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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEAR 1887-88.

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VOLUME VI.

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NOVA SCOTIA PRINTING COMPANY.

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## OBJECTS OF COLLECTION.

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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 pioneers and of eminent citizens deceased, and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators 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 othe. 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 coin 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 Micmac, Malicetes and Bethucks.

7. Books of all kinds, especially such as relate to Canadian history, travels, 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, &c., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, &c., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers, we especially appeal on behalf of our Society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, &c., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.



## RULES AND BY-LAWS.

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

2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all documents, papers and other 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 so far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish ; and the formation of a library of books, papers, and manuscripts, affording information, and illustrating Historical subjects.

3. Each member shall pay towards the funds of the Society, Five Dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars on the second day of January in each succeeding year, but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of Two Dollars and shall become a Life Member, provided he shall at any time after six months from his admission pay to the Treasurer the sum of Forty Dollars in addition to what he had paid before. The sums received for Life Memberships to be invested, and the interest only used for ordinary purposes. Persons not resident within fifteen miles of Halifax may become members on payment of Two Dollars at the time of admission and One Dollar annually thereafter.

No person shall be considered a member until his first fee is paid, and if any member shall allow his dues to remain unpaid for two years, his name shall be struck from the roll.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed at a regular meeting of the Society by a member ; the proposition shall remain on the table for one month, or until the next regular meeting, when a ballot shall be taken ; one black ball in five excluding.

5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of every month, at 8 p. m. And special meetings shall be convened if necessary on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence, by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.

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6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of February of each year, at 8 p. m., at which meeting there shall be chosen a President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer. At the same meeting four members shall be chosen, who, with the foregoing, shall constitute the Council of the Society.

The election of members to serve on the N. S. Library Commission, under the provisions of Chapter 17, N. S. Acts of 1880, shall take place, each year, at the annual meeting, immediately after the election of Officers and Council.

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

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, but at the Annual Meeting in February, when ten members shall form a quorum. 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 a previous meeting or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

9. The President and Council shall have power to elect Corresponding and Honorary Members, who shall be exempt from dues; and the duties of the Officers and Council shall be the same as those performed generally in other Societies.

10. The Publication Committee shall consist of three, and shall be nominated by the Council. To them shall be referred all manuscripts, &c., for publication, and their decision shall be final.

OFFICERS  
OF THE  
**Nova Scotia Historical Society,**

ELECTED 2nd FEBRUARY, 1888.

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(Under Chap. 17, N. S. Acts, 1880.)

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## INTRODUCTORY.

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Now that a full decade of years has passed away since the organization of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, it seems a proper occasion to review its history; to gauge the progress it has made during the first ten years of its existence; to consider the position it has achieved in the estimation of the public; and to inquire as to its prospects of continued prosperity in the future.

The inaugural proceedings took place on the 21st June, A. D., 1878, in the Legislative Council Chamber at Halifax. A large body of citizens attended the meeting, which was presided over by Rev. Dr. Hill. The opening address was delivered by the then Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Archibald. Short speeches were made by the Admiral then on the station, Sir E. A. Inglefield; by Sir Patrick L. McDougall, the General then in command of the Imperial forces, and by several other gentlemen present on the occasion.

The Admiral and the General were both historically connected with the Province. The father of the Admiral had served as Commissioner in the Dockyard for many years, and was well remembered by many of our older citizens. The father of Sir Patrick was a favorite in the society of this city while serving here as Colonel in the Army. It was therefore quite becoming in these high officials to aid by their advocacy the formation of such a Society in a province with which they were thus historically connected.

The objects of the Association, as set forth in the rules adopted at its organization, are, "The collection and preservation of all documents, papers and other 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, so far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish; and the formation of a Library of books, papers and manuscripts affording information and illustrating historical subjects."

These objects have been kept steadily in view.

A very large collection of documents and papers illustrating the early history of the Province has been made. Almost every pamphlet, that has been printed in or about Nova Scotia, is now to be found in this collection. A large number of old records obtained from the descendants of early settlers, or from the family papers of persons that have held prominent positions in the Province have been placed on our files, carefully indexed, and rendered easily accessible to an inquirer. Very many valuable papers, now preserved in this manner, would ere this have perished but for the exertions of our Society.

Meetings have been regularly held from the date of the organization of the Society, once every month, during the winter season of each year, at which papers have been read, and discussions had, on a great variety of topics within the scope of the objects of the Society. The papers have been, with scarce an exception, limited to subjects of a local character, but they have ranged over a considerable variety of topics. History, Biography, Journalism, Provincial Antiquities, Studies of Local Authors and Statesmen; Itineraries and



Diaries, Curious Incidents of Early Settlement; The Character, Manner, and Habits of the French Acadians; the History and Causes of their Expulsion from the Province; the immigration into the country of bodies of negroes from Jamaica and subsequently from the United States, their settlement in the Province and subsequent deportation to the West Coast of Africa—to create on the shores of the dark continent a negro commonwealth of free and enlightened citizens; the Nomenclature of the streets of Halifax and the light which this throws on the men who occupied distinguished positions in the Imperial Service at the time the city was founded; the history of the construction of the principal public buildings of Halifax; the Shipwrecks which have occurred on our Coasts; the question of how far the Northmen extended their settlements on this Continent, and whether Nova Scotia is the place which, in the Icelandic Sagas, is described as Vinland; the reduction of the dimensions of the original Province which took place when the Ashburton Treaty gave away a large tract of what belonged to it; the story of the troubles commonly known as the Aroostock War; the history of the Provincial Settlements illustrated by plants found in the country which were introduced by settlers; the Diary of King's College, Windsor, and the origin of the Episcopal Establishment in Nova Scotia; the early history of St. Paul's and St. George's Churches, and curious records touching the controversies which have occurred therein—these and a great variety of kindred matters have been treated of in the papers read at the meetings and discussed in the conversations which followed.

A large body of information has thus been secured and preserved in a shape that makes it accessible.

Of these papers, six volumes, including the present, have now been published. That the matters treated of have been dealt with in a way to excite attention and interest, is proved by the demand for copies of our transactions, as they issue. The leading libraries on this continent, and some in England, have applied for them as they issue, and now have the different volumes preceding the present on their shelves.

We are glad to know that the Society has made steady progress from the day of its inauguration to the present time. We may well entertain the hope that the same energy and zeal which have carried it over the difficulties incident to a new undertaking, will not fail to be exerted in the future, and will result in a continuance of the progress and prosperity which have distinguished its past history.





# THE ACADIAN BOUNDARY DISPUTES

AND THE

## ASHBURTON TREATY.

BY THE HONORABLE MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE.

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AFTER the revolutionary struggle in the American colonies was over, the treaty acknowledging their independence necessarily defined the northern limit of the territory to be afterwards controlled by the republican government.

That boundary is now a part of the long line stretching between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, dividing the United States from the Dominion of Canada.

Though the language defining the border line is introduced by a preamble shewing that special attention was given to the possibility of uncertainty, and signifying that the language was chosen to prevent disputes, nearly every part of it, though now perhaps everywhere finally settled, has at sometime been the subject of controversy.

That point in the section of this long line, lying between the Bay of Fundy and the River St. Lawrence, which created the greatest difficulty, was the "North West Angle of Nova Scotia." If this North-West corner of the ancient province of Acadia or Nova Scotia had been marked by a monument or otherwise established or clearly defined, or even understood by the negotiators, the two contending nations would have been spared enormous expense, and the long and tedious negotiations which failed to prevent the two powers from coming more than once to the brink of war.

And yet when we regard the prominent figure which this territory has presented in the history of the new world, does it strike one as remarkable that all its boundaries should not have been well defined,

or that any part of them should have been shrouded in uncertainty? What a vague, undefined and shadowy impression has always been produced on the mind by the mention of the name "Acadia"!

The fact is that ever since the flag of France was raised on these shores, the boundary of Acadia continued a subject of contention and uncertainty first between Britain and France, and afterwards between the new republic and the parent empire.

Previous to the planting of any white settlement in America north of Cape Charles, the commission of DeMonts in 1603 defines Acadia as extending from the 40th to the 46th degree of latitude—that is nearly down to the southern limit of Pennsylvania. On the west it extended beyond the present site of Montreal.

Port Royal, founded in 1605, three years before Quebec, flourished feebly at first, the temporarily deserted settlement having been burnt eight years afterwards by the coarse and crafty Argall from Virginia, to vindicate the claim of England to Acadia. "In this semi-piratical descent," says Parkman, "began the strife of France and England, which for a century and a half shook the struggling communities of North America." Even at this early period 500 French vessels sailed annually for America for the fisheries and in the fur trade.

The next year after the arrival of the Pilgrims in New England, in 1621, this territory of Acadia, the boundaries of which were then set forth, having shrunk to smaller dimensions, was the subject of a grant from the imbecile King James I. to his friend, the Scottish knight and ambitious writer of tragedies, Sir William Alexander, through whose efforts a settlement of Scotchmen was attempted near the present site of Granville, or probably seven miles lower down the river and opposite Goat Island.

Subsequently the Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia created by Charles the First, who confirmed the grant to Alexander, received grants of land within the new territory. According to a literal translation of the grant made to Alexander over two and a half centuries ago, he was to acquire territory by a line "from St. Mary's Bay towards the north into the entrance or mouth of the great naval station which penetrates the interior of the eastern shore betwixt the countries of the Siriquois and the Elchemins to the river, commonly called the St. Croix, and to the most remote source or spring of the same on the western side which first mingles itself with the aforesaid river : from

whence by an imaginary straight line which may be supposed to advance into the country towards the north to the nearest naval station river or spring discharging itself into the great river of Canada."

It is worthy of consideration that, as Mr. Sanford Fleming points out in his history of the Intercolonial Railway, and as was demonstrated by two eminent engineers in a report to the British government, previous to the Ashburton treaty, these words describe a line between the sources of the St. Croix and the Chaudiere, and correspond with the language of and the line contemplated by the framers of the treaty of 1783, and should have placed the boundary of Maine just where Great Britain contended it ought to be.

In 1629, the next year after Port Royal—then a small trading station—had fallen into the hands of the English, Claude DeLatour, who had become one of the knights baronets of Nova Scotia and married a lady of the English court, received a grant of Nova Scotia with the exception of Port Royal from the former grantee, Sir Wm. Alexander.

In 1632 Acadia with Canada and Cape Breton were transferred by the treaty of St. Germain to France. Two years after the treaty grants of land within Nova Scotia were made by the crown of France to Charles Latour, the son of Claude : and in 1638 the King assigned to him, the whole of Acadia or Nova Scotia, west of a line drawn from the centre of the Bay of Fundy to Canseau and south of the 46th parallel of north latitude.

Though the title of France was undisputed for upwards of twenty years after the treaty of St. Germain, during this long period, Acadia, we know, was the theatre of continual and bitter quarrels between Latour and Charnisé—two rival governors—the latter entrenched at Port Royal, the former carrying on a lucrative fur trade in his fortified port across the bay near the site of St. John, New Brunswick.

Everyone has heard of the thrilling incidents of this period—more appropriate than that of any history for the pen of the writer of romance—of the heroic defence of this fort, conducted in person by Lady Latour, of the brutal treatment of her besieger the Seigneur Charnisé which sent her to a premature grave with a broken heart in the absence of her devoted husband in Boston—of the short exile of Latour at Quebec—the death by drowning in the Annapolis river of

Charnisè—and of the settlement of the rival claims to the disputed territory by the marriage of his widow Madame Charnisè to Latour, afterwards.

During this period, according to Bancroft, the French settlements were advanced and an actual boundary established—undisputed by the province of Massachusetts so far as I can discover—as far south as the Penobscot and half-way from the present northern boundary of the United States to Portland.

Nova Scotia is described by Peter Heylin, the cosmographer cotemporary of Milton, in 1652, as containing “that part of the country of Canada or Nova Francia that the French call Acadié or Cadie (being a peninsula or demy-island) with so much of the mainland as lieth between the river Canada (St. Lawrence) and the large bay called the Bay François (Fundy) from the river of St. Croix upon the west to the isle of Assumption on the east.”

Heylin describes a country—Norambega—south of Acadia, but Mr. J. E. Godfrey, in the Maine Historical Society’s papers for 1876, contends that this term was not used after the French and English occupancy of the Penobscot Valley—“both peoples,” he says, “designating the whole territory east of that river (Nova Scotia included) Acadia.”

We are dealing with that area of country which now forms the northern portion of the State of Maine and with which, on the map, we are all so familiar—lying in the interior between the St. Lawrence river and the Atlantic ocean—a wilderness long after the land upon the coast and the river had become studded with the settlements of Canada, Acadia and the proprietary Governments of Northern New England—in part a wilderness yet—that territory, millions of acres, though then scarcely ever trodden by the foot of white man, seldom by the foot of the savage—never surveyed—to the civilized mind of the pioneer from France and England an uninhabitable wild of forest and swamp, which almost from the first—not so much on account of its own value, but by reason of the shores of the great river on the one side and the great ocean on the other—was the subject of interminable controversy and memorable and bloody struggle between the French and English Crowns.

Nine years after the founding of Montreal—in 1651—in the Commission to the Governor and Lieutenant of the King of France,



the boundary of Canada includes on both sides of the St. Lawrence the lands adjacent to that river and the other rivers that discharge therein as far as its mouth.

In 1656, Port Royal having been taken by Sedgewick from LeBorgne, Oliver Cromwell granted portions of Nova Scotia to Charles DeLatour, who formerly a staunch supporter of France scorned the appeals of his father at Port LaTour to yield as he himself had done to English honours ; and eleven years afterwards—in 1667—this country again became the subject of transfer without descriptive boundaries, in the treaty of Breda, by which Charles II. ceded it to France against the protests of New England, the French settlers not having been previously disturbed.

The French description in the commission to the Government of Canada of that adjacent province in 1677 confers jurisdiction over the provinces watered by the St. Lawrence and the rivers which discharge into it, and the places that depend thereon in New France.

At this time France claimed and occupied as Acadia the territory from the St. Croix to the Penobscot. Massachusetts at this time acquired Maine, which hitherto had been proprietary disputed soil, by purchase through an agent in England ; and, as illustrative of the conflict of jurisdiction in 1689, the borders of the province of Massachusetts which had been by the Imperial authority enlarged to include Maine, stretched away according to the strenuous contention of that province, until they swept the waters of the St. Lawrence, on the north.

Port Royal having surrendered to Phips in 1690, Acadia, by the Charter of William and Mary, was now annexed to Massachusetts the next year.

“ Acadia ” by name, without boundaries, by the Treaty of Ryswick, was again in the fortune of war transferred to France, leaving Massachusetts (embracing Maine) as adjacent territory.

March, who was sent by the Governor of Massachusetts for the purpose, having failed to capture Port Royal in response to an appeal from New England, Queen Anne sent ships (contributing also money out of her private purse), and the ancient capital was finally surrendered by Subercase the French Governor. This brings us ten years into the 18th century.

Where were now the recognized limits of Acadia, so long previously disputed, and sought for so long a period afterwards?

The fort near the present St. John, across the Bay from Annapolis, remained in the French control. The English had no settlement on that river, though their Governor at Annapolis claimed afterwards a jurisdiction on appeals denied by the inhabitants and the French Government.

Acadia, in 1713, was by the uncertain peace of Utrecht, transferred to Great Britain.

Among the large concessions in America made by France, humbled to the dust and dejected and crippled by the war, was "all Nova Scotia or Acadia according to its ancient boundaries" without further description. The ancient boundaries of Acadia had never been defined. They were entirely unknown, and had been always in dispute for more than a hundred years. Those contentions went on. Meanwhile the great fortress of Louisburg rises, and Paul Mascarene is governing for England under the sheltering hills of Annapolis. The French governor at Louisburg, ignorant in 1744 that France has declared war, disputing nevertheless territory in Acadia, seventy years after the settlement at Grand Pre, destroyed Canso, and sent a force with three hundred Indians, accompanied by the famous LaLoutre by way of the Gaspereau River and Grand Pre, which made an unsuccessful attack on Annapolis. Before another year passes, Louisburg is reduced by the bravery of New England troops under Pepperell.

Five hundred men under Colonel Noble land on the bleak shores of the Bay of Fundy, cross the North Mountain in the dead of winter, and quarter themselves at Grand Pre to protect Annapolis from a threatened attack by D'Anville. I need not stop to describe that extraordinary expedition in February of Coulon de Villiers by the head of Cobequid Bay, so fatal to Noble and many of his comrades. I mention it as one result of the unsettled boundary of Nova Scotia. We pass on to 1748 and the treaty of Aix La Chapelle. All Europe has for four years been struggling in one of the most confusing wars in all history, which results in no gain for either France or England—Cape Breton having been restored to France in exchange for Madras, the powers were each without any advantage to recompense for the struggle.

The boundaries of the English and French provinces were by the terms of this treaty left unsettled, neither party acknowledging the right of the other, either to the basins of the Penobscot or the Ohio. Provision, however, was made for a commission to sit at Paris to settle this dispute. Acadia under the treaty of Utrecht—what was Acadia? This was one of the questions.

If this can be now settled, though so long in dispute between France and England, and though the territory of both the contesting parties is presently about to change hands in a most remarkable manner—if this disputed boundary can be now settled there will in the future be no necessity for an Ashburton treaty.

The boundary commissioners—the humpbacked governor of Quebec the capable Galissoniere, with Silhouette for France, and Shirley with Mildmay for England—were destined to sit long at Paris. Lord Halifax (says the historian) saw the whole frontier rendered uncertain by the claims of France. The agent of Massachusetts in England found in him a willing and an eager minister in preventing the Canadian French from encroaching on the Bay of Fundy, which was a difficult task, considering that most of the inhabitants of the British Acadia were French. Lands were now offered to disbanded officers, soldiers, and mariners in Nova Scotia. This was in March, 1749. In June of the same year fourteen hundred souls were landed in the harbor of Chebucto, almost on the very spot where we are here assembled; and before a single acre of soil was cleared from the interminable forest growth, and before the approach of the coming winter three hundred houses were inhabited.

The menaced encroachments of France upon the English territory of what is now the province of New Brunswick, led thus to the founding of Halifax. The French at Quebec required at this time the same area which we afterwards disputed with Maine, for a winter communication with Cape Breton as we require it now for a short line railway from Cape Breton and the sea, to Quebec. "Act with vigor," wrote Newcastle to Pelham, "to support our right to the extended boundary of Nova Scotia."

A memorial had been presented by Shirley, the head of the boundary commission claiming for the British crown territory east of the Penobscot and south of the St. Lawrence, as constituting the ancient Acadia. On the part of France it was maintained that only

a twentieth of this area, little more than a mere fringe of the southern coast of the peninsula was comprised under the name of Acadia, though formerly the French claimed boundaries as wide as those advocated by Shirley. As they captured or ceded the soil—they enlarged or contracted their definition of its limits.

As the months lengthened into years the commissioners drifted at times into unprofitable altercation, and got further and further away from the likelihood of satisfactory settlement.

A brigantine with a schooner carrying war stores from Quebec to strengthen the French post at St. John, an encroachment upon Acadia, was attacked by an English man-of-war, and after loss on both sides she was captured and condemned in the Vice Admiralty Court at Halifax. This in a time of peace! The boundary war was going on here as well as in the Ohio valley.

The construction of Beausejour was at this time undertaken by LaCorne, whom Jouquiere sent from Quebec for the purpose of holding the isthmus of Chignecto.

Four immense volumes of evidence, statements and counter statements, documents and arguments, were the only results of the commission when it dispersed. The sword was to be substituted for the pen. Shirley returned from Paris to organize in New England the war hitherto waged on paper in Paris.

Moncton's capture of Beausejour and the expulsion of the Acadians, in 1755, became necessary to enforce the English views, of which evidence and argument failed to convince Gallisomere. Mr. Parkman, in mentioning the commission by which Acadia was granted to DeMonts in a note to his "Pioneers in France," says of Acadia: "This name is not found in any earlier public document. It was afterwards restricted to the peninsula of Nova Scotia, but the dispute concerning the limits of Acadia was a proximate cause of the war of 1755." The English colonies now numbered about three million souls and the French were about 80,000.

The seven years' war had now commenced. It was after the defeat of Braddock and the failure of the incompetent Loudon that the helm of state was grasped by the master hand of Pitt, without the aid of whose genius heaven only knows what would at this crisis have been the fate of the English race in North America. How

different might have been the result if he had been permitted to retain control?

The fall of Louisburg, in 1758—of Quebec the next year—and the capitulation of the French army in Montreal, in the year following, brings us to the end of the boundary dispute between France and England, and the end of French rule in Canada. France by claiming too much lost all. England by firmness and courage obtained more than she at first demanded. When the boundary dispute again arises Great Britain is in this humiliating position,—she has not only met with the irreparable loss of her greatest colonies, but is found feebly negotiating with them respecting the terms of peace.

In 1763 by the treaty between Great Britain and France, Nova Scotia or Acadia with all the possessions of France on the continent was finally transferred to Great Britain.

The proclamation in 1763, after the conquest, describes the province of Quebec as extending south of the St. Lawrence to and “along the highlands which divide the waters that empty themselves into that river from these which fall into the sea, thence along the north coast of the Bay of Chaleurs.”

In the next year was passed by the English Parliament what is termed the Quebec act, which defines that province not materially differently from the terms of the proclamation, so far as they touch the Maine boundary question.

The agent of the province of Massachusetts was in London, and in consultation with the Government and the Board of Trade during the preparation of the Quebec proclamation, and claiming the St. Lawrence as the northern boundary of the state of Massachusetts.

In describing the limits of Nova Scotia in the first commission issued after the conquest, these words are used as they may be found on the first page of the 2nd volume of Haliburton's history:—

“And to the westward, although our said province hath anciently extended and doth of right extend as far as the river Pentagoet or Penobscot, it shall be bounded by a line drawn from Cape Sable, across the entrance of the Bay of Fundy to the mouth of the river St. Croix, by the said river to its source, and by a line drawn due north, from thence to the southern boundary of our colony of Quebec.”

We pass now over the period of the revolutionary struggle, and come to the Convention of Peace and Separation. Here is the

language of the treaty of 1783 in the second article describing the boundary, agreed on :—

“ From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz.—that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix river to the highlands, along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean to the north westernmost head of the Connecticut river—thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude ; from thence in a line due west on that latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Catarqui.”

Over these words Great Britain and the United States were in contention for 58 years ; and at the time of the settlement of the dispute the former nation had already spent enormous sums, and had supported twenty thousand of infantry and about twenty men-of-war for two years in North America, ready to act in case of war likely to kindle from this boundary dispute. At that time also six or seven states had by their Legislatures passed resolutions to support the United States contention by force of arms.

Now look at the map. To-day the state of Maine enters like an immense wedge the territory lying on the east of the mighty St. Lawrence, almost entirely splitting off the maritime provinces from the rest of the dominion.

Franklin, Jay and Adams, the American negotiators, were men of mark and ability, but Oswald who acted for Great Britain, while he was kept occupied with matters of little importance, never it seems made an effort to retain any part of the vast and rich territory out of which have been formed the flourishing states of the west, a portion of which might no doubt have been retained by a more gifted and better informed negotiator.

The present St. Croix river became unfortunately a part of the boundary description. Then it extends from the source of the St. Croix to highlands which divide rivers falling into the St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean—thence south along those highlands to the north-west head of the Connecticut river—thence by that river to the 45th degree of latitude—and thence till it strikes the St. Lawrence. It must be borne in mind the negotiators had before them maps of the country, one of which has much to do with my theme.

The chief dispute latterly was as to the place where the line from the St. Croix reached the highlands of the treaty. If that point could have been found, other matters of dispute could have been easily settled. That point was mentioned to be the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, but there never had been any point fixed for this angle, and therefore these words did not afford the assistance they otherwise might—they only added to the difficulty. These words were clear to shew that no part of Acadia or Nova Scotia was intended to be given up by Great Britain, and they were to be read with the other words.

The United States contended that a line due north from the source of the St. Croix to the highlands mentioned, would carry them across the St. John and across the Restigouche, and its tributaries which flowed into the Bay of Chaleur away very nearly to the St. Lawrence, returning by a line nearly parallel to and not distant from that river to the source of the Connecticut.

This evidently would have taken a very large portion of territory long under British provincial jurisdiction since the conquest and under French jurisdiction before. This course would have passed away from highlands, which according to the ablest engineers satisfied the words of the treaty. It would have given the United States land watered by rivers flowing into the Bay of Fundy and the Bay of Chaleur. Certainly, shortly after leaving the St. Croix, there is reached a ridge of land, running directly between the Penobscot falling into the Atlantic ocean, and the Chaudiere falling into the St. Lawrence.

In early times there had always been great uncertainty as to what river was the St. Croix.

When Champlain with DeMonts was exploring the North Eastern Coast of America in 1604, an island was selected—at the mouth of a river, south of the St. John—for the site of a new colony, which was abandoned after the first season, but not before certain buildings were erected. That river was named St. Croix. The name afterwards was lost, and each of several rivers in turn along the coast, was called St. Croix. The uncertainty existed at the time of the treaty of Peace, though the negotiators very likely supposed no difficulty would arise. Fifteen years after the treaty, it was found necessary under the treaty of 1798, to appoint Commissioners to ascertain which river was the St. Croix. The foundations of buildings long since crumbled to dust,

and overgrown by the entangled wild shrubbery of the coast were, says Holmes in his American annals, discovered on an island. This was said to be DeMonts' island, and in this manner were the intentions of the original negotiators reached, and thus was the dispute as to the St. Croix of the treaty set at rest.

Great Britain, in settling this boundary question, was in every way unfortunate. The United States gained a great advantage in getting it settled piece-meal. First, after dispute, the St. Croix was agreed on as the *river*. Afterwards, there being two branches, a dispute arose as to which was the main stream, and which the branch of the river. When the disputes afterwards arose of a mere serious nature, and the whole boundary to the St. Lawrence was disputed, it became evident, I think, that the error commenced in not establishing the entire boundary when the dispute as to the river first arose.

The Charter of Massachusetts shows the river now called the Penobscot, once called the St. Croix, to have been the boundary of ancient Nova Scotia, as in fact it was by settlement long before the revolution; and after the division of Nova Scotia into two provinces, settlers in New Brunswick took up lands upon the Penobscot river.

The Schoodic, however, was selected as the St. Croix of the treaty; and when the dispute arose as to its true source—as to which was the main river and which the branch, the two Commissioners appointed by Great Britain and the United States selected an American as umpire, who decided against Great Britain, adopting the eastern fork as the starting point of the north line of the treaty. At this day it is clear he decided wrongly, and circumstances have arisen to show that he should have known that he was wrongly deciding. It cannot be now disputed that the true source of the river was not selected.

If the Penobscot, anciently the true boundary of Nova Scotia, and embracing the territory over which British jurisdiction had been long exercised, had been chosen, or if the westernmost source of the Schoodic, which was the main stream of the river, had been selected in the earlier stages of the unfortunate dispute, as it should have been, the Highlands of the description would have been reached by a due north line before reaching the St. John, and everything would have satisfied completely the description and words used in the treaty of



1782—3 ; and we should not have had the bed of the St. John river selected as a substitute for the highlands of the description.

If, in the treaty of Peace, the Massachusetts Charter had been referred to, and the Penobscot had been selected as the boundary, this would have given to Great Britain the site of Eastport and the territory on the coast more than half way to Portland.

If Great Britain had secured what she was entitled to, or if, after the war of 1812, she had insisted on holding what she had won, and properly adjusting the boundary fairly, and without detriment to Maine or the United States (many of the people of Maine wanted at that time to join their fortunes to the British Crown), we should long since have had a short line railway to Montreal.

None of these courses were, however, pursued at the time, and the negotiators for Great Britain, ignorant or careless of the mischief likely to follow, became pledged first to the river Schoodic, and afterwards to its eastern branch, nearer the coast by seventy miles than the true source where a monument was set up.

Afterwards other Commissioners were authorized to trace the remainder of the line. It was now too late, when the mistake was discovered, to rectify it. The United States, having obtained their advantage, made the most of it. To satisfy the description of the treaty of 1783, said they, we must now, before reaching highlands on a due north line, go directly between the Maritime British territory and the inland provincial soil, two hundred miles, to the Metis, between Bic and Lake Metapediac, not far from the present line of the Intercolonial Railway near the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Then our republican cousins, having succeeded in extending the base of the wedge towards the Atlantic ocean, not only proposed to lengthen it towards the St. Lawrence, but they insisted on widening further the base of the wedge on the western side. Although the *western* branch of the Connecticut was described in the treaty, they insisted on confining the British to the *eastern* stream.

One would scarcely have supposed that there should have arisen any controversy as to the position of the boundary between the Connecticut and the St. Lawrence River. The 45th degree of north latitude, mentioned in the treaty, at least might be considered a hard and fast line.

In 1818, according to provisions in the treaty of Ghent, that line was laid down by two distinguished and skilful astronomers, appointed respectively by Great Britain and the United States, by astronomical observations, and this gave to Great Britain an important military position of great strength—Rouse's Point—commanding the entrance to Lake Champlain.

The Commissioners appointed under the treaty of Ghent to settle the boundary disagreed, and under the treaty of 1827, which had been preceded by collision on the border, the King of the Netherlands was selected as an arbitrator, to settle the dispute with respect to the rest of this line between the British provinces and the United States. The United States hoped to be able to persuade His Majesty to change the parallel of north latitude, and extend the highlands of the treaty across the valleys of the St. John and the Restigouche. They solemnly disputed the principle of astronomical observation, as applied to dividing the surface of the globe, a preposterous objection which was, however, abandoned; and the contention substituted was that the erroneous line adopted as the division between New York and Quebec in 1722 should be adhered to.

The three points to be decided, were:

1. What line should be agreed to as the 45th parallel of the treaty?
2. Which was the north-western source of the Connecticut River?
3. Where were the Highlands of the treaty?

The King made an award in January 1831 in favor of Great Britain as to the 45th degree, giving, however, a small tract upon Rouse's Point to the United States upon which they had erected fortifications; and in favor of Great Britain as to the head of the Connecticut River. As to the north-western angle of Nova Scotia and the highlands mentioned in the treaty, he decided that, running from the point agreed upon as the source of the St. Croix, the natural features of the territory did not correspond with the language of the treaty, and he recommended a compromise line.

If the wrong river or the wrong source had been already agreed upon, it is easy to understand that the description of the negotiators could not be recognized on the ground. The King was not permitted to review the error made in selecting the river and the starting point.

The British Government, though not satisfied with the decision and the recommendation as to this latter point, considered themselves in honor (and agreed to be) bound by them and so informed the United States. Not till a year and a half after receiving this notification did the United States, in July, 1832, determine to reject the award—a determination which Great Britain in vain endeavored to induce the United States to reconsider.

It had been from the colonial period a recognized rule of surveying in the United States, that when a natural object was called for by a description, the given course should yield to the object, upon the principle that the natural object would be more likely to indicate the intention of the parties than the direction mentioned. By Sir Wm. Alexander's Grant, as stated, the course after leaving the St. Croix was northwardly: in the treaty of 1783 it was due north. In no other respect did the descriptions materially differ. The rule of surveying referred to would, it seems evident now, have secured for Great Britain the territory in dispute, or all that was material. Subsequent explorations, as described by Mr. Fleming, shew that the three water sheds in New Brunswick, which drain the rivers which fall respectively into the St. Lawrence River, the Atlantic Ocean and the Bay of Fundy, converge at the only point which would satisfy the application of this rule in favor of Great Britain and secure a line drawn between the adopted source of the St. Croix and near the head of the Chaudiere. And yet this was the proposed rule submitted and urged by the United States, and pigeon-holed by Lord Palmerston.

The English engineers, it appears to me, went no further than this in their very able report. Notwithstanding this, for the act of publishing such report, the British Government is reproved in the following lively language by the Hon. Israel Washburn, Jun., LL. D., in a paper read before the Maine Historical Society:

“ If ever trifling and contemptuousness can be practised by one nation towards another, so far as to become an affront, which by the laws of honor and the duties of self-respect, as they are recognized among civilized nations, would justify an appeal to arms, the making publishing and offering as evidence of title by the British Government of this impudent and insulting report, furnished justification for a hundred declarations of hostilities, such as are settled only on the field of battle.”

Great Britain, as a next step, endeavored to negotiate for a conventional line, while the United States still contended that a line might be found to satisfy the words of the treaty.

It was afterwards agreed that the Commissioners should be appointed by the two governments to examine the country and report for their information. The United States, on receiving a draft of convention from Great Britain, to carry this into effect, withdrew from their agreement altogether, and proposed another scheme of settlement—namely three Commissioners to be chosen for each side, four of the six to decide any point—three scientific men to be named by three friendly powers to decide all points undecided by the Commission. No doubt, this was a cumbersome and impracticable scheme; but as soon as Great Britain agreed to it, the United States undertook to attach impossible conditions; and so the matter remained unsettled until the boundary question became a Railway question, and Great Britain had expended £10,000 for a survey for an intercolonial railway. Indeed an intercolonial railway was distinctly projected so early as 1832. It was at the instigation of the state of Maine that steps were taken to stop the survey of a line across New Brunswick after the expenditure had taken place.

The delay secured in the boundary settlement by the United States, turned out fortunately for that country. In 1837–8 Great Britain found herself with a rebellion on hands in Canada. Territory and rights long enjoyed and exercised without disturbance by British subjects on the border, were now challenged and disputed; and the state of Maine raised an armed force, and constructed forts in the disputed territory. The Legislature of that state voted \$800,000 to be used for the defence of the state. General Scott was sent to the frontier to bring about an agreement between the Governments of Maine and New Brunswick for temporary possession of the disputed soil. It was during the Canadian rebellion, as every one knows, that the Legislature of Nova Scotia voted \$100,000 to assist New Brunswick in the boundary war—a vote which was characterized by the unusual demonstration of ringing cheers from the galleries of the popular chamber.

The time had come when the settlement of this question seemed more urgent than ever. The impossibility of any settlement by the Commissioners had become evident. No further suggestion for

arbitration—a conveniently and peculiarly proper mode in the opinion of eminent public writers of disposing of boundary disputes—was made.

Much new evidence had been collected favorable to Great Britain ; and unless a proper settlement could have been secured by negotiations—pursued through the usual sources—arbitration should certainly have been insisted on by Great Britain. It was not even proposed. The mode of action to secure a settlement adopted by Sir Robert Peel was that above all others favorable to the United States. He proposed a special mission to Washington to negotiate a compromise by adopting a conventional line.

Great Britain was determined to have the matter settled once and for all. It naturally seemed to the Government at home that all that was in dispute, was of little or no value to Great Britain. A special mission to Washington, then, if the right man should be selected, whose views coincided with those of the Government, was the most effectual for them, though most unfortunate for the colonies and the future interests of British America.

Lord Ashburton, the man selected, was a younger son of Sir Francis Baring, who founded the great mercantile house of which the son afterwards became the head. He had been for many years in his early life engaged as a commercial agent for that concern in the United States and Canada. He had married in the United States the daughter of a member of Congress. He had been in Parliament first as a Liberal, and then as a Conservative and an opponent of free trade. I think, except in a financial sense, he had never been considered a strong man by any means ; and he was entirely without diplomatic experience. He has almost invariably been called a weak man. He considered it a great sacrifice to cross the Atlantic at that time, and was anxious to return as soon as possible.

I think very little was then known in England of the man with whom Ashburton was sent to negotiate—a man born in poverty, who, having trained himself in the profession of the law, rose by the force of his own genius and character conspicuously above every other man in public life—a man of giant capacity, keen intellect, genial disposition and commanding will—Daniel Webster.

At the time of the inception of the negotiations, Charles Dickens was, with his wife, travelling in the Western States, having called at

Halifax on his way to New York, in the winter of 1842. In his "American notes" the inimitable humorist alludes to the manner in which a certain United States newspaper welcomed the English Ambassador who, in the Atlantic cities and in the capitol, was received and entertained during the whole period of his visit with excessive manifestations of respect.

"We came at midnight to Cleveland," says Dickens. "I entertained quite a curiosity in reference to the place, from having seen at Sandusky a specimen of its literature in the shape of a newspaper, which was very strong indeed upon the subject of Lord Ashburton's recent arrival at Washington to adjust the points in dispute between the United States Government and Great Britain, informing its readers that as America had whipped England in her infancy and whipped her again in her youth, so it was clearly necessary that she must whip her once again in her maturity; and pledging its credit to all true Americans that if Mr. Webster did his duty in the approaching negotiations, and sent the English Lord home again in double quick time they should within two years 'Sing Yankee Doodle in Hyde Park and hail Columbia in the Scarlet Courts of Westminster.' I found it a pretty town, and had the satisfaction of beholding the outside of the office of the journal from which I have just quoted. I did not enjoy the delight of seeing the wit who indited the paragraphs in question, but I have no doubt he is a prodigious man in his way, and held in high repute by a select circle."

Lord Ashburton was, of all ambassadors who ever left England on a special mission under the circumstances, the least likely to return without securing a settlement, however monstrous the demands of the opposing negotiators might turn out to be. And he was, perhaps, the least likely of any man to stand up stoutly for a treaty just and fair to the colonies. It is not, I think, unreasonable to suppose he was selected to some extent on this very ground. It was not then known, however, even by those who sent him with what utter contempt, according to recent disclosures, he regarded the claims of the colonies. On the other hand, it is proper to state that neither he nor his government appreciated with what importance to the welfare of British America in the future the mission was charged.

The 45th parallel, as has been said, had been settled by arbitration in favor of the British side; and so had the source of the Connecticut River. The other question, as to the position of the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, was not altogether against Great Britain; and indeed

it was the only question about which, reasonably, any dispute should have been possible. And on this point the British cause had gained and was gaining strength.

The United States government, we have seen, had commenced the erection of fortifications at Rouse's Point, north of the 45th parallel ; and their settlements also had encroached on British territory previous, as they contended, to the discovery of their mistake as to the correct boundary.

They were strongly desirous, therefore, of possessing this territory and the site of the fort. They claimed, in addition, George's Island of twenty-five thousand acres, between Lake Superior and Lake Huron, and also about four millions of acres of mineral lands situated to the westward of Lake Superior, bordering on Rainy Lake, which Great Britain had undoubted grounds for holding as her own possessions.

In the centre of the disputed eastern territory the people of Madawaska were settled on both banks of the upper St. John, a large portion of the settlement being on the south side of the river. This river rises to the southward of and not far from the St. Lawrence, and after flowing to the north with its tributaries, it sweeps by a great bend, and flows southward. Within this extensive loop these people were settled on the southern side of the river. They were settled on both banks of the river, but we have to do now with these embraced by the bend of the St. John. This was a British settlement, and ever since the war of independence the territory was supposed to be British colonial soil. For more than half a century these people had been settled there, continuously paying taxes and voting as British subjects with grants from New Brunswick of their land ; and during that period they had received bounties from the provincial government. To describe the circumstances of these people, it will be well to read the language of Lord Ashburton addressed to Mr. Webster, shortly after entering upon his delicate duties at Washington :

“ The history and circumstances of this settlement are well known to you. It was originally formed by the French establishments in Acadia, and has been uninterruptedly under French or British dominion, and never under any other laws. The inhabitants have expressed great apprehensions of being surrendered by Great Britain, and have lately sent an earnest petition to the Queen, deprecating that being done. Further, this settlement forms one

“ united community all connected together, and being some on one and some on the other side of the river, which forms a sort of high road between them. It seems self-evident that no more inconvenient line of boundary could well be drawn than one which divides in two an existing municipality—inconvenient as well to the inhabitants themselves as to the authorities under which they are to live. There would be evident hardships, I might say cruelty, in separating this now happy and contented village.”

To the north of the St. John River, between that main stream and one of its forks, there stretched a large uninhabited area which now forms the extreme north-western corner of Maine, nearest to the St. Lawrence—then uninhabited and incapable of cultivation. To borrow the subsequent description of Mr. Webster (speaking in Congress), it consisted of barren mountains and impenetrable swamps, and was intrinsically worthless. In all the volumes of discussion that has taken place, so far as I can ascertain, no one has ever pretended that it was of any use whatever to Maine or the United States, except in the negative advantage of discommoding the British provinces, by separating them as much as possible from each other, and preventing intercolonial communication.

The British ambassador had been invited to Washington to compromise. The United States plenipotentiary was supposed to be authorized to give and take. Rouse's Point was admitted by all military authorities to be the key to Lake Champlain—“ the best point for the outlet of Lake Champlain, best means of defending the ingress into the lake and exit from it.” “ I hope,” said Webster, two years after the treaty, “ this government will last for ever, but if in the judgment of Heaven so great a calamity shall befall us as the rupture of this union, and the state of New York shall thereby be thrown upon her own defences, I ask, is there a single point except “ The Narrows,” the possession of which she will so much desire.”

The abandonment of the 45th parallel and the substitution of the former mistaken line would take away Rouse's Point from Great Britain and give it to the United States. That change, from the very terms and description of the treaty, would give forty thousand acres of land to the state of New York, and about sixty to seventy thousand acres to Vermont. The United States claimed Halls or the eastern stream as the source of the Connecticut, though the terms of the treaty were clear defining the north-westernmost stream as the



boundary. The abandonment of the true boundary would give 100,000 acres of land to New Hampshire, which an American commissioner, Mr. Van Ness, appointed under the treaty of Ghent, after examining the ground, declared belonged to the British provinces according to the decision of the King of the Netherlands. There were besides several villages on the long strip of land on the north and British side of the boundary.

If Lord Ashburton had desired to save even the barren region north of the St. John and the Madawaska settlement, even though he should give up the rest of the territory south of the St. John River, besides all those other things he had it in his power to offer, there was something else which, though the United States never laid claim to it they strongly desired—namely, the right to navigate the St. John River to the Bay of Fundy. This would give an outlet to the people of Maine to all the valleys of the Fish River, the Allegash, the Madawaska and the St. Francis; and vast quantities of timber, grain and cattle, for which there was then no prospect of transit, could be carried to market.

If the British ambassador had succeeded in retaining all these things which I have enumerated—the mineral lands, island, fort, strip of territory, and branch of the river, and villages, and the continued control of the mouth of the St. John, and if he had obtained no more of the mountains and marshes claimed by Maine than he did secure, he would not have even then made himself immortal as a negotiator; because Great Britain never claimed all she was entitled to. But how came he out of the negotiation with Mr. Webster? He gave away the four million acres of mineral lands. He gave away the island of St. George's. He surrendered the fort and strip of land at Rouse's Point. He abandoned to New York forty thousand acres of soil and over sixty thousand to Vermont. He yielded the villages to the United States, and gave up the source of the Connecticut, and gave a hundred thousand acres of territory to New Hampshire. He sacrificed the Madawaska settlement, and handed those loyal British subjects over to the United States, and abandoned a large portion of territory north of the St. John which I have taken the pains to describe. With all this he was obliged to concede the free navigation of the St. John. Now all these concessions were made to secure what was called a military road—this northern wilderness of rock—

which Mr. Webster afterwards conclusively proved was no military road, and which no one who knows that in the wilderness the military road is in that path by which the strongest army marches, ever before or since could pretend to claim as a military road. He gave up every thing of any value whatever and yielded besides upwards of four millions of acres of territory now under the jurisdiction of the state of Maine, which the United States negotiator had stronger reasons than Lord Ashburton was at the time aware of, as will be presently shewn, for knowing belonged to Great Britain.

This has all the features of a wretched failure. This was the mockery of diplomacy.

Ashburton's skill as a negotiator and diplomatist was afterwards most prominently questioned and criticized in England, anonymously in the press, and in a luminous statement by Lord Palmerston of the facts in the House of Commons, which remains a masterpiece of Parliamentary style. No doubt the British plenipotentiary had struggled against yielding territory north of the St. John. In dealing with his feeble attempt to retain it, and the manner in which his opponent had outwitted him in prematurely having gained every concession in his power to make, Palmerston in his characteristic jaunty and jeering manner, said :—

“ Our plenipotentiary had indeed gone over to America with a bag full of equivalents to be used, if necessary ; but he was so uneasy under the weight of this burthen that the first thing he did was to throw down his bag and its contents at the feet of Mr. Webster to shake it out clean and to take good care not to leave a single thing at the bottom. Mr. Webster very naturally took up the squandered equivalents one by one as they were thrown down, and put them one by one in his own pocket, in order that they might not be taken back again.”

Had the consent of Great Britain been delayed in determining which was the St. Croix of the Treaty and which also was the source of that river, until the other portions of the boundary were determined, there would have been little difficulty in establishing a claim to the whole of it.

After Ashburton's return to England, although no doubt the English people were inclined to put up with any settlement of the long pending dispute, in certain quarters dissatisfaction was manifested, and a lively discussion went on till the meeting of parliament

took place, when the conduct of the envoy was described by a term which has made it known ever since as the Ashburton "capitulation."

In the meantime a debate—and though it was in secret session a report of it became public—had taken place in the United States Senate, when a remarkable disclosure took place which still further gave cause in England for attack upon Lord Ashburton, and still further provoked criticism of his mission.

Jared Sparks, the American historian, searching in the archives of the foreign office in Paris previous to Lord Ashburton's visit to Washington, had discovered a letter of Franklin, one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Peace, to the Count de Vergennes, referring to a map upon which the boundary was marked at the time of the treaty. In further pursuing his search in the full belief that this line would support the contention set up by his countrymen, he found, to his utter astonishment, the map upon which Franklin had marked with a strong red line the boundary of the United States as settled by the Treaty of 1783, which at once convinced him that the whole of the territory in dispute, and even more than was claimed, belonged to Great Britain.

It appears that Vergennes, the French minister, shortly after the terms of the treaty had been signed, sent a map to Franklin with a request that he would mark upon it the boundary which had been agreed to. The following is the text of Franklin's reply:—

"PASSY, *December 6th, 1782.*

"*Sir*,—I have the honor of returning herewith the map which "your Excellency sent me yesterday. I have marked with a strong "red line, according to your Excellency's desire, the limits of the "United States as settled by the preliminaries between the British "and American plenipotentiaries.

"With great respect,

"I am, etc.,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Sparks, in enclosing the letter to the U. S. Government with a copy of the map, said it was exactly the line contended for by Great Britain, except that it conceded more than was claimed by her. "It is evident," said Mr. Sparks, "that the line from the St. Croix to the Canadian highlands is intended to exclude all the waters running into the St. John."

The information imparted by Sparks, the copy of Franklin's letter and the map were, by Webster, concealed throughout the negotiations from the British ambassador, who only became aware of this extraordinary information after his return to England, when he discovered that the red line map had been used in the United States Congress to persuade the members of that chamber, the representatives from Maine, and the public, to consent to the settlement which had been made.

It appears from what transpired in the debate in the House of Commons, that it was then understood that Lord Ashburton had in his possession in Washington a map from the foreign office corresponding with the one Webster had concealed. From all I can learn it does not seem to have originally been the intention of Lord Ashburton to disclose at home the possession by him on his mission of this map, lest it should make too apparent his purpose of abandoning whatever should have been demanded with sufficient importunity by the United States.

Whilst the press in England was discussing the merits of the mission to Washington and its results, two men in London, much in the secrets of those who were pulling the political wires, and who themselves assisted in some small degree to pull these wires, often sat down at the desk to use language in the sincere effort of recording facts—the one by private and confidential correspondence—the other by privately treasuring some history of his conversations with, and intrigues on behalf of, public men. From the correspondence of Croker, and from the memoirs of Charles Greville, we have recently been put in possession of secrets of considerable interest on this as well as on other historical questions.

I hope no one will suppose that the American commissioners who negotiated the treaty of 1783 did not understand fully every step they were taking during the protracted and difficult proceedings; though I am not able to say so much for Oswald, whom Lord Shelburne selected. Of the three unsettled points over which delay took place—the fisheries, indemnity to the loyalists, and the boundary—the last seemed (till the arrival of Adams to recruit the American commission) the most difficult. Jay and Franklin had agreed to leave the north-eastern boundary to be settled, by commission, afterwards; but Adams, who was armed from the Massachusetts archives

with every scrap of documentary evidence on the subject, over-ruled the others, and, after defining the boundary to their own satisfaction, the British and American commissioners sat down and marked by a strong line on copies of Mitchell's map interchangeably the limits agreed upon.

I have nowhere found that it was disclosed, at the time, in what manner Ashburton obtained his map correctly delineating the limits of the adjacent territories; but after a lapse of forty-five years a chance conversation reported by Greville has been put in print, which throws a ray of light on the subject:

"Lemon, of the state paper office," says Greville, "told me that the foreign office was searching for documents relating to boundary questions. He recollected an old map of North America lying neglected tossed about the office for twenty-five years. He examined it and found a faint red line all across certain parts and pencil lines parallel above and below. It occurred to him that this was the original map lost which was used for marking and settling the boundary question. Experts were employed, who said the red line was old and the others were made since. A messenger was sent to Portsmouth to go to North America with a government steamer. The boundary question was settled soon after."

Perhaps it is worth while to pause for a moment over these memoirs and correspondence to ascertain how the conduct of Webster, the President, and the United States government was regarded at the time.

I am not aware—though it is so contended—that the cunning and subtlety of ancient diplomacy which induced English statesmen formerly to disavow personal contact with it in transacting international business, is entirely abandoned. If so, perhaps we should be able to draw the line at the period when it ceased. It is the pretended boast of some modern writers that, at present, the details of international law and judicial fairness are, to a great extent, the ruling guides in settling international disputes. One might well wish that this may become more and more the practice of international negotiators.

In the ordinary affairs of life the concealment of the red line map would perhaps vitiate a transaction or give ground for reconsideration.

Greville says, at the date, "people cry out lustily against Webster the American for having taken us in, but I do not think with much reason."

Lord Aberdeen, then Sir Robert Peel's Foreign Secretary, in writing to Croker on the 25th September, 1843, says :

"I think we have no strict public right to complain of Webster in the affair of Franklin's map." \* \* \* \* \* "Although we cannot complain of Webster so as to vitiate the agreement, it is a piece of concealment and of disingenuousness, which must inevitably produce an unfavorable impression against him in all honorable minds."

And Lord Ashburton, in writing to Croker in the same month, says :

"The story of the map is undeniable, and has, I believe, been truly told. I shall have much to say about it when I see you, but it is rather an extensive subject and a delicate one."

"The public are very busy with the question whether Webster was bound in honor to damage his own case by telling all. I have put this to the consciences of old diplomatists without getting a satisfactory answer. My own opinion is that in this respect no reproach can fairly be made, but the conduct of both president and secretary (Webster) is most extraordinary in the other matters relating to my treaty."

In another letter a week afterwards he says : "I think my responsibility in this matter stands quite clear. But how stands Webster's case? Was he bound to show up and damage his own position? I think not. And when I interrogate on this subject experienced diplomatists, though they make answer somewhat partaking of their character of diplomatists, I rather collect that they are of the same opinion. The only doubt I have surmised, is whether Webster did not make something of a personal pledge as to the intentions of the parties. I can find nothing of the sort; and, in conclusion, if I am called upon to say anything in the Lords, it will be in favor of my collaborator on this point."

In the usual sense the United States was victorious in the matter of the Ashburton Treaty and the Maine boundary, notwithstanding they gave up five-twelfths of the area in dispute for the concessions I have mentioned—notwithstanding they conceded territory previously claimed, rather than undertake the task of "whipping England a third time or singing Yankee Doodle in Hyde Park." The United States gained a substantial diplomatic victory, which seems to have been creditable enough, according to the veteran diplomatists. Webster had an easy-going, honest Englishman to deal with, and certainly he made the most of his opportunity. Yet I do not know why we should complain of Webster or the United States

because he very effectually disfigured in advance any map that we may ever desire to publish of Canada.

My endeavor is dispassionately to record the correct history of this transaction. Considering the Anglophobia prevailing—the antipathy to the “scarlet courts of Westminster,”—whatever those chambers with the provoking colors may signify,—and the difficulty under the constitutional methods in the republic, of disposing of international entanglements, perhaps there were many temptations to a Secretary of State in dealing with this boundary question to satisfy his conscience, that as trustee for the people at large he was not permitted to disclose the existence of Franklin’s letter and map. One, I know, might conceive of a state of things where public sentiment would be likely to condemn such concealment, but Webster knew the temper of the people he represented.

It must have been most amusing to have heard my Lords Brougham and Campbell in the House of Peers argue the Franklin letter and map like a petty case of *trespass quare clousum* in the Queen’s Bench or on Circuit—Brougham contending that the map could never have been let into the case at all, and Campbell boldly asserting there was a case last term about eight feet of land beyond a garden wall in Glasgow where a map, though not referred to in the contract which had been used at the time, was held to be admissible as evidence by Lord Brougham with the rest. The case, he contended, was on all fours. Except that in the one case, said Lord Campbell, the line was red and in the other it was black, the cases were precisely alike. This was very ridiculous—these distinguished and eloquent men, and this narrowness and hair-splitting.

It seems to have been matter for rejoicing in England when the news of the concealment reached that country that Webster had not disclosed the map and letter. It cannot be denied that Lord Ashburton took a most chivalrous view of the great American’s conduct—for though Ashburton was, as we see, not an able man, as his adversary unquestionably was, he was an English gentleman. Most Englishmen were glad—the English government rejoiced, that the United States government had kept the red line map out of sight.

“Lord Ashburton told me,” says Greville, “it was very fortunate that this map and letter did not turn up in the course of this negotiation; for if they had there would have been no treaty at all

“and eventually a scramble, a scuffle, and probably a war; with this evidence in our favor, it would have been impossible for us to have conceded what we did or anything like it.”

And in writing to Croker, Ashburton, about the same time, says :

“Mr. Rivers, the reporter of the Committee of the Senate, to which the treaty was referred, reports that the Committee were unanimously of opinion that the American right was not shaken by this discovery, but nevertheless give their opinion that it would not be safe to go to a new arbitration with such a document against them. The truth is that probably but for this discovery there would have been no treaty; and if the secret had been known to me earlier I could not have signed it. ‘Ainsi tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles.’”

Aberdeen, writing to Croker of Franklin’s map, says :—“It was most fortunate that it was not discovered by us before the treaty was concluded, for it might not have been easy for us to proceed with such evidence in our possession. We must have gone to an arbitration before the end of which war would have probably ensued. Convincing as the letter and map must be to any impartial man, they have not convinced the Americans who still maintain their line of boundary in spite of them.”

It is an acknowledged principle that a defeated suitor may, upon the discovery of new evidence, obtain a new trial. Imagine the counsel of a disappointed litigant, upon being informed that the lost document, for the want of which an adverse verdict was rendered, was concealed in the pocket of the opposing attorney, saying :—“My dear Sir, it is quite true that but for the missing paper you were entitled to have won; but let us thank heaven it was not produced. If you had succeeded, your adversary would have been annoyed. Very probably there would have been high words and he might have knocked you down. So it is most fortunate that though he has obtained possession of your estate, you are now enabled for the time being to live on friendly terms with him.”

No stronger evidence is required to shew with what satisfaction Webster’s concealment of Franklin’s map and letter were entertained in England than the debate in Parliament and the vote of thanks to Ashburton, which took place after the fact of the concealment had been made public.

I regret to have to record that more was known in England when that vote was taken than the fact of the concealment in Washington. When the disclosure of the result of Jared Sparks’ researches in Paris had been communicated, enquiry on behalf of Great Britain was at



once set on foot in the French archives, and then became apparent a most disgraceful fraud and forgery, perpetrated doubtless by some one in mistaken zeal for the interests of the United States, but whose conduct was too grossly vulgar to reflect in the slightest degree upon the republican government, or to secure the open approbation of any one in America. The original of the map discovered by Sparks was abstracted, and another map substituted with a red line conformable to the contention always set up by the United States !

In a private letter of Sir Robert Peel to Croker, on the 23rd Feb., 1843, he says :

“ Do nothing and say nothing at present about the treaty. So far as any Paris map is concerned we are in the crisis of enquiry, and the present state of it is extraordinary. Canning was at Paris in 1826, and made search for documents relating to the boundary and treaty of 1783, and could find nothing.” “ Bulwer can find no trace of the letter from Franklin : no trace of the map mentioned by Jared Sparks. But strange to say he does find a map of which he sent us the tracing ; a map apparently deposited many years since which follows exactly with a crimson line the boundary claimed by the United States !!”

“ Jared Sparks (continues Peel) cannot have lied so enormously as this discovery would imply. Notwithstanding the failure to find it, there must, I think, be a letter from Franklin and a map just as Sparks describes. I tell you all I know at present. Bulwer is a very clever fellow with great experience in such matters. \* \* \* He writes two letters—one after a short interval, and in the second as well as the first says he cannot confirm the alleged discoveries of Jared Sparks.”

With Peel, with Ashburton, with the people of England generally, a confirmation of the discovery of Sparks does not seem to have been strongly desired. But truth compels me all the same to state that there is no doubt or question about the discovery of Jared Sparks, or the attempted fraud in the archives of Paris. And all this notwithstanding at that time there was uncertainty and mystery, as the following letter of Lord Aberdeen to Croker two days after the one written by Peel, still further reveals :

“ It is a strange thing,” privately writes the Foreign Secretary “ that neither letter nor map are to be found at Paris. At least we have hitherto failed in doing so. But we have found another map altogether in favor of the American claim. I will tell you the particulars of this curious affair when we meet to-morrow.”

Notwithstanding Sir Robert Peel, being attacked, made a bold defence of the Treaty in a sort of way—though he did not deny that British territory had been given away—and notwithstanding the general feeling in England was that any settlement was a blessing, especially as no English interest was disturbed, there was a feeling of annoyance in some quarters at the too apparent fact that the British ambassador had not only been outwitted, but that he had to a large extent laid himself open to this charge by want of zeal in the cause of his mission and incapacity for the undertaking.

Little interest as was taken in colonial affairs at that time in England, there were not wanting those who considered that, as the boundary had been in dispute for so long a period, and as no better settlement seemed possible than that offered to the English ambassador, he should not have finally closed the door against colonial interests, but should have put the settlement off a little longer and returned home for the time being. By which means might have been secured that arbitration—the very name of which aroused the blood of every son of Maine.

As a retaliation for the spirited attack led in the House of Commons by Palmerston, (his colleague Lord John Russell had been changing his mind every week for more than a month it now appears) and as an offset to the attack—without which Ashburton would have gone without thanks—it was resolved to introduce a vote of thanks, a most unusual course, in both houses.

Miss Martineau, in her history of England, justifies the Treaty in some wishy-washy sentences on the ground that “the inestimable good of peace and national amity appears to have been obtained without sacrifice.” She produces the thanks of Parliament as evidence to support her contention. The supporters of this vote of thanks are always trotted out to defend this unfortunate treaty. Therefore, I think, considering that even in Canada this vote of both Houses of the British Legislature has been paraded to vindicate the transaction, special attention is due to the character and opinions of the men selected—or rather who volunteered their gushing services—for this duty.

Two men who figure conspicuously in British history—Mr. Joseph Hume and Lord Brougham—who in their respective Houses of Parliament introduced this motion, represented widely different

classes of English social and political opinion ; but one circumstance is of striking significance in relation to this subject, namely,—Brougham and Hume were at one in this, they had both frequently and publicly, and sometimes fiercely, denied that British America was of any service to the British Crown.

I suppose no one imagines at this day, in all Canada at any rate, that the result of that motion or the debates which took place aid us in gathering together the historical merits of the international negotiation. There was then living—I think he was in the Ministry—the bravest and noblest and one of the most honorable souls in the British Islands—who wished to have nothing to do with that vote of thanks—who treated its promoters with silent scorn—namely, the Duke of Wellington.

In all that was said on the side of the government it was assumed or asserted that the mission was conducted in the interests of the colonies, and that there was nothing needlessly sacrificed—that the man selected by the government to conduct the business fully realized and appreciated the importance of the British claim. That was the case put forward in his behalf ; and for that he received the distinguished honor usually bestowed upon successful conquerors for heroic achievements !

Palmerston labored hard in Parliament to shew that an unfit selection had been made. Being, like Disraeli, one of those versatile statesmen who sometimes write their own leading articles, he had been slashing away with wonderful effect in the *Morning Chronicle*, to shew the same thing. Ashburton, Aberdeen and Peel, who do not seem to have had the knack of furnishing newspaper literature, were writing private letters to Croker, supplying him with ammunition for the press or the reviews on the Tory side. In one letter, in one sentence, Ashburton, as we have recently discovered, expressed that which, if publicly admitted as his opinion at the time, would have saved much of the discussion, would have justified a great deal that was regarded at the time as severe prejudice on the part of Lord Palmerston, and probably would have put any vote of thanks out of the question.

What a pitiful morsel has been preserved in the annals of literature for the too enthusiastic advocate of Imperial Federation, in the opinion held by our imperial maker of a Canadian treaty of the surrendered territory—which we would rejoice to honorably possess—

which now in the hands of a foreign government almost divides our remaining territory asunder—an unceasing source of chagrin to the Canadian who cherishes longing hopes for the effectual consolidation of the Dominion.

Here in a private note to Croker, on the 24th Nov., 1843, Ashburton writes :

“ I dare say your little farm is worth the whole pine swamp we have been discussing.”

To put beyond doubt the contempt in which he regarded the colonial territory, and which he loved to parade in private, Greville, on the 9th of February, records that Lord Ashburton told him “that after all the matter was a dispute *de lana caprina*—for the whole territory we were wrangling about was worth nothing. So that it is just as well the discovery [of the red line map] was not made by us.”

That pine swamp, which was worth nothing, included the famous valley of the Aroostook and part of the St. John Valley, and contained some of the most fertile land in New Brunswick.

Long before we secured railway connection with Quebec and Montreal, we should have, with this territory in our possession, accomplished that work and at less than half the cost—and what would have been of infinitely more advantage—at an immense percentage in gain of time and distance.

This “pine swamp” is more than one-third in size of the kingdom of the Netherlands, which contains a population about equal to that of the whole of Canada : it is half as large as Denmark : more than half the size of Belgium : about as large as the great State of Massachusetts, and larger than the two States of Connecticut and Delaware together.

The United States, to induce Maine to yield her claim to the smaller portion of it, offered one million two hundred thousand acres of the richest soil in Michigan, which offer was spurned with indignation and responded to by sending a military force to defend the territory.

The people of Maine knew well the value of the territory, and it was not unknown to Webster, who was instructed constantly by commissioners from that State while the negotiations were in progress, and who afterwards stated in Congress that “those lands are valuable

for timber now, and a portion of them are the best in the State for agriculture. The fact has been stated to me on the best authority, that in the Aroostock Valley land is to be found which has yielded more than forty bushels of wheat to the acre."

Much of that soil surrendered by Maine was undoubtedly a worthless swamp, but even for that, besides the free navigation of the St. John River to its mouth, she received upwards of four hundred thousand dollars from the United States treasury, notwithstanding the General Government had the constitutional power to compromise, and notwithstanding the Government was fortified with Franklin's plan, which shewed that Great Britain would possibly in another arbitration have been awarded the whole area. With what force the railway view of the case presented itself to our ambassador in that early period, I am not aware. I think the subject was not mentioned in the Parliamentary debates. I was quite struck in seeing Lord Ashburton's name for £800 of stock, four years after the treaty, in an intercolonial railway scheme which came to nothing solely because he had surrendered the only practicable route.

The ablest and most unprejudiced and independent champion among the defenders of the Ashburton Treaty was a Canadian—the late Sir Francis Hincks, who delivered an address in Montreal on the subject a few years before his death. He was acquainted with both Ashburton and Webster, and had paid life-long attention to the subject. He admits the universal opinion in Canada has always been adverse to the conduct of those who took part for the United States, and that the colonial interests were not supported.

I think he has said the best that can be said for the negotiators, and while I must admit he is entitled to vastly more credit than I can lay claim to for magnanimity, I rose from his version of the case with utter astonishment at such an argument from an able man.

Sir Francis admits that the description in the treaty exactly accords with the red line map, which would give Great Britain more than she ever claimed; and he admits that Sparks discovered the genuine map upon which Franklin delineated the boundary for Vergennes. But he thinks the American negotiators made a mistake in the description inserted in the treaty, and he comes to this conclusion because the limits of the adjacent provinces were at the time

of the treaty, he thinks, well defined in the line claimed by the United States.

In the first place there is not a fragment of evidence against the mass of opposing testimony as to the ancient limits. And moreover this is conclusive that the attention of two at least of the negotiators was directed to a dispute in their lifetime respecting the language of the description, and their own testimony shews that they must have deliberately used the language which is found in the treaty. Besides, if the language of the description accorded with the British claim, that disposes of the whole case; for no claim was ever made or ever could be made upon mere wild and loose conjecture to reform the description.

Inasmuch as there is reason to believe that the French minister, at the time of the treaty of peace, was anxious to prevent an agreement between the British and American negotiators, Sir Francis thinks that after the agreement had been signed Franklin was desirous of deceiving Vergennes, and deliberately misrepresented the boundary agreed on. This is a most extraordinary opinion upon such a ground. In the first place Franklin was the last man to have made so inexcusable a misrepresentation, and even if he desired to deceive Vergennes no one could imagine why he should desire to lead him astray on this point. The conduct of Sir Francis in this paper, which must have cost him a deal of labor, is to me a complete puzzle, and the pamphlet may be regarded, I think, as a curiosity of Canadian literature.

Even at the time of the mission to Washington it was evident to one man at least that that part of the disputed area which was worthless to the United States was of importance to British America. He saw then, as became too apparent afterwards, the motive which inspired those who persisted in stripping the English envoy of all the concessions which they surmised he was authorized to make, even that which was of no essential service to the United States. "Why, let me ask," said Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons, "did the Americans insist upon having territories north of the St. John? That district could be of no value to them for any of the ordinary purposes of territory. We have been told by Lord Ashburton, and it was not denied by Mr. Webster, that the territory north of the St. John grows little timber, and that when the timber now upon it shall have been removed the land is ill adapted to cultivation and

settlement. It connects no two portions of United States territory, but is an excrescence jutting out beyond the rest of their frontier. But it has one, and one only value to them; it is a salient point projecting into our limits and interposing between Canada and New Brunswick, by which they will have additional means of *threatening us in case of new differences or of attacking us in the event of war*, and it is precisely on this account that they ought not to have been allowed to have it."

The ever increasing demands of commerce and travel imperatively require in this age the most rapid means of transit. And thus Canada is at length compelled to resort, for commercial purposes of inter-communication, to that now foreign territory which Great Britain abandoned. It has become necessary to appeal to the legislature of Maine. Already we have heard of the detestable operations of the "lobby" to discriminate against Canadian freight in favor of that of the State of Maine. And before the completion of a Canadian short line railway across the State of Maine, the "Fisheries Question" has been made the pretext for threats of those very "new differences" referred to—threats of the stoppage of Canadian railway carriages upon a railway so necessary to our complete development as a nation.

As a last word, I take the liberty of repeating what was said in England at the time of the Ashburton treaty, viz., that a colonial interest was sacrificed to secure peace—that the permanent security of peace is not promoted by any sacrifices—that all international agreements should be fair, and that if unfair, sooner or later they must be rectified.





## THE LOYALISTS AT SHELBURNE.\*

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*A PAPER READ BY THE REV. T. WATSON SMITH, APRIL 10, 1888.*

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Two events in the history of Nova Scotia might of themselves furnish themes for the historians and poets of a great nation. These are the expulsion of the Acadians and the arrival and settlement of the Loyalists. Longfellow has given immortality to the one: the other has not yet found poet or historian to do it justice.

Few details of the conflict which preceded the arrival of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia are here necessary. The first shot in the war of the American Revolution—"the shot heard round the world"—was fired near Concord, Massachusetts, on April 19th, 1775: the war reached an actual, though not formal, close on October 19th, 1781, when at Yorktown, Va., in presence of the combined French and American forces, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to Washington his army of 7000 men, and retired from a scene on which, throughout, he is believed to have been an unwilling actor.

This surrender called forth the extremes of joy and sorrow. At Philadelphia, at midnight, a watchman is said to have traversed the streets, shouting at intervals: "Past twelve o'clock, and a fine morning. Cornwallis is taken." It seemed as if the words would wake the very dead. Candles were lighted, windows were thrown up, figures in night robes and night-caps bent eagerly out of the windows, and as half-clad citizens met each other on the streets they shouted, laughed, wept for very joy. In New York, bitter tears and despairing groans were caused by the news. That city had been for five years an asylum for the friends of Britain from all the revolted colonies. During those years it had been gay with all the pomp and circumstance of war; foreign amusements and old-world extravagance

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\* A number of facts appearing in this paper were given several years since by the author in a prize-essay called for by the Governors of King's College, Windsor.

had been freely introduced ; and the volume given to business had been immense. To the vast crowd of Loyalists collected there, most of whom had hoped that absence from former homes would be but temporary, the surrender of Cornwallis seemed like the knell of doom—a doom all the more to be dreaded because undefined.

Two weary years followed that eventful October day—years full of forebodings to these Loyalists. It was soon learned that they had little to hope for from negotiations at Paris ; they had less to expect from their victorious neighbors. The struggle had been long and severe. It had not been precisely a foreign war or a civil war, but in it had been combined features of both. On the battle-fields of the Revolution neighbor often met neighbor, and brother even sometimes met brother. There had been much, too, that was not war, but merely the gratification of a desire for plunder or a spirit of revenge, under pretence of war. The bitter feelings thus awakened, with the length of the contest, had made it evident to both contending parties that they who should finally prove the weaker would have little to expect in the way of mercy from the stronger. Even, therefore, before diplomatic chatter in Paris had resulted in the signature in November, 1782, of articles of peace, which were supplemented by a definitive treaty a year later, many leading Loyalists in New York were anxiously discussing the subject of new homes elsewhere under the British flag.

During the autumn of 1782 one hundred and twenty heads of families in New York entered into an agreement to remove together to Nova Scotia ; and upon the representations, it is believed, of Gideon White, father of the Rev. Dr. White, the present venerable rector of Shelburne, they turned their gaze toward the shores of the beautiful harbor which then bore the name of Port Roseway.\* At a meeting held on November 11th, a committee of seven was chosen to make arrangements for removal thither as early as possible in the following

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\* Gideon White, a native of Plymouth, Mass., had fought as a volunteer on the British side at Bunker Hill. His father, fearing the consequences of this act, had sent him away to Nova Scotia. While on his way from Halifax to Yarmouth he had been captured at Barrington, at the house of John Coffin, by the crew of a Plymouth armed vessel, taken home and thrown into prison. On his release he entered the British service as an officer. In 1783 he retired, with his regiment, to Jamaica, but subsequently settled at Shelburne, where he died.

spring.\* Three weeks later, at another meeting, two members of the committee, Joseph Pynchon and James Dole, were selected by the company and approved by Sir Guy Carleton, the British Commander-in-chief at New York, to proceed to Halifax and lay before Governor Parr the intentions of the associators. These agents at once proceeded on their mission, Pynchon being accompanied by his family, whom he settled at Lunenburg. Invested with ample powers to determine all matters relative to the proposed settlement, they were instructed to secure adequate grants of land at and as near Port Roseway as possible. These lands were to be free from quit-rents, to be laid out and surveyed at the cost of the government, with the reservation to the settlers of all privileges of "fishing and fowling." They were also to ask for the incorporation of their city, secure assistance in the way of workmen and materials, stipulate for aid in the opening up of roads to other districts, and obtain guarantees against the impressment, "for ever," of any of the inhabitants for naval service. All these advantages were to be sought upon the distinct understanding that satisfaction on any or all points should in no way interfere with their claims upon the British government for compensation for losses and sufferings through the war then just ended.

So cordial was the reception of the delegates by the Governor and Council, and so favorable the statements respecting the farming and fruit-growing capabilities of the proposed place of settlement made by one or two persons who had been in its neighborhood, that the delegates at once sent back glowing reports. The Surveyor-General had assured them that the place selected was the best situation in the province for trade, fishing and farming; both Governor Parr and Sir Andrew Snape Hammond had expressed an opinion that the proposed city would become one of the "capital ports" of the American continent; and Sir Andrew, about to sail for England, had promised to support their enterprise with all his influence. The Governor had also engaged to provide 400,000 feet of boards against

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\* The members of this committee were Joseph Durfee, a trader and ship-owner of Newport, R. I., captain in a Loyalist regiment, and during a part of the war a pilot, on important occasions, on the King's ships; James Dole, a merchant of Albany, N. Y., whose losses, through loyalty, were estimated at £12,000; Peter Lynch, of Boston, a heavy loser by the war, of whom Peter Lynch, Esq., Q. C., of Halifax, is a grandson; Thomas Courtney, of Boston; William Hill, of Massachusetts, Joseph Pynchon, and Joshua Pell, a farmer.

the arrival of the spring fleet, to be divided at the rate of thirteen hundred feet to each family. Thus fed with pleasant words, the delegates informed their friends in New York of their belief that the coming city would soon outrival Halifax; and, in private advices, ascribed the conduct of several persons, who had spoken to them of more suitable districts on the Bay of Fundy or the River St. John, to jealousy only.\* To protect themselves and their friends against danger from an influence so baneful, indications of which were not wanting, they a little later addressed a communication to the Secretary of State and endeavoured to enlist the services of Colonel Fanning and Sir William Pepperell, then in England. At the same time they put forth all possible effort to establish mills in the neighborhood of the proposed settlement, in advance of the arrival of their friends.

Through these favorable reports the number of associators grew very rapidly. Early in the spring of 1783 about 470 heads of families in New York were making preparations for departure for Port Roseway. A Board of Agency, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Beverly Robinson was President, was appointed by Sir Guy Carleton to apportion among the settlers such aid as the government should see fit to give. The emigrants were divided into sixteen companies, to each of which a captain and two lieutenants were appointed to direct the distribution of provisions and secure an equitable division of lands. A transport was provided for the conveyance of the families in each company, and as many as were deemed necessary for the removal of the heavy baggage and horses. Forty cannon, with the requisite ammunition and military stores, were also furnished by

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\* In interesting letters from Halifax at this period, Pynchon drew frequent comparisons between the natural advantages of Halifax and Port Roseway, invariably in favor of the last-named place. It is evident from these letters that before the arrival of the Loyalists at Shelburne serious fears of the overshadowing influence of the coming settlement had so far affected the people of Halifax as to render the position of Governor Parr one of some embarrassment. This fear may have been caused in part by unguarded words by Loyalists and others at Halifax who were waiting the arrival of their friends at Port Roseway, with the intention of sharing their fortunes. On February 10th, 1783, Pynchon wrote: "Much talk is here about capital of Province. . . . Halifax can't but be sensible that Port Roseway, if properly attended to in encouraging settlers of every denomination, will have much the advantage of all supplies from the Bay of Fundy and the westward. What the consequence will be time only will reveal. They certainly are sensibly pricked. Many go so far as to say that in a few years it will dwindle, etc. This must guard us against much opposition in private, whilst the public testimony is all for us. Many at Halifax would and have tried to divert our attention to some other parts of the Province, as the Bay of Fundy, the River St. John and the eastward, and even to scatter us." A few years' experience must have convinced Pynchon that the advisers whom he suspected of jealousy were not fairly judged.

the Commander-in-chief. A commissary, an engineer, and a number of carpenters were also sent in the ships. All arrangements having been made, farewells were taken by the emigrants of fellow-Loyalists bound for Britain, the West Indies, and other parts of Nova Scotia and Canada, as well as of those more hopeful spirits who had resolved to remain in New York as long as possible, and then the various families went on board the allotted transports, and on April 27th a fleet of eighteen square-rigged vessels, with several sloops and schooners, all under convoy of two ships of war, sailed from New York for Port Roseway with the flag of Britain at the mast-head.

Let a thoughtful glance be here directed towards these exiles, and to the great body of which they were only an important detachment. Thousands of American Loyalists had already found their way to Britain, or to Nova Scotia, or some other loyal colony, and many thousands more were about to set forth upon their uncertain journey. The returns of Brook Watson, the British Commissary-General at New York at the period of the final evacuation of that city by the King's troops in November, 1783, show that during the previous ten months of that eventful year, nearly 30,000 men, women and children had been sent from New York to the several Maritime Provinces, Canada and the West Indies. Few exiles ever suffered more severely than did the majority of these Loyalists; the character and motives of none have ever been more persistently misrepresented. Of the course pursued by them, and of the motives by which they were impelled, a descendant of one who abandoned friends and lost property and health in taking up arms on the side of Britain may speak with respectful freedom.

To assume that among the immense number who bore the honorable name of Loyalist there were none unworthy of it would be folly. Included in the long list were many who were committed to the support of British ascendancy by official position rather than by choice; others, guided by self-interest mainly, gave their adherence to the party upon whose banners it seemed most probable that victory would finally perch; and there can be no doubt that others—these not a few—to use the words of a witty convict when accounting for his arrival at Van Diemen's Land, "left their country for their country's good." But a very large section of Loyalists was composed of men worthy to be held in grateful remembrance. If, in the light of to-day, we justify the Whigs of the Thirteen Colonies in their

armed resistance to measures calculated to enslave them, we are by no means bound to condemn their neighbors who clung to the hope of preserving their rights as freemen by constitutional means. Up to a certain point many prominent Loyalists were in accord with Whig sentiment. They deprecated, with their Whig neighbors, the madness which had caused the British Government to suddenly reverse its paternal policy of three-quarters of a century, and to seek to crush, by a succession of tyrannical measures, several millions of loyal colonists, whose progress had unfortunately aroused the jealousy of certain English statesmen who saw only danger in the rapid growth of the American Colonies and in the prowess displayed by colonial troops as they fought side by side with British soldiers in western wilds, or advanced alone, as to Louisburg, to attack and conquer the veterans of France. Many of the more intelligent Loyalists, there is reason to believe, also deeply regretted the action of the Governors of Massachusetts and Virginia in precipitating armed conflict, and of the British Cabinet in threatening the colonists with the presence of German mercenary troops. It was not until the Declaration of Independence had been given to the country by the Continental Congress that the line between the Loyalists and Whigs became sharply drawn. That celebrated document, emanating really from only a small majority of the members of an advisory body, having no recognized legal existence, and representing, as Bancroft has remarked, "nothing more solid than the unformed opinion of an unformed people," created widespread surprise. But a few months had elapsed since the subject of independence had—thanks to the fierce words and harsh acts of George III. and his cabinet—received public mention at town meetings, and through a minority of the few colonial newspapers of that day; and since Paine, in his attack on monarchy in America had first voiced the vague wish for independence, felt by a limited number. Under such circumstances many thousands of the best men in the several colonies were quite unprepared to adopt the course proposed by Congress and endorsed by various provincial conventions.\* Some

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\* Lecky, whose judgment of historic facts is generally accepted, has remarked, in his "England in the Eighteenth Century," that "the American Revolution, like most others, was the work of an energetic minority who succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love, and leading them step by step to a position from which it was impossible to recede." Elsewhere, in the same work, that historian has said: "It is probably below the truth to say that a full half of the more honorable and respected Americans were either openly or secretly hostile to the Revolution."

of these could see only a promise of anarchy in an attempt to form any other than a monarchical government ; and others, a part of whom had fought to maintain British prestige in America, shuddered at the thought of the abandonment of connection with a nation whose name and traditions had been to them a life-long inspiration. Both these classes were aware, moreover, that Lord Chatham and other distinguished British statesmen were still striving by all means in their power to secure for Americans the liberties claimed by them, and that they were doing this in reliance upon the explicit assurance that no attempt upon the integrity of the empire was for a moment meditated. Such men could neither forswear, in obedience to any partisan order, their allegiance to Britain, nor could they break faith with their active friends in the British Parliament, behind whom, it was well known, were the sympathies of the majority of the British people. Still greater was their perplexity when they learned that the Congress was already approaching France, the bitter enemy of civil and religious liberty, and the deadly foe for a century or more of British colonists in America, with a view to an alliance against the mother country. Who can wonder that, in such circumstances, our Loyalist forefathers were unwilling to avow themselves enemies of the nation in which they had gloried, even though a majority of her rulers when asked for bread seemed determined to give them a stone, and for a fish to give them a serpent. Put yourselves in the place of these men—the records of many of them and of their sons and grandsons fill important pages in our provincial history—and you will be slow to say that hesitation was unwarranted. They hesitated, as well they might, but only to find themselves immediately denounced by provincial and local conventions as “enemies,” “rebels,” and “traitors,” and threatened with confiscation of property, and with even severer penalties in case of failure to take a certain proffered oath. Well might Egerton Ryerson ask : “Was it not a violation of good faith, and hard treatment for men to be declared by a new tribunal criminals in July for maintaining what all had held to be loyal and patriotic in January ?”

This harsh action on the part of the Whigs seldom served its purpose. Men are not made patriots by such means : they are thus more frequently driven into determined opposition. Some prominent Loyalists withdrew from the country, leaving their property

to be confiscated ; but others awaited the bursting of the storm which here and there permitted one to remain at the cost of untold indignities on his paternal acres, while it forced vast numbers to seek safety in the neighborhood of the British troops, or to take a share in military service. Few of those who decry the sincerity of their Loyalist fathers are aware that about thirty colonial loyal regiments took part in the sad strife of that day. Sabine estimates that, at the lowest computation, 25,000 colonists entered the King's service, of whom nearly one-fifth were killed, wounded or captured. Not a few of the officers of these Loyalist regiments took up arms unwillingly, but when drawn in part by their regard for British institutions, and driven in part by the bitterness of colonial neighbors, they took the field, their names became a synonym for determination and daring, and were long whispered in certain sections of the Republic with bated breath.

Of the treatment of the Loyalists by the victorious Whigs at the close of the conflict a few words may be said. Conciliatory action on the part of the latter would have secured many valuable citizens from the thousands of those who had been opposed to them. Acts of private wrong under cover of warfare might have been punished, but loyalty to a nation, in alliance with which the leaders in both parties had so recently gloried, might have been forgiven by those whose war cry had been liberty. The banishment of a large proportion of the ablest and most highly-educated men of the revolted colonies is now generally admitted to have been a serious mistake. France acted less foolishly when she drove out her Huguenot population—artizans who carried the secret of her finest manufactures to various English and continental cities, bringing them all into competition with the French markets. Many of the Loyalists were men of iron will and indomitable energy. They added a new and vigorous element to the population of Nova Scotia ; they caused the formation of New Brunswick into a separate province ; they settled the immense province of Ontario, and played a most important part in the development of our Dominion. The Republic met them again when they drove her soldiers back to her own territories in the war of 1812 ; she met their descendants during the long and warm controversy respecting the north-western boundary ; and in our own day she has seen them with undaunted front and keen diplomatic skill stand boldly forward



against any trespass upon the ocean preserves of which our fathers took possession.

Let me remind you that John Inglis, the first Episcopal bishop of Nova Scotia ; Sir John Wentworth, governor of this province at the beginning of this century ; Edward Winslow, a member of a distinguished Massachusetts family, whose death at Halifax, in 1784, was followed by funeral ceremonies of unusual distinction ; Sampson Salter Blowers and Ward Chipman, chief justices, the first of Nova Scotia and the second of New Brunswick ; Judge Sewall, of New Brunswick, an early and intimate friend of John Adams ; Foster Hutchinson, judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia ; Jonathan Bliss, attorney-general of New Brunswick, and Benning Wentworth, provincial secretary of Nova Scotia, were all Loyalists, and all, with two exceptions, graduates of Harvard ; that Sir Brenton Haliburton, whose life story has been well told by the Rev. Dr. Hill ; Egerton Ryerson, founder of the well-known school system of Ontario ; Joseph Howe, of whom no Nova Scotian can be ignorant ; and Judge Stewart, of the Supreme Court of this province, were sons of Loyalists : that Sir John Inglis, the brave defender of Lucknow ; Sir Frederic P. Robinson and Sir W. H. Robinson, both knighted on account of their military services ; Lemuel Allan Wilmot, like Joseph Howe, a leader in the struggle for responsible government, and, like him, at one time a governor of his native province ; Sir George Cathcart and Major Welsford, who fell in the Crimea ; Thomas Chandler Haliburton, whose literary reputation is world-wide, and, if I am not mistaken, Sir William Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, were grandsons of Loyalists. The late Sir Robert Hodgson, Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, was also of Loyalist descent. Let me remind you of these and of many others, living or dead, whose names may occur to you, with the suggestion that a study of the history of the Loyalists at large would swell the brief list given to an almost indefinite extent, and you may form some idea of the value of the men and of the descendants of the men who were driven abroad by the bitterness of the Revolutionary victors.

Let us not, in relation to this important historical event, ignore God in history, or forget to be grateful for the happier spirit in which the international strifes of the present generation are treated. The man who reads of the wholesale banishment of our Loyalist fathers in

the light of the past century, will be sure to estimate aright their sacrifices, while he will none the less regard as worthy of honor the great nation whose northern limits form our southern boundary. The prevalent feeling of the American people of this generation was put into words by the late Henry Ward Beecher nearly five years ago, at a meeting held in New York just one hundred years from the day on which the British troops had taken their final departure from that city, when he said of the victors and their severe enactments: "They did not know any better. They had the instincts of the animal-- you bite me and I bite you. That was the instinct of the age." No exception was taken to these words or to other words spoken of the vanquished: "How natural it was that one should love the government under which he had been brought up! Around it was all the literature, all the romance, and all the suggestions of his childhood. I should have been in a strait myself if I had been there. If imagination had dominated, I would have gone with Great Britain: if love of my neighbours I would have stayed here and fought her. It was a piteous thing to drive them into exile. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia received thousands of the noblest of those who were driven out by a spirit of what seemed to be justice by the foes of England."

Would you, in these days of easy attachment to country, cultivate in your children a regard for our institutions which have grown up under the fostering care of Britain? Then take them to the graves of some of these old Loyalist veterans, and tell them of the sorrows and sufferings endured in the development of our country. And, lingering beside the hillock where rests the dust of some one of these heroes, give a thoughtful glance at the grave beside it. Buried there may be material for a tale as touching as that of *Evangeline*, and true withal. Erroneously, we have come to use the term Loyalist as a masculine appellation only. Let us be just. In the sorrow and sadness of that wonderful exodus, and in its earlier sequel on our own shores, the larger share by far must have fallen to the lot of our Loyalist foremothers.

To the more imaginative members of the company bound for the southern shore of Nova Scotia in the spring of 1783 there may have been a certain attractiveness in the name of their destination. That name, however, was only a corruption of the one originally given.

The French had called the harbor Port Razoir. Their settlement near its entrance had been broken up. Once a pirate had killed their cattle, and twice the New Englanders had burned their dwellings, and finally the few settlers had fled in consequence of arguments so persuasive. Nearly half a century later, a few other settlers found their way to the deserted spot. The first to reach it was Anthony Demings, by birth a Portuguese, but for many years a resident at Amherst, Mass. Demings had quarrelled with the captain of a fishing schooner, and had asked to be put ashore, with a bundle containing all his earthly possessions, near Cape Negro. Wandering around the coast he came to the ruins of the French buildings, and for years remained there, enduring much suffering. Once he had spent a week on a journey to the New England settlement at Barrington, having crossed from Cape Negro on a raft, to obtain a bag of meal which he carried through the woods on his shoulders. At the end of five years he had been joined by several Scotch-Irish families, whom Alexander McNutt had led thither as pioneers of his intended settlement—New Jerusalem, for which he and his associates had received a grant of one hundred thousand acres bordering upon the harbor, which was escheated just before the arrival of the Loyalists for non-compliance with legal conditions. A family or two had also sought homes on the coast, near the entrance to the harbor. In the meantime the name of the harbor had undergone some changes. By the French it was called Port Razoir; in English documents it was afterwards designated Port Rozea, and then Port Rosaway; and to our Loyalist fathers it was described as Port Roseway.

The passage of the exiles from port to port was a week in length. Then stern fact took the place of fancy. The first land seen by them was Cape Sable, white with snow. Soon after, on the 4th May, 1783, they entered the harbor for which they were bound, and anchored near its mouth. Keenly enough, we may presume, they scrutinized their new surroundings. The most practised eye could discern no spot bordering those calm waters on which to raise even a military tent, except that on which Demings and his few neighbors had taken refuge. In such circumstances the strength and the weakness of human nature were seen in strong contrast. The spirit of mischief, too, could thrust its provoking face among the groups gathered on the decks. A military officer, about to return to England, had, with as much

good judgment as generosity, presented his horses to the wife of one of the Loyalist captains. "Madam," said he, as they looked up and across the harbor, "where do you intend to drive?" The three surveyors, who had already arrived from Halifax, and the few residents near the mouth of the harbor in particular, were everywhere in request. Tales of hardship, as told by the latter, found deeply-interested hearers. "But how came you to stay here?" said an incredulous listener to old Ebenezer Berry. "Ah," said Berry—and his reply was a sadly suggestive one—"Poverty brought me here and poverty kept me here."

As soon as the site of the town had been determined by Mr. Lawson—the engineer, the three surveyors and the committee of the associators, the fleet was piloted up the harbor by Anthony Demings. It was arranged that the town should consist of five long parallel streets, crossed by others at right angles, each square containing sixteen lots, sixty feet in front and one hundred and twenty in depth; and that the space between Water Street and the shore should be cut up by small lanes and divided into small lots, so that to each associator might be given a town and a water lot, and also a fifty-acre farm lot on some part of the shore of the harbor or its neighbourhood. At each end of the town a reservation was made for a common. Parties from the various vessels at once went on shore to cut down the trees and clear the lands, under the direction of the surveyors. As soon as possible tents were pitched and huts erected on the clearings, and a hut or a tent, with arms and ammunition, allotted to each family. So vigorously was the work pushed on that on the 11th July—two months after they had sailed up the harbor—the division of the lands was commenced. On that day the town was separated into the North and South Divisions, the streets received their names, the squares and lots were numbered, and to each of the original associators, and as far as possible to others, were assigned both a town and warehouse lot. Each man could now pilot his family through the rocks and stumps and swamps, and point to some collection of these materials and say "This is ours!" Did no silent tear steal down fair cheeks at the first glance at the spot allotted for the new home? From an old document I learn that the farms were afterwards drawn by lot, with the consent of the deputy surveyor-general and the magistrates: it is altogether probable that the first distribution of lands was made in a similar way.

The new Loyalist settlement received its name—Shelburne—on August 2nd. This name was given by Governor Parr in honor of Lord Shelburne, (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne,) Secretary of State for the Colonies. During this visit, Governor Parr, whose presence was attended by a succession of festivities on ship and on shore, appointed several magistrates. In one important matter the inhabitants were disappointed. They had set their hearts upon the incorporation of their projected city. Their agents had been instructed to press the point with all earnestness, but from the governor, now on the ground, they could obtain no satisfaction. Soon after his return to Halifax, the governor, in a letter to Lord North, expressed an opinion that the people of Shelburne, the number of whom exceeded five thousand, would soon prove a “happy and prosperous” community.

While these five thousand exiles, suddenly set down among the rocks and stumps, were striving to make the best of their new and peculiar position, they were sorely perplexed by the arrival of five thousand others, many of whom they regarded as unwelcome neighbors. Whatever trials the earlier exiles had had to endure, their position had been preferable to that of friends who had remained behind. In August, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton wrote to Washington that the disregard of the articles of peace shown by the newspapers, and by threats from committees formed in various towns, and even in Philadelphia, where the Congress was in session, was such that he was obliged by his relation to his government and by humanity itself to remove all who should wish to be removed. This removal, in view of the approaching evacuation of New York by the British forces, had to be made in haste. On September, 1783, a large fleet with Loyalists and disbanded soldiers—8000 in all—left New York for St. John and Shelburne. One of the vessels bound for St. John was wrecked on a ledge near Cape Sable, with the loss of ninety-nine lives, but all the vessels due at Shelburne reached their destination in safety.

The sudden arrival of five thousand persons in a settlement where five thousand previously on the ground could scarcely find shelter, was a serious event, especially near the end of September. In the emergency the government did all that was possible. Two new divisions were run out on the reservations intended for the north and

south commons, and the long streets parallel with Water Street were increased to the number of eleven. As early as November 11th, the citizen settlers drew their lots and two days later the disbanded troops received theirs. Many of those who had arrived in the autumn spent the winter on the vessels at the cove, and some had a tent as their only shelter. Fortunately, at Shelburne the winter was one of unusual mildness, and therefore much more satisfactory to the settlers there than to their fellow-exiles in New Brunswick. Many of the Loyalists at St. John spent the first winter in log houses, bark camps and tents, and a number of persons died through exposure. At Fredericton, further inland, there was keener suffering. "Women, delicately reared, cared for their infants beneath canvas tents, rendered habitable only by the banks of snow which lay six feet deep in the open spaces of the forests. Men, unaccustomed to toil, looked with dismay towards a future which seemed hopeless; and, as one said who as a child passed through those dreadful days: 'Strong, proud men wept like children, and lay down in their snow-bound tents to die.'" At that place, too, the survivors are said to have narrowly escaped starvation, through the non-arrival of supplies before the closing of navigation. At Shelburne, throughout that winter, rations were issued by the agents of the British government to between nine and ten thousand persons.

During the succeeding spring other lands were laid out and allotted, but the growth of the proposed city was retarded by several causes. In many cases the lots drawn were ill-suited to the business of the owners, and proper sites could only be obtained by exchange or purchase at the expense of delay. With all the effort practicable, it was not possible to secure a sufficient number of workmen nor a satisfactory supply of building materials. But more injurious than all other causes were internal dissensions and general dissatisfaction with the provincial government. The imposition of heavy duties called forth a strong public protest and a demand that the inhabitants should be exempt from the payment of these duties until the town should be incorporated and properly represented in the legislature. Governor Parr, in reply, expressed regret at his inability to relieve them from the payment of duties, but assured them that so soon as the House should have attended to the current business of the year he would dissolve it, and not call another until writs should have

been issued for the return of members from all the new settlements.\* Complaints were also made about the delay in the issue of grants, but the arrival of these only increased the dissatisfaction. It was generally remarked that certain influential men seemed to have been singularly favored by the use of the lot. Suspicion in this direction led to bickerings and jealousies which were never allayed. The government appointed a committee of leading citizens to settle disputes, but the difficulties finally led to a riot, the ringleader in which was carried on board the *Mercury*, man-of-war, and impressed as a seaman, which high-handed act called forth bitter feeling toward the captain of the *Mercury*—the Hon. H. E. Stanhope.

The first election, consequent upon the formation of the townships of Yarmouth, Barrington and Shelburne into the county of Shelburne, was a scene of great excitement. No principle was at stake: the issue was in great measure personal. The opposing parties were known as the Blues and the Greens. The friends of Alexander Leckie, Esq., one of the candidates for the county, were known as the Blues; and a few years ago the descendants of his slaves still bore in Shelburne the name of Blue. Any one who has ever found himself almost alone in one of the broad, level streets of Shelburne will be amused when told that King Street was so crowded on that election day that one might have walked on the heads of the people. The contest is said to have been decided by the Blues making their way in a body to the polling place and taking possession of it.

Among the able men who took part in the work of the session noted for the impeachment of Judges Deschamps and Brenton was Isaac Wilkins, the representative then elected for the township of Shelburne. Legislative halls were to him no novelty. The son of a Jamaica planter, he had been sent to King's (now Columbia) College, New York, to prepare for the Episcopal ministry. Having abandoned that purpose, he had settled at Westchester, and had been elected

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\* In reference to this subject Pyncheon wrote from Halifax to one of the committee in February, 1783: "The present form of government [of Nova Scotia] must and will immediately be changed. The House of Representatives have never yet been changed, and they at present when chosen stand for life. Such a government will never suit a people used to a free and annual representation. I hope Colonel Upham will find his interest to join with you, as it appears to me he well understands the spirit of a people who have been landholders in fee simple. This is the misfortune of Great Britain in respect to the colonies—placing in their own minds the landholders in the colonies upon a footing with those they call peasants in Britain, when really that character is scarcely to be found in the colonies."

representative for that county in the legislature of the colony of New York, as a leader on the ministerial side. Previous to the war he had married a sister of Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, but a vote of thanks to the delegates who had drawn up that celebrated historical paper was defeated in the New York Legislature mainly through Isaac Wilkins's influence. He also used his pen with such effect that his pamphlets were burned whenever they fell into Whig hands. Previous to his departure for England in 1775, he published an address to his friends, in which he declared that all he had done had been with a view to the welfare of his adopted land, and that he was about to leave America because he could not raise his hand against his sovereign, nor would he draw his sword against his country. A year later he returned to Long Island, and in 1783 came with the spring fleet to Shelburne. He was appointed first custos of the county, and on Colonel Beverly Robinson's departure, president of the Board of Agents. Under promise of a grant of land at Shelburne he submitted to an escheat of a tract of five thousand acres, secured in 1770, near St. John, N. B. On his grant of seventy-two acres at Gunning Cove—Carleton village of that day—near the entrance of the harbor, he spent nearly all that he had in the erection of a very fine building, long known as "Wilkins's Folly." An official township list of "Persons absent or immediately on the wing" in 1792, contains the name of Isaac Wilkins. From Shelburne he removed to Lunenburg, and thence, about 1800, returned to Westchester, N. Y., where he became rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a position he continued to hold until his death in 1830. Two judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, both bearing the name of Lewis Morris Wilkins, and both residents of Windsor, were son and grandson of Isaac Wilkins.

The appointment of additional magistrates by Governor Parr on his first visit to Shelburne has been mentioned. The records of the sessions in a town where an immense mixed crowd, recently exposed to all the unhallowed and unsettling influences of a long civil war, had been suddenly collected, present a better view of the legal punishments of that day than could elsewhere be obtained. Pynchon, one of the first agents, had written to Captain Durfee in reference to rivalry with Halifax: "We must encourage settlers of any denomination, as we cannot all be farmers. And whoever has the human form,



especially sailors and fishermen, must on some part of the harbor have given them a house lot at least to build on." That those who bear the human form may become desperately bad no one can question.

One is startled by learning from these old records what trifling crimes were followed by the penalty of death. Shannon and Doyle, for stealing some money from a vessel at Sandy Point in 1784; Britain Murray, for an attempted theft which secured a few pence; and John Mitchell, for a robbery at Tusket, and one other, name unknown, suffered death by hanging at Shelburne. In pronouncing sentence of death on these poor wretches Shelburne magistrates were acting quite within the lines of British law. English judges were then obliged to pass the death sentence upon men whose gains by crime would scarcely pay for the rude rope put around their necks. It was about that period that Lord Mansfield, the well-known English judge, charged a jury, to the expressed disgust of a plundered jeweller, to find that a stolen trinket was of less value than forty shillings, in order that the prisoner might escape the capital sentence. One can scarcely believe, what nevertheless was a fact, that less than ninety years ago Samuel Rogers, the poet, saw a cartful of young girls on their way to execution at Tyburn. Such was one phase of the "good old times."

The punishment of the lash, which almost equally degrades two men—the man who swings the whip and the man whose back receives it—to say nothing of the spectators, was then freely used. If this did not suffice, the culprit went to the workhouse, where scanty fare and hard work presented small temptation to the commission of crime with a view to a winter's board. The first person who appears to have been publicly whipped was one Diana, a Negro woman, who was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes at the cart's-tail on one Saturday and one hundred and fifty on the next. By way of variety a whipping-post was erected on Stanhope's Hill, and thenceforward the records of the sessions abounded with notices of whippings by the cat-o-nine-tails, at the cart's-tail, the whipping-post and at the street corners. The last sentence of this kind in Shelburne was executed as late as 1826, when a colored woman received twenty one lashes with the cats.

The pillory was then also in vogue. The frame stood at the corner of Water and Ann streets, and was used as early as November,

1784. As pictured in old prints, the frame was composed of two upright posts, with a cross-piece about the height of a man's shoulders ; this cross-piece was divided into two parts, upper and lower, in each of which were three semi-circular indentations. The centre one received the head of the culprit, and the two side ones his hands ; the upper piece then closed down on his neck and held him in a perfectly helpless position. Thus bound, the victim became, during the period prescribed by the court, a target for all the garbage and promiscuous missiles which the mob might choose to fling at him without danger of serious injury. The low carnival was generally limited to one hour, and was, in most cases, like the lash, an accompaniment to imprisonment. This debasing form of punishment, now happily out of date, was used in Halifax as early as 1770.

The following curious sentence, pronounced by Stephen Skinner Esq., custos, in 1798, is copied from the records of the sessions. It is worthy of the notice of any person disposed to say naughty things about their neighbors : " You, Margaret T. and Eliza B., jr., having been this day convicted of publishing a scandalous and malicious libel ; from hence you are both to be put in a cart, with the following inscription on your breasts and backs, viz. : ' Convicted of a scandalous and false libel,' and to be led to the pump in King street, and thence to proceed through Water street as far as the middle of George street, and thence to proceed back to the corner of John street, and thence to be conducted to your respective places of abode." Tradition states that at the conclusion of the ceremony the elder of the two women politely thanked the constables for their elevated view of a section of the town.

Not unfrequently Shelburne magistrates contented themselves with giving culprits " leg-bail." Four men, for instance, lay at one time in the jail under sentence of death, but three out of the four were pardoned by Governor Parr. The three were therefore brought into court, and were there dismissed with the assurance that if caught in the province after three months the original sentence should be carried into effect. Unfortunately this inexpensive expedient worked in two ways. A Captain Napier, who in 1787, had entered into a contract abroad to remove a number of convicts, landed a part of them at Tusket and the remaining number at Shelburne, where he bound out several as servants. The magistrates, suspecting the real

character of Captain Napier's passengers, and learning that others were on their way from Tusket, seized the captain and examined the crew. They thus learned that their visitors had been put on board by a military guard, under whose charge they had remained until the vessel had sailed. The captain, finding his scheme exposed, requested the magistrates to apprehend all the convicts, and promised to pay all expenses, lodging his papers as security with James Bruce, the collector. While making all possible effort to secure the stragglers the magistrates were surprised to learn that Captain Napier, ready to sail, had demanded his papers of the collector, who had no legal right to hold them, and was preparing to leave the harbor. The civil officers, assisted by men from the 6th Regiment, then in garrison, arrested the captain and threw him into jail while a statement was being forwarded to the higher court. The Supreme Court, however, quashed the order for informality, and Captain Napier sailed away without his previous companions, leaving Shelburne magistrates to learn that the practice of getting rid of criminals by sending them abroad worked in two ways.

Historical order alone has led me to speak of legal affairs at Shelburne in advance of arrangements for the public worship of the Most High. The presence of church buildings is an outward and visible sign of true regard for the King of Kings; and the ministry of the Gospel is one of the most effective departments of police. Shelburne had magistrates before it had a resident minister, and for several years had no permanent churches. The worst omen for the prosperity of the place was not that long remembered—the hoisting of the national flag, union down, on the day when the town was named by Governor Parr; it was this absence of churches. The first sermon known to have been preached was given by the Rev. William Black, grandfather of M. P. Black, Esq., of this city. Mr. Black found accommodation in the tent of Robert Barry, one of the few Methodists of the place. On Sunday he preached three times and on Monday once from a table placed among the stumps on Robert Barry's lot.\* The week-day sermon, interpreted by some persons as

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\* Robert Barry for a time taught school at Shelburne. A little later he entered into partnership with his brother Alexander, of London, G. B. The firm had branches at Dorchester and other places in the Maritime Provinces, and for some years carried on an extensive trade. About 1811 Robert Barry returned to Liverpool, N. S., where, highly esteemed by numerous friends, he died in 1843, at the age of eighty-three. The late John Alexander Barry, a Halifax

an evidence of being "righteous overmuch," drew upon the preacher an attack with stones, from one of the largest of which he had a very narrow escape. From that time Mr. Black and other Methodist ministers, prominent among whom was that staunch old Loyalist, James Mann, gave to the town such attention as was in their power, but no building for the express purpose of worship was erected by the Methodists until twenty years had passed. A large building belonging to Charles White, one of their leading men, was for a time used as a church by themselves, and for a shorter period by the Episcopal ministers.

About two months after the visit of Mr. Black the Rev. Dr. Walter, previously rector of Trinity Church, Boston, reached Shelburne, and soon after him the Rev. George Panton, from New Jersey. The last-named minister remained but a short time, leaving Dr. Walter in charge of the two parishes of St. George and St. Patrick. The government had reserved a site for an Episcopal church, but the leading citizens purchased another deemed more suitable, on which, some time later, they put up a temporary building which was only used in summer, and was never finished. The church now in use was built on a lot owned by Miss Goddard, in lieu of which pew number thirty was granted to the Goddard family forever. It was paid for in great measure by government grants, and was consecrated in 1790 by Bishop Inglis, on his first visit to the town. During the following year Dr. Walter removed to Boston, where, in a few months, he was chosen rector of Christ Church. A son of his remained some time in Shelburne, and a grandson, born there, became the proprietor and first editor of the Boston *Evening Transcript*. The next rector was the Rev. John Hamilton Rowland, previously of Pennsylvania, at whose death in 1795 the parish was placed in the hands of his son, Thomas B. Rowland. On the retirement of the latter the Rev. Thomas H. (now Dr.) White became rector. Of the christian courtesy of this venerable and highly esteemed minister, still a resident of Shelburne, the writer of this paper has pleasant recollections.

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merchant who came into prominence in 1829 as a representative in the Provincial Assembly for Shelburne, in which place he was born, was a son of Robert Barry. Mr. Barry, having been ordered into custody by the House for violent and contumacious conduct, was rescued on his way to prison by a large crowd, which hooted and pelted the members of the House. This now celebrated case caused great excitement at the time.

The members of the Church of Scotland in early Shelburne were somewhat numerous. In 1785 Governor Parr granted the site on which the present church stands, where they erected a temporary building which, after several years' use in summer, was blown down. In 1785 the Presbyterians of Shelburne appealed to the General Assembly of the Scotch Church for assistance in the way of a minister and funds for his support, but without success. A petition three years subsequently to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, for a money grant, was equally unavailing. The earliest Presbyterian minister of the place was the Rev. Hugh Fraser, who, during the war, had been acting chaplain to the 71st Highland Regiment, of which Dr. Blair, of Edinburgh, was the regular chaplain. He reached Shelburne some time in 1783, and remained there nearly ten years. In December, 1803, the Rev. Matthew Dripps arrived, and at once entered upon his faithful and successful pastorate. A successor of his was the Rev. Gavin Lang, father of the minister of that name for some years at Montreal.

A small Baptist church was also put up at an early date, as was also one owned by Mr. William Taylor, an English General Baptist. Most of the original Baptists of the place were colored, whose minister was David George. The first baptisms by immersion at Shelburne and Lockport were performed by him. This good man met with no small amount of persecution. At Shelburne and in this city he proved a trusty agent of Lieutenant John Clarkson, and after his arrival at the African colony he secured and retained the esteem of its managers. His parents were native Africans. The Revs. John Craig, Harris Harding, and other Baptist ministers, occasionally visited the Loyalist town. During a visit of Mr. Harding in 1791, a mob created a serious disturbance. Of a church of twenty members, whose names were appended to a "solemn covenant" in 1803, the Rev. John Burton was "minister and acting trustee."

Of occasional visits by preachers, those of Quakers only found notice in the journals of the day. Whether from England or America the Quakers met with a courteous reception. Their religious meetings were held in the court-house, which for some years was used as a place of worship during the winter season by the ministers of the English and Scotch Churches. Owing, in all probability, to the legal disabilities of that day, no references to Roman Catholic services appear in the records and newspapers.

Two cemeteries were marked out. That for the northern district was at the rear of the town ; the southern was near the cove. Twenty-two years ago part of a single gravestone only could be found in the first, where interments had been most numerous ; in the second no trace of hillocks could be observed. Both had been abandoned soon after the opening of the burial grounds surrounding the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, and had become over-grown by tall trees or brushwood. The land for a Methodist cemetery was given by John Hoose, a surgeon in one of the Hessian Regiments, whose dust rests there, beside that of his wife.

The general expectation of the importance of Shelburne seems to have been shared by the military and naval authorities. Important reservations for purposes of defence were made on the shores of the harbor, but the early decay of the place prevented the erection of any extensive fortifications. Large barracks were built on the west side of the harbor. A road was made by the troops around the head of the harbor, and over this road a march of three miles was necessary whenever they attended church. The 17th and 6th Regiments successively occupied these barracks—the latter for five years. Two of its officers, drowned in the harbor on their way to the military post at Carleton Point, are buried in the Episcopal cemetery. On the removal of the 6th the magistrates urged the Governor to use his influence against any reduction of the force, but a single company only of the 4th was sent, and in a few years the military establishment was completely broken up. Field-marshal Beresford, well known to all familiar with the history of the Peninsular war, lost an eye while out on a shooting expedition near the Shelburne barracks.

A large number of Negro slaves reached Shelburne from the revolted colonies. They appeared on the rolls as "servants," but their number, as ordinary servants, was suspiciously large. Stephen Shakespeare was accompanied by twenty, and Charles Oliver Bruff, a goldsmith, by fifteen of them. Isaac Wilkins is also said to have brought a good many. With Captain Andrew Barclay's company of fifty-five men and women and forty-nine children, were no less than fifty-seven "servants," thirty-six of whom, however, were owned by four families. There is little reason to doubt that nearly all were really slaves. The terms "slave" and "the property of" appear almost as frequently in the official records of early Shelburne as one

would expect to see them in those of a southern slave-holding city. A certificate in my possession, bearing date as late as 1800, has reference to the hiring of a slave. In fact, slavery near the close of the last century, had a certain legal recognition in this province. It is not more than a hundred years since a Presbyterian divine in Nova Scotia held a slave and defended his conduct in a long series of letters based for the most part on the teaching of Scripture. It was in 1786 that the excellent Dr. MacGregor, of the same church, agreed to pay £50 for the freedom of a colored girl held in slavery by a member of his congregation, and that he actually paid £20 according to that agreement out of an exceedingly meagre salary. An interesting trial, having relation to slavery, took place at Shelburne during the following year. One Jesse Gray, of Argyle, had sold to William Mangham, of Shelburne, a colored woman called Mary Postill, for one hundred bushels of potatoes. Gray was charged with "misdemeanor," it being alleged that he was not the real owner of the woman in question. Proof having, however, been given that Gray had been her owner in the Southern States, the court at once acquitted him, and the woman became as much the property of Mangham for a hundred bushels of potatoes as would a horse or a waggon for the same consideration. One restriction the law provided—that no one could dispose of a slave outside the province, but on more occasions than one slaves were taken from Shelburne and were sold in the West Indies. It was the harsh treatment of a slave by a Loyalist master, who had carried him to London, that elicited the decision of Lord Mansfield that no master was at liberty to send his Negro-servant from England to a foreign country, or even to any British colony. The result of this decision was a movement to abolish the slave trade; and the union of Clarkson and Wilberforce with Granville Sharpe to effect that purpose.\*

A large number of free Negroes also arrived in 1783. About two thousand, who had fled to the British lines and had been set at work on the southern fortifications, were taken thence to New York. Only one Negro corps was enrolled for regular military service—that known

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\* I have not had time to look for formal enactments of our own legislature on the subject of slavery, but may remark that this "institution," as it has been called by our American neighbors, or the "sum of all villainies," as John Wesley more tersely termed it, was abolished in Upper Canada in 1793 by a decision of Chief-Justice Osgoode. Ten years later—1803—it was also abolished in Lower Canada. In the districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, the number of slaves held in 1784 was 304.

as the "Black Pioneers," which served faithfully to the close of the war. At the conclusion of peace the colored people saw with terror their former masters arriving at New York from Virginia and the Carolinas, and seizing their living "property" on the streets or dragging them from their beds, to carry them back to the South. Sir Guy Carleton, refusing to understand the article that Laurens had had inserted in the treaty, prohibiting the carrying away of slaves or other property, as stipulating the surrender of any slaves who had taken refuge under the British flag—a surrender he thought in the highest degree dishonorable to Great Britain, soon relieved the distress of the colored people by a proclamation that all Negroes who had sought refuge from rebel masters within the British lines were free, and by a certificate to that effect given to each former slave. Having caused an accurate list to be taken in view of any demand for indemnity, vessels were soon fitted out, in which they were sent to Burchtown, near Shelburne, where, a few weeks later, they were joined by others who had sailed from St. Augustine for Halifax. About eighteen men of the Black Pioneer corps reached Halifax in the spring fleet. Captains were appointed to attend to the division of the lands and the distribution of the rations, and over the whole Colonel Stephen Bluck, a mulatto, by appointment exercised a certain supervision. Bluck, in 1788, entertained Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., at dinner at his house on the Burchtown road. He was about that time schoolmaster to the colored settlement. Few business men at the present day affix as fine a signature to a document as he did to one now in my possession. What became of him has not been clearly ascertained. Tradition states that an accusation of misappropriation of funds, entrusted to him for the benefit of the colored public, led him to leave home and make his way toward the Bay of Fundy, and that a fragment of his clothing, picked up some time after, led to the belief that he had been destroyed by some wild animal. In this colored settlement at Burchtown John Wesley took a deep interest. In one of his earliest letters to Robert Barry he promised to send them some reading matter, and added: "They shall never want books while I live." In subsequent letters he scarcely ever failed to make inquiries about the same settlement.

There were good men among these Negroes, whose principles were tested at Shelburne, and still more severely at Sierra Leone, and were not found wanting; but the great majority were better known



by the trouble they gave the magistrates and the demands they made upon the overseers of the poor. Among the earliest ordinances passed by the sessions was one enacting "that fifty handbills be printed immediately, forbidding negro dances and frolicks in this town of Shelburne."

The President of this Society having favored the members with a copy of the manuscript journal of John Clarkson, to whom was entrusted the removal of the colored people from the Lower Provinces to Sierra Leone in 1791, only brief notice of that event need be taken here. During the autumn of 1791, Lieutenant Clarkson met the Negroes at Burchtown in the meeting-house used by "Moses," a colored Methodist lay preacher, and read to them the proposals and terms of the company. These were that each married man should have thirty acres of land, and each male child fifteen acres, in the new African settlement. They were to have a free passage, and on their arrival to be furnished with provisions until they could clear a spot from which to secure their own necessary food. After that the company was also to furnish them with any provisions needed, for which produce of the plantations would be received as pay. The majority of those present accepted the terms and asked removal. Their kindred at the westward soon heard of the land of promise and resolved to have a share in it. John Sargent, Esq., of Barrington, met one of the small parties constantly on their way towards Shelburne from Barrington, Argyle and Yarmouth, and asked whither they were going. "Oh, massa, we be going to Sire Leone to be made majesties (magistrates) of," was the reply of the simple-hearted creatures. Two vessel loads of them left Shelburne on December 3rd, 1791, on their way to Halifax, and these, with others gathered from several parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, making in all twelve hundred, sailed from Halifax on January 15th, 1792, under command of Lieutenant Clarkson. In spite of storms which scattered the fleet, all the vessels reached Sierra Leone in safety; but a fever, which had broken out on shipboard, continued for a time to rage so severely on shore that decent interment of the bodies became difficult. In their new homes some of these Negroes remained steady and peaceable, and welcomed the arrival some years later of an English Methodist missionary, but the majority became so unruly and violent that they endangered the existence of the settlement, and even attempted the murder of the

governor. So difficult was the task of keeping them in order, that when, eight years later, the managers of the colony were asked to receive the Maroons, also from Nova Scotia, they only consented in the hope that the one race would prove "a counterpoise to the other."

Three newspapers were published at Shelburne, all weeklies. The *Royal American Gazette* was published by James Robertson, who, with his brother and one Turnbull, had published the *Norwich Packet*, at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1773. After the British troops had taken possession of New York in 1776, the Robertsons removed thither, and during the war published the *Royal American Gazette*. They came to Shelburne in Captain Barclay's company, bringing with them twenty slaves, and as soon as possible resumed the publication of their paper under its previous name. The subscription list never exceeded one hundred and sixty names, and the last issue bore the date of August 22, 1785. In September, 1787, the *Royal American Gazette* reappeared at Charlottetown under James Robertson's management, as the first paper published in Prince Edward Island. Thirty-five years later a total issue of fifty copies per week sufficed for the demands of the newspaper readers of that colony; it may therefore be presumed that the paper and title, to which the exiled publisher had clung through so many changes of fortune, was finally abandoned at Charlottetown. A committee of the Assembly and Legislative Council was named early in 1788 to solicit the appointment, through Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton), of Robertson as Queen's Printer for the island, but in a list of the inhabitants, drawn up ten years later, his name cannot be found. A final glimpse of this Shelburne citizen is obtained from Sabine, who states that in 1810 he was a printer and bookseller in Edinburgh. His brother Alexander died at Shelburne a short time after the Loyalists reached that place. The second paper was the *Port Roseway Gazetteer and Shelburne Advertiser*. It was a small paper. J. Robertson, Jr., and T. & J. Swords began its publication in the autumn of 1784. It was published only for a short time. The Swords brothers afterwards went to New York, where in 1797 they were printers of the *Theological Magazine*. One of them, at the time of death, was in charge of an Episcopal paper published in the same city. The third paper was the *Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser*, and was published by James Humphreys, a man of some prominence both before and after

his arrival at Shelburne. This paper was the last to be discontinued. It was at first an eight-page paper; in the summer of 1786 it was reduced to half that size, and in 1787 it ceased to be published. The subscription price was twelve shillings per annum, half in advance.

In the columns of these old journals one may read as current news from the latest London papers the speeches of Burke and Sheridan on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. In the advertising columns are strange names and associations. Dry and wet goods are both advertised. "Wet goods"—a term now obsolete—was the business word for groceries. The same person announces in the one advertisement Bibles and prayer-books and West India rum. As at the present day, a variety of nostrums was offered to the invalid. Probably but one of these—Turlington's Balsam—could be procured from a Halifax druggist at this date. Other advertisements and notices suggest the fashions of that day. The "tower" head-dress, which, towards the close of the colonial period had obtained colossal proportions, had, it is probable, not wholly disappeared. Frequently, when fully built up, the superstructure, by actual measurement, was an inch longer than the lady's head and face below it. Men at that time wore the queue—the long braid down the back—the head being plentifully powdered with white powder or flour. To such lengths was this practice carried that at a time of scarcity in Nova Scotia a government notice advised economy in breadstuffs in this direction. A comparison between the advertisement columns of that day and our own establish the significant fact—that Fashion in former days used men and not women as fashion blocks on which to display her gayer colors. Far more prominence is given to cloths and bright vestings for gentlemen than to materials for ladies' dress. For the latter the favorite stuff seems to have been "bombazine." Most of my hearers may be aware of the fact that somewhat gay colours in evening dress continued to be used by gentlemen at a much later period.\*

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\* Lord Lytton, in writing of his father's celebrated novel—*Pelham*—remarks: "One at least of the changes which the book effected in matters of dress has kept its ground to this day . . . Till then the coats worn for evening dress were of different colors,—brown, green or blue, according to the fancy of the wearer, and Lord Oxford tells me that the adoption of the now invariable black dates from the publication of *Pelham*." *Pelham*, you will remember, was given to the public in 1828.

How were these thousands supplied with food? Necessity caused the early settlers to seek land communication with other settlements as early as possible, but the roads made scarcely permitted the use of wheels in any direction. Strenuous effort was made for connection with the fertile Annapolis Valley, but when such progress had been made that several persons had passed over the road, the rapid depopulation of the town put a sudden and fatal check upon that attempt. For a time certain staple articles of food were furnished by the British Government. From that quarter for three or four years each man, woman and child, who had arrived from the revolted colonies, received a daily allowance of flour and pork. How good these may have been we dare not say. A Shelburne Loyalist wrote in January, 1785: "We have nothing here but His Majesty's rotten pork and unbaked flour." Possibly the monotony of his table may have made a poor fellow cynical; or contractors for an immense quantity of supplies may have taken cruel advantage. Ration tickets, however, became a kind of currency, and some variety was therefore possible. A certain quantity per day of the articles named was allowed to each person above ten years of age: all under that age received half the quantity. Masters received as much for each adult slave as for themselves. A month's supply was distributed at a time. Edward Brinley, Esq., was superintendent of the commissariat department. To bake "His Majesty's unbaked flour" there were more than a baker's dozen bakeries in the town. The general opinion has limited the government supply of rations to the third year, but there is reason to believe that the much-needed help was given for an additional year. Fish abounded in the harbor: the great want was that of fresh meat. During the session of the Assembly for 1786, Isaac Wilkins moved that in consideration of the circumstances the government should be asked to authorize the importation of cattle into the district of Shelburne, but his motion was negatived. For vegetables the inhabitants were dependent upon the uncertain visits of small coasting vessels.

The hopes of the Loyalist settlers of Shelburne were based in a great measure upon their possession of a harbor of rare beauty and convenience. One of their earliest efforts, therefore, was the creation of a mercantile interest. Wharves were thickly built along the front of the town, but, with white oak and other timber at their very doors,

they poured money into the lap of strangers for vessels, as many of them had done for the frames of their houses. Instead of securing shipbuilders they purchased vessels in Britain ; and others, which had brought cargoes from the West Indies, they bought in their own port. After a time this policy was changed. The passage, near the end of 1785, of an act offering a bounty of ten shillings per ton on all vessels of over forty tons burthen, built in the province, gave a new impulse to shipbuilding at home. Eight vessels of eighty and ninety tons or more were built during the succeeding summer and autumn in the county for Shelburne merchants. The ship *Roseway*, of two hundred and fifty tons, built for the firm of McLean & Bogle, and launched from one of the shipyards of the north division of the town on December 22nd, 1786, is believed to have been the first ship launched in the province after it finally came under British control. A little vessel or boat of only eight tons, called the *Roseway Yacht*, and built in Shelburne, crossed from Halifax to London in 1786, in twenty-eight days. Most of the smaller vessels were engaged in the West India trade.

The lumber trade was at one time quite extensive. Some parts of the shore of Jordan Bay were covered with a fine growth of timber. In June, 1785, the ship *Prince William Henry* took in at Jordan River for London a cargo of squared timber, which the *Royal American Gazette* declared to be the first cargo of Nova Scotia products ever taken to England. From lack of mills, or want of tact on the part of the merchants, the extensive home supply of lumber was only in part depended upon. Vessels were at times sent to the Penobscot, and the lumber re-shipped from them to the West Indies, or transferred from them to larger vessels leaving for Britain.

The shore and bank fisheries, which now furnish Shelburne's principal article of export, were partially overlooked at that day by merchants who turned their eyes toward the more expensive and hazardous whale fishery. A whaling company was established by them in 1784. Of the nine firms constituting the company one belonged to London ; one or two to Halifax ; the others to Shelburne. An agent sent to London to secure the co-operation of the English firm purchased a brig and a schooner, and with these the company commenced the Brazilian whale fishery. After several other vessels had been added to the fleet the venture was found to be a failure.

In 1789 the concern was wound up, when it was found that the company, which had commenced the business with a capital of £8350, had lost about a third of that sum in four years. Among the exports from Shelburne in 1788, were 13,141 quintals dry codfish; 4,192 casks pickled fish; 61 casks smoked salmon; 149 barrels fish oil, and 14,798 gallons sperm oil. Other exports were wholly of lumber.

In 1791 an effort was made by Shelburne ship-owners in a new direction. Newfoundland fish and New England lumber had nearly driven them out of the West India trade; they now turned to the carrying trade between the United States and Newfoundland. The letter of the law was against them. According to enactment no vessel coming directly from the United States could be admitted to entry in Newfoundland. This law had been passed in the interest of English merchants, who at that day did as they pleased with that unfortunate oldest colony of Britain. A license could be obtained, but with difficulty, and seldom for more than one voyage. Shelburne ship-owners evaded the law by loading their vessels in the United States and then entering and clearing at Shelburne for Newfoundland. During 1791 some fourteen vessels were managed in this way. But their owners were soon thwarted in this scheme. The failure of the fisheries to the northward of St. John's; the nearness to Newfoundland of Quebec, in the neighborhood of which harvests had been unusually good; and the vigilance of the English merchants, who soon discovered that they were being undersold, drove Shelburne shipping from the new route. Thus Shelburne business men were at last driven to hope only in what men ought to hate. It was Lynde Walter—a son of Dr. Walter of whom I have spoken, and one of the firm of Cox & Walter—who wrote at that period in a letter-book which I have seen: "War only can keep us on our feet: peace drives us from our homes."

War—that sad alternative—came. England was drawn into conflict with France in 1793, and was soon seen coping, single-handed, with the combined forces of France, Spain and Holland. From that period till the desperate conflict at Waterloo sent England's inveterate enemy to St. Helena to languish and die there, war was the rule and peace the exception in Britain's history. But even war could not keep Shelburne merchants on their feet. Positive harm

was the result. Government measures for defence and frequent visits by His Majesty's ships prevented hostile attack upon the place, but did not prevent privateers from capturing some of the rapidly dwindling merchant fleet. No efforts were at first made by way of reprisals, but on the renewal of the war with France the inducements held out to Nova Scotians by Mr. Dundas, through Governor Wentworth, and the successes of the *Rover* and some other Liverpool privateers, excited some interest among Shelburne folk. In 1800 a number of persons, with a few others belonging to Liverpool, fitted out the *Nelson* with sixteen guns, and placed her under command of Captain Ephraim Dean, of Liverpool. The *Nelson* is said to have been a Spanish vessel, cut out of a Spanish harbor in the West Indies, and sold at Liverpool, and to have been unequalled in speed by any vessel in this part of the world. In spite of all, however, her owners were strangely unfortunate. She made a number of captures, but only a few of these were legally condemned either in Nova Scotia or the West Indies. One vessel, condemned at Shelburne, they were glad to restore to her owners on a mere nominal payment; the owners of another schooner, sent into Tortola, put in a claim for heavy damages through detention, and pressed their claim with such persistence and success that some of the more influential owners of the *Nelson* narrowly escaped the jail. At a later date the unfortunate privateer sailed away as a freight-ship and was never again heard from. It may be added that serious injury was done to the business of the place by the tremendous storm of September 25th, 1798. By it a number of wharves were swept away, which have never been rebuilt. The damage done by that storm to the wharves and shipping in Halifax was estimated at nearly £100,000.

Few sights are more sad than that of a deserted dwelling. Wherever human beings have lived, some heart-fibres seem to cling to the walls and thus connect the departed with remaining ruins. In many long and lonely journeys at night through thinly settled districts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the deep ravine, with its narrow bridge crossing some stream where, as the story went, strange lights had been seen or some headless man had appeared to lonely travellers, has never to me seemed so suggestive as the presence of a forest clearing on which stood a dwelling with doors and windows gone, and its former occupants scattered or dead. When twenty-five

years had passed Shelburne had become a city of deserted dwellings. "The houses," writes an early visitor, "were still standing though untenanted. It had all the stillness and quiet of a moonlight scene. It was difficult to imagine it was deserted. The idea of repose more readily suggested itself than decay. All was new and recent. Seclusion, and not death or removal, appeared to be the cause of the absence of inhabitants."\* The same writer thus described the place many years later: "The houses, which had been originally built of wood, had severally disappeared. Some had been taken to pieces and removed to Halifax or St. John; others had been converted into fuel, and the rest had fallen a prey to neglect and decomposition. The chimneys stood up erect, and marked the spot around which the social circle had assembled; and the blackened fireplaces, ranged one above another, bespoke the size of the tenement and the means of its owner. In some places they had sunk with the edifice, leaving a heap of ruins; while not a few were inclining to their fall, and awaiting the first storm to repose again in the dust that now covered those who had constructed them. Hundreds of cellars, with their stone walls and granite partitions, were everywhere to be seen, like uncovered monuments of the dead. Time and decay had done their work. All that was perishable had perished, and those numerous vaults spoke of a generation that had passed away for ever, and, without the aid of an inscription, told a tale of sorrow and of sadness that overpowered the heart." In some of these deserted homes furniture, and even clothing, were left in the rush of departure. A lady was telling me the other day that she, with companions of her childhood, forty or more years ago, would timidly venture upstairs on a bright day to a certain room in one of the old dwellings, and quietly look over the contents of a trunk or two and then carefully replace each article. Not a thing would be carried away, of course, for it was most clearly understood that to be "haunted" would be the penalty for such an act.

The same lady has reminded me that, living among these deserted dwellings, many of the remaining inhabitants became superstitious to an unusual degree. A recent lecturer in this city, could he have interviewed some of the men and women of that place and period, might have extended his single lecture on "Ghosts" into a series.

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\* "The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony." By the author of Sam Slick, p. 63.



Few old provincial towns have been without a dwelling or two which no child or nervous man would have taken as a gift, on condition of perpetual residence, but the old Loyalist village was rich in such points of interest. Even the harbor once had its mysterious light, which only ceased, it has been said, to be seen when a certain man, after having tramped hard a spot on the shore, as if in conflict with some evil power, had thrown himself into the waters and perished as his wife years before had been supposed to have perished when thrown from a boat by his hands.

The early decay of Shelburne had been foreseen by some of the keener men who first reached the spot. Its remoteness from other settlements; its situation at the head of a long harbor sealed by frost in winter; its lack of farming land, and the presence in great numbers of military men and merchants unacquainted with the methods of settlement in the wilderness, and unable to pursue or to appreciate the value of the fisheries near them, promised poorly for the permanence of the proposed city. However prudent may have been the plans of the original associators, it may well be supposed that the sudden arrival of the thousands whom Sir Guy Carleton found it necessary, contrary to agreement, to pour in upon them in the autumn must have interfered sadly with the wisest designs. Some men seem to have merely looked at the lots granted them and to have left. Joseph Pynchon, one of the original delegates from New York, saved himself from reproaches which must have overwhelmed any sensitive man, by selling his lands eighteen months after his arrival and withdrawing from the place. Even in 1785, notices of houses for sale formed a good proportion of the whole number of advertisements in the Shelburne papers, though widespread reports of the new city and the beautiful harbor caused an immigration which, for a time, counter-balanced the emigration—in point of numbers at least. But even this influx of strangers soon ceased; and in the autumn and winter of 1787, when the government distribution of food had ended, men were treading on the heels of their fellows as they hastened away. The red "G" which Archibald Cunningham, the collector, affixed to numerous names on the rate-book, and the list of absentees' estates, show that in 1788, in spite of a great effort to promote trade, the number of removals had increased at a rapid rate. A year or two later, when the English commissioners for making inquiry into

Loyalist losses and claims had concluded their task, other citizens withdrew.\* During all these years, the drink curse was doing its work with deadly vigor. In their presentment for 1786, the Grand Jury said: "The present number of dram shops and houses where they sell spirituous liquors is a grievance of so serious a nature that, if not redressed in time, the total destruction of every virtuous principle in the rising generation will not be the least of the many ill consequences that must result from them." Yet, with a madness too nearly paralleled at the present day, the magistrates went on granting the usual licenses to pauperize and embrate the population. In 1790, the burden of the poor became almost insupportable, owing to the absence of nearly all the once wealthy men. Some relief was afforded during the following year by the removal of the greater number of the Negroes to Sierra Leone. The assessment rolls for 1792 show that a large part of the taxes was upon the estates of absentees. In July of that year, Lynde Walter, before quoted, wrote to John Minshull, at New York, respecting some furniture he had forwarded: "You would have had a further quantity by the *Edward*, but she is full of goods appertaining to the different passengers."† Passing on for a few years we note that in 1796, when the war from which improvement had been expected had come, only 125 of the 710 rate-payers of 1786 appeared on the assessment rolls. Allowance must of course be made for those who had been laid away in the quiet cemeteries, but the death rate at that time does not appear to have been at all beyond the average. The rapidity of the decline of the place may be judged from the fact that Governor Parr estimated the population of the district in 1784 at 10,000, of whom much the greater part must have been in the town, while a writer in the *Acadian Recorder* in 1818 put down the population at that time at three hundred. Ten years later, Captain Moorsom, in his

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\* Colonel Dundas and Mr. Jeremy Pemberton, two members of the Board of Commissioners, were sent out to investigate the losses of the Loyalists who had sought homes in the British American Provinces. The number of claims examined by these gentlemen was 1,272; the amount asked was £975,310; the sum allowed for losses was £336,753. The total sum allowed to petitioners in Britain and abroad was more than £3,000,000. It seems certain that only a part of the Loyalists presented claims for compensation for services or loss of property, and that some of those who presented such claims did not press them. The officers of more than twenty Loyalist corps were placed on the half-pay list.

† John Minshull is said to have had the finest dwelling in the town, built, as some others, on an oak or chestnut frame imported from the old colonies.

“Letters from Nova Scotia,” reported the total number of the inhabitants of the village to be less than four hundred. It is a suggestive fact that of the twenty-one gentlemen named in the *Royal American Gazette* in January, 1785, as the wardens and vestry-men of the parishes of St. George and St. Patrick only one is known to have died near Shelburne. This solitary man died several miles from the town.

Very sad, in more thoughtful moments, must the place have been to those who from choice or necessity clung to it. In all directions were mementoes of the past. On street after street were the vacant residences of once intimate friends. On one street was the site of the Merchants' Coffee House, where Bishop Inglis had been entertained at dinner after his consecration of the church; where the two Masonic lodges had been accustomed to meet and on high days to dine; where gay weekly assemblies had held revelry, or busy men had watched sales by auction; and where the magistrates had sometimes held court, or the captains of companies had discussed public affairs, when a disposition to divide their patronage had not taken them to the second “coffeehouse” or some other tavern. Quite near was “the bridge,” the fashionable promenade of the place, where on summer evenings the military bands had played the rich music of that day. And there, as beautiful as ever, were the clear waters of the harbor, now only occasionally disturbed by stately ships. I caught this spirit of sadness as I looked over the old interleaved almanacs in which for many years Archibald Cunningham recorded the events of daily life, personal and public, of the deserted town. Through these the old Scotch elder, a bachelor but by no means a recluse, speaks with deep pathos. In 1819 he wrote: “Aug. 5, Mr. Braine and family left poor Shelburne,” and in the following year, at the bidding of death, he closed a record which had been monotonous indeed with similar statements.

To say, as some have hastily done, that these thousands, wanderers a second time, went back to their former homes is not to do them justice. Some were ready to return, with Britain's partial recompense for losses in their possession, when assured that they might do so with safety. Others, through business causes, were led near former homes, and, natural feelings triumphing over temporary bitterness, friends once estranged won them back. But many *could* not return. In

some cases the enmity of relatives had only grown stronger with time; in others the homes which had tempted covetous Whigs to secure their confiscation were in the hands of strangers whose interest it was to keep former owners at a distance. The great number *would* not go back. Honored names occur to me of men who struggled long with adversity, but were proof to the end against all persuasion to return to a land which they had left on principle, or whence they had been rudely driven. And of those who through sheer necessity sought another resting place in some part of the American republic, not a few took refuge only on the outskirts. The Methodist Bishop Asbury found Charles White, who has been mentioned in this paper, some time later in the wilds of Kentucky. Years before that interview the bishop had been an inmate of White's pleasant home in New York, but between the two visits the Shelburne rally and dispersion had intervened. Numbers of these Shelburne exiles found their way to Britain, the West Indies and the Canadas, where after their strange vicissitudes their dust sleeps quietly under the shadow of the flag they loved. A larger number probably found homes elsewhere in Nova Scotia and in the other maritime provinces. Stray gleams of sunshine often seemed to fall upon the faded pages of the early Shelburne assessment rolls as I there met with names familiar during years spent in New Brunswick—peculiar names, seldom heard in other parts of the Dominion. But a precise answer to the question, "Whither did these exiles go?" cannot be given. Let it rather be asked: "Where might they not have been found?" Felicia Hemans wrote:—

"Go, stranger, track the deep!  
Free, free the white sail spread!  
Wave may not foam, nor wild wind sweep,  
Where sleep not England's dead."

The list of these world-wide wanderers was largely recruited from the short-lived city on our Southern coast. Thousands met there

"Whose graves are scattered far and wide,  
By mount and stream and sea."

Few records of their wanderings and sufferings have been preserved. Their circumstances were most unfavorable to the preparation or preservation of historical data. The Loyalists in general left no songs behind them, nor harpers to chant their sorrows; the best writers upon one of the most marvellously sad events of the new world have

given us only a comparatively few detached incidents, which serve to deepen the mysterious interest of the story rather than to remove it. Sufficient materials must, however, exist for the preparation of one of the most sadly-dramatic, and for the most part heroically-dramatic, chapters in modern history. These fragments—now in numerous scattered receptacles—should be “sought out and set in order” by some writer to whom the labor would be its own reward, and who would put himself in as thorough sympathy with the Loyalist period as Motley was doing with that of the Dutch Republic, when he wrote from Brussels to his friend Holmes: “With the present generation here I am not familiar. The dead men of the place are my familiar friends. I am at home in any cemetery. . . Any ghost that ever flits by night across the moonlight square is at once hailed by me as a man and a brother. I call him by his Christian name at once. . . . Here I remain among my fellow worms, feeding on these musty mulberry leaves of old letters and documents, out of which we are afterwards to spin our silk.” In the meantime let each descendent of a true Loyalist aim to keep fresh and green the memory of that ancestor. Former generations have not been wholly faultless in respect to their obligation to do this. Their apparent neglect irresistibly reminds us of the line-and-a-half which constitutes not only the last sentence, but the last paragraph of Napier’s matchless “History of the War in the Peninsula”: “Thus the war terminated, and with it all remembrance of the veterans’ services.” Farther from the conflict than were the generations immediately preceding us, we may yet do better than they.

I have cherished no harshness of feeling, nor have I forgotten “God in history.” If to a section of the American Colonists of the last century was permitted the important work of laying the foundation of one of the mightiest nations on earth, to another section—that of which I have written—was allowed the no less serious task of taking a very large share in the development of the Canadian Dominion—a most important section of the “Greater Britain” of to-day. Side by side, without departure from the lines which were projected a century since, the descendants of the Whigs and of the United Empire Loyalists may work out their destiny in such harmony as shall secure the smile of Heaven.

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## EARLY JOURNALISM IN NOVA SCOTIA.

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A PAPER READ BY J. J. STEWART, ESQ., DECEMBER 8, 1887.

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WHEN, on the 13th May, 1749, the sloop-of-war *Sphinx*, with the thirteen transports that she convoyed, sailed from England to found this good city of Halifax,—to plant the first tender shoots of English Canada,—and, as one of our own poets puts it: “to found a race all time shall trace adown the historic page,” there was one important defect in the outfit of the migrating city. It was, perhaps, not a very conspicuous defect; for probably not one in the company recognized it, and I doubt if even Cornwallis himself would have waited an hour to rectify it, even if it had been pointed out to him. But with the wisdom that comes after the event, the citizen of Halifax of 1887 cannot fail to pronounce it a grave omission. In the expedition under Governor Cornwallis, there were artizans to build the future city; statesmen to govern it; soldiers to protect it; tradesmen to supply its wants; merchants, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters, and even actors,—but in the whole outfit of the moving city, the like of which the world has seldom seen,—certainly never seen since, there was neither printing press nor printer. Among all the various classes of artizans represented on board the thirteen transports, there does not appear to have been one working representative of the art preservative of all arts; and among all the agencies that Cornwallis had placed at his disposal for subduing, governing and moulding the destinies of the new land to which he was bound, no one seems to have thought of providing him with what Napoleon Bonaparte is said to have regarded as the most powerful of all human forces—a printer’s plant. The omission was hardly creditable to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, but must be excused, I presume, for a reason I have seen somewhere stated, that in those

days public men learned of the public requirements entirely by attending dinners, and as "the press" was not then as popular a toast as it is now, these worthy men had not the same opportunities of knowing the relative importance of that puissant institution, that public men now have.

Happily the defect was only to be of short duration. England was not then coming to America for the first time. There was already in America a *New England*,—intolerant, greedy and jealous,—at whose instance and in whose interest the new city was being founded by, and at the expense of, the mother land. In less than three years from the time Cornwallis sailed out of Portsmouth for Chebucto Bay, New England supplied the want in question, and had provided the infant city with both a printing office and newspaper. That was New England's contribution, and,—so far as we know—its most important contribution to the new enterprise.

Just one hundred years before the sailing of Cornwallis—to wit, in 1649—an Englishman named Samuel Green had set up a printing office at Cambridge, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. He was not actually the first printer in America, for Stephen Day had preceded him by ten years; but he was essentially the father of American printing. His son, Bartholomew Green, was the first printer of the Boston *News Letter*, the first newspaper published in America. And his son in turn, Bartholomew Green, junior, was destined to set up the first printing office in what is now the Dominion of Canada. It is not often that such honours descend on three successive generations of the same family. Bartholomew Green, *junior*, was born in 1700, four years before the *News Letter* was started. He served his apprenticeship in the *News Letter* office with his father, and, after he came of age, printed for himself, using his father's types and presses. In 1734, or thereabouts, he formed a partnership with two other printers, John Bushell and Bezoune Allen, which firm continued to do business as printers in Boston till 1751. For some reason or other the firm in that year was dissolved, and, in the latter part of August, 1751, Green, with his printing plant, sailed for the new city of Halifax in the sloop *Endeavor*, Robert Motton, master. He arrived here in September, procured a lot of land on the lower side of Grafton Street, a little to the north of where Duke Street intersects it, and on this lot, he—the



grandson of the man who established the first fully equipped printing office in America, the son of the man who printed the first American newspaper—erected the first printing office in Halifax. But it is not certain that he ever did any printing in it. The probability is that he did. But there is no positive evidence on the point. All we know of a certainty is, that in a few months after his arrival here he was taken suddenly ill, and died at the comparatively early age of 52.

Upon news of Green's death reaching Boston, John Bushell, his late partner, sailed for Halifax, and immediately assumed the management of the new enterprise. Why Bushell should have succeeded to the business instead of Green's family—two of whom were then printers, grown to man's estate,—does not clearly appear. The most probable explanation is that Bushell was a partner with Green in the Halifax venture, and was only remaining in Boston to close up their business there, before following him to their new field of operation. Anyway, we hear no more of Green's family in connection with the Halifax printing office. They remained in New England, where several of them attained a fair measure of success in the trade of their father, grandfather and great-grandfather.

John Bushell was, like Green, a Bostonian. Of his parentage and early life little is known. THOMAS, in his *History of Printing*, says of him, (Vol. 2, p. 176), that "he was a good workmen, but had not the art of acquiring property, nor did he make the most economical use of the little that fell into his hands." How much truth there was in this judgment we shall see later on; but at first he seems to have taken hold of the business with vigor. He only arrived in Halifax about the end of January, and on Monday the 23rd of March, 1752, he published the first issue of the *Halifax Gazette*, the pioneer Canadian journal. For this *was* the first newspaper published in what is now the Dominion of Canada,—though the honor has been wrongfully claimed for others,—and twelve years were to elapse before there was a second. (The *Quebec Gazette*, the *second* newspaper published in Canada, only made its appearance on June 21st, 1764.) Further, the newspaper thus established by Bushell has been continuously published ever since, for over 135 years, still makes its appearance regularly each week as the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, and is by several years the oldest newspaper now published in America.

Hudson, in his *History of Journalism*, (published in 1873,) gives the *Portsmouth (N. H.) Gazette*, first published in 1756, as the oldest newspaper then published in the United States, with the *Newport (R. I.) Mercury*, first published in 1758, as the second oldest. Whether these papers are still published or not I cannot say, (that was fourteen years ago), but in any case our *Gazette* antedates the oldest of them by several years.

And just here let us correct one of Thomas's numerous inaccuracies bearing on this very point. Thomas says, speaking of the *Halifax Gazette* published by Bushell, "that after a trial of some months, publication of it was for a long time suspended; at length it was revived, but not issued at regular periods till about the autumn of 1760." This statement we now know to be incorrect. In the archives of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, there is a file of the paper in question for over three years, till August, 1755, the numberings on which show it to have been published regularly for that time at least. And though we have not the papers for the intervening period between 1755 and 1760, we have evidence that it was published regularly during that time. Our respected townsman and fellow-member, Mr. Akins, has in his library a copy of the *Halifax Gazette* of November 1st, 1760, giving an account of Governor Lawrence's funeral, and on this paper,—following the practice of the time to number from the first issue,—the number is "425." Now, between March 23rd, 1752, and November 1st, 1760—over eight years—there are not many more than 425 weeks, no more than can reasonably be accounted for by holidays falling on the day of publication, the change in the calendar which took effect in September, 1752,\* accidents, etc.—such events as, according to the custom of the time, fully justified suspension of publication. Indeed there is no good reason to doubt that the paper was published as regularly between 1752 and 1760 as we know it to have been ever since.

As first issued, the *Halifax Gazette*,—while doubtless like all other papers filling "a long-felt want,"—was not calculated, by either its size or character, to produce much of a sensation in the world.

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\* The change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar took place throughout the British Empire, September 1752, and by this change eleven days were lost. This, with the change in the day of publication, accounts for two weeks.

Its size was that of a half sheet of foolscap. Its heading was after this style :—

NOVA SCOTIA.	No. 1.
THE HALIFAX GAZETTE.	
MONDAY, MARCH 23RD, 1752.	

There was a wood-cut at each end of the title,—the one at the right hand representing a fowler pursuing game ; the one on the left a ship under full sail.

The imprint read as follows :—“ Halifax : printed by John Bushell, at the printing office in Grafton St., where advertisements “ are taken in.”

In the first issue the only thing in the shape of editorial, salutatory, or prospectus, is as follows :—

“ As many of the subscribers to the proposal for publishing of this “ paper may be desirous of knowing the cause why it has been so “ long delayed, the printer begs leave to inform them that the gentle- “ man who is possessed of the original subscription, whenever desired, “ will give them a satisfactory explanation ; and as the letter press is “ now conveniently fixed for the printing business, all such gentlemen “ and others as may have occasion for anything in our way may “ depend upon being served in a most reasonable and judicious “ manner by their old humble servant,” JOHN BUSHELL.

The only local matter was comprised in the following paragraphs :—

“ By our advices from Chegnecto, the commandant of His “ Majesty’s forces, Captain Collier, of the Lacelles regiment, died “ there in the beginning of the month. John Gorham died of small- “ pox in London, in December. The small-pox being prevalent in “ Boston and New York, vessels are to be very cautious not to suffer “ infected goods and persons to be brought into the province.”

“ The rigour of the season is considerably abated since the “ beginning of this month, but the scarcity of fresh provisions is “ so much increased that several working cattle have been lately “ killed, and the beef sold at 5 pence and 6 pence per lb.”

The balance of the reading matter was exclusively clippings from English papers. These, with a few advertisements, made up the paper. As an indication of the business being done in the city during the third year of its history, the advertisements are perhaps the most interesting department of the paper. Thus we have, in the first few issues of the *Gazette*, such advertisements as the following :—

“All sorts of bills, bills of sale, bills of lading, bonds, charter parties, contracts, covenants, deeds of sale, deeds of mortgage, indentures, leases, releases, wills, warrants of attorney, writs and processes returnable to any of His Majesty’s Courts, are drawn, at the corner of Sackville Street, by the beach, where constant attendance is given from 1 to 2 and from 3 to 7 in every afternoon, Sundays excepted.”

“At the sign of the Hand and Pen, at the south end of Granville Street, are carefully taught, by Leigh & Wragg, spelling, reading, writing in all its different hands, arithmetic in all its parts, merchants’ accompts. . . . Sold at the above place quill pens, inks, writing papers, writing and spelling books, and slate pencils.”

“To be sold by Proctor & Scott, at their store near the North Gate, cheap for ready cash, choice butter by the firkin or small quantity.”

Jackson & Usher, at their shop, “corner of Duke St., opposite Capt. Cook’s wharf,” advertise “all sorts of brazier’s ware ; likewise English refined sugar ; also house and lot on Barrington St.”

Choice Hampshire bacon is advertised to be sold by Joseph Rundell.

To be sold by John Codman, at his store, the south corner of Bedford Row, on Sackville St., “good pork, beef, wheat and rye flour, Indian meal, butter, cheese, mould and dipped candles, rum, tobacco, milk, bread, etc.”

Cornelius Durant, “at Mr. Shipton’s, near the North Gate,” had for sale “New England and West India rum, loaf and brown sugars, etc. ;”

And Mr. Samuel Shipton, “near the North Gate,” also advertises that he has “just imported” sashes painted and glazed, 6 x 10, 7 x 10 and 8 x 10 glass, and house frames of 2 storeys, 30 x 18.

“ Reading school for children kept, and gold and silver lace cleaned; and all sorts of silk, also mournings, stiffened, by Elizabeth Render, near Rev. Mr. Tutty’s new house on Barrington Street.”

To be sold, a house and lot on Carpenter’s Row, belonging to Joshua Churchill, peruke maker.

“ At the Academy in Grafton St., young gentlemen are speedily instructed and well grounded in the true art of spelling by rules short and easy, but expressive and comprehensive to almost the youngest capacity. They are likewise taught reading, writing, arithmetic, French, Latin, and dancing. Young ladies, as well as gents, taught dancing by me, HENRY MERITON.”

Nathan Nathans gives notice “ that all persons indebted to the estate of the late Isaac Levy, late of Halifax, deceased,” as well as “ all persons indebted to the firm of Levy & Nathans,” are to settle with him forthwith.

And in the next issue we read :—

“ Just imported to be sold by Nathans & Hart, at their dwelling house in Hollis St., opposite His Excellency’s, for ready money or short credit, by wholesale or retail, groceries, dry goods, and stationary, hardware, 4d., 6d., 8d., 10d., 12d., and 20d., London nails, etc.”

Benjamin Gerrish announces that “ sheet cork for nets is to be sold by him at his store near the brew-house.”

William Craft, auctioneer, announces that he will sell by auction “ at Mr. Cowie’s, four gundiloes in one lot,”—they are to be seen “ near the King’s Wharf.”

Samuel Sellon advertises to sell “ at the sign of the Spread Eagle,” a two-storey house in the south suburbs; also said Sellon’s dwelling-house, store and wharf.

Francis Martin offers goods for sale “ at Mr. Fairbanks’ store, near the south gate.”

Malachy Salter advertises “ groceries, hardware, and iron backs for chimneys,” at his store, near the south gate.

Richard Bulkeley warns any one against cutting wood on Cornwallis Island.

Henry O’Brien took in boarders at the “ Heart and Crown,” on the Beach. John Sharpe did business “ at the sign of the Recruiting

Sergeant, near the parade ;” and Capt Piggott held out at the “ Duke of Cumberland’s Head.”

Advertisements also appear of John Walker, blacksmith ; John Steven, cabinet-maker and joiner, “ next door to Mr. Wilkinson’s, near the beach ;” William Nesbitt, attorney ; George Taylor, baker ; Henry Sibley, tallow-chandler and soap maker ; Mrs. Tidd, “ outside the South Gate,” linen draper ; and Kneeland & Tidmarsh, general dealers.

The *Gazette* seems also, I am happy to say, to have enjoyed at its inception a fair measure of government advertising, which Mr. Bushell, having no envious opposition press to contend with, was able to enjoy without any aspersions on his probity or patriotism. Nearly every issue contained one or more government advertisements. Some of these are of historical interest. In the second issue (March 20th, 1752,) there is a proclamation requiring the registration of all “ memorials of deeds, conveyances and mortgages.” This proclamation not only required the registration of all such documents in the future, but required that any that had ever been made affecting any lands in the province should be registered,—if in Halifax city, before the 30th of April ; if outside the city, before the 30th September, then ensuing.

The next issue contains an advertisement setting forth that at a Council holden at Halifax, April 8th, 1752, it was enacted by the authority of the Governor-in-Council that certain duties shall be laid upon distilled spirits here imported and retailed, and the moneys arising from the said duties are to be disposed of in “ bounties for the encouragement of the fisheries, building of vessels, and other useful improvements within said province.”

Here are some of the bounties :—

On all lands granted by government, etc., that shall be, in 12 months from date of grant, fenced with a substantial fence not less than 4 ft. high, and be cleared of all underwood and brush, and shall have all the trees thereon felled, (excepting 10 to each acre,) and shall be sowed with English hayseed or any kind of English grain, or with hemp or flax seed, the sum of 20s. per acre.

The sum of 2s. per cwt. upon every cwt. of English hay which shall, within 18 months from the date hereof, be produced on any of the aforementioned lands.

2s. per bushel on wheat, barley, or rye, and 1s. per bushel on oats.

3d. per lb. on every lb. of merchantable hemp, which shall be "bright, well cured, and water rotted, 4 ft. in length and fit for use."

3d. per lb. on flax—ditto, ditto.

The said bounties on hay, grain, hemp and flax, to be paid upon certificates to the treasurer of the Province, the applicants making oath that it is the *bona fide* growth of their own lands. Signed by Benj. Green, Sec'y.

A few issues later there appears the famous, or rather infamous, proposal to build a lighthouse "near Cape Samborough," by means of a lottery. As the full details of this proposal will be found in the Nova Scotia Archives, page 648, I need not enlarge on it here, further than to say that it was a scheme, sanctioned by order in council of the government of this province, to raise £450 for the aforesaid lighthouse by the sale of 1,000 tickets at £3 each, the whole of the £3,000 thus realized to be distributed in 200 prizes, but the prize money to be subject to a discount of 15 per cent., which would make the £450 required. To the credit of the home government, the scheme met with their decided disfavor; and to the credit of the province, the government, ere the summer was over, found itself compelled to abandon the project, and to refund the money so far realized.

There was another class of advertising in the *Halifax Gazette*, of 135 years ago, that the newspapers of to-day do not participate in,—advertisements that indicate an extinct industry. Here is one of them:—

"To be sold by Joshua Mauger at Major Lockman's store in Halifax, several negro slaves, as follows: A woman, aged 35; two boys, aged 12 and 13 respectively; two of 18; and a man, aged 30."

Indeed, for some reason or other, Halifax appears at that time to have been quite a slave mart; for, in the Boston papers of the summer of 1751, there appears an advertisement of "a lot of negro slaves from Halifax," said to be mostly mechanics.

But to return to our narrative. Bushell continued to publish the *Gazette* till 1760; but not, we are sorry to say, with unqualified success. We remember the character given him by Thomas, that, while a good workman, he was careless and unthrifty in business. His career in Halifax, unfortunately, justifies this unfavorable certificate. The records of our courts for that period show that he got

into debt ; and there is evidence that he got into arrears to his grocer, and that the proportion of liquid groceries in his bill was much larger than it should be in any well ordered household. But through all his difficulties—and they appear to have been manifold—he still retained nominal control, at least, of his paper, until the autumn of 1760. At that date, (23rd September, 1760, is said to be the exact date,) he took into partnership with him a young printer who was destined to become one of the most prominent figures in Nova Scotia journalism—one who for the next forty years (with a brief interruption) was to publish the *Gazette*, and to render to the province incalculable service. Anthony Henry was of German parentage, and was born in the province of Alsace, near Montbeliard, in 1734. He seems to have received what, for that time, was a liberal education. He could read, write and speak three languages—German, French and English. He was also a good musician. And, like all Germans of the better class in those days, he had served a regular apprenticeship to a trade, which in his case was that of a printer. At what time he came to America is not known. The first authentic record we have of him is as a bandsman in one of the regiments that constituted Amherst's expedition against Louisburg, in 1758. Thomas says he was a fifer, and tradition has it that the regiment to which he belonged was the Provincials or Rangers. But beyond the fact that he was a native of Alsace, that he left relatives behind in the Fatherland with whom he corresponded in later years, that the Montbeliard people who arrived here before him regarded him as a kinsman, and that he came here as a bandsman in one of Amherst's regiments after the fall of Louisburg in 1758,—but little is known respecting his early life. That in less than two years after his arrival here, a private soldier, we should find him junior partner with Bushell in the publication of the *Gazette*, appears a sudden transition ; but it can be easily accounted for. Bushell was doubtless neglecting his business, and the government needed somebody to do their printing. Furthermore, Richard Bulkeley, who was Secretary of the province at that time, was the editor of the *Gazette*, and to the zeal on behalf of his paper that all good editors should have, would be able to add official influence with the military authorities, and thus could easily secure Henry's transfer from the barracks to the printing office. How it was discovered that he could set type is explained in this way : Upon



the return of the army to Halifax after the fall of Louisburg—holding them here in readiness for next season's operations against Quebec—Amherst adopted the thrifty policy, said to have been suggested to him by Pitt, of allowing the soldiers to earn their own living. A proclamation was accordingly issued that the soldiers should work for the inhabitants, the artificers receiving 18d. a day, and ordinary laborers 6d. a day for their labor. It was doubtless in this way that Henry's early training as a printer become known to the authorities; and that in turn led to his services being transferred from the army to the press. Supposing him to have been employed at the printing office soon after the issue of the proclamation alluded to, he would have been employed there nearly two years before his admission into the partnership. Twenty-six years of age, of good education, of correct habits, a good printer, and with two years' experience in the office, it is easy to see how, in even these conservative times, he should be deemed quite deserving of a junior partnership.

And, as the fates would have it, a very brief season was to elapse between his admission as junior partner, and his succession to the sole control; for in about four months from the formation of the partnership between Bushell and Henry, John Bushell died.\* And as nine years previously, we saw Bushell succeeding to the business founded by his partner Green, to the exclusion of Green's family, so now Henry succeeded to the business to the exclusion of Bushell's family; for Bushell, like Green, left a family, who followed the craft of their father. The Bushell family consisted of a son and daughter both printers. The son died in Philadelphia, in 1793, where he had worked at his trade, and kept the "Cross Keys" tavern, for many years previously. The daughter seems to have remained in Halifax. Henry, as we have already explained, shortly after the death of Bushell, assumed the sole management of the *Gazette*. On the first issue in May, 1761, he commenced a new series, and numbered his papers anew. But otherwise he seems to have made little change. The paper had in the meantime grown from the size of a half-sheet of foolscap to the size of a full sheet, and the office of publication had been removed from Grafton St. to Sackville St., but the precise date of neither change is known.

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\* Bushell died in January, 1761.

In the autumn of 1765, there came to Halifax, and for some months worked in the *Gazette* office, a lad of sixteen, who afterwards achieved considerable distinction. Isaiah Thomas, the future founder of the *Worcester Spy*, the pioneer historian of Printing in America, whose book now sells at fabulous figures, was born in Boston in 1749—the year Halifax was founded. His mother, who was soon after left a widow, indentured him at six years of age to Zechariah Fowle, a noted Boston printer of those days. After serving with Fowle for about eleven years, he determined to go to England to complete his mechanical education,—or, at least, he gives that himself as an excuse for being in Halifax, penniless, in the autumn of 1765. From an independent point of view, it looks very much as if this excuse might not be the correct one; and as Thomas was undoubtedly given to handling the truth rather carelessly, we are under no obligation to believe any more of his story than we see fit. At any rate he was here, and on his own admission, sought and obtained employment from Mr. Henry, though Henry was at that time not in need of assistance. This is how Thomas tells the story:—

“As he (Henry) had two apprentices, he was not in want of “assistance in his printing house; but Thomas accepted an offer of “board for his services.”

What was probably true, was that Thomas, having run away from his Boston master, and having come to Halifax on the principle of not caring whither he went, sought and obtained board and shelter from Henry on the ground of being a fellow craftsman; and that Henry, not caring to keep him in idleness, set him to work in the printing office. How the young runaway afterwards rewarded his benefactor, how he sought to return him evil for good, by ruining both his business and character, and how even ten long years after Henry's death, Thomas published in his *History* the most abominable mis-statements regarding him and his family,—mis-statements that the amplest charity will not permit us to believe the writer ever suspected of being true,—are very far from being pleasing themes for reflection. But justice to Henry requires that they should be known at least as widely as Thomas' libels.

Thomas' arrival here was almost contemporaneous with the coming into force of the Stamp Act, and in the extremely picturesque account he gives in his *History* of his residence in Halifax, his sayings and

doings in regard to the Stamp Act form the largest proportion. His account is as follows :—

“The *Gazette* was soon after (Thomas’ arrival) printed on stamped paper, made for the purpose in England\*. To the use of this paper “the young Newenglandman,” as he was called, was opposed ; and to the Stamp Act he was extremely hostile. A paragraph appeared in the *Gazette* purporting that the people of Nova Scotia were generally disgusted with the Stamp Act. This paragraph gave great offence to the officers of government, who called Henry to account for publishing what they termed sedition. Henry had not so much as seen the *Gazette* in which the offensive article had appeared ; consequently he pleaded ignorance, and in answer to their interrogation informed them that the paper was, in his absence, conducted by his journeyman. He was reprimanded and admonished that he would be deprived of the work of government, should he in future suffer anything of the kind to appear in the *Gazette*. It was not long before Henry was again sent for on account of another offence of a similar nature ; however he escaped the consequences he might have apprehended, by assuring the officers of government that he had been confined by sickness ; and he apologized in a satisfactory manner for the appearance of the obnoxious publication. But his journeyman was summoned to appear before the Secretary of the Province ; to whose office he accordingly went.”

As we have already explained, Mr. Bulkeley was both the Secretary of the Province and the editor of the *Gazette*. It was, of course, in his capacity of editor that he summoned Thomas before him, if he ever did ; but it adds much to the impressiveness of the incident for Thomas to represent himself as being summoned before the Secretary of the Province. The narrative continues :—

“Thomas was probably not known to Mr. Secretary, who sternly demanded of him what he wanted. A.—Nothing, sir. Q.—Why came you here ? A.—Because I was sent for. Q.—What is your name ? A.—Isaiah Thomas. Q.—Are you the young Newenglander who prints for Henry ? A.—Yes, sir. Q.—How dare you publish in the *Gazette* that the people in Nova Scotia are displeased with the Stamp Act ? A.—I thought it was true. Sec.—You have no right to think so. If you publish anything more of such stuff you will be

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\*The Stamp Act came into force Nov. 1st, 1765, and remained in force till March 18th, 1766.

punished. You may go, but remember you are not in New England.  
A.—I will, sir.

“Not long after this adventure occurred, a vessel arrived in Halifax from Philadelphia, and brought some of the newspapers published in that city. The *Pennsylvania Journal*, published the day preceding that on which the Stamp Act was to take place, was in full mourning. Thick black lines surrounded the pages, and were placed between the columns; a death's head and cross bones were surmounted over the title, and at the bottom of the last page was a large figure of a coffin, beneath which was printed the age of the paper, and an account of it having died of a disorder called the *Stamp Act*. A death's head, etc., as a substitute for a stamp, was placed at the end of the last column on the first page. Thomas had a strong desire to decorate the *Halifax Gazette* in the same manner, but he dared not do it, on account of his apprehensions of the displeasure of the officers of the government. However an expedient was thought of to obviate that difficulty, which was to insert in the *Gazette* an article of the following import: “We are desired by a number of our readers to give a description of the extraordinary appearance of the *Pennsylvania Journal* of 30th of October last, (1765). We can in no better way comply with the request than by the exemplification we have given of that journal in this day's *Gazette*.” As near a representation as possible was made of the several figures; emblems of mortality, mourning columns—all of which accompanied by the qualifying paragraph appeared together in the *Halifax Gazette*, and made no trifling bustle in the place.

“Soon after this event the effigy of the Stamp Master was hung on the gallows near the citadel, and other tokens of hostility to the Stamp Act were exhibited. These disloyal transactions were done silently and secretly; but they created some alarm,—a captain's guard was continually stationed at the house of the Stamp Master to protect him from those injuries which were expected to befall him. It is supposed the apprehensions entertained on his account were entirely groundless.

“The officers of the government had prided themselves on the loyalty of the province, it not having shewn any opposition to the Stamp Act, “but these things were against them,” and a facetious officer was heard to repeat to some of his friends the old English proverb, “we have not saved our bacon.”

“An opinion prevailed that Thomas not only knew the parties concerned in these transactions, but had a hand in them himself, on which account a few days after the exhibition of the Stamp Master’s effigy, a sheriff went to the printing house and informed Thomas that he had a precept against him, and intended to take him to prison, unless he would give information respecting the persons concerned in making and exposing the effigy of the Stamp Master. He mentioned that some circumstances had produced a conviction in his mind, that Thomas was one of those who had been engaged in these seditious proceedings. The sheriff receiving no satisfactory answer to his enquiries, ordered Thomas to go with him before a magistrate ; and he, having no person to consult or to give him advice, in the honest simplicity of his heart was going to obey the orders of this terrible alguazil ; but being suddenly struck with the idea that this proceeding might be intended merely to alarm him into an acknowledgment of his privity of the transactions in question, he told the sheriff he did not know him, and demanded information respecting the authority by which he acted. The sheriff answered that he had sufficient authority ; but on being requested to exhibit it, the officer was evidently disconcerted, and showed some symptoms of his not acting under “the King’s authority.” However, he answered that he would show his authority when it was necessary, and again ordered this “printer of sedition” to go with him. Thomas answered that he would not obey him, unless he produced a precept or proper authority for taking him prisoner. After further parley, the sheriff left him with an assurance that he would soon return ; but Thomas saw him no more, and he afterwards learned that this was a plan concocted for the purpose of surprising him into a confession ”

As I before remarked, we can believe as much of this as we like. There is doubtless an element of truth in it. It is quite reasonable to suppose that the people of Halifax were no better affected towards the new scheme of taxation, than were the colonists elsewhere. The probability, however, is, that Thomas played a much less important part in the anti-stamp act manifestations than he afterwards imagined that he did.

But there was one escapade in which he did undoubtedly figure, and it seems to have had a more serious effect on Henry’s fortunes

than were probably anticipated. Thomas's version of the affair is this :—

“ Henry had received from the stamp office the whole stock “ of paper that was sent ready stamped from England for the “ use of the *Gazette*. . . . It was not many weeks after the “ Sheriff already mentioned made his exit from the printing office, “ when it was discovered that this paper was divested of the “ stamps ; not one remained ; they had been cut off and destroyed.”

In another part of his History, Thomas tells how the stamps were cut off. He says it was done “ with the assistance of a binder's press and plough.” which indicates that book-binding as well as printing was done in Henry's establishment in 1765. Of course the stamps being destroyed, and no more stamped paper being obtainable on this side of the Atlantic, there was nothing for it but to publish the paper without stamps. And that was what Henry did, with the result of being nearly ruined. We know that in the other colonies the stamp act was virtually disregarded. No one made any pretences of observing it, and the authorities made no effort to enforce it. But the authorities in Nova Scotia were, at that time, not that kind of people. They believed that laws were made to be obeyed, and they believed in punishing those who did not obey them. The law forbade any citizen to publish a newspaper except on stamped paper. Henry had disobeyed that law, and had openly announced in his paper his intention of continuing to do so. So they determined on punishing him, not with fines and penalties, but in a much more effective manner. They determined on bringing another printer to Halifax, and transferring their patronage, and the *Gazette* along with it, to the new comer. In vain did Henry protest his innocence of any intentional wrong. In vain did he dismiss Thomas from the printing office and send him back to Boston,—thus incurring his lifelong resentment. The authorities were inexorable. They had resolved on a change, and were not to be turned aside from their purpose. Accordingly, in the early summer of 1766, there arrived in Halifax, from London, Robert Fletcher, a London printer of experience, with an outfit of new type, “ and,” Thomas adds, “ a valuable collection of books and stationery.” Thomas says further, that “ until this time there had been no bookstore in the province ” —a statement that we are inclined to doubt. Fletcher commenced

the publication of the *Gazette* on Thursday, August 14th, 1766. He changed its name from the *Halifax Gazette* to the *Nova Scotia Gazette*, enlarged it to a full sheet, crown folio, and commenced a new series of numberings.\* The exact means by which the *Gazette* was thus transferred from Henry to Fletcher we cannot say. All we know is that in August, 1766, Fletcher commenced to publish the *Gazette*, and Henry thereupon, though still continuing to own a printing office, ceased to publish it. It may have been that Bulkeley, the editor, had such an interest in the paper as enabled him to control it, and give the publication to whom he liked; or it may have been that when the government withdrew their favor, there was nothing else for Henry to do but to cease publication. The circulation of the *Gazette*, according to Thomas, was, during the time he worked in Henry's office, only three quires, or 72 copies, and we can readily see that to a publisher with a circulation of but 72 copies, it would only require a withdrawal of support of a few subscribers to be equivalent to extinction. At any rate, Fletcher became the publisher of the *Gazette*, and continued to be so for a little over four years. He appears to have been a good printer, and to have known something about how to conduct a newspaper. Within a few months after his arrival, he printed the first consolidated volume of our laws, prepared by Mr. Dupont, for which he received £180 in payment.

For two years and a half after Fletcher took charge of the *Gazette*, Henry seems to have attended solely to job printing, leaving journalism to other hands. But evidently he felt repressed, and in thirty months resolved on once more entering the field from which he had been driven. With the beginning of the year 1769 he determined on what was then a very bold move: it was nothing less than to start a rival paper. Accordingly on Tuesday, January 3rd, 1769, there appeared *The Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, a small-sized eight-paged paper, "printed by Anthony Henry, at his printing office in George Street." While the new paper was very far from being the equal of Fletcher's paper in typographical appearance, it possessed qualities that doubtless made it a formidable rival to the

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\* The imprint on the *Gazette*, as published by Fletcher, was as follows: "Halifax: Printed by Robert Fletcher and sold by him at his shop near the Parade, where all sorts of printing is executed neatly, correctly and expeditiously. Subscriptions received at twelve shillings a year, or threepence a paper. Advertisements of a moderate length inserted at three shillings each."

*Gazette*. It seems to have been the first *bona fide* attempt at a newspaper yet made in the province. But the difficulties of publishing a newspaper at that date, in Halifax, are strikingly illustrated in Mr. Henry's salutatory in the *Chronicle and Advertiser*, in which he pathetically remarks: "As the winter already set in will deprive him (the publisher) for some time of the benefit of his British and Foreign Intelligence,—in this situation he will endeavour, by a variety of entertaining and instructive pieces, to please his subscribers."

The fact was, he had nothing, that by the most liberal interpretation of the term, could be regarded as "news." So there was nothing else for it than to fill his paper with "a variety of entertaining and instructive pieces." These "entertaining and instructive pieces" consisted, in a large measure, of official documents, with an occasional political blast from the *Public Advertiser*. But without anything available that in these modern days would be regarded as "news," Henry managed, by a judicious use of the scissors, to get out a paper that constantly gained in public favor. This is made apparent by the increased advertising patronage that the paper received as the months passed on. But in this, the first newspaper war in the province, Henry did not rely alone on the superiority of his paper. He adopted the method known in modern journalism as "cutting rates." The *Gazette* was published at 12 shillings a year. Henry published the *Chronicle and Advertiser* at 8 shillings; and to this fact, probably more than to any other, was due his ultimate success. For he *did* succeed, as we shall see. Fletcher, while a good printer, was evidently more ambitious to succeed as a merchant than at his craft. As already mentioned, he brought a stock of books and stationery from London with him; and the presumption is that he concluded, after four years' experience, that there was more money in selling literature than in printing it. He also probably saw plainly enough that there was only room in Halifax for one paper, and that Henry seemed determined to remain in the arena. So Fletcher abandoned the field to his rival, and, at the close of August, 1770, handed over the *Gazette* to Henry, selling his types, etc., to John Boyle of Boston. Thomas says that after thus disposing of his business, Fletcher returned to England. But this is a mistake. He remained in Halifax and continued to do business here. His advertisements show that from merely keeping books and stationery, he enlarged his



business so that in the *Gazette* of 1781 advertisements of his appear, offering for sale, not books only, but provisions and dry goods as well. Whether it was due to this expansion of his business, or to some other cause, he seems to have made financial shipwreck; for we find the following in the *Gazette* of March, 1782:—

“All persons indebted to Robert Fletcher, of the town of Halifax, are desired to take notice that the effects of the said Fletcher, stand attached at the suit of \*Watson & Rashleigh, by virtue of a writ issued out of the Supreme Court of this province, and that payments are accordingly to be made to the subscriber.

WM. SHAW, *Sheriff.*

“*Halifax, February, 19th, 1782.*”

He, however, recovered, and his advertisements appear in the *Gazette* for several years longer.

Henry, on September 4th, 1770, resumed the publication of the *Gazette*, with which he also incorporated his own paper. The title of the *Gazette* under the new management was “*The Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle.*” Tuesday was the day of publication, and the form and size were the same as of the *Gazette* when published by Fletcher. The annual subscription price was fixed at ten shillings, and the office of publication was Sackville Street, to which, by the way, Henry had removed from George Street early in 1769. Thenceforward the *Gazette* and its publisher seem to have enjoyed a fair measure of prosperity unbroken by any untoward event.

Comparing the *Gazette* of say 1772 with its issues of twenty years before, there is admittedly a marked improvement. From a half sheet of foolscap it had grown into a full sheet crown folio, or about trebled in size. Comparing it too with other papers published about the same time, in Boston and other colonial cities, it by no means appears to bad advantage. But still it was about as much unlike a modern newspaper as can well be imagined. Telegrams—the very soul of a modern newspaper—it of course had none. Editorials it had none. Of local news there was but the smallest quantity,—on an average not more than twenty lines a week. Birth and marriage notices, the most interesting to lady readers of the whole

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\* Sir Brook Watson for many years a resident in this province, and who, after his removal to London, did a large business in this province.

newspaper, were not permitted. For thirty years of the *Gazette*, the only local marriage notice that I can find is the following: "Married, Sunday evening, 10th Dec., 1769, William Allan, Esq., of Cumberland, to Mrs. Jane Slayter, of this town." And as for birth notices, except of Royal or noble parents, they were never thought of. Even death notices were limited to persons of distinction. The correspondents very seldom discussed local or even live matters. On the other hand, the great proportion of the *Gazette* of last century was filled with matter that the modern journalist abhors with a loathing that cannot be uttered. Column after column was filled with articles six and eight months old, clipped from other newspapers or copied out of old magazines. Official proclamations, correspondence, etc., were invariably published *in extenso*, with all their tedious verbosity. And as if to intensify the uninteresting, the spring, summer and autumn poets were actually encouraged, and accorded liberal space! Only two departments the newspaper of a century or more ago and the newspaper of to-day possessed in common — shipping news and advertising. And by these, better than in any other way, do we learn from the *Gazette* of the changes that were taking place in the business and commerce of the city in which it was published. Turning to the advertising columns of the *Gazette* of 1772 and thereabouts, we find scarcely one of our advertising friends of twenty years before. They seem all to have passed away, either out of business, out of the city, or out of life. In their places we have new names that in turn disappear twenty years later on. Among the leading merchants who advertised in 1772 were Joseph Fairbanks, Thomas Cochran, William Allan, John Kerby, Alex. Brymer, Otto William Schwartz, John Fillis, Andrew Cuenod, Robert Fletcher, William Walsh, James Creighton, Thomas Pittman, who says his store is at "Irishtown," and Francis Boyd, "sign of the golden ball." Spanish River coals were offered for sale by no less than three parties, namely, Robert Milward, J. D. Challand, and Ephraim Whiston,—the last named of whom describes his premises as situated "opposite Mauger & Butler's rum store." The price at which the coal was offered was "30 shillings a chaldron." In the hotel line, John Willis announces his occupation of the "Grand Pontac"; William Fury keeps the "Crown Coffee House;" John Rider keeps a billiard table, and it is at his house all the sheriff's sales take place; William Sutherland keeps

a house of entertainment at "The Salutation," opposite the Fish Market; while Samuel Albro informs "all gentlemen, travellers, and others," that he has opened "a house of entertainment for man and horse, in Halifax, at the house lately occupied by Waitstill Lewis." Henry Forster, "of the Royal Artillery," "next door to the printing office, Grafton St.," advertises to teach reading and writing; Edward Broadfield also keeps a school "near McNab's, on Granville St.;" John Bateest Dupocca, calling himself "a native of Quebec," offers to give "lessons in sword exercise, French language, and dancing." Benjamin Phippen is a book-binder and bookseller "on Prince St., opposite the Wheat Sheaf;" John Roach is a tailor in Argyle St., "next door but one to Hon. Richard Bulkeley;" Richard Holmes keeps a livery stable; Philip Hammon and James Brown are auctioneers,—first in partnership and afterwards separately; John Rea is a shoemaker; John Brooks, a carpenter, on Prince St., and John Gosbee, on Grafton St., a brewer. Then there are country advertisements of which the *Gazette* of 1752 knew nothing. Handley Chipman, of Cornwallis, advertises no less than five lots of land for sale. Francis DeLesdernier, of Windsor, offers for sale "a neat coach, with harness, and two horses"; John Butler advertises that he has opened a shop in Windsor; Christopher Prince, of Annapolis Royal, who "proposes to return to Boston," offers six farms for sale in Annapolis County,—one of which said farms he calls "Mount Pleasant," another—the "Bell Farm," another—the "Belleisle Farm," and another is said to comprise "Goat Island." John Cunningham offers for sale a number of lots on the new road to Windsor; Giles Tidmarsh, "at the victualling office for the army," offers a farm of 1,200 acres in Falmouth, for sale—"the farm" then "occupied by Robert Walker"; while in the early issues of 1773, there is an advertisement of nearly half a column in length, of "Races," to take place "at the Windsor fair," on June 15th and 16th following: one plate of £20, and another of £10 are to be run for,—the competition to be confined to "native bred horses." Joseph Peters offers Cornwallis Island for sale for £1,000 stg.; and there is also offered to be let "an island in the mouth of Northwest Arm, known as Russell's Island," said to be "lately occupied by Nathan Nathans," in the fishing business. Islands known as "Carroll's Island" and "Blois' Island," said to be in the south-east pas-

sage of the harbor were also in the market about the same time.

Probate notices also formed a considerable proportion of the advertisements in the period of which we write. Eleanor Des-Lesdernier, as administratrix of the late "Mr. Paul Prichard and Mrs. Martha Prichard," publishes the usual notice. So also do Richard Jacobs and George Bayers, as executors of John Diel; and Rebecca Gerrish as executrix, and Giles Tidmarsh as her attorney, call for settlement of the business of the late Benjamin Gerrish, as well as of the firm of Gerrish & Gray. Miss Catherine Zouberbuhler and Joseph Pernette give notice as executors of the late Hon. Sebastian Zouberbuhler; and John Creighton administers on the estate of the late Dr. Alexander Abercrombie of Halifax; William Allan on the estate of William Foys; John Lawson on the estate of Daniel Shatford; and Mary Neal on the estate of "Henry Neal, late of Chester." John Fillis and Mary Pierpont, as executor and executrix of the late Joseph Pierpont, in July 1773, publish the following:—

"To be sold by public auction, at the house of Mr. John Rider, "on Tuesday the 27th day of July next, at 12 o'clock (if not sold at "private sale before), all the real estate of the late Mr. Joseph "Pierpont, consisting of a wharf with a large and small store on said "wharf; also his farm lot situate between the Navy Yard and the "Common; also one lot of 20 acres above Mr. Mangers distill house; "and one house lot adjoining to the dwelling-house of Mr. Abraham "Boyer . . . parcel of ox yokes and bows, three large blocks, "some window frames and sashes; also a negro named Prince *to be "sold at private sale!"*

The fact that Prince was reserved for private sale when everything else was being sold by auction, is suggestive. We have seen how, twenty-one years before, Joshua Manger had no compunctions about selling off a lot of slaves to the highest bidder. But the advertisement quoted indicates that as early as 1773 there existed in certain quarters, and among certain people, a feeling of repugnance to offering human beings at public auction.

In this connection it may be observed that a considerable revenue must have been derived by the newspapers of that time in advertising runaway slaves. To judge by the number of these advertisements,

running away was the principal occupation of the slaves of that period. The following will serve as a sample :—

“Ran away from her master, John Rock, on Monday, the 18th day of August last, a negro girl named *Thursday*, about 4½ feet high, broad set, with a lump over her right eye. Had on when she ran away a red cloth petticoat, a red baize bed-gown, and a red ribbon about her head. Whoever may harbor said negro girl, or encourage her to stay away from her said master, may depend on being prosecuted as the law directs ; and whoever may be so kind as to take her up and send her home to her said master, shall be paid all costs and charges, together with *two dollars* reward for their trouble.”

Whether or not poor “Thursday” was ever recovered, we do not know ; but if she was, we cannot but feel that she had herself largely to blame, in being so foolish as to attempt her escape in so conspicuous an outfit.

Of government and quasi-government advertisements there was a fair measure. Joseph Woodmas, as Receiver-General, gives notice that he will collect the quit rents for 1772, from the proprietors of lands in the townships named, as follows :—

“On September 29th, he will be in Windsor, at the house of Joseph Wilson ; at Falmouth, the 2nd and 3rd October, at the house of Edward York ; at Horton, the 5th and 6th ditto, at the house of John Bishop, junior ; and at Cornwallis, the 7th and 8th, at the house of Samuel Beckwith.”

Geo. Henry Monk, as “Clerk” of the Supreme Court, gives notice that at Hilary term, A. D. 1773, judgment was given “upon a writ of partition returned from the township of Falmouth in the County of King’s County,” and all absentees are required to take exception thereto within one year, or stand precluded. And Richard Gibbons, junr., “Clerk of Escheats and Forfeiture,” gives notices from time to time of inquisition about to be made or made regarding certain grants. In one of these notices, dated 8th May, 1773, the rights of Thomas Parker as grantee of lot No. 98 in Falmouth, and of Constantine Dogherty as grantee of lot No. 23 in Amherst, are declared escheated to the Crown. And for some cause, the Commissioner of Sewers of that time appear to have experienced considerable difficulty in collecting the rates assessed by them. Notices appear

signed by Eben Fitch, Elisha Freeman, and Simon Newcomb, Commissioners of Sewers for Amherst ; by Phineas Lovitt and Henry Evans, Commissioners for Annapolis ; and Lebbæus Harris, Robert Avery, Amos Rathbun, and Charles Dickson, Commissioners for Horton, offering for sale lots of land in their respective districts on which the "rates assessed by the Commissioners of Sewers" had not been paid.

Then there are advertisements of a miscellaneous character, not wanting in historic interest. A Mr. Legge\* gives notice of his intention "to write a natural and political history of this province upon a plan entirely new and original." He asks for "hints and assistance" from the public. Letters for him are to be directed to "Mrs. Blagdon's, the corner of Turnagain Lane, on the beach." A few weeks later he returns thanks for the information furnished him, "and would be glad to be favored with the names of the several "governors, lieutenant-governors, and commanders-in-chief, their rank "in the army or navy, the beginning and ending of their respective "governments, of what family descended, and their arms, in the "technical terms of heraldry." From the kind of information asked for, some idea can be formed of "the plan entirely new and original," upon which Mr. Legge proposed to write his history. We should, I think, feel thankful that he never carried out his intention.

The following advertisement shows how they then provided for the poor :—

*Halifax, April 10th, 1773.*

"For the benefit of the poor of the town, on Friday next will be "performed A COMEDY called "The Suspicious Husband," to which "will be added "The Citizen." The play to begin at 6 o'clock. "Tickets to be had at Mr. Willis'. Price 2s. 6d."

And here is another from the *Gazette* of September 29th, 1772, indicative of the troubles incident to publishing a newspaper in Halifax at that time :—

"The printer of this paper hereby informs the public that the "newspapers sent him from England and from different parts of the "continent, having been frequently taken up and detained by some "indifferent person or persons in this town, which has a tendency,

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\* Spells his name the same as Governor Legge. Was probably a relative.

“not only to suppress articles of intelligence that might be of material consequence to many individuals, if not to the public—but also proves greatly detrimental to this paper, on which his chief dependence lies for a livelihood, that being the source from whence alone he can be supplied. And it is requested as a favor that the person who took up his last packet of papers which came by Capt. Arnold, from Boston, last week, will return it, as it contained matter of consequence to him, exclusive of the newspapers. He likewise begs that for the future no person will attempt the taking and detaining his papers, as he is determined to prosecute every future act of that sort to the utmost rigor of the law.”

Evidently Her Majesty's mail and postal service, with all its defects and delays, would produce a very much worse state of affairs by its withdrawal.

In this connection it may be mentioned that while there was a post office in Halifax as early as 1770 (of which James Stevens was postmaster) there does not appear to have been any regular postal communication between this province and the outside world before 1784, when the old monthly packets between Falmouth and New York, via Halifax, were first established. As to internal postal communication, that came even later.

We have already alluded to the absence of all kinds of local news from the *Gazette* in its early days. From 1772 forward, there was however, a gradual improvement in this respect, though so gradual as to be hardly perceptible. In June, 1773, there appeared the first attempt at an obituary notice, of the modern kind. It is worth reproducing:—“Sunday last, the 20th inst., about twelve o'clock, at noon, departed this life, Daniel Shatford, aged 65. He was many years a schoolmaster in New York, from whence he came to this place about the second year after its settlement, and in a short time after set up a school in this town, which he continued to the day of his death, and in which service, notwithstanding his age and great infirmities occasioned by the severest afflictions of the gout, for a series of years, his assiduity, as well as charity in teaching the poor children gratis—has been equalled by few, and perhaps exceeded by none. He hath left, besides his own distressed family, a great number of scholars, both infants as well as grown people, to lament this public loss.”

About the same time there also appeared the first attempt at what in the modern newspaper is so important a feature, namely, country correspondence. This is a letter from Falmouth, giving an account of the celebration of the Feast of St. Aspinquid at that place the year before, and urging the due observance of the then approaching festival. The writer says :—

“ What immortal honor has Nova Scotia acquired from the due observance of the anniversary feast of the great, the good, the wise, the just, the pious and most exemplary Saint Aspinquid ! The other colonies justly revere his memory and piously keep the festival ; but this can boast of its most numerous converts. Every year produces a great many new votaries to this most excellent pattern of saintship. Here we behold English, Welsh, Caledonians, Hibernians, Gauls, Dutch, Germans, Russians, Swiss, etc., etc., all meeting together on this memorable occasion, perfectly united in principle and sentiment, to celebrate the praises of an American saint. How pleasing the sight ! How happy the day, where his pious and immortal memory is duly and reverently observed according to the rubrick of our American ancestors.”

The writer then proceeds to tell how the previous year, notwithstanding certain adverse circumstances, “ a numerous company ” of the saint’s votaries met “ at Brother York’s in Falmouth and kept the feast in the usual manner.” He then proceeds : “ Now as this is a moveable feast, which always happens seven days after the first new moon in the month of May, and as every one is not furnished with Lilius’ almanac, in which the day is marked in capitals, the brethren are hereby informed that it falls out this year on Friday the 28th inst.”

The letter concludes :—

“ As the number of Aspinquidians is greatly increased, and as the company this year will be too numerous to be entertained at one house, it is determined by the stewards appointed on this occasion that there be two places of resort at Sandwich River : one at Captain Jordan’s, the other at Nathan Ben Saddi Nathan’s, where everything necessary will be provided for the celebration of this grand festival.”

Sandwich River, it may be explained, was the old name of the North-west Arm, where the Aspinquidians had been accustomed for



years to celebrate the festival of their saint. The *Gazette* of three years previously contains an extended report of the St. Aspinquid celebration of 1770. From this we quote: "On Thursday last, "being the 31st of May, the festival of St. Aspinquid was celebrated "at North-west Arm at Mr. Nathan's and Mr. Jordan's, both fisher- "men, where elegant dinners at both places were provided, consisting "of various kinds of fish, etc. After dinner at Mr. Nathan's were "discharged a number of cannon, and at Mr. Jordan's muskets, and "many loyal toasts were drunk in honor of the day; at Mr. Jordan's "the toasts, after the usual manner, were the twelve sachem chiefs "of the twelve tribes who were general friends and allies of the "English."

The facts, as far as ascertainable, connected with the origin of this remarkable myth of Saint Aspinquid, "the grand sachem of all the Northern Indian tribes," the observance of a day in his honor, and the peculiar ceremonies and solemnities connected with the festival, would together make an excellent subject for some learned and painstaking member of our Society to investigate; and a carefully prepared paper on the subject would, I feel assured, be of interest far beyond the confines of this province.

The revolt in the thirteen colonies to the south of us, resulting as it did, brought to this province a large accession of population. Contrary to all historical precedents, the successful faction in that struggle, after the war was over, proscribed and banished those of their countrymen, who, differing from them in opinion as to the best means of redressing existing grievances, refused to join in the movement that has been so well described by the late Hon. Joseph Howe as "falling on the rear of Britain when her front was presented to "hostile Europe in a struggle for the liberties of the world." Not those alone who fought or took an active part against them, but all who were in any way suspected of any loyalist leanings, were deprived of all civil rights, had their property confiscated, and were themselves with their families driven forth into exile,—an exile of which it can be *truly* said, as it could not be truly said in the case of which it was originally written, that it was "without an end, and without an example in story." Among those thus "robbed and spoiled," proscribed and banished for their fidelity to the idea of a united empire, were several whose names will be ever honorably

conspicuous in the annals of British-American journalism. Among these loyalist exiles were Mrs. Margaret Draper, the journalistic heroine, who, inheriting the old *Newsletter* through the death of her husband in 1774, kept that pioneer American journal staunch and firm in its allegiance to the empire until the day when the British evacuated Boston, 17th March, 1776, when she gathered up her presses and types and came to Halifax with them. With her came John Howe, of whom we shall have more to say further on. And with him came his young brother-in-law, William Minns, as well as young McKinistry, one of a family of ten children driven out of Salem, merely because his father, a physician, had dressed a loyalist's wounds! And at the same time came Nathaniel Mills, the grand-uncle of Hon. David Mills, who only anticipated his formal banishment by a few months. After the peace there came to Shelburne the Robertsons, the Swords brothers, \*Nathaniel Mills, and, last but not least, James Humphreys, the history of whose persecutions and hair-breadth escapes reads like a romance. It will not be possible, in what remains of this paper, to do more than state, in the briefest outline, the facts in connection with these journalistic loyalists, and their relations to Nova Scotian journalism. It may indeed be doubted whether their careers as newspaper publishers—extending as some of them did well into the present century,—can be regarded as properly belonging to the history of our *early* journalism. However, any treatise on that subject would, in my judgment, be incomplete, were not reference made to some of them.

Mrs. Draper did not stop long in Halifax. She proceeded, in the course of a few months, to England, where she lived for the balance of her days. Her death occurred about 1800. Before leaving Nova Scotia, however, she sold her presses and other plant of the Boston *Newsletter* to John Howe, who was destined to find them employment in Halifax for a great many years.

John Howe was born in Boston, October 14th, 1754. His father's name was Joseph Howe, of whom Thomas says that "he was a reputable tradesman in Marshall's Lane." John was just "out of his time" as an apprentice to the printing trade, when Richard

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\* The same as came to Halifax in 1776. After coming to Halifax in 1776 he went to England, and from there he returned to New York and became associated with the Robertsons in the *Royal American Gazette*.

Draper died in 1774. After a brief partnership with John Boyle,—who will be remembered as the Boston printer who purchased Fletcher's outfit,—Mrs. Draper made young Howe a junior partner with her in the business, and gave to him the oversight of the printing office. He was in discharge of this duty when the rebels besieged Boston in the autumn of 1775. When the evacuation was determined on, in the March following, Howe took with him Miss Martha Minns, a young girl of 16, to whom he was engaged, and was married to her at Newport on the way to Halifax. What he did during the first three years of his residence here, we do not know. In 1780, however, he occupied a printing office on the corner of Sackville and Barrington Streets—two blocks down the hill from Henry's office, which was at the corner of Sackville and Grafton Street. Here, on Friday, January 5th, 1781, he published the first issue of the *Halifax Journal*—a paper that continued to be published regularly in this city until about 1870. Mr. Howe was its sole publisher until 1793, when he took McKinstry into partnership with him. This partnership only lasted for two years. Mr. Howe then resumed sole management until his appointment as King's printer in 1801, when he associated his sons with him in the business. The *Journal* remained the property of the Howe family until 1819, when it was sold to John Munro,\* who continued to publish it until 1850, when he sold out to William Penny. In 1801, as we have already intimated, Mr. Howe succeeded Anthony Henry as King's printer.† After that, for 14 years or so, the Howes appear to have printed both the *Gazette* and the *Journal*. In 1803 Mr. Howe was appointed Postmaster of Halifax, and Deputy Postmaster-General for the province, succeeding Joseph Peters in both offices. And in 1815 he was appointed, with Messrs. Pyke and Liddell, a police magistrate for the

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\* Mr. Munro was born in Halifax in 1788,—his father, a Scotchman, being at that time connected with the Dockyard. At 12 years of age he was apprenticed to Mr. Minns, and worked in his printing office for nine years. He then became a clerk in the post office under John Howe, Senior. As occasion required he rendered assistance on the *Journal* and *Gazette*, and eventually became a partner with John Howe, Junior, in the business. In 1819 he became sole proprietor of the *Journal*, and continued to publish it regularly until 1850, when he sold out, and was appointed manager of the Merchants' Exchange Reading Room. He died suddenly April 28th, 1863.

† Anthony Henry died suddenly on Monday, December 1st, 1800. His widow, who before her marriage was a Miss Margaret Miller, survived him by 26 years. He had two daughters, only one of whom survived him. She married a Mr. Roxby, and was the mother of Mrs. Stevens of Rockingham.

city. All these offices—King's printer, postmaster and magistrate—he continued to hold many years. His death occurred 29th December, 1835,—a few months after he had seen his youngest son, Nova Scotia's greatest journalist, carried home in triumph by the Halifax populace, after having gained a signal victory on behalf of the liberty and independence of the press of his province. He was in his 82nd year. Of him it can be truly said that he died full of years and honors.

William Minns was a mere lad when he came to Halifax with the other loyal Bostonians. For four years after the Halifax *Journal* was started, he set type for his brother-in-law in the office of that paper. But, on coming of age, he started out for himself. On Saturday, the 28th May, 1786, he published the first issue of the *Weekly Chronicle*, and continued to publish it regularly till his death, over forty years later. The *Weekly Chronicle* completed the trio of papers published in Halifax a hundred years ago; and for a quarter of a century thereafter the three papers,—the *Gazette*, the *Journal*, and the *Weekly Chronicle*,—continued to supply the demand for journalism that existed in eastern Nova Scotia.\* There was no "war" among these journalistic brethren, no rivalry, no controversy. It is doubtful if there was even jealousy. The "peace with God and the world," that Longfellow attributes to his ideal Acadian peasants, was truly theirs. It was not indeed, until Anthony Henry Holland entered the arena with his *Acadian Recorder* in 1813, followed by Edmund Ward with the *Free Press* in 1816, that the waters became disturbed, and Halifax journalism began to exhibit its modern characteristics. Mr. Minns died January 17th, 1827, in his sixty-fifth year. He left one daughter, who married Thomas Godfrey, a number of whose descendants are still with us. For several years before his death, he was one of the justices of the Commissioners'

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\* While the only papers published continuously throughout the period mentioned, the three papers named were not the only papers published in Halifax within the quarter century following 1786. There is reason to believe that Henry published a German newspaper for a brief period during 1787-8, though, so far as I know, no copies of it are extant. Gay & Merlin, who succeeded to Henry's business, started in 1801 a newspaper called *The Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, the publication of which was continued until some time in 1806. The *Novater*, a small literary paper, was also published by James Bagnall during 1809 and 1810. And the *Halifax Telegraph*, published by Charles S. Powell, was first issued on Monday, July 20th, 1807. I have the first number, but cannot say how long it was published. All the three last named papers were printed on Sackville Street.

Court, that met quarterly, and had jurisdiction within the city analagous to the City Civil Court of to-day. People are still living who remember him,—a dignified, portly gentleman, with powdered wig, worsted hose, and silver shoe buckles,—who, whether serving a customer in his little stationery store on Barrington Street, “opposite the north-east corner of the parade,” or as an enthusiastic fireman directing matters at a fire, or as a magistrate of the Commissioners’ Court, was always characterized by the courtesy and honor of a gentleman of the olden time.

It is an interesting circumstance, one that illustrates in a striking manner the vicissitudes to which localities as well as individuals are subject, that Shelburne, which to-day is one of the few shire towns in the province in which no newspaper is published, a century ago supported as many newspapers as Halifax did. One hundred years ago we had in Halifax, as we have seen, three weekly newspapers. And one hundred years ago, Shelburne had exactly the same number. A small volume of these papers, containing a few copies of each, is in the archives of this Society. A few more copies are to be found in the library of the Historical Society of New York. And it is from these sources alone, fragmentary and incomplete, that we derive all the knowledge we now possess of the duration, character, and even the names of these papers. *The Royal American Gazette* appears to have been merely a continuation of the paper of the same name published in New York by James and Alexander Robertson and Nathaniel Mills, during the course of the revolutionary war. The Robertsons were, at the beginning of the war, partners with John Trumbull in the publication of the Norwich, Conn., *Packet*. Trumbull sympathizing with the rebels, and the Robertsons with the loyalists, the partnership was dissolved, and the Robertsons soon after found it advisable to take refuge within the British lines. Retiring to New York City they there established *The Royal American Gazette* in 1776, being joined a year or so later by Nathaniel Mills. After the peace, both the Robertsons and Mills came to Shelburne, where they continued the publication of the *Gazette*. But not for many years. Alexander Robertson died soon after his arrival in Shelburne; Mills returned to the United States before the end of the century; and James Robertson, with Alexander’s son, James junior, went home to

Scotland, and in 1810 both were engaged in printing and bookselling in Edinburgh.

*The Port Roseway Gazette and the Shelburne Advertiser* was the second paper established in Shelburne. It was first published in October, 1784, and was being published regularly in 1787. It was printed by James Robertson, junior, for T. & J. Swords.\* It, and the *R. A. Gazette*, probably both ceased publication when the Robertsons left for Scotland.

*The Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser* was Shelburne's third paper. It was first issued in April, 1785, and is believed to have been published till 1796 or thereabouts. It was printed by James Humphreys, who, before the war, was the owner of a printing office in Philadelphia, and published *The Pennsylvania Ledger*. His loyalist sympathies led to his office being sacked, his family being imprisoned and maltreated, and himself hunted out of the State. He, like the Robertsons, sought protection within the British lines in New York, whence, after the peace, he came to Shelburne, and, as we have seen, published a paper there for several years. In his old age he returned to Philadelphia, where he died in 1810.

Before the end of the 18th century, the last of the Shelburne newspapers had ceased publication, and their publishers had gone to other lands. So that when the 18th century closed on this fair province, there were but three weekly newspapers published within it, with an aggregate circulation of not more than 2,000. From 2,000 papers a week to 140,000—which is about the weekly output of papers from the various presses of this province to-day—seems a marvellous expansion; but I am convinced that it no more than measures the extent of the combined improvement in the material and intellectual condition of the people of this country in the same period. Nova Scotian journalism from 1752 to 1810 was a small affair, compared to what it has since become; but it probably suited the people and the times just as well as does the journalism of to-day, and the men engaged in it placed the province under too great an obligation for us to permit their names to be forgotten, or their services to the purposes of this Society, to remain unrecognized and unhonored.

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\* In 1796 "T. & J. Swords" were doing business as printers and booksellers at No. 99 Pearl St., New York.

# KING'S COLLEGE AND EPISCOPATE IN NOVA SCOTIA.

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PLANS SUBMITTED TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN THE YEAR 1783  
BY SIR GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER,

- 1st. *For founding a Seminary of Learning at Windsor in Nova Scotia.*
  - 2nd. *For establishing an Episcopate in Nova Scotia.*
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READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY ON NOVEMBER 12, 1884.

*Copies of the original documents in the Dorchester Collection preserved in the  
Library of the Royal Institution of Great Britain.*

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NEW YORK, *October 18th, 1783.*

SIR,—The province of Nova Scotia has been an object of great national importance, and as your Excellency's thoughts have been lately and are still engaged about measures to promote its population, prosperity and internal happiness, we flatter ourselves that a proposal which may contribute to the same salutary purposes will meet your approbation. The founding of a College or Seminary of learning on a liberal plan in that province, where youth may receive a virtuous education and can be qualified for the learned professions, is, we humbly conceive, a measure of the greatest consequence, as it would diffuse religious literature, loyalty and good morals among His Majesty's subjects there.

If such a seminary is not established the inhabitants will not have the means of educating their sons at home, but will be under the necessity of sending them for that purpose either to Great Britain or Ireland, which will be attended with an expense that few can bear, or else to some of the states of this continent, where they will be sure to imbibe principles that are unfriendly to the British Constitution. In a case so plain and self-evident we apprehend it is needless to enter on a formal proof of the utility and advantages of the institution proposed, and it is easy to foresee many circumstances of disgrace and unavoidable inconvenience if it is neglected.

The plan that may be proper to adopt for this college, and the necessary regulations to support its credit and insure the benefits which may be expected from it, will require the maturest deliberation, and therefore it would be premature in the present stage of the business, and trespassing on your Excellency's time, to dwell minutely on the subject. Permit us to observe briefly, that so far as circumstances will admit, provision should be made for a president, for able professors in the different branches of science, and for a good grammar school, so that young gentlemen who are educated in this seminary and receive the usual degrees in the liberal arts, may be duly qualified for those degrees and for the professions to which their genius may respectively lead them.

The principal difficulty, and what calls for immediate attention, is to procure and establish funds that shall be adequate to these purposes, and here we conceive that recourse, in the first instance, should be had to government, whose interests will be essentially served, and whose countenance and aid may therefore be reasonably expected in founding and endowing this seminary.

If government should once patronize the scheme other sources of support will not be wanting. There are in Great Britain and Ireland many generous friends of science who, from motives of public spirit, will doubtless contribute to the design. When the business is brought forward it may be presumed that the Legislature of Nova Scotia, sensible of the many advantages which that province must derive from the institution, will afford it every aid in their power, and in the meantime lands might be appropriated there to the use of a college, and located in such a manner that they would rise in value and be productive of an annual income.

These short hints are, with deference, submitted to your Excellency as the best bridge of the steps that should be taken for accomplishing this desirable object, consistently with the enlarged and beneficent views of government respecting that province.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servants,

CHARLES INGLIS,

BENJAMIN MOORE,

H. ADDISON,

CHARLES MONGAN.

JONATHAN ODELL.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GUY CARLETON.



[No. 120.]

NEW YORK, *October 26th, 1783.*

MY LORD,—I enclose a copy of a letter from several clergymen here proposing the institution of a college in Nova Scotia as an object of great importance to the future interests of government and the welfare of the province.

As there can be no doubt but such an institution, wisely planned and well conducted, would contribute essentially to the public benefit, I am with equal certainty persuaded your Lordship will be pleased to take the subject into consideration, and give the design all the assistance of your advice and patronage.

I am, &amp;c.,

RIGHT HONORABLE LORD NORTH, &amp;c., &amp;c.

A PLAN OF RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INSTITUTION FOR THE PROVINCE  
OF NOVA SCOTIA.

The influence of religion on political institutions as well as on the moral conduct of men, has been universally acknowledged by the best and wisest of all nations. Without its sanction, the former could neither derive stability, nor the latter subsist, but both would fluctuate as the influence of passion or interest impelled.

Experience has also shown the conformity and eligibility of certain modes of worship to particular forms of government, and that of the Episcopal (abstracted from its antiquity and apostolic sanction) has been thought peculiarly adapted to the British Constitution.

Besides the ample proofs which the history of the nation has afforded of this circumstance, it has been particularly conspicuous in the origin and progress of the convulsions of this country. There was not only a considerable *majority* of loyal subjects in almost every Episcopal congregation from Carolina to Nova Scotia, (a few influences perhaps in Virginia alone excepted), but some were found which scarcely produced *one* disaffected germ of character whilst the clergy were permitted to exercise their functions: and that their influence was not more extensive was owing to causes we presume now sufficiently obvious. It has been also with too much justice observed, that public commotions which are subversive of so many other means of human happiness, have also a very unfriendly influence on religion, to which men ought to have recourse as the best support

under and alleviation of their calamities. The influence of the malignant passions excites an inveteracy, intolerance and ferocity of mind inconsistent with the mild and benevolent and merciful spirit of the gospel. This also has operated the more strongly in this country, from so great a part of it being destitute of the means of early instruction which might impress and confirm the habits of virtue, religion and liberality of sentiment.

It is therefore of the utmost importance to government, or the formation of new establishments or settlements, that the means of religious instruction, as well as of literature, be afforded in as ample a manner as possible ; that the rising generation, especially, may grow up in such sentiments and habits as will qualify them for discharging the domestic, civil and political duties of their several stations, as the only sure foundations of internal tranquility, attachment to government, and political strength and consequence. As several large bodies of people are preparing to emigrate to Nova Scotia, with the prospects of its becoming an important British colony, they merit the attention of government in this respect particularly, that many from the want of early instruction, the living without the ordinances of religion or the influence of civil law, and several from their necessities being led to disorderly methods of obtaining subsistence, cannot be supposed to have a proper sense of its importance.

We therefore, from a deep sense of the duty of our sacred office, and from an unfeigned and disinterested concern for their spiritual and temporal happiness as well as from a conviction of its expediency and utility in a national view, beg leave to suggest the following considerations as promotive of that important end. From a circumstance unexampled in the case of any other christian society,—the religious influence of the Church of England in America has been greatly obstructed by the want of an essential part of its constitution, namely, the means of admission into holy orders, and the superintendence and inspections of its officiating members, and the direction of their exertion in the most beneficial manner :—

1. It is therefore proposed and earnestly recommended, that a superior or superintendent of the clergy be appointed in Nova Scotia for the express purposes above mentioned,—which we humbly conceive can neither interfere with the interests, rights or privileges of any religious denomination whatever, which we by no means wish to be

prevented or infringed, and that such an institution, which can be liable to no rational objection, may be the more readily adopted and rendered effectual, and provision be equally made for the literary as well as religious instruction of that and the neighbouring provinces.

2. It is proposed that in all future appropriations of land, one thousand of every — thousand acres be allotted for the establishment and maintenance of a *parish* church ; and one thousand more, equally divided, be set apart for the support of the superior of the clergy, a public seminary of learning, and a parish school. That three hundred acres belonging to the parish church be located within half a mile of the place of worship, near a public road,—that of the school within the same distance, and the others in such eligible situations, as on the report of the surveyor-general and vestry to the governor and council, shall be judged most proper for accomplishing the object of their appropriation.

3. That for the two considerable emigrations that take place under the direction of the agency for refugees, and the adventurers for Port Roseway, or any other associations that may take place, a church be erected at the expense of government, to be supported afterwards by its respective parish, and in every other district that shall constitute or be denominated a parish (not already settled), that government shall be at one half the expense for the erection of a church and manse or dwelling house, to be afterwards maintained by the parish, and the incumbent of every parish or district shall be appointed by the superior of the clergy on recommendation of the vestry, or twelve of the principal proprietors of the place, or the governor and council of the province ; and as neither the circumstances of those who immediately emigrate, nor who first attempt to colonize an uncultivated country can be supposed capable of affording the means of decent subsistence to a clergyman of respectable character, for administering the ordinance of religion, instructing and improving the people,—circumstances of the utmost importance both to government and themselves.

4. It is proposed that either a stated salary should be allowed by government for a limited time, and to decrease in proportion as the circumstances of the people increase, or, that the revenues arising from the milns or other public works solicited from government (after defraying the expenses of the persons who officiate as millers or

otherwise) should be appropriated for five or seven years to the support of an established clergyman, and one-half of the revenues after that period be reserved for the repairs and rebuilding the same or others that may be judged more eligible.

And, that the use and intention of said milns or public buildings may be effectually extended to every individual of any district in the amplest manner, and that no exactions or burdensome imposts may at any time take place for any supposed expediency or necessity, or for the support of any institution whatever, be it enacted by the Legislature of the Province,—That the rates for use or grist of said mills be settled by a committee of the House of Assembly in concurrence with the sheriff and two justices of peace of the respective district for every three successive years, commencing from their first establishment. And further,—That the community or government shall clear—acres of the lands appropriated to the parish church, contiguous to the dwelling house, for a garden and other immediate conveniences,—and shall clear five acres more each year for three successive years :—and shall afterwards be free from all claims of services of that kind further than what are entirely voluntary.

5. It will moreover be proper, that in the parish church to be erected by government, or the community, or both, the accomodations for attending divine service be indiscriminately extended to every family, except the public officers of government, or such as may choose to qualify themselves at their own expense. But that after three or five years, the pews or plans for pews be let out by the vestry for every three succeeding years, and the revenue arising therefrom be applied to the maintenance of the established clergyman and the repairs of the church and dwelling house of the incumbent.

That after this public provision and means of religious instruction as by law established, every denomination of christians enjoy the full and ample freedom of prosuing such religious instruction as their habits and mode of education, or peculiarity of sentiment may lead them to think most conducive to their spiritual improvement, and that these regulations and establishments have the public sanction of the legislature of the province.

6. It will be also highly beneficial and expedient, both from the present state and the immediate prospect of extensive settlement of that province, that the youth be furnished as soon as possible with

such means of necessary education and liberal instruction as may qualify them for public utility,—filling the civil offices of government with credit and respectability,—inspire those principles of virtue and public spirit, that liberality of sentiment and enlargement of mind which may attach them to the constitution, happiness and interests of their country.

For this purpose a public seminary, academy or college should, without delay, begin to be instituted at the most central part of the province, (suppose at Windsor,) consisting at first of a public grammar school for classical and other branches of education, conducted by a teacher of approved abilities, temper, judgment and sound morals, professing the principles and living in the communion of the Church of England.

That a president be also appointed, being a clergyman of the Church of England, to instruct those whose circumstances, views and genius lead them beyond the common offices of life, in such branches of science as may qualify them for the several literary professions which are requisite in every well governed community. That assistants or professors of particular sciences be added, as the circumstances of the country and the nature of the institution render eligible and requisite, of any Protestant religious denomination, who are gentlemen of approved morals and abilities, securities being always given that no doctrine be inculcated repugnant to the constitution of Great Britain as a monarchy,—the neglect or perversion of which in most of the seminaries in America is known to have proved one of the most obvious and immediate causes of the subversion of that happy system by which the country was so eminently blest, and that any attempt to infringe this salutary regulation shall *ipso facto*, disqualify the teacher and render his appointment null and void.

That the rector of the grammar school and the president of the seminary, shall, in the first instance, be appointed by the governor and council, and in future occasions, both they and the other professors by the governor alone, at the recommendation of the superior of the clergy, and the trustees of the institution.

7. That a building be erected on the most eligible situation for health, containing at first the necessary apartments for teaching and the immediate accommodation of the rector of the schools, the president and a competent number of students; the additional grants to be

afterwards added, according to a regular plan, as the circumstances require. The salaries for the first five years to be paid by the crown, and jointly by the crown and province for ten years afterwards, or so long as shall be judged expedient by the former, from the state of the province or funds of the seminary.

Such is the sketch of a plan of religious and literary institution as seems most agreeable to the state of that province, and the views of government for promoting religion, virtue and reverence for the laws, which are the best and surest foundations for internal quiet and public tranquility—which important objects, whilst it is calculated to secure, it infringes none of the civil or religious rights of any description of professing christians which it is wished may be inviolate whilst consistent with the principles of the constitution, and the order and good government of the province. If on due examination it shall be judged to have such a tendency, the effectual prosecution of it is earnestly recommended to the patronage of those whose influence can render it an object of public attention.

NEW YORK, *8th March, 1783.*

G. P.

NEW YORK, *March 21st, 1783.*

SIR,—In conformity to your Excellency's desire, we now lay before you the following plan for an episcopate in Nova Scotia, and please ourselves with the prospect of its succeeding under your Excellency's patronage. The plan is simply this, viz :

That a Bishop be consecrated in England and sent to reside in Nova Scotia, to have the superintendence of the clergy, to ordain candidates for holy orders, and to confirm such of the laity there as shall desire confirmation, but not to be invested with any temporal power or authority whatever. In support of this plan we think many strong reasons may be adduced, and against it, as we conceive, no objections of consequence can be made. Permit us to mention as concisely as possible, the following reasons why our request should be complied with.

1. Unless an episcopate be granted, the Church of England will be in a more disadvantageous situation in Nova Scotia than any other

denomination of christians. This has ever been the case of the church in the colonies. Other societies of christians have had their constitution compleat and could reap every advantage of which it was capable in the management of it, while the Church of England could do little at any time without the special direction of her superiors at home, and before their direction could be obtained the opportunity was lost.

2. The proposed episcopate will supply the province of Nova Scotia with a sufficient number of clergymen of the established church, and without it their number will never be equal to the wants of the inhabitants, should they increase in proportion, as other colonies formerly have done.

While orders are only to be had in England, the danger of the sea, the expense of the voyage, and the difficulty of transacting business among strangers, will ever, as it ever has done, discourage the greater part of those gentlemen who would go into orders, if the danger, expense and difficulty attending a voyage to England could be avoided. We do know that many, nearly a fourth part, of those who have encountered this danger have lost their lives in the attempt. We also know that many have been obliged to incur debts on this occasion, which the scanty subsistence they were obliged to return to, has scarcely enabled them to discharge in many years—to this also it has, in a great measure, been owing that while dissenters have had ministers enough to satisfy every demand, and even to crowd into every place where they could possibly support themselves, the church has never had clergymen enough to supply the larger towns, and when any vacancy has happened, it has been so long before another incumbent could be procured, that the congregation has in a manner been dispersed and the labors of his predecessor nearly lost.

3. The fixing of a bishop in Nova Scotia and the consequent supply of clergymen, will strengthen the attachment and confirm the loyalty of the inhabitants, and promote the settlement of the province.

It is a point of great importance in civil society that the people should be attached to the state by means of its religion, for where they find that proper attention is paid to their spiritual concerns by their governors, they will have a stronger affection for that govern-

ment than if they were left destitute of all religious instruction but such as they could provide for themselves.

Particularly with regard to Nova Scotia. It being an object of importance to Great Britain to have that province effectually settled, it must also be an object of importance to retain the inhabitants in their loyalty. To accomplish this end it appears to us absolutely necessary to establish the constitution of the Church of England among them fully by sending a bishop to reside there.

The inhabitants of that country are, and those that shall in future go thither as settlers, will be made up people of various religious persuasions. If the service of the church be made the most convenient for them by supplying them with ministers as fast as they are wanted, they will almost universally become members of the church, and under its influence will be more strongly attached to the British Government than they would be under any other mode of worship.

To this plan of an episcopate in Nova Scotia we think no reasonable objection could be made. Should it, however, be thought exceptionable either as an expensive or an unseasonable establishment, to the former we answer :—That although we wish a decent and permanent support to be provided for the bishop, yet we think it may be done without any burden, either to the people of the province or to the nation, a portion of the unlocated lands in the province may be appropriated to that purpose, which in future time would answer the end, and in the meantime we understand that the society for the propagation of the gospel has a fund appropriated to the support of American bishops more than adequate to the support of a bishop in Nova Scotia.

As to the second objection, that the plan which we propose is unseasonable, while the nation is engaged in war, &c., We beg leave to observe that the clergy of most of the colonies have been soliciting the appointment of American bishops at different times, for many years past, and the answer ever has been that the present time was not a proper one, but a more favorable opportunity must be waited for. But as we apprehend that the nation is now on the verge of peace, we conceive no time more proper can ever present itself for the fixing of such an establishment than the present, and we are sure that the influence of such an establishment will never be more useful than



now, when so large an accession of inhabitants is to be made to that province.

We have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient, humble servants,

CHARLES INGLIS,	ISAAC BROWNE,
SAMUEL SEABURY,	JOHN SAYRE,
JEREMIAH LEARNING,	BENJM. MOORE,
H. ADDISON,	JOHN H. ROWLAND,
I. WALLER,	THOS. MOORE,
MOSES BADGER,	GEO. BISSET,
JOHN O'DELL,	CHARLES MONGAN,
GEORGE PANTON,	JOSHUA BLOOMER,
JOHN BEARDSLEY,	JOHN BOWDEN.

To His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, &c., &c.

NEW YORK, *March 26th, 1783.*

SIR,—As we are very sensible that much will depend on good temper, prudence and ability of the gentleman who shall be appointed the Bishop for Nova Scotia, we take the liberty to recommend to Your Excellency's notice the Reverend Doctor Thomas Bradbury Chandler, now in London. This gentleman is an American, and resided in America till compelled by the present commotions to take refuge in England. He is well known and much respected through the continent, and is well qualified to fill any bishoprick with dignity and honour.

We have the honor to be,  
Your Excellency's most obedient  
humble servants,

CHARLES INGLIS,	CHARLES MONGAN,
SAMUEL SEABURY,	ISAAC BROWN,
JEREMIAH LEARNING,	GEO. BISSET,
MOSES BADGER,	JOHN H. ROWLAND,
JOHN BEARDSLEY,	I. WALLER,
JONATHAN O'DELL,	JOSHUA BLOOMER,
JOHN SAYRE,	JOHN BOWDEN,
GEORGE PANTON,	H. ADDISON.
BENJAMIN MOORE,	

To His EXCELLENCY SIR GUY CARLETON, &c., &c.

WHITEHALL, *June 15th, 1783.*

RIGHT HONORABLE LORD NORTH,

TO GENERAL SIR GUY CARLETON, K. B.

(*Extract.*)

“The King’s servants have taken into their consideration the letter from the clergy of the Church now at New York, and their plan for an Episcopate to be established in the province of Nova Scotia, contained in your despatch No. 65. But before they finally decide on that measure, it is very desirable that they should be informed of the disposition of the laity, particularly those who intend to remove with them to Nova Scotia for the adoption of the plan, on which account they are anxious that you should endeavor to discover and transmit these sentiments therefrom as soon as may be, that it may certainly be known whether the recommendation of that establishment is according to the general ideas or merely confined to the clergy.”

P. S.—“With respect to the person recommended to fill the office of Bishop of Nova Scotia, His Majesty is so well acquainted with the character, merit and loyalty of Dr. Chandler, and of the very respectable persons who have recommended him, that there will be no difficulty in the choice of the first Bishop, as soon as a decisive resolution has been taken upon the proposed institution.”

“NORTH.”

SIR GUY CARLETON TO LORD NORTH.

NEW YORK, *23rd October, 1783.*

MY LORD,—“The Reverend Doctor Inglis, who has the honor to wait on your Lordship with this letter, is a clergyman whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordships favourable notice. He has been several years the rector of the principal church in this city, and in every stage of the late rebellion has approved himself a zealous loyalist; on which account he has lost a considerable landed estate by confiscation, and is at length obliged to relinquish a valuable living in the Church.”

I am, &c., &c.

The RIGHT HONORABLE LORD NORTH,

&c., &c.

MEMORANDUM.

Doctor Chandler declined the office of Bishop and recommended Dr. Charles Inglis, who was nominated by the King and received consecration in 1787 as Bishop of Nova Scotia, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Newfoundland.





NOTES  
ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S  
CHURCH, HALIFAX.

*A PAPER READ BY FRANCIS PARTRIDGE, D. D., RECTOR OF  
ST. GEORGE'S, MAY 7, 1885.*

ABOUT the year 1749, a Royal Proclamation was issued by the English Government and distributed in various towns on the continent of Europe, inviting foreign Protestants to leave their homes and settle in Nova Scotia. The Proclamation set forth at length the advantages of the country to which these settlers were to be conveyed, and promised 50 acres of land to each adult and ten additional to each member of a family whether wife or children. The government further engaged the services of an agent, Mr. Johann Dick, a merchant of Rotterdam, to make contracts with such families and individuals as were willing to settle in this province, and to arrange for their transportation. The first official record to be found of the German settlers, with whom we are now concerned, is contained in a despatch from Whitehall to Governor Cornwallis, who had arrived in Halifax the previous year, which says, "I am directed by my Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to inform you that the bearer of this, John Spurrier, master of the 'Ann,' from Rotterdam, has on board his vessel 280 foreign Protestants, or thereabouts, procured by Mr. Dick, of Rotterdam. These, your Lordships desire you will receive and dispose of in the best manner you are able, as a means of encouraging others of their countrymen to follow, &c."

Mr. Dick it appears, had engaged to send over 1,000 foreign Protestants on condition of being paid one guinea for each person. But a previous despatch to Governor Cornwallis complains that Mr. Dick had "greatly disappointed" the Lord Commissioners as to the number he had succeeded in sending; and states that although he had sent 280, he only "gives in some hopes" that he may be able to

forward another ship this year. The actual number embarked was 312, who accordingly arrived in Halifax in safety on July 13th, 1750, in the ship "Anne."

In the undeveloped condition of the new colony, the coming of these settlers, in addition to the large number of English emigrants who had previously arrived, was the cause of much embarrassment to the Governor, who found it a very grave problem what to do with them and where to send them. The limits of the town of Halifax were then very circumscribed; the country in the neighbourhood was yet uncleared, and there appears to have been a great scarcity of tools suitable for clearing the land and putting up houses. There is little doubt that emigrants had been allowed to believe that the land was ready for them to cultivate; and bitter was the disappointment of the Germans to find that when they arrived their new homes were but woods and wilderness. The settlement was surrounded by hostile Indians. But a short time after the arrival and disembarkation on the Dartmouth side of the harbour, an attack was made on them by the Indians, and a considerable number were killed and scalped. George's Island was covered with woods, and the town of Halifax scarcely cleared of the trees. There was only one little wharf then built, on the site of the present market wharf; and many of the poorer emigrants were obliged to work out their passage money, which prevented them from applying their wages to their own needs. It will thus be seen that they had many difficulties to contend against. Governor Cornwallis complains in his despatches of this date of the excessive rate of wages demanded by workmen of all kinds; and received instructions from the home government to make use of the emigrant labour. At the beginning of September, it became a serious problem what to do with the Germans for the winter. They could not be sent away to any distance, as there were no troops to defend them from the Indians, and they had no arms with which to defend themselves.

It was now too late in the season to clear land, which if it had been cleared would have been of no productive value till the spring. There was also difficulty about provisions. Hitherto it had been the custom of the government of the colony to provide victuals for *all* settlers, those who had come voluntarily as well as those who had been sent by the Lords of Trade. It now became necessary to restrict

the issuing of victuals to those who had been brought to the country by promise of a maintenance.

It was determined by the Council that "there being now 250 labourers at 2/. a day, besides rum and beer, such of the Germans as are artificers or fit for labour be taken into the King's work at 2/. a day for artificers and 12d. a day for labourers till their freight be paid to the government, and that in the meantime the whole be paid to Mr. Dick, as the Board of Trade directs: "and they that refuse to work at the King's price be struck off the books."

The anxieties of the Germans were not over yet. Soon after this, directions were issued that provisions should be withdrawn from all except the English settlers who had first arrived in the ship "Alderney," which did not reach Halifax till August. Their late arrival put the government to great inconvenience, and the supplies necessary for them had to be withheld from the Germans. But in the meantime a considerable number of the foreign emigrants, and indeed of the English who had come out during the year 1749 with Governor Cornwallis, depending on the receipt of sufficient food for at least one year from the date of arrival, had sent for their families. Having now the task of maintaining themselves with no help from the public purse, they could not build their houses as well. So great was the discouragement and dissatisfaction, that many of them were preparing to return, and were only prevented from doing so by the re-issue to them, and to all who should arrive before December 31st, of the promised provisions. Thus with much hardship and anxiety as to the future, the German emigrants passed their first winter in Nova Scotia.

They appear to have been employed during the following year in public works, especially in the clearing of land, the building of a battery and fort on George's Island, and the construction of palisading round the settlement of Dartmouth.

No more complaints are recorded, and faith seems to have been well kept with them by the Government of Nova Scotia. Doubtless they had many hardships to endure, and found the severity of the climate a cause of great suffering. But they were possessed of a sturdy and manly spirit which forbade them to despair, and they struggled on, hoping for more favourable circumstances.

That they were looked upon by the authorities as a most valuable acquisition to the colony there is abundant evidence. In March of

the following year Governor Cornwallis was informed of the intention of the government to send out 1,000 additional foreign Protestants. It would seem that strong representations had been made as to the necessity of their arrival early in the year: for the Commissioners assured his Excellency that every pains should be taken to send them not later than May, and also that no old and infirm persons should be allowed to come.

Two ships arrived early in 1751 with German settlers forwarded by Mr. Dick. They were younger and stronger men than the last: and were kept upon the Peninsula of Halifax instead of being sent to Minas Piziquid as originally intended, on account of the hostilities of the French and Indians.

In the Autumn of 1751 we find Col. Cornwallis asking permission to resign his position of Governor of Nova Scotia, on the ground of ill health and long service. There is reason to think that his energy was exhausted by the many anxieties incident to the labour of founding and ruling a new colony. From his despatches to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations we see his temper, never probably very even, constantly passing the bounds of strict official propriety. The grants made by Parliament for the service of the colony were inadequate; his drafts were on more than one occasion dishonoured; the constant and late arrival of the settlers taxed all his resources to the very utmost, and with great relief he in August, 1752, handed over the reins of government.

His successor, Colonel Peregrine Thomas Hopson, had been Commander-in-Chief at Louisburg when that fortress was restored to the French under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. He came to Chebucto with the army in 1749, and was immediately sworn in Senior Councillor, and on the resignation of Governor Cornwallis, was considered the fittest person to succeed him.

No sooner had he assumed the government of the colony, than he was confronted with the problem of the settlers, German and Swiss. In his first despatch, dated Oct. 16th, 1752, he says: "Upon my examining into the state of affairs of the Province, I found Mr. Cornwallis extremely distressed by having on his hands in and about the place, all the foreign settlers who arrived in the year 1750 and 1751, whom he had not been able to send out from hence to make any settlement at a distance, this not only through the want of



provisions, arms, tools, implements for clearing and cultivating the land, and materials necessary for building the habitations proper to enable him for so doing, but also on account of there being no place with any sufficient quantity of land near them proper for placing them upon, agreeable to the promises which had been made them by Mr. Dick before they embarked, as appears by a printed paper I now enclose ; and likewise because he had great reason to apprehend that they might have been molested by the Indians wherever they were sent, he not having it in his power to protect them; the great expense was also another considerable objection.

“ He had likewise about three hundred of the foreign settlers that arrived this year, and was under the same dilemma with regard to them, and since I took the government, the rest being arrived (which I must say I think Mr. Dick contrived to be very late in the season for the purpose intended), I imagine your Lordships cannot but think I must also be under the utmost difficulty to know how to dispose of them, the sending of them out being impracticable for this season, and therefore all I could do was to build boarded barracks for them in the best and cheapest manner, yet so as they might be well covered and sheltered from the severity of the winter. This is done, and in order to their being subsisted (the money which your Lordships were pleased to send from England, designed for paying them their three-pences in lieu of provisions not arriving till so late as the 14th of September,) I found myself obliged to take the following method, viz: I laid the affair before the council for their opinion thereon, and herewith transmit to your Lordships the minutes of the resolutions we came to. I must observe that there was no possibility of sending out the foreign settlers this year to any places distant from Halifax, there being no provision for that purpose in store. For as the season is so far advanced I could not do it without sending with them nine months provisions at the same time; and it is my sincere opinion that whenever they are sent out, so far from nine months provisions being sufficient for the purpose till they get rightly settled and have raised something of their own to be able to subsist upon, that a further supply of fifteen months more will be absolutely necessary to be allowed them. This I should think they cannot possibly do without, for as most of them are poor wretches that have scarce a farthing of money among them, it is to be feared little provisions or other

necessaries would be carried to them from any of the neighbouring colonies, therefore they must inevitably starve."

There can be little doubt that many of the German colonists were poor, tho' not all. But the miseries of their condition were to a great extent caused by others. They had, in the first place, been deceived by the Government Agent Dick, as to the condition of things in the new settlement. They doubtless expected to find the land cleared at least, and anticipated no difficulty with the Aborigines, and even Mr. Dick could hardly have supposed that a government which held out so great inducements to emigrants, would make no provision for tools and implements, whereby they might build themselves a shelter from the elements. But so grasping does the agent appear in his desire to get as many as possible on board the emigrant ships, that he actually persuaded hundreds of the settlers to sell off everything before they embarked. The consequence was, that not only had they to lie on the bare boards and decks during the voyage, but when they arrived late in the season, and with no idea of what the severity of Nova Scotia winter might be, they were completely destitute of bedding and clothing beyond the barest necessaries. Many died from overcrowding and exposure on the passage; after they had landed on the wished for shore many more expired. In addition to this, numbers of the emigrants sent by Dick were old decrepit creatures, both men and women, who as Governor Hopson very justly says, were "fitter to have been kept in alms houses than to have been sent over here as settlers to work for their board." Several of those who died were reported as having been over 80 years of age.

To quote once more from the same despatch: "The 26th of last month (Sept.,) the last of these settlers were landed, when there were about 30 of them that could not stir off the beach; eight of them orphans, who immediately had the best care taken of them, notwithstanding two of them died after being carried to the hospital. Within about 12 days time there are 14 orphans belonging to these settlers that were taken into the orphan house. These are things which I do not doubt but your Lordships must think are very shocking. I can assure you, my Lords, that I find them so, who am here on the spot, for no mortal that has the least humanity, can do otherwise than feel to the very heart at the sight of such a scene of misery as it is, and the prospect there is of its being a much more deplorable one before the severity of the winter, which now draws nigh, is got over."

We can hardly wonder then that many of the settlers became much discouraged, and that some left shores so inhospitable. "This desertion does not only disgrace and weaken our settlement, but at the same time will strengthen our neighbours, which are things I should be glad to prevent was it in my power. I am earnestly to entreat your Lordships that you may not suffer any more of these foreign settlers to be sent over, for nothing can possibly distress us more than these have already done. And besides many other evils and inconveniences we feel from them, by working for their passage in such numbers they almost deprive our other inhabitants of the means of subsistence. I hope nothing may turn out to prevent our sending out these people in the spring as proposed ; but as the Indians whom we have to deal with are such treacherous uncertain tribes, that it is difficult to say what may or may not happen."

A narration of the foregoing circumstances is necessary, not only to give a correct idea of the trials of the early settlers, but to show what the policy of the government was towards them. Of the hundreds who had left their beloved fatherland to seek a new home on a foreign strand, many had died ere they reached the haven, others landed mourning. Orphaned children and aged pilgrims, deprived of their staff and support, mingled tears and lamentations beneath the bare and insufficient board huts given to shelter their poverty by the Provincial Government. But amid all their sorrows and sufferings they bore with them a spirit of manly piety and submission to the will of God which came to their aid when earthly comforts failed. That the German emigrants were as a body, religious in the best sense of the word, may be concluded from the previous history of their nation, and from their own subsequent conduct.

The men whose ancestors had borne the storm of persecution for righteousness' sake, and had laid down their lives in obedience to the deep convictions of their conscience, were not the men to sink down into despair when met by misfortune, or to lose faith in their fathers' God.

In 1753, the greater number of the German settlers were sent to Merliguish, now known as Lunenburg. The original name was in all probability Lüneburg, from the town of the same designation in Germany. The history of the settlement of Lunenburg is one of great interest, and is fully illustrated by the records of early transactions laid up in the Government Archives. Our present concern,

however, is not with the many who settled in Lunenburg, but with the few who remained in Halifax. At the time of the Lunenburg settlement, which was begun in August, 1753, some 20 to 25 families having received grants outside of the limits of the town of Halifax, in the north and south suburbs and on the isthmus, began the work of clearing their grants, and forming a permanent home for themselves. The limits of the settlement then extended only to what is now known as Buckingham Street on the north, and Salter Street on the south. A large tract of land consisting of several acres was allotted to the German families, and received its *sobriquet* of Dutch Town from its first owners. And it is most creditable to these German families that one of their earliest efforts at improvement was directed toward the erection of a house of worship. They had been brought here by promises which those principally concerned in the immigration must have known could not for a considerable period be fulfilled. They had been landed in a foreign country whose climate was most severe, and whose language they did not understand. They had received a bare subsistence, doled out by grudging hands for the first year or two after their arrival, and had been compelled, however their wives and families might suffer from want or proper dwellings, to work out every penny of their passage money.

They were set down in the midst of woods, with little knowledge of woodcraft, to hew out for themselves a log hut and to clear enough land to give them a scanty living by the sweat of their brow. But their brave and sturdy spirits rose superior to every trial and triumphed over all hardships. With resolute determination they began their work, and while they provided for their own needs they did not forget that they were the servants of God.

The earliest record now existing of their spiritual work is found in the first pages of the first account book of the German congregation of St. George's. The narrative tho' simple and unpretending, is most touching in its calm and steadfast faith and hope. A translation of it is here given :

IN THE NAME OF JESUS.

After having, by the goodness of God, so progressed in the work of building, that the common meeting house of the German Lutheran Congregation in the German town of Halifax is so far finished that we can meet together in it to praise and thank God, it shall be our

endeavour as much as possible to still improve it, to keep it in order, and to keep an account of it from time to time in all faithfulness.

It may be of some service to our friends and respective descendants to have a record of the beginning of this church, which in truth to say was humble enough. We had some lumber, belonging to us in common, lying in our churchyard. \* This lumber we exchanged with Mr. George Nagel for a house which was placed where it stands at present, by the united efforts of voluntary hands in the year 1756. We voluntary state the exact amount which each one had done towards its erection, in labour; but what one friend and another has contributed to the collection, which was made by Mr. Carl Hagelsieb, we will report below.

In the year 1758, on the first and second days of Pentecost, Divine Service was held in the Church, in German, by the Reverend Mr. Slater, (Chaplain to the Troops.) His text was Isaiah xlvi, v. 17, 18, and also Hosea ix, v. 12. Service was continued twice every Sunday when building operations would permit, in which case some one read a sermon, and a few hymns were sung. These services shall be continued so long as it shall please God.

In the above named year, in the Autumn, † Mr. Otto William Schwartz, caused the said church to be finished inside. Namely, the walls were panelled, and doors, windows, chairs, and everything belonging to it were supplied, on condition that he be paid without

\*This ground, consisting of No. 5, 1, 2 and 3, of the Schwizer lots, had been given to the Germans who first arrived, as a burial ground, and as such is duly registered. The north suburb lots were laid off in 1752. The two blocks between Gerrish and North Streets, and those east of Brunswick St., (then called Gottingen St.,) were allotted to the Germans, and were designated the German lots, measuring 50 feet front by 100 feet in depth. Nos. 1, 2, 3, were dedicated as a burial ground, No. 5 was occupied by a building which belonged to the Church, but afterwards fell into the hands of St. Paul's.

† Otto William Schwartz was a man whose name frequently occurs in the history of the German Church of St. George, and was a person of considerable wealth and position. He was born on the 12th of May, 1715, at Lufland, near Riga. His father was a portrait painter. He was apprenticed to the fur trade from 1732 to 1739, but seems to have early determined to emigrate. After travelling in various directions he finally became one of the number who accompanied Governor Cornwallis's expedition to Chebucto, in 1749, and landed from the ship "Canning," 342 tons, on June 27th of that year, being then in the full vigor of manhood. He married in Dec., 1750, the widow Annie Justine Liebrich, by whom he had several children. At the first election of civic officers he was chosen treasurer. He died on Oct. 5th, 1785, and a handsome tablet was erected to his memory in the German Church, which was afterwards, in 1831, transferred to the Round Church where it still remains. His widow died Aug. 4th, 1786. Some of his lineal descendants remain in Halifax at the present time.

interest, when we were able to do so. This year on the fourth Sunday of Advent, the congregation elected four managers,\* with no other object than to keep order and harmony. And as Mr. William Schwartz is the Elder of the congregation, he has been added to the managing committee, which therefore consists of five persons :

- |  |              |
|--|--------------|
| 1. MR. OTTO WILLIAM SCHWARTZ, (Elder.) | } (Elected.) |
| 2. JOHANN CHRISTIAN PEITSCH,           |              |
| 3. CARL LUDWIG HAGELSIEB,              |              |
| 4. GOTTLIEB SCHERMILLER,               |              |
| 5. PETER BERGMAN.                      |              |

This year the Feast of Holy Christmas was begun by making offerings.

On New Year's Day, 1759, the Lord's Supper was given to about sixty persons by the †Rev. Dr. Breynton and ‡Dr. Wood, ordained ministers of the English Church at Halifax, at which the first mentioned preached a sermon from the text Ezekiel xi, v. 16.

The Elder and committee have thought it expedient to write their brief notes in the preface to their records concerning the origin of this church ; hoping that their friends and respective descendants will not

\*Two of those men, Peter Bergman and Gottlieb Schermiller, came out in the expedition of Governor Cornwallis. The other two, Hagelsieb and Peitsch, probably arrived during year 1750 or 1751.

Peter Bergman and wife came over in the ship "Canning," and may have been friends of Schwartz, as Bergman was also a furrier by trade. Peter Bergman having been left a widower and without children, devised a valuable piece of ground fronting on Gottingen Street, to St. George's Church.

Gottlieb Schermiller was a butcher by trade. He arrived in the ship "Charlton," with wife and one child, in June, 1749.

†Dr. John Breynton was Rector of St. Paul's at this time ; a full account of him will be found in a history of St. Paul's church, written by the Rev. G. W. Hill, D. C. L., late Rector of that church, and published in the proceedings of the N. S. Historical Society. Previously a chaplain in the navy, and present in such capacity during the siege of Louisburg, he came in the year 1752 to Halifax as assistant to Mr. Tutty, who had been sent as first minister to the new settlement. Mr. Breynton succeeded in due time to the post of missionary of S. P. G., at Halifax, and was made Rector of St. Paul's Church. His is a name to be revered and honored by the Parish of St. George's, as it was to his energy and unselfishness that the early German congregation was indebted for the first services by a duly ordained minister. His portrait hangs in the Legislative Library.

‡Mr. Wood, (called everywhere he is mentioned in St. George's record Dr. Wood,) was for some time assistant to Dr. Breynton, but afterwards removed by command of the Governor to Annapolis.

despise them, for they have been made with all sincerity and to the best of our ability. We have also thought it fit to keep a record in this book, that our friends and descendants may know of the first foundation of this congregation. We pray God that those who come after us will interest themselves in this church, which has been dedicated to God in all faithfulness and the fear of the Lord, and without selfishness.

May the LORD in whose name the church, as well as this preface was begun, cause this German congregation to flourish and prosper, and bear fruit to the glory of His Name for ever and ever.

IN THE NAME OF JESUS, AMEN.

Written and approved of by the Elder and Committee, Halifax, January 6th, 1759.

(Signed,) PETER BERGMAN.

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The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was from time to time administered to the German congregation in their new church by Dr. Breynton, who appears to have been accompanied on almost every occasion by Mr. Wood. The reason of this may have been that Mr. Wood, who appears to have had a linguistic faculty, and had made himself acquainted with the Indian vernacular, that he might officiate in their own language to the Micmacs, might conduct the service in German. Dr. Breynton usually preached, and the texts of his discourses are duly recorded, with the significant comment: "The sermon was preached in *English*." "N. B.—In the English language."

By the year 1760, the church had so far approached completion that arrangements were made for its formal opening and dedication to the worship of God. The original dimensions of the church were only 29 × 20 feet. An addition had been made of eleven feet, to include a porch or entrance, making the whole length 45 feet, and a spire 45 ft in height added at the close of the year. Before the consecration a bell was put into the steeple, the fund to purchase which had been bequeathed to the congregation by Mr. George Bayer, formerly one of their number. Tradition says that this bell was

brought from Louisburg after the siege. It is made of rich bell metal, and has a highly ornamental Latin cross cast upon it, with the inscription, above the cross, *Bazin ma (sic) fait*. It now hangs in the tower of St. John's Church, Dutch Village. The addition had been begun at the instance of Governor Lawrence, who encouraged the Germans by offering to put it up at his own expense. This he would have undoubtedly done had his life been spared; and after his lamented death, the government, in addition to defraying the expense of a public funeral and voting a sum of money for a monument to his memory, with a consideration which did them honor, discharged the obligation to St. George's Church. The opening was to have taken place on the 27th and 28th of October in that year, and it was expected that Governor Lawrence would be present at the ceremony. But to the great grief of all ranks and classes, this popular and energetic governor died quite suddenly of fever on the 19th of October. This melancholy event necessitated the postponement of the dedication. But in the following year, on the 23rd of March, being Easter Monday, the church was solemnly dedicated to the service and worship of Almighty God, by the name of St. George's Church, by Dr. Breynton, who preached the sermon, taking his text from St. John iv. 21. The Hon. Jonathan Belcher, who had previously served the office of Chief Justice of the Province, but had succeeded to the governorship on the death of Governor Lawrence, was present with his staff and various other distinguished persons. After the sermon, the Lord's Supper was administered to a large congregation. The position of the church and congregation ecclesiastically was somewhat peculiar.

The whole town of Halifax was for a long period the parish of St. Paul, which was constituted by an Act of Assembly in the year 1758, and Dr. Breynton was the rector. The chapel of St. George was of course within the jurisdiction of the rector of St. Paul's, but the congregation were Lutherans. Dr. Breynton appears to have shewn great Christian kindness as well as much tact and shrewdness in his dealings with the German congregation of St. George's.

What services were in his power he gladly afforded them, while they for their part made him for each visit a pecuniary recompense which always appears on the books as "a present to the preacher," or "a present to the Rev. Dr. Breynton."



Of course he would naturally receive whatever fees were customary for the performance of special duties; and there can be no doubt that there existed a very warm and cordial feeling, which does credit to both parties, between the rector of St. Paul's and the congregation of St. George's Church.

Very great interest naturally attaches to this venerable church, which still stands in our midst, a monument to the simplicity and piety of the German settlers. Strong and carefully built, at the intersection of two important streets, amidst their constant din and turmoil, the spire of old St. George's points the thoughts to Heaven. Surmounted by the cock, the "wakeful bird of Peter," which always presents its head to the breeze and symbolizes the attitude of watchful care with which the Christian awaits the attacks of his spiritual foes, its quaint form and picturesque outline carry us back to a period when solidity was studied more than symmetry, and the useful more regarded than the ornamental. The church has several times been repaired, and loving and reverent hands have, within very recent years, renewed the interior at considerable expense.\*

As we stand within the humble walls of the building which served for half a century for the simple worship of these forefathers of our Church of St. George, our minds are carried back to early days. The little log hut, (for it was little better when purchased for its sacred purpose), surrounded by the uncleared forest, from which might be heard, at any moment, the war-whoop of the Indian, and liable to have its service of praise and prayer exchanged for the rattle of musket or the ring of sword, is a symbol in its sturdy strength of the manly integrity and unassuming worth of those who worshipped in it. The sound of the guttural psalm still lingers in fancy's ear; the "large congregation" pressing around the Lord's Board to receive their spiritual food at the hands of a foreigner and yet a friend and minister of God, still pass before the eye; while through the sacred building resounds the eloquent tongue of the faithful ambassador proclaiming in no uncertain tones the unsearchable riches of Christ. Dimly conscious as yet of his meaning, yet catching in the very

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\* The escutcheon of Otto Leonard Lochman (from whom Lockman street takes its name) still hangs in the little church. He was a major in the free service, but had originally been a surgeon. He came with Governor Cornwallis. He died at the age of seventy-two years, and was buried beneath the church in which he had so long worshipped. His burial place shews him to have been a man of considerable distinction.

intensity of their eagerness the encouragement or the consolation for which their spirit thirsted, the earnest listeners drink in the pure water from the wells of salvation, and go forth in the strength of the Lord God to carry into their daily life the lesson so faithfully impressed upon them. Their bodies lie at rest around the church they loved so well ; but their spirit still lives to work for God, under altered circumstances, with unabated zeal. Let us honour their memory and imitate their steadfastness ; and as we pass the building with its century and a quarter of age sitting lightly yet upon it, let our heads be bared and a simple prayer be raised on high that our duties to God and man may be as thoroughly and unaffectedly performed as theirs were.

The poverty of many of the original settlers has been shewn in the foregoing pages. But they were not all poor. And those who were in better circumstances were not unmindful of the needs of their poorer brethren. At an early period of the history of the city, while yet disease and destitution were carrying off their victims both old and young, and the scanty shelter of the board barracks proved the death of even strong men, a society was formed among the Germans which was called the Funeral Fees or Friendly Society. Its purpose was to assist by a grant of money, proportioned to the previously monthly payment, those whose families had been stricken by death, and who by their own unassisted efforts would have been unable to defray the necessary burial expenses. This society was continued until the year 1761, when for some reason it was discontinued ; possibly because the people were now becoming more independent, and were able to bury their dead without help. At the time of the dissolution of the Society, it was a question what to do with the funds in hand. After some discussion, the following note is inscribed upon the church records.

“The members of the Funeral Fees or Friendly Society have, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, dissolved. They have therefore handed over their funds to the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. The sum thus presented by the aforesaid Society is eleven pounds, ten shillings and ten pence. The condition upon which it is given is that a funeral pall should be purchased therewith, to belong to the Church of St. George.

“If the money be not sufficient for the purchase, the Church of St. George is expected to make up the deficiency. The members belong-

ing to the Society at the time of its dissolution, and their families, shall have the use of the pall free of charge.

“It is hoped when all the respective members of this Society shall be removed by death, their friends and respective descendants will strew roses on their graves, for in reality they have been also the founders of the Evangelical German Church. ‘Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy Name give the praise.’”

(Those who are entitled to the use of the pall gratis are Otto Wilhelm Schwartz, Christian Peitsch, Carl Ludwig Hagelsieb, Peter Bergman, Peter Schmidt, Gottlieb Shermiller, Philip Knaut, Friedrich Beeker, Johann Simon Schröder.)

The next event of importance in the history of the church is a “Confirmation,” held on Oct 4th, the 20th Sunday after Trinity, 1761. This was conducted and performed by the schoolmaster, who had been engaged at a salary of ten pounds a year, to read the prayers and a sermon every Sunday, until the congregation should be able to procure and maintain the services of an ordained minister.

There does not appear to have been any ceremony used, either of laying on of hands or any other. It was simply a public profession of their faith, and a determination on the part of the candidates to give themselves to the service of God. The schoolmaster, whose name was Johann Gottfried Torpel, seems to have been a man of earnest piety and the skilful way in which he has broken up the Creed of Christendom into small portions, so as to make it interesting to his pupils, his zeal for the true faith in the presence of heresy and schism, and his fervent prayers for the candidates, are evidence of his wisdom as well as his spirituality. The whole proceedings are so quaint that they are worthy of being preserved, and they are therefore given entire.

First of all, the candidates having assembled in the little church, which we may be sure was filled with an attentive congregation, with the Elder and other officers, the catechism was repeated and explained. After ascertaining that so far as their knowledge was concerned they were prepared for their solemn vow, he next goes on to test them with the following questions:—

#### I.

I ask you in the name of the Triune God, will you keep His Commandments and do them? *Ans.*—Yes.

## II.

Bethink yourselves, dear children ; you promise too much. Not even the regenerate can keep them perfectly. *Ans.*—We will call upon GOD that HE may give us HIS HOLY SPIRIT, that HE may work in us HIS will.

## III.

But the law demands also that the indwelling thoughts and desires shall be subdued, and that we should do right. *Ans.*—What we could not perfectly do, Christ has done for us.

## IV.

Will you again enlist yourselves to fight under the banner of your Saviour Jesus Christ, against the sinful pomps of the world and all its wicked deeds and lusts? *Ans.*—Yes.

## V.

Do you believe in GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth? *Ans.*—Yes.

## VI.

Do you believe that HE is conceived by the HOLY GHOST and born of the Virgin Mary? *Ans.*—Yes.

## VII.

Do you believe in JESUS CHRIST, His only begotten Son our Lord? *Ans.*—Yes.

## VIII.

Do you believe that HE suffered for you under Pontius Pilate? *Ans.*—Yes.

## IX.

Do you believe that HE was crucified for you? *Ans.*—Yes.

## X.

Do you believe that HE died for you, was buried, descended into hell, and rose again on the third day from the dead? *Ans.*—Yes.

## XI.

Do you believe that HE ascended into Heaven and sitteth on the right hand of GOD the Father Almighty? *Ans.*—Yes.

## XII.

Do you believe that HE will come again from thence to judge the quick and dead. *Ans.*—Yes.

## XIII.

Do you believe in the Holy Ghost? *Ans.*—Yes.

XIV.

Do you believe in the Holy Christian Church, the Communion of Saints, and the forgiveness of sins? *Ans.*—Yes.

XV.

Do you believe in the Resurrection of the Flesh? *Ans.*—Yes.

XVI.

Do you believe in the Life Everlasting. *Ans.*—Yes.

XVII.

Beloved children, do you subscribe to the Evangelical Creed with heart and mouth? Will you maintain it, order your whole life according to it, and because in these countries so many sects and heresies exist, will you renounce them all, and rather abide by the pure meaning of the word of God, and stand by it for life and death? *Ans.*—Yes, with all my heart, if it please God to give me the grace and power of His Holy Spirit.

XVIII.

Do you take the Holy Scripture to be the revealed word of God, and will you stand by it for life and death? *Ans.*—Yes.

XIX.

Will you, according to the Apostolic Doctrine, submit yourselves, when not walking after the word of God, to the admonitions of those who are placed over you, or of any true Christian, from brotherly love, and listen to them with a meek, submissive mind? *Ans.*—Yes.

XX.

Do you acknowledge that you have not kept your baptismal vow which you made to the Triune God? *Ans.*—Yes.

XXI.

Will you now with the Triune God renew, in His presence and before the congregation, your baptismal vow and hold fast to it? *Ans.*—Yes.

XXII.

Dost thou renounce again the devil and all his works and ways? *Ans.*—Yes.

XXIII.

Do you promise again to believe, to live and to die, according to the will and word of the Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost? *Ans.*—Yes, with all my heart. AMEN.

May our Heavenly Father renew and increase in you, for Jesus Christ's sake, the gift of the Holy Ghost, for the strengthening of your faith, for growth in godliness, for patience in suffering, and for the blessed hope of Eternal Life. AMEN.

## PRAYER.

Now, beloved Saviour, Lord Jesus, all things are delivered to Thee by Thy Father ; so also these children and we all are given up to Thee. Thou hast lent them to me for a short time. What Thou in mercy hast given to me I have imparted to them. They are to be witnesses for me on the great day of account, that I have kept nothing back from them which is contained in Thy Holy Word that might tend to Thy glory, and to the welfare of their souls. Now I give them up again to Thee. Lead Thou them, my Jesus, according to Thy Word, and suffer them not to be led astray from Thee through the deceitfulness of this wicked world, but keep them in the remembrance of their baptismal vow, which they have renewed with Thee this day, unto the life's end.

I pray Thee, beloved Saviour, for Thy righteousness sake, because it has cost Thee such bitter pains to redeem each soul, let not one of these be lost, but place us all on Thy right hand on the day of judgment ; yea, let the whole congregation, not one excepted, hear Thy kind voice say : "Come unto me ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom that is prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

Do this my Jesus, for the sake of Thy eternal love. AMEN.

This closes the service ; and although the words and vows are simple and unassuming, we may trust that the young people thus exhorted and prayed for, did indeed receive God's blessing and grace, and were kept steadfast to their lives end. They have all, long since, been gathered to their Fathers, and most of them probably lie under the shadow of the old church. Their names are given and shall be inserted here :

Men.	Women.
1. Johann Aug. Peitsch,	1. Regina Kühn,
2. Caspar Hann,	2. Elizab. Hann,
3. Wilhelm Dennemann,	3. Doroth. Schmit.
4. Michael Silber,	4. Soph. Schmit.
5. Phil. Fullmer,	5. Elizab. Mosser.
6. Mathew Saur,	6. Elizab. Röchl,
7. Caspar Köller,	7. Cathar. Borgeld.
8. And. Baur,	
9. Christopher Schmidt,	
10. Phil. Haass.	









