later destined to be one of Sir Samuel's associates, informed the Comptroller of the Packet

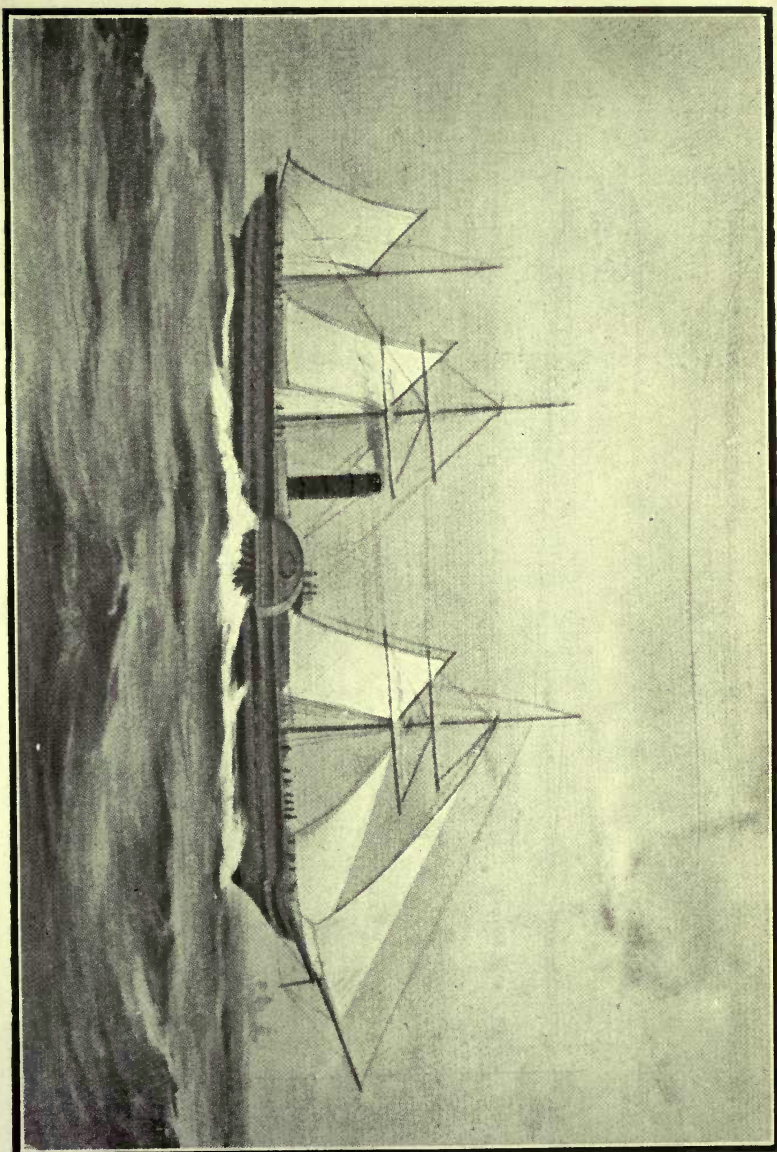
Service that he did not see his way clear to such a large undertaking as the proposal of the Government involved. He further intimated that his hands were full, and he had made up his mind to let the Atlantic steamship business alone.

But it was not to be thus abandoned, for the undaunted promoter from Halifax was already on his way back to England to seek assistance in making a bid for the contract, having been unsuccessful in interesting either Halifax or Boston capitalists in his efforts. It was not all plain sailing by any means. In London he met with but scant encouragement in enlisting financial aid, and therefore resolved to go down to Glasgow, fortified this time with an introduction from James Melville, Secretary of the Hon. East India Company, to the eminent Clyde shipbuilder, Robert Napier. Napier made him acquainted with George Burns, and an invitation to dinner followed, at which his partner David McIver was also present. Mr. McIver at first showed considerable hesitation, advising Mr. Burns to tell Mr. Cunard that "the thing would not suit them". They met again, however, next day, at Napier's, when all doubts and difficulties were set at rest by Mr. Cunard's logical and convincing advocacy. The name adopted by the new association which was founded in 1839, was the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.

A few days sufficed to raise the required capital of £270,000—the die was cast, the vim and enterprise of the far-seeing Nova Scotian had paved the way for a new era in ocean navigation. An offer was made for the conveyance of H. M. mails regularly every fortnight between Liverpool, Halifax and Boston, and a contract for seven years signed, sealed and delivered. A letter from Mr. Cunard is extant, dated Piccadilly, 28th Feb., 1839, to Wm. Kidston and Sons (former Halifax friends now doing business in Glasgow), enquiring about likely builders of one or two steamers of 300 horse-power and about 800 tons. That Mr. Cunard was the master mind and leading spirit, is abundantly evident from the original contract for building the first three vessels for the company. The contract was signed on 18th March, 1839, by Samuel Cunard, and Robert Napier, in the presence of Hugh Moncrieff and Robert



82'



ROYAL MAIL STEAMSHIP "BRITANNIA."

First Steamship of the British and North American Royal Mail Steam  
Packet Company. Built in 1840.

[To face page 82.]





Henderson, writers, of Glasgow. This document, which may be fairly called historic, specified three good and sufficient steamships, not less than 200 feet long, equal in hull and machinery to the steamer "Commodore" or "London" constructed by the said Robert Napier, and equal to the "City of Glasgow," as to the cabin fittings; one to be ready for trial and delivery on 12 March, 1840, the second on 13 April, 1840, and the third on 1st May, 1840. James Cyrus Melville, Secretary of the Hon. East India Company, was to be the referee for arbitration, in case of any differences, and the figure for the three vessels was to be £96,000 sterling.

An enthusiastic public meeting was held at Halifax immediately after receipt of the news of the success of their distinguished fellow townsman in closing the contract. The arrival of the "Unicorn," the elegantly appointed steamer secured for the mail service between Halifax and Quebec, caused a great stir in our city, as many old timers still remember. Still greater was the enthusiasm when early in the morning of 17th July, 1840, it became known that the British and North American Steam Packet Company's R. M. S. "Britannia" had arrived during the night, having sailed on 4th July. The success of her initial voyage, her noble proportions, figure-head, and name alike suggested a new era of progress in ocean transit, not only for our city, but for the whole North American sea-board. As described in the papers of that day, the scene was an inspiring one on her departure from Cunard's wharf, a few hours later, for Boston, as she steamed around the gaily decorated flagship to the booming of cannon, with every indication of popular rejoicing. The presence on board of the distinguished founder of the new order of things gave an added éclat to the occasion.

Mr. Cunard proceeded to Boston in the "Britannia," where he was the recipient of ovations so numerous as to be almost embarrassing. The story of his 1800 dinner invitations has often been told. At the great public banquet tendered him, 2,000 guests assembled, and Josiah Quincy, the chairman's,

first toast was, "Health, happiness and prosperity to Mr. Cunard." The evidences of international good will found expression in another toast, the quaint humor of which appeals to the risible faculties of people of the present day, to whom the sight of an ocean steamer is of daily occurrence. It ran thus: "Cunard's line of steam packets—the pendulum of a large clock which is to tick once a fortnight,—the British Government has given £50,000 for one of the weights and may the patronage of the public soon add another!"

Two years after the auspicious opening of the line, Charles Dickens crossed in the "Far-famed fast Atlantic steamer" as the "Britannia" was then called, and the first chapter of his "American Notes" gives a lively description of his experiences on board. The renowned author during his brief stay in Halifax, made a visit, in company with Hon. Joseph Howe, to the House of Assembly then in session, occupying a prominent seat in the very chamber where we are now gathered.

Mr. Cunard's brilliant success in surmounting difficulties was put to a severe test in 1846, when the original contract was about to expire, and the British Government announced its intention to renew it on a more extended scale. In the House of Commons on the 24th of July, 1846, Mr. Miles moved a resolution favoring the Great Western Steamship Co.'s proposal to undertake it, contending that their steamers had brought the first news of the Canadian Rebellion and of the Oregon controversy, also pointing out the elaborate arrangements made by them to ensure speedy transit on the Atlantic.

It appeared, however, that the schedule of the Great Western Steamship Co. "drew the line" at sailings in the winter months from November to April, while Mr. Cunard offered a regular all-the-year-round service. The Cunard contract further provided for the equipment of his vessels to meet the contingency of transport in the event of war. Like the red strand in the Admiralty cordage, this thread of staunch reliability furnished them, as it has ever since, a convincing proof



of the unwavering stability of the Cunard Line. Mr. Goulburn, in defending the Cunard contract, stated "that this establishment owed its origin entirely to the activity of the colonists of Nova Scotia and its neighborhood, and he for one would be sorry to do anything against the zeal and activity of these colonists." Another member of parliament, Mr. Spooner, said that "Hon. S. Cunard was the first gentleman that had traversed the Atlantic in the winter time." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, successor to Sir Robert Peel, after giving a description of the circumstances connected with the granting of the contract to Mr. Cunard, said "he felt that that gentleman was the ablest person with whom the Government could have contracted for the conveyance of H. M. mails, but he was by no means opposed to the appointment of a committee which would afford the House of Commons an opportunity of enquiring into the whole circumstances."

Ultimately a committee was appointed, the result being a signal triumph for Mr. Cunard on every point. The welcome news appeared in the Halifax newspapers early in September, 1846. Although it goes without saying that the petition from Bristol and the powerful interests connected with that port were weighty factors to contend with, the alert Haligonian was fully equal to the occasion, his testimony and reasoning before the Select Committee proving unanswerable. A letter from a friendly critic which appeared in the London Times of August 15, 1846, fairly portrays public sentiment on the subject. An extract is worth recording verbatim. After referring to the speed and regularity of the Cunard steamers and the excellence of their general appointments, this writer "feels confident that the community at large with many private friends will join in rejoicing at the successful issue of this select inquiry and in the hope that Mr. Cunard should be permitted to enjoy for many years the fruits of his energetic enterprise, the contract for which with the Government is certain to be carried out by him to the full letter, as he has invariably acted in every other most honorably."

The incident of the Select Enquiry may justly be regarded as the apex of our distinguished fellow-townsmen's career. In 1846 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; and not long afterwards he removed with his family to reside permanently at London, England, leaving his son, William, in charge of business interests here.

During its first decade, the Cunard Co., enjoyed almost a monopoly of the North Atlantic steamship business. In the fifties, rivalry of the most strenuous nature was encountered by them with resourceful ability, albeit with unending determination to make safety the paramount consideration. Events amply justified their inflexible attitude in this regard. The Collins Line in particular essayed to eclipse the Cunarders in speed and luxurious appointments. In referring to this episode, Mr. McIver, one of his partners, wrote to Mr. Cunard that "the Collins people are pretty much in the situation of finding that breaking our windows with sovereigns, though very fine fun, is too costly to keep up." The efforts of the Collins Line, although backed by lavish capital and unstinted support from the Government of the United States, ended in a complete collapse. Subsequently other organizations followed in the wake of the Cunard Co. with more satisfactory results.

Able pens have recorded the prompt and efficient service rendered by the Cunard Line during the Crimean War, and subsequent national emergencies, down to the recent struggle in South Africa. Suffice it to say that the history of the Cunard Line, as tersely described in the recent issue of a leading Liverpool journal, is the history of the British mercantile marine for the past sixty years. The confidence with which the young Halifax merchant first inspired the British Government is reflected in unchanging belief in the trustworthiness of the line bearing his name, by the same critical authorities at the present day. Twentieth century methods of marine competition are more pronounced than ever before, the design of Germany especially being to outclass Britain on the sea, just as the United States vainly attempted half a century ago. The



task of upholding British prestige has been entrusted to the Cunard Co. by the Imperial Government which has concluded an arrangement guaranteeing a measure of financial support commensurate with the great national interests at stake.

In 1859 Queen Victoria conferred the dignity of a baronetcy of the United Kingdom on the subject of this sketch, in recognition of his distinguished services to the state. He acquired a fine estate at Bush Hill, Edmonton, twelve miles out of London, where he also had a town mansion at Queen's Gate Gardens.

In the capital of the Empire whose maritime supremacy he had done so much to advance, the evening of his life was spent, universally esteemed as a prominent figure among the merchant princes of the Victorian era. Not infrequently he was the trusted counsellor and advisor of the highest in the land on important questions pertaining to maritime interests. Full of years and of honors his declining years were enlivened by social intercourse with many of the most distinguished personages of the time. To none, however, was a more welcome hospitality extended than to friends and acquaintances from his native land. At length surrounded by his family, with all his faculties unimpaired, the end came to his long and useful career at London on April 28th, 1865, at the ripe age of seventy-eight years.

The title descended to his son, Edward, who had been the New York manager of the Company for many years. Four years later Sir Edward Cunard died, the baronetcy devolving on his son, Sir Bache Cunard, the present holder. His daughters having all passed away, the sole surviving member of Sir Samuel's family is his second son, William Cunard, Esq., of London, whose son, Ernest, is a director of the Cunard Steamship Co. Numerous descendants fill positions of dignity and usefulness in the Mother Country, the Great Republic and the Dominion of Canada.

The personal appearance of Sir Samuel Cunard is, of course, well remembered by many of our Halifax people. Somewhat

below the middle height, he was vigorous in frame, with exceptional nerve force and great powers of endurance. An early contemporary describes him as brisk of step, brim-full of energy and always on the alert. His countenance was a strong and open one, the broad high forehead indicating marked intelligence and serious purpose. Determined resolution was noticeable in the features, blended with an expression of fairness and kindly consideration inviting confidence. One who knew him intimately described him as somewhat impetuous, almost imperious in manner, in his early days. His strenuous experiences eventually merged self confidence into such masterful self control, that the same friend speaks of him in the autumn of life as being as mellow and fine a gentleman of the old school as one could possibly wish to meet. An English observer, about the period of the formation of the Cunard Line when Sir Samuel was in his prime, refers to him as "a small gray-haired man of quiet manners and not overflowing speech." In private life he was a consistent Christian, and an exemplary parent to a large and motherless family.

His business qualifications were of the highest order. He had a wonderful gift of impressing people with his ideas, and his diplomatic ability was conspicuous. His promptness to grasp opportunity and transform it into enterprise was tempered with unfailing sagacity. Thus when the exigencies of the Crimean campaign confronted the British Government and his vessels were requisitioned, several of them were placed at the service of the War Department fully equipped to comply with contract requirements, in a little over a week. There was no haggling about price, a course not entirely approved by his canny associates, but shrewdly designed to influence future patronage.

His thoroughness was another distinguishing trait. In the steadfast resolve to have "nothing but the best ships, the best officers, and the best men," he never changed an iota. Some have attributed this unswerving principle to the long list of wrecks and the serious loss of life that had passed



under his notice in the fate of no less than seven of the old "coffin brigs" or "death ships" (as they were often called) between Falmouth and Halifax in a single decade. At the time of Sir Samuel Cunard's death the record of his line was an enviable one, not a single passenger having been lost in the twenty-five years. This record has been maintained during forty subsequent years, and remains unparalleled.

The inherent fortitude of his disposition was put to a crucial test through a crisis in business complications on this side of the Atlantic when at the very zenith of his hopes. The implicit reliance of powerful friends on his ability enabled him to stem the adverse tide, at once, in safety. An anecdote is related by a Halifax acquaintance illustrating the respect with which Sir Samuel Cunard's personality was regarded in the highest circles of the great metropolis. This veteran friend of Sir Samuel (still in our midst, I am happy to say) distinctly recalls his dignified bearing at a notable dinner function in London many years since. Amid the throng of possessors of ancient lineage and exalted rank, the head of the Cunard Line, with easy mien and courtly grace, was welcomed as one of the most distinguished figures in that brilliant assemblage.

In concluding this biographical sketch, reference should be made to perhaps the most striking features in Sir Samuel's character, his fervid imagination and his intense optimism. He ventured the trite prediction to another old-time acquaintance yet to be seen on our streets, that "the day would surely come when an ocean steamer would be signalled from Citadel Hill every day in the year." As an actual fact, the arrival of half a dozen at the present day is by no means an uncommon occurrence. It does not invariably happen that a man's ideals develop into such solid realities.

That a prophet is not without honor save in his own country, is as true now as it was two thousand years ago when the divine maxim was uttered. In many up-to-date communities praiseworthy efforts are constantly being made to counteract

this reproach. A statue preserving for future generations the form and features of a citizen worthy of remembrance for his zeal in advancing the world's progress, redounds to the credit of the place of his birth, and adds materially to its prestige, at the same time inculcating emulation among the future builders of its destinies. In St. Paul's Cathedral stands a monument to a great architect and genius ennobled by an earlier English Queen—Sir Christopher Wren, who rebuilt the noble fane containing his monument, designed half a hundred other churches, and remodelled the thoroughfares of London as they are today. A significant Latin motto on his statue bears the words "*Si monumentum requiris circumspice*;" Literally interpreted the inscription means, "If you wish to understand this monument look around you." Let the mind's eye survey the boundless fleets of magnificent steamers traversing the seas at this very hour, in every quarter of the globe. The first standard bearer of this host of leviathans was the subject of this memoir—Sir Samuel Cunard who remodelled the ocean navigation of the world.

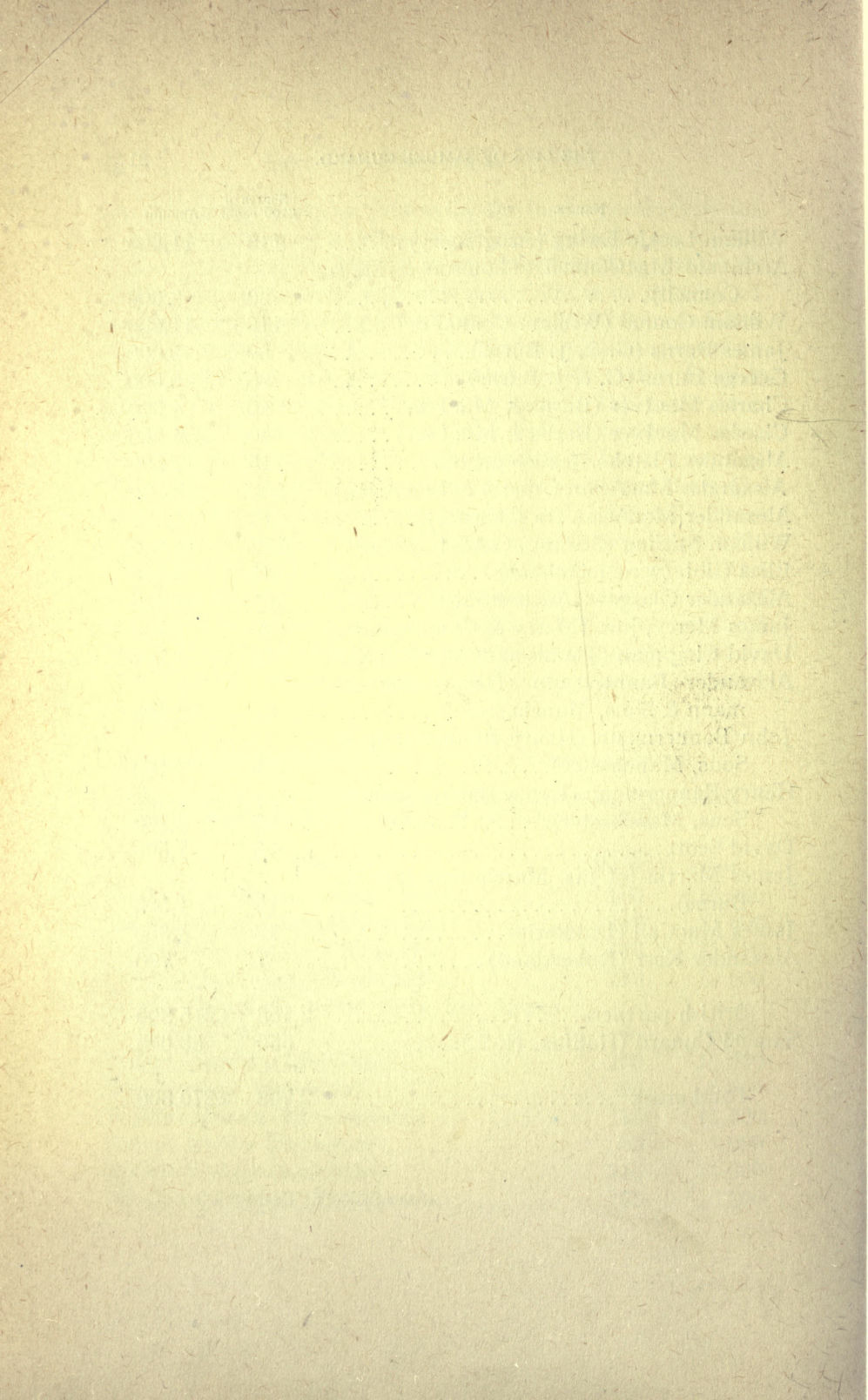
#### ORIGINAL SHAREHOLDERS OF THE CUNARD COMPANY.

##### List of partners in the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, at 1st February, 1841.

Names	Shares of £100 each.	Amount.
James Donaldson (cotton broker).....	160	£16,000
James Browne (insurance broker).....	116	11,600
James Wright (cotton broker).....	116	11,600
Thomas Buchanan (Dowanhill).....	116	11,600
James Campbell (afterwards Sir James Campbell).....	60	6,000
Robert Hinshaw (drysalter).....	109	10,900
Alex. Downie (drysalter).....	55	5,500
William Brown (Kilmardinny).....	116	11,600
Robert Napier (Shandon).....	60	6,000
Robert Rodger (merchant).....	116	11,600
William Campbell (Tullichewan).....	55	5,500



Names.	Shares of £100 each.	Amount
William Leckie Ewing (Arngomery) . . . . .	116	11,600
Archibald MacConnell (Thomson & Mac- Connell) . . . . .	20	2,000
William Connal (William Connal & Co.) . .	116	11,600
James Burns (G. & J. Burns) . . . . .	50	5,000
George Burns (G. & J. Burns) . . . . .	55	5,500
Charles MacIver (Burns & MacIver) . . . .	40	4,000
Charles MacIver (Burns & MacIver) . . . .	40	4,000
Alexander Fletcher (calico printer) . . . . .	115	11,500
Alexander MacAsian (Austin & MacAsian)	105	10,500
Alexander MacAsian (in suspense) . . . . .	13	1,300
William Stirling (Stirling, Gordon & Co.) .	116	11,600
Elias Gibb (wine merchant) . . . . .	64	6,400
Alexander Glasgow (Auchrenraith) . . . . .	64	6,400
James Merry, jun. (Merry & Cunninghame)	37	3,700
David Chapman (Thomson & MacConnell)	15	1,500
Alexander Bannermann (Henry Banner- mann & Sons, Manchester) . . . . .	21	2,100
John Bannermann (Henry Bannermann & Sons, Manchester) . . . . .	21	2,100
Henry Bannermann (Henry Bannermann & Sons, Manchester) . . . . .	21	2,100
David Scott . . . . .	15	1,500
James Martin (of Jas. Martin and J. & G. Burns) . . . . .	15	1,500
James MacCall (Daldowie) . . . . .	13	1,300
Alexander Kerr (Robertland) . . . . .	7	700
<hr/>		<hr/>
British partners . . . . .	2,158	£215,800
Samuel Cunard (Halifax, N. S.) . . . . .	550	55,000
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total stock . . . . .	2,708	£270,800





## THE INCEPTION OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS:

**The Pony Express that in 1849 forwarded European News from Halifax to Digby, to be conveyed by vessel to St. John, and thence telegraphed to New York.**

By JOHN W. REGAN, Halifax, N. S.

(Read 5th January, 1912).

The Associated Press, the greatest news-gathering organization in existence, had its inception in a "pony express," started by six New York newspapers, that was operated between Halifax and Digby in 1849, for the purpose of forwarding European news to Boston and New York in advance of the arrival at Boston of the English mail steamer from Halifax. The "pony express" terminated near Digby, where a steamboat was in waiting to convey the despatches across the Bay of Fundy to St. John, the terminus of the newly-constructed telegraph line, and from this point the news was wired to New York, many hours ahead of the arrival of the English mail-steamers from Liverpool and Halifax. The whole service from Halifax to St. John and by wire to New York was called "The Halifax Express."

This express was started in February, 1849, and continued for nine months, until superseded by the extension of the telegraph line from St. John to Sackville and thence to Halifax in November, 1849. After that, the forwarding of the English news settled down to the less exciting method of filing the despatches at the telegraph office, situated, I believe, on Hollis Street, just north of the Bank of Nova Scotia, and the dashing "pony express" was discontinued forever and gave way to the new order of things. There was still some excitement and competition in rushing the English news from the ship's side to the Halifax telegraph office, but this was tame compared to the desperate energy with which the news had been forwarded by

relays of galloping horses 144 miles from Halifax to Digby in the average time of eight hours or a mile in about 3.29 minutes. At first there were two rival expresses, and it is recorded that on one trip they reached their destination only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  minutes apart, and that the episode of the racing expresses passing through a post-village caused as much excitement as a mail-steamer arriving at Halifax. Fortnightly, day and night, in good weather and bad weather the despatch riders tore through the lonely country, bearing the European intelligence to the people of the United States.

News from England was then the news of the world. It came in fortnightly budgets from London, and not as now in crisp daily messages from the ends of the earth. Vast interests of national, commercial, social and individual importance hinged upon the state of the markets and the other contents of the sealed despatches received at Halifax by way of the pioneer steamship line, and it must be remembered that the vessels arriving at Halifax were the only regular means of trans-Atlantic communication. There were private lines of packets and other clipper sailing ships, but they were uncertain. Just imagine what feverish excitement there would be today if all cables were suspended indefinitely and all steamship communication were reduced to one line between Liverpool and Halifax!

That was the condition which brought about the establishment of the "pony express" in 1849. This express is of special interest, because it brought the New York publishers together for the first time and caused the Associated Press to be founded. The express demonstrated the possibilities and the necessity for extending the telegraph line to Halifax without delay, and was therefore instrumental in the introduction of the telegraph into Canada. The "pony express" also must always be identified with the dramatic conjunction of these two marvellous agencies—the telegraph and the steamship.

The name "pony express" was a term imported from the United States, but in reality horses were used. The term came



into use as distinct from the stage-coach or wagon express, in which horses were employed. It must not be confused with the carrying of postal matter by mounted carriers, as was once the custom in the province.

The story of the "pony express" throws into greater prominence the geographical position of the port of Halifax.

The establishment of the Halifax express as a joint venture of the New York papers, was a sign of the revolution that the advent of the novel agency of the telegraph was to effect. There had been tremendous competition between the metropolitan papers. From 1830 to 1848 the rivalry and enterprise of the "Herald," "Journal of Commerce," "Courier and Enquirer" and several other New York journals, were the keenest imaginable.

Various schemes were adopted by the enterprising publishers in the publication of important news. There was then no cable, telegraph or telephone, no railway or steam navigation to assist the newspapers except perhaps in local areas for a short time. Pigeon posts and hilltop signal systems were used when possible, and on important occasions individual newspapers developed elaborate horse relay expresses for the rapid conveyance of despatches. The "pony express" was worked with such signal success by the New York "Herald" during the war with Mexico, that the elder Bennett was able to announce the result of engagements before the same intelligence reached the military authorities of the federal government at Washington.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Melville E. Stone, general manager of the Associated Press, for the following information in regard to newspaper conditions in New York at this time. About 1825 there was a notable change in newspaper work in the United States. Previous to that, letters had appeared on important topics, but no systematic effort had been made to keep pace with the world's happenings. In the new development half a dozen men were prominent. Samuel Topliff and Harry Blake were the first news managers. Topliff established

a news-room in Boston where he sold news-reports and shipping intelligence, and Blake prowled about Boston harbor in a row-boat intercepting incoming packets and peddling out as best he could any news that he secured. Two young Boston journalists, David Hale and Gerard Hallock, who became familiar with the work of Blake and Topliff, bought the New York "Journal of Commerce" and transplanted their methods to New York. They bought a handsome seagoing yacht and cruised off Sandy Hook to meet incoming vessels. This incensed the other newspaper publishers who promptly expelled Hale and Hallock from the local association, and they built a rival schooner. Hale and Hallock then erected a semaphore on the highlands near Sandy Hook to which they signalled news and this in turn was transmitted to Staten Island, which enabled them to outdistance their competitors.

The scenes about the office of the "Journal of Commerce" were memorable, and before long the proprietors enjoyed a national reputation. Then they established a "pony express" from Philadelphia with eight relays of horses, and were able to publish southern news twenty-four hours ahead of their competitors. This system worked so well that the federal government took it over; but Hale and Hallock extended their express to Washington, and thus maintained their supremacy. They frequently published official news from the capital before it had been received at the government office in New York.

With the advent of James Gordon Bennett and the New York "Herald," fresh zeal was imparted to the struggle between the newspapers. Besides a system of pony expresses to report the progress of the war with Mexico, Bennett had a carrier-pigeon service between New York and Albany for the annual message of the governor which he printed ahead of everyone.

In July 1840 the Cunard line of mail steamships was instituted between Liverpool, Halifax and Boston; and Bennett with characteristic energy established a "pony express" for hurrying the English news from Boston to New York.



Topliff and Blake had been succeeded at Boston by D. H. Craig, a newsgather of extraordinary alertness. As the Cunard boats approached Boston harbor, Craig met them with a schooner and received a budget of news. Then by carrier-pigeon he communicated a synopsis of the news to his Boston office, frequently releasing the birds 40 or 50 miles from port.

The importance of promptly securing the European news developed tremendous competition between the newspapers in which speculators joined. Great business interests depended upon the state of the markets, and the course of foreign trade and politics. It is recorded, though not authenticated, that a steamer was jointly chartered by the news collectors of Boston to meet the mail-steamer at Halifax and hurry the European news to the United States. On the very first trip Craig was one of the correspondents, and he had managed to secrete two carrier-pigeons in a basket, and he released these from his cabin window fifty miles outside Boston with the most important foreign intelligence, which was published before the press-boat reached the city.

Meanwhile Prof. Morse was struggling with his invention of the magnetic telegraph. In 1843 congress voted \$30,000 to build an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore, which occupied a year to construct. The line was subsequently extended to Philadelphia and New York. In October, 1848, under the heading "Telegraphic Wonders," the New York "Herald" reported it had received "interesting intelligence last night by electric telegraph from eight cities comprehending an aggregate distance of 3,000 miles." When the wires were extended to Boston and through the state of Maine and on across the border to St. John, it was at once seen that it would be easy to receive news brought to Halifax thirty-six hours earlier than it would reach Boston or New York by the steamer. It was certain, of course, that some one would take steps to secure the news, and private speculators would find it to their interest to do this and the commercial community would be victimized.

To prevent this, six New York newspapers formed an organization known as the Associated Press, to establish a "permanent express run by horses from Halifax to Digby on the Bay of Fundy, and by steamboats from that place to St. John." Such was the opening wording of the announcement in the New York "Courier" in May 1849, in regard to the express to Digby. At the same time the newspapers made a deal with the parties controlling the telegraph which caused it to be publicly alleged in New York that a monopoly was created. This report, no doubt, had something to do with the issue of the announcement by the "Courier" already referred to.

It declared that arrangements had also been made to "Transmit the news by telegraph from St. John to New York without interruption and with the least possible delay. The enterprise was undertaken solely for the benefit of the subscribers and readers of the six papers concerned. The management of the telegraph line aided it in every way possible and co-operated with the press in all measures necessary to bring the news before the public before it could be used by private speculators, to the general detriment. The experiment thus far, as our readers are aware, has proved perfectly successful. It will be seen from this statement that the Halifax Express and telegraph arrangement belongs solely and exclusively to the New York press—that is established. They have the entire control of it. The gentleman, by whom it is so efficiently managed at the Halifax end, Mr. D. H. Craig, is their agent. The expense of it, amounting to about \$1,000, for each steamer, is paid by them, and the despatch received is in every respect their private property, subject to their disposal in any way they see fit, so that the public is not injured and their subscribers are served thereby. If the news arrived in the day time, the New York papers, in justice to the commercial community and greatly to their own injury, issue it in extras or put it upon their bulletins. If it comes at night, they take all possible precaution to prevent its being appropriated by parties who have no right to it, and lay it before their subscribers in the regular morning editions.



"At an early day, or as soon indeed as it was understood that a Halifax express was to be run, the Boston press applied to the proprietors of the Halifax Express for a share in its benefits. An arrangement was promptly effected by which a copy of each despatch is delivered in Boston for the use of the parties to it, and it is generally issued simultaneously with its publication here. For this the nine Boston papers interested pay regularly to the New York press about one-sixth of the whole expense. The arrangement is mutually advantageous and satisfactory to the public, and the press of both cities.

"The enterprise has been styled 'a monopoly' by papers who are not parties to it. It is monopolized by its owners, and so long as the law protects private property it will continue to be, but we have no doubt that any New York morning paper can become a party to it by paying its share of the costs. Those are the simple facts in regard to the Halifax Express. We state them on behalf of the six New York papers by whom that express is owned and managed at an expense of over \$20,000 per annum, as well as of the Boston press who receive and pay for a share of the advantages. The Halifax Express is permanent and will be made as regular and efficient as money and the utmost care and attention can make it. We regard it as highly important to the commercial community of New York that it should be maintained, because in its absence the great mass of our business men will be at the mercy of private speculators. At present the utmost care is taken to protect the public and it is only just to say that in this endeavor the press is thoroughly and generously aided by Mr. Smith, the president of the telegraph company between New York and Boston, by Mr. Foss their superintendent at New York, and by all the operators and others attached to the lines. We look to the public alone for that appreciation which is of itself a sufficient reward for our expense and labor."

On Wednesday, Jan. 3rd, 1849, the Halifax "Nova Scotian" stated that the telegraph was working between St. John and Calais. The issue of the same paper of February 26th, 1849,

reprinted an item from the St. John "Observer" to the effect that it was intended to run a news express from Halifax to St. John, via Annapolis, on the arrival of every English mail-steamer, the news to be telegraphed from St. John to New York on account of the Associated Press of that city.

The first express left Halifax on February 21st, 1849, on the arrival of the Cunard Royal Mail steamship "Europa," eleven days from Liverpool, England. Concerning this first express, the Halifax newspapers contain no information, but we can confidently infer that it was dispatched on February 21st, as the newspaper referring to the express of March 8th, stated that the latter reached Digby Gut in "three hours less than it was done before." The "Europa" was the English mail steamship which arrived at Halifax a trip before that of the "America" to which reference will soon be made. The first run of the express to Digby Gut must have been performed in about eleven and a half hours, a record which was next to be reduced by three hours. It is recorded that the express was continued for nine months with remarkable regularity, only one trip being missed, and that the distance of 144 miles to Victoria Beach, Digby Gut, was covered in the average time of eight hours. The journey was performed by two riders who changed at Kentville, and was divided into twelve stages with a fresh horse about every twelve miles. The fortnightly mail steamers were liable to arrive at Halifax at any time, and the despatch rider had to be always on the alert, ready to start at any hour, night or day, and the same alertness was requisite in furnishing fresh horses at the relay posts.

Regarding the second trip, on the arrival of the steamship "America" on Thursday, March 8th, the "Express" newspaper of Halifax on the following Monday, March 12th, printed a short item as follows:—"The news from England by the 'America' was expressed from hence to Digby Gut in the extraordinary short time of eight hours and  $27\frac{1}{2}$  minutes—three hours less than it was done before. Mr. Barnaby's express came in,



we understand,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  minutes in advance of Mr. Hyde's.\* A serious accident, which severely injured Mr. Hyde's courier occurred at Windsor bridge and delayed the latter half an hour."

The news columns of the "British Colonist," Halifax, contained an extended reference to the new express, as follows: "On Thursday morning (8th March) immediately after the arrival of the steamer from England, two expresses (one on behalf of the Associated Press of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, the other got up in opposition by some mercantile gentlemen in the United States) left this city travelling at a rate of speed that is, we believe, unprecedented in this country. The parties engaged here to convey the rival expresses overland to Digby, were Mr. Hyde and Mr. Barnaby. Hyde's express arrived at Digby Neck at 28 minutes past 12 o'clock accomplishing the distance of 146 miles in  $8\frac{1}{2}$  hours—having met with several accidents and interruptions.† At Windsor a delay of 20 minutes occurred, and after starting Mr. Hamilton, the courier from that place, when crossing the bridge broke his stirrup, and was thrown from his horse with such force, that he lay insensible for some time; he, however, remounted, and, though lamed, with one stirrup performed his route with astonishing despatch. A distance of 18 miles from Kentville, was performed by Mr. Thad Harris†† in 53 minutes. The steamer 'Conqueror', chartered to convey Hyde's express to St. John, was waiting in readiness when the express arrived. Barnaby's express arrived  $2\frac{1}{2}$  minutes before Hyde's, but the steamer 'Commodore,' engaged by his party, had not made her appearance at the latest accounts."

A contemporary issue of the "British Colonist," Halifax, made an editorial reference to the express as follows:—"Had we ever entertained any doubts as to the importance of an

\*Hiram Hyde, of provincial stage-coach fame, died at Truro, N. S., on 14th December, 1907. Hyde had the contract for running the dispatch express on behalf of D. H. Craig; while Barnaby served the rival corporation.

†This is at an average of a mile in  $3\frac{1}{2}$  minutes, including all delays.

††This was probably Thaddeus Harris, born 1820, died June 1851, son of Hon. J.D. Harris, of Kentville.

electric telegraph being constructed between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the following fact would suffice to remove scepticism. The 'America' arrived on last Thursday morning and incredible as it may seem, the English and foreign news which she carried was published in New York on the same evening. This news was expressed from hence to Digby, thence by steamer to New Brunswick, thence by telegraph despatch, and every merchant and burgess in New York knew the state of the European markets eighteen hours after the arrival of the 'America.' Had the electric telegraph been in operation in Nova Scotia, the news would have been in New York ere the steamer could have left our harbor."

From the announcement of the New York "Courier", we see that not only was the Halifax Express the occasion of the founding of the Associated Press, but that Halifax was the first foreign station of the Associated Press, Mr. D. H. Craig was its first foreign correspondent, and the telegraph wire from the United States to St. John and afterward to Halifax was the earliest line controlled by the organization. The Associated Press now has thousands of correspondents at home and abroad and controls many thousand miles of wire in the United States, where it supplies the world's news as well as domestic news to seven hundred daily papers with a combined circulation of sixteen million copies, and if the formula of three readers to each paper is accepted the Associated Press reports are read by half the people of the United States. These reports are also sold to Canadian Press, Ltd., and distributed to daily papers throughout Canada. While the legal birthplace of this great news-gathering organization was New York, its first activities related to the procuring of English news landed at Halifax, and it is interesting to observe that the purpose of forming the Associated Press was the benefit and protection of the public.

That Halifax has not lost ground as a news centre, is illustrated by the busy cable and wireless systems centring here. Here is an example: In 1909 the writer was in New York in



August and was informed by the manager of the Associated Press that Commander Peary had been absent two years and was due to return from his last polar dash, and he suggested fitting out a steamer to intercept him at Greenland. Before there was time to act on these instructions the world was electrified by the announcement that Dr. Cook had discovered the North Pole. In a few days there was another announcement that Peary had arrived at Labrador with the statement that he had reached the pole and that Cook's claim was unfounded. The writer met the Peary party at Battle Harbor, Labrador. The detailed account of the polar dash was forwarded by wireless relays down the Labrador coast and across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, through Halifax, and overland to New York. At the same time Dr. Cook was crossing the ocean to New York, on the steamer "Oscar II" at the height of his short lived triumph. Cook was accompanied by the Berlin correspondent of the Associated Press, who had scrambled on board at Copenhagen. A condensed report of Peary's story from Battle Harbor was sent to Halifax from New York, and forwarded by wireless to Sable Island, and repeated by marconigram to Dr. Cook on board the Danish steamer in midocean. Cook's criticism was returned the same way and forwarded from Halifax by land-wire and wireless to Commander Peary at Battle Harbor. Though these two pole-hunters were separated by thousands of miles of sea and barren waste, one in frozen Labrador and the other in mid ocean, the world was entertained with an amazing dialogue. Just as the Associated Press found the first reason for its existence in the geographical situation of Halifax, just so does this city continue to be a clearing-house for the daily record of the world's affairs.

The telegraph office was first opened at Halifax in November, 1849; and on November 15th, the first dispatch was sent from this city giving a synopsis of the English news received by the royal mail-steamship "America." The steamer arrived at 7.30 o'clock, but the wire between St. John and Calais was out of repair and was not restored until 8 o'clock,

otherwise the "America's" news would have been in Boston by 11 o'clock and in New York within five minutes afterward. A local paper stated that its reporter was in the telegraph office at 11 o'clock on Thursday night after the arrival of the "America" and found that Mr. Gisborne, the operator, had been engaged for three hours in sending on an abstract of the European news and that it had reached Boston in safety and that the whole report would be published in the morning papers next day. The Halifax "Nova Scotian" commented as follows:—

"This triumph of science speaks for itself. The brief experience had on our line, speaks favorably of the skill of the operator and the care and diligence applied by the superintendent."

The "Morning Chronicle" contained the first telegraphic dispatch ever published in the Halifax newspapers, which came direct to this city by wire. It was as follows:—

*Great Storm at Portland.*

"St. John, N. B., Nov. 14, 1849:—Ten buildings were blown down on Friday night. No other news per steamer."

While the telegraph was only opened for business in November the construction work had been in progress in and about the city for some time. The first post of the telegraph was erected on the North Common at Halifax on the afternoon of the centenary celebration, June 8, 1849.

The first despatch of English news by telegraph directly from Halifax to Boston and New York on November 15th, 1849, marked the termination of the fortnightly galloping "Halifax Express" which had been inaugurated February 21st of the same year, after having been in operation for nine months.\*

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\*Readers are also referred to an article in the Halifax Pony Express, by George Mullane, in the "Morning Chronicle," Halifax, for 1st January, 1914.



*Statements Regarding the Pony Express.*

In response to a letter inserted in Halifax, St. John, and other provincial newspapers asking for information respecting the foregoing pony express, the writer has received a number of interesting replies from old residents, but several correspondents appear to confuse early coach and mail carrying contracts with the Associated Press dispatch service.

The following statements, so received, apparently bear upon the subject of the Halifax dispatch express of 1849, and will supplement the information given in the foregoing paper. They are presented about as received and depend for their summary of details upon the respective memories of the persons who furnished them. Other statements which no doubt refer to mail contracts, will be given later.

John Hall, of Lawrencetown, Annapolis Co., reports that his father conducted a stable at Lawrencetown, about 1848, where horses were boarded for a man named Barnaby who drove a coach and ran the "pony express." Mr. Hall's letter is interesting enough to quote at length. He says:—"I well remember as a boy the delight I took in riding a horse beside my father while exercising the express horses. The event of the express passing through the village, would cause as much excitement as the arrival of an English steamer at Halifax. Sometimes there was added excitement caused by a man named Hiram Hyde, who wagered he could carry the dispatches between any two given places in less time than Barnaby. Hyde operated a rival coach line. I distinctly recall numbers of people standing in the street, waiting to catch a glimpse of the riders as they approached our village, and the eagerness to help change the saddle from tired to fresh horses while the riders walked about briskly to overcome the cramped feeling from hard riding. Then the riders were helped into the saddle and were off like a flash. Among these who rode horses, were Mason and John Pineo and Benjamin Chesley. John Ross kept the stable where Hyde's horses put up. There was almost

as much excitement in the village over a race between the two expresses as there would be in a general election at the present time, and I assure you that the horses received every attention from their caretakers, in order to win the applause of the public. In one race the Barnaby horse was a fine chestnut, weighing 1,000 or 1,100 lbs., while the rival equine was a bay with a white stripe, and weighed 900 lbs. Barnaby won easily, and there was cheering at our stable. The time between Halifax and Victoria Beach was usually from 8 to 9 hrs., but I cannot understand why the service was called a "pony express," as the finest horses were employed."

Another correspondent, Jacob Randall, of Kingston Station, near the western border of Kings Co., states that his father kept what was called a tavern on the main road at Lower Aylesford one-half mile west of Kingston Station. Tenders were asked for the conveyance of the press dispatches and James King, of St. John, was awarded the contract. A trial was made around the Bay of Fundy through New Brunswick; and another through the Annapolis Valley to Victoria Beach on Digby Gut. The latter proved the quicker route, and King went through the Valley and placed horses; one at Nelson Chute's at Berwick, one at Randall's tavern (Lower Aylesford) and one about two miles below Middleton, besides others.

My correspondent and his brother looked after the horses, the former being then twelve years of age. They required to be on the alert when a rider came, to change saddle and bridle as quickly as possible, and then the rider went away at once like a flash. Mr. Randall thinks the name of the first rider was Patrick Doyle. It seems that this man did not handle the horses to advantage, and he was replaced by Corey Odell of St. John, who afterwards settled in Annapolis Royal. Odell proved a better jockey and made faster time. Randall remembers an instance when the express rider Doyle arrived one morning at 8 o'clock, but the fresh horse that he mounted refused to go. Every plan to start him was tried without success. When a neighbor mounted the animal, the horse went away



like a bird, but he would not budge a step with Doyle on his back. After four hours balking, Doyle gave it up and went on to the next station. Randall states when the mail steamers arrived in Halifax harbor, a small boat would be summoned by a steam whistle to receive the sealed dispatches, which were hurried to the shore and handed to the rider who was off at once. The first change was at Sackville near Bedford. The rider carried a horn with a very sharp, shrill blast, which was constantly sounded for a distance of one-half mile before approaching a relay station, whether day or night, and ample warning was given in this way to hold a fresh horse in readiness. The despatches were enclosed in a sealed bag carried under the arm with a strap over the shoulder. Neither of the riders lived in Halifax. The horses usually walked returning. Randall corroborates other statements that the average time from Halifax to Victoria Beach was 8 hours, or 18 miles an hour, when the roads were good.

Mr. Randall says that at the conclusion of the despatch service, King tendered for the mail contract and was awarded the same and ran in opposition to the Davidson coach, which Randall says was operated by Barnaby. The opposition between the King mail and the Davidson coach, was so keen that either coach would go a mile off the main road to get a passenger to prevent the traveler going by the other coach.

In view of Jacob Randall's statement that the first experiment in forwarding the news from Halifax, was conducted via Truro and Sackville to St. John, inquiries have been made at Truro among friends and descendants of the late Hiram Hyde. Hyde was a resident of Truro for many years. Some of his surviving friends at Truro, men upwards of eighty years of age, state that they never heard Hyde mention the horse express, and they felt confident, therefore, that any effort to forward the news overland through Truro and Sackville and through New Brunswick to St. John, must have been limited to one attempt; which not being successful, the other route through the Annapolis Valley and by boat to St. John was immediately

adopted. Hyde was born in New York and came to New Brunswick shortly before the outbreak of the Canadian rebellion. In that affair he took a contract to transport British troops in winter to Quebec. He afterwards settled at Truro and operated an extensive stage-coach system, carrying mails and passengers, in different parts of the province. Luther B. Archibald of Truro remembers a dispute that arose in 1858 between the Nova Scotia Telegraph Co. and the New Brunswick Telegraph Co. The former would not transmit the European news from Halifax, which was therefore sent by rail to Truro and forwarded to Sackville by Archibald and Purdy in a light rig. This continued for a short time until the dispute between the two companies was satisfactorily settled.

Mrs. Mary Odell, of Annapolis Royal, has sent a statement that she is the widow of Corey Odell, one of the two riders who carried the dispatches for King Brothers, in 1849, and that she is now in her eighty-second year. On New Year's day, 1912, Mrs. Odell called on Mrs. Agnes King, age 81, widow of Arthur King. In talking over old times, Mrs. King stated that the pony express was inaugurated by the Associated Press after the telegraph line was built from New York to St. John. Mrs. King says that year was 1849, and remembers distinctly a race between King Brothers and Barnaby, who had the contract for carrying mails from Halifax to St. John. Barnaby changed horses every 12 miles. The Kings won the race in the remarkable time of 6 hours, having the pick of horses from their St. John stables. Mrs. Odell says that an Irish jockey carried the dispatches from Halifax to Kentville, and Corey Odell from there to Victoria Beach, for King Brothers. On arrival at Granville Ferry a gun was fired from the old fort at Annapolis notifying the steamer, which was in readiness at Victoria Beach to start for St. John.

In a scrap-book in the possession of C. E. W. Dodwell, C. E., Halifax, there is a clipping from London "Engineering," giving an extract from a letter published in the Windsor "Mail" of February 13th, 1879, advocating a failway through the Annapolis



Valley, and citing the old express running from Halifax to St. John overland and by water, in an average of 11 hours, but occasionally 10 hours, the land trip being 144 miles and water passage 40 miles. The writer, evidently an old resident, said the average time from Halifax to Victoria Beach was 8 hours, and the fastest time 7 hours 15 minutes (that would be an average of about a mile in three minutes.) On one occasion 45 miles between Halifax and Windsor was covered in one hour and 45 minutes (or an average of a mile in 2.33 minutes). Mention is made of a bridge at Horton being left open for repairs, as the dispatch rider was not expected, but the mail-steamer arrived at Halifax earlier than usual and the rider came during the night, which was very dark. The horse leaped the open space in the bridge, 18 ft., and the rider did not know until reaching the next station just what was the explanation.

There is another story that a dispatch rider's horse, dashing through the covered bridge over the Avon on a dark night, struck a wooden post, and fell dead; the rider being severely injured. Still another story reports an express rider having been thrown from his horse near Avonport in Lower Horton, and being unable to proceed. As the despatches could not be delayed, William B. T. Piers, a gentleman formerly of Halifax but then a resident of the locality, and a fine horseman, jumped into the saddle and galloped through with them.

T. M. Robinson, of 2 Wright St., St. John, N. B., who was unquestionably the first telegraph operator in the Maritime Provinces and probably the first in Canada as well, contributes several facts concerning the pony express. He was connected with the Nova Scotia Telegraph almost from its inception, and was secretary of the New Brunswick Telegraph Company. This company constructed the telegraph extension from St. John to Sackville. Mr. Robinson states that he was in New York from Sept., 1844, until April 1848, and witnessed the first telegraph wire being taken into the office on Wall St., N. Y., in April, 1845. During the winter of 1847-8 he saw a statement published in New York that the telegraph wire had reached

Portland and that the Associated Press had forwarded English news by express from Halifax to Digby and by steamer to Portland and by telegraph to New York. Mr. Robinson does not think this experiment was repeated, because when he arrived in Digby some time later he learned that the Portland steamer had been delayed by ice coming out of the Annapolis River, and that the news did not reach its destination much in advance of the Cunard steamer's arrival at Boston. Mr. Robinson says Halifax capitalists subscribed thirty per cent. of the stock of the New Brunswick Telegraph Company. It was thought to be a poor investment; indeed the line would not have been built through the provinces as early as it was, had not the Associated Press agreed to pay heavy tolls. They paid the Nova Scotian Government line \$150,00, the New Brunswick Telegraph Company \$130,00, and four other companies between St. John and New York proportionate prices for a three-thousand word report on the arrival of each mail steamer. For many months the press service contributed fifty per cent. of the New Brunswick Telegraph Company's revenue, and the company never paid less than eight per cent. to its shareholders.

One of the oldest printers in Canada is Alexander West of 32 North St., Halifax, for many years a familiar face about town, but now confined to the house through old age. He will be ninety in April. Interviewed recently by the writer, Mr. West says he entered a printing office in this city at eleven years of age. He was forty years in the "Acadian Recorder" office and fifteen years in the "Chronicle" office. He worked for the Howes. At the recommendation of P. S. Hamilton he was selected by D. H. Craig to board the mail steamers and to transfer, so he claims, the despatches to the express rider on shore. Mr. West vividly recalls the small boat he kept at the market wharf in which he rowed out to meet the incoming steamers at George's Island, whenever the weather suited, in order to save waiting for the Cunard liners to dock. He says the despatches were made up in sealed packages in Liverpool



and given into the custody of the purser. West arranged to make himself known by displaying a small flag of particular make. Showing this, he drew his boat alongside the mail steamer and received the despatches from the purser over the paddle box. On some occasions the despatches came in sealed tin cans and were dropped overboard in the harbor in sight of West and picked up by him. He declares that in the end, the government prohibited delivering the despatches until arrival at the wharf. Mr. West says the packages often contained news of immense importance to the public. As a rule the same news was the common property of the officers and passengers of the steamer, but there were occasions when this was not the case. Mr. West mentions a supplementary despatch handed to the purser at Queenstown, where the steamers touched, which was probably sent to Ireland by special boat and courier to intercept the mail for America. This despatch related to an important occurrence that had taken place after the steamer left Liverpool, which was not known on board the liner. At this point Mr. West's memory seemed to fail him. He says he read the despatch, and was startled that it contained an announcement of the death of the Queen. The writer reminded him that the queen died only a few years ago, but he insisted this was the momentous character of the despatch and he prides himself that he was the only possessor for a short time, on this side, of a secret worth a million, to use his language, and that he faithfully kept his counsel and did not breathe the news before it became public later. It seems plausible to believe that something important had actually occurred, but whatever the news was that reposed in West's keeping, it comforts an old man, nearly a nonagenarian, to think he did not betray his trust. It is not at all certain that Mr. West himself took as active a part in handling the despatches as his story indicates. His mind is very feeble and memory confused, but his words add a dramatic touch and are reproduced for what they are worth. Mr. West's statement doubtless refers to the receipt in Halifax on the 5th of June, 1849, by the royal mail packet, of the news of an attempt to shoot Her Majesty in St. James'

Park, by a laborer named John Hamilton. This news created great excitement in Halifax.

*Statement Relating to Mail Riders.*

The following few items received from correspondents, doubtless refer to mail contracts in the early days, and have nothing to do with the pony express, but are appended here, as they may be of interest in other respects.

It must be remembered that Dr. Akins, in his "History of Halifax," Page 89, says that a regular post communication was opened with Annapolis in the summer of 1786, and a courier was engaged who went through once a fortnight with the mail between Halifax and that town. John Howe was at that time postmaster, and continued so at least until 1808.

Gilbert O. Bent, of 101 Leinster St., St. John, informs me that his mother's grandfather, John Bath, a native of Hull, England, landed at Halifax about 1770 or 1774 with an uncle, William Clarke, and took the latter's horses, which he brought with him, across country and settled in the township of Granville Annapolis County. He was the first to carry His Majesty's mails to Halifax across Nova Scotia on horseback. Previously they had been taken on foot. Bath died 3 Nov., 1816, aged 65 years. Mr. Bent refers to Calnek's History of Annapolis County, Pages 159 and 475 for further details. This is said to have been the beginning of the mounted post in Nova Scotia.

Frank A. Bolser, of Spa Springs, Annapolis Co., sends an interview with Richard W. Hians an old neighbor, whose father rode a dispatch horse in the early days, but this was a government mail contract. This rider, William Hians, was employed by the post-office department of Halifax, which was in charge of John Howe,\* a half brother of Joseph Howe. John Howe married a sister of Wm. Hians. Richard Hians says King of St. John was the chief contractor for this mail

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\*John Howe was postmaster at Halifax, from 1803 until 1843.



service and he re-let the work to the riders. The mail was carried by swift packet service across the Bay of Fundy from St. John. The vessel pulled into the wharf at Annapolis Royal near Hog Island, so-called, where the mail was handed to a post-office official to distribute the packages to the proper couriers. The dispatches were in leather sacks. These were very large and were handed to the riders just as taken from the packets, without being opened, and were carried through to Halifax, and never opened on the road. Some riders carried local mail also. William Hians rode to Windsor, and his brother Richard from Windsor to Halifax, where the dispatch mail was delivered direct to the office of John Howe. The horses employed were about 1200 pounds, as lighter animals could not carry the immense weight of the English mail. They were tough, trappy horses, supposed to be thoroughbred. Two horses went ahead, fastened by their bridle to one another, also attached behind the shoulders by some form of surcingle. Pouches were thrown across their backs, and the rider followed on a saddle-horse, generally smaller, and directed the pair of carriers. Relays were about fifteen miles apart. The stops and changes on Wm. Hian's route were: Bridgetown, Wilmot, Aylesford, Kentville and Windsor. The horses were ridden as fast as they could endure when carrying dispatch mail; but slower at other times. Wm. Hians stopped at Sangster's, in or near Windsor, at the end of his route. The whole distance from the Bay of Fundy to Halifax was covered in less than a day. These riders were armed, carrying two pistols. Upon William Hians wishing to go to the city for one trip, he and his brother Richard exchanged routes. This change becoming known, Richard was assailed by a highwayman at Elm Brook, just east of Middleton, Ann. Co., The robber stopped the head horses, and rode in close to Richard and stabbed him with a knife. Fortunately the knife struck a brass button and did little harm. Before Hians could get his pistol to bear, it being dark, the robber disappeared. The narrator of the above facts, possesses one of the pistols carried by his father. It is marked "Hatton, Liverpool," and seems to be as good as

ever. The barrel is threaded on, and to load it, it has to be unscrewed, exposing a chamber in which to place the powder and ball. The weapon is fired by a percussion cap and hammer.\* The bore is very large. At the last of the service, William Hians drove a four-wheeled waggon said to be the first in the province. It was sunk at low-water mark at Margaretville, on the Bay of Fundy shore, to avoid imposts, being one of several vehicles imported from the United States. The vehicles were discovered, and seized and sold. Hians obtained one of them, and drove the mail after that with two horses tandem, until the regular coach line started, when he went to the Shelburne route and from there to the St. John and Fredericton road and finally retired to his farm at Spa Springs, where his son still lives.

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\*Percussion caps came into use in England between 1820 and 1830, and this taken in consideration with the statement that Howe was then postmaster, would approximately date the story between 1830 and 1843.



## LIST OF DONORS AND BOOKS

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*Journals.*

Canadian Military Institute:—

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Chicago Historical Society:—

*Charter, Constitution and List of Members.*

Cornell University.

Cowie, Dr. A. J.:—

*The Clockmaker, (1st Edition.)*

Eaton, Rev. Arthur W. H.:—

*"Americana" containing "History of Halifax, Nova Scotia"  
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Essex Institute:—

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*Quarterly, 1914-16.*

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*Camden, Third Series.*

*Transactions.*

Royal Society of Canada:—

*Transactions and Proceedings.*

Saskatchewan University:—

*Calendar.*

"Shelbourne Gazette."

Simpson, J. R.:—

*Historical Landmarks Association Report.*

Thompson, Slason:—

*The Railway Library.*

Toronto University:—

*Crusade of 1383. G. W. Wrong.*

*Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada.*

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*General Catalogue, 1913-15.*

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*Calendars.*

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*Index to Ecclesiastical. Records, Vol. 7.*

Vermont Historical Society:—

*Proceedings.*

Virginia Historical Society.

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"Weekly Monitor" (Bridgetown).

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*Papers and Records.*

Western Reserve Historical Society.

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*Proceedings.*

Wisconsin History Commission.

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*Transactions, V.*



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## APPENDIX.

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BEAMISH MURDOCH, Q. C., D. C. L., M. L. A.

**The Nova Scotian Historian.**

Born about 1800; Died 9th February, 1876.

*(See Frontispiece.)*

The following obituary notice extracted from a Halifax newspaper, gives a brief account of Beamish Murdoch, of whom a portrait is herein for the first time published:—

"This gentleman who long ago in Nova Scotia was distinguished for literary taste and habits, died at Lunenburg, N. S., on 9th February, 1876, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. In his youth and early manhood he was a voluminous contributor to the provincial newspapers and Acadian Magazine which was published in Halifax about fifty years ago. For a considerable time when the late Philip J. Holland was the proprietor of the Acadian Recorder, Mr. Murdoch occupied its editorial chair, and in that capacity exhibited no small amount of ability as a popular journalist. His style was easy, flowing and chaste. The tendency of his mind impelled him to engage in literature, and during his long life, his brain was seldom idle, or his ready pen for any considerable length of time unemployed. His habits were studious and his classical and scientific attainments respectable. Besides contributions in multitude to various periodicals, he was the author of several literary undertakings of an extended and permanent character.

"In 1825 he was the author of a pamphlet, 48 pages, octavo, descriptive of the Miramichi fire and the destructive disasters connected with that terrible occurrence. This was followed six years later by an essay concerning imprisonment for debt. Soon after (in 1832) he published an "Epitome of the Laws of Nova Scotia" in four volumes. When, in 1849, the centenary celebration of the settlement of Halifax took place, Mr. Murdoch was chosen to deliver an oration in reference to that event.

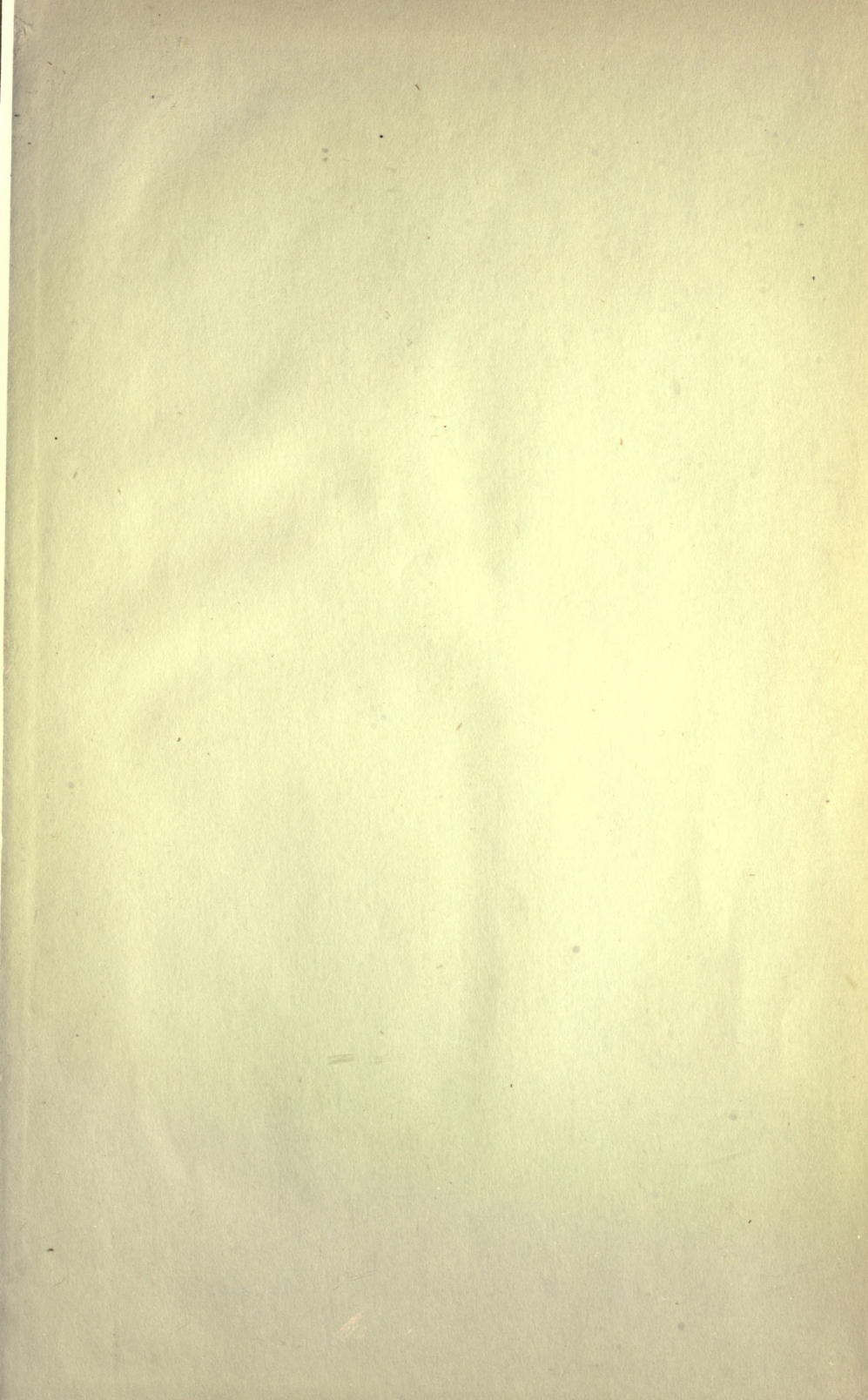
His best and most voluminous work was the "History of Nova Scotia or Acadia." In all these literary efforts, industry, deep research and considerable amount of literary labour and ability were manifested.

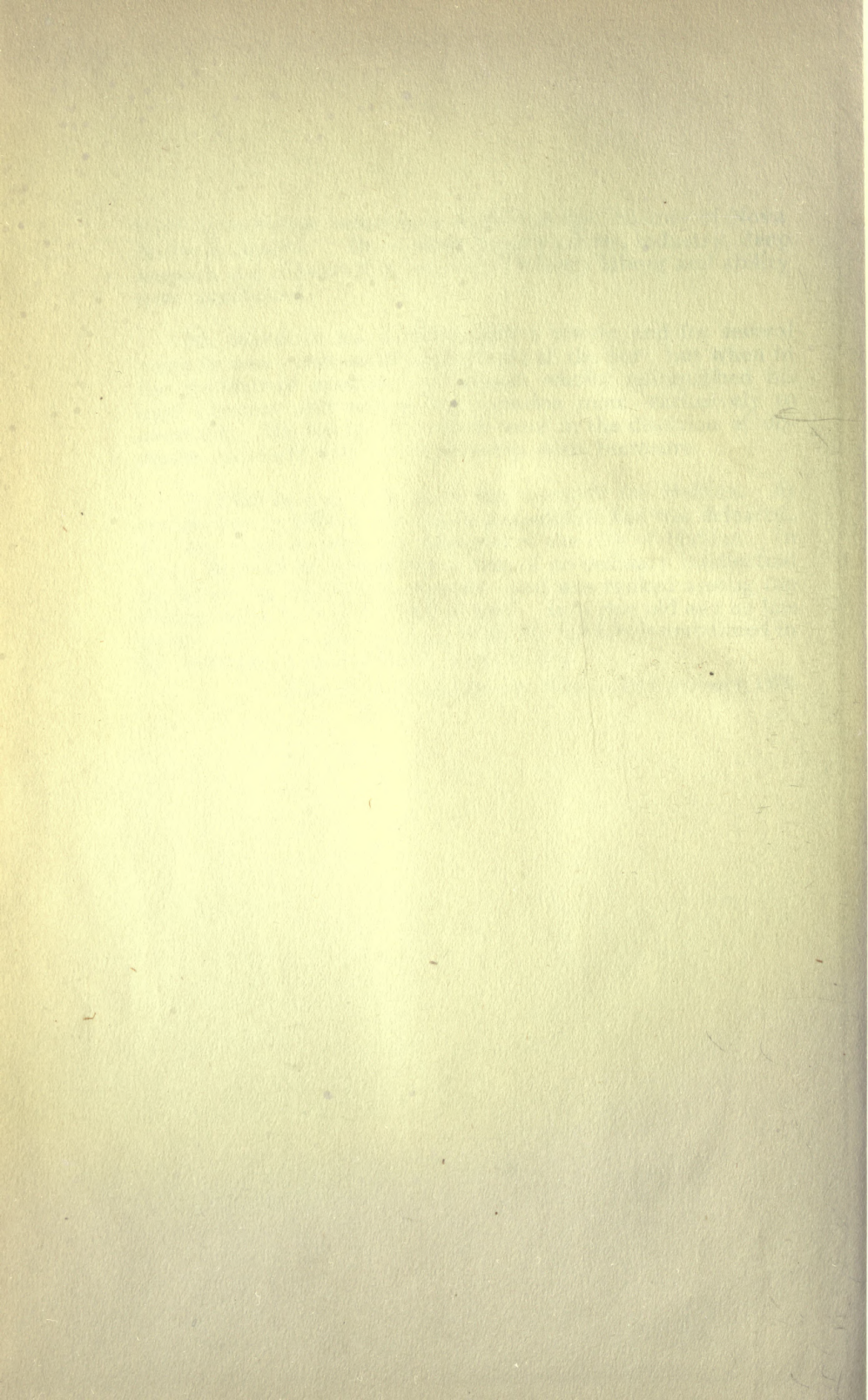
"Mr. Murdoch was professionally a lawyer, and for several years he was a successful practitioner at the bar; but when in the meridian of manhood, he almost wholly relinquished his legal pursuits and turned his attention more exclusively to literature. His habits and tastes were in the direction of domestic quietude and companionship with literature.

"In 1826 he was returned to the assembly for Halifax. At the election in 1830 he was again a candidate but was defeated. For ten years he was the Recorder of the city of Halifax. In short, Beamish Murdoch was a man of no ordinary intellectual capacity—an industrious student—and was ranked among the distinguished men of his native land. In a ripe old age he has passed away, and the memory of his life labours is embalmed in the literature and annals of Nova Scotia."

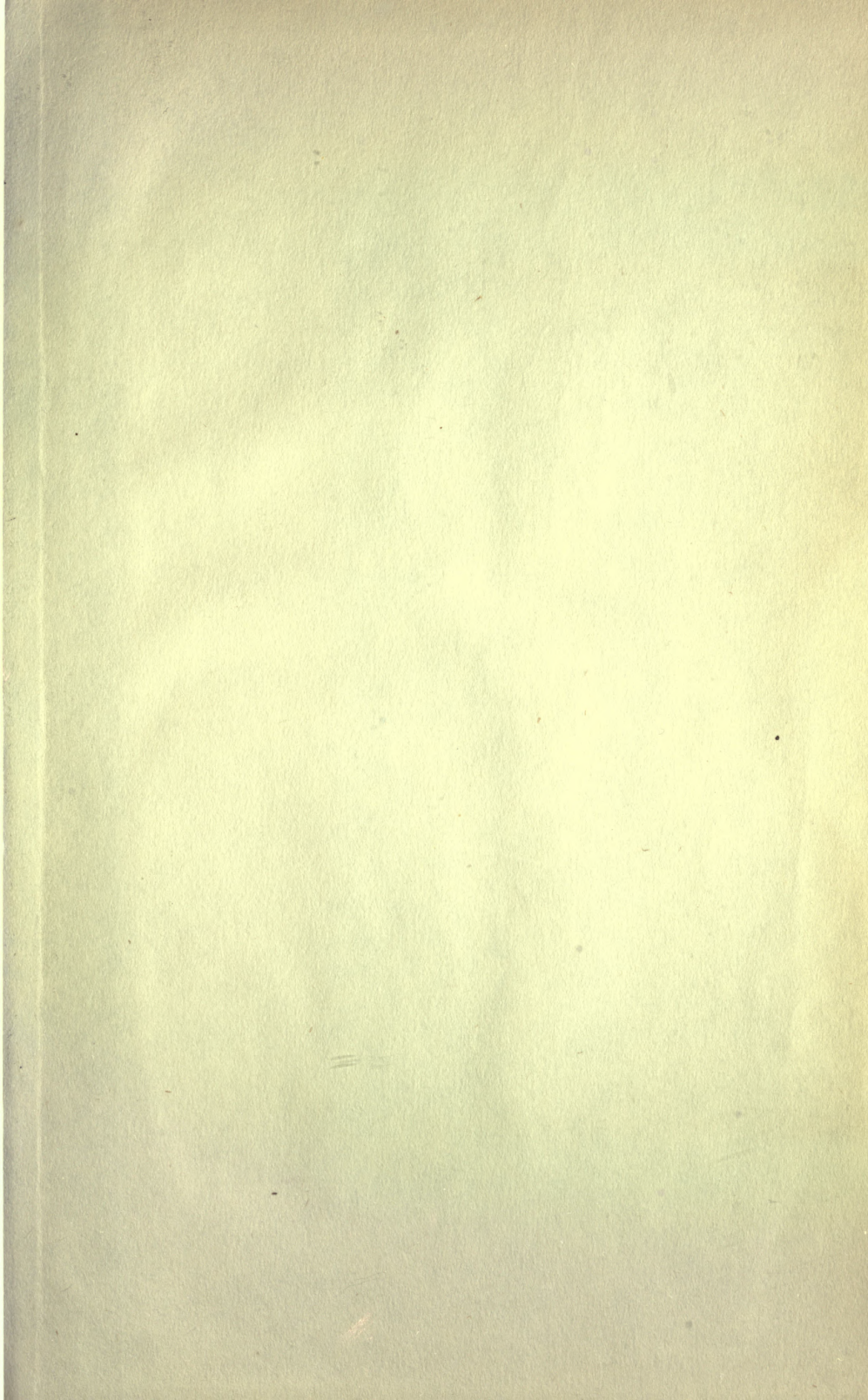
—From the *Morning Chronicle*, Halifax, 11th February, 1876.

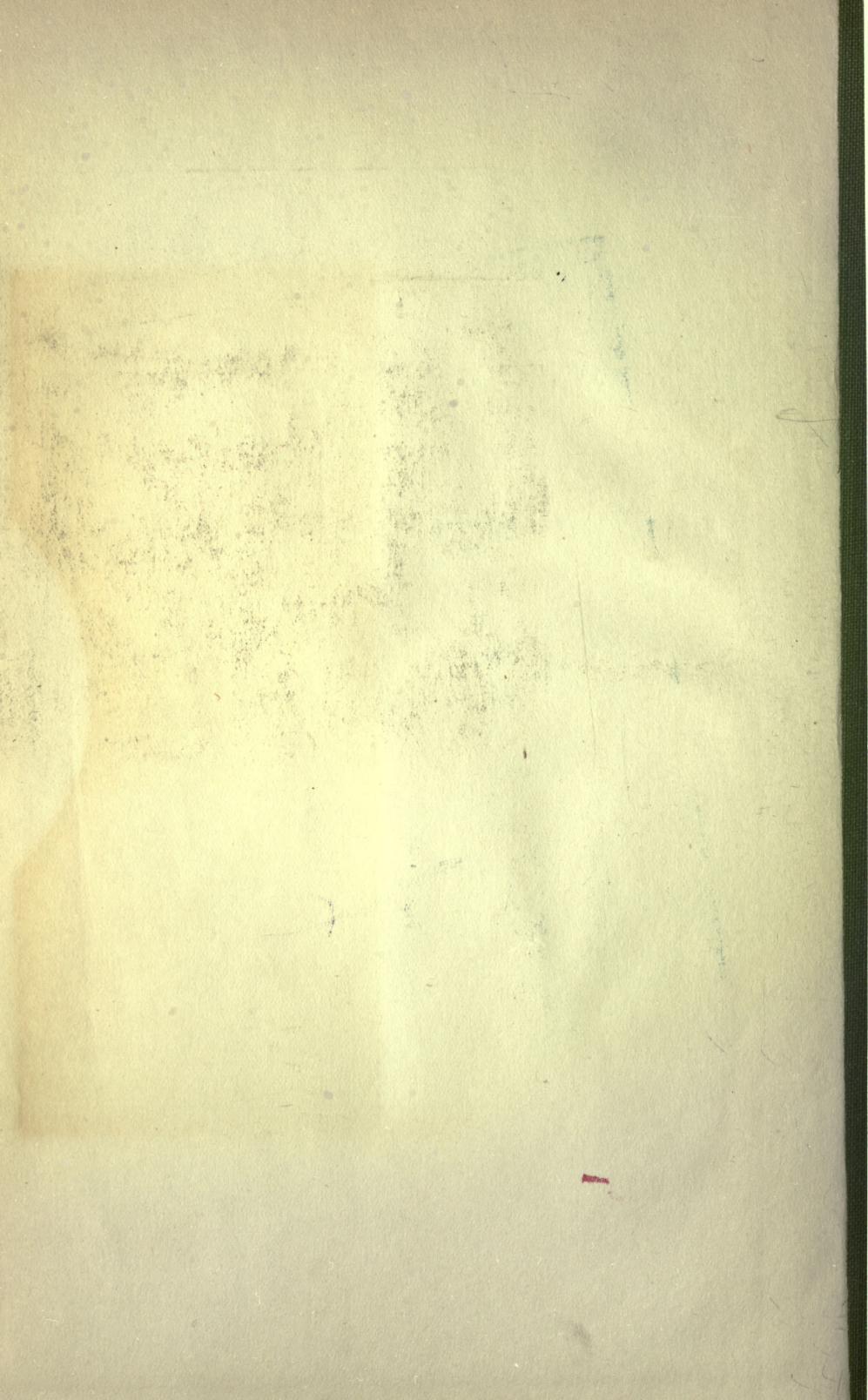














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