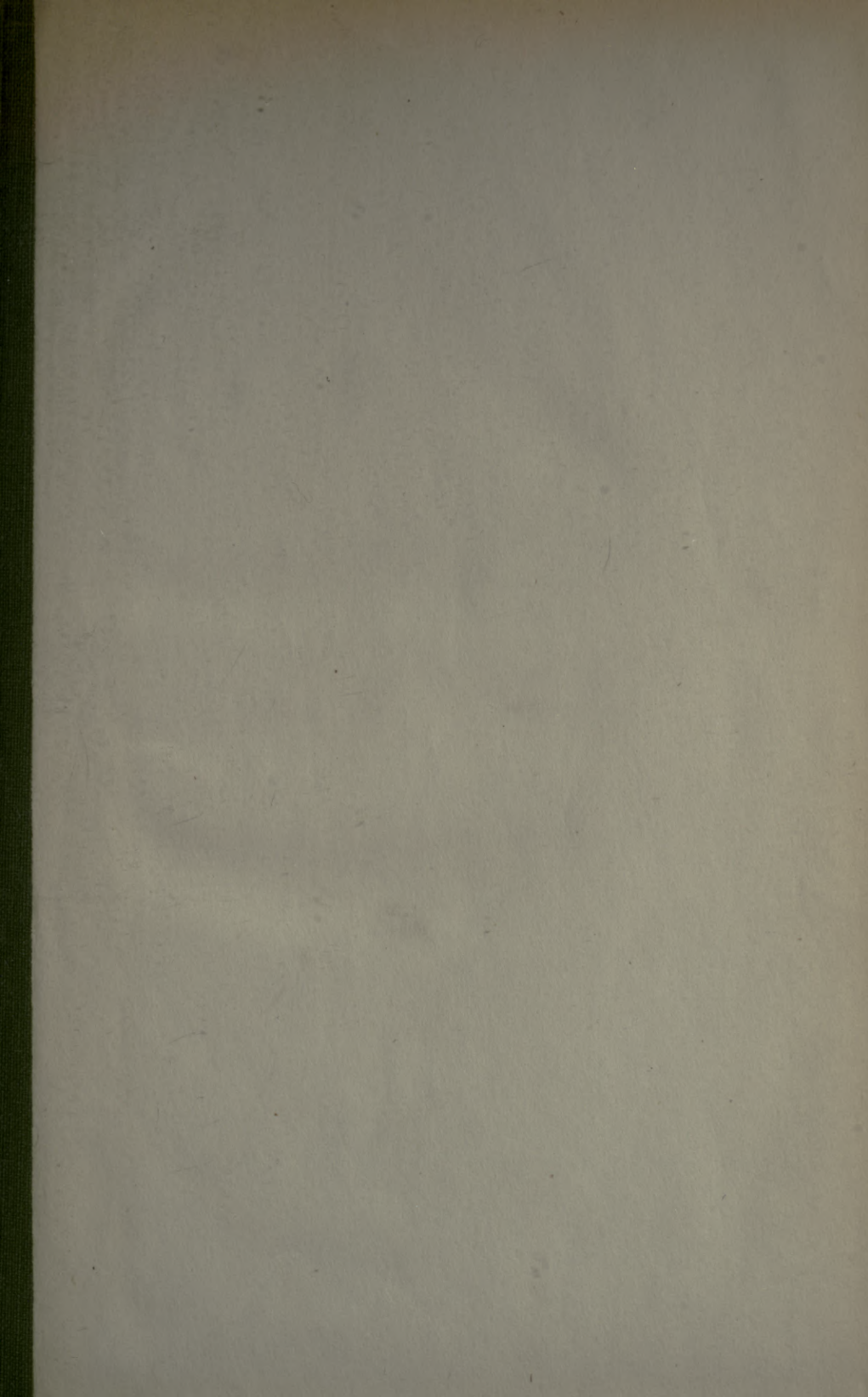




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COLLECTIONS

OF THE



Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEARS 1893-95.

VOLUME IX.

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HALIFAX :
NOVA SCOTIA PRINTING COMPANY,
1895.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 61. Strike out "David," signature to letter, and substitute "Daniel."

Page 93. Strike out "Not long," at the beginning of the last paragraph, and insert instead "Some seven years."

In the same paragraph strike out the words in brackets in the fifth line from the bottom, and substitute therefor, "Sir Thomas Andrew Strange."

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION.

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 other publications, relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

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

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

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

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 requests 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 a 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 or 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.

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 shall 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 ; every proposal 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.

6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of February of each year, at 8 P. M., at which meeting there

shall be chosen a President, three Vice-Presidents, a 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 on the books of the Society, and the original kept on file.

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, except 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.

General List of Papers Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

DATE.	TITLE.	WHENCE OBTAINED.	Published in Collections.
1878.			
June 23	Inaugural Address.	Hon. A. G. Archibald.	Vol. i. p. 18.
Sept. 5	History of St. Paul's Church. Part I.	Rev. Dr. Hill.	do. 35.
Oct. 3	Autobiography of Revd. Wm. Cochran.	Rev. Dr. Cochran.	
Nov. 7	Telegraphy in Nova Scotia and neighboring Provinces.	G. E. Morton, Esq.	
1879.			
Jan. 2	Early Settlement of Shubenacadie.	Miss E. Frame.	
Mar. 6	Journal of Colonel Nicholson at Siege of Annapolis.	T. B. Akins, Esq.	Vol. i. p. 59.
June 5	Translation from the French, relating to the religious beliefs of the Indians prior to the discovery by Cabot.	Robt. Morrow, Esq.	
Nov. 6	Journey to Yarmouth in 17—by Mather Byles.	Hon. Dr. Almon.	
1880.			
Feb. 5	Early Journalism in Nova Scotia.	J. J. Stewart, Esq.	Vol. vi. p. 91.
Mar. 11	History of St. Paul's Church. Pts. II., III.	Rev. Dr. Hill.	Vol. ii. p. 63.
Apr. 1	Governor Cornwallis and the first Council.	T. B. Akins, Esq.	Vol. ii. p. 17.
May 6	Witherspoon's Journal of the Siege of Quebec.	do.	Vol. ii. p. 31.
" 13	Walter Bromley and his labors in the cause of Education, by late John Young. (Agricola).	J. T. Bulmer, Esq.	
June 3	Sketches of the Winniett, DeLancy, and Milledge families.	W. A. Calnek, Esq.	
Nov. 11	Revolutionary Incidents in Nova Scotia, 1776-1778.	J. T. Bulmer, Esq.	
Dec. 3	Sketch of Brook Watson, by Revd. Hugh Graham.	do.	Vol. ii. p. 135.
	Brook Watson's account of the Expulsion of the Acadians.	do.	Vol. ii. p. 129.
1881.			
Jan. 6	Early History of the Dissenting Church in Nova Scotia.	Rev. Dr. Patterson.	
	Biographical Sketch of Rev. Jas. Murdoch.	Miss E. Frame.	Vol. ii. p. 100.
Feb. 3	Biographical Sketch of Alexander Howe.	W. A. Calnek, Esq.	
Mar. 14	Account of the Manners and Customs of the Acadians, with remarks on their removal from the Province; by Moses Delesdernier, 1795.	T. B. Akins, Esq.	
Apr. 7	Letter (dated June 27, 1751) from Surveyor Morris to Governor Shirley, with a plan for the removal of the Acadians.	do.	
May 5	Extracts from the Boston News Letter, 1704-1760, and from Halifax Gazette, 1752.	Miss E. Frame.	
Sept. 1	Judge Croke (a Biography).	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. ii. p. 110.
Oct. 6	Chapter from the life of S. G. W. Archibald.	Israel Longworth, Esq.	
Nov. 3	Government House.	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. iii. p. 197.
	Nicholas Perdue Olding, (a Biography).	Rev. Dr. Patterson.	
Dec. 8	Petitions to the Council of Massachusetts Bay from residents of Yarmouth, and from Council of Cumberland.	T. B. Akins, Esq.	
	Proposal of Capt. John Allen as to capture of Halifax and conquest of Nova Scotia.	do.	Vol. ii. p. 11.
1882.			
Jan. 5	Who was Lebel?.....	Jas. Hannay, Esq., St. John, N. B.	
Feb. 2	Nomenclature of the Streets of Halifax.	Rev. Dr. Hill.	
Mar. 2	A visit to Louisburg.	P. Lynch, Esq.	
July 3	History of St. Paul's Church. Part IV.	Rev. Dr. Hill.	Vol. iii. p. 13.
Oct. 5	Chapter in the Life of Sir John Wentworth.	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE N. S. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Continued.*

DATE.	TITLE.	WHENCE OBTAINED.	Published in Collections.
1882.			
Nov. 2	Edward How and his family	W. A. Calnek	
Dec. 7	M. S. Journal of Mr. Glover, Secretary to Admiral Cockburn, when conveying Napoleon to St. Helena in 1815.....	Nepean Clarke, Esq.	
1883.			
Jan. 4	The Province Building	Hon. Sir A. Archibald.	Vol. iv. p. 247.
Mar. 1	Early Reminiscences of Halifax	P. Lynch, Esq	
Apr. 5	The Stone Age of the Micmacs	Rev. Dr. Patterson...	
May 4	Newfoundland, past, present and future..	E. Hepple Hall, Esq.	
July 12	Early Life of Sir John Wentworth	Hon. Sir A. Archibald.	
Nov. 15	Nomenclature of the streets of Halifax. Part II.....	Rev. Dr. Hill	
Dec. 6	Tour with General Campbell, in July and August, 1875, along the coasts of Nova Scotia, by Lieut. Booth, R. E.....	T. B. Akins, Esq.....	
1884.			
Jan. 3	Celebrated persons who have visited Nova Scotia	P. Lynch, Esq	
Mar. 6	Ships of War wrecked on coasts of Nova Scotia and Sable Island in 18th century	S. D. Macdonald, Esq.	Vol. ix. p. 119.
May 1	Hon. S. B. Robie (a Biography)	Israel Longworth, Esq	
Nov. 13	Plans submitted to the British Government in 1783 by Sir Guy Carleton— 1. For the founding of a Seminary of learn- ing at Windsor, N. S.; 2. For the establishment of an Episcopate in N. S.	T. B. Akins, Esq.....	Vol. vi. p. 133.
Dec. 4	Samuel Vetch. 1st English Governor of Nova Scotia	Rev. Dr. Patterson...	Vol. iv. p. 11.
1885.			
Feb. 5	Samuel Vetch. 1st English Governor of Nova Scotia. Part II	do.	Vol. iv. p. 64.
Mar. 12	Exodus of the Negroes in 1791, with extracts from Clarkson's Journal	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. vii. p. 129.
Apr. 9	Saga of Eric the Red, with an account of the discovery of Vinland. Translated (by Capt. Ove Lange)	P. Jack, Esq	
May 7	Early History of St. George's Church (Pt. I)	Rev. Dr. Partridge ..	Vol. vi. p. 137.
Oct. 1	Old Churches of Cornwallis and Horton...	Rev. A. W. Eaton	
Nov. 5	Letters from Rev. Jacob Bailey to Rev. Mather Byles	Hon. Dr. Almon	
"	Letter from Duke of Kent to Dr. William Almon		
Dec. 3	The League of the Iroquois	Rev. Dr. Patterson...	
1886.			
Jan. 7	Expulsion of the Acadians, Part I	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. v. p. 11.
Feb. 11	Method of the Acadian French in cultiva- ting their lands, especially with regard to raising wheat. Judge Isaac DesChamps, 1785... ..	T. B. Akins, Esq	
May 13	Bermuda.....	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	
Nov. 4	Expulsion of the Acadians, Part II.....	do.	Vol. v. p. 39.
Dec. 2	Centennial Memories	Rev. Dr. Burns	
1887.			
Jan. 14	Vinland	Hon. L. G. Power	Vol. vii. p. 17.
Feb. 3	Early Reminiscences of Halifax, Part II..	P. Lynch, Esq	
Mar. 3	Early History of St. George's Church, Pt. II	Rev. Dr. Partridge...	Vol. vii. p. 73.
" 16	Acadian Boundary Disputes and the Ash- burton Treaty	Judge R. L. Weatherbe	Vol. vi. p. 17.
Apr. 7	Colonist Plants of Nova Scotia	Dr. Geo. Lawson	
"	Memoir of John Clarkson, by his brother, (the celebrated) Thos. Clarkson	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	
Nov. 10	A Study of "Sam Slick"	F. B. Crofton, Esq.	
Dec. 8	Early Journalism in Nova Scotia	J. J. Stewart, Esq	Vol. vi. p. 91.

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE N. S. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Continued.

DATE.	TITLE.	WHENCE OBTAINED.	Published in Collections.
1888.			
Jan. 20	Statement with reference to "French Cross" at Aylesford	John E. Orpen, Esq...	
"	The settlement of the early Townships, Illustrated by an old census	D. Allison, Esq., LL.D.	Vol. vii. p. 45.
Feb. 24	T. C. Haliburton, Writer and Thinker	F. B. Crofton, Esq...	
" 29	The Aroostook War	C. G. D. Roberts, Esq.	
Mar. 27	Howe and his contemporaries	Hon. J. W. Longley ..	
Apr. 10	The Loyalists at Shelburne	Rev. T. W. Smith	Vol. vi. p. 53.
Nov. 13	Pictographs on Rocks at Fairy Lake	Geo. Creed, Esq	
Dec. 20	North West Territory and Red River Expedition	Lt.-Col. Wainwright ..	
1889.			
Jan. 15	The Early Settlers of Sunbury County	James Hanney, Esq., St. John, N. B	
Mar. 12	Memoir of Governor Paul Mascarene	J. Mascarene Hub- bard, Boston	
Apr. 9	Legends of the Micmac Indians	Rev. S. T. Rand	
Nov. 12	United Empire Loyalists	C. F. Fraser, Esq.	
Dec. 10	Inquiries into the History of the Acadian District of Pisiquid	H. Y. Hind	
1890.			
Feb. 13	History of Beaubassin	Judge Morse, Amherst	
Nov. 18	Early Reminiscences of Halifax, Part III.	P. Lynch, Esq	
Dec. 9	An Historical Note on "John Crowne"	Prof. A. McMechan ..	
1891.			
Jan. 15	Richard John Uniacke	Hon. L. G. Power	Vol. ix. p. 73.
" 20	The Portuguese on the North East Coast of America, and the first European settlement there	Rev. Geo. Patterson, D. D.	
Feb. 10	Facts and enquiries concerning the origin and early history of Agriculture in Nova Scotia	Prof. Geo. Lawson, LL. D.	
Nov. 10	Reminiscences of Halifax, Part IV	Peter Lynch, Esq., Q.C.	
1892.			
Jan. 12	Extracts relating to Nova Scotia, from Boston paper, 1749 to 1762	Miss Elizabeth Frame	
Feb. 9	Hooped canon found at Louisbourg	Rev. G. Patterson, D.D.	
Nov. 8	A Journal kept by Rev. Dr. Mather Byles during a visit to London in 1784	Hon. W. J. Almon, M. D.	
Dec. 13	A chapter in the History of the Township of Onslow, Nova Scotia	I. Longworth, Esq., Q.C.	Vol. ix. p.
1893.			
Jan. 10	Rambles among the Leaves of my Scrap-Book	W. H. Hill, Esq	
Feb. 14	The Log of a Halifax Privateer in 1757	Prof. A. McMechan..	
Apr. 27	Sir William Alexander and the Scottish Attempt to colonize Acadia	Rev. G. Patterson, D.D. Sanford Flemming, Esq., C. M. G.	
July 28	The "Royal William"	Rev. M. Harvey, LL.D.	Vol. ix. p. 17.
Nov. 14	The Voyages and Discoveries of the Cabots	G. Patterson, Esq., M.A.	
Dec. 12	The Recollect Fathers in Canada		
1894.			
Feb. 13	Critical Observations on Evangeline	F. Blake Crofton, Esq.	
Mar. 20	Origin and History of names of places in Nova Scotia	Rev. G. Patterson, D.D.	
Nov. 27	Louisbourg (An Historical Sketch)	J. P. Edwards, Esq...	Vol. ix. p. 137.
1895.			
Jan. 22	The Irish Discovery of America	Hon. L. G. Power	
Feb. 12	Notes on the History of the Dock-yard at Halifax	C. Stubbing, Esq	
	Early Military History of Halifax	W. H. Hill, Esq.	

PAPERS PRINTED IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NOVA
SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BUT NOT INCLUDED IN
FOREGOING LIST.

An Account of Nova Scotia in 1743	Vol.	I., p. 105.
Trials for Treason in 1777	"	I., p. 110.
Diary of John Thomas; Surgeon with Winslow's Expedition against the Acadians	"	I., p. 119.
Papers relating to Acadian French	"	II., p. 146.
Winslow's Journal of the Expulsion of the Acadians, 1755	"	III., p. 71.
Winslow's Journal of the Siege and Capture of Fort Beauséjour, 1755	"	IV., p. 113.
Papers connected with the administration of Mr. Vetch, 1710-13	"	IV., p. 64.
Gordon's Journal of Second Siege of Louisburg	"	V., p. 97.
Letters and other Papers relating to the early history of the Church of England in Nova Scotia	"	VII., p. 89.
History of Halifax, by Dr. T. B. Akins	"	VIII., The whole.

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THE
VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE CABOTS.

BY THE REV. M. HARVEY, LL. D., OF ST. JOHN'S,
NEWFOUNDLAND.

THE fourth centenary of the discovery of America has been celebrated with a pomp and splendor which throw all previous celebrations of the great event into the shade. The whole civilized world has shared in the imposing demonstrations. The Old World has joined hands with the New in worthily expressing their sense of the greatness of an achievement which must stand alone in the records of time as one which can never be repeated, and which has influenced the destinies of humanity more widely and permanently than any other single deed accomplished by the courage and genius of man. In world-history the discovery of America must rank next in importance to the wondrous birth at Bethlehem.

These celebrations all pointed to one name—the great name of Columbus—which must ever stand apart encircled with a halo of imperishable renown. In itself, his work was great in its influence on the course of human development. History has justly crowned him as the completer of the globe; as the conqueror who threw open the gates of ocean and subjected to us mighty realms; who scattered the dark phantoms that brooded over the watery abysses and gave us the waves for our ships and the greatest of the continents for the crowded populations of Europe. By laying open vast fields for human energy and enterprise, and giving new and exhaustless materials on which to work, he immensely widened the thoughts of man and the possibilities of human action.

Greater even than his work was the spirit in which Columbus wrought. In the depths of his own soul he conceived the great idea that by sailing westward into the unexplored abysses of ocean he would reach land. Gradually the thought rose from a shadowy possibility or a dim hope till it became a conviction, an inspiration which infused a solemn enthusiasm into his soul, before which doubt and fear vanished

and a lofty dignity and energy possessed the whole man. His sublime faith enabled him to "see the land that was very far off." Having struck out the daring project he held to it with a grasp like that of gravitation, and finally accomplished it in spite of mountains of difficulties and dangers and all the obstacles that ignorance and stupidity could fling in his path. He had a firm conviction that Heaven had destined him for a great work that would benefit the world. This nerved him to brave difficulty and danger and to bear patiently the world's scorn and opposition. It is this which touches so deeply the heart of the world to-day, and leads men to cherish his memory so gratefully. Not merely because he discovered a new world but because of the heroism, the moral grandeur which encircle his achievement is the great navigator remembered so reverentially after four hundred years have rolled past.

With all his wonderful genius Columbus was still a man of the fifteenth century, and could not overleap the limitations of his age. The impulses and ideas then current, the discoveries then made told on his sensitive, largely-enquiring mind, fired his imagination and gave a bent to his thoughts. It was a stirring era—the age of geographical discoveries and maritime adventures. In the preceding century the mariner's compass had been constructed. In 1452 the art of printing was invented. New ideas regarding the world and man's destiny in it had been awakened. Blind subjection to the past was repudiated. Science had entered on her great career. A wider theatre was needed for the development of the new life of men. The narrow strip of earth consisting of parts of Europe, Asia and Africa, on which history had hitherto transacted itself, was suspected not to be the whole. The Portuguese led the way in the new career of discovery. Away down the African coast their daring mariners crept, passing Cape Bojador—"the fearful outstretcher" as the name signifies—which had barred the way for twenty years, penetrating the dreaded torrid zone, crossing the line, losing sight of the North Polar Star, and gazing in rapture on the Southern Cross and the luminaries of another hemisphere, till at length Bartholemew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope in 1486, thus opening a new way to the shores of India. The earth was continually widening in man's view. What new discoveries might not the abysses of ocean yet disclose!

Deep in the soul of one man these wonders and mysteries had sunk. Columbus began to ponder on the secrets of the world now coming to light; he had no materials to work on except what were common to all,

and these were poor enough, being merely the cosmographical speculations of the day in which imagination largely mingled, the dreams of learned men, Portuguese discoveries, and vague reports of drift-wood seen upon the ocean. It required the quick instinct of genius on the part of Columbus to link all these together and divine from them a new world in the west with that strong conviction which bore him to its shores. How little others made of the same materials that were available to Columbus appears from the fact that for years he was in a minority of one, and that all the scientific men of the day condemned his scheme as visionary.

In spite of all, he arrived at the fixed conclusion that there was a way by the west to the Indies; that he could discover that way and so arrive at Cipango, Cathay, and the countries described in such glowing terms by Marco Polo. He by no means calculated on finding a mighty continent untrodden by the foot of any European. His theory was that as the earth was a sphere it might be travelled round from east to west; that only a third of its circumference yet remained unexplored; that this space was partly filled by the eastern regions of Asia, which he imagined extended so far as to approach within a moderate distance of the western shores of Europe and Africa; and that by sailing west across the intervening ocean he would land on the eastern shores of Asia, or as he always termed it, India. Thus what Columbus actually accomplished proved to be far greater than any thing he proposed. He hoped to find a new and shorter way to India; he discovered instead a mighty continent, undreamed of before, cut off from the old world by a wide ocean. Two fortunate errors entered into Columbus's calculations—he fancied the globe to be much smaller than it is; and he imagined Asia to stretch much further eastward than it actually does. These happy mistakes encouraged him to venture out into the western waters under the impression that his voyage would not be unduly prolonged before he touched some of the islands off the eastern coast of Asia, little dreaming that a broad continent blocked the way.

After years of struggle and waiting his great venture was at length fairly launched. The greatest scene in world-history was about to open. The man who was to burst the gates of the Atlantic stood ready for his task. The 3rd of August, 1492, dawned—a day to be for ever memorable in the annals of the world as that on which the three little caravals of Columbus sailed from the port of Palos in quest of the noblest trophy ever won by man. Seventy days after, on the 12th day of October, as

the morning mists cleared away, Columbus and his companions were gladdened with the sight of a beautiful green island which he named San Salvador. The work was done—not to be done again at all, for ever. The curtain was raised by the daring seaman never again to be drawn. Ere long, from end to end of Europe, the triumphant blast rings out, "A New World found." New light breaks in on the learned. The whole current of men's thoughts receives a new direction. The poor Geneose sailor is now the most famous man in all the world. His sublime faith in his idea has made him a world-conqueror. As he steps ashore at San Salvador he holds in his grasp the destinies of coming generations. The Columbian Exposition, with all its marvellous display, may be regarded not only as a monument to Columbus, but as the culmination of that civilization to which his genius gave the first and greatest impulse.

As the news of Columbus' great discovery flew from nation to nation it kindled in the minds of the more daring spirits of Europe a passionate desire to explore the secrets of the new hemisphere about which marvellous tales were rapidly circulated. Among those who felt this impulse most keenly were the Cabots, father and son, who were destined to achieve a discovery which though far from being so dazzling and brilliant as that of Columbus, yet in far-reaching results must be regarded as second only to his, and as one which places their names high on the rolls of fame. The Cabots were the real discoverers of North America. In virtue of their discoveries, England established her claims to the sovereignty of a large portion of these northern lands. The fish-wealth of the surrounding seas soon attracted her fishermen; and for their protection and development colonies were at first planted. Other nations, such as France, came to share in the spoils, but were finally compelled to retire from the field. That North America is now almost entirely occupied by an English speaking population, with all their vast energies and accumulated wealth, has been largely owing to the daring genius of the Cabots who, only five years after Columbus' landing, opened a fresh pathway into the northern portion of the new hemisphere, many hundreds of miles from the scene of the first discovery. But for the Cabots, Spain might for a long time have monopolized discovery in North as well as South America. English and French enterprise might have taken different directions, and the history of North America might have been shaped in a different fashion. The Cabots, like Columbus, boldly pushed out into the billows of an unknown

sea, braving its perils, and opened the way into new and boundless regions of vast natural wealth. Cartier, Marquette, LaSalle followed as explorers. "The Old Dominion" founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, was the first of that cluster of colonies which finally developed into the United States. Quebec was founded, and the occupation* of Canada commenced. All this was the outcome of the Cabots' voyages and discoveries in 1497 and 1498. As truly as Columbus pioneered the way in the south, did the Cabots open a pathway for a far nobler civilization in the north, the developments of which continue to expand before our eyes to-day. "The power for whom destiny had reserved the world empire, of which these southern nations—so noble in aim, so mistaken in policy—were dreaming, stretched forth her hand, in quiet disregard of Papal Bulls, and laid it upon the western shore of the ocean. It was only for a moment, and long years were to pass before the consequences were developed. But in truth the first fateful note that heralded the coming English supremacy was sounded when John Cabot's tiny craft sailed out from Bristol Channel on a bright May morning of 1497."—(Fiske's *Discovery of America*).

If then Columbus' great discovery merits a centenary celebration, should not the Cabots be accorded befitting honours? In four more years the fourth centenary of their discoveries will arrive. Surely the northern people will not permit the year 1897 to pass without some worthy celebration in grateful recollection of the man who first opened Northern America to European civilization. It would be no more than an act of tardy justice; for it is discreditable to England that one of the bravest of her sailors, who gave her a continent, has never yet had the smallest honour conferred on his name, or the most insignificant recognition of the vast services he rendered to his adopted country. No man knows where the ashes of John Cabot or his son repose. Not a cape, headland, gulf, or creek in the wide region to which they led the way bears the name of Cabot, with the exception of a small, rocky islet off the eastern coast of Newfoundland, to which the name of Cabot Island was recently given. No statue or monument has been raised to the memory of either father or son. Mr. J. F. Nicholls, city librarian, Bristol, who has written an excellent memoir of Sebastian Cabot, says: "He who gave to England a continent, and to Spain an empire, lies in some unknown tomb. This man who surveyed and depicted three thousand miles of coast which he had discovered; who gave to Britain, not only the continent, but the untold riches of the deep, in the fisheries of Newfoundland, and the whale fishery of the Arctic Sea; who

by his uprightneſs and fair dealing raised England's name high among the nations, placed her credit on a ſolid foundation and made her citizens reſpected ; who was the father of free trade, and gave us the carrying trade of the world ; this man has not a ſtatue in the city that gave him birth, or in the metropolis of the country he ſo greatly enriched, or a name on the land he diſcovered. Emphatically the moſt ſcientific ſeaman of his own or perhaps many ſubſequent ages—one of the gentleſt, braveſt, beſt of men—his actions have been miſrepreſented, his diſcoveries denied, his deeds aſcribed to others, and calumny has flung its filth on his memory.”

Let us hope that when 1897 comes round, this reproach will be wiped away, and ſome ſuitable method will be deviſed for paying a tribute to one of the nobleſt names on the roll of England's great explorers. Canada might fittingly lead the way, as Cabot's landfall was, in all probability, on her ſhores, and his diſcoveries certainly pioneered the way for her ſettlement. Newfoundland, which ſpecially claims him as her diſcoverer, ſhould mark the approaching centenary by ſome becoming memorial or commemoration. Who will lead the way, and thus wipe out the diſgrace of neglecting one of the noble dead who has left a landmark in hiſtory only inferior to that of Columbus ?

It is deeply to be regretted that ſo little is known of the voyages of the Cabots, or of the perſonal hiſtory of either. While every incident connected with the voyage of Columbus has been carefully collected and minutely deſcribed, and while eloquent pens have told the ſtory in every variety of picturesque detail, and while we are enabled to follow the hero through the various ſcenes of his chequered career, no narrative or journal of the voyages of the Cabots has been preſerved, and of the life of father and ſon the accounts which have reached us are meagre and unſatisfactory. Not a fragment of the writings of either is known to be in exiſtence. The little we do know admits of being briefly told.

John Cabot, or Zuan Caboto, in the Venetian dialect, was a native of Genoa, but after a reſidence of fifteen years in Venice, he was admitted to the full rights of citizenship, in 1476. He married a Venetian lady and had three ſons, of whom Sebastian was the ſecond and was born in Venice ſometime before March, 1474. Little is known about the life of John Cabot in Venice, except that he was a mariner, merchant and cosmographer and had travelled as far as Arabia. He appears to have been a thoughtful, ſpeculative man whoſe ideas travelled

beyond his daily routine of occupation, and led him to take a deep interest in those maritime discoveries that were then stirring the pulses of the world.

The news of Columbus's great discovery touched him deeply. He pronounced it "a thing more divine than human." After going to Lisbon and Seville to hear the wondrous tale, he was fired with an ardent longing to go and do likewise, and share in the glory of these new discoveries. His son Sebastian, then some twenty-three years of age, appears to have inherited his father's predilections and to have entered early, like Columbus, on a sea-faring life. The father could not hope for patronage in Spain or Portugal, and so he turned his face toward England, and with his wife and three sons, settled in Bristol about 1495. Doubtless he was attracted to Bristol from the fact that it was then the principal seaport of England, and that its merchants were known to be engaged in maritime explorations. He, too, like Columbus, was impressed with the idea of reaching the Cathay of Marco Polo by sailing to the west. After much pondering he reached the conclusion that by taking a north-west course, instead of following the track of the great discoverer, though he must pass through much stormier latitudes, he would find a much shorter route to the land of promise. Of the perils which he would have to encounter in these dark unknown seas which had never been furrowed by the keel of European ship, he knew nothing ; but his stout heart did not quail.

Henry VII. was then on the throne of England. The over-cautious monarch was sorely chagrined that he had missed the proffered honor of having his name transmitted to posterity as the patron of Columbus, and thus becoming master of a New World beyond the western seas. When then John Cabot and his son Sebastian laid before him their scheme of discovering new lands in another direction, Henry eagerly listened to their proposals, and in 1496, granted to John Cabot and his three sons "letters patent" authorizing them "to sail to the east, west or north with five ships carrying the English flag ; to seek and discover all the islands, countries, regions or provinces of pagans in whatever part of the world." The parsimonious monarch, however, stipulated in this legal document that the whole expenses were to be borne by the Cabots and their connections ; but that the king was to have a fifth part of the profits. That they were able to meet such a heavy expenditure shows that they were possessed of considerable wealth, and that they were willing to risk their money as well as their lives for the glory of their adopted country.

Thus it came to pass that early in May, 1497, a little vessel called the *Matthew*, of the caraval class most likely, sailed out of the port of Bristol and turned her prow towards the west. She carried John Cabot and his sailor son Sebastian, and as her crew eighteen stout west-country sailors. Never was a voyage of discovery, the consequences of which were so far-reaching, entered upon with less pomp and circumstance. Without flourish of trumpets or any outward demonstrations, Cabot and his English sailors sailed away into the unknown waste of waters. What dangers they encountered; through what storms they passed; what fears and alarms they conquered; what feelings gladdened their hearts at the close—of all these we know nothing. No diary of the voyage has been preserved. All we know is that on the fifty-third day of their voyage—being June 24th, at 5 o'clock in the morning the glad cry of "Land! Ho!" rang out from the mast-head of the *Matthew*; and that Cabot named the headland which he saw "Prima Vista."

There is a local chronicle of which the following is an extract, first published by the author of the article "Bristol" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica":—"This year (1497) on St. John the Baptist day, the land of America was found by the merchants of Bristowe, in a ship of Bristol, called the *Matthew*, the which ship departed from the port of Bristowe the 2nd day of May, and came home again the 6th of August following." There is another old Bristol manuscript which records the event in still curter terms: "In the year 1497, the 24th of June, on St. John's day was Newfoundland found by Bristol men in a ship called the *Matthew*." Both of these ancient records agree as to the date of the discovery of land, and the name of the ship, and both ignore the discoverer whose genius and courage pointed the way which so many thousands have since followed. Such, too often, is fame among contemporaries. After generations recognise the merits of great men, but too frequently, the prophets are stoned or treated with bitter contempt in their own day. If we accept the foregoing date, which there is no good reason for doubting, the outward voyage extended over 53 days, and the whole time from the departure to the return of the *Matthew* was 96 days. We know for certain that Cabot was in London on the 10th of August, from the following brief entry in the Privy Purse Accounts of Henry VII, preserved in the British Museum: "August 10th. To him that found the New Isle, £10." No other official notice is known to be in existence of this momentous discovery. The stingy monarch no doubt considered that he had amply rewarded Cabot, little thinking

that the entry referred to would post his own niggardliness for the scorn of posterity. We must, however, in justice, remember that £10 were equivalent in purchasing power to £100 to-day; and that it appears from another source that the King granted Cabot a yearly pension of £20, to be paid out of the receipts of the Bristol Custom House. The discovery of a continent was, after all, cheap at such a price.

The people of England appear to have entertained a higher appreciation of the service of Cabot than their King. An old letter has been brought to light in Milan, written by Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a Venetian gentleman then resident in London. It bears the date of August 23rd, 1497, and is addressed to his brother in Venice. The writer says: "This Venetian of ours who went in a ship from Bristol, in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that 700 leagues hence he discovered *terra firma*, which is the territory of the Great Khan. The King is much pleased with this intelligence. He has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself, and he is now in Bristol with his wife, who is a Venetian woman, and with his sons. His name is Zuan Cabot, and they call him the Great Admiral. Vast honour is paid to him and he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases." Pasqualigo adds that Cabot planted on the beach where he landed, the flags of England and of St. Mark, he being a citizen of Venice, and a large cross. From another source we learn that he prepared a chart of his discoveries, and also a solid globe. Both the Spanish envoys, Puebla and Ayala, writing between August 24th, 1497, and July 25th, 1498, mention having seen such a chart, and from an examination of it they concluded that the distance run did not exceed 400 leagues. The extract quoted above from Pasqualigo's letter, shows that he estimated the distance more correctly as 700 leagues. The original chart by Cabot is unfortunately lost; but as we shall see presently, a map engraved in Germany and bearing the date of 1544, has been discovered, which there is very strong reason for believing to have been after a drawing by Sebastian Cabot. This map throws light upon the much disputed land-fall of Columbus. There is no reason for supposing that Cabot, any more than Columbus, knew of the greatness of his discovery, or even suspected that he had touched the margin of a new continent. He reported, according to Pasqualigo, that he had reached the territory of the Grand Khan; so that, like Columbus, he thought the western coasts of the Atlantic which he had reached, were the eastern coasts of Asia. No

human being had yet suspected the truth ; and it took many subsequent voyages and many years to establish the existence of a new continent. In point of fact, the discovery of America was an evolution,—slow and gradual in its advances. Columbus and Cabot only raised the curtain. Sebastian Cabot, however, lived long enough to learn from the voyages of subsequent navigators the vastness of these new countries.

A second patent was granted to John Cabot, by Henry VII, dated February 3rd, 1498, authorizing him to sail with six ships “to the land and isles of late found by the said John, in our name, and by our commandment.” This patent was evidently a supplementary commission. After this date John Cabot’s name disappears from contemporary records ; from which it is inferred that he died before the second expedition was ready, or if he sailed as commander, that he died on the voyage. At all events Sebastian now takes his father’s place, and is entitled to the credit of such discoveries as resulted from the second expedition. What these discoveries were, it is impossible from the meagre contemporary accounts and the confused narratives of later writers, to determine definitely. We do not possess a scrap of information regarding this expedition directly from Sebastian himself. What we do know is gathered from the Decades of Peter Martyr, the pages of Ramusio, Gomara and Galvano. These relate certain alleged conversations with Sebastian, years afterwards in Spain, most of them recorded from memory after a considerable lapse of time. Some are at second or third hand. Ramusio alone refers to a letter he had received from Sebastian many years before.

From these authorities, vague and often contradictory as they are, we can, however, gather that in this second voyage, in which Sebastian was the commander, in all probability a large extent of the coast of North America was explored, and we see how exalted was the courage and skill of the leader. A letter from Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish envoy then in England, and Stow’s Chronicle, make it certain that this expedition sailed early in the summer of 1498, and that it had not returned in the following September. In fact we have no authentic account of its return. All the accounts agree in representing Cabot to have gone far north along the coast of Labrador till he was stopped by heavy masses of ice ; but they differ as to the latitude he reached. Ramusio gives 67°, 30’ as his highest latitude, alleging his recollection of a letter written to him by Sebastian Cabot many years before as his authority. Gomara gives 58° N. and another 56°. Ruysch alone fixes

it at 53°. All the accounts agree that being turned back by the ice, he followed the coast south,—according to one account to 38° N; and at length his provisions failing him, he shaped his course for Bristol. Thus, whatever account we follow, it must be allowed that Cabot's second voyage was a great and important achievement, as it resulted in the discovery of 1200 to 1800 miles of the coast of North America. At the same time it seems to have been regarded in England as a failure, as it brought no immediate gain. In after years, however, when England put forth her strength to occupy these northern lands, and to reduce the power of Spain, these voyages of the Cabots then assumed a new importance, and furnished a ground for claiming sovereignty over them, on the right of a first discovery.

There is one other item of contemporary authority, regarding the discovery made on this expedition of 1498, which should not be overlooked. I refer to the famous map made in 1500, by the Biscayan pilot, Juan de La Cosa, who sailed with Columbus on his first and second voyages. In "Fiske's Discovery of America," Vol. II, 13 p., the writer says:—"So far as is known, this is the earliest map in existence made since 1492, and its importance is very great. La Casas calls La Cosa the best pilot of his day. His reputation as a cartographer is also high, and his maps were much admired. The map before us" (reproduced by Fiske) "was evidently drawn with honesty and care. He represents the discoveries of the Cabots as extending over 360 leagues of coast, or about as far as from the Strait of Belle Isle to Cape Cod; and the names from "Cabo de Ynglaterra" to "Cabo Descubierto," are probably taken from English sources. But whether the coast exhibited is that of the continent within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or the southern coast of Newfoundland with that of Nova Scotia, is by no means clear. The names end near the mouth of a large river, which may very probably be meant for the St. Lawrence; and beyond the names we see two more English flags, with the legend "Sea discovered by Englishmen." As it would be eminently possible to sail through the Gulf of St. Lawrence without becoming aware of the existence of Newfoundland, except at the Strait of Belle Isle, one is inclined to suspect that "Isla de la Trinidad" (on La Cosa's map) may represent all that the voyagers saw of that large island."

Thus it appears that this early map confirms the accounts referred to of Cabot's second voyage, and the extent and value of his discoveries. Dr. Kohl (History of Maine) identifies "Cabo de Ynglaterra" on La Cosa's map, with Cape Race.

After his return from this expedition, Sebastian Cabot lived for some time in England, loved and admired for his genial, modest disposition, and his ardent enterprising spirit, which was ever urging on new maritime adventures. His indomitable perseverance and high courage in carrying out his plans are attested by his contemporaries. At length he entered the service of the King of Spain, who estimated his worth so highly that he at once made him Pilot Major of the Kingdom, and he took up his residence in Seville. When in the service of the Spanish monarch, he made several voyages of discovery and explored the La Plata and Paraguay rivers. He took part in the famous conference at Badajos. He remained in Spain from 1512 to 1547, and then returned to England an old man. Edward VI. proved the high esteem with which he regarded him by creating for him the office of Grand Pilot of England. He also gave him a pension of £166 per annum.

Cabot was not idle even at his advanced age. In company with others he took an active part in opening up the trade with Russia, and gained the life appointment of Governor of the Muscovy Company. All this proves the high esteem in which he was held. He died in London probably in 1557, sixty-one years after the grant of his first patent, and when close on 80 years of age.

His friend, Richard Eden, gives us a touching picture of the old man in the closing hours of his life, when bound for that country where there is "no more sea." The music of ocean was still in his ears; and in the wanderings of his fevered fancy, he spoke of a divine revelation to himself of a new and infallible method of finding the longitude, which he was forbidden to disclose to any mortal. The dying seaman in imagination was again on his beloved ocean, over whose billows, in his adventurous youth, he had opened a pathway. Soon he reached the quiet haven where the storms are hushed for evermore. His burial place was marked by no monument, and is entirely unknown.

Such in life and in death was one of England's boldest sailors, who undoubtedly first saw the Continent of America before Columbus, without being aware of it, touched its margin in the neighbourhood of Veragua, or before Amerigo Vespucci made his first voyage across the Atlantic.

THE LAND-FALL OF CABOT.

When we come to inquire what was the land first seen by the Cabots, on the 24th of June, 1497, we find ourselves on debatable ground, where absolute certainty cannot be reached. Historians and

antiquarians differ as to Cabot's land-fall. Still, I think that an unprejudiced consideration of the various records available will show that the weight of evidence is strongly in favour of the conclusion that the northern part of the Island of Cape Breton was Cabot's land-fall. It is not wonderful, however, that there should be such a diversity of opinion on this point, when we remember how meagre and fragmentary are the records. Even in the case of Columbus' land-fall different opinions exist, notwithstanding that the records have been carefully preserved, and were most minute and abundant. Even yet the controversy on the subject has not ceased, though recently there has been among those best qualified to judge, a concurrence of opinion that Columbus' land-fall was not the island that bears the name of San Salvador, but Watling Island. In the case of Cabot's land-fall there is far less reason for surprise at the doubt which hangs over it. Unfortunately, all Cabot's papers have been lost. That such an able and intelligent navigator wrote an account of his own and his father's voyages can hardly be doubted. Hakluyt in his "Divers Voyages," 1582, says Sebastian Cabot's papers "were in the custody of William Worthington, and were shortly to be printed." Nothing more is recorded of them, and it is not known that even a fragment of them is in existence. Biddle, one of Cabot's biographers, suggests that for certain reasons, these papers were "secured by the Spanish Court, and probably destroyed." Possibly, however, they may have been deposited in the archives of Spain, where one day they may be found. Such a "find" would be exceedingly valuable in working out the geographical evolution of the North American continent.

There are three leading opinions in regard to Cabot's land-fall. Some place it at Cape Bonavista, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland. Others hold that it was on the coast of Labrador, but differ as to the latitude of the place; while a third opinion is that it was Cape North, the northern point of Cape Breton Island.

The Bonavista theory finds now few advocates. Bishop Howley, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland," being its only recent supporter. The evidence in support of it is but slight. The records of the voyage which we possess do not at all accord with the appearances of the land at Cape Bonavista.

There is much stronger evidence in support of the Labrador theory, and high authorities might be cited in its favour. The great Humboldt held that the Cabots first saw land on the coast of Labrador, in 56° or

58° N. latitude. Biddle, who has industriously collected all the floating fragments referring to the voyages of the Cabots, and commented on them in a confused sort of way, held that Labrador was their land-fall. Other names might be cited in support of this opinion; but it is evident that some of the old authorities, such as Eden and Ramusio, mixed together Cabot's first and second voyages, and attributed to the former what occurred in the latter. Those who followed them have been led into a similar error. On his second voyage, as we have seen, Cabot made the Labrador coast, and sailed along it northward till arrested by ice.

The grand authority for holding that Cabot's land-fall was Cape North, in Cape Breton Island, is the *Mappe-monde* bearing the date 1544, and attributed to Sebastian Cabot. This map was discovered by Von Martins in 1843, in the house of a clergyman in Bavaria, and deposited in the National Library, Paris, in 1844, where it still lies. It was engraved in Germany or Flanders, and is stated to be a copy of Cabot's *Mappe-monde*, drawn in 1544. At the north of what is now the Island of Cape Breton, the map bears the inscription "Prima tierra uista," "First land seen,"—"uista" being the old form of "vista" in Spanish. There is a marginal legend or inscription in Spanish and Latin, stating that this land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian.

This map was first re-produced by the distinguished French geographer, M. Gomard, in his great work, "Les Monuments de la Geographie, Paris, 1854." Since that date it has been frequently re-produced, in whole or in part, in various standard works, such as Bryant and Gay's "United States"; Judge Daly's "Cartography"; Dr. Justin Windsor's "Christopher Columbus"; Historical Magazine of America; Harisse's "Cabots"; Deane's "Nar. and Crit. History of America"; Dr. Kohl's "Discovery of North America," and Bourinot's "History of Cape Breton."

If this *Mappe-monde* be accepted as authentic, of course all doubts as to Cabot's land-fall are ended. There is not however, a complete concurrence of opinion on this point; but the weight of learned authority seems to me in favour of the acceptance of this map as being on the whole a trust-worthy copy of that drawn by Sebastian Cabot.

Some eminent historians still retain doubts on the subject, and probably for years to come the question will continue to be argued. No recent writer has given a more careful and impartial examination of the

various theories advanced than Dr. Bourinot, C. M. G., in his excellent "History of Cape Breton," and there is no one whose opinion is entitled to greater weight. After admitting the difficulties which surround the vexed subject, he considers that the great mass of evidence warrants us in accepting Cape Breton as the true land-fall, and the map as authentic; though he does not dogmatize on the subject. He says: "The land-fall of that famous voyage is still and is likely to remain in dispute; but as long as the Sebastian Cabot Mapped-monde, of 1544, is believed by many authorities on such subjects to be authentic, some point on the north-eastern coast of the Island of Cape Breton must be accepted as the actual "prima tierra vista" of 1497. The delineation of Cape Breton, then considered a part of the mainland, or the terre des Bretons, and the position of the Island of St. John (P. E. Island), named by Cabot, and the language of the legend or inscription on the map referring to the discovery on the 24th of June, go to support the Cape Breton theory." "It is a strong fact in support of Sebastian Cabot's claim to the authorship of this map, of which the legends could hardly have been written by one not present at the time of the discovery, that Hakluyt reprinted for the first time in Latin, with a translation "An extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discovery of the West Indies, which is to be seen in Her Majesty's privie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses."

Dr. Bourinot cites several high authorities who hold the same view in regard to the Cabot map. One of these is Charles Deane, LL.D., "an authority in American History and Archæology. In his "Voyages of the Cabots," and "Nar. and Crit. History of America," "all the important works on the subject are cited with critical acumen. Dr. Deane believes that the weight of evidence is in favour of the authenticity of the map, and that there is no good reason for not accepting Cape Breton as Cabot's land-fall."

The Abbé J. D. Beaudoin, a writer of much learning and acumen, is also referred to by Dr. Bourinot, as a believer in the Cape Breton theory. "He goes over the ground travelled by all writers on the subject, and combats the arguments of Biddle and other supporters of the Labrador theory. He comes to the conclusion that it is difficult to deny the authenticity of the Cabot map, and that there is no reason not to accept the northern part of Cape Breton as *tierra prima vista*."

“Harrisse” (Cabots 65, 85 pp.) adds Dr. Bourinot, “favours Cape Percé (old name of the north head of Cow Bay); but he himself effectually disposes of the theory by stating that it is 129 miles distant from Prince Edward Island.”

“Dr. Kohl in his “Discovery of North America,” endeavoured to show how utterly impossible it is that the map was either drawn by Sebastian Cabot, or executed under his direction or superintendence; but even this learned man concluded by saying that “he does not pretend to speak decisively on the subject”—that the land-fall was not Cape Breton.”

Two other authorities may be named. Mr. J. C. Brevoort, an able writer whose opinion is entitled to high respect, made a careful study of the whole subject, and in *The Historical Magazine of America*, (March, 1868), emphatically accepts Cabot's map as authentic, and as being decisive in regard to the land-fall. He re-produces a section of the map in connection with his article. Clements Markham, C. B., an eminent authority, in his recently published “Life of Columbus, (The World's Great Explorers Series) says (227 p.), “The *Matthew* sailed in May, and at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 24th of June, 1497, land was sighted and named “Prima Terra Vista.” We learn from a copy of a *Mappe-monde*, drawn by Sebastian Cabot in 1544, that “Prima Terra Vista” was the northern point of Cape Breton Island. On the map of Michael Lok, dated 1582, in Hakluyt's “*Divers Voyages*,” copied from a chart of Verrazano, the inscription “J. Gabot 1497,” is written across the land to a point named Cape Breton.” Markham accepts the authenticity of the map.

One of the standing objections to the map is that the date of the discovery is given, in an inscription on the margin, as 1494; and it is alleged this is a proof that Sebastian Cabot could not have drawn it; otherwise he would not have fallen into such an error. The inscription runs as follows:—“This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, in the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ, MCCCXCIIII on the 24th of June.” Now this is so evidently a printer's error, that it is surprising any stress was laid on it. To correct it, the first two letters after XC should be joned together at the bottom, making a V; and then it reads XCVII,—the correct date.

Assuming now that the land-fall is settled, what was the route followed by Cabot after sighting land? Judging by the records we possess, he did not immediately return to England, but continued for a

time coasting around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and finally passed out by the Straits of Belle Isle, and so shaped his course for Bristol. When at Cape North he must have seen Cape Ray on the Newfoundland coast which is only 58 miles N. E. of the former, and, being 1570 feet high, would be visible from the high land on Cape North, where, according to the account of Pasqualigo, he "landed and planted a large cross with a flag of England and one of St. Mark." Further—on his route homeward he must have coasted along the northern shores of Newfoundland, and is therefore justly reckoned its discoverer. On his map Newfoundland is represented as a cluster of islands. Such an impression was perfectly natural in the case of an explorer sailing along the coasts for the first time and viewing its great bays stretching far inland, on every side, to which no termination was apparent. The presence of fog, too, hiding the land formation, would tend to strengthen the impression of its being an archipelago. The fact of there being one great island was not clearly ascertained till a later period.

Another question presents itself:—How long did he spend in his explorations round the Gulf after seeing land? The letter of Pasqualigo, dated August 23rd, 1497, makes it certain that Cabot had then been in London for some time. The Bristol chronicle, already referred to, fixes the date of his return as August 6th. If we suppose that he had a favorable homeward voyage from the Straits of Belle Isle, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that it was accomplished in 25 days. This would leave him 18 or 19 days for explorations in the Gulf. In that time he may have coasted from Cape North to the Straits of Belle Isle—a distance of between 700 and 800 miles—allowing for inevitable delays in passing from point to point of an unknown coast. He saw the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts, but could have had no time for going farther north than the Straits of Belle Isle.

The competing theories of the landfall are now practically reduced to two—Cape North and Labrador. There seems to me to be one insuperable difficulty in regard to Labrador being the landfall on the first voyage. Its advocates fix the latitude of the landfall at 56° or 58° . If we assume a medium of 57° this would be further north than Nain, one of the most northern Moravian mission stations, and one degree south of Cape Mugford. It is absolutely certain that the 24th of June was the day on which Cabot first saw land. At that date the coast of Labrador is beset with ice and icebergs; and at such a high latitude as 57° , is rarely if ever accessible so early in the summer, especially to vessels approaching directly from the eastward. Even now, no captain of

a sailing vessel would think of venturing so far north at such a date. In any case had Cabot made his way to this part of the coast on June 24th, he must have encountered immense quantities of ice. Now, we have several accounts of his first voyage, the most reliable being that of Pasqualigo. He mentions that Cabot saw "felled trees," "snares for catching game," and speaks of "the tides being slack;" but never mentions ice or any difficulties presented by it. Had he met with ice fields or icebergs such a remarkable phenomenon would hardly have been omitted. At 57° N. on Labrador "felled trees would certainly not be found. The accounts of Eden and Ramusio, in which "great flakes of ice" are mentioned, and intense cold, clearly refer to the second voyage.

I am not aware that this weighty objection to the Labrador theory has been previously stated, or that it has been met by any of its advocates. Even if we take the lowest latitude named—53° or 54°—on Labrador, in nineteen cases out of twenty the ice difficulty would still present itself, though perhaps in a less serious aspect.

It seems to me, for the reasons assigned, that the landfall must be sought elsewhere than on Labrador, and that the probabilities are all in favor of Cape Breton. However this may be, we will all agree with Dr. Bourinot when he says that "the voyages of the Cabots commenced a new era in the history of North America." "As the Cabots laid the foundation of the claim of England to a large portion of the North American continent from Cape Breton to Florida, so Cartier gave to France the valley of the St. Lawrence, and prepared the way for the courageous Frenchmen of Brouage who, a few decades later, made on the heights of Québec the commencement of that dependency which France in her ambition hoped would develop until it could dominate the whole continent of North America."

The following is a literal translation of the Spanish inscription on Cabot's Mappede-monde, as given by Dr. Bourinot in his "Cape Breton." "No. 8. This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ MCCCCXCIIII., on the 24th of June, in the morning, which country they called 'Prima Tierra Vista,' and a large island over against the said land they named the island of St. John, because they discovered it on the same day. The inhabitants wear skins of animals, use in their battles bows, arrows, lances, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soil is very barren, and there are many white bears and stags as large as horses, and many other beasts; likewise great quantities of fish, pike, salmon, soles as long as a yard, and many other sorts, besides a great

abundance of the kind called baccalaos. There are also in the same land hawks as black as ravens, eagles, partridges, redpoles, and many other birds of various descriptions." The error in the date contained in the foregoing has been already referred to, and the simple method for its correction.

Commenting on the foregoing inscription, Dr. Bourinot says:—"The northern part of Cape Breton in many respects corresponds with the general features of the description given of the new land, of its inhabitants, of its animals, and of its fisheries, in the legend or inscription on the map in question—a legend which has also given rise to much speculation as to its authorship and authenticity, but which nevertheless must be taken into account, unless we ignore the document in its entirety. The people clothed in the skins of animals that the voyagers saw on the shore, were probably the Micmacs, who were a coast tribe, and must have frequented the northern parts of Cape Breton in considerable numbers in early times, on account of the abundance of game. The great deer were no doubt the moose, which in great numbers roamed among the hilly fastnesses and fed on the barrens of northern Cape Breton, until they have been in the course of time almost exterminated by reckless hunters. The advocates of the claim of Labrador argue that the mention of the appearance of white bears in this new found land of Cabot is in favour of their contention; but it is not at all unlikely that these animals frequented the northern coast of Cape Breton in those early times when the island contained great numbers of wild creatures, many of which have entirely disappeared with the progress of settlement. It is a powerful fact in support of the Cape Breton theory that in a work written by one Pichon on "The Island of Cape Breton," two centuries and a half later than the Cabot voyages, he tells us in his chapter on the natural features of the country that the bears of Cape Breton and St. John "are much the same as those in Europe—and some of them are white"—a statement which is almost conclusive on the point at issue."

It may be desirable, in closing this paper, to furnish the text in full of the important letter of Pasqualigo, to which several references have been made:—

"(From the Calendar of Venetian State Papers: I., 262, No. 752.)"

LORENZO PASQUALIGO TO HIS BROTHERS, ALVISE AND FRANCESCO:

"The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that 700 leagues hence he

discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham. He coasted for 300 leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

"He was three months on the voyage, and on his return saw two islands to larboard, but would not land, time being precious as he was short of provisions. He says that the tides are slack and do not flow as they do here. The King of England is much pleased with the intelligence.

"The king has promised that in the spring our countryman shall have ten ships, armed to his order, and at his request has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man his fleet. The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons; his name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the Great Admiral. Vast honour is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues beside.

"The discoverer of these places planted on his new-found-land a large cross, with one flag of England and another of S. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield.

LONDON, 23 August, 1497."

NOTE.

A few years ago I prepared by request a short article on Sebastian Cabot for the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia. I mentioned among other things in this notice that "there is still in one of the private collections of England a portrait of Sebastian Cabot, painted for Edward VI, by Holbein." Soon after a letter appeared in *The Public Ledger* in which the writer said regarding this statement about Cabot's portrait: "I beg to correct it. The portrait of Sebastian Cabot was purchased from the family of Charles Joseph Harford, Esq., of Bristol, about 1831-34, by Mr. Richard Biddle, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, a brother of Mr. Nicholas Biddle, also a native of Philadelphia, who spent five years in London writing the life of the discoverer of North America. He brought the portrait to his home in Pittsburg where it was destroyed, together with his fine library and all his household effects, in the disastrous fire of 1845, which consumed more than a third of the city. The life of Sebastian Cabot is a work of deep and accurate research."

I have been honoured with a communication from the writer of the foregoing extract from the *Ledger*. She says, "The writer of Cabot's Life was a near relative of mine. I well remember the portrait with the black cap on the head and the white pointed beard. A heavy gold chain hung from the neck, sustaining (I think) a cross. The right hand held a pair of compasses and rested on a globe which I remember was of a vivid green. The picture was painted on panels of wood. It was usually covered, being highly valued; and I remember the curious old volumes and manuscripts which mentioned it, and attested its genuineness and history—all of which perished as aforesaid. It hung in the gallery of Whitehall, and in Cromwell's time, if I remember aright, found its way into the family of the Earl of Errol in Scotland. The loss of this picture, and all belonging to it, was a great trial to Mr. Biddle; more seemingly than all of the rest of his possessions. He did not long survive his misfortunes. Now that the subject of the discovery of America is uppermost in men's minds, and there is a disposition to rob Sebastian Cabot of the honour and give all the glory to Columbus, I feel moved to write to you now (April 26th, 1893,) as I thought of doing before when your article appeared in the *Ledger*."

"I see an article in the *New York Churchman*, by Bishop Perry of Iowa, who says: 'The world is invited to the city of Chicago to do honour to the Genoese discoverer, whose eyes never saw, and whose feet never trod upon any portion of the territory of the United States.' Be this as it may, Sebastian Cabot was certainly in advance of Columbus, and was the true discoverer of North America."

The writer then quotes from an article in *The North American Review*, by Geo. S. Hillard, on Cabot, as follows: "He is as much more worthy of a statue in St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey than any of her naval heroes, as the extension of empire by right of discovery, and the opening of new markets by honourable enterprise are more to be desired than provinces wrested from rival nations by the iron hand of war, and commercial privileges enforced at the point of the bayonet."

The loss of Holbein's portrait of Cabot, in the way described by the writer referred to, is a matter of deep regret. It must, I think, have been engraved before it was removed from England, as it was published a good many years ago by Mr. Nicholls, of the Bristol Library, in a tributary *brochure* to Cabot. I was enabled to give a partial reproduction of Nichols' engraving in my "Newfoundland—the Oldest British Colony."

A CHAPTER
IN THE
HISTORY OF THE TOWNSHIP OF ONSLOW, NOVA SCOTIA.

BY ISRAEL LONGWORTH, Q. C., TRURO.

IN the early history of Nova Scotia it was customary to call new settlements after men of note, in the civil and military service of Great Britain. In accordance with this practice it is believed that the government of the day named the Township of Onslow in honor of Arthur Onslow, an English statesman, who was born in 1691; speaker of the Commons from January 1727 to 1754; pensioned in 1761; died 17th February, 1768; and after whom a county, and shire-town, known as Onslow Court House, in North Carolina, had been called.

The erection of the township was ordered by Governor Lawrence in Council, 24th July, 1759, though the grant did not pass the great seal of the province till the time of Lord William Campbell. The formation took place upon the application of Joseph Scott and Daniel Knowlton for themselves and fifty others, of the Massachusetts Bay, for a tract of land at Cobequid. Several were of the Fort Cumberland expedition of the previous year, and were attracted to the province from what they had seen of it, and in consequence of Governor Lawrence's proclamations* for settling the townships. The fifty-two proposed grantees, with their families, were represented to number three hundred and nine souls. A grant of fifty-two shares or rights in the township to these persons passed the Governor-in-Council, 26th July, 1759.

The township was stated as being at the head of Cobequid Basin, to extend upon the north side of said Basin, and to run westerly six miles; from thence northerly about twelve miles; thence easterly about twelve miles; and thence southerly twelve miles; and thence to Cobequid Basin six miles. All to be laid out on the north side of Cobequid River.

* Governor Lawrence issued two proclamations for settling the Townships. The first in October, 1758; the second in January, 1759. (See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. II., page 359.)

Scott and Knowlton and their associates were to have 26,000 acres. Half were to settle in October, 1760, and the remainder in May, 1761.

That the grant might not be forfeited, Scott and Knowlton, on their return to the Massachusetts Bay, prevailed upon one hundred and sixty-four others, the principal of whom was Richard Upham, to sign a paper requesting an interest in the grant they had obtained, upon the same conditions, with which they promised to comply. Timothy Houghton and William Keyes came to Halifax as a committee chosen by these persons, and submitted to the Government the names of fifty-one they considered most desirable for settlers in Cobequid.

An order-in council passed 18th October, 1759, granting to Timothy Houghton and others, of the Massachusetts Bay, fifty-three rights or shares of 200 acres each in the township. Thirteen were to settle 30th September, 1760; twenty on the 30th September, 1761; and twenty on or before the 30th September, 1762.

The same date (18th October, 1759,) Joseph Twitchell and Jonathan Church obtained a grant of fifty shares in the township, for that number of persons including themselves, all of the same place, except Joseph Fairbanks of Halifax, gentleman.

It also appears by minute-of-council, dated 26th October, 1759, that Daniel Knowlton that day applied for one hundred and fifty more shares in the township; but there being only forty-one left, in order to accommodate him and his associates, it was resolved that another township should be erected by the name of Wolfe, adjoining Onslow, and on the River Shubenacadie, in which the shares desired should be laid out.

Besides Scott and Knowlton, the only individuals comprising the fifty-two first intending settlers who came to the township and became grantees thereof, were Jacob and Thomas Stevens, Jacob Lynds, William Tackles, Hugh Tackles, David Cutten, Abijah Scott, and William Whippie.

It is also worthy of remark that out of the large number of persons who would have been the grantees of Onslow and Wolfe, had all settled in the Province, no more came than were necessary to fill the requirements of the Onslow grant. This resulted in the proposed township of Wolfe going to others, about the same time, under—not the more euphonious, and certainly not the more illustrious name of Truro.

The names of the first settlers, in the order they appear in the township grant, are as follows:—

Richard Upham, William Hamilton, Anthony Elliot, Thomas Stephens, James Lyon, John Steel, James Wilson, Frances Blair,

Jonathan Higgins, Joseph Scott, John Carter, William Tackles, Hugh Tackles, Jacob Stephens, William McNutt, the heirs of Jacob Lines, Nathaniel Gallop, Edward Brooks, David Hoar, Martin Brooks, William Blair, Ephraim Howard, Joshua Lamb, David Gay, David Blackmore, Abner Brooks, Carpenter Bradford, George Howard, Ephraim Scott John Polly, Samuel Nichols, Peter Richardson, Ephraim Howard, jr., Robert Crowell, Abijah Scott, David Cutting, Isaac Ferrell, Daniel Knowlton, and Mary Knowlton, Elizabeth Blackmore, Abigail Upham, Caleb Putnam, Nathan Upham, Richard Upham, jr., Nicholas Blanchard, James Tackles, John Cutting, Solomon Hoar, William Blair, jr., William Whippy, Peter Wilson, James Brown, the heirs of Jabez Rude, Joseph Pierpont, John Howard, Daniel Calf, the heirs of Samuel Whippy, the heirs of Joel Camp, the heirs of Benjamin Brooks, Asa Scott, Francis Harris, John Barnhill, Samuel Bencraft, John Hewett, John Polly, jr., Reuben Richardson, William Crowell, Jonathan Higgins, jr., Mercy Brooks, Hugh Acton Tackles, Christopher Stevens, Jacob Stevens, jr., Abner McNutt, Jacob Lines, jr., Silvanus Brooks, Edward Brooks, jr., Ebenezer Hoar, John Blair, and Deborah Wright.

For some unaccountable reason the grant was withheld for about eight years, during which period a number of the first settlers died, and their rights went to their heirs, widows, or daughters, whose names are included in the list of grantees.

"It appears from manuscript letters of the late Colonel Alexander McNutt, which are still extant, that the settlers encountered great difficulty in procuring their grant, and that it was not only different from what they had been led to expect, but also much more restrictive in its terms than that of the Township of Truro. The Onslow patent reserves to the Crown 'all mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, and coal,' and also '1000 acres for the use of a church, a school, and glebe.' It also differed from the Truro grant, in the manner in which the quit rent was reserved, 'being one farthing per acre in three years,' and in default of payment, the grant was declared to be null and void. It was also subject to forfeiture, if not registered and docketed at the Register's office within six months. It was signed by Lord William Campbell, on the 21st inst., audited on the 22nd, and registered on the 23rd of February, 1769. It would be interesting to ascertain the causes which occasioned this marked difference in the two grants, though perhaps it is now impossible."*

The first settlement took place about June, 1760; though if Haliburton, and the earliest recorded dates in the "Township Book,"

* Haliburton's History, Vol. I., page 44.

and in the "Book of Records for Deaths, Births, and Marriages for the Town of Onslow" are to be taken for authority on this point, it did not commence till the following year. It is matter of record, however, that the people of both Truro and Onslow applied to the Government for aid in opening up communication with Halifax, on the fifth of August, 1760. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the statement of Mr. Haliburton that "the first British settlers, who came from the Province of Massachusetts, and were of various origin, landed in Onslow in the summer of 1761, to the number of thirty families, and brought with them twenty head of horned cattle, eight horses, and seventy sheep," relates to the second instalment of the signers under Scott and Knowlton, who were to settle in May of that year.

By July, 1761, the inhabitants numbered some fifty-two families. They were located at the expense of the province about the end of May of that and the previous year. They immediately set to work to raise corn and roots for their subsistence, but the second year, it is said, a severe drought, followed by an early frost, destroyed the former. They succeeded, however, in raising some corn, but scarce roots sufficient; and cut hay for their stock. The first two or three years the privations they experienced were great, and it is matter of tradition that Joel Camp died from starvation, after eating the end of a tallow candle. The days of many were shortened from the hardships they encountered at this early period, and their sufferings would have been far greater had not Government supplied them with corn for food and for planting.

On the 17th of April, 1762, Governor Belcher sent this message to the House of Assembly:—

"From representations to me of the present distressing indigent circumstances of the inhabitants in several new townships, particularly those of Truro, Onslow, and Yarmouth, for want of supplies for provisions, and seed corn in the present season for improving their lands, I must earnestly recommend to your immediate examination the state of their necessities, that such relief may be speedily administered as the nature of their compassionate case may in all humanity deserve from the benevolent interposition of the Legislature, to whom alone their application must be directed, as there is no other method for their public assistance."

The members of the House having taken the communication into consideration, "Resolved that a message be sent to His Honor in answer thereto, to acquaint him that they find it impossible, by reason of the great load of debt due by the public, more than the present funds will

in any degree answer, to afford these poor people any present supplies. But as there may still remain in the Treasury some part of the old duty money, the Assembly would humbly request, that so much thereof as His Honor should think necessary, may be applied towards this charitable purpose."

The determination of the Lower Branch having been sent to the Council for concurrence, that Body replied that they could not concur with the Assembly's request to the Governor, as he had expressly declared in his message to both Houses that "there was no other method of relieving the distresses and indigent circumstances of the inhabitants of the several new townships but from the interposition of the legislature."

The House, not disconcerted by the strange action of the Council, resolved to send their reply direct to the Governor, and appointed Jonathan Binney, member for the town of Halifax, and William Neville Wolsely, member for Onslow, a committee for that purpose. Those gentlemen shortly afterwards reported "that His Excellency would take the matter into consideration."

On the twenty-first of April, 1762, Archibald Hinshelwood, member for Lunenburg, by order of the Governor, laid on the table of the House an abstract of the old duty fund, showing a balance of £350 2s. 8d. remaining in the treasury, and acquainted the House that "His Honor was willing the same should be applied to the help and assistance of such persons in the new settlements as stood most in need of supplies."

The House thereupon passed a unanimous resolution agreeing with His Honor in the application of the fund. Four days later the following commission, for the relief of the inhabitants of Truro and Onslow, was granted by the Governor.

"BY THE HONORABLE JONATHAN BELCHER, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,
&c., &c., &c.:

Orders and instructions for Richard Upham, Esquire, of the Township of Onslow:

You are to acquaint the inhabitants of Truro and Onslow that the corn to be delivered them is to be paid for at the rate of $\frac{3}{8}$ per bushel, being the cost of the said corn, whenever the Government shall demand the same.

To deliver corn to those only in real want, and where he suspects those demand who have stock to swear them.

To be as frugal as possible in the distribution, not to deliver more than for one month at a time, allowing not more than one bushel per

month to one person over ten years, one bushel for two children under ten years. Those who have stock of their own by no means to be supplied. To keep a book of the supplies, taking receipts from the head of family, to whom supply is given, of quantity, which is to be delivered to the Secretary of the Province that it may be accounted for.

To consult with the committee of both towns that you may be the better informed of those truly necessitous, as a quantity of seed wheat and barley will be shipped for the use of the towns. To deliver it to those only who have lands fit for its reception.

25 April, 1762.

J. BELCHER."

The order for the corn, given to Mr. Upham, was on Isaac Deschamps. It reads as follows:—

"BY THE HON. JON. BELCHER, ESQ., LIEUT.-GOVERNOR, &C., &C.:

You are directed to deliver to Richard Upham, Esq., 1000 bushels of corn to be distributed among the indigent settlers of Onslow and Truro according to the instructions delivered him for that purpose, taking his receipt for the same, or the quantity that may be delivered him at different times till he shall receive the whole."

29 April, 1762.

J. BELCHER.

To ISAAC DESCHAMPS, ESQ.

That this timely aid to the Cobequid settlers was urgently required, and did no more than keep them alive, without materially improving their condition, may be inferred from an extract from Governor Montagu Wilmot's report of 27th October, 1763, to the Lords of Trade on the state and condition of Nova Scotia:—

"Within the Basin of Minas, on that branch of it called Cobequid Basin, are the two townships of Truro and Onslow. Onslow has about fifty families. These are the most indigent, as well as the most indolent people in the colony. Several families suffered very severely last winter, and some were famished. If they are not relieved this winter there will be great danger of their starving or quitting the colony. They have but a small proportion of stock to the other inhabitants of the province. Very few people of any substance among them. Five hundred bushels of corn will be scarce sufficient to keep them from starving. If one hundred bushels of wheat for seed were sent them early in the spring, it would in a great measure alter their circumstances."

By this report Onslow was stated to have fifty-two families; one thousand four hundred acres of dyked marsh land; one hundred cleared upland; 98,500 woodland, or a total area of 100,000 acres.

A later report (*a*) from the first Governor to visit the townships, gives a more hopeful account of the settlers. Lieutenant-Governor

(*a*) Murdoch's History, Vol. II., page 581.

Marion Arbuthnot, in his letter of 15th August, 1776, to Lord George Germaine about his visit to the Townships of Windsor, Horton, and Cornwallis, to review the volunteer militia in each, under the command of Colonel Francklin, goes on to state :—

“ After which I proceeded up Cobequid Bay and landed at Londonderry, Onslow, and Truro, three townships inhabited by the offspring of those Irish emigrants who first settled Londonderry, in the Massachusetts, Scotchmen and Irish people, who have been brought hither soon after the place began to be settled,—a strong, robust, industrious people—bigotted dissenters, and of course great levellers. But, my lord, how can it be otherwise, for, to my astonishment, no governor had ever visited these poor people, or sent any person among them, so as to form a judgment of the necessary steps to make those men useful subjects ; but, on the contrary, they have been left to be the parent of their own works. I found full 500 men capable of bearing arms, the finest men in the province, settled on the best land, and the most flourishing, because they are the most industrious.”

In striking contrast with the friction that prevails in England on the question of home rule for Ireland, a very significant passage appears in Governor Wilmot's report, which speaks volumes for the great wisdom of the soldier statesman into whose hands were committed the destinies of Nova Scotia in a crucial period in its history :—

“ Upon application by the settlers from New England for townships to General Lawrence, among other things to induce them to come, this was not the least prevalent, that they should be entitled to the same privileges they enjoyed in the other colonies, and in particular that of being constituted into townships and having officers chosen by the respective towns to legislate their own affairs. This would be essential to establish peace and good order among them, and promote their welfare.”

As the early proceedings of a newly organized branch of the body politic are interesting to the descendants of the actors, the records of the first two Town-Meetings are here given entire :—

“ Att a meeting of the Propriators of the Township of Onslow Holden at sd. Onslow The 28th day of July, Anno-Dom. 1761, The following Vots ware passed—Capn. Ephraim Hayward chosen Moderator.

1. Granted unto Capn. Ephraim Hayward, David Hoar, and Jears Wilson, the Privilege of a Mill-place on a Stream Lying west of sd. Wilson's first Devisiion Lott Next Ajoying to the sd. Lott : Joyntly and Eaquily to have the above mentioned Mill Place with the pondage and privialages Belonging Thereunto—for the above mentioned Hayward to Build a Grist-mill, And for said Wilson and Hoar to Build a Saw Mill.

Both said Mills to be Built on One Dam against or near above sd. Wilson's House."

Voted 2nd. "That the above mentioned Hayward have his Second Devision Lott Laid out Ajoying East on sd. Mill River Bounded South on the Mash. The same Wedth of the other proprietors.

Voted 3ly. That the above said Hayward have fifty acres of his Third Division Lott north of his Second Devision Ajoyning to To the same."

"The above mentioned privileges Granted to the above sd. Capl. Ephraim Hayward on Conditions that he Build a Grist Mill in the Place above mentioned With in one year from the Date here of and keep the Same in good Repair for the Term of Seven years."

Voted 4ly. That Jeams Wilson's Second Devision Lott be layed out on the East Side of sd. Mill River Bounding on the Same the Same Wedth of the Other Proprietors."

Voted 5ly. That David Hoar have his said Second Devision Lott Laid at the East End of the Improvements on the North Side Beginning 20 Rods north of a Little old house, Running West 30 Rods, Running North so far the same Wedth as to make the same quantity of Land With the other proprietors in the Second Division.

Voted 6ly. That Jeams Wilson and David Hoar have Three Hundred Acres of Land Laid out to Them as part of There Fourth Devision on the River East of said Hoar's Second Devision Lott, not Including any (Improvements or) Improved Land, Said Land to be Laid out in a Squar form Leaveing highwayes Sufficient Through the same."

The above mentioned Privilidges Granted to the above sd. Wilson and Hoar on Condition that they Build a Saw Mill in the Place before mentioned or Granted In three months from the Date, and keep the same in Good Repair for the Term of Seven years, on neglect or failer there said Last Grant is to Forfeit and of none Effect."

Onslow, July 28, 1761.

Transcribed by me,

EPHM. HAYWARD,

P. Clerk.

EPHRAIM HAYWARD, *Moddrator.*

JOSHUA LAMB, *P. Clerk.*

"Onslow, September the 7, 1761. We the Subscribers Petition to Charles Morris, Esq., in Onslow to have a meeting Caled of the proprietors of sd. Onslow to Chose a Moddrator. 2ly. To Chose a proprietor's Clerk. 3ly. To Chose a Committee to take Cair of and Deall out the Stoars to the Inhabitants, and Like Wise to Chuse a Committee to Devide the Mashs and the Improved Lands, and the first Devision of the unImproved Lands, Likewise to Chuse Commissioners to Take Cair about mending the Dykes, and a Comittee to Lay out High Ways and Surveirs to take Cair they are mended or any other necessary business to be done the day apoynted for said meeting; and to meet at David

Cuttins, jr., in sd. Onslow, at nine of the Clock on the 15th day of this Instant, September, att nine of the Clock, 1761.

PETTER RICHARDSON,	EPHM. HAYWARD,
ISAAC WARNER,	WM. BLAIR,
ICHABOD MECHOM,	ELIJAH FITCH,
JOHN POLLEY,	JEAMS WILSON,
THOS. STEPHENS.	

The Warrant for calling the Meeting :—

“ To MR. EPHRAIM HAYWARD, one of the proprieters of Onslow :

Aplycation being made to me that propriators may be Called then and there to act to act on the folowing perticlers :

First. To Chose a Modrator.

2ly. To Chose a Propriator's Clerk.

3ly. To Chose a Comittee for Calling Meetings for the future.

4ly. To Chuse a Comittee for Distrebuting the Corn.

5ly. To Chuse a Committee to Devide the Mash and the Improved Land, and the first Devision of the un Improved Land.

6ly. To Request of the Commander-in-Cheff to apoynt Commissioners for mending and Repairing the Dykes.

7ly. To Lay out High Ways or Roads, and to Chuse a Comittee and Surveirs to Clean the Roads.

8ly. To Consider of Things that will be needfull and profitable for the propriaty.

These are Therefore to Desiar and Impower you to call a meeting of the said Propriators to meet at the house of Mr. David Cutten, in holder, in Onslow, on Monday, the 14th day of September instant, at Nine of the Clock in the fore noon.

CHARLES MORRISS,
Justis of ye Peace.

Onslow Sept. 7, 1761.

Onslow, Sept. 14, 1761. At a meeting of the propriators of Onslow, pursuant to a warrant granted by Charles Morriss, Esq., for calling of said meeting, meatt aCording to said Warning and Voted :

First. DAVID CUTTING, Maddrator.

2ly. EPHRAIM HAYWARD, Propriators' Clerk.

3ly. PETTER RICHARDSON,	}	Be a Committee for Calling of Meetings for the future.
4ly. JOHN HUETT,		
5ly. EPHM. HAYWARD,		

6ly. PETTER RICHARDSON,	}	Be a Committee for Receiving and Distrebuting the Corn.
7ly. ELIJAH FITCH,		
8ly. EPHM. HAYWARD,		

9ly. DAVID CUTTEN,	}	Be a Committee to Devide and Lay out the Mashs and Plow land and the first Devision of the un Improved Lands.
10ly. ELIJAH FITCH,		
11ly. WM. BLAIR,		
12ly. JOSHUA LAMB,		
13ly. THOS. STEPHENS,		

- 14ly. EPHM. HAYWARD, }
 15ly. ISACC WARNER, } Be a Committee to Request the
 16ly. PETTER RICHARDSON, } Commander-in-Chief for Commis-
 sionar for Repairing the Dikes.

17ly. Voted that the Committee chosen to lay out the Mash and Improved Land and the First Devision of the unimproved Lands be a Committee for Laying out the Highways.

- 18ly. GEORGE HAYWARD, }
 19ly. JACOB LINDS, } Be Suerveirs of High Ways.
 20ly. NATHL. GALLOP, }

21ly. Voted That Each Propriator owning one Right have one Hundred acres and a half Righ or Shair Fifty Acres in the First Devision of un Improved Land.

22ly. Voted that the Consideration of the Method of Laying out the Lands be ajorned to Tusday, the 22 Day of this Instant with the other Business Necessary.

Meet According to the Ajornment.

23ly. Voted that the 21 Vote Conserving Laying out 100 acres to a Right and 50 acres to a half Right be Reconsidered.

24ly. Voted That Each Single Right have Sixty Acres Laid out in the first Devision of the unimproved Lands, and a half Right Thirty acres.

25ly. Voted that the Propriators of Each Village Draw There Lotts in the first Devision Granted to be Laid out in the foregoing Vote by Them Selves.

26ly. Voted that The Meeting be Desolved.

DAVID CUTTING, *Moddrator.*
 EPHM. HAYWARD, *Propr. Clerk.*

Transcribed from the original papers by me, EPH. HAYWARD, P. C., being a true copy.

In this account both the arrangement and the orthography have been retained, and the record, which is in the hand writing of Captain Ephraim Hayward, would do credit to the office of a modern attorney.

The settlement was originally held in common by the grantees, who settled different parts under their township rights, and occupied the same for a number of years, without having their lands set off in severalty. On the 8th day of February, 1780, George Thompson applied to the Supreme Court at Halifax for a Writ of Partition of the township on the petition of Samuel Lyons and others. The writ was granted and issued by D. Wood, junior, Dy. Clerk, July 28th, 1780. It was directed to the Provost Marshall of Nova Scotia or his deputy

and included the names of the grantees, and settlers, directing that each have forty days notice of division to be made before two justices of the peace on the oaths of twelve men of the county of Halifax, after hearing all of the evidence of ownership of proprietors. The justices who acted were Eliakim Tupper and Doctor John Harris of Truro; and the jury, consisting of:—

Joseph Scott, Dy. Sheriff,	Thomas Gourley,
James Fulton,	Samuel Wilson,
Alexander Miller,	John Oughterson,
James Dunlap,	John Logan,
James Archibald,	John McKeen,
Adam Boyd,	Robert Johnson,

with one or two exceptions were also residents of Truro.

They returned the writ, July 28th, 1783, dividing 51,750 acres into 98½ shares among 82 claimants, one being "the Church," and another "the School."

In Trinity Term, July 20th, 1785, the Supreme Court at Halifax having heard counsel on the Writ of Partition, gave judgment to confirm the proceedings thereunder, pursuant to the sheriff's return, saving only to Alexander McCurdy the possession of that piece of ground called the poundage, claimed under the return of said writ by John Barnhill, and in case it should appear that Alexander McCurdy had a greater proportion of land than he was entitled to, he should assign unto John Barnhill as much unimproved land as in the opinion of three indifferent persons appointed by the court was equivalent to the piece called the poundage reserved to Alexander McCurdy. To make the assignment under this order, the court appointed Lawrence Peppard and Peter McLellan of Londonderry, and Samuel Densmore of Noel.

To the Return a plan of the township, with the divisions made by the jury, was annexed. Copies of the plan and other proceedings were placed in the custody of the late Daniel McCurdy, with whose widow they remained for a number of years. The plan was made in two parts, one containing the marsh lands, the other the upland, which was divided into three large blocks, known as the First, Second, and Third Divisions. The plan of the marsh is still in a fair state of preservation, but a portion of the south-western corner of the upland plan is much mutilated and worn, there being no remnant of that part sufficient to delineate the lands of and surrounding Fort Belcher.

The original grant, neatly engrossed on two skins of parchment; the upland plan, and the field notes of the jury on the partition of the

township, are among the papers in the office of Nathaniel Marsters King, Town Clerk.

On the 31st day of March, 1856, an act passed the legislature entitled "An Act to make certain Records of the Township of Onslow receivable in evidence." There are two sections to this act. The first receives in evidence in any court of law the old copies of the Plans of Partition of the Township then in the possession of the town clerk of Onslow, or so much thereof as is not defaced or obliterated by use. And the second constitutes the old copy of the return of the jury executing the Writ of Partition, then also in possession of the town clerk, a part of the plan, and to be received in evidence as such.

The surveyor who assisted the jury to divide the lands, and survey and make plans of the township under the Writ of Partition, was Robert, second son of Major David Archibald, of Truro. He was a justice of the peace, and afterwards became a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was also a colonel in the militia. In 1787 he removed from Truro to Musquodoboit.

"The Book of Records for Deaths, Births, and Marriages for the Town of Onslow, in the Province of Nova Scotia, Began in the year of our Lord, 1761." This volume is well bound, though much worn from constant use. It remains in the custody of George F. Crowe, Esq., Central Onslow, a former town clerk, and a gentleman who has held the position of Municipal Councillor for the district.

Among the first births may be cited those of Jess, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Stevens, born July 22nd, 1761; Richard, son of Peter and Sarah Richardson, November 26th, 1761; and Cloe, daughter of Carpenter and Mary Bradford, January 4th, 1762.

The persons first to enter the bonds of holy matrimony were Captain Ephraim Howard and Sarah Blair, on the 8th of December, 1763; Joshua Lamb and Mercy Brooks, September 11th, 1766; Samuel Whippie and Jemmima Polly, February 17th, 1767; Robert Archibald, and Hannah Blair, April 2nd, 1767; and William Whippie and Ruth Hoar, 5th of December, 1771.

At a Town Meeting held on the 13th of September, 1763, of which Richard Upham was Moderator, and Ephraim Hayward, Proprietors' Clerk, it was voted, "14y. That the East side of the Island in the Uper Mash be aloued and sequestred for a burying place."

Though the inscriptions on the principal monuments erected in this hallowed resting place of the first English settlers, are not so quaint as

one to be found on an Irish limestone, under "a death's head and hour glass and a codfish just taking the hook," in the Methodist graveyard at Carbonear, Newfoundland :—

"Expired in 85.
The prudent Mary,
Dear and only wife of Jemmy Geary, —
Late of Carbonere.
Who awfully the laws of God did fear.
For whose good works
Let each who passes—pray
Her soul to rest full blest for aye."

Yet a few may be given to keep green the memory of the pioneers of civilization in a once wilderness section of Nova Scotia, which, under their labours, and the enterprise of their descendants, has become one of the finest agricultural districts in the Maritime Provinces.

"Here lies interred the
body of WILLIAM BLAIR
who departed this life on the
4th day of August, 1791,
aged 75 years."

"JANE BLAIR
Consort of William
Blair, Senior, who died
on the 8th day of January
1814, in the 91st year
of her age."

"Sacred to Memory of DAVID ARCHIBALD 7th
late Lieutenant Colonel
of the 7th Battalion
of the Nova Scotia Militia.
He departed this life 25 Nov. 1814
Aged 42 years."

"In Memory CAPTAIN JAMES
CLARK, a native of New England
District of Maine, who was un-
fortunately drowned in the Bay
of Fundy the 22nd June 1815
in the 55th year of his age,
being a freeholder in this
Township for 30 years."

"AARON CROWE, SENIOR,
who departed this life
October 30, 1818,
Aged 75 years."

“JOSEPH McLANE
Native Londonderry, Ireland
died 16 March, 1829
aged 76.”

“THOMAS ROBERTSON
died Jan 26, 1842
aged 69.”

“In memory of
JAMES KING
of Onslow who died
July the 18th 1848
aged 80 years.
He was a native of
Dumfrieshire
Scotland.”

“WILLIAM HENRY KING
a senior student of
Acadia College, drowned
June 7th 1852, in company
with Professor Chipman
and three students.
aged 16 years.
He was universally beloved.”

“In Memory of
JAMES McCURDY, SENIOR
died June 6th 1854
aged 88.

AGNES ARCHIBALD his wife
died May 7, 1851
aged 81.”

“Erected by Mrs. Sarah
Ann Moran, to the
Memory of her Father
JOHN DICKSON, Esq
who died
December 10, 1858
Aged 85 years.
Also his wife
LYDIA DICKSON
who died
April 29, 1866,
aged 89 years.”

“Sacred to Memory of
 JENIE GORDON
 the beloved wife of
 Rev. John I. Baxter
 who fell asleep in Jesus
 on the 8th day of June
 A. D. 1862, in the 54th
 year of her age.
 With permission
 the Presbyterian Ladies
 of Onslow have erected
 this monument as a
 token of respect.”

“MRS. SIMON KOLLOCK
 died in Truro Sep. 21, 1863
 aged 105 years.”

Chapter 46, Acts of 1853, entitled “An Act relating to the Onslow Burial Ground,” opens the burial island to all classes and denominations of persons, and provides for the appointment of three freeholders at any Town Meeting for voting money for the poor, whose name of office shall be “The Trustees of the Onslow burial ground.” Under this Act the trustees have power to fence, make roads, improve, ornament, and protect the ground, and the inhabitants are authorized at any such meeting to vote and assess the sum they expend on the ground, not exceeding fifty pounds at any one time, to be collected by same means as other monies voted at the meeting, provided twenty days written notice of the amount to be voted for such purpose is posted at four public places in the township.

Chapter 43 of the Acts of 1880, being “An Act to amend the aforesaid Act,” provides a mode by which persons interested in other burial grounds can be relieved from assessments thereunder.

At a Town Meeting held on the —— day of November, 1853, David McCurdy, John King, and Silas Clarke, Esquires, were appointed trustees of the burial ground, being the first chosen under the Act of 1853. Those now in office are Silas Morrison, Charles Hill, and John A. Dickson, who will no doubt strive to carry out the intention of the law, and perform the duty imposed upon them by the inhabitants, by placing that beautiful resting place for the dead in the condition that all who feel a sentiment of veneration for the memory of their forefathers must desire to see it. May each consider with Daniel Webster that “the man who feels no sentiment of veneration for the memory of his

forefathers; who has no natural regard for his ancestors, or his kindred, is himself unworthy of kindred regard or remembrance."

By the seventh of August, 1761, the male freeholders over twenty-one years numbered fifty, and were entitled under the order-in-council of 20th May, 1758, to send two representatives to the General Assembly, as well as to vote in the election of twelve for the province. Truro was similarly situated. On the nineteenth of that month Governor Belcher issued warrants for the election of two members for each township. Onslow returned William Neville Wolsely of Halifax, and David Cutten, a resident. The former, who remained but a short time in the province, had the honor of being the first sitting member for the township. He attended the sessions of parliament from 17th of March, 1762, to July, 1763. On the 24th of March, 1762, he was chosen one of the five members of the House to confer with a committee of His Majesty's Council, and prepare a bill to regulate trade with the Indians, in furtherance of the Governor's message intimating that a treaty of peace had been concluded between His Majesty's government and the tribes of Indians of every district, and recommending that all reasonable methods should be pursued for preserving the same inviolate. He also acted as one of a committee of two, to intercede with the Governor for the old revenue duty, to aid his own constituents, and destitute settlers of other townships, in April of the same year, as already noticed. His last public act was to wait as one of a committee of two upon His Excellency (Governor Wilmot) 21st July, 1763, to request a recess till the 10th of August in consequence of the Council having replied in the negative to the House's message, "Whether they had any business to lay before the Assembly." Mr. Wolsely was Clerk of the Crown for the province towards the close of the year 1762, and in the former part of 1763. In the summer of this year he went to England on a visit, as it was supposed, when James Monk, junior, was allowed to perform his Crown duties till his return. On the 24th of April, 1764, however, Mr. Monk was appointed to the office, on account of Mr. Wolsely's continued absence from the Province, to which, so far as I can discover, he never returned. It appears by the Journals of the House under date of April 3rd, 1764, "That no attendance had ever been given by Mr. Cutten, and that Mr. Wolsely had left Nova Scotia." This statement of fact regarding Mr. Cutten's legislative career is doubtless correct, though it does not accord with the belief entertained by his descendants, who consider him the first member from Cobequid, and speak of his having

walked to the winter sessions of the House upon snow shoes, with a musket on his shoulder. If Mr. Cutten did not act, it was because he considered that his colleague, Mr. Wolsely, who resided at Halifax, was well qualified to look after the interests of the special constituents of both :—the people of Onslow ; and he did not deem it necessary that the town should be at the expense of sending him to the Assembly. Members pay of 10/ a day did not begin till 1787. The first representatives had to fight the battles of the country at their own costs and charges, or look to the people who sent them to parliament for remuneration.

A Town Meeting held " Pursuant to a Warrant Dated October, 1762, meat and Voted as foloeth :—

Daniel Knolton, Moderator.

Voted That Liett. David Cutten have four shillings a Day so long as he waits on The General Court at Halifax as our Representative, and The same to be Raised on the Rights of the proprietors proportionable as soon as he bring his acoumpt attested."

DANIEL KNOLTON, *Moddrator*.

EPHM. HAYWARD, *Proprs. Clerk*.

The right of the Cobequid, and other townships, to two representatives apiece, under the order-in-council 20th May, 1758, was only exercised by Onslow in the case of Cutten and Wolsley. Townships soon became too numerous to be allowed such a privilege, and in 1765 an Act passed giving one member to each.

In the election of 1765 James Brenton of Halifax, barrister-at-law, was returned member for Onslow. He was a young lawyer from Rhode Island, who came to the province at a very early period. He had a brother—the Honorable Jahiel Brenton—who remained in Rhode Island, and was the head of the family in the middle of the last century. He was father of Admiral Sir Jahiel Brenton, Baronet, and of Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, Royal Navy, also of Susannah Brenton, who married Dr. John Halliburton, R. N., father of the late Sir Brenton Halliburton, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. Sir Jahiel married a lady of Halifax—Miss Stewart—daughter of Anthony Stewart, father of the old Judge James Stewart who died about 1830.—James Brenton was admitted an attorney of the Supreme Court on the 9th of December, 1760.

By the records of the court it appears that on the seventh of April, 1762, James Brenton, attorney for Caleb Lincoln, having charged the court with partiality by saying that, " they would not receive a verdict

in the cause *The King et al. v. Caleb Lincoln* unless it was against the defendant, and that there might be verdicts *ad infinitum*, and that he was not allowed the liberty of other attorneys in the court," whereupon "it was ordered by the court, that Mr. Brenton do make good his charge in a proper place, and that in the meantime he be not suffered to speak at the bar of this court." On the eighth of the same month, Mr. Brenton appearing in court and "making an acknowledgment (of his indiscretion), asked pardon of the court, and prayed that the suspension might be taken off." The court "ordered that it be taken off accordingly."

On the 31st of October, 1778, Mr. Brenton was appointed Solicitor-General, and on the 12th day of same month in the following year, he was sworn in Attorney-General. He held this office until the 8th of December, 1781, when he was raised to the Supreme Court Bench, vice assistant Judge Morris, deceased.

His conduct as a judge was brought in question in the House of Assembly, the 28th of November, 1787, by Major Millege, member for Digby, who made a motion which led to his impeachment along with Chief Justice Deschamp, on charges preferred by three attorneys named Sterns, Taylor, and Wood. For having written in the newspapers about the charges Sterns and Taylor were disrobed by order of the Chief Justice on the first of April, 1788. The impeachment on thirteen articles took place in 1790. Murdoch says that:—

"Some persons deemed the attack on the judges as an unfriendly, if not a cruel act, to deprive men of their bread in the decline of life—men who could not live many years longer—men who had large families to struggle for, and who had served the public in difficult offices for many years, on charges of, at most, errors of judgment on one or two trifling occasions." He refers to them as "two old gentlemen, both highly respected and eminently loyal—and Deschamp having long been identified with the colony, and Brenton, formerly secretary to the Royal Commission at Rhode Island to inquire into the destruction of the vessels of war by the disaffected."

A contemporaneous writer treats the charges as futile. The judges remained under the odium of this affair till 1792, when they were acquitted by an order of the Privy Council.

In 1770 Joshua Lamb was returned member for Onslow. Mr. Lamb was among the first settlers, and a grantee of the township. He resided on the farm now occupied by Augustus McCurdy. He was the first Registrar of Deeds for the county, and kept the office in Onslow from March 2nd, 1770, to 1777. On the 17th of May, 1771, he was

commissioned a justice of the peace for the townships of Onslow, Truro, and Londonderry. He married Mercy Brooks, (not Mary, as stated by Thomas Miller in his invaluable Genealogical Record) September 11th, 1766, by whom he had three sons and two daughters in Onslow :—

Caleb	}	Born, 29th April, 1767.
		Died, 7th June, 1775.
Huldah		Born, 25th July, 1769.
Joshua	"	13th June, 1771.
Sarah	"	27th Nov., 1773.
John	"	7th June, 1776.

On the 10th of December, 1774, Mr. Lamb's seat was declared vacant for non-attendance for several sessions, and offering no apology to the House for his absence. In 1777 he sold his property and removed to New England. A year or two before taking his final departure he visited Machias, Maine, and had the honor of having his name mentioned as "Esq. Lamb, who last evening arrived here in a boat from Cobequid in Nova Scotia," in a letter from that extremely enthusiastic and erratic individual, the Rev. James Lyon, to the Honorable Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay. This letter was written in Mr. Lyon's usually extravagant and anti-British style. Among other things it suggested the propriety of allowing all who came from Nova Scotia to enlist in the companies of the State, to show their loyalty to the American cause, and strongly recommended the council to raise and commission a corps to take Nova Scotia, and reap the benefit for the State that would attach to such an undertaking. Mr. Lyon's letter also stated: "Enclosed I send your Honors a copy of a Summons from the High Sheriff of Nova Scotia to Mr. Adams Johnson of Cobequid, requiring him to take the oath of allegiance to the British Tyrant, by which may be seen the manner in which they use those who are friendly to the American cause in that Province."

As one of our earliest public men, and the first resident member who sat for Onslow, it would be interesting to know what became of Joshua Lamb in the United States, and how his descendants have fared in that great country. I have, however, been unable to ascertain anything further than that he lived to a ripe old age. On the 9th of May, 1800, his name along with those of David Gay and Martin Brooks, all grantees of the township who had left the province, and that of the notorious Adams Johnson, were reported to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, among 70 refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia, who had presented claims as entitled to relief under the provisions of the Act of

April, 1798. To Lamb, Brooks and Gay were allotted 960 acres; and the sacrifices of Johnson in decamping from Cobequid to evade the consequences of the Sheriff's writ, as well as for his great devotion to the cause of the Rebellion, were recompensed with 320.

In 1777 Charles Dickson was returned member for Onslow. Having presented himself to take his seat the 11th of June of that year, the House, by resolution, excluded him, declaring that by the refusal of the people to take the oath of allegiance they had forfeited their right to representation in the Assembly. Thirty-nine persons, being all who were asked in Onslow, had refused to take the oath before John Cunningham and George Pyke, Esquires, two Halifax Justices sent by Government to administer it to the people of the townships in Cobequid. In consequence of this refusal the townships were disfranchised for a short period. At every election from 1777 to 1793 Charles Dickson was returned for Onslow. He was born in New England, and was son of that Charles Dickson of Horton, for whom William Nesbitt memorialised Governor Wilmot in 1765 for a free grant on the north side of the Basin of Minas. The memorial states that Dickson had charge of a company under General Moncton at the taking of Beau Sejour, and was at considerable expense in raising men for that and other services during the war, as appears from his commissions; and shows by affidavit made by him before William Smith, a Halifax J. P., December 23rd, 1767, that he had received no grant.*

After the war Charles Dickson, Senior, gave up his business in New England and settled in Horton, from which place his son removed to Onslow about the year 1771.

* As the descendants of Lieutenant Thomas Dickson of Cumberland, and some others, have started a contention that he is entitled to the honor of being the Dickson who was an actor at Beau Sejour, a letter from late Governor Sir Adams Archibald, whose widow is a grand-daughter of Charles Dickson of Onslow, is given as a foot note, as it throws some light upon a matter about which a difference of opinion appears to exist.

“GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA,

Feb. 21, 1881.

My dear Longworth,

In reference to your note of the 10th instant about Charles Dickson, I think you are right about the family but mistaken as to the person.

The Charles Dickson, Esq., of Horton, for whom Mr. Nesbitt interested himself, must have been the father of Charles Dickson of Onslow.

In the memorial to Govr. Wilmot, drawn by Mr. Nesbitt, it is stated as the ground work of the claim that the memorialist had incurred expense in getting up a company and serving at the taking of Beau Sejour.

This must have been in 1755. Mr. Charles Dickson of Onslow would appear at that time to have been only nine years old. In 1796, when he died, he was in his 50th year. He must have been born in 1746 and was a boy of nine at the siege of Beau Sejour.

But there can be no doubt, I think, that our Charles Dickson was the son of that Charles. His father probably had come in from the Old Colonies when the French

Here for several years he conducted an extensive mercantile business, farmed on a large scale, built vessels on either side of the Bay, became a large land owner in both townships, and was the most influential business man of his day. Some of his vessels were chartered by the government in 1792 in the deportation of the Maroons from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone.

The last vessel Mr. Dickson built was a barque of 500 tons. She was launched full rigged, and full of people, from his ship yard, now better known as part of the upland farm of the late John Bishop, now owned by John Dixon, Esq., near the Board Landing Bridge, and in front of which a large flat of splendid marsh has since been reclaimed from the Bay. While the vessel was gliding off her ways Tom Cotter, a well known piper of the period, discoursed appropriate music from the top of the cross trees of the main mast. On reaching the water, for want of sufficient ballast, she upset. Cottar's pipes were put out and all on board got a great scare and a good ducking, to the consternation of the spectators on shore, who believed that a fearful catastrophe had happened, but were soon relieved to know that no more serious accident had taken place than the injury sustained by the ship. In the language of a would-be moralist of the day, "*It was the Lord's mercy that they were not all killed and drowned too.*" This occurrence was witnessed by young and old for miles around, a launch in those days being a great event, and it proved an interesting topic of conversation in the settlement for many subsequent years.

Mr. Dickson was Registrar of Deeds for Colchester from 1777 to 1796. On September 16th, 1780, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Districts of Colchester and Pictou, in the County of Halifax. In 1772 he married Amelia Bishop of Horton, who bore him

were about to be expelled, and after that event settled at Horton and applied for his land, which, it seems, was never granted. But having asked for it on the north side of the Basin of Minas he would seem to be directing his attention towards the part of the coast on which, (though much further up the Bay,) our Charles Dickson eventually settled. I see "Miller" says our Onslow Charles came to Nova Scotia when he was very young. It could not therefore be that he had carried on business in the Old Colonies. But if you suppose the father did and then removed to Horton, settled and traded there, brought up a family, of whom one was Charles Dickson, the whole thing is cleared of difficulty.

The Records of Deeds in the County of Kings would show the facts.

Old Mrs. Soley of Lower Village, who was a Hamilton, will probably know all about what took place within a mile or two of her residence.

Peter Hamilton and Mr. Bulmer both believe my solution to be the correct one.

Believe me,

Dear Longworth,

Yours truly,

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

I. LONGWORTH, Esq.

a large family of sons and daughters. The girls were handsome and married well. Abigail married Andrew Wallace of Halifax, February 27th, 1798, and after his decease became the wife of Robert Lowden of Merigomish. Mary married Doctor John Murray Upham, son of Judge Upham of New Brunswick, in 1803. Olivia married Colonel David Archibald, 7th, father of the late Hon. Thomas Dickson Archibald, Senator, Feb. 5th, 1801; and after his death, John Henderson; Elizabeth married Nova Scotia's greatest commoner, Samuel George William Archibald, 16th of March, 1802; and Lavinia, who was noted for her beauty among the fairest daughters of Nova Scotia in the days of Lord Dalhousie, married April 27th, 1823, the Reverend John Burnyeat, of Loweswater, England, the first clergyman of the Church of England stationed at Truro, and father of Lady Archibald of Truro.

The sons were also good looking, tall, and of fine commanding presence. Three of them at least were colonels in the militia. They inherited much of the military bearing and spirit of their grandfather, Charles Dickson of Fort Beau Sejour fame. It is also worthy of remark that these brothers, Robert, William and Thomas, were members of the House of Assembly at the same time, along with their brother-in-law, the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, which made them men of great influence.

In 1796 Mr. Dickson visited the West Indies in one of his vessels. On his return he died of yellow fever at Halifax. At this time the highway from Onslow to the metropolis was in such a primitive state that it took Mrs. Dickson, on horse back, three days to get there. Her husband died soon after her arrival. His remains were interred in the cemetery opposite Government House. A stone is erected at his grave in the north-west corner of the ground, bearing the following inscription:

"Here lyeth the body of CHARLES
DICKSON, Esq., who died Sept. 3rd, 1796,
in the 50th year of his age.
He lived Respected
and died Lamented."

In 1799 Daniel McCurdy, son of Alexander and Janet McCurdy, who emigrated from the north of Ireland, and were among the first settlers of the township of Londonderry, was returned for Onslow. He was born at Londonderry 1st of April, 1768, and while quite young removed with his parents to Onslow. His brother James, who married Agnes, second daughter of Matthew and Janet Archibald, according to "Thomas Miller," had a remarkable family,—seven sons and seven daughters,—all of whom grew up, married, and had families. Two of

the sons were ministers of the Gospel; and all of the others, one being the Honorable David McCurdy, M. L. C., were Elders of the Presbyterian Church. The good moral fibres which constituted the warp and woof in the life of the old members of this family appear to have been inherited from their ancestor, Daniel McCurdy, of Bellyhelly, Ireland, which may be inferred from the religious tone running through a long letter from him, dated May 24th, 1763, written to his children Alexander and Peggy McCurdy, who had, two or three years previously, emigrated to America, which letter is preserved as an heir-loom in the family of Hon. David McCurdy, at Baddeck, C. B.† Daniel McCurdy

† "BELLYHELLEY, May 24, 1763.

My Dr Childn.

I Recd Two letters from you last year wch was great pleasure to us and all friendsto hear from you & more so as you let us know of yr Being so happily fixed in a Coutry where I Believe most of yr Countrymen has left it. Iand family is purty well. I myself Enjoy but a Very Indifferent state of health, But still has Reason to be Thankfull to Divine providence for all his great Mercies to me. Dr son I find in yr letters that you & pegey is both Living in a Gentleman's farm & I believe by your acts that you will both do very well. I pray God to grant his Blessing with yr Endeavours, yr Complain of not hearing from me since you Left this, but be assured I sent you Two letters last year & yr Cousin James McElheron wrote to you likewise and got no Answer of any of them. Dr son you write to me Briefly to Come to you but I am so much failed I Cannot think of Coming But begs youl Miss of no Oppty in writing to me as its the Chief pleasure I have in hearing from you Both. Our Markets here has been very smart. Oatmeal is at 2s. & Everything in Proportion."

Turn Over.

"Your Uncle patk & Aunt Moly & Aunt Elizth & all Friends in Derry is well & Desires to be Rembrd to you. Yr Cousin James & Molley & Cousin Archd & wife are all well and Desires in Love to be Rembrd to you Both. Ann McColom & Sister Desires to be Rembrd to you & Ann has bound her son in Coleraine to be a Dyster. Old David Miller was not pleased you Did not Mention him in yr letter. Jams Miller DiedLast Winter & Tell pegey that Willm Moore her Lover is Dead also. My dear Childn I beg youl be mindfull of yr Duty & always be Mindfull of yr great & Bountifull Creator in the Days of youth. Yr Mother Joyns me in Blessing to you Both yr Two little Brothers are Both well—all Neighbrs is well & Desires to be Rembrd to you wch is all at at prest from yr affte father.

DAVID MCCURDEY.

To ALEXANDER & PEGGY
McCURDY America.

married Eunice Wright, 4th of August, 1792. They had four sons and seven daughters. He died on the 18th July, 1815.

In 1806 Nathaniel Marsters was elected to represent the township, and he was returned for a second term in 1811. He was born in Massachusetts, June 6th, 1758. His father, Jonathan Marsters, and his uncle, Abraham, with their families, removed to Falmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1760. He shared largely in the trials and vicissitudes of a new country. He lived with his father, who was a farmer, until he was about 26 years old, when he came to Onslow, where he married Sarah, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Upham, 5th of July, 1787, by whom he had two sons. One of these—Richard Upham Marsters—became a skillful watchmaker. He invented an improvement on the chronometer, with which he went to England and presented it to the British Government. In about two years and a half after marriage Mr. Marsters wife died. He remained a widower for nine years, and on 5th of November, 1798, married Lydia, daughter of Thomas Lynds, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. One of the sons died young. The other—Jonathan Marsters—studied law, and was afterwards Judge of the Court of Probate for Colchester. His second wife died in 1830. Mr. Marsters was an active magistrate for upwards of thirty years. On the fourteenth of February, 1820, he was appointed Coroner for the District of Colchester, in place of Matthew Archibald, deceased, had a seat in the legislature for twelve years, and was for some time Registrar of Deeds. Though he was not what is termed an educated man, yet, possessing a vigorous mind, he rose with the improvements of the day, and perhaps for penetration of thought, ripeness of judgment, and wholesome counsel, he far exceeded many of superior advantages in literature. In 1790 he first became acquainted with the late Reverend Joseph Dimock. Mr. Marsters, then a widower, had been on a visit to Falmouth to see his parents and friends. In passing through Newport on his return, he made a statement in presence of Mr. Dimock, of the situation of Onslow, as it regarded the ministration of the Gospel, and dwelt on the effect produced by the preaching of Reverends Messieurs John Payzant, Harris Harding and Edward Manning. He urged the want of experimental preaching, and invited Mr. Dimock very strongly to accompany him home, which he did. Mr. Dimock had then been preaching some six or eight weeks. They made their way through newly cultivated farms and lonely deserts on foot, and in two days arrived at Onslow. The Reverend Henry Alline of New Light fame,

preached at this time in several parts of the province. Many opposed and ridiculed the cause of God, especially in the village where Mr. Marsters lived, and any one who appeared serious and attended Mr. Alline's preaching was branded as a New Light. What between the fear of losing his name or losing his soul, the conflict was very sharp, and Mr. Marsters often went to meeting by a back road through the woods to escape observation. In 1794 he was a member of the mixed communion body then called New Light, and clerk of the church. Mr. Dimock saw him again in the autumn before his death, and thus renewed an acquaintance of over fifty-two years standing, and was present twelve hours before he died. He preached his funeral sermon, on which occasion the Revd. John I. Baxter made the closing prayer. This period, and doubtless many circumstances in the life of the deceased, will recur to the old inhabitants on hearing the inscription on the stone at his grave in the Onslow Cemetery :

In Memory of
NATHANIEL
MARSTERS, Esq.,
who died
July 19, 1843,
Ae 85 years.
He was for fifteen
years a member
of the House of As-
sembly, and for up-
wards of thirty
years a Magistrate
and Coroner for
the County.

“ Faith led him on the pilgrim's road
And thus he made his way to God
From death's strong bands his spirit fled
To dwell with Christ his loving head.”

This monument,
was erected by his
only daughter,
SARAH ANN KING.

In 1818 Robert Dickson, son of Charles, was the member returned. He was not in the next General Assembly. The seat was taken by John Crowe, who sat for four years from 1826, but was not returned again till 1843, of whom reference is omitted for the present, to give some account of the men who held the position during the interval, and whom Mr. Crowe succeeded as the last township representative.

In 1830 when the Brandy Election, so called, took place, the Archibald and Dickson influence proved too strong for Mr. Crowe, and Robert Dickson was again elected. Besides being representative, he was a Justice of the Peace, Commissioner of Sewers, Colonel of the Militia, and last, though not least, an extensive farmer. He married Lavinia DeWolf of Horton in 1798, who bore him seven sons and three daughters. He was born in the township July 8th, 1777, and died there Novr., 1836. He is the same person referred to in "Sabine's Loyalists" as "having settled in Nova Scotia, where he became a member of the House of Assembly and a Magistrate for the District of Colchester, whose death occurred in 1835." This notice, no doubt, was intended for his father, Charles Dickson, who died in 1796.

In 1836 Alexander McCurdy Upham, son of Luke 2nd, son of Nathaniel, who was the son of Richard Upham, Esq., the first person named in the township grant, was returned member for Onslow. He was a farmer, merchant and ship-builder. His residence and place of business was at Lower North River, on the property subsequently owned and occupied by the Rev. John I. Baxter. On the 25th June, 1826, Mr. Upham married Mary Cutten, by whom he had nine children. His eldest son, Henry M., born 11th of July, 1827, now a resident of Drayton, Walsh County, Dakota, U. S. A., is remembered as the first Inspector of Schools for the County of Colchester, under the Free School System of Education in Nova Scotia.

The session of 1839 opened on the 10th of January. On the 30th of March, the House was notified that Alexander L. Archibald and Alexander McC. Upham, two of the members, were absent without leave, and had returned to their respective homes at Truro and Onslow. The Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms was ordered to go to their lodgings and ascertain the facts. On his report the Speaker informed the House that Mr. Archibald had returned home on the 26th instant, and Mr. Upham on the 29th, and had since been absent. Whereupon Honorable Mr. Uniacke "moved, that the twentieth standing Order, by which the members had subjected themselves to the censure of the House and had forfeited their pay for the session, be acted upon; and Resolved, that the Speaker sign no pay ticket for either, and that both remain under the censure of the House," which being seconded, Honorable Mr. De Wolf "moved an amendment not to interfere with the pay of the members, but to leave them subject to the censure of the House until they made a suitable apology before taking their seats next session." The amendment was lost and the original motion carried 19 to 10.

Besides filling the positions stated, with a fair amount of success, Mr. Upham was a deacon in the Onslow Baptist church for several years, and towards the close of his life he engaged in ship-building. Though a person of few words, and not given to debating, he was possessed of superior judgment for the advantages he enjoyed, and was looked up to as one of the best members of society.

His unexpected death, on the 10th August, 1841, at the early age of 39 years and 36 days, was long regretted by a large circle of relations and friends, as well as by the community in which he had passed a short, though by no means an inactive, nor an unimportant life.

To complete the list of township members we have only to add the name of John Crowe, already mentioned, who was the third son of John and Elizabeth Crowe, born at Onslow, August seventh, 1784. His father was one of six brothers, who with their father, James Crowe, senior, and sister Margaret, emigrated from Londonderry, Ireland, in the ship *Hopewell*, about the year 1761. They first settled at Windsor, from which place the brothers John and Aaron removed to Onslow. His mother, the eldest daughter of David Marshall and Sydney Holmes, was born in England in 1752.

Mr. Crowe went to sea several years while young, and afterwards became a successful farmer on the fine property now owned by his son George F. On the 7th of April, 1818, he married Agnes, daughter of William McNutt and Isabella Dickson. They had six sons and two daughters. The eldest son, James Nicholas, is a farmer at Old Barns, a county magistrate, a commissioner of schools for the district of Colchester, and has held the office of municipal councillor for the important district of Lower Village of Truro and Old Barns. John is a carpenter at Chicago, Illinois; Robie a miner at George Town, Colorado; George F. farms on the old homestead, is a justice of the peace, and an ex-municipal councillor for his district; while Homer, the youngest, is a practicing physician at Folly Village, in the township of Londonderry.

Mr. Crowe was first sent to the Assembly in 1826. In 1830, when the province was convulsed from the loss of revenue resulting from want of a proper understanding between the Upper and Lower House relative to the duty to be imposed on brandy, notwithstanding Mr. Crowe took the popular side of the question, he found the Archibald and Dickson influence too strongly in favour of the late member for him to be re-elected that year. Circumstances, however,

transpired which led to his being returned for a second term in 1843. Before the election of that year a public meeting was held in the church at Onslow to hear Joseph Howe and others speak on the great educational question then agitating this province. At eleven o'clock a. m. on Monday, the 9th of October, Mr. Howe entered the church accompanied by George R. Young, James F. Gray, William Annand, and others, and took their seats at a table in the middle aisle in front of the pulpit. The sheriff, Charles Blanchard, Esq., then read the requisition addressed to him, signed by a number of persons, authorizing him to call the meeting. Mr. John King, of Onslow, was proposed as chairman, and simultaneously the Sheriff was named, and to save a contest on the question of the chair, the friends of Mr. King waived their objection to Mr. Blanchard, and chose Mr. King as vice-chairman, when both took their seats as moderators of the meeting. The business of the day commenced by Isaac Logan, Esq., reading several resolutions and a speech favoring one college in Halifax, which was seconded by Isaac McCurdy, Esq. They were followed by G. W. McLellan, Esq., M. P. P. for Londonderry, who spoke at some length, giving his own views on the subject. On resuming his seat, Mr. John Ross moved several resolutions in amendment of the others. They maintained denominational colleges at Horton and Pictou, and proposed to concede to Mr. Howe's party to unite with the Catholics to found one in Halifax. Mr. Ross' speech contained a number of sallies and home thrusts of a political character, some of which were rather personal to Mr. Howe. E. F. Munro, Esq., seconded the amendment very forcibly, but at less length. Robert Chambers, Esq., next spoke, and adverted to the dispute of Mr. Howe with the editor of the *Christian Messenger* as the source of the present attack on their institution at Horton. He was followed by Mr. McLeod, a teacher in Onslow, and a student of Pictou Academy, who in a neat and able speech showed the beneficial effects of such institutions by contrasting the sort of teachers which he remembered in the neighbourhood where his youth was spent, with those which followed after the Pictou Academy began its influence. Mr. McLellan, an aged gentleman, the father of G. W. McLellan, M. P. P., made some remarks on the unfitness of a college in Halifax to benefit the country.

The Hon. Mr. Howe then rose. He spoke over two hours. His speech was chiefly a reply to Mr. Ross and Mr. Munro, and abounded in humorous comments. He charged the fall of Pictou Academy, not to the spirit of animosity between sects, but to the tory party in Halifax

and the country. Should it be admitted he had a bias against the Baptists, he asked what bias could Huntington, McLellan, Annand, or Stairs be supposed to have? He charged the commencement of these public agitations to the meetings of the Baptist Education Society. Four Secretaries of State, he said, had sanctioned the expedient of one college—and that the Attorney General, in a printed protest, had formerly maintained that position.

Mr. Howe then proceeded to argue against the expense and exposure to immoral influences of a town education, and urged many things he considered advantages—said they only required £800., which would enable them to start with seven or eight professors,—alluded to an address which he said was signed by hundreds of Baptists at Yarmouth, praying Mr. Huntington to become again their representative, and was very confident that more petitions would be signed throughout the province in favor of the proposed plan of a metropolitan college, and against the denominational system, than were ever signed in its favor.

Immediately on closing, the Rev. Edmund Crawley, whose presence was a great surprise to the requisitionists, addressed the meeting. He said he was a man of peace, and saw no reason why the subject should not be peaceably discussed, but that he must acknowledge he was astonished when he entered the meeting, and previously, to perceive the strong excitement that existed, and especially to perceive that so many of the Presbyterians, and as he was informed, all or most of the clergy who so late as last session of the Legislature were in favor of denominational colleges, and signed petitions to that effect,—nay, five of whom only two years ago signed the petition in favour of Acadia College, were now for destroying that institution, and their own Pictou Academy, and joining in with Mr. Howe for a metropolitan college. What, asked the reverend speaker, can have so rapidly changed the spirit so long cherished by the Presbyterian body, and sanctioned so many years by the name and efforts of the departed and venerated McCulloch?

Mr. Crawley then showed that Mr. Howe, at the late college meeting at Halifax, divided the income of the Windsor College by three instead of fifteen, the average number of students, so as to make it appear the expense of a student to the public was the enormous sum of £440 a year, thereby producing the most erroneous impression on the minds of the plain people among whom these miscalculations circulate. That Mr. Howe had thrown in £5000 which his own data excluded, and had also kept out of sight that a large academy, averaging at least forty

scholars, often having had fifty, sixty, and seventy students, had always been maintained at Windsor out of the money given by the province, while Mr. Howe's calculations went on the ground that all was expended on but three students a year.

Mr. Crawley showed also that the Hon. Mr. Bell had stated that nearly half the money given for education by the province was expended on the eighty youths said to be at college, together with five or six hundred lads now receiving their education in the various county academies.

Mr. Crawley also stated that Mr. Young had made it appear that Acadia College had received from the provincial treasury £5000 and still it wanted more.

Mr. Young rose to explain that he did not mean this. Mr. Crawley insisted that his words bore such a meaning, and read the paragraph from the report of Mr. Young's speech.

Notwithstanding all this miscalculation, and misinformation, continued the reverend gentleman, I have been charged with insulting the House for daring to say they were misinformed on this subject, and therefore not suitable persons to pass the unripe and hurried measure carried during the last session. He denounced strongly this endeavour to frighten the people out of freedom of speech, and with great animation and earnestness claimed on behalf of the people of Nova Scotia, the same latitude of remark on the proceedings of their representatives, as was acknowledged in the Mother Country to be the birthright of Englishmen,—the same that Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their band of fellow philanthropists used when opposing the slavery of the sons of Africa, and must necessarily be used by every minority, however small, that sought to repel measures they deemed unjust.

Mr. Crawley then dwelt upon the unfitness of a metropolitan college for the country, and when he spoke of the influence of fashionable habits, on the expensiveness of a town education, and the danger of immoral influences, the uncommon stillness of the assembly showed that the remarks met a very general response in the judgment of his hearers.

Mr. Crawley then proceeded to point out the political bearing of the college question. The proposed system of one college withdrew higher learning from the country, and thereby tended to deprive the people of that cultivation and mental power which is essential to the maintenance

of their liberties—whilst it placed all these advantages in the capital amongst the already powerful and the wealthy.

He closed by calling on the people to observe the true character of the plans proposed for their support, and to repel the threatened danger, for so surely as they allowed these measures to be ripened, and to operate as their contrivers seemed to design, the liberties of Nova Scotians were gone forever.

The vote of the meeting was taken by the people forming in two companies, east and west of the church door, till counted. The majority appeared obviously for country colleges. They afterwards formed on either side of the road. The sheriff passed through the double line, and declared the number to be 150 for the country, 170 for the town. Mr. King also passed through the lines, and declared the number to be for the country, 202, for the town, 161, making a majority of 41 in favor of denominational colleges. The sheriff subsequently conceded his mistake, and the majority stood as found by the vice-chairman.

Had the sheriff been right in his first count, it might appear that Mr. King had counted John Crowe for a large number, and thus followed a precedent set by Lord Grey as a teller in the House of Lords, on the passage of the "Habeas Corpus Act." If the precedent were to hold good, he might well have done so, for John Crowe was such a man as might have given a famous statute to England. He was a man of the finest physique, large and well proportioned, standing about six feet four inches in his boots.

By a note to Blackstone's Commentary, Vol. III., page 135, it appears that "Bishop Burnet relates a circumstance respecting the 'Habeas Corpus Act,' which is more curious than credible; but though we cannot be induced to suppose that this important statute was obtained by a jest and a fraud, yet the story proves that a very formidable opposition was made to it at that time." It was carried (says he) by an odd artifice in the House of Lords. Lord Grey and Lord Norris were named to be tellers. Lord Norris being a man of vapours was not at all times attentive to what he was doing, so a very fat lord coming in, Lord Grey counted him ten as a jest at first, but seeing Lord Norris had not observed it, he went on with this misreckoning of ten, so it was reported to the House, and declared that they who were for the bill were the majority, though it indeed went on the other side; and by this means the bill passed." (1 Bs. His. Ch. 11.—485).

“In the Oxford edition of Burnet’s History, there is the following note by Speaker Onslow”: “See minute book of the House of Lords with regard to this bill, and compare there the number of lords that day in the house with the number reported to be in the division, which agrees with the story.”

Although John Crowe was a staunch Presbyterian he took the side of denominational colleges, and standing on a hummock when counted with the majority, he was the most noticeable man in the crowd. This circumstance, it is said, led to his being elected a second time in 1843, and in 1847, the last time the people of the township were privileged to have a representative, for a third term. The strong friends Mr. Crowe made by the stand he took on the educational question claimed that they would have returned him to parliament for Onslow as long as he was able to stand up and put a hat on his head, had not the township been disfranchised; while Mr. Crowe himself asserted that his opponents could not unseat him and resorted to the expedient of turning him out of the House by an Act of Parliament. He sat till 1851 when township representation was done away with.

Mr. Crowe was always a conspicuous figure in any public gathering, while his quiet disposition, and the easy manners he acquired in following the sea, coupled with the large fund of information he possessed concerning the early settlers, and the great common sense he manifested in the affairs of every day life, made him an agreeable companion to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The closing sentence of the inscription on a chaste freestone monument recently erected in the Onslow cemetery gives a truthful account of the life and character of this worthy member of a former generation, who was the last successor of Wolsley in the representation of the township.

“Our Father,
JOHN CROWE
died
Aug. 30, 1878
Aged 96 years.
For many years
a member of the
Legislature for the
Township of
Onslow.

He died as he lived—a prudent
upright man.”

And now Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the lateness of the hour and the already too great length of this paper, to which I must thank you for having given such a patient hearing, precludes the possibility, even if it was thought desirable to do so, of giving further details necessary to complete the history of the first to be laid out and settled, and originally, for a considerable period, occupying the unique position of the shire township of the District of Cobequid, the present County of Colchester. These must be left for another chapter, and a more convenient season, or better still, for some one else to furnish who can do greater justice to the view propounded by Matthew Arnold, so far as it elates to everything of importance in the history of Onslow.

“The harvest gathered in the fields of the past is to be brought home for the use of the present.”

RICHARD JOHN UNIACKE.

A SKETCH.

BY HON. L. G. POWER.

Read before the Society, 15th January, 1891.

INTRODUCTORY.

YOUTH looks forward with hope, age looks backward, sometimes with regret, and rarely with unmixed satisfaction, and middle life busies itself as a rule with active work, looking not very much before or after. The atmosphere of a society such as ours should therefore be more congenial to those whose footsteps are on the down-hill slope of life, than to younger men, and so it is ; but the man or the people who ignore the lessons of experience, of "philosophy teaching by examples," will have to try to clamber out of many pitfalls which might have been avoided. Hence history, particularly the history of our own country, should be, and in Nova Scotia is taught to children during their early years. The future of youth and the surroundings of middle age can be seen and understood more clearly by faculties trained in the school of the past : the "foot-prints on the sands of time" made by those who have gone before, are often useful guides for the traveller of to-day. A generation forgetful of the doings of its ancestors, is not itself likely to make much history that will be read with satisfaction by those who come after. Therefore we should treasure the memories of those dead, who in their day did good service to their country. As Mr. Howe says, in one of his most impressive poems :—

"If fitly you'd aspire,
Honor the dead ; and let the sounding lyre
Recount their virtues in your festal hours :
Gather their ashes : higher still, and higher
Nourish the patriot flame that history dowers,
And, o'er the old men's graves, go strew your choicest flowers."

Upon the narrow stage of our Nova Scotian history, some men have played their parts who, in a larger sphere, might have won the attention of the whole English-speaking world ; and they have had rivals and

followers who, in ability and influence upon their times, were separated from them by comparatively small intervals. Some of those by-gone men are well known, their names are on every lip; some are known to students through memoirs and similar records; and the names of others have almost passed into that sea of oblivion which flows over the life stories of most of Adam's children. I do not know any work in which the members of the Historical Society can engage, more appropriate than that of trying to rescue from this impending fate, the names of our provincial worthies. My paper to-night is a humble and imperfect attempt to do this for one who for many years filled a large space in the eyes of most Nova Scotians, but who has now passed almost out of sight. The independent existence of Nova Scotia may be said to extend from about 1775, when her direct connection with New England ceased, to 1867, when her individuality became merged in the Confederation. Those four score and twelve years are covered by the lives of three men, Richard John Uniacke, Samuel G. W. Archibald and Joseph Howe. Their lives overlapped one another; nay, the "old Attorney General," as Uniacke was called in his later years, lived to see Howe in his early prime; but yet the period of greatest activity of each had closed when that of his successor began. Archibald entered the House of Assembly at the opening of the session of 1806, Uniacke having ceased to be a member at the close of that which preceded; and, when Howe was first returned in 1837, Archibald's work in the chamber where he had so long been almost without a rival, was practically ended.

The principal events in Mr. Howe's life, and his most striking characteristics, are fairly well known and have been duly chronicled; although possibly enough of the strong feelings which his career called forth still remains to make the appearance of the calm, judicial biography which he so well deserved, hardly to be looked for until a further lapse of time shall have extinguished the embers of the controversies in which he was engaged. Mr. Archibald's career has been dealt with at considerable length by Mr. Longworth, in an able and interesting essay; and his great abilities and admirable social qualities are duly recognized, even in our school histories.

As to Mr. Uniacke, the case is altogether different. As far as I am aware, his name is not mentioned in the histories used in our schools. In Campbell's work it is mentioned and no more; and the same is true as to Haliburton's. Fortunately, Mr. Murdoch, who studied law in his office, knew him well and admired him, has given many interesting glimpses of his work and character. But not many persons, outside of

those making a special study of our history, undertake to read Mr. Murdoch's three invaluable volumes of Nova Scotian annals; and, in any case, the references to Mr. Uniacke are so scattered as to convey to the ordinary reader an indefinite impression. It is, I fear, almost too late to hope for a satisfactory biography of the "old Attorney General." His public and official record can to some extent be gathered from the Journals of the two Houses of the Legislature, the Minutes of the Executive Council and similar sources; but the vivid light thrown upon one's individuality by the reminiscences of contemporaries is not largely available. The people who knew him in this life have nearly all gone to join him in another, and instead of actual reminiscences we have, except in very few cases, traditions of reminiscences; and, as usual, those traditions contain a fairly large proportion of fiction.

This condition of things is much to be regretted. While I do not undertake to institute any invidious comparison between his abilities and those of the two gifted men whom I have spoken of as his successors, his was without any doubt a striking and picturesque figure, and there was about his career a halo of romance which was absent from theirs. I have long felt that something should be done to bring into clearer light the life and character of one who has many claims on our gratitude and respect; and as no other volunteer presented himself, I have, rashly no doubt, undertaken the work. I regret that it has not fallen to the lot of one better qualified, and also that an unexpected pressure of other occupations has deprived me of the leisure which I had hoped to employ in acquiring the knowledge of my subject in which I am so painfully lacking.

This paper has no pretensions to completeness or to the title of biography. It purports to be merely an imperfect and somewhat irregular sketch of Mr. Uniacke's career. That this sketch may be filled in at a future day by one who shall have given to the task the care, ability and labor which it deserves, is my earnest wish. Meanwhile, the sketch is my humble contribution towards a worthy object.

UNIACKE'S FIRST APPEARANCE IN NORTH AMERICA.

There is a certain flavor of romance about the story of Richard John Uniacke's first connection with the Province of Nova Scotia. Mr. Moses Delesdernier, a native of the Canton of Geneva in Switzerland, but for many years a resident in this Province, went to Philadelphia in the year 1774, to look for settlers to place upon lands near Fort Cumberland, owned by himself and certain associates. One day, so the tradition runs,

while at the river side, he noticed amongst those landing from a vessel which had just arrived from the West Indies, a tall, athletic young man with a lively aspect and an elastic tread, whose dress and bearing were very unlike those of the ordinary immigrant. Struck by his appearance, Mr. Delesdernier accosted the young gentleman and asked him where he came from, and was told that he was last from the West Indies, and originally from Ireland. To a further question as to his motive for coming to North America, the answer was, that he had left Ireland to seek his fortune, and finding that nothing was to be done at the island to which he had gone, had come to see if there were not better prospects on the mainland. Being asked by Mr. Delesdernier what kind of work he would be prepared to do, young Uniacke, for he was the newly landed immigrant, replied that he was ready to do anything. Mr. Delesdernier who had been interested in the youth at first sight, thereupon employed him for the purpose of going to the Cumberland settlement and acting as a kind of clerk or superintendent for the proprietors. This he accordingly did.

LINEAGE AND ANTECEDENTS.

Having got the hero of my story on the stage, it may be as well to tell my hearers something of his lineage and antecedents. His genealogy will be found set forth at considerable length in the second volume of Burke's "Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland."

Richard John Uniacke was the fourth son of Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, of Castletown Roche, in the County of Cork, by Alicia, daughter of Bartholomew Purdon of Gworane, or Garran James, in the same county. Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke of Castletown, was the third son of James Fitzgerald Uniacke, of Mount Uniacke, who commanded a troop of cavalry for William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne, and whose military services are said to have been of material benefit to the Mount Uniacke branch of the family. Burke traces the family back to the fifteenth century, and says that "it appears by the ancient public records that the family of Uniacke was settled at an early period in the south of Ireland, and had possessions in the counties of Cork, Waterford and Tipperary." Castletown and Mount Uniacke are in the eastern part of Cork, not far from the beautiful Blackwater River, which for some distance up from the sea forms the boundary between that county and Waterford. For those who take an interest in heraldry, it may be stated that the arms of the Uniacke family are: "*Argent a wolf passant proper, a chief gules*"; that the crest is a dexter cubit arm, erect, gauntleted proper, holding a hawk's lure or, and that the mottoes are "*Unicus Est,*" and "Faithful and Brave."

One would naturally conclude that there was some connection between the former motto and the peculiar name of the family; and this would seem to have been actually the case. Mr. Richard Gordon Fitzgerald-Uniacke, a grandson of A. M. Uniacke, Esquire, the youngest son of the subject of this sketch, published in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* for the year 1894, a carefully prepared history of the Uniackes of Youghal. From this history, kindly loaned me by Robie Uniacke, Esquire, I find that Canon Hayman, in 1862, gave the following account of the origin of the name, in the *Youghal Parochial Magazine*:

“Soon after the great Geraldine race had settled in Ireland, their chieftain in the West and South, who owned the whole territory called Desmond, was at war with one of the native princes. A desperate attempt was to be made on some castle or town wall, or some narrow breach entered where one should lead the way. When the proposal was made to the whole army as to who would undertake this exploit, or ‘lead the forlorn hope,’ as it would be called in modern times, one young knight, a Fitzgerald, instantly came forward and undertook to do so. He succeeded beyond the expectations of all; and as no one else had seemed inclined to venture, or probably would have ventured, he was ever afterwards called ‘*Unicus*,’ (the only one); and this appellation, after remaining among his immediate posterity in the form of Unick (or Unak) for a time, gradually glided into the present family name of Uniacke.”

“The same tradition,” Mr. R. G. Fitzgerald-Uniacke says, “is alluded to in a letter written by Sir Thomas Judkin Fitz-Gerald, of Lisheen, to Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms, dated 6th May, 1801.” Be the tradition well-founded or not, it is certain that there has always been a warlike strain in the family, and that in modern times representatives of every generation of Uniackes have been in either the army or the navy. Two points in the earlier history of the family it may be well to note. The first of the name of whom we have any record is Bernard Unak, who appears from an entry on the Plea Roll in Bermingham Tower, Dublin, to have been living at Youghal in 1305. Maurice Uniacke, of Youghal, who died in 1649, and his wife, Margaret Kearney, are “the common ancestors of all the various branches of the Uniacke family known to exist at the present day.”

Norman Uniacke, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a well-to-do country gentleman. Richard John was his fourth son, and was born at Castletown on the twenty-second of November, 1753. He is said to have gone to school at Lismore, on the Waterford side of the Blackwater, and there is an impression amongst some of his descendants

that he afterwards studied at Trinity College, Dublin. This impression does not seem to be well founded, because on the fourth of October, 1769, while in his sixteenth year, he was articed to a Dublin attorney named Garde. The Indenture of apprenticeship is preserved at Mount Uniacke, in Hants County, in this Province, and as it is not very long, and is for more reasons than one, an interesting document, it may be as well to give it in full :

“THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, *Between* Richard John Uniacke, fourth son of Norman Uniacke, of Castletown in the County of Corke Gent of the one part and Thomas Garde Gent. one of the Attorneys of His Majestie's Court of Exchequer in Ireland of the other part

WITNESSETH that the said Richard John Uniacke by and with the consent of his father the said Norman Uniacke *Doth* by these presents put himself an apprentice to the said Thomas Garde with him to live and dwell as an Attorney's clarke or apprentice for the term of five years to be computed and to commence from the day of the date hereof during which time the said Richard John Uniacke his master's lawfull commands shall observe his secrets keep hurt to his said master he shall not do nor suffer to be done practice as an attorney he shall not without the leave of his said master matrimony he shall not contract taverns or ale houses he shall not frequent at cards or dice or any other unlawfull game he shall not play but in all respects shall behave to his said master as becometh an apprentice.

And the said Thomas Garde for the considerations aforesaid and in consideration of one hundred and fifteen pounds to him paid by the said Norman Uniacke at or before the time of the perfection of these presents *Doth* covenant and undertake to find and provide for the said Richard John Uniacke in the City of Dublin competent and necessary dyet and lodging during the said term but the said Richard John Uniacke is to provide at his own expence a horse for his own use and all other necessaries whatsoever except said dyet and lodging : the said Thomas Garde *Doth* further promise at the expiration of said five years to use his utmost endeavours to procure the said Richard John Uniacke at the proper cost and charges of him the said Richard John to be admitted and sworn one of the Attorneys.

IN WITNESS Whereof the said parties have hereunto sett their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Signed sealed & delivered
in presence of

NORMAN UNIACKE
WM. MCCREIGHT

RICHD JON UNIACKE (L.S.)
THOS GARDE (L.S.)

This Indenture is marked as “Entd in the Chief Remem'rs Office the 13th of Nov., 1769.

CLANBRASSILL.”

Young Uniacke did not remain with Mr. Garde until the end of the five years, but left Ireland in December, 1773, to seek his fortune beyond the Atlantic. The cause of his departure I have not been able to find out, but there is little doubt but that it was a serious quarrel with his father. This is made clear by extracts from Norman Uniacke's will, given in Mr. R. G. Fitzgerald-Uniacke's history of the family. The testator entails lands upon his eldest son James, with remainder to his third son Norman, remainder to his fifth son Crofton, remainder to his daughter Mary. He also devises other lands to his eldest, third and fifth sons, passing over the second and fourth, Bartholomew and Richard John. Of these two he speaks in exactly the same terms, and they deserve to be quoted. To his fourth son Richard John he bequeaths five pounds sterling "which sum is to be in full of all demands he may have as my child to my real or personal estate, he having highly disobliged me." The will also contains a provision that when his eldest son comes into possession of certain lands, he is to pay "the sum of twenty pounds sterling, by two half-yearly payments, to each of my sons Richard John and Bartholomew Uniacke." This will is dated 17th March, 1774, three months after Richard's leaving Ireland, and nearly two years after Bartholomew had joined as an ensign the 60th Regiment, then stationed at Antigua, in the West Indies. In what way Bartholomew and Richard John had "highly disobliged" their father does not appear. It may be added that the testator died in the end of 1776 or the beginning of 1777, and the will disinheriting his second and fourth sons was proved on the 3rd of March in the latter year. Through the kindness of the Reverend James B. Uniacke, the present owner of Mount Uniacke, I have had an opportunity to read a paper written by his grandfather, describing his voyage to the West Indies, a portion of which I may be pardoned for quoting. Its present condition is seemingly fragmentary. It covers something over eleven pages of foolscap, and ends abruptly. It is headed "Observations on the West Indies and North America by Richard John Uniacke, in a voyage he took from Ireland in the ship *Catharine*, Captn Robert Torrance, 7th December, 1773—Left Cork." It begins with an apparent inconsistency. "Richard Jno. Uniacke sailed from the Cove of Cork the 6th Dec., 1773, in the ship *Catharine*, Capt. Robt Torrance, for the West Indies, with a fair wind." On the 25th they made the Madeira Islands. On the 26th of January, 1774, they saw Antigua and Montserrat, the latter of which is spoken of as "mostly inhabited by Irish." In the afternoon of the same day Nevis was sighted, and at midnight the ship came to anchor

off Basseterre, the chief town of the Island of St. Kitts, where the voyage seems to have ended. Some of the youthful traveller's reflections upon what he saw at this island are interesting. He tells us that: "No race of people in the world can equal what we call the Creole English in laziness, as far as I have had an opportunity of seeing them they are very fond of show, and in general very proud. However, they do not all come under this rule. A Creole lady will not stoop for a pin, but must have a black girl to reach it her, while she reclines all day long on a sofa." Again, "I have often thought how ridiculous it was that a nation, whose ancestors knew so well the value of liberty as to have maintained it with the last drop of their blood should be instrumental in enslaving a race of people whose only crime, if I judge right, is that the same Being which created them, for reasons beyond the capacity of mortals, made them black instead of white, yet with the same ideas, and I daresay, when they have had the opportunity of polishing themselves that the English have, of superior capacities."

The man who used this language in 1774, more than thirteen years before Wilberforce took the first step in his campaign against the slave trade, was no ordinary youth of twenty. It may be noted that the "Observations" contain no hint of the reasons which led the writer to take the voyage in the ship *Catharine*.

HISTORY RESUMED.

Resuming our history where we broke off for the purpose of giving our hero's antecedents; it would appear that young Uniacke remained at Cumberland with Mr. Delesdernier and his associates from 1774 until the end of 1776. In one respect he seems to have been like the typical virtuous apprentice, for on the third of May, 1775, he was married to Martha Maria Delesdernier, daughter of his employer. The groom was a little over twenty-one, and the bride had not attained the age of thirteen. In the latter part of 1776, Jonathan Eddy and other sympathizers with the revolted colonists, laid siege to Fort Cumberland, but the fort having been reinforced by 200 marines under Major Batt, they abandoned the undertaking on the 28th of November, and dispersed. Amongst those arrested, on suspicion of being implicated in the rebellion, and brought as prisoners to Halifax, was Richard John Uniacke.

I am informed that the sergeant of the guard charged with the duty of conveying the prisoners to the capital, was an Irishman named Lawlor; that young Uniacke appealed to his fellow-countryman to take

the hand-cuffs off him, pledging his honor at the same time to make no attempt to escape, and that the sergeant granted the request. Lawlor afterwards left the army and settled back of Dartmouth. He was a Roman Catholic, and made it a rule to come to Halifax every spring for the purpose of making his Easter Communion. After Uniacke's admission to the bar, when he was one of the leading men of the place, he did not forget the comparatively humble man who had befriended him in the day of his distress, but always insisted that during those Easter visits Lawlor should make a home of his house.

1776-1781.

There is not a little mystery and uncertainty as to young Uniacke's life from November, 1776, until the spring of 1781. Most of those settlers near Fort Cumberland who had come from the older colonies, sided with the revolutionists. The same was true, I believe, of those who came from the North of Ireland; while the Yorkshire men, Mr. Bulmer tells us, remained firm in their allegiance to King George. It is not unreasonable to suppose that an ardent youth like Uniacke should have sympathized with his associates, more particularly when we learn that his father-in-law was more than suspected of disloyalty. Mr. Bulmer, in a paper printed in the first volume of the proceedings of the Historical Society, throws a good deal of light upon the case of the Cumberland rebels, including Mr. Uniacke. Of the prisoners brought to Halifax, charged with being concerned in Eddy's rebellion, as it was sometimes called, Dr. Clarke and Thomas Falconer were tried respectively on the 18th and the 19th of April, 1777, and found guilty, but pleaded the King's pardon before sentence and were respited. James Avery escaped from jail. Uniacke, who had apparently promised to give evidence on behalf of the crown, failed to do so or to appear in court. It is supposed that some prominent Irishmen, of whom there were several in Halifax at the time, and some officers of the garrison who knew his family in Ireland used their influence to prevent his suffering for what might reasonably be looked at as a youthful escapade. The only evidence against Uniacke is contained in the deposition of William Milburn, and is not altogether conclusive as to his guilt. Milburn swears :

“That on or about the 11th of November, (1776) being sent a message by Colonel Goreham commanding ye garrison at Fort Cumberland, to a place called Number 1, to one Mr. Smith, which having delivered, and the next morning being about to return to the garrison, one Mr. Richard J. Uniacke, who liveth at No. 1 aforesaid, said that he must go

along with said Smith to the rebel camp, which the deponent at first refused, but said Uniacke insisted he must go, otherwise the rebel sentries would carry him there by force, and that Colonel Eddy, as he called him, of the rebels would never forgive them if he would not go to him and would imagine they harbored any person from the garrison, he would never forgive him."

I have been unable to discover Uniacke's whereabouts, or to follow his movements at and about the time fixed for the trial. Doctor Akins was of opinion that his friends got him placed on board a ship leaving for the old country; but if so, it could not have been for some months after the proceedings in court described by Mr. Bulmer; because I find, in the office of the Registrar of Deeds, a deed from Richard John Uniacke, Gentleman, and Martha Maria his wife, to James Brown, Gentleman, bearing date the twenty-second of August, 1777, by which for the consideration of four hundred pounds the grantors transfer to Mr. Brown the lot and house in Hollis Street, Letter C, Number 4, in Foreman's Division. This lot was on the lower side of Hollis Street, south of the property now occupied by Longard Brothers, and had been devised to Mrs. Uniacke by her aunt Martha, the widow of Paul Pritchard. On the same day, Mrs. Uniacke's father, Moses Delesdernier of Cumberland, assigned to Mr. Brown, a Bond made to him by Paul Pritchard in his life time. Both instruments were witnessed by William Lloyd, (the Deed from Uniacke and wife being witnessed also by Delesdernier) and were proved by him and recorded on the following day. It is clear then that on the twenty-second of August, 1777, Uniacke was in Halifax. He probably sailed shortly after that date; and it is possible that the proceeds of the sale enabled him to complete his law studies. This Mr. Murdoch thought he did in England, while Dr. Akins's opinion was that it was in Ireland. The latter would seem to have been right. At Mount Uniacke I saw the following certificate and receipt:

"Trinity Term 1779.

These are to certify that Richard Jno. Uniacke Gent. was admitted a member of the Honorable Society of the King's Inns, Dublin, as an Attorney of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, and hath paid his

Admission fee	13.4
Steward	5.

£ 18.4

Rec'd. for the use of this Honorable Society.

Dated the 22nd day of June, 1779.

JOHN ROBINSON

Steward."

There is no reason to doubt that young Uniacke completed his term of apprenticeship in Dublin, presumably with Mr. Garde, to whom he had been articled four years previous to his departure in the ship *Catharine*. Inquiry at the King's Inns in Dublin, has elicited the information that he did not, after being admitted as an attorney, proceed to seek admission to the Bar. It is rarely possible that he may have gone from Dublin to London, and there studied with a view to being admitted barrister, in which case Mr. Murdoch's statement would be partially correct. It can hardly be doubted that during his stay in Ireland he revisited his home at Castletown, particularly as his father had died while he was in Nova Scotia. It may be remarked that he does not seem to have borne any ill will towards his father, as he called his own eldest son Norman Fitzgerald — presumably after the boy's grandfather.

EARLY CAREER AT THE BAR.

Wherever Richard John Uniacke went after being admitted an attorney in Dublin, no mention of him as being in Nova Scotia is to be found until his admission as a barrister and attorney on the third of April, 1781. He was probably absent from the Province for something over three years. In any case, we may assume that the time between June, 1779, and April, 1781, was well and profitably spent. He does not appear to have been obliged to wait as long for practice—he certainly had not for professional advancement—as the average young lawyer. Mr. Bulmer says that the records of the court are full of him from the date of his admission. On the 29th of December, 1781, he was commissioned by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, as Solicitor General, in the room of Richard Gibbons, appointed Attorney General upon Mr. Brenton's promotion to the bench of the Supreme Court. On the sixth of January, 1782, Lieutenant-Governor Hamond wrote to Lord George Germaine, and, speaking of Mr. Uniacke's appointment, said he had been well recommended as a fit person, from his abilities and character, for the position of Solicitor General. Mr. Uniacke was sworn into office on the fourth of January, 1782. On the 22nd of May, 1782, a second commission as Solicitor General was issued by the Lieutenant-Governor pursuant to the King's mandamus. A practice prevailed in those days of making appointments under the hand of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, which in a strict sense were only provisional, and which were afterwards confirmed by royal mandamus. In the case of appointments to His Majesty's

Council the practice was to have the commission issued from London in the first instance; and this continued to be the rule until the coming into force of the British North America Act on the first of July, 1867. The second commission issued to Mr. Uniacke contained a reference to His Majesty's confidence in the loyalty of Mr. Uniacke, which indicated a marked change of sentiment during the five years which had elapsed since his arrest in Cumberland, and also a provision intended to prevent an abuse which was not uncommon at that time, "and you the said Richard John Uniacke are to enjoy the said office in your own person except in cases of sickness or incapacity." Mr. Uniacke apparently had influential friends who started him on the road to success; and he was able to do the rest for himself. As Murdoch says, "he attained professional eminence, wealth and honors by great natural eloquence, talent and industry."

Judge Morse, of Amherst, has kindly placed in my hands a letter written on New Year's Day, 1782, by the newly appointed Attorney General Gibbons, to Col. J. F. W. DesBarres, then in London, which throws not a little light upon the doings of the official people of that day, and contains an interesting reference to his successor in the office of Solicitor General. I quote the passage in question, with the preliminary remark that the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia was an Irishman named Bryan Finucane:

"In short ignorance and partiality, except in the office of Chief Justice, are as prevalent in this country as formerly. *Apropos*, the Chief Justice is embarked for New York *en route* to England, he is professionally much my friend, although he appears to be tinged with national attachments which with some Irish recommendations has induced him to procure one Uniack (who was associated with the Rebels in attacking Fort Cumberland) to be appointed Solicitor General in my place."

A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

The next important event in Mr. Uniacke's history, of which we have any record, was his election, in 1783, to the House of Assembly as member for the township of Sackville. The fact that he was elected for this constituency would go to show that during his former residence in the neighborhood he had made a favorable impression upon the people of the district. It is a somewhat interesting circumstance that there is a piece of land—I believe on the New Brunswick side of the Missiguash River—which is, to this day, known as Uniacke's Hill.

The Legislature met on the sixth of October, 1783, when the newly elected member for Sackville Township took the usual oaths and his seat. A perusal of the Assembly's journals will show that he at once took a leading place in the House. On the opening day, James Brenton, Charles Morris Jr. and Richard John Uniacke, Esquires, were appointed a committee to prepare an answer to Governor Parr's speech. It seems contrary to all our ideas of parliamentary propriety that a member of the House who had been elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court, should, after his appointment, continue to occupy his seat. Yet this was what Mr. Brenton did. It is also contrary to our practice that the duties of clerk should be discharged by a member, but in 1783 Mr. Richard Cunningham, member for ————— was also Clerk of Assembly.

There were in those days many anomalies and abuses, or what would now be regarded as such, in the mode of conducting the public business; and Mr. Uniacke worked vigorously, persistently and with a large measure of success to remove several of them. The journals of the House contain a meagre record of his official acts as member; and in order to gain some idea of the character of his activity, it may be well to look a little closely at this record for the first two sessions of his membership. On the second day of the session of 1783, it was, on motion of Richard John Uniacke, Esquire, Resolved, that the clerk of the House should be obliged to take an oath to the following purport: "You A. B. do solemnly swear, that you will faithfully and impartially discharge the office of Clerk of this House, and keep the Journals thereof without prejudice or partiality"; and thereupon the oath was duly administered to Mr. Cunningham. It was also resolved at the same time that no person chosen to be clerk after that session should be at the same time clerk and member of the House. It can be readily understood that a clerk who was also a member would be more strongly tempted to prejudice and partiality than one who was not; and as oaths of office were probably taken more seriously then than they are now, Mr. Uniacke's resolution strikes one as being useful and proper. On the same day he was appointed on the joint committee of both Houses to examine and report on the public accounts; and on the eighth of October, Judge Brenton and he were ordered to examine and report to the House such laws as were near expiring. On the same day Mr. Uniacke obtained leave to bring in a bill to regulate the appointment of sheriffs, and at the next sitting introduced a bill for regulating the

charges to be made by innholders. He was also appointed with Messrs. Cochran, Cunningham and Pyke on a committee to confer with a committee of the Council on a bill respecting the times of holding the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. On the 13th he, Chipman and Ritchie (grandfather of the present Judge Ritchie) were appointed a committee on the printing of a revised edition of the statutes which had been prepared by Judges Deschamps and Brenton and approved by the House. On the same day the Council sent down to the House an extract from a report made by two of the judges on the losses and suffering arising out of the Cumberland rebellion of 1776. Thereupon the House, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, resolved that the consideration of the business be deferred until the whole report be obtained from His Excellency the Governor; and Mr. Uniacke and Mr. J. Gay were ordered a committee to wait on His Excellency for that purpose. To this committee Martin Gay, just elected for Cumberland, was added next day.

On the 15th of October an address to the Governor was decided upon on Mr. Uniacke's motion, asking that a new county should be created westward of Queens, and that another new county should be established which should comprehend the District of Colchester; and it was ordered that Uniacke, Fillis, Harris and John Cunningham be a committee to prepare the said address. The case of the proposed county west of Queens was looked upon by the House as being decidedly more urgent than that of Colchester, while to-day the population of Colchester is greater than that of Queens and Shelburne together. In 1783, however, Shelburne was comparatively a much more important place than it is to-day. On the sixteenth a committee whereof Uniacke was the first named, was appointed to confer with a committee of the Council with respect to a bill of Uniacke's dealing with the butchers. I fancy that there are many heads of families in Halifax to-day who would not be displeased to see some prominent public man take such action in 1891 as would make good meat a less expensive luxury than it has been during the past few months.

On the following day it was, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, resolved that the Clerk of the Crown furnish the committee on public accounts "with a list of the names and space of time of confinement of all the prisoners, who have been committed, confined and supported at the suit of the Crown, in the county gaol of Halifax, for the last fifteen months past."

On the 18th was presented a petition from Richard J. Uniacke to the effect that he had discharged the duties of Solicitor General for nearly two years without compensation. The house allowed him £150 for his past services, and thenceforward an item of £100 for the Solicitor General appears among the yearly appropriations. On the 20th of October it was resolved, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, that an address be presented to the Governor asking him to remove William Black, James Law and Charles Dickson, Esquires, from the commission of the peace in the County of Cumberland. On the twenty-first he moved, "That the key of this room be constantly kept in the possession of the Clerk of this House," and thereupon resolved that it should. On the 24th Uniacke moved that a day be fixed for a committee of the whole to take the report of the Committee on Public Accounts into consideration; and the following day was fixed. On the 25th the report of the committee, a carefully prepared and important document calling attention to several abuses, and signed on behalf of the Assembly by Messrs Uniacke, Thomas Cochran and J. G. Pyke was submitted, and was considered on that and several following days. The House appointed four distinct committees to deal with as many separate portions of the report. The committee on the Poor House, in connection with which institution there seem to have been gross abuses and extravagance, was composed of Uniacke, Cochrane and Pyke. Uniacke was also a member of the committee on the revenues, which reported three bills dealing respectively with the duties of customs, or as the term then was, impost, and excise, the duty on licensed houses and the transient poor, On November 7th, Uniacke moved that a day be fixed for the final discussion and determination on all the public accounts, and the next day was accordingly fixed. The bills above referred to were all passed by the House, but met with vigorous opposition in the Council; and all failed to become law during the session of 1783.

On the tenth of November Uniacke was one of a committee appointed to confer with a committee of the Council, as to a revenue bill. On the eleventh he was appointed a member of a committee to inspect and report on the public buildings. On the 13th the House rejected the Council amendments to the customs and excise bill, and as the Council adhered to their amendments, a committee of conference was appointed on the 17th, of which Uniacke was a member. The Council agreed to withdraw some of their amendments, but adhered to others, and the House held this to be a rejection of the bill. On the same day

he was ordered to prepare an address to His Excellency asking him to appoint collectors of customs and excise in certain districts, and on the next day he was one of a committee appointed to wait on the Governor and present the address. On the same day, the eighteenth, Uniacke submitted to the House a form for the accounts of collectors of revenue, which upon his motion was entered on the Journals. It was then, upon his motion, resolved :

That this form be used by collectors, who shall account quarterly :

That collectors shall keep accounts of permits for dutiable articles removed into other districts ;

And that the Treasurer receive no account not duly sworn to from any collector, and that no unsworn account be passed by the House

On the 19th Uniacke moves a resolution in favor of obtaining supplies for the light house, and is one of a committee to decide upon the forms to be used in accounts against the province.

On the 21st Messrs Brenton, Uniacke, Cochrane, Fillis and Pyke were appointed a committee to correspond with Richard Cumberland, who had recently not discharged his duties as agent for the Province in London in such a way as to give satisfaction to the House. On the 22nd, Messrs Cochrane, Uniacke, Pyke, John Gay and Martin Gay were a committee to present a congratulatory address to Governor Parr and the address was passed, which amongst other things asked His Excellency to accept a gift of £500 from the province towards the maintenance of his table. An address was passed on the same day to Chief Justice Bryan Finucane, who had just got back from a visit to the old country, congratulating him on his safe return, and presenting him with £400 to defray the expense of his voyage. Those money votes were of a most unusual character ; and I have little doubt but that Mr. Uniacke was responsible for that to the chief justice, who was a fellow-countryman, and I believe a particular friend of his own.

On the 25th of November, it was on motion of Mr. Uniacke resolved, "That no person in future be furnished with any Minutes or Journals of this House, or be permitted to peruse or inspect the same, unless a member of this House, until such Journals shall be printed." The reason for the adoption of this resolution is not disclosed, but it was probably that the Council got through unofficial channels accurate information as to the doings of the House earlier than the members of the latter deemed desirable. On the same day, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, John Whidden, John Chipman, Thomas Caldwell and Daniel Dickson

were appointed a committee to lay out a road from the bridge of Cornwallis River to the forks of Windsor River, and thence to the Halifax road. It was likewise resolved that the committee appointed to correspond with the provincial agent in London should take measures for the improvement of trade, to have judges appointed during good behavior instead of at pleasure, and to improve the manner of holding Courts of Admiralty.

On the 26th, it was resolved on Mr. Uniacke's motion, that the seats of such members as had not attended during the present session be vacated. He also moved that no member be minuted in future as having attended to his duty on any day, unless he be present at the opening and closing on that day; and also that no member be allowed pay unless he attended two-thirds of each session, and also at the prorogation. This resolution was agreed to as to future sessions. On the same day Messrs Cochran, Newton and Uniacke were appointed a committee to inform the Governor that there was no business before the House.

On the 27th it was announced by message that the Council would not agree to the Appropriation Bill without their amendments, whereupon the House sent the following message: "The House of Assembly have heard the resolves of His Majesty's Council of this date read, and find the same of so extraordinary a nature, that they cannot on any account take the same into further consideration."

The prorogation was on the second of December, when amongst other bills assented to was one for the relief of Roman Catholics, less liberal in its provisions than that passed during the session of 1782, which had been disallowed in England.

I know that I have dealt with the proceedings of this session at such length as to be tedious to my hearers; but the record is well calculated to show the extent and character of the activity of the new member for Sackville, who was apparently the leading man in the House, and an ardent supporter of its constitutional rights, which were seriously interfered with by the proceedings of the Council with respect to the revenue and appropriation bills. The conflict upon the questions of ways and means and supply, was not finally ended until two months after Mr. Uniacke's death in 1830.

The session of 1784 began on the first of November, and during it, as well as during that which had preceded, Uniacke seems to have been the leading, or at least the most effectually active member. I do not propose to deal with what he did as much in detail as in the case of the

session of 1783; but there are certain matters which seem to call for brief notice. During the session of 1783 the seat of Winckworth Tonge, member for Kings County, had been declared vacant, and the House had resolved that a writ should issue for an election to fill the vacancy. The writ had never been issued; and, on the first day of the new session, Uniacke brought the matter before the House, and an address was voted to the Governor, complaining of the disrespect shown to the decision of the House. On the third of November the committee appointed to wait on His Excellency with the address, reported that the writ had been issued. On the same day Uniacke moved, That a proper part of the House should in future be allotted for all persons who were freeholders of this province to hear the debates, reserving to the House the power to exclude strangers where desired. The motion was seconded by Mr. Philipps, and adopted. It can be readily seen what an important step this was towards that publicity which seems so essential to our modern parliamentary life.

It was also on Uniacke's motion resolved, that the clerk copy the rules of the House, and omit the fourteenth, which restrained members from taking notes of each other's speeches, or conversing about the same out of the House. It is difficult to see any justification for the existence of the rule thus got rid of. On the fourth of November Uniacke introduced a bill to make lands liable for the payment of debts.

The committee of the whole House digested and agreed upon a plan for raising revenue for the support of the government during the ensuing year; and the Solicitor General was, on the 10th of November, appointed to draft bills embodying the decisions of the committee. He accordingly introduced four bills, all of which passed the House. On the 18th Uniacke moved for a return of defaulting accountants. On the 22nd the House resolved, that George Deschamps, Esquire, Collector for the County of Hants, was a public defaulter, and that large sums of money were due from him. Thereupon, Mr. Uniacke moved that Mr. Deschamps (who was also member for ———) be expelled from the House, and Mr. Delancey moved in amendment that he be only censured. The amendment was adopted.

On the 23rd the House received a message from Governor Parr, complaining of the non-submission of the Journals in conformity with the previous practice. A motion to conform was voted down 17 to 8, the Solicitor General voting with the majority. It was then resolved and ordered, that the Governor be furnished with the Proceedings of the

House in the same manner as the King was supplied with the Proceedings of the House of Commons in England. Then, upon motion of Mr. Uniacke, it was "Ordered, That the clerk of the House furnish His Excellency the Governor with the Journals of this House regularly as they may be printed."

On the 24th, Uniacke submitted the draft of an address to the Governor in answer to his message with respect to the Journals, to the effect that the House has given orders that the Journals as fast as they come from the press should be delivered at the Government House instead of at the Council Chambers. The address also begged His Excellency to send his messages to the House under his own signature, and not under that of the Secretary.

On the 27th November, the House decided to remove Richard Cumberland from the position of agent in London for the province; and, upon motion of Mr. Uniacke, Brook Watson, Esquire, was unanimously chosen in his stead.

On the 29th it was resolved, on motion of Philipps, seconded by Uniacke, That interest on the Treasurer's notes and warrants for the year 1785, amounting to £716 12 7, be paid out of impost and excise duties; and that ten per cent of the said duties go into a sinking fund to pay off the provincial debt. On the same day, William Shaw a member for Annapolis County, who had been found a defaulter in the office of Sheriff of Halifax, was expelled from the House; after which a resolution, moved by Uniacke, to the effect that if any member in future received any public money out of the treasury, without a vote of the House, his seat should be vacated, was unanimously adopted. At a later part of the same sitting it was resolved that, "The House of Assembly consider any amendments made by the Council to the Revenue or Money Bills, which bills originate in this House, to be an Innovation on the Rights and Privileges of the House of Assembly, and therefore cannot allow the same to be done." An address was agreed upon, to be presented to the Governor by Delancey, Uniacke and Newton, dealing with the subjects of defaulters, the limits of counties, collectors of revenue, and justices of the peace keeping taverns.

The Council's amendments to the Revenue bills having been rejected by the House, were adhered to by the Council, whereupon the House, on the second of December, adopted an address to the Governor upon the subject, which, upon motion of Uniacke, it was resolved should be presented on the next day. On the third of December the Council, probably

feeling that they had been wrong, informed the House that the bills had been rejected by mistake and the bills were passed. As part of a compromise, which had probably been agreed upon, Uniacke on the fourth introduced a bill to exempt molasses, rum and certain other articles, imported for the use of the navy, from duty. On the eighth of December, 1784, prorogation took place, and thus ended the active life of the fifth General Assembly,—the Long Parliament of Nova Scotia,—which had existed since 1770. The work of Uniacke during its last two sessions was varied in its subjects, large in amount, and useful and popular in its character.

MATERIAL WELFARE.

I am sure that my readers will not object to quit the House of Assembly for a time, and I regret that I feel called upon to take them at first to what is usually looked upon as a prosaic and uninteresting place,—the Registry of Deeds. There I find a deed dated 30th January, 1784, from Richard John Uniacke and Martha Maria, his wife, to James Browne, late of Halifax, but now of Ireland, Gentleman. This deed recites that of the 22nd of August, 1777, already mentioned, and states that in consequence of the non-age of Mrs. Uniacke it was void, that she had attained her majority in December, 1783, and for the consideration of five shillings renews the conveyance. The reference to Brown, the grantee, as now living in Ireland, tends to strengthen the impression that the conveyance of August, 1777, was part of a plan contrived by Uniacke and some Irish friends to enable him to get away from Nova Scotia, and pay his expenses during absence, and possibly to maintain his wife. I find also a deed of the seventh of May, 1784, from Anthony Henry, printer, and Margaret his wife, to Richard John Uniacke, for the consideration of thirteen hundred pounds, of certain lots on the western side of Argyle Street, being lots 9, 10, 11 and 12, in Block Letter C, in Ewer's Division of the Town of Halifax, and also of Lot 3 in Letter H of the same Division, which was on the opposite side of the Street. This property seems to have become Mr. Uniacke's town residence; and it was only in 1872 that the dwelling and out buildings on the west side of the street, ceased to be occupied by his son Andrew. Mr. Uniacke gave Mr. Henry a mortgage for £500, which was shortly afterwards paid off and released. The purchase of this property, and the promptness with which the comparatively large price was paid, would go to show that Mr. Uniacke's practice was considerable. In the same month in which he purchased what became the family residence, Mr.

Uniacke was commissioned by Governor Parr as Advocate General in the Vice-Admiralty Court within the province, in the place of William Nesbitt, deceased. Inasmuch as England was almost continuously at war with France from the beginning of 1793 until the battle of Waterloo, and was also engaged in hostilities with the United States in 1812, 1813, and 1814, the business of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax was very extensive during the periods mentioned; and, as the fees of the Advocate General were calculated upon a liberal scale, this office brought in large sums to Mr. Uniacke. In fact the largest part of the handsome fortune which he acquired was derived from it.

A DISAPPOINTMENT AND CONSEQUENT FEUD.

In December, 1784, (23rd), Gibbons, the Attorney General, was appointed Chief Justice of Cape Breton, then just erected into an independent province, and Sampson Salter Blowers was appointed Attorney General of Nova Scotia in his place, the claims of Uniacke, the Solicitor General, being ignored. I fancy that from this time may be dated the rivalry and ill feeling between Blowers and Uniacke, which never altogether disappeared until the grave closed over the younger man. In addition to the personal feeling, there was a general absence of cordiality between the loyalist refugees,—the “new comers,” as they were called—and those whom they found here, and who were known as “old comers.” Blowers had occupied a somewhat prominent position at the Boston bar, and was about eleven years older than Uniacke; but the latter might be pardoned if he felt dissatisfied that the natural course of his professional promotion should be broken in upon, and one whom he might naturally regard as an interloper placed ahead of him, in the position to which he had reasonably looked upon himself as entitled. Certain subsequent events were calculated to increase this feeling.

Not long after the appointment of Blowers, as we learn from the recently published correspondence of Thomas Barclay, who came to Nova Scotia from New York in 1783, and returned thither as British Consul General in 1799, a dispute took place between the Attorney General and Uniacke, “about a negro man whom the latter had dismissed, and Blowers took into service. On this occasion Uniacke said some rude things; Blowers challenged; the Chief Justice (probably Bryan Finucane), interfered and bound them both over in £1500.” The general tone of Barclay’s letter betrays a bias against Uniacke, such as might be expected from a ‘new comer’ in the case of a quarrel between one of his own friends and an ‘old comer.’

The fifth General Assembly, which had been in existence for more than fifteen years, was dissolved by proclamation on the 20th October, 1785, and the writs were returnable on December the first. The poll opened at Halifax on November the eighth, and S. S. Blowers, John George Pyke, Richard John Uniacke and Michael Wallace were elected for the county.

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The new House met on the fifth of December, 1785, and Mr. Blowers—the Attorney General—was unanimously chosen speaker. This must have intensified the feelings of annoyance and disappointment which Uniacke already entertained in connection with the Attorney Generalship, Here was he, who had been, as we have seen, about the most prominent and active member of the House during two sessions, ignored, and the headship of the House bestowed upon a “new comer,” who now took his seat for the first time. In pursuance of the resolution adopted at the beginning of the session of 1783 a clerk was chosen from outside the House, and the choice fell upon James Boutineau Francklin, who held the position for forty-two years, and retired with a pension in 1827. Mr. Francklin was a son of the Honorable Michael Francklin who had died three years before, and a grandson, I believe, of Peter Faneuil, after whom Faneuil Hall in Boston was named. His residence was on the south-western corner of Morris and Pleasant streets, and his daughter married Mr. Uniacke’s son, the Reverend R. Fitzgerald Uniacke.

The rivalry between Blowers and Uniacke soon showed itself. Almost immediately after the opening of the session a question arose as the legality of the election of Isaac Wilkins, grandfather of the late Martin I. Wilkins and Judge Wilkins; and, when the House went into committee, the spectacle was presented of the Attorney General—who was also Speaker—leading the party who thought Wilkins entitled to the seat, and the Solicitor General leading the other party who thought that the election should be declared void. In this case Blowers triumphed; but in other cases in this and subsequent sessions Uniacke had the majority on his side. While Mr. Blowers was Speaker, Uniacke continued to be, as far as one can judge from the Journals, the leading member of the House, although Major Barclay and one or two others were also very active.

SPEAKER.

In January, 1788, Blowers was appointed to the Council, and when the House next met—on March the fifth, 1789—Uniacke, proposed by Captain A. Howe, was chosen Speaker over Barclay, proposed by Mr.

Putnam ; and thenceforward his name, naturally, does not very often appear in the Journals.

On the first of April the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Deschamps presiding, struck Jonathan Sterns and his partner Taylor off the roll of attorneys for certain publications reflecting on the judges. Complaint having been made to the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General united in an opinion that the Supreme Court had not exceeded its authority, or misused the power vested in it by law.

On the 16th June, 1789, Mr. Uniacke was appointed by the Lieutenant Governor one of the trustees of the Grammar School forthwith to be established in Halifax. On the second of March, 1890, the House being in committee of the whole on the state of the poor-house, Speaker Uniacke made an important speech on the subject. He showed that the expenditure upon the institution for 1789 had been over £1600, about one-fourth of the whole revenue of the province, and pointed out certain remedies for this unsatisfactory state of things. He said that, in the year 1784, he had acted as overseer with Messrs. Cochran, Newton and Pyke ; that the expense of the house in 1783 had been over £1200 ; that they had reduced the province's share of this charge to between £400 and £500, and laid out besides £200 in repairs on the house, and that they had also reduced the town-charge to less than £200. "It was true, he said, he believed they had been rather too economical in their arrangements, for the keeper they employed, so far from making money by it, was so far reduced that the succeeding overseers were obliged to receive him as a pauper into the poor-house." This concluding sentence of the speech has a strong flavour of the humour which was a marked characteristic of Mr. Uniacke. On the same day the Speaker read a draft of a letter which, at the request of the House, he had written to the London agent of the province. The substance of the letter is given by Mr. Murdoch, and it contained many enlightened and valuable suggestions. On the 4th of March a series of resolutions respecting the poor-house, drawn by the Speaker, was adopted by the House. On the 10th of March Major Barclay exhibited thirteen articles of impeachment against Judges Deschamps and Brenton. When he had resumed his seat, "The Speaker referred to the modes of proceeding fit to be adopted, and concluded by recommending the House to proceed temperately and deliberately, and to avoid all unnecessary warmth."

The articles of impeachment were adopted by the House, as also a resolution asking the suspension of the judges; but Lieutenant Governor Parr (he had been only Lieutenant Governor since 1786), having referred the question of suspension to the Council, and that body having voted five to one against suspension, declined to act upon the resolution of the Assembly. Mr. Murdoch, in referring to the then House of Assembly, speaks of the great talent displayed by various members, and, in giving the characteristics of certain leading members, mentions in the first place "the flowing sentences and racy humor of Uniacke." He thinks that there was a weight and a charm about the proceedings of the House, that were only twice or thrice repeated in succeeding years.

A Septennial Act was passed during the session of 1792. Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, who had been appointed in place of Mr. Parr, deceased, dissolved the Assembly on the 22nd January, 1793; and the election was held in February. Mr. Uniacke was not re-elected, and does not seem to have even been a candidate. The reason for his temporary retirement I have not ascertained. It may have been that the influence of an unfriendly element, represented by Mr. Blowers, rendered his contesting Halifax County, for which he had sat in the last House, hopeless. When the new House met on March the 20th, Barclay was chosen speaker.

FOUNDER OF THE CHARITABLE IRISH SOCIETY.

The pause which at this time took place in his political career naturally offers a chance to look at Mr. Uniacke's life from other points of view. While attending to his own private business and to the public affairs of the home of his adoption with great care and marked success, he never forgot the land of his birth, but was always thoroughly Irish in his sentiments and sympathies, and always a friend to fellow-countrymen in distress. He had hardly made his professional and political footing good, when he turned his attention to the interests of Irishmen in distress. In 1786 he, in conjunction with the Bulkeley's, the Cochran's, the Sherlock's, the Kavanagh's, the Hill's, the Cunningham's, Gerald Fitzgerald, Andrew Finucane, Michael Tobin, and others, established the Charitable Irish Society, which still flourishes in our midst, and the members of which, in 1886, when celebrating the centenary of its foundation, did not fail to pay due honor to the memory of the first president of the Society—generally spoken of as the 'Founder'—Richard John Uniacke.

Doctor Akins was strongly of opinion that there was an earlier Irish Society in Halifax than that established in 1786, and that of this society Gerald Fitzgerald, Finucane, Bulkeley and Thomas Beamish were members, as was also Uniacke; and he thought that it collapsed owing to the first American war. Mr. Beamish was a native of the County of Cork, was Port Warden of Halifax, and was the grandfather of the late Beamish Murdoch, of Doctor Thomas Beamish Akins, and of Mr. Francis S. Beamish, barrister. Dr. Akins told of a prejudice which Mrs. Beamish (his grandmother) entertained against Uniacke, who had come home with her husband at a very late hour from a St. Patrick's dinner, because as a result of some prank of his a punch bowl which she valued was broken. The theory of Dr. Akins with respect to an earlier Irish Society is borne out by the fact that Beamish was not a member of the existing association. On the other hand, it appears somewhat doubtful whether Uniacke ever resided in Halifax before 1777. I find it stated at p. 146 of Mr. N. F. Davin's *Irishman in Canada* that, "The President of the Irish Charitable Society was in 1755 appointed one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Nova Scotia." If this statement is accurate, it refers to Charles Morris and establishes the truth of Dr. Akins's opinion.

To return to the Charitable Irish Society: at a meeting held at the house of Mr. John O'Brien—the Golden Ball at the south-western corner of Sackville and Hollis streets—on the 17th of January, 1786, it was "Resolved, that as there are several gentlemen, merchants, and others inhabitants of this His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, who from an affectionate and compassionate concern for any of the Irish nation, who shall be reduced by sickness, old age, shipwreck or other misfortune, have thought fit to associate themselves for the relief of such of their poor and indigent countrymen and their descendants as may hereafter be found worthy of their countenance and protection; for the due accomplishment of such laudable purposes, it is agreed, that we the subscribers do associate ourselves together, by the name and title of the Charitable Irish Society." The draft constitution submitted at this meeting, which was probably the work of Uniacke and Gerald Fitzgerald, was adopted at a meeting held on the 17th of the following February, when the following officers were elected:

President; Richard John Uniacke:
 Vice-President; Thomas Cochran:
 First assistant Vice-President; George Wm. Sherlock:
 Treasurer; Charles Hill; and
 Secretary; Gerald Fitzgerald.

It will be seen that the first officers were all well known and prominent men. Uniacke was for many years the leading member of the Society and gave to it money, time and attention. In 1789 he presented £50 to the funds of the Society. He was president in 1786, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1795, 1798, 1800, 1809, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815 and 1817, in all twelve times, besides filling at different times subordinate offices. When holding office, he was regular in attendance at the meetings of the Society, and even when a mere private member he was nearly always present at the important meetings—those held in February and November of each year. At the May meeting of 1794, Mr. Uniacke and Mr. Charles Hill were appointed a committee to revise the constitution of the Society; and at the meeting in February, 1795, reported a draft. A special meeting was held on March the 25th to consider the revised constitution, which was adopted with only three dissenting voices. The constitution covered some sixteen folio pages, and has with but few amendments governed the Society since its adoption. There is little doubt but that it was chiefly the work of Mr. Uniacke, and it is a monument to his capacity for disinterested, prolonged and troublesome labor in what he deemed a good cause.

He was also prepared when necessary to do work of another kind. In 1815 an emigrant ship, on her way from Dublin to New York, put into Halifax. It became known that the emigrants had been badly treated by the captain; and Uniacke, who was president of the Society at the time, had the captain arrested and severely punished.

A hospitable Irishman himself, I fancy that Mr. Uniacke is to be largely credited with the character which the celebration of the festival of Saint Patrick assumed from a very early stage in the history of the Society. In 1793 the members, with a number of public and private guests, dined together on the evening of the 17th of March. The public guests on that occasion were, the Admiral, the General, Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, the Commissioner of the Naval Yard, and Charles Howard, Esquire. The same practice was adopted in the following year; and in 1795, Mr. Uniacke being president for the fifth time, His Royal Highness, Edward Duke of Kent, was a guest of the Society. One hundred and nineteen persons sat down to the dinner, which took place at the British Coffee House, and went off most satisfactorily. H. R. H. again dined with the Society in 1796, 1797, 1798 and 1800. The connection of the Uniacke family with the Charitable Irish Society was not confined to the subject of this paper.

His son, Crofton, was president in 1810, Richard John the Younger in 1819, 1820 and 1821, and James Boyle in 1828, 1839, 1840 and 1846.

A MILITIA OFFICER.

War broke out between England and France in February, 1793; and the tide of loyalty and warlike feeling was very strong in Nova Scotia. It was probably increased in volume by the presence of the Duke of Kent, who first arrived at Halifax in May, 1794. The number of regular troops in the province during the earlier part of the war was small, and was supplemented by volunteers and militia. Mr. Uniacke was Lieutenant Colonel of the 8th Battalion of Halifax Militia. The men were no doubt the raw material for capital soldiers; but they were very raw, as would appear from an incident which I relate on good authority. On the occasion of a review on the King's birthday—the fourth of June—Lieutenant Colonel Uniacke was requested by the Duke of Kent to put his battalion through a few movements. He replied, "If your Royal Highness only knew how much trouble I have had in getting them into line, you would never ask me to break it."

ATTORNEY GENERAL.

It is now time to return to the serious business of Mr. Uniacke's life. At a Council meeting held on the ninth of September, 1797, Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth submitted the resignation of the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, (who had accepted the position of Recorder of Fort St. George, in Bombay), and stated that he had His Majesty's authorization to appoint Attorney General Blowers, Chief Justice, Solicitor General Uniacke, Attorney General, and Jonathan Sterns, Solicitor General. The last-named gentleman died on the 23rd of May, 1798, and James Stewart succeeded him. Mr. Uniacke held the office to which he was now appointed to the time of his death, a period of over thirty-three years; and the title of Attorney General is that by which he was best known.

The Legislature met on the 8th of June, 1798, and the Attorney General, who had lately been elected for the County of Queens, took his seat. Relying probably upon his son-in-law's influence, Moses Delesdernier presented to the House a petition "for compensation, stating his visits to Holland, Germany and Switzerland, by orders of the Board of Trade, and losses caused by the Indians and Acadians in 1758. Says he is over 73 years old, and has been 46 years in the Province."

The petition was treated courteously, but the claim was not entertained, on the ground that it would be an injurious precedent, and would open a door to numerous applications.

On June 30th the House, on motion of Attorney General Uniacke, voted £500 to purchase a star to be presented to Prince Edward, and also an address to accompany the presentation. The language of the address strikes us as being rather high-flown; but a few days afterwards the Attorney General showed that he was not altogether a courtier. The Lieutenant-Governor on the 26th of June, by message desired the House to establish a scale of fees for the office of Superintendent of Trade and Fisheries, to which he had just appointed George Leonard, who was probably a favorite of his own; and on July the sixth the House, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, declined to comply with His Excellency's request.

On the 18th October Prince Edward, who was about leaving for England, owing to a serious hurt caused by his horse falling with him, was presented with an address from nearly 400 of the inhabitants of Halifax, by the Attorney General. The fact that he was selected to present this address, would go to show that Uniacke was held in high esteem by his fellow-townsmen.

On the 23rd May, the magistrates and principal militia officers of Cornwallis had a dinner with loyal toasts at the house of Philip Marchinton, Esquire. Among the distinguished guests present were Chief Justice Blowers, Judge Brenton, Hon. Thomas Cochran and Attorney General Uniacke.

AGAIN SPEAKER.

In 1799 the Assembly met on the 7th of June, and, Speaker Barclay having accepted the office of Consul General for England in the Eastern States, Attorney General Uniacke was elected Speaker. At the prorogation the Speaker in addressing the Governor, referred to the great changes which had taken place in Nova Scotia during the past fifty years, and to the flourishing state of the province. On the 6th of September Prince Edward arrived in Halifax in the frigate *Arethusa*; and the Speaker was one of those who received him on landing and escorted him to Government House.

A general election was held in November and December, 1799, and the Attorney General was elected for Queen's County without opposition. The Assembly met on the 20th of February, 1800, and Mr. Uniacke, who was proposed by Mr. Milledge, was chosen Speaker by a handsome

majority over Mr. William Cottnam Tonge, who was proposed by Mr. Moody. A great part of the time and energies of the House was occupied by a lively controversy with the Council over the vexed question of the Council's right to amend money bills. It is rather difficult to understand on what ground this right, which had not been claimed by the Lords in England since the revolution of 1688, was insisted upon by the Council here. Lieutenant Governor Wentworth sided with the Council; and, owing to his advice, the House, for the sake of peace at home—when there was war with foreign enemies,—yielded a portion of its undoubted right. The Speaker, when presenting the Appropriation Bill to His Excellency at the close of the session, claimed merit for the House for the sacrifices it had made to close controversy and avoid discord. Sir John Wentworth mentions this speech of Uniacke's as being his individual act, and was no doubt more or less shocked at his departure from established custom; but the Speaker was not a man to be deterred from uttering his sentiments—when he thought it his duty to do so—by the consideration that it was contrary to modern practice.

Upon the death of the Hon. Thomas Cochran in August, 1801, Lieutenant Governor Wentworth recommended the appointment of Treasurer Michael Wallace, Attorney General Uniacke and Charles Hill, to His Majesty's Council; but this recommendation was not acted upon for some time.

When the Assembly met on the 28th November, 1805, the Clerk read a letter from Speaker Uniacke, stating that he had leave of absence for six months, to visit England and Ireland, and that in 22 years as member he had never been a day from duty, and asking the House to appoint a Speaker *pro tempore*. William Cottnam Tonge was so chosen. On January 15th, 1806, the House voted £350 to the Attorney General for revising the laws, which had just been printed in one large volume.

Mr. Uniacke returned from Europe in August, 1806, just after the general election, and was never again a member of the Assembly. Mr. Murdoch says that he brought out with him an "instrument by which the Archbishop of Canterbury annulled all the statutes passed by the Governors of Windsor College. They had been framed on some rules of Oxford, and were considered by His Grace too restrictive and illiberal." There is not much doubt but that the Primate's attention had been called to the character of those statutes by Mr. Uniacke, who, while a staunch Episcopalian, was liberal and tolerant to members of other

denominations, forming in this respect a strong contrast to Judge Croke, who had inspired the original statutes.

DOMESTIC MATTERS.

Here it may be well to notice some events not directly connected with Mr. Uniacke's political life. On the first of July, 1796, we find his eldest son, Norman, commissioned as second lieutenant in the 8th (Lt.-Colonel Uniacke's) Regiment of Halifax Militia. His second son, Crofton, who—as well as Norman—had studied law at Lincoln's Inn, received a commission as a Notary Public on the 30th of August, 1805. A weighty affliction befell Mr. Uniacke in the beginning of 1803, in the death of his beloved wife, at the early age of forty years. I may perhaps be allowed to give the inscription placed on her monument in Saint Paul's Church by her husband, which I believe spoke nothing beyond his real and constant sentiments, for I find similar expressions of feeling in his will, written more than twenty years after her decease.

“Consecrated to the memory of Martha Maria Uniacke, whose remains lie interred beneath this monument: She was born the III day of December MDCCLXII, and was married to Richard John Uniacke Esq. His Majesty's Attorney General for this Province on the III day of May MDCCLXXV.

She was the mother of six sons and six daughters: eleven of whom, with their Father, were left to mourn their sad loss. This excellent woman during her short life fulfilled every duty with the most religious exactness, and left an example to her family never to be forgotten.

It pleased God to remove her to a better world on the IX day of February, MDCCCIII, when she closed her innocent and virtuous life, after a tedious and painful illness, which she supported with true Christian patience and resignation.”

In the appendix to Chapter 20 of the third volume of Murdoch's History are to be found the following announcements:

“Married, at Halifax, May 3, 1805, by the Rev. the Rector of St. Paul's, Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. commander-in-chief of H. M. Fleet on that station, to Miss Mary Uniacke, eldest daughter of R. J. Uniacke, Esq. of this town; and

Thomas N. Jeffery, Esq'r, Collector of H. M. Customs, to Miss Martha Maria Uniacke, second daughter of the same gentleman.”

Lady Mitchell survived her husband and died in 1825 aged 43 years, leaving one daughter, Martha Maria. Mr. Uniacke's son by his second wife was called after Sir Andrew Mitchell.

It has already been seen that Mr. Uniacke spent part of the year 1806 in Europe. On this occasion he re-visited his early home at

Castletown, and, as the family tradition runs, entered into conversation with his eldest brother James, then the head of the Castletown branch of the family, who did not recognize him. After some talk on other subjects, Richard John was mentioned, and the Attorney General of Nova Scotia made himself known as being the missing brother.

UNIACKE'S LAWS.

The volume of the laws of Nova Scotia, as revised by Attorney General Uniacke, was printed in 1805 by John Howe & Son, King's Printers. It was, strictly speaking, a revision and not a consolidation. It gave the various unrepealed statutes and parts of statutes passed from the beginning of the session of 1758 to the end of that of 1804; but there was no attempt to codify or consolidate, to place the several enactments dealing with each subject in a title or chapter by themselves. The result of the first attempt of that kind is to be seen in the First Series of the Revised Statutes published in 1851, of which it is safe to say that it has not been excelled by any later series. Uniacke's Laws, as the volume now under consideration is sometimes called, were dedicated to the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Wentworth, and are introduced to the reader by a long, elaborate, and as some would think, rather high-flown preface. If we compare this introduction with that of Blackstone, we shall find not a little general resemblance. There is the same admiration for the British constitution, and the same conviction expressed, that the people who enjoy its blessings ought to be the happiest people on earth, and the most thankful to the Almighty. True, Mr. Uniacke seemed to think that Nova Scotians were even better off than their fellow subjects; and he laid more stress upon the religious duties of the people subject to the laws with which he dealt, than did Blackstone; but it must be remembered that 1805 was only sixteen years after the beginning of the French Revolution, and that during most of that time England and her colonies had been at war with the revolutionary government.

In the volume, as stated in the preface, "The Acts of each Session are distinguished from those of the succeeding one, and the names of the Governor and principal officers belonging to the Legislative branches, are published in the title page of each Session; marginal notes are affixed to each act, referring to all subsequent acts which have been made in amendment or addition thereto." * * * "To enable the people at large, for whose use this work is principally intended, thoroughly to understand the statute law, and to turn with facility to each particular

subject or section, I have carefully abridged every act under its appropriate head, and have added thereto a copious index, with proper references, in the hope thereby to make our laws intelligible to the meanest capacity; and I have no doubt the reader will with pleasure contemplate the exertions of this infant colony, in every stage of its legislation, to establish religion, and suppress vice and immorality."

The abridgment of which Mr. Uniacke speaks, is a most valuable feature of the work, and must have involved a great deal of labor. It is a digest of all the then existing laws of the Province under appropriate general heads, giving the chapters and sections of the enactments respecting the several subjects, and a brief abstract of the substance of each enactment. All that would have been necessary to have made the publication a consolidation of the Statutes would have been the printing of the acts at length under the same titles, and in the same order as the brief abstracts are given in the abridgment. No such digest appears in any subsequent volume of revised laws, up to the publication of the Consolidated Statutes of 1851, in which the commissioners did in full what Mr. Uniacke had done by way of abstract.

There is an index to the abridgment, and the titles and sections of the statutes at large relating to any subject will be found at the place in the abridgment referred to in the index.

While I have not examined the book with sufficient care to be able to give a detailed and well considered opinion as to its merits, I may say that, from the examination which I have made, I am led to the conclusion that the work was well done, and the results satisfactory. Perhaps while upon this subject, I may be permitted to refer to a story, with respect to this volume of laws, told by Mr. Longworth, in his *Life of S. G. W. Archibald*. "On one occasion in court it became necessary to turn up the statute on the subject of *Administrators*. The index was referred to, but in vain. The word *Administrators* was not to be found. Mr. Uniacke himself was in court, and was applied to. He was asked under what head the law was to be found. He replied under the head of *Wills*. 'Precisely,' said Mr. Archibald, 'look under *Wills* because there is no *will*. If you want *rain* look under *sunshine*.' Such was the style of Mr. Uniacke's mind." Whether anything like this incident actually occurred or not I cannot say; but in any case, the smart saying attributed to Mr. Archibald was hardly justified by the facts. I have myself examined the index to Mr. Uniacke's book, and have found three entries under the head of *Administrators*, and two others under that of

Administration. The references are, it is true, to a portion of the abridgment headed by the title *WILLS*; but the substance of the acts respecting administrators is given there with the chapters and sections which deal with the subject. It was convenient to have all the statutes relating to the estates of deceased persons placed under one title, and that of *Wills* was as good as that of *Administrations*, although a more general title than either might have been found.

WALKER'S CASE.

In the case of Thomas Walker, returned for the Town of Annapolis at the election of 1806, the House of Assembly resolved that undue influence had been used by the sitting member to obtain a vote, and declared his seat vacant. On this, the Speaker by letter asked His Excellency to issue a new writ. Sir John Wentworth took the advice of the Council on the matter, and they recommended him to take the opinions of the law officers. Attorney General Uniacke on the 12th of March, 1807, "gave his opinion, that the House acted legally in vacating the seat of Mr. Walker, for his having used undue influence to procure a vote at the election; that the law and usage of Parliament extended to this Province, and that the representative body had similar powers to the House of Commons; and he quoted a resolution of the English Parliament, and several legal authorities, which supported the course pursued in Mr. Walker's case. The opinion of the Solicitor General (James Stewart), dated 20 March, was to the same effect." The Lieutenant-Governor, influenced no doubt by Chief Justice Blowers, President of the Council, whose opinion differed from those of the law officers, still withheld the writ, and sought the advice of the Home Government. This came after the lapse of several months, in the shape of an opinion from V. Gibbs and J. Plumer, respectively Attorney General and Solicitor General of England, which entirely endorsed that of the Nova Scotia law officers. This opinion bore date 7th July, 1807, but did not reach Halifax until the end of the following February. In January, 1808, (14th) Mr. Hutchinson reported to the House from the Committee on Privileges, to whom had been referred Walker's case and another, amongst other things "that the Attorney General, who had been Speaker of several Houses, informed them by letter 'that he never communicated the reasons of the decision of the House to the Governor when he applied for a new writ, and that he never knew of an instance of a writ not being issued upon an application for that purpose.'"

MISCELLANEOUS.

Time and space will not allow me to deal with many more events of Mr. Uniacke's life ; and any that are mentioned must be spoken of very briefly.

At page 275 of his third volume, Mr. Murdoch gives the following extract from the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, of Tuesday, January 19th, 1808 : " Married, Thursday evening, by the Rev. Dr. Stanser, Richard John Uniacke, Attorney General, &c., to Miss Eliza Newton, daughter of the late Captain Newton, of H. M. 45th Regt." This lady, who survived her husband for some eighteen years, was the mother of Andrew M. Uniacke, who still lives in comparatively vigorous health in England. It will be observed that about five years had elapsed since the death of Mr. Uniacke's former wife.

I notice that a ball, given by the gentlemen of Halifax to Sir George Prevost and the officers of both services, on the 28th of April, 1809, was opened by Sir George and the Attorney General's daughter, Lady Mitchell.

On the 8th of September, 1811, Moses Delesdernier, the father of Mr. Uniacke's former wife, died, in the 95th year of his age.

MEMBER OF COUNCIL.

Sir George Prevost arrived here as Lieutenant-Governor on April the 7th, 1808, and on the 18th Attorney General Uniacke was sworn in as a member of H. M. Council. It would seem as if some unfriendly influence had prevented Mr. Uniacke's promotion by Sir John Wentworth to this, the highest position to which he attained, as he had been recommended for a seat in the Council as far back as August, 1801, and several appointments had been made since that date, of persons whose claims and qualifications for the office were far inferior to his. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that he was appointed almost immediately upon the arrival of the new Lieutenant-Governor.

Dr. Croke, the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, who administered the Government during the absence of Sir George Prevost on the expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe in 1808-9, refused his assent to the Appropriation Bill in January, 1809. In writing to Lord Castlereagh he says, speaking of the claim of the Assembly to control money bills : " This principle, till the present session, has always been strenuously resisted by the Council, but I am sorry to find amongst some of the new members of that board, a disposition to court popularity by

supporting the Assembly in their favorite views." Subsequent events show that Mr. Uniacke was one of the new members whose motives were so charitably regarded by Dr. Croke.

On the 10th of March, 1809, the Administrator asked the Council whether, in the absence of an Appropriation Bill, the Lieutenant-Governor or Commander-in-Chief had power, with the consent of the Council, to draw by warrant on the Treasury for moneys voted by the Assembly and Council. On the 14th the Council asked the opinions of the law officers. On the 22nd those opinions were read, and were against the Administrator's claim. Croke then took a vote of Council on the point. The treasurer, Mr. M. Wallace, alone voted "Yea," while Belcher, Brenton, Hill, Morris and Uniacke voted in the negative. Croke put other questions to the Council. The division on one of the Revenue Bills was the same as that on the Appropriation Bill; in that on a second Revenue Bill, Wallace, Belcher, Brenton, and Morris voted in favor of the prerogative, and Hill and Uniacke dissented. Brenton afterwards asked to retract his vote as erroneous. In writing to England, Dr. Croke spoke of the legal opinions of the Attorney and the Solicitor General as likely to be influenced by the fact that certain sums were annually voted them by the Assembly.

Sir George Prevost got back to Halifax on April the 15th, and on the 25th submitted to Council the question,

"Whether the money votes which had been concurred in by both Houses, were a sufficient authority to him to draw warrants for money on the Provincial Treasury. On a division, four members voted in the affirmative, viz., C. J. Blowers, Dr. Croke, and Messrs Butler and Wallace; in the negative, Messrs Belcher, Brenton, Hill, Uniacke and Morris. Monday, 1st May, he asked the advice of the Council as to what course he should take, when the opinion of the majority was in favor of proroguing the Assembly to Thursday, 25 May, then to meet for despatch of business: majority, Belcher, Brenton, Hill, Uniacke, Morris; minority, Blowers, Butler, Wallace." So the popular cause triumphed. It may be observed here that, before the entry of Mr. Uniacke into the Council, that body does not seem to have ever paid any regard to the rights of the people when they conflicted with the wishes of the Lieutenant-Governor. The instances we have given show that Mr. Uniacke did not, upon entering the Council, abandon, as other gentlemen did both before and since, the constitutional principles which he had upheld as a member of the Assembly.

I have not gone through all the Journals and Minutes of the Council, and cannot therefore trace Mr. Uniacke's political career while in that body. It has been seen that the transfer from the Assembly had made no immediate change in his way of looking at things. He was not an extreme man. When in the Assembly he had not been over democratic, and in the Council he was apparently not disposed to unduly favor the executive. While he sang "God save the King" with great energy and in a loud voice, he did not forget the people.

It may be that during the last few years of his life he became too conservative; and that his views after he had passed the age of seventy, were not identical with those of thirty or forty years before; but most men become conservative as they grow older—Mr. Gladstone's example to the contrary notwithstanding. At the time of the controversy over what is known as the Brandy Question, when S. G. W. Archibald called attention to the Attorney General's alleged change of opinion, the latter officer was in his seventy-seventh year; and it would be unfair to base our judgment of him as a public man upon his action of that day. And yet, when we turn to the Journals of the Legislative Council for the First Session of 1830, we find evidence that the Attorney General's intellect retained not a little of its old time vigor, and that the action of the Council, in which he concurred, was not altogether inconsistent with the views with respect to revenue bills which he had held and expressed when in the House of Assembly. The views of the Council are set out with great ability in resolutions prepared by a committee, consisting of the Attorney General, Judge (afterwards Chief Justice) Halliburton and Mr. Prescott. These resolutions show also a thorough acquaint'ance with the English constitutional doctrine on the subject with which they deal, and recognize most fully the fact that the Council had no right to initiate or amend money bills. They, however, claim that the bill in question was one which the Council had the right to reject and give reasons for their doing so, the force of which cannot be denied; even though we may admit that at the present day the exercise of the right would occasion general surprise. A perusal of the Council Journals also shows that the charge brought against the Upper House, of having rejected the Revenue Bill before a conference between the Houses at which its rejection was discussed as a thing of the future, was not well founded. The resolutions, it may be observed, were adopted unanimously. As a result of the extremely strong language, with respect to the Council and its members, used by various speakers in the Assembly, a resolution of non-

intercourse, moved by Judge Halliburton, was adopted by the Council on the thirteenth of April, and was conveyed to the Administrator of the Government by a committee composed of the Attorney General, Charles Morris, and Robie, the Master of the Rolls. On the same day Mr. Uniacke, being the senior member present, acted as President and refused to receive a message brought from the Assembly by Mr. Whidden, the Clerk of that House. Almost immediately afterwards the Administrator—the Honorable Michael Wallace—came to the Council to prorogue the Legislature, and after the close of His Honor's speech, to quote from the entry made by the late John C. Halliburton, at that time Deputy Clerk of the Council: "Mr. Attorney General, (acting President of the Council,) by His Honor's command, then said:—'Gentlemen.—It is His Honor's will and pleasure that this General Assembly be prorogued until Thursday, the first day of July next, to be then here held, and this General Assembly is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the first day of July next, to be then here held.'"

These were the last words spoken by Mr. Uniacke as a member of the Legislature which he had entered nearly forty-seven years before. When it met again in November, his active brain was still and his eloquent tongue was mute forever.

Here I may express my regret that the impression made upon one's mind by reading Mr. Longworth's Life of S. G. W. Archibald is too unfavorable to Uniacke and the idea is conveyed that the feeling between those two distinguished men was much more hostile than it really was. Their families mixed together in social life; and it may be noted that the Attorney General's grandson married the Solicitor General's granddaughter.

THE SUCCESSION TO THE CHIEF JUSTICESHIP.

The Chief Justiceship had been for many years the great object of Uniacke's ambition. Blowers had got ahead of him in early life, improperly as Uniacke probably thought, and, after Blowers had gained the highest prize within reach of a provincial lawyer, nothing was left for the younger man—in his own opinion—but to wait for the succession. He did not care for any inferior office; probably did not care to sit below his old rival. He had allowed no less than six assistant judges to be appointed after he became Attorney General, the place of any of whom he could probably have had. One can therefore readily understand that, when the long coveted prize seemed almost within his reach, the Attorney General should have felt not a little annoyed to find that his

junior in office and in age, who had been little more than born when his own professional life began, should have been secretly endeavoring to secure the prize for himself.

The late Dr. Akins used to relate an amusing incident which occurred when he was a student at law. Chief Justice Blowers seldom, if ever, came to court, although he taxed costs and did chambers business at his house—the present Infirmary. The Attorney General also rarely came into court. It was understood that Blowers would not resign to make way for Uniacke, although he would for Halliburton, who usually acted as Chief Justice, and possibly for Archibald or some other candidate. There was a strong desire among the barristers to have Halliburton or some other younger man than Uniacke appointed. It happened that one day Mr. Akins was in the court room—now the Legislative Library—when he heard a great creaking of shoes and rustling of silk, and to his surprise the Attorney General came into the room for the purpose of trying two prisoners charged with grand larceny. Before beginning the trial, Mr. Uniacke—having first fortified himself with a liberal pinch of snuff—and speaking with a decided brogue, which he often used when he wished to be particularly impressive, delivered a short address to the judge (Halliburton, I believe,) and jury, to the following effect :

“*My Lord and Gentlemen of the Jury.*—You may perhaps be surprised to see the Attorney General, who rarely comes to court, here this morning ; but I have come for the purpose of showing you that I am not that old horse turned out to grass that I have been represented to be.”

Then he asked the clerk for the indictment, and tried and convicted the prisoners.

Mr. Uniacke was in nearly every sense a successful man, but, like most men, failed to win the one prize upon which his heart was particularly set.

LIFE AT MOUNT UNIACKE.

After 1815 Mr. Uniacke ceased to take a very active part in professional or public life, and devoted much of his time and attention to his property at Mount Uniacke. Many persons have no doubt wondered why such a man as he should have selected so out of the way a place for a country seat. It is said that he might have had a considerable tract of land on the peninsula of Halifax, fronting on the North West Arm, if he had chosen ; but he preferred Mount Uniacke, because, as he said, near Halifax people could get at him and he would have no real retire-

ment or privacy, while the difficulty of access at the Mount would render him comparatively safe from interruption. It is also said that he passed close by Mount Uniacke on his way from Cumberland to Halifax as a prisoner, and that he was then struck with the resemblance which the place bore to the family seat in Ireland and said that he would like to own it. In confirmation of this statement, which seems rather apocryphal, it may be mentioned that on the sixth of October, 1786—very early in his career—Mr. Uniacke received a grant of one thousand acres of land in Hants County and on the Windsor Road. This was the original Mount Uniacke property, to which 4000 acres were added in 1819. In his later years Mr. Uniacke, as has been said, spent much of his time at the Mount, improved the property and indulged his taste for agriculture. He was, I am informed, a leading member of the Agricultural Society of the time. He collected a remarkably fine library and devoted much of his indoor leisure to reading. I have myself seen in the library at the Mount the large chair in which it was the custom of the old Attorney General to sit and smoke and read. His life at Mount Uniacke was in many ways truly Arcadian; but in Arcadia there were no books, nor newspapers, nor tobacco.

Monseigneur Plessis, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, paid a pastoral visit to this province in 1815; and an extract from his private diary, given by Archbishop O'Brien in his *Memoirs of Bishop Burke*, serves to illustrate the character of Mr. Uniacke's hospitality and to give a vivid impression of life at Mount Uniacke in the summer of that year. Speaking of the first day of his journey from Halifax to Digby County the Bishop says:

“We were to stay that evening at a superb country house belonging to Mr. Uniacke, (the elder,) a Member of Council, Attorney General, Judge of the Admiralty, &c., who had urgently entreated the Bishop to rest there in passing. It is nine leagues from the town. We arrived very late. * * * * Madam Uniacke and Lady Mitchell, her step-daughter, received us with as much courtesy as these English ladies, stiff and starched as they usually are, can show. After tea to each of us was apportioned an immense room perfectly furnished with chairs, tables, chests of drawers, stoves, (mounted all the year round it appeared,) and excellent beds, each large enough to accommodate a whole family. The following morning we had time to look at this immense and costly house, with its innumerable dependencies, bath rooms, billiard rooms, balconies, servants' quarters, well kept groves on the borders of a large and rather deep lake, the waters of which are carried to the sea by several small streams; nothing that could render this place charming has been neglected.” “After breakfast,” the Archbishop tells us, “which was

served with the 'same elegance and ceremony' of the night before, the party 're-entered their carriage; the cart received its load and we left for Windsor.'"

In Mr. W. H. Hill's "Rambles among Leaves from my Scrap Book," read before the Society in 1893, there is a description of one phase of the life at Mount Uniacke, which, by his kind permission, I copy :

"In the summer when the birds were carolling their sweetest and when the newly mown hay perfumed the air with its rich aroma, or in the autumn when the maple tree blazed in the forest with its coat of scarlet and gold, like a young dragoon guardsman, Mount Uniacke was thronged with guests. There you would meet * * Sir James Kempt, the judges of the land and their wives and families, the beauty and fashion of Halifax, and the *élite* of England who happened to be on our shores at the time. It was almost like a fashionable watering place : *Tempora mutantur.*"

SOCIAL LIFE.

If Mr. Uniacke fled to Mount Uniacke we know it was not because he was unsociable, but because he felt that if he remained near his friends he and they could not keep apart. He was a most sociable man and a most agreeable companion. His keen sense of humour and inexhaustible flow of witty talk combined with his other qualities to make him generally popular and to make him everywhere a welcome guest. Always a fluent and often an eloquent speaker, he shone particularly at festive gatherings, and, apart altogether from his connection with the Charitable Irish Society, was often chosen to preside on such occasions. We have seen that in 1797 he presented the townspeople's address to Prince Edward; and when a public subscription dinner was given at Masonic Hall on August 15th, 1815, to celebrate the victory of Waterloo, he took the chair. I rather think that this was the occasion when no less than 101 toasts were given, and when the Attorney General was met by a friend next morning and was asked if the dinner was just over and answered, not at all that he was going home for his snuff box and was then coming back to finish the list of toasts.

In 1820 Lord Dalhousie, who had been appointed Governor General a short time before, attended the dinner of the Charitable Irish Society, of which the Attorney General's third son Richard John was then President. At this dinner Judge Brenton Halliburton, President of the North British Society, proposed the health of the Attorney General as the founder of the Charitable Irish Society. As the history of the Society states : "Mr. Uniacke responded to the toast in such a humorous

speech that it kept the company in roars of laughter." Some of this laughter I am afraid was at the expense of Judge Halliburton, for, unless I am mistaken, this was the occasion when the judge, in descanting on the many good qualities of Scotland and her sons, brought his praise to a climax by informing his hearers that there were no beggars in Scotland, and when Uniacke, in replying, concurred with his 'friend the Judge' as to the many admirable features of the Scotch character, but said that he could readily understand why there were no beggars in Scotland, because every one knew it was useless to ask charity from a Scotchman.

Occasionally the joke was against Uniacke. On one occasion, when dining at Government House, he told some most improbable story to a colonel who sat beside him, and undertook to give it credence by saying, as he ended, "'Pon my word, Colonel, I should not have believed it if I had not seen it myself." Whereupon Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, who was Lieutenant Governor at the time, added: "Then, Mr. Uniacke, you will pardon me if I do not believe it."

At a dinner given on the 17th of May, 1820, at Masonic Hall by the inhabitants of Halifax to Lord Dalhousie, the Attorney General returned thanks for his old rival the Chief Justice:

"He said he had known the chief justice from early life, they had in their youth been rival candidates for fame, and each one valuing his abilities more than those of his antagonist, the most unpleasant consequences had ensued—they had both lived to be advanced in years, and it was time those fiery passions should subside—for his part they most certainly had, and he must thus publicly express his opinion of his Lordship that from the knowledge which a long and extensive practice at the bar had afforded him of his character, he could assert, without the fear of contradiction, that he is an honest, impartial, and upright judge."
—*3 Murdoch, 454.*

His last appearance, so far as I know, on any public social occasion was at a dinner given on the 23rd July, 1823, to Lord Dalhousie, then on a visit to Halifax, when the Attorney General occupied the Chair, and Speaker Robie the Vice Chair.

Before quitting the social aspect of my hero's later years I may be allowed to borrow once more from Mr. Hill's bright and amusing paper:

"Whilst I am speaking of Mr. Uniacke, let me tell you an anecdote of him told me by the late Judge Wilkins, whose daughter, by the way, married a grandson of the Attorney General. I think the Judge must have heard this anecdote from his father.

On one occasion an evening party was taking place at the residence of a gentleman (the Honorable Charles Hill) on Hollis Street, situate off

the street on the western side, midway between Government House Lane and Morris Street. As the evening wore on a dance was proposed, but alas, there was no instrument of music! What was to be done? One proposed one thing and one another. At last Mr. Uniacke, who was a tall, powerful man, and proud of his strength, said he would solve the difficulty. 'I'll go over to the corner and get Nancy's piano.' This was received with shouts of delight and applause. 'I'll go alone, entirely by myself,' he said. Now two maiden ladies, well-known and liked in fashionable society in those days, lived at the north-east corner of Hollis and Morris Streets. These two were the proud possessors of what is called a spinet, and whose musical tones compared with those of a modern 'Steinway' or 'Chickering' would be as a tin-kettle to a full military band. But in those days it was considered most delightful music. 'Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise.' An oyster is perfectly happy in its mud bed. This is no reflection on our revered forefathers; it is but the accident of time. It was about ten o'clock at night, a time when most of the inhabitants of the town were fast asleep. Early to bed and early to rise was the good old primitive practice amongst many if not most of the people in Halifax then. It was considered a very late and fashionable dinner party, for instance, that sat down at four o'clock in the afternoon. But to continue my story. Mr. Uniacke started, and knocked and pounded at the door. Presently a window was cautiously raised, and two heads enveloped in two night-caps appeared. A female voice called out 'Oh, my gracious! Who is there? At this time of night? Oh, my! Man! Who are you? What do you want, waking ladies up in the middle of the night? Is there a fire in the town?' 'I'm Mr. Uniacke, the Attorney General. In the King's name open the door, or I'll break it in!' This had the desired effect. The ladies laughed, and, when they had attired themselves after a fashion, stepped down and opened the door. Mr. Uniacke explained the purport of his visit; and, being good natured people, the ladies willingly entrusted the instrument to his care. He was, as I said, a tall, powerful man; so putting it on his shoulders, he carried it over to the party; and they danced to their hearts' content to the 'wee sma' hours ayont the twal.'"

HIS SON'S DUEL.

In 1819 occurred an event which must have caused Mr. Uniacke much grief and anxiety. It is thus related by Mr. Murdoch (Vol. III, p. 441):—"At this time some remarks made by R. J. Uniacke, Junior, a barrister, in the course of a jury trial, gave umbrage to Mr. William Bowie, a merchant interested in the cause, and thus led to a duel between them, on Wednesday, 21st July, in which Bowie was mortally wounded, and expired in a few hours. The grove on the government north farm, near the present railway terminus (at Richmond) was the place of combat. This was the only instance of a fatal duel in Halifax that I am

aware of. The survivor and the two seconds were tried for this on Wednesday, 28th April, and acquitted." As far as I have been able to learn, this duel was not at all of young Uniacke's seeking; but the code of honor of that day obliged him to accept Bowie's challenge. The story is that neither party was injured at the first fire, and that, while both principals were willing that the quarrel should end there, Uniacke's second, a fire-eating Irish doctor, insisted upon a further exchange of shots, with the result mentioned by Mr. Murdoch. One striking incident related in connection with the trial was the entrance into court, with young Uniacke, of his father, who at that time allowed his white hair to flow down to his shoulders, and when walking carried a high staff; and who, on handing his son over to be dealt with according to law, made a pathetic and polite little speech to the judge and jury, which probably helped to bring about the desired verdict. There is a sort of popular tradition that Richard John, the Younger, who I believe was the flower of the family, rarely smiled after this duel, and that regret for his part in it caused his death not long afterwards. For this tradition there does not seem to be much solid foundation. Young Uniacke took an active interest in life after this misadventure. He was President of the Charitable Irish Society in 1820 and again in 1821; was for some years a very prominent member of the House of Assembly; went on the bench of the Supreme Court in 1830, shortly before his father's death, and died only in 1834—fifteen years after the duel.

ENCOUNTER WITH A BULL.

Some three years before the Attorney General's death he had an encounter with a bull at Mount Uniacke, of the story of which are different versions. I am happy to be able to give the correct one, as contained in a letter from Mr. Uniacke's youngest son, Andrew M., now living in England, written on the fifteenth of January, 1895, and showing both in handwriting and composition remarkable strength and clearness for a man in his eighty-seventh year.

"The encounter my father had with the bull is quite true; it occurred at Mount Uniacke. I was there at the time. The animal was a great favourite of his and would come up to him when he entered the field where he was, and would take a piece of bread or a lump of sugar from his hand. The evening the bull attacked, he had forgotten to take either with him. The bull came up to him as usual; my father having neither bread or sugar put his hand out intending to pat him on the neck, when the bull, as he supposed, being disappointed at not receiving his accustomed delicacy suddenly drew back and made a lunge at him,

striking him on the hip with his forehead. Fortunately my father turned sideways so his horns passed on each side of him. It threw him down, but being a strong man and having a stick with him, he struck the bull over the nose, which my father thinks prevented the bull making a second attack on him, as he turned away. This was the account he gave us when he came in. He was badly bruised, but we felt very thankful he was not seriously injured. He had the animal killed."

LATER YEARS AND DEATH.

The general course of Mr. Uniacke's life during his later years is thus briefly described in the letter from his son Andrew just quoted :

"In 1813, having built the present house at Mount Uniacke, he relinquished the largest share of his civil practice, and resided there during the summer, going to Halifax when the duties attached to his office of Attorney General required him to do so. In the winter, during the meeting of the Legislature, he remained in town and took a leading part in all the public business submitted to the Legislative Council for their consideration."

His end came peacefully at Mount Uniacke. On the night of the tenth of October, 1830, after family prayers, which he always said, he retired to rest. As he did not appear at breakfast next morning, his room was entered and he was found lying in bed lifeless, having died without a struggle and apparently while asleep. The instructions in his will, to the effect that he should be buried in the country without any display, were disregarded and his remains were interred beneath Saint Paul's Church in this city, being attended to their last resting place by a great concourse of people. A marble tablet marks their last resting place and contains the following inscription :

"Sacred to the memory of
RICHARD JOHN UNIACKE,
Fourth Son of Norman Uniacke
of Castletown,
In the County of Cork, Ireland :
Many years member of
His Majesty's Council
And Attorney General of this Province.
He died at Mount Uniacke,
October 11th, 1830,
In the 77th year of his age.
His Remains were removed
and deposited in a Vault
Beneath this Church.

This Monument is erected by his Children,
 In gratitude to God
 For the invaluable Gift
 And in sorrow for the Loss
 Of a good and affectionate Parent

The memory of the Just is Blessed.

Proverbs, chap. 10, ver. 7th.

Underneath the inscription are the family arms and the motto,
 "Faithful and Brave."

CHARACTERISTICS.

Mr. Uniacke's domestic life was much nearer to our ideal of what such a life should be than is usually the case; he was a faithful and loving husband, and a thoughtful and affectionate father. The greatest affliction of his life was probably the early death of his first wife, as her companionship had been his greatest blessing. His reference to her in his will, written twenty years after her death, is most striking and touching. In his children he was more fortunate than most distinguished men. His sons were all physically remarkable men, were—most of them—gifted with abilities much above the average, and several of them attained, during their father's life time, and largely through his instrumentality, important public positions.

Physically, Mr. Uniacke himself was a striking and remarkable figure—a perfect son of Anak. He stood at least six feet two inches and—in his later years—was stout in proportion.

He was kind to his servants and to humble folk generally. He was a thorough Irishman, but yet did not unfairly favor his fellow-countrymen; and he loved, admired, and earnestly and conscientiously served his adopted country, Nova Scotia.

It is clear from what we know of the routine of Mr. Uniacke's domestic life as well as from some of his public utterances, and perhaps most of all from his will, written with his own hand in the retirement of Mount Uniacke, that he was a devout and practical Christian, attached to the Church of England, but prepared to "treat all other denominations of Christians with respect," as the will advised his sons to do.

In his will, executed on the twenty-ninth of November, 1823, he says that he was always happy when he followed the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and unfortunate when he yielded to the influence of the evil

spirit, and adds, "Now that I am employed in reviewing my past life, it is manifest to me that I have been fearfully and wonderfully guided through the vicissitudes of a wayward and eventful existence."

Taking him altogether, in his various capacities, as lawyer, citizen, politician, husband, father, member of the social circle and Christian, Richard John Uniacke was an admirable and noteworthy man, a man to whom this Province owes a deep debt of gratitude, and upon whose record his descendants can look with justifiable pride and satisfaction. He was broad and human, resembling in that respect the late Mr. Howe; and the face that looks at one from the picture at Mount Uniacke (in this Province) is calculated to inspire affection as well as respect and confidence, the face of one of whom it would be naturally said;

" His life was gentle; and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

NOTE.—My obligations to *Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia* are many and apparent: most of the other sources from which information has been drawn are referred to in the body of the foregoing paper; but I think it only right to mention the names of the Reverend George W. Hill and B. G. Gray, Esquire, from both of whom various suggestions have been received. Although the original paper was read in January, 1891, I have thought it best, when preparing it for the press, to embody information acquired at later dates. The remarkable dearth of unprinted documentary sources of knowledge, respecting a public man whose correspondence was as extensive and interesting, and whose more formal writings were as numerous as those of Mr. Uniacke must have been, is due, I believe, to the ill considered action of one of his sons, in whom the historical sense would seem to have been altogether wanting. Items of interest relating to Mr. Uniacke will be thankfully received by the writer, from any reader within whose knowledge they may be—with a view to possible future publication.

SHIPS OF WAR

Lost on the Coast of Nova Scotia and Sable Island, during the
Eighteenth Century.

BY S. D. MACDONALD, F. G. S.

Read March 6th, 1884.

WHILST compiling a wreck chart of this Coast I was surprised to find figuring among the wrecks so many vessels of war, regarding the loss of which but little seems to be known. It occurred to me that an investigation into the circumstances attending such losses, together with some interesting particulars, would form a subject worthy of the attention of this Society. To this end I have from various sources such as History, Public Records, Admiralty Reports, and the Press collected some scattered fragments which I have arranged according to their respective dates. The result of my research, or at least that portion of it relating to the 18th century, I beg leave to lay before you this evening.

Under the term "lost" I have included vessels however destroyed—whether by burning, scuttling, stranding or foundering near the shore. Of course the details of wrecks are not always of a pleasing nature. But in a Society like this we have to deal with the dark as well as the bright side of history.

The first wreck of which history makes mention was one of the most terrible, involving great loss of life and property, and casting on the neighboring province of Quebec such a gloom as required several years to dispel. Unfortunately we have but very few details in connection with this wreck, as not one soul was left to tell the tale. The whole may be summed up as follows:—

Early in July, 1725, the line-of-battle ship *La Chemeau*, said to be the fastest and most thoroughly equipped ship of the French navy, left France for Quebec, having on board in addition to her full complement

of men a large number of passengers, among whom were M. DeChazel, who was to succeed Begon as Intendant of Canada; deLouigny, the Governor elect of Three Rivers; the Governor of Louisburg; several Colonial officers and ecclesiastics. On the 25th of August, while approaching the harbor of Louisburg for the purpose of landing the Governor, she was overtaken by a furious south-east gale, and during the night was totally lost on a reef near the entrance to that harbor, with all on board. In the morning the shore was strewn with the bodies of men and horses, and the debris of war material mingled with the sacred utensils and vestures of the Church.

In the year 1746 the French Government, on receiving intelligence of the fall of Louisburg, became exasperated at the loss of such a fortress, which had cost an enormous sum of money and twenty-five years of incessant labor to render it, as it was supposed, impregnable, and at once directed an armament to be prepared of greater force than had ever yet been sent to America. Accordingly, during the winter and spring of that year an expedition was fully equipped consisting of 70 vessels, among which were 11 ships of the line and 30 frigates, and 30 transports carrying 3000 soldiers, which sailed the following June under command of Duke D'Anville, whose instructions were to retake and dismantle Louisburg, capture Annapolis, destroy Boston, and ravage the New England coast. This fleet had barely got clear of the French coast when it encountered westerly gales, which so retarded its progress that it did not reach the longitude of Sable Island until early in September, when nearly all the ships were dispersed in a violent storm during which several were lost on that island. D'Anville, with only two ships of the line and a few transports, arrived at Chebucto after a passage of ninety days. In the harbor he found one of the fleet, and in the course of the next few days several transports arrived. But D'Anville was so agitated and distressed by the misfortune which had befallen the fleet that he fell suddenly ill and died, it is said, in a fit of apoplexy. In the afternoon of the same day the Vice-Admiral, D'Estournelle, arrived with three ships of the line and succeeded to the command of the expedition, while Jonquière—a naval officer who had come out in the flagship as Viceroy of Canada—was made second in command. Finding the expedition so greatly reduced in strength by the dispersion of the ships and the sickness of the men, D'Estournelle held a council of war on board the *Trident*, and proposed to abandon the enterprise and return to France. Jonquière and nearly all the officers were of the opinion that Annapolis, at all events, should be reduced

before they returned. After a long debate the council decided to attack Annapolis. Irritated at the opposition he met with the Vice-Admiral grew fevered and delirious in which he imagined himself a prisoner, ran himself through the body with his sword and expired a few hours afterwards. On the following day both the Admiral and Vice-Admiral were buried side by side on a small island near the entrance to the outer harbor, said to be Georges Island.

During the long voyage across the Atlantic a scorbatic fever had broken out and carried off more than 1200 men before the ships reached Chebucto. As the ships arrived the sick were landed and encamped on the south shore of Bedford Basin. But in spite of every care and attention over 1100 died during five weeks' encampment. The Indians also, who flocked thither for arms, ammunition and clothing, took the infection, which spread with such great rapidity among them that it destroyed more than one-third of the whole tribe of Mic-macs. At length, however, its ravages were stayed by the seasonable arrival of supplies of fresh meat and vegetables brought to them by the Acadians from the interior.

On the 11th of October several of the fleet arrived. The next day a cruiser came in with a vessel captured off the harbor carrying dispatches from Boston to Louisburg. Among the papers was a communication from Governor Shirley to Commodore Knowles, informing him that Admiral Lestock was on his way from England with a fleet of 18 vessels, and might be hourly expected. It is said these dispatches were allowed to fall purposely into the hands of the French to induce them to leave Chebucto. The intelligence of the nearness of Lestock so alarmed the French in their crippled condition, they determined on sailing immediately for Annapolis. The encampment was broken up; the crews hurried on board; those ships that had lost their crews were either scuttled or burnt, together with several prizes captured off the coast. And on the 13th of October, with five ships of the line and twenty transports—five of which were used as hospital ships, Jonquière sailed from the inner harbor of Chebucto—now Bedford Basin. They were, however, again doomed to disappointment. Off Cape Sable the fleet encountered a severe storm which once more dispersed the ships and compelled them to return to France in a sinking condition. The number destroyed in Bedford Basin is uncertain. The naval chronicle states the flagship was sunk and the *Parfait*—54 guns, and the *Caribou*—60 guns, were accidentally burnt. Other accounts state that from circumstances attending the death of the Admiral, the crew who were encamped

on shore refused from superstitious motives to embark in her again. For this reason, and also she being very much injured during the storm, Jonquière decided on scuttling her, while the prizes and several of the smaller ships were burnt. Those lost on Sable Island were—three ships of the line, one transport, and a fire ship.

In 1755 the British settlements in North America, principally in Nova Scotia, being greatly disturbed by the encroachments of the French, it became necessary for the English Government to send out a fleet to check their proceedings. The departure of this fleet was no sooner known to the French than 43 ships of the line were fitted out and dispatched. On intelligence being received in England of the sailing of this powerful French fleet, Vice-Admiral Boscowen was ordered to the coast of North America; and immediately after Vice-Admiral Holbourne was dispatched with his fleet to reinforce Boscowen, and had the good fortune to fall in with him off the banks of Newfoundland. On the 21st of June they sighted three of the enemy's ships which had been delayed—gave chase and captured one, on board of which were the Governor of Louisburg, £30,000 in French coin, and many valuables. Admiral Boscowen finding the remainder of the French fleet had arrived safe at Louisburg, bore up for Halifax. On entering the harbor the *Mars* struck on a sunken rock and was totally wrecked; the crew were, however, saved and landed at Camperdown. This ship mounted 64 guns and was one of the D'Anville expedition dispersed off Cape Sable Island and afterwards taken by the *Nottingham* off Cape Clear after two hours' close action. She was then added to the English navy.

Two years later, Lord Howe arrived at Halifax with a fleet and army on his way to attack Louisburg. But on intelligence being received of the arrival of a powerful French fleet and army at that place, and the season being so advanced, the attempt was deferred. Vice-Admiral Holburne, however, resolved to satisfy himself as to the enemy's force at Louisburg, and sailed with the fleet to reconnoitre. On the 24th of September, the squadron being 20 leagues to the southward of Louisburg, there sprang up a gale from the eastward which, during the night, vered round to the south and blew a perfect hurricane, and continued until 11 o'clock the next day, when suddenly it shifted to the north, thereby saving the whole fleet from destruction, which at the time was close in among the rocks on the Cape Breton shore. The *Tilbury*, however, struck a rock near Louisburg and was totally lost. The *Grafton*

also struck but forged off again, while the *Ferret*—a 14 gun brig, foundered during the night. After this the fleet returned to Halifax in a very shattered condition. The *Tilbury* was one of the finest of the fleet, mounted 60 guns, and commanded by Captain Barnaby, who perished together with the most of his crew.

On the 28th day of May, 1758, Admiral Boscowen again sailed for Louisburg with a powerful fleet and army for a final attack. This expedition, consisting of 22 ships of the line, 15 frigates, and 120 transports with 12,000 soldiers, arrived off that city five days later. Several days elapsed before the troops could be disembarked on account of the heavy surf which broke with terrible violence on the shore. On the 7th the troops were distributed in three divisions and ordered to effect a landing—the right and centre under the command of General Whitmore and Governor Lawrence, which were to make a shew of landing to distract the attention of the enemy, while the real attempt was to be made by General Wolf in another quarter. Time will not permit me to follow those generals through their various exploits. Let us return to the fleet.

During the night the enemy sunk four of their ships across the entrance to the harbor. Those ships were fastened together by strong chains and their masts cut off just below the surface of the water. Three days after two more were sunk in like manner. On the 21st a shell set fire to the ship of the line *Entreprenant*—74 guns, and before it could be extinguished she blew up. The flames communicated with the *Capricieuse*—64 guns, and the *Célèbre*—60 guns, totally destroying them. There remained only two other ships in the harbor, which Admiral Boscowen was determined to either sink or destroy. For this purpose he ordered 600 seamen to be sent in the boats of the fleet divided in two squadrons—one commanded by Laforey, the other by Balfour—the two senior officers, who started at midnight and, favored by a thick fog, entered the harbor in perfect silence, going close past the Island battery and within hail of the town without being perceived. Having discovered the position of the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, Laforey's division immediately rowed close alongside the former and Balfour's alongside the latter, giving three British cheers in answer to the fire of the sentinels. On the order being given the crews, seizing their arms, followed their brave leaders and boarded the ships on bow, quarter and gangway. Surprised and confused by such an unexpected attack, the enemy made little resistance, both ships were taken with the loss of only one officer and three or four seamen. The report of fire-

arms and the well-known cheers of the British seamen soon let the garrison know that their ships were in danger. Regardless of the lives of friends as well as foes every gun that could be brought to bear from the town and the point batteries was discharged against the ships and the English boats. But nothing daunted the brave sailors.

Having secured the French crews below under guard, the next point was to tow off their prizes—a work not easily accomplished in the face of the fire of the French batteries. Notwithstanding, the *Bienfaisant* was carried off in triumph to the head of the north-east harbor, out of reach of the enemy's guns. But the *Prudent*, being fast aground and also mired with a heavy chain, was set on fire—a large schooner and her own boats being left alongside to give the crew the means of escaping to the town. All obstacles being now removed, the Admiral next day went on shore and informed General Wolf that he intended to send in six of his heaviest ships to bombard the town from the harbor. But this proved unnecessary, for while the two commanders were conferring together a messenger arrived with a letter from the Governor offering to capitulate, and on that evening terms were agreed upon.

Thus we have in this short siege the destruction of ten of the French fleet, as follows:—

By fire: *La Prudent*, *L'Entreprenant*, *Le Capricieux*—74 guns each; *Le Célèbre*—64 guns.

Sunk at the entrance to the harbor: *L'Apolon*—50 guns; *Le Fidele* 36 guns; *La Diana*—36 guns; *La Chevre*—16 guns; *La Biche*—16 guns; (unknown)—32 guns.

At Sable Island some years ago a tempest completely removed a sand hummock, exposing to view a number of small houses built from the timbers of a vessel. On examination, those houses were found to contain besides many articles of ship's furniture, stores put up in boxes, bales of blankets, quantities of military shoes, and, among other articles a brass dog collar on which was engraved the name of Major Elliot, 43rd Regiment. It was afterwards ascertained that the transport carrying this regiment to Halifax after the siege of Quebec, was wrecked here, but the name was not mentioned. I have sought for the name of this ship through every available channel and had the assistance of the librarians of the garrison, but so far it has eluded our search. The date of this wreck would be about the year 1760.

In the year 1775, the armed sloop *Savage*, carrying eight guns, was wrecked on the Cape Breton coast. Of this loss there are no particulars recorded.

On the 17th of November, 1780, the brig *St. Lawrence*, chartered by the British government, left Quebec with Lieutenant Prenties of the 84th Regiment, charged with important dispatches from General Haldimand, Commander-in-chief of Canada, to Sir Henry Clinton of New York. Off Gaspé they encountered head winds which delayed them several days. During this time the weather became intensely cold and the ice began to form to an alarming degree. The wind kept gradually increasing until the 1st of December when it blew a perfect gale, causing the ship to leak so badly that the pumps had to be kept constantly worked. During the 2nd and 3rd the ice formed so on the ship's sides as to impede her way, and the leak continued to gain on them. On the following day they fell in with a cutter which had sailed a few days after them with Ensign Drummond of the 44th Regiment, carrying duplicate dispatches of General Haldimand to New York. The cutter, far from being able to render them any assistance, was as leaky as the ship, having ran on a reef while coming down the river through the neglect of the pilot. A heavy snow storm set in, and in order not to part company a gun was fired every half hour. Through the night the cutter ceased to answer the guns from the ship, having foundered with all on board. On the 5th the gale increased, and the ship's crew being now overcome with cold and fatigue, seeing no prospect of gaining on the leak—the water having reached four feet in the hold—nor the prospect of making any port, abandoned the pumps and declared themselves quite indifferent as to their fate, preferring the alternation of going down with the ship to that of suffering such severe and incessant labor in so desperate a situation. The sea was now running very high and the heavy falling snow prevented them seeing twenty yards ahead of the vessel. The mate had judged from the distance run that they were not far from the Magdalen Islands. His conjecture was well founded, for in less than an hour the sea was heard breaking upon the rocks, and soon after Deadman's Island was discovered close under the lee. Having happily cleared the main island they were still far from being secure; for almost immediately they found themselves in the midst of the smaller islands, and there appeared little probability of their passing clear of all in like manner—not being able to distinguish any one of them in time to avoid it. They were thus obliged to leave the vessel to the direction of Providence, and fortunately or rather miraculously ran through them all without damage.

The excitement and anxiety among the crew while in the midst of those rocks may be easily imagined. And now that the danger was

over it proved a fortunate occurrence, for the sailors being ready to sink under exposure and fatigue, acquired fresh spirits from the danger through which they had just passed, agreed to continue their efforts a little longer, and again the pumps were manned. But all endeavours to prevent the ship from filling were now vain. The leak so increased that in a short time she was entirely full. Having no longer, as they thought, the smallest foundation for hope, they resigned themselves with as much fortitude as possible to their fate. Notwithstanding when the ship was quite full she was observed to have settled but very little deeper than before, which may be accounted for by the fact of her having but little cargo, and being so thoroughly iced up she was not in a condition to founder. This recalled hope; and, by keeping her directly before the wind she was prevented from overturning.

The captain reckoned from the course ran through the night that they were not far from the Island of St. John, (Prince Edward Island,) and labouring under great dread lest she should strike on the dangerous rocks that skirt its north-east side, proposed lying too to keep her off the land, which Lieutenant Prenties and the mate strongly opposed, as it amounted to almost a certainty that she would be overset in the attempt, and she was allowed to run helplessly before the gale.

Small as their expectations were now of saving their lives, the lieutenant thought it incumbent on him to take every precaution to save the important despatches with which he had been entrusted, especially as their duplicates had gone down in the cutter. So, taking them from his trunk he lashed them around his waist, at the same time offering his servant some money to the amount of about 200 guineas, requesting him to dispose of it as he thought proper, regarding it as an encumbrance in the present emergency rather than a matter worthy of preservation. The servant, however, thought otherwise, and took care to put the money up as carefully as his master did the despatches. The weather continued thick as usual till about one o'clock, when suddenly clearing up land was discovered right ahead. Already they had entered the breakers of a reef, and it was expected that their fate would be determined there. But she went through without striking, and before her lay a bold shore and a sandy beach. Now was the time for every man to be on the alert, as she might be expected to go to pieces immediately on striking. At the first stroke the mainmast went by the board. At the same time the rudder was unshipped with such violence as to disable several of the crew. The seas swept her in every part, each roller lifting her nearer the shore. In a short time her stern was beaten in

and all hands were clinging to the shrouds. In this awkward situation they remained till the vessel was swang broadside on, thus affording them shelter to the leeward. The boat was with great difficulty cleared for launching, although it seemed scarcely possible for her to live in such a sea for a single minute. From the intensity of the cold the surf as it broke over them encased their clothing in a mass of ice. At length the boat was got into the water, but few were found willing to attempt a landing. Lieutenant Prenties, the mate and a few sailors, however, jumped into her and cast off. The ship was lying about 40 yards from the shore. When about half way a wave broke over them and nearly filled the boat, while the next dashed them high on the beach. The cries for help from those left on board could be distinctly heard. But what help could be given them. The shattered boat was beat high upon the beach, while the sea was running to such a degree it was not in the power of man to afford them any assistance.

Night was now approaching. They were obliged to wade with extreme difficulty up to their waists in snow to the shelter of a thick wood about 300 yards from the shore. This furnished some relief from the piercing north-west wind; yet a fire was wanting to warm their frozen limbs, but they had not the wherewithal to kindle it. Freezing as they stood there was nothing to be done but to keep their blood in motion by exercise. In less than half an hour one of the party lay down to sleep in spite of all endeavours both by persuasion and force to rouse him, and soon was stiff. The death of this one could not deter the rest from giving away to this drowsy sensation, and three more lay down. Finding it impossible for to keep them on their legs, the lieutenant and the mate broke branches from the trees and beat those men continually through the night to prevent them from sleeping, and thus preserved the lives of the crew and their own as well.

At last the long-wished for day appeared. The vessel had by this time beat nearer the shore and those alive on board continued to swing themselves from the jibboom at low water to within a few yards of the shore. The captain had fortunately previous to coming on shore put into his pocket material for striking a fire, and soon they were warming their frozen limbs. On the morrow a small remnant of the provision was secured from the wreck, consisting of two barrels of pork, one barrel of onions, and about twelve pounds tallow candles.

I shall not here recite the sickening details of the sufferings of this unfortunate crew after the store of provisions was exhausted. Suffice it to say that for over two long winter months one portion of them

coasted the shores of Cape Breton in a leaky boat day by day as opportunity occurred and their limited strength allowed them, in search of relief, living on kelp and the seed bulbs found on wild rose bushes in winter ; until, by their snail pace progress, over one hundred miles had been accomplished, and, doubling Cape North, they were discovered by Indians when about laying down to die.

As soon as intelligence was received at the Indian encampment of the other portion of the crew being left behind, and their probable whereabouts, an expedition was at once set on foot to succour them, and, on the following day a band of Indians on snow shoes with provisions and sledges set out across the country. After being absent about three weeks they arrived with three men who were the only survivors, ten of their number having died from starvation and cold and were afterwards eaten by their companions. The survivors remained at the camp until the following spring, while Lieutenant Prenties with Indian guides continued overland to Canso. Learning here that the coast was infested by American privateers, and fearing capture if he should take passage as intended, he procured fresh guides and proceeded inland and arrived at Halifax early in May, from which he took passage to New York with his dispatches in a very demoralized condition.

Three-and-a-half miles S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. from Seal Island light at the western extremity of this province, lies a sunken rock having an area of a quarter of a mile in length and several hundred feet in width. This is known as the Blonde Rock, and few places on our coast have been more prolific of wrecks. From the following circumstances it has derived its name :

In 1782 H. M. S. *Blonde*, a 32 gun frigate, commanded by Captain Thornborough, while on her way to Halifax, having in tow a large ship laden with masts which she had just captured, struck on a sunken rock and was totally lost. The prize escaped the danger and arrived at her destination. Captain Thornborough and crew constructed a raft by means of which they got to a small island where they continued for several days in the utmost distress. Providentially an American privateer came in sight and relieved them from their perilous position. For the generous and humane treatment Captain Thornborough had shown his prisoners, the Americans in return landed him and his crew at New York. In the same year the *Gigg*, an armed sloop employed by the government, was cast away at Port Matoon. The loss of which there are no particulars.

At the close of the American Revolution in 1783 a large number of Loyalists, among whom were many discharged soldiers and sailors, conceived the idea of removing to Nova Scotia. On the 27th of April of that year a fleet of 18 square rigged vessels, under convoy of two ships of war, arrived at Roseway—afterwards called Shelburne. Among those vessels was the ship *Martha*, having on board a corps of the Maryland loyalists and a detachment of the second Delancey's, in all 174 men. This ship struck between Cape Sable and the Tusquets and 99 perished. The remainder were saved by fishing boats and carried to Shelburne.

We now come to the loss of a ship almost at our own doors, in sight of this meeting to-night,—that of the *Tribune*. This vessel was a 44 gun frigate, lately captured from the French, commanded by Captain Barker, and on her way from Tor Bay to Quebec—acting as a convoy to a fleet. But becoming detached from her charge she bore up for Halifax. As our worthy President, Dr. Hill, remarks in his memoir of Sir Brenton Haliburton, "This story has been sometimes erroneously narrated." And as Sir Brenton was at the time of the disaster the officer in charge of York Redoubt, and an eye witness of what occurred, having aided in the attempt to save the ship, I have taken the liberty of adopting the report as contained in this memoir by Dr. Hill in a somewhat abridged form.

Early in the morning of November 23rd, 1797, Mr. Haliburton was standing on the top of the abrupt elevation on which the fort is built looking out toward the sea. It was a dark autumnal day and the rising wind blew freshly from the E.S.E. Above and beneath were signs of a coming storm. Beside him stood Sergt. McCormae who addressed Mr. Haliburton as they were both watching a ship approach: "If that ship does not alter her course, Sir, she will be ashore within a quarter of an hour." His prediction was two truly fulfilled, within five minutes she was stranded upon Thrum Cap Shoals. It is generally supposed that the wind at this time was blowing violently and a heavy sea was raging. This, however, was not the case. The gale was but in its infancy. I was the self-satisfied opinion of the master that caused the stranding of the ship.

As early as 8 o'clock she had made the harbor, and running before a fair wind was rapidly nearing it. The captain had suggested to the sailing master the propriety of engaging a harbor pilot to conduct the vessel in. But that officer replied that they was no necessity as he knew the harbor well. The captain, fully confiding in the master's skill

and knowledge, went below to arrange his papers to hand to Admiral Murray on his landing. Now it so occurred that there was on board a negro named John Cassey who had formerly belonged to Halifax, to this man the master looked for assistance in piloting the vessel to her anchorage. But he misplaced his trust. About 9 o'clock the ship approached so near Thrum Cap Shoals that the master himself became alarmed and sent for Mr. Galvin, an officer holding the rank of master's mate, who was simply a passenger on board the *Tribune*. This gentleman, who knew the harbor well, had offered to pilot the ship but his offer had been refused, and not being well he had retired to the cabin. On being summoned, however, he hastened to the deck, his opinion was asked, but before he could form it the noble ship was stranded on the shoals. Signals of distress were immediately made to the military posts and the ships in the harbor. Mr. Haliburton, whose station was nearest, proceeded at once on board, and presenting himself to the captain he enquired what aid he could render. The captain replied, the only thing you can do is to signal the Dockyard for help. Calling to his boats crew he at once proceeded to the station to see to the transmission of the message. The signal staff immediately repeated the facts and the danger, the message was acknowledged, and everything apparently put in fair train for meeting the emergency. Boats were manned both at the Dockyard and the Engineer's yard, while others proceeded from several of the military posts near at hand. Whilst these were making their way to the shoals, the crew of the *Tribune* threw overboard all the guns except one which was retained for making signals of distress. In the hurry and confusion which prevailed they took the easiest method of lightening the ship, and unfortunately threw their cannons over to leeward. As the wind grew stronger, and the tide arose, the ill-fated vessel surged and beat upon these iron breakers. The heavy boats sent from the Dockyard made slow progress against the storm. One of them reached her under the guidance of Mr. Rockmer, boatswain of the yard. Several reached her from the Engineer's yard a little earlier, besides these, one or two, as already mentioned, put off from the military posts in sight of the disaster. In these were three officers, two of whom, Lieutenants North and Campbell, belonged to the 7th Royal Fusileers, one, Lieutenant James, belonged to the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment. While these gentlemen were on board it grew dark.

Capt. Barker, fretting under the probable disgrace that awaited him for the stranding of the ship, grew imperious and dogmatical. It appears

that a short time previous a brother officer in command of a ship had been cashiered for abandoning her when in a similar peril, though he saved the lives of his crew and passengers; and this it is supposed influenced Capt. Barker to refuse permission to any one on board to leave the *Tribune*. Whether he gave the tyrannical order that none should disembark, is now doubtful, but circumstances seem to bear out the tradition. He probably feared that all might take alarm if any were allowed to go, and that his ship and his prospects would be alike ruined. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, P. M., the rudder was unshipped and lost. At half-past eight the tide had so risen that the *Tribune* began to heave violently, and in half an hour she was afloat. But no sooner was she fairly free from the shoals than they discovered seven feet of water in the hold. She had been beaten in and shattered by her incessant rolling upon the guns which had been so injudiciously thrown to the leeward side.

Capt Barker, who had been very indignant that no officer of higher naval rank had been sent to his assistance than the boatswain, now took his advice, and let go the best bow anchor. This failed, however, to bring up the drifting ship. Two sails were hoisted by which they endeavoured to steer, and the cable was cut. But the ship was unmanageable, and she drifted to the western shore,—a fearful coast of precipitous rock against which the surf broke with terrific fury. As the last hope, they let go the small anchor in 13 fathoms of water. It held, and the mizzen was cut away. It was now 10 o'clock, and at this juncture Lieutenants North and Campbell left the ship in their own boats, one of them having jumped out of the port hole into the water. But Lieut. James unhappily could not be found at the moment. They had not gone half an hour when the ship gave a sudden roll, and then righting again, immediately sunk with her masts erect. Two hundred and forty men, women and children floated for a few seconds on the boiling waves. Some were dashed to pieces against the rocks. Forty reached the two remaining masts that still stood some feet above the water, and clung with the energy of despair to the yards and ropes. As the night advanced, the main top gave way, and all who were trusting to it were once more plunged into the sea. On the last top-mast remained by morning light only eight of the large number who had clung to it. The cries of these were heard all through the night by the watchers on shore. But so fearful and terrific had the storm become, that they were either cowed or paralyzed, and made no effort to rescue the unhappy people. Nor was it until 11 o'clock the following morning,

when a noble deed was performed by a mere child, which, had it been done in a country better known, would have ranked him among heroes. This boy, who had scarce attained his fourteenth year, put out alone in his little skiff from Herring Cove, at great peril of his own life succeeded in reaching the wreck, and with great skill backed his boat close to the fore-top, and took off two of the men. Upon this occasion there was a noble instance of magnanimity on the part of two seamen. Those men, whose names were Munro and Dunlap, had during the night preserved their strength and spirits, and done everything in their power to sustain their less fortunate companions, refused to quit the wreck until two others who were so exhausted as to be unable to make any effort for their own safety, were taken on shore. They accordingly lifted them into the skiff, and the gallant boy rowed them off in triumph to the shore, seen them safe in his father's cottage, and again put off in his skiff. But this time all his efforts were unavailing, his exhausted strength being unequal to the task, he was obliged to return. His example, however, had the effect of inducing others to make the attempt. Larger boats were manned and they succeeded in bringing to shore the remaining six. This boy was afterwards brought to Halifax and placed as a midshipman on board the flag ship, but being so much out of his element in his new surroundings, he became unhappy and was allowed to return home.

In July, 1798, H. M. Sloop of War *Rover*, 14 guns, sailed from Halifax for Sydney, with Lieut.-Gen. Ogilvie and staff. On the evening of the third day, while sailing before a nine knot breeze, she struck on the outside reef off Scatari. Owing to the thorough discipline maintained in the emergency, all hands with the exception of one man were landed safely on the Island. A short time after the ship went to pieces.

The following account of a double wreck at the entrance to this harbor, taken from the *Chronicle* of Dec. 14th, 1799, will speak for itself: Last Sunday morning (11th) between one and two o'clock, H. M. Sloop of War the *North* (20) and the armed ship *St. Helena*, coming into the harbor from Spanish River (Sydney) during a heavy S. E. gale, were driven on shore about one mile from the light-house. By which accident both ships were unfortunately lost, and about 170 persons perished. Among the *North's* passengers were Capt. McLean of the 84th Regt., and Lieut. Butler of the Marines. Capt. Selby and the whole ship's company, with the exception of two seamen, were lost. On the *St. Helena* were Lieut. Robertson of the transport service, and three officers

of the 74th Regt. Happily all were saved with the exception of one seaman.

Eight days had scarcely elapsed when there occurred another most notable wreck, that of the *Princess Amelia*, or *Francis*, as I think we must in future call her, at Sable Island, and shortly after the loss of the Gun Brig *Harriet*, sent in search of her, at the same place. With the loss of the *Francis* are connected some affecting incidents. In the early part of the year 1799, Mr. Copeland, the surgeon of the Duke of Kent's favorite regiment, the 7th Fusileers, who was also on the personal staff of the Duke, obtained leave to visit England with the intention of taking his family out with him on his return to Halifax. He was directed also to superintend the embarkation of the Prince's property, consisting of furniture from his Royal Highness's house at Knight Bridge, several valuable horses, and a most extensive library. Mr. Copeland, in addition to his staff appointment, was also the Duke's librarian. With these valuable effects under his care Mr. Copeland declined the offer of a passage in the sloop of war sailing with the convoy; but resolved not to lose sight of his charge, he embarked on board the *Francis*. Having arrived within a few hours of his destination, he perished with the vessel and her crew. His wife and youngest child shared his melancholy fate.

Lieut. Scrambler of H. M. Cutter *Trepassey*, on his passage from Halifax to Newfoundland, was directed to stop at Sable Island to obtain information if possible of the *Francis*, or any other unfortunate vessel that might have been wrecked there during the winter, and to land some valuable animals which His Excellency Sir James Wentworth had committed to his care. The Lieut. thus writes to Capt. Murray, the senior officer of the station.

H. M. CUTTER "TREPASSEY,"

Sydney, May 17, 1800.

SIR,—Agreeable to your orders, I proceeded to Sable Island on Tuesday, May 13. I went on shore and landed stock sent by Sir James Wentworth. After staying there an hour without discovering any person on the island, and seeing a schooner at anchor near the N. W. end, some distance from the cutter, I immediately weighed anchor, made sail, and spoke her. She proved to be the *Dolphin* of Barrington, laden with fish, seal skins, and seal oil. She had several trunks very much damaged on board, which appeared to have been washed ashore. One was directed to His Royal Highness Prince Edward. Another was directed to Capt. Stirling, 7th Regt. of Foot. Both empty. There was also one large trunk containing two great overcoats, the livery being that worn by servants of His Royal Highness. The master of the

schooner informed me that he had two men on Sable Island during the winter connected with the sealing trade, who had built a hut on the east end of the island. One of the men being on board, I learned from him that about the 22nd of December last, after a very severe gale from the S. E., a woman was found washed on shore on the south side; also the trunks before mentioned, 12 horses, some farming stock, and a portion of three boats. Further information was gathered from the other man, whose story ran: That on the 22nd of Dec. they observed a large vessel at a little distance from the N. E. bar. She was endeavoring to beat off all day, but the wind was so extremely light and baffling that she made no great progress. As the day shut in the weather began to thicken, and was soon followed by a tremendous gale from the S. E., which continued with great violence through the night.

In this gale the *Francis* must have been driven on the sands, and in the course of time have gone to pieces, as neither the ship nor any part of her was to be seen in the morning. Soon after the storm abated, the corpse of the lady above mentioned was discovered. She had a ring on her finger, but being unable to get it off they buried it with her.

From the above official report we must infer this vessel must have been the *Francis*, and not the *Princess Amelia* as generally understood. Further, I find there was a *Princess Amelia*, an 80 gun ship, in the fleet off Louisburg in 1758. The *Francis* being chartered for the use of Prince Edward, may have been known as the Prince's ship. In this way the names of Francis, Prince's, and Princess Amelia have been confounded. The *Francis* was about 280 tons burden, and reported an excellent sailer. Besides the valuable library, household effects, &c, of Prince Edward, there was a new military equipment on board, which was ordered by the Prince before leaving England, at a cost of £11,000. Strange to say this was the seventh equipment lost by Prince Edward. The rest being captured by French cruisers, except one which was lost while crossing Lake Champlain in the ice. This ship sailed on the 25th October from Portsmouth in company with the *America*, a mast ship, and a number of other vessels, under convoy of *H. M. S. Bonetta*. A succession of gales followed their departure. The *America* got back to Portsmouth, and the *Bonetta* with great difficulty reached Lisbon, a perfect wreck. The *Francis*, being more fortunate than the rest, had nearly reached her destination when her progress was arrested by those fatal quicksands. Among her passengers were Dr. and Mrs. Copeland and child and maid-servant; Capt. Stirling, 7th Fusileers; Lieut. Mercer, R. A.; Lieuts. Sutton, Roebuck and More, 16th Light Dragoons; household servant to Prince Edward; soldiers, &c., in all upwards of 200, of which not a soul was rescued. In the following May, (1800) on

receipt of the intelligence forwarded by the commander of the *Trepassy*, the Government ordered the gun brig *Harriet*, Lieut. Torrens, to the Island to investigate matters, when she too was wrecked. The Lieut. and his crew barely escaped with their lives, and had a protracted stay at that place.

Thus the last years of the century were marked by several wrecks of unusual prominence. The *Tribune* in 1797, the *Rover* in 1798, the double wreck of the *North* and *St. Helena* in 1799, and the *Francis* in December of the same year, form a memorable yet melancholy close to a century of peculiar interest in the history of our country, as having witnessed the termination of the stubborn and long-continued struggle between the French and English for supremacy on this continent, to which are attributable many of the wrecks herein enumerated.

LOUISBOURG:

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

BY JOSEPH PLIMSOLL EDWARDS, LONDONDERRY, N. S.

Read before the Society, 27th November, 1894.

FEW more romantic and strange episodes exist in North American annals than the story of this fortress of Ile Royale. A colony and government removed to a lonely spot on the shore of a vast uninhabited island; a city, a naval depot, and a citadel of enormous strength springing up there under the flag of the most powerful military nation in Europe, and resulting in an armed metropolis which menaced all the Atlantic coast, became one of the trade-centres of the continent, and formed one of the great bulwarks of French power in America. Suddenly and almost ignominiously it changes masters; all its costly works, buildings, and armament become the property of Great Britain. In a year or two, with equal suddenness and greater ignominy, it reverts to France, and for a few years more holds a dominant position. Again it falls; and its captors expunge the entire establishment from the face of the earth; scarcely is one stone left above another. Its inhabitants drift elsewhere, and in a few years it is apparently forgotten as if it never had been. All this within half a century—a man's short life.

But it has left deep marks on the pages of the history of North America; and while in a sense less purely Canadian than continental, it has been left chiefly to Canadian writers to tell its story with amplitude of detail. The value of these histories is enhanced in that they give us the annals of all Cape Breton from its discovery down to recent dates; yet this very comprehensiveness leaves room for a sketch confined to the fortress which made the island famous. Such I have endeavored to portray in the following pages.

Prior to that treaty which may be termed the legal beginning of Anglo-Acadian history—signed at Utrecht in 1713, Louisbourg under that name did not exist. The bay or harbour was known to the French as Havre à l'Anglais—to the English as English Harbour. An early

traveller, Capt. Leigh, has left a very interesting account of his voyage along these shores in 1597, and refers to the bay as Port Ingleese or English Port. Of these early days there is little known in connection with the place. Pontgrave, the companion of DeMonts in his memorable voyage of 1604, landed there on his arrival on this side and built a boat: so far as we know this was the first vessel built by Europeans on what is now Nova Scotian soil. A quarter of a century elapses before we again hear of l'Havre à l'Anglais, and this time it is true to its name. British colours had temporarily supplanted those of France over all Acadie and Cape Breton, thanks to the enterprise of a certain Captain Argall. He, in the summer of 1613, set out from the newly settled village of Jamestown in Virginia, and, in the informal method of those days, attacked and beat off the few French then in this colony, and proclaimed the whole country as belonging to Britain. Eight years later a grant of all Acadie, Cape Breton, and part of Canada, was made by King James the first to Sir William Alexander, Secretary of State for Scotland. That astute nobleman divided his huge grant into lots and sold as many as possible to gentlemen anxious to go in for colonization work on a large scale. Among the purchasers was Lord Ochiltree, a Scottish nobleman, son of the Earl of Arran. With a following of 60 emigrants he sailed for Cape Breton in the spring of 1629, and settled his little colony within a few miles of English Harbour; they erected a small fort and began to clear the land. But their residence there was a short one. A Captain Daniel, in the service of the King of France, had, or imagined he had, a grievance against my Lord Ochiltree for alleged interference with French fishermen; and, without warning or explanation, landed a strong party on the 18th Sept. of that year, (1629,) took the little fort by assault, razed it to the ground, and deported the entire settlement, their arms, ammunition and stores—first to the harbour of Ste Anne, near by, then across the Atlantic—some to England, others to France. So bold a deed, in times of nominal peace between the two Crowns, created no little excitement, and voluminous charges and counter-statements were promptly forthcoming. But the Stuarts ruled England in those days, and French influence had great weight; and it does not appear that any of the settlers so suddenly and unceremoniously thrust back on their native shores received redress.

By treaty signed on 29th March, 1632, Cape Breton was restored to France; but for more than three-quarters of a century thereafter, English

Harbour remained undisturbed by the hum of commerce, and the deeper notes of war with which the adjacent coast resounded from time to time throughout this long period.

Port Royal, the capital of Acadie, surrendered to the British Crown—as represented by the Provincial General Nicholson, with four regiments of New England troops and as many ships of war—on the 4th of October, 1710. With its fall Acadie and Cape Breton became nominally British possessions. Port Royal became Annapolis, in honour of the reigning Sovereign ; and the name of Acadie was replaced by that of Nova Scotia. Two and a half years later the treaty of Utrecht was signed, which confirmed to Britain Nova Scotia and the French settlements in Newfoundland, but restored Cape Breton to France.

The establishment of a strongly fortified harbour to be a rendezvous and shelter for the French fleets on the North American station now became an imperative and immediate necessity. The treaty had cut off from France all the sea coast on the northern part of the continent except that afforded by Cape Breton, while inland the vast districts under her sway stretched along the St. Lawrence, embraced the great lakes, reached to the Rocky Mountains, and, sweeping south, covered the rich and fertile countries of the Ohio and Mississippi. Of all her Atlantic possessions Cape Breton alone remained, on guard over this enormous territory.

But it was as the sentry-box without the sentinel. No garrison of any strength existed on the island ; no fortified harbour offered shelter to friendly shipping. To these wants France gave immediate attention.

When the ratification of the treaty became a certainty—in fact when it was still only a probability—Louis XIV. and his ministers took the first steps towards strengthening this, his last remaining North Atlantic possession. We learn that in 1712 an Order-in-Council was passed ordering that a ship-of-war be sent to Plaisance—as Placentia, Newfoundland, was then called—thence, under directions from the Governor of that place, M. de Costabelle, to proceed to Cape Breton to choose the most suitable harbour and site for the new capital. It was not, however, until the following summer that these orders were carried into effect. The King's ship—named the *Segnelay*, and commanded by M. de Contreville—sailed for Plaisance in August, 1713. She had a double duty to perform—a mission of survey and of colonization, and carried among her company officials and settlers for the new colony ; chief among these being M. de Ste. Ovide de Brouillan, a naval officer, and Major L'Hermite of the Engineers. In the name of the King

they formally took possession of the island; and, as predetermined by the Home authorities, re-named it Ile Royale. In fact a general rechristening of all the chief harbours of the island very soon took place, preceding their actual settlement. The harbour of Ste. Anne became Port Dauphin; St. Peter's became Port Toulouse; and Havre à l'Anglais, Louisbourg. Of all these changes the latter alone survives; but its single greatness outweighs the lapse of the other three. The brilliant period of active French rule in America, and the valour of the New England militia and of British linesmen and blue-jackets cannot be forgotten while the name of Louisbourg lives.

As to the most suitable harbour to fortify and build up into a naval capital there had been a marked difference of opinion, the Governor of Plaisance—backed up by no less a personage than the Viceroy of New France—favoring Ste. Anne's; but the excellence of the harbour of Louisbourg, the depth of water at the entrance, and its comparative freedom from ice, carried the day, and that place was definitely chosen as the metropolis of the island province. To Louisbourg the immigrant-bearing ship of 1713 came, and on the shores of its harbour most of the new-comers settled.

On the 12th of June of the following year, M. de Costabelle formally delivered up Plaisance to Colonel Moody, the British representative, and, with his staff, moved over to Ile Royale, and fixed his head-quarters at the embryo capital. The land in the vicinity was poor, but the fishing was excellent, and a large additional number of colonists came over from Newfoundland and from France, and settled in close proximity to the harbour. Elaborate plans of the proposed fortifications were drawn up and submitted to the Home authorities, and all looked promising for the creation of a prosperous and progressive town, as well as a point from which the *fleur-de-lys* would extend its triumphs in the western world. But the ill-luck—to put it in the mildest form—which so closely waited on the enterprise was apparent even in this its first year of active life. Instead of the regular and systematic attention which the isolated settlement demanded from the Ministry, signs of neglect were already visible. The pay for the troops employed on the new defences was not forthcoming; lack of discipline and a state not far from mutiny were the results. The supply of provisions for the settlers was painfully scanty, and misery and wretchedness naturally followed. To add to the troubles of the period, several vessels were, in November, 1714, lost in making the voyage from Plaisance to Ile Royale.

And to the praise of these people, then neglected and now utterly forgotten, it should be remembered that many of them had voluntarily left behind them in Plaisance their homes and holdings, and had followed the flag of France over into the wilderness of Ile Royale. Coercion may have been hinted at, and promises of work and fortune held out ; doubtless such was the case ; but the fact remained that they exchanged a certainty for an uncertainty, chiefly for their country's sake. Of all the former French inhabitants of Plaisance, only four or five remained and swore allegiance to the King of England. The rest, true to their colours, deserved better treatment than they received.

Over this infant settlement there was no lack of rulers and persons in high authority ; in fact, as an over-governed colony, its record is perhaps unequalled. In addition to M. de Costabelle, the Governor-in-Chief, there was M. de Soubras, the Commissioner-Comptroller, of almost equal rank and power with de Costabelle. There was a King's Lieutenant, M. de St. Ovide de Brouillan ; a commander of the troops, M. du Ligoudez ; a King's Engineer, Major L'Hermite, temporarily succeeded in 1715 by M. de Beaucour ; and a writer to the King, M. de La Forest. There may have been others of equal note, but the foregoing all appear as having been in active correspondence with the authorities in France.

Of the life and doings at Louisbourg during these early years there is little which is worth recording. Building went on steadily, if not with remarkable speed. Supplies of various sorts were sent out from France, and from the French colonies, and all chief business matters were regulated from Versailles. Cut off, to a very great extent, from the French possessions in Canada, the Louisbourg government and people were to an unusual degree dependent on the mother country. Every petty detail of civic and colonial life was reported at length to Paris, and full instructions as to the necessary action were sent out by the Council of Marine. Immigrants from France came in but slowly, especially during the first few years ; the sunny climate of New Orleans—at this period being laid out for settlement—proving a more tempting bait to warmth-loving Frenchmen than the cool summers and icy winters of Ile Royale. Strong efforts were made by the local authorities to induce the Acadians to leave the now English province of Nova Scotia and cast in their lot with their compatriots in the new island province ; but the Acadians, not framed in the sternly-heroic mould, were loath to leave their fertile farms and marshlands. They noted the leniency with which their new masters

treated them as regards their allegiance, and showed their worldly wisdom in remaining as long as possible French subjects on British territory. A few went to Ile Royale, and more to the fertile lands of Ile St. Jean ; but the great majority remained at home, in the hope, we may suppose, of developments which would at one and the same time enable them to retain their nationality, appease their rulers, satisfy their consciences, and fill their pockets.

M. de Costabelle, the energetic and capable governor of Ile Royale, died in 1717. His last days appear to have been clouded over with a sense of wrong, or, at least, of lack of appreciation of his services, for his latest reports to the Ministry deal with the troubles of his *régime*, and of his personal expenditure in the interests of the government, and he prays "for justice." He died in France, having gone over in 1716. M. de Ste. Ovide de Brouillan, the King's Lieutenant, seems to have taken charge during the Governor's absence, and eventually succeeded him ; M. de Beaucour arriving at Louisbourg from France in November, 1718, to take de Brouillan's place as Lieutenant.

Work continued to be done on the fortifications and on the town, but evidently not with undue haste ; churches, hospitals, and other public buildings were slowly evolved from the chaos of stone and mortar which covered the area of the place. Contractors (civilian) controlled the erection of the fortifications. The garrison does not appear to have been large ; in 1720, for instance, it consisted of but seven companies of marine infantry—perhaps 500 men in all. A source of anxiety to the government was the illicit trade carried on with the New England colonies. Ordinances were levelled against it, but Yankee ingenuity often found means to evade these, and to continue a trade which, though risky, was undoubtedly profitable. I will again have occasion to speak of this when referring to the business of the port, in which New England's share was by no means a small one.

Intercourse with the neighbouring English colonies was singularly small. In connection with the all-important question of French backing and aid to Indians in their attacks on the English settlements and fishing boats, two men of note in Nova Scotia—Hibbert Newton, Collector of Customs at Annapolis and Canso, and Capt. John Bradstreet—were sent to Louisbourg in 1725, as a deputation to the French Governor. M. de Brouillan's reply to their requests was most polite, but evasive, and gave little satisfaction to the Annapolis authorities. Among the matters mentioned by the deputation in their report made

after their return, was that they had found fourteen English vessels actively engaged in trading between Louisbourg and New England and Nova Scotian ports.

The call was duly returned. One dull November morning, eight years later, there sailed into the port of New York a small vessel, hailing from Louisbourg, and having as passengers two officers of the French garrison there, Mm. de Gane and de Laronde. In the brilliant uniform of their rank, they must have made quite a sensation in the dull little town, as they strode up to the residence of Governor Cosby. Their mission was one of trade. The stock of provisions at Louisbourg was unusually low ; a long winter was coming on, and the prospect was not a cheerful one. So De Brouillan had despatched this embassy to purchase flour and pease ; and as they brought plenty of money with them, the legal impediments which stood in the way of their doing business (trade with Cape Breton being nominally forbidden) were set aside by a meeting of Council, specially called for the purpose, and they were permitted to buy as much as they pleased and could pay for. The episode was duly reported by the Governor to the Lords of Trade, and the benevolent and philanthropic aspect of the transaction was enlarged upon ; but His Excellency omitted to mention the fact that the visitors had brought for him, as a peace-offering from de Brouillan, four casks of Bourdeaux wine and two barrels of the best brandy. He, however, winds up his report with the following statement, significant in view of after events, " their (the French) present necessities furnishes me with " this observation, that a garrison at so great a distance from France, " from whence they are supplied with Beef and Pork, and the uncertain " crops of grain in Canada from whence they are to expect their bread " (for on Cape Breton they raise nothing from the earth) must make " that place in time of War very precarious, especially if our Men of " war, which must necessarily be on that coast to Guard our settlements " at Annapolis and Canso and our fishery, are active and constant in " their Cruises between Cape Breton and Newfoundland, for they can " hardly fail of intercepting all vessels that are sent from France with " supplies for them or with Merchandise to Canada."

It is evident that the idea of a capture of the French stronghold was even then vaguely present : in time it took root, and suddenly matured, and almost as suddenly developed into an accomplished fact.

Among the tragic incidents which are stamped on the story of life in North America during this period, one is closely associated with

Louisbourg. This was the loss of the French man-of-war "Le Chameau" on the rocky coast near the harbour on the night of the 25th August, 1725. She was on her way to Quebec from France, and carried crew and passengers numbering probably between two and three hundred, including many distinguished officials and ecclesiastics. Every soul perished; 180 of the bodies were subsequently recovered and were buried at Louisbourg.

DeBrouillan, after long and faithful service in the Navy, as King's Lieutenant at Louisbourg, and as Governor of Ile Royale, retired in 1739, and was succeeded by M. de Forant, who accepted the position solely on compulsion, the King himself having intimated that such was his wish. He arrived at Louisbourg in September and was accompanied by a new Commissary-General—no less a personage than M. Bigot, whose fame as a master in the art of wholesale speculation still lives. The new Governor, evidently a hard working and conscientious officer, very soon after his arrival made a thorough examination into the state of the fortifications, garrison, and town; during the next three months his reports to the Minister on these and kindred subjects are voluminous. But his *regimé* was of short duration. He died at Louisbourg in May, 1740, eight months after his arrival; and M. Duquesnel reigned in his stead.

De Forant is worthy of special mention in that he bequeathed an endowment or foundation sufficient to defray the board and tuition of eight pupils, daughters of officers, at the chief convent of the town. This is probably the first act of the sort that took place in any part of the province—certainly the first of which I have been able to find any trace.

The new Governor, an appointee from France, reached Louisbourg early in November. He would seem to have been somewhat of a *bon vivant*, as his first letter to the Home authorities is an application for more money to defray debts contracted "in the discharge of the duties of his office." It is easy to infer what tradesmen constituted his chief creditors. We are not informed if this very frank request was granted, but presume that it was; if not, his colleague, M. Bigot, no doubt got him out of the scrape by methods peculiarly his own. Duquesnel ruled for four years only, and, like his predecessor, he died in office. During the winter preceding his death (1744) an appointment was made, of interest in view of after events; the King's Lieutenant, M. de Bourville, retired, and was succeeded by Major Duchambon who commanded the

garrison during the eventful siege of 1745. Duquesnel died just in time to spare himself the trials of the bombardment, and the humiliation of the surrender.

The shadow of the cloud which burst on Louisbourg in 1745 seemed to have hung over the town for at least the three preceding years. Requests and complaints are common in all the correspondence exchanged between Governor and Minister; but between 1742 and 1745 they gathered weight. They were too numerous and couched in too plain language to have any source but in a sense of actual deficiencies and urgent requirements. Such phrases as: "The desperate state of the colony;" "The pressing needs of the colony;" "The sad condition of the colony;" "Distress increasing;" "Famine increasing;" "Things are in a deplorable condition," need no comment or explanation. Desertion seems to have been rife. Letter after letter mentions the arrival of recruits, and yet the complaint is ever going forward, "We want more troops." "The fortifications are undergarrisoned," and the like. Absence from duty is frequently mentioned, and it is evident that the free and open life of the woods possessed charms to the French soldier of that day which drew him to them, and recruited the ever-growing numbers of the *coureurs-de-bois*. Lost to civilization, they became in a great measure lost to the service of their mother-land; and as time and circumstance rendered more secure and more lasting their indentification with their savage allies, the policy of the latter largely governed both, and the renegades could no longer claim the rights and privileges of French citizenship.

Troubles in the garrison reached a climax in the last winter of the first French *regimé* (1744-5,) when an open mutiny broke out, which reached serious proportions. It had been the custom for the greater part of the troops to be employed in the construction and repairs of the fortifications, for which they received extra pay. But those in authority forged for themselves another link in the fateful chain which was to bind them to disaster, by attempting to force the troops to work on the repairs without granting the usual remuneration. It is to be feared that the spirit and influence of that master of peculation, Bigot, had so spread that the money withheld from the men was appropriated by the officers. In December, the garrison, or a portion of it—chiefly, it is said, a Swiss corps known as the Karrer regiment—mutinied, and although severe disciplinary measures were promptly taken, and several of the offenders executed, serious trouble existed throughout the

entire winter; and Duchambon, the Commandant, in writing to France and to Quebec early in April, expressed his wish that the whole garrison should be sent back to France and new regiments sent out. In one particular his wish was granted. The troops did return to France that summer, but in a manner very different from that proposed by the gallant Major. But I anticipate.

The business, growth, and general civic life of Louisbourg during these years can be briefly told. Fish was the chief, in fact almost the only staple of native production; the trade in this was large and profitable. Several merchants owned as many as 40 or 50 vessels, each with a crew of three or four men, whose pay depended on the quantity of their catch. But fearful and wonderful were the restrictions on trade in those days. Only vessels from France or from the French colonies were permitted to trade freely and bring in what goods they chose; imports from New England were by law strictly limited to provisions, cattle, timber, and such goods as could not be produced in the mother country and her West Indian colonies. For outward or return cargoes vessels under the British flag were dependent on the unsold portion of the shipments of sugar, molasses and similar products which constituted the cargoes of vessels hailing from the French West Indian ports. English skippers were strictly forbidden to take away with them any specie; all they sold must be taken out in merchandise. Dry goods, clothing and general household and personal effects were supposed to come from France, and from France alone. To add to the detriment to business in general, and to their own traders in particular, the New England laws had, since 1686, forbidden trade of any sort with Cape Breton or any other French dependency. But as a matter of fact many Yankee skippers, thus repressed and yet determined on business, quieted their sensitive consciences by balancing matters in breaking the laws of both nations. They not only traded with Louisbourg, but brought in contraband goods, which were smuggled with little difficulty, the customs officers of that port being generally open to persuasion of a financial character. Not only so, but whole cargoes of codfish itself, the great and only Cape Breton staple, were brought over from the English colonies, sold to West Indian merchants, and transferred to their vessels in Louisbourg harbour under cover of night, or in some other port in broad daylight. False bills of lading and similar documents were freely used. The English-cured cod was inferior in quality to the Cape Breton article, but could be sold at a much lower figure.

There were other interesting features of the commerce of the port, but limited space forbids me to enlarge on the subject. Knowing that no dependence could be placed on Cape Breton as the sole source of food supply for the garrison and townfolk of Louisbourg, it had been from an early date the policy of the government to encourage settlers, both from France and from the French residents of now English Acadia, to take up land in the fertile island of St. John. The first came in 1719, and from that date to the downfall of French rule in America, the population showed a steady although small increase, amounting in 1758 to about 4,000 souls. Port-la-joie—now Charlottetown—was made the capital, an officer being stationed there as commandant with a garrison of about 60 men, under the orders of the Governor of Cape Breton. The supplies from this island helped to eke out the stores required for Louisbourg. In neither island did the population increase as rapidly as was wished. As already noted, few Acadians came to Cape Breton; and the measure which had most effect in augmenting the number of residents was one which legally ordained that every vessel which sailed from France for the island should carry a certain number of men known as “*engagés*,” who had agreed to remain there at least three years. Most of these men stayed permanently, and many of them rose to positions of importance in the mercantile life of the town. It may be here noted that while very few of the Acadians came to Cape Breton to again live under their old flag, they seem to have taken excellent care to use Louisbourg as a means of self-enrichment. De Beauharnois and Hocquart, respectively Governor and Intendant of Canada in 1745, in writing to the Home Ministry, state, “They (the Acadians) are extremely covetous of specie. Since the settlement of Ile Royale they have drawn from Louisbourg, by means of their trade in cattle, and all the other provisions, almost all the specie the King annually sent out; it never makes its appearance again, they are particularly careful to conceal it.” Neither as settlers, soldiers, or tradesmen did these vacillating and unfortunate neutrals prove of much value in upholding the *fleur-de-llys* on this continent.

Matters ecclesiastical were of considerable importance in Louisbourg. Six missionary priests of the Recollet order, six brothers of the Charitable Confraternity, and several nuns, were thought necessary to attend to the spiritual, charitable, medical, and educational needs of the town. These were paid by the King, and the remuneration was not meagre. Each priest received 500 livres per annum, and the sum of 1000 livres

was allowed for their maintenance ; they had also three country residences in different parts of the island. The hospital was the finest civic building in Louisbourg ; it had a grant of 3,000 livres for general expenses and 600 livres for medicines, as well as an allowance for each patient. Of the character of the clerics Pichon gives a poor account, and states that much of their time and attention was devoted to inciting the Indian to attacks on English settlements ; his remarks on their duties and behaviour are rather amusing. He speaks in high terms of the nuns. Governor de Brouillan seems also to have been dissatisfied with the clergy of his day,—which was many years before Pichon came on the scene,—as we find him in 1726 complaining bitterly about the Brothers of Charity who, he says, devote their whole time to trade, instead of attending to the patients in the hospital. In another letter he objects to the appointment of Canon Fournel as curé of Louisbourg, which had just been made by the orders of the Bishop of Quebec, who held spiritual jurisdiction over Ile Royale. This protest was repeated a couple of years later, and indicates that there must have been a very pretty and long drawn-out quarrel between the head of the state and the head of the church in the little capital. As a rule, the official correspondence has little or no reference to ecclesiastical matters. There was only one church in the town (with the exception of a small chapel attached to the hospital), and it was built, strange to say, in the centre of the King's bastion, inside the defensive works, and little more than one hundred yards from the crest of the glacis. The nunnery and hospital were both in the town proper.

The government of Louisbourg was essentially a military one ; but the authority was divided. The Governor (subject however, to the Viceroy of Canada) controlled all purely military matters, and those relating to the Indians of the island ; while the Commissioner or Intendant had sole direction of the pay and subsistence of the troops as well as the administration of justice, and the hospitals. This division of authority in a place so far from Paris or Quebec, led at times to serious trouble. Governor and Commissary did not see eye to eye on all occasions, and the result was not edifying. Of the lesser lights, there were a King's Lieutenant, an Attorney General, a Secretary, a Tipstaff, and four or five Counsellors, usually chosen from among the merchants of the town ; these, with Governor and Commissary, constituted the Supreme Council, of which the latter was president. The civil administration and police of the island were under the control of an inferior council, or Bailiwick ;

while all the customs and shipping matters were in the hands of the Admiralty Court, a council of four members. We are told that they all had accumulated considerable fortunes; their courtesy in permitting New England vessels to land contraband goods may have been met with equal kindness on the part of the skippers, and of fully as practical a nature; M. Bigot had lived in Louisbourg for several years, and his policy and habits may have set the fashion to many.

Naturally, matters connected with trade and shipping, with import and export, attracted the chief attention of the civil authorities; but there were other objects on which they had of necessity to bestow much thought, and often vigorous action. Prominent among these was the liquor traffic. From the earlier years of the settlement, ordinances regulating the sale of spirits were promulgated, and were continually being amended as abuses became noticeable, or as the rulers and controllers of this business thought best to ordain. Not a little of the correspondence with the Ministry at Versailles was devoted to the subject, and it is evident that generous indulgence in the flowing bowl was the order of the day year in and year out. Louisbourg was first and foremost a military and naval station, and the soldier and sailor of that day were no less partial to conviviality than are their successors. Owing to the large trade done with France and the West India Islands, brandy, rum, and the like were amazingly cheap; and knowing this, and the utter stagnation of the place for half the year, it is small wonder that intemperance was rampant, and that its devotees often gave trouble to the lords who ruled the town. For even at its best it must have been a dull little city, this Louisbourg, and a place where petty jealousies and petty gossip were bound to exist, and to influence both official and private life. Away at the extreme north-east corner of a vast continent, in which war and savage life were still dominant, isolated by dense forests and stormy waters from those of their kith and kin in America, and completely shut out from the stirring life of France and Europe, service in Louisbourg must have been tedious and irksome to both soldier and civilian, and when is added lack of food and supplies, it cannot be wondered at that some of the humbler class of its defenders sought a freer and more adventuresome life in the woods. But whether the sufferings and straits which the little colony had at times to endure resulted from neglect on the part of France, or from the faults of its own rulers and people, it is difficult to determine. Probably both were to blame. All correspondence and authorities indicate that the officials of the colony were, as a whole, greedy for emolument and

decorations,—a trait incompatible with good governing qualities. On the other hand, the treatment accorded by France to her Louisbourg subjects, presents a strange medley of alternate surfeit and starvation. Millions were lavished on fortifications, while the troops who were to man them could often scarcely obtain the necessaries of life. Storehouses, wharves, and civic buildings were evolved at vast expense, while the garrison (until the last few years) was a meagre one,—in sharp contrast to the number of officials who ruled in both town and fortress.

But while none can deny that the Mother Country was both in honour and duty bound to be ever generous, we must not forget that during almost the entire period in which Louisbourg existed as a fortress, France was in the throes of war and of commercial distress, and had pressing need of every soldier and of every shilling. Startling events had followed each other in rapid succession, and the interest of those in power had of necessity been closely fixed on European and domestic occurrences. Although, as we have seen, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in April, 1713, war had been prolonged for another year. Absolute peace had existed for only a few months when Louis XIV died, and all the excitement and change consequent on the accession of new rulers, monopolised public attention. Under the regency which followed, a startling and unprecedented series of financial measures were adopted; and the excitement thus occasioned had scarcely subsided before France was again at war, this time with Spain. Concurrently with these events, the vast bubble of speculation fathered by the Scottish adventurer, Law, had been swelling beyond all bounds of reason; it burst in 1720, and the disastrous consequences permeated the kingdom, ruining thousands of families, and leaving the financial condition of the country in utter chaos. Peace was declared in 1721, and the Regent and his successor Louis XV, were able to devote a few years attention to domestic troubles; but in 1733 the sword was again drawn, and, with few intermissions, remained unsheathed for fifteen years. It will be seen, therefore, that France and her rulers had much to do at home, which palliates her sins of omission in the garrisoning and victualling of her Cape Breton seaport. Throughout all, the people of that seaport were true to their colours, and never wavered in their loyalty. Save the occasional desertion of soldiers often harshly treated, often insufficiently fed, we read of no neglect of duty, no dalliance with the power which ruled the adjacent provinces, and which held at least a nominal sway over the still nearer colony of Nova Scotia. The mutiny of 1744 was a revolt against gross injustice, and was wholly free from treasonable intent.

II.

The first thirty years of the life of Louisbourg formed, as we have seen, a period of steady growth and of comparative quiet, and were unmarked by the occurrence of any great event. But a startling change was at hand. This fortress and naval station, of enormous strength, well armed and equipped, and the very embodiment of all martial pomp and circumstance, had attained its great power and influence during a time of comparative peace ; now, by a strange mockery, it was to lose its renown and fail in its purpose when first confronted with the reality of war ; equally strange, that to such a fortress so unlooked-for a fate should come at the hands of raw and undisciplined militia. Such was the outcome of the New England expedition against Louisbourg in 1745. To briefly sketch the fortunes of this enterprise must be our next task.

Prior to attempting this, it might be of interest to have a look at the town and harbour as they appeared in the spring of 1745. Approaching the place from the sea we come to the entrance, a sheet of water about one-third of a mile in width, cleaving the rugged shores and leading into the harbour. Passing through, the high bluff on the right was crowned with a lighthouse, which did noble work in its day in warning the mariner from its dangerous shore. To the left was a bunch of rocky knolls and islands, the largest of which,—about 150 yards long by 60 wide,—was strongly fortified with a work known as the Island Battery. Behind it and still further to the left, was the sharp point of land which formed the apex of the triangle on which the town and fortress were built. Passing on, the visitor would find that his craft had entered a beautiful body of water, two miles in length and about half a mile in breadth, with a depth varying from 18 to 36 feet. In from Lighthouse Point, on the east shore of the harbour, was a careening wharf, where ships of the largest class could be treated ; while on the other side, but further north, extended a row of buildings containing naval stores. On the west side, directly opposite to and facing the entrance, was a strong defensive work called the Grand or Royal Battery, armed with twenty-eight 42 pounders and two 18 pounders.

As already mentioned, the town proper occupied the greater part of a triangular-shaped piece of ground which lay between the sea and the south-western end of the harbour. It covered an area of about 100 acres, and its site was elevated several feet above the level of the land



A Town to Preserve the French Navy

A PLAN of the CITY and FORTIFICATIONS of
LOUISBOURG
 from a Survey made by **NICHOLAS GOUDIE**
 Captain (late of the same) of the Royal Artillery in the
 Year 1744. and continued to the present time by **John**
ROBERTSON Esq. of the Staff of the Royal Engineers
 and Commander of the Fort in the Year 1758. and
 since the Surrender of the Place in the Year 1760.
 and the Destruction of the Fortifications in the Year
 1763. by the British Army under the Command of
 General Amherst. The Plan was drawn by
John ROBERTSON Esq. of the Staff of the Royal
 Engineers. and published by **W. B. Smith**
 at **ALBANY** in the Year 1764.

Explanations

- 1. Cannon
- 2. Battery
- 3. Fortification
- 4. Bastion
- 5. Rampart
- 6. Wall
- 7. Rampart
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Scale of Feet

PLAN OF THE CITY AND FORTIFICATIONS OF LOUISBOURG.

to the west and north, which was, as a rule, low and swampy. Its founders, possibly from unpleasant experience of tortuous lanes in cities in the Old World, and in Quebec in the New, laid out Louisbourg in a regular and precise manner. Six wide streets ran east and west, seven ran north and south; the houses, as a rule, were of wood, but with stone foundations.

The fortress of Louisbourg was one of enormous strength; nothing to equal it had ever been seen on this continent, and it was aptly termed the Dunkirk of America,—a simile which, a century and a half ago, was equal to a comparison with Gibraltar at the present day. The more important portions of it, covering attacks from land, were built on the most approved of Vauban's principles, and had cost, it is said, thirty million livres; to build it had taken little less than twenty years, and repairs and alterations had been since going on almost continually. A walk around the works, along the ramparts, would have involved a tour of nearly two miles. A ditch, eighty feet in width, was cut from harbour to sea, covering the front of the west or main line of works, and also the shorter section, including the Maurepas and Bourillon bastions which faced due east. The west front or main line of fortifications comprised two bastions, the King's and the Queen's, and two demi-bastions, one of which, called the Dauphin's, was at the extreme north-west end of the line and close to the harbour; at this point also was the West gate (leading out into the country), and the Circular Battery (armed with sixteen 24 pounders) which covered the West gate. The south, or sea end of this line of works, was protected by the Princess' demi-bastion. All were connected by the usual curtains. The citadel, a massive stone building, stood in the gorge of the King's bastion. Here centred the authority which controlled the garrison; for here was the Governor's dwelling, and the various offices where the duties of the head-quarter staff were performed. Church and State were of necessity in union in one sense, if not in all; for immediately adjoining the gubernatorial apartments was the parish chapel. Close by was a long stone barracks; and immediately east of both buildings lay the Place d'Armes. Bomb-proof vaults extended to a considerable depth underneath the flanks of this bastion, and here also were six dungeons for refractory prisoners. The lines of defence which ran parallel to the harbour and to the sea were of lighter construction,—a wall of masonry with banquette; but the short, north-eastern face of the fortress was of the more massive and elaborate type. The north-east corner of the town had no wall or

defensive works for a space of about two hundred yards; but it was protected from attack by a large pond, which extended along its front. A somewhat similar gap existed on the sea face, between the Princess and Brouillan bastions, a palisade and ditch being the sole defences; but in front, shoals, rocky islands, and a continuous heavy surf formed an effectual barrier against hostile attack from this quarter.

Here it may be mentioned that all writers on the subject have stated that the fortifications were not begun until 1720, seven years after the foundation of the place. This statement must be taken with considerable qualification. Louisbourg was by no means without fortifications for the first six or seven years of its existence; naturally one of the very first steps taken was to erect defensive works; and the official correspondence and reports from Governor to Ministers as early as 1715, contain frequent reference to the fortifications, and the progress which was being made on them. Whether these works were part of the great system which eventually surrounded the town, or merely of a temporary nature, it is difficult now to speak with absolute certainty. The fact that a medal was struck, bearing the words, "LUDOVICBURGUM FUNDATUM ET MUNITUM, MDCCXX," lends colour to the latter supposition; but the above inscription may have referred to the citadel, and the central and dominating work which surrounded it; or the word 'fundatum' may have been used in the sense of "making secure," a rendering common enough in old days. Be this as it may, both record and reason indicate that fortifications were begun certainly not later than 1715, and also fail to give any ground to the supposition that the works existing in 1720 were then supplanted by a new system. So startling and costly a change would undoubtedly have left many traces in the contemporary official letters, reports, and memoranda.

The period when they may be fairly considered as completed is also an uncertain one, but a study of the communications and reports sent home would indicate that about 1733 the main defensive works were practically finished. True it is that the official correspondence, even as late as 1744, shows that there still remained work to be done; but it is safe to conclude that much of this additional work was the result of after-thought, and of the new ideas that suggested themselves from time to time to the chief engineer of the day. As an outcome of one of the many odd phases of human nature, it has been the almost invariable rule in fortresses and strong defensive works, that each incoming governor, commandant, or chief engineer should deem it his bounden duty to suggest

alterations and additions,—often very considerable ones,—to the original plan ; this not necessarily to imply ignorance or lack of care on the part of his predecessors, but to show to his superior officer that he has a mind and ideas of his own, and that he is fully up to date in his profession,—in a word, that he is a valuable man. Apart from this, it seems indisputable that for all practical purposes, the fortifications of Louisbourg were completed many years before the arrival of the New England Armada. As early as 1728 the Governor, de Brouillan, in a despatch to the Minister of Marine, states that the fortifications are almost finished, and in October, 1733, he reports that they are completed. Six years later de Brouillan was succeeded by de Forant, who reported officially a few weeks after his arrival : “ We have found the “ fortifications in good condition, considering the fact that in this climate “ mortar will not hold when exposed to the air ; and this is so well “ known that settlers who have the means to do so, face their houses “ with boards. M. Verrier has done well in getting the battlements “ and remainder of the new enciente faced in that way.” Further correspondence speaks of more work being necessary ; but such undoubtedly had reference to repairs, or additions decided on after the completion of the main defences. As to the exact armament of the various works in the spring of 1745, there is a wide difference of opinion among the authorities on the subject. The chief fortifications, enclosing the town, had embrasures for 148 guns ; but by what seems to have been extraordinary carelessness, there was not much more than half that number of cannon in position. The Royal battery, on the west side of the harbour, mounted 18 forty-two-pounders and 2 eighteen-pounders ; while the Island battery, which commanded the entrance, had by actual count immediately after the surrender, 26 heavy guns and 4 swivels. The garrison amounted to about 1800 men, regulars and militia ; the population of the town itself was about 4000.

War between France and England was declared by the former power on the 15th March, 1744, and the news reached Louisbourg early in May. The Governor at once adopted measures both defensive and offensive, little thinking that the effects of the latter would, within one short year, recoil on himself, or rather on his successor ; for, as we have already noted, he died in the following November. England was now his active enemy ; and he lost no time in striking at her power.

While Britain had by treaty been the sovereign lord of Nova Scotia for over thirty years, her hold on that colony was in reality a very

feeble one. A few isolated posts alone existed to maintain King George's authority, almost the whole settled part of the country being occupied by the Acadians, nominally neutral, but in reality ardent well-wishers to French success. British colonial policy was at this period of the most feeble and vacillating type; European affairs monopolized the attention of the Ministry, and the North American dependencies were almost wholly left to shift for themselves. Nova Scotia was especially weak both in troops and in loyal inhabitants. Writing home in December 1743, Mascarene, the Governor of that colony, says, in reference to the possibility of war with France: "This province is in a far worse condition for defence than the other American plantations who have inhabitants to defend them; whilst, far from having any dependence on ours we are obliged to guard against them." He then goes on to describe the two forts which guarded the colony. That at Canso consisted of a wooden block-house, built at the expense of the fishermen of the place, and garrisoned by four companies of soldiers; at Annapolis there existed a rather dilapidated earthwork, its deficiencies patched up with timber, and held for the King by less than two hundred of his men. Such were the sole defences of Nova Scotia; and for the French Governor to have made no attempt to seize so rich and ill-guarded a prize, would have indeed seemed a gross omission of faithful duty to his sovereign.

The attempt was made and made quickly. On the 12th of May, a very few days after the receipt of the news of the declaration of war, an expedition—made up of a few armed vessels containing about 900 men—set out from Louisbourg for Canso, and took possession of that fort, and of the little garrison, and carried the latter to Louisbourg as prisoners of war. The news soon reached Annapolis, and caused no little dismay among the troops who occupied that post; and for this the ruinous state of the defences afforded ample reason. They feared that the restless energy of France, as personified by the Governor of the great Franco-American fortress, would use all possible means to sweep from Acadia every vestige of British power; and events soon proved their apprehensions to be well founded. On the 1st of July a party of about three hundred Indians appeared in front of the fort, and invested it in the usual way,—much irregularity, unexpected attacks, and an expenditure of great energy on the cutting off of stragglers and small detached parties; but the arrival of reinforcements for the garrison from Boston disheartened the savages, and they gave up the siege, and returned

to Minas to await the strong party of troops which had been sent from Louisbourg, via Chignecto, to attack Annapolis. This party, under the command of M. Duvivier, an officer of the Louisbourg garrison, arrived at Minas towards the end of August; and the combined force, numbering not less than 700 fighting men proceeded without delay to the British stronghold. Stout old Major Mascarene, the commandant, had not been idle in the interval between the two attacks, and now made as brave a show as was possible. His numbers were small—barely one-third of those of his opponents; but his defence was vigorous and whole-hearted. The French commander did his utmost to induce Mascarene to capitulate, and swore that a formidable naval force was *en route* to take part in the attack; but the negotiations failed, and, not long afterwards, the siege came to an inglorious end, Duvivier and his troops making their way back to Louisbourg, his expedition an utter failure. His naval auxiliaries did not materialize, and he received practically no aid from the Acadian settlers.

Small and insignificant as had been these events of the campaign of 1744, they engendered a feeling of marked unrest in the neighboring English colonies; and especially was this felt in Massachusetts and its capital. A force of 500 men was organised for frontier defence; but these, scattered throughout the province in small detachments, would have been able to render but little aid had Boston been attacked, an event which might be looked for so long as the fortress of Louisbourg existed. And now the question of the possibility of the removal of this formidable menace began to creep into the brains of some of the bolder of the provincials. We have already seen that in 1733, Governor Cosby, of the province of New York, in sending home his report of the visit of a deputation from Louisbourg to purchase food supplies, had hinted at the possibility of the capture of that much dreaded fortress. It is more than probable that his veiled suggestions met with no response from their lordships, for there the matter ended. Eight years later his successor in office, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke—a man who had been for almost half a century connected officially with the province—devoted one of his letters to the Duke of Newcastle to the subject of “how we may dispossess the French of the footing they have got on the back of all the English colonies on this continent.” Here appears the first definite proposal for the capture of the Cape Breton fortress. To quote the plain and business-like statement of the veteran governor:

"To the Northward of the Lake, viz: in Canada and at the Island
 "of Breton the French are stronger both in men and Fortifications, so
 "that a much greater force will be required to subdue them; the
 "harbour of Louisbourg at Breton is strongly fortified and the entrance
 "defended by a Battery of fifty guns, there is depth of water sufficient
 "for the biggest ships, and the harbor is capable of containing a very
 "large fleet; its situation gives them all the advantages, they can wish
 "for, it secures their own navigation to Quebec, and gives them but too
 "great opportunities to annoy and interrupt our Fishery; in the Winter
 "they have few men upon the Island except their garrisons, but are
 "secured by the cold, the snow and ice. In summer they are strength-
 "ened by the great numbers of men employed in their fishery; the
 "only time therefore to attempt with most advantage the taking of the
 "place will be at the breaking up of the winter, and before their ships
 "come from France, and this may be done; for if His Majesty's ships to
 "be appointed for that service winter at Boston, they may block up the
 "harbor of Louisbourg before any ships from France can arrive there,
 "and His Majesty's troops may land when the least opposition can be
 "given them, and for this expedition I am persuaded that four or five
 "thousand men may be raised in New England, if the Officers, as they
 "were for the expedition against the Spaniards be appointed in these
 "provinces, but then I presume it will be necessary they be disciplined
 "before they embark, so that if the orders and commissions be sent
 "over the summer before, and a sufficient number of subalterns to
 "teach them their exercise, they may before the ensuing spring be fit
 "for service, but I presume some veterans from England will be
 "absolutely necessary to join the Americans, under the command of an
 "experienced General. If we take Cape Breton and have constantly
 "there and at Placentia in those months wherein those seas are navig-
 "able, a sufficient number of ships of war to guard our Fishery, they
 "may intercept the French Ships bound to or from Canada, and thereby
 "reduce that Country to great necessity, and their communication with
 "Messasippi being cut off by the means proposed that country will
 "become an easier conquest."

Governor Clarke's proposal was a shrewd and sensible one, and it
 fairly well outlines the plan of the expedition which followed. Two
 years later he returned to the charge, for in a report sent home in
 the spring of 1743, entitled, "State of the British Provinces with
 respect to the French who surround them," he says:

"If ever it be thought adviseable to attempt again to take Canada,
 "the dispossessing the French of their mastery on the Lake and of the
 "Fort at the Crown point, will greatly facilitate the Enterprize, but
 "before we begin the work, I presume to think we ought to take Cape
 "Breton, a Place well fortified, and from whence the French can annoy
 "our Fishery at Newfoundland, and guard their own navigation to and
 "from Canada. That place is such a Thorn in the sides of the New

“England people, that its very probable a large body of men may be raised there to assist in any such design. And if proper Officers are sent from England in the Summer to exercise them, they may by the ensuing spring be well disciplined, as all their Youth are expert in the use of fire arms. from the unrestrained liberty of Fowling, which obtains in all the Provinces, and I conceive the Spring is the most proper season to attack the place before the Men of Warr and Fishing Vessells come from France, for in the Winter they have few men except the Garrisons, and Boston being a proper Port for our Fleet to harbour in the Winter, we may block up the Harbour of Breton before the ships from France can come upon the coast.”

It will be noted that these primary representations of the great desirability of the reduction of Louisbourg came from New York; the next plea emanated from an official of the province of Massachusetts Bay, Judge of His Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty for that province and for New Hampshire. His proposal is dated from his lodgings in Cecil-street, London, the 9th of April, 1744, but was not published until July of the following year, when it appeared in pamphlet form, entitled, “The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation, humbly represented by Robert Auckmuty, Judge, &c., in New England. N. B. Upon the plan laid down in this representation, the island was taken by Commodore Warren and General Pepperill on the 14th of June, 1745.” Auckmuty's proposal also appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that month (July). It suggests an expedition similar in general design to that which set out, and states that there would likely be little or no objection on the part of the provincial governments to bear their share of the burden; to use his own language, “Having experienced the loyalty of the Massachusetts for twenty-seven years, I presume to engage they will cheerfully furnish their complement.”

All the foregoing proposals for the expedition were, be it noted, written by civilians, not soldiers; and to this fact it may possibly be due that they appear to have evoked no responsive echo in those to whom they were addressed. They were for English eyes alone; and to the Englishman of that day Cape Breton was practically a myth. On the minds of the King's Ministers, colonial matters and colonial troubles sat lightly, and we can well imagine were at this time quite eclipsed by the chequered events occurring nearer home. War with Spain had been declared in 1739, forced by the merchants and trading classes who had for years felt the strong hand of Spanish repression on their business, and even on their rights, in the South American trade. Unknown to Walpole, England's First Minister, a compact for mutual

aid existed between Spain and France; and the latter soon joined forces against Britain. The combination was a strong one and had the best of it during the earlier years of the war; and Walpole, who had strenuously supported a peace policy, was forced to resign office early in 1742. For a year or two Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville) directed foreign affairs, and during his regime the decisive victory at Dettingen brightened English hopes. In 1744 nothing of great moment was effected by the naval and military forces, and during that year and the following winter and spring public attention was absorbed in politics, a change of ministry occurring in November. We may safely conclude that even those residents of England who were aware of the existence of such a place as Louisbourg, seldom allowed the subject of its relation to their American dependencies to present itself over-frequently to their minds. Little did either Ministry or people think that during that winter there was being evolved, far off in New England, a project, the result of which would have no small effect on old-world policy.

We have seen that the small post at Canso had been taken by an expedition from Louisbourg early in 1744. The British garrison had been brought to that fortress as prisoners of war, but subsequently were sent to Boston; and, after their arrival there, it would have been more than strange had not their chief topic of conversation been about their residence in the French citadel. The idea of an attack on the fortress was freely discussed, and the benefits to be derived from its capture were enlarged upon; but no action was taken until about the end of 1744, when it entered into the mind of a New Hampshire gentleman-trader, William Vaughan by name, that the much dreaded Louisbourg could perhaps be captured by an expedition, chiefly if not wholly from the New England colonies. Vaughan was a man in the prime of life, well educated, and of good social position; he had irrepressible energy, and when embarked on an undertaking put forth more than ordinary determination to accomplish his ends. In the latter trait he was fully equalled by the then governor of Massachusetts Bay, William Shirley, an Englishman, trained to the law, but with an uncommon interest in military matters, and no small conceit of his as yet undeveloped ability in this line.

To Shirley, Vaughan propounded his plan; it was as a spark to the train, and the fire ran swiftly. Nothing could have pleased the Governor better than to father such a proposal, and without delay he called together the General Court of Massachusetts—the little Parlia-

ment which held sway over the colony—and, after swearing the members to absolute secrecy, he laid before them the proposal for an attack on the Cape Breton capital, and asked their authorization of the necessary ways and means. It was a startling suggestion to the quiet and peace-loving legislators who composed the Court, and, with the prospect before them of probable great loss in money and men, it is not surprising that after several days deliberation they rejected the scheme. But in the meantime the news had leaked out—possibly, as Pepperrell's biographer tells us, through the religious fervor of one of the members of the Court whose prayers for Divine guidance in this momentous question were so loud as to be overheard. Shirley and another well-wisher to the scheme, James Gibson, drew up a petition to the Assembly praying that they reconsider their decision, and had it signed by a large number of New England merchants, to whose trade Louisbourg had been a deadly enemy. This carried great weight. Vaughan and Shirley put forth all their energy and powers of persuasion. The Assembly reconsidered their decision, and finally, by a majority of one, authorised the expedition.

This all-important preliminary settled, recruiting was briskly gone on with, and the neighbouring provinces were promptly called on for aid in men and shipping. Shirley no doubt was sanguine that hearty and generous responses would follow his appeal; but if so he was quickly undeceived. Each colony was jealous of its neighbour, and the patriotism of each was of the most narrow type;—dominated by self-interest it was confined to provincial limits and existed solely for provincial ends. The spirit of Imperialism which now runs so strongly through Greater Britain had no counter-part in the British America of 1745. Although France was the common enemy, and Louisbourg the common menace, only three provinces—New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island—could be induced to promise to give substantial aid in men to the expedition. New Hampshire guaranteed a regiment of five hundred men, of whom one hundred and fifty were to be paid by Massachusetts; Connecticut, soldiers to the number of five hundred and sixteen, on condition that one of her officers should be second in command. Rhode Island, at first generous enough to promise one hundred and fifty fighting men, subsequently decided to limit her help to an armed vessel. New York, the richest of all the provinces, was naturally looked to for a measure of assistance befitting her premier position; but in spite of the earnest efforts of Governor

Clinton, the Assembly—who as a whole were singularly lacking in patriotism and public spirit—would only vote the paltry sum of £3000, after debating the question for a fortnight. The governor, justly incensed at this and other evasions of duty, dismissed them to their homes; and then busily applied himself to aid the New England troops by forwarding them ten pieces of cannon—a most useful and timely gift. The new Assembly did not meet until the 25th of June, and would then only increase the grant to £5000. The energetic governor subsequently raised by subscription £2000 for provisions for the New England men, as much more for clothing, and £900 for gunpowder. But all's well that ends well; and as the British Government subsequently repaid the entire cost of the expedition, the meagre measure of aid given to Massachusetts in this patriotic enterprise made no practical difference to her treasury.

The command of the whole expedition was given to William Pepperell, a merchant of Kittery, then a part of Massachusetts. The choice was an excellent one in every way. He had little or no martial training, but was by no means deficient in courage; he had tact, a quiet temper, and above all, a fund of good common sense. As a citizen-soldier he could better handle a newly raised army of like nature than could one trained to the letter of strictest discipline, and to the command of veterans. Pepperell was at this time in his forty-ninth year.

Within seven weeks the little army was recruited, and all necessary preparations for the expedition completed. The call for active service against the French had met with a ready response from the hardy yeomen of Massachusetts, those from Maine (then a part of the first-named province) being especially eager in offering their services. There was apparently no age limit, nor was a medical examination deemed necessary; seeming good health and vigour, and freedom from physical defects, comprised the qualifications for acceptance. Each man was to receive pay at the rate of twenty-five shillings provincial currency a month, but supplied his own arms and uniform, of which a scarlet coat or tunic formed part. When completed, the force comprised eight regiments from Massachusetts, commanded respectively by Colonels Bradstreet, Waldo, Dwight, Moulton, Willard, Hale, Richmond and Gorham. Colonel Burr was in command of the Connecticut regiment, while the New Hampshire battalion was led by Colonel Gorham. General Wolcott of Connecticut was second-in-command of the whole force. The total strength was 4070 men, 3250 of whom were from Massachusetts, 516 from Connecticut, and 304 from New Hampshire.

A fleet of from eighty to ninety transports was required to convey the army to its destination. These vessels were secured without difficulty, as every New England seaport swarmed with small craft available for this purpose. By the side of the ships now employed in similar service the transports of 1745 would indeed be pigmies ; from the size of these cockleboats their passengers had a minimum of space and a maximum of discomfort. As convoy while *en route* and for possible naval operations when in the enemy's waters, a small but sturdy company of sloops, schooners and the like was got together, armed and made ready for war, and placed under the command of Captain Edward Tyng, a naval officer of excellent reputation for courage and efficiency. Amid loud and heartfelt enthusiasm, and closely followed by prayer and blessing, the main body of the expedition set sail on the 23rd of March.

Of the voyage across that short but stormy bit of ocean between Boston and Breton there was everything to depress these eighteenth century crusaders,—nothing to brighten. In the grip of the Atlantic, which was in a fierce and scornful mood, the little transports pitched and rolled incessantly ; and most of the passengers, all military ardour gone and forgotten, longed with an intense longing for an end to their journey, be that end what it might. For several days they tossed about, often in imminent danger ; but the marvellous good-luck or Providential care—call it what you wish—which attended so closely on the enterprise, guarded it from the very first, and not a single transport was lost. The harbour of Canso was their destination, and during the first few days of April they came dropping into port, until the roll was complete. The New Hampshire contingent was the first on the ground, having arrived before the end of March, while the Connecticut regiment did not turn up until about the tenth of April. Here it was that, only eleven months previously, a French detachment from the Louisbourg garrison had fired the first shot in this war ; truly their chickens had now come home to roost.

Steady drill and hard work was at once the order of the day. The troops were raw and lacked all technical training in their new profession as well as the more subtle and more effective quality known as discipline. There was no sprinkling of veterans in the ranks of the force to impart to it a soldierly tone, nor had the greater number of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, any practical experience. So great was the necessity for drill, that even Sundays could not be observed as days of rest ; the chaplain, Father Moody, held service it is

true, but it was concurrent with parades and the exercising of recruits. A block-house was built and armed with a few light guns, and a guard of 90 or 100 men detailed as its garrison. None were idle. Several of the cruisers were sent forward beyond Louisbourg, to watch for any French ships which might endeavour to slip into the harbour with reinforcements and supplies, and did effective work in this way. Another party was sent to Baie Verte—where a settlement existed and flourished even at that early date—to do all possible damage, and especially to try to cut off food supplies which were at times shipped to Louisbourg from that place; but they did nothing beyond burning the houses and boats of some inoffensive settlers. They were able to beat off the frigate *Renommée*, on her way from France with despatches and stores for the Louisbourg garrison, and also made several small prizes.

During all this time, other agencies had been quietly but powerfully at work adding force to the crusade. While drawing his main strength from New England, in men, money and ships, Shirley had not been forgetful of other potent strings to his bow. By a happy measure of foresight—one which turned out to be that on which the final success of the attack hinged—he had, in the fall of 1744, written to the Duke of Newcastle to say that some of the King's ships would probably be required on the New England and Nova Scotian coast to protect the fisheries from French attack; whereupon the Duke of Bedford, First Lord of the Admiralty, instructed Commodore Peter Warren—then in chief command of the North American squadron—to sail for Boston and act with Shirley in the furtherance of British interests. Despatch vessels were very slow sailers in those days, and before these instructions reached Warren he had received word direct from Shirley, conveying the startling news of the New England expedition, and asking for more assistance. As the project did not have the King's sanction, Warren declined to help; but on receipt of the instructions from England a few days later, he set sail at once for Boston. While *en route* he met a schooner hailing from that port, which brought news of the departure of the flotilla for Canso; to Canso he therefore proceeded without delay. He carried his flag on the *Superb*, a 60-gun ship; and with him were two 40-gun frigates—the *Launceston* and *Mermaid*. The other vessels under his command were also ordered to Cape Breton.

On the 22nd of April the first ship of the fleet sailed into Canso harbour,—she was the *Eltham*, a fine frigate of 40 guns, commanded by Captain Durell. Her appearance must have gladdened Pepperrell's

anxious heart ; and still more must he have rejoiced when he heard that the Commodore himself, with his three best ships, might soon be expected. With the promptitude characteristic of his profession, that officer arrived on the following day ; and, after but a short stay in Canso, went on with his ships to assist Captain Tyng's plucky little squadron in blockading Louisbourg harbour.

While the stay in Canso had been most useful—in fact almost essential—in giving some idea of drill and discipline to the invaders, it had been largely an enforced one, as the ice which blocked the proposed landing-place during nearly the entire month of April rendered disembarkation for attack an impossibility. But by the 26th news came that the coast was clear ; camp was struck and preparations were hurriedly made, and early on the morning of the 29th, the army took ship—a detachment of two hundred and seventy men to destroy the fort and settlement at St. Peter's—the rest for the goal of their desire, Gabarus Bay, near Louisbourg. They had hoped to arrive that same night, and push on to the attack under cover of darkness, in accordance with the highly theoretical plan laid down in Boston by Shirley ; but the wind fell, and it was not until the following morning that they reached the vicinity of the town. We can well fancy with what intense eagerness the soldiers crowded the decks of their transports to gaze on the famous fortress. Before them were the massive walls and battlements which enclosed what was to the New England soldiery the chief prop of the power of France in the new world ; and misgivings must have crowded into many hearts when their owners saw for the first time the formidable proportions of the casket which enclosed the prize. But the very richness of the latter, exaggerated beyond all reason in their simple minds, was in itself no small incentive to perseverance in their design ; while the *elan* characteristic of volunteers aided them in looking forward with confidence to the result.

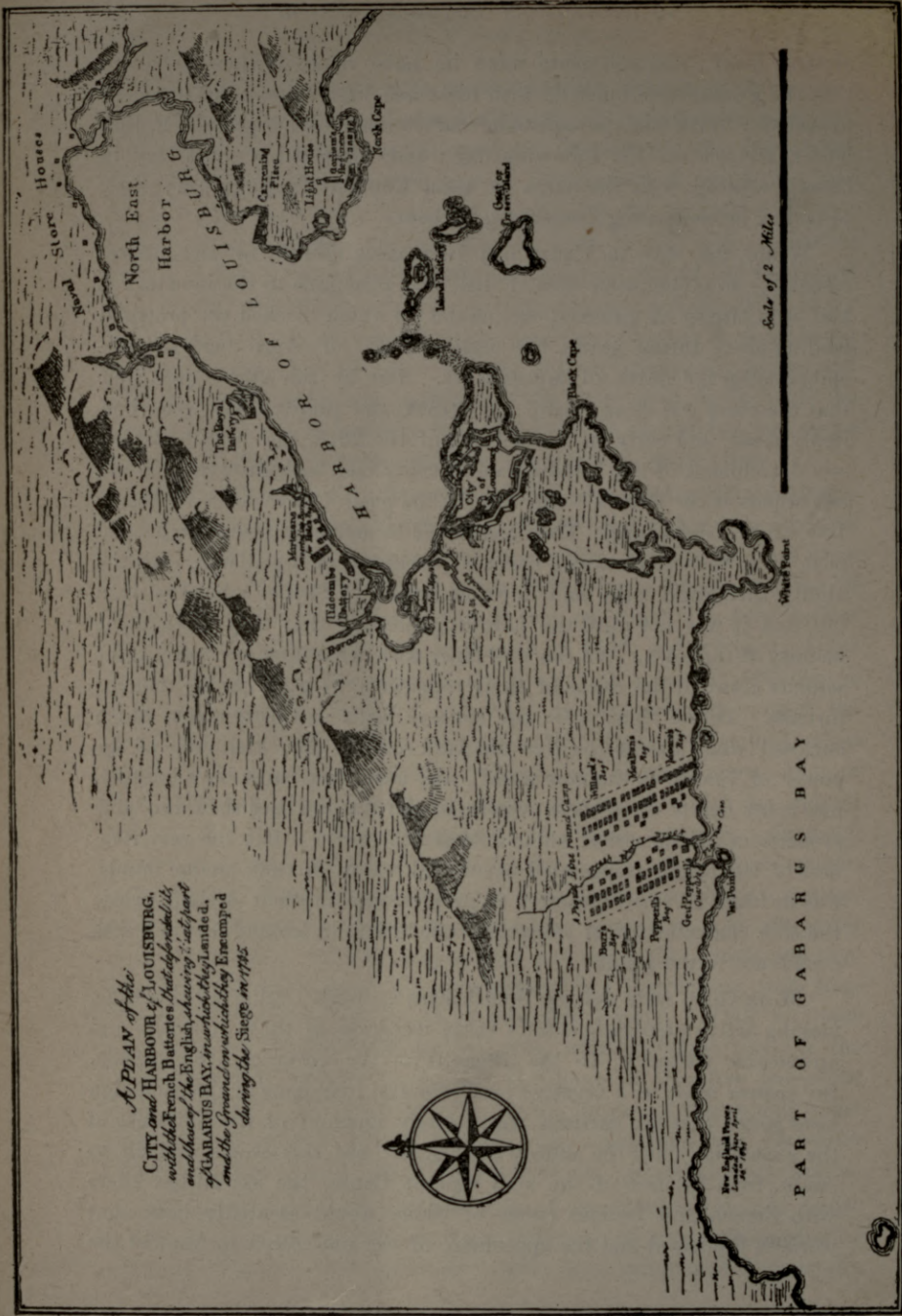
Meanwhile, were not the French hard at work during all this time, making active preparations for a warm reception to these unasked and unwelcome visitors ? To the discredit of the governor, Duchambon, the answer must be a negative one. Several historians of the campaign have stated that the garrison was entirely ignorant of the existence of the expedition until the ships were visible ; but this seems difficult to credit, from the fact of the long wait at Canso, the skirmishes there with French and Indians (some of whom would assuredly have sent word to the town) and the appearance of the war-vessels in front of the

*A PLAN of the
 CITY and HARBOUR of LOUISBURG,
 with the French BARRIERS that defended it,
 and those of the English, showing the part
 of GABARUS BAY, in which they landed,
 and the Ground on which they were encamped
 during the Siege in 1713.*



Scale of 2 Miles

PART OF GABARUS BAY



PLAN OF LOUISBURG HARBOUR AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

fortress for so many days previously. In fact a certain unique pamphlet ("Lettre d'une habitant de Louisbourg") quoted by Parkman, states that the garrison had heard of the proposed expedition, but judged the news too improbable to be true. Duchambon—sharing in the thorough contempt in which French officers held militia—doubtless pooh-pooed the whole affair, and laughed at the idea of such men taking such a fortress. Beyond having stationed a detachment of forty men on the shore of the bay to watch for and resist a landing, the French commandant appears to have made absolutely no preparations to meet the incoming wave, although so big and vehement in its hostility to France. But he was rudely startled from any sense of comparative security which he may have entertained, by the appearance, on the morning of the 30th of April, of a vast cloud of transports under British colours, their decks crowded with scarlet-clad foemen; and he hastily sent out eighty men under command of a trusty officer, to prevent the landing of the invaders. Here Pepperrell's rough-and-ready common sense was more than a match for the formal methods of the French commander. He made the pretence of attempting to land a few boat-loads of men at a place called Flat Point, about three miles from the town; but recalled them to the flagship and then suddenly sent them off at hot speed to Freshwater Bay, a little inlet about a mile and a half to the westward. The French ran to intercept them, but the boats reached the appointed spot first; and the New Englanders hastily landing, dashed at their enemies, killed six, took as many prisoners, and drove the rest headlong into the town. Morpain, the French commander, was one of those captured.

First blood had now been shed, and the invading Britons, raw militia though they were, had shown no signs of funk—in fact quite the reverse. So far everything had resulted in their favour. A host of other boats of the fleet, all crowded with men, followed close in the wake of the attacking party, and soon secured their footing on shore. Two thousand men were landed that day, followed on the morrow by the remainder of the force. Once established they quickly made themselves at home and, after spending a night in the open with little or no shelter, they moved towards the town and pitched their tents on the banks of a little stream near Flat Point, about two miles from the walls of the fortress. Much latitude appears to have been given by Pepperrell to his regimental commanders, for it is on record that at least one of these officers formed his encampment considerably nearer the town than did the rest of the army; but his tents were soon a mark for the enemy's gunners, and he and his men had to beat a hasty retreat.

The British general lost no time in useless delay. With him, probably in the capacity of a staff-officer, was Vaughan, the originator of the expedition and one of its most zealous officers. To him was entrusted the playing of the first card in the game now beginning; and he played it uncommonly well. As soon as the troops were landed he was despatched by Pepperrell at the head of a party of four hundred men, towards the north-east end of the harbour, to gain information and to do all possible damage to the enemy. With an audacity of which only militia would be capable, the detachment, when on the high ground opposite the town, halted and gave three cheers; they then proceeded to their destination, avoiding the Royal battery *en route* (which, as we have before noted, was a strong and heavily-armed work on the north shore) and burnt all the naval storehouses which were dotted along the bank of the north-east harbour. A dense smoke arose, which, wafted into the Royal battery, added to the fears of its garrison. Thierry, the commanding officer, had already recommended to Duchambon that the battery be abandoned, the cannon spiked, and the works blown up. This advice the governor had determined to follow, except the demolition of the works, to which the King's engineer, Verrier, had objected. In a senseless panic, Thierry and his men now hurried over to the town, spiking the guns it is true, but leaving a most valuable lot of ordnance stores intact. But all this was then unknown to Vaughan and his detachment. They spent the night in the neighbourhood of the burning storehouses, and in the morning were returning to camp in an irregular manner when Vaughan, with a party of sixteen men, while passing the battery noticed its apparent absence of life; struck by this, he stopped, and bribed a friendly Indian to reconnoitre. The work was empty. Vaughan and his handful of men ran in and took possession, and without delay sent a messenger to General Pepperrell stating that they had entered the Royal battery, and were waiting for a reinforcement and a flag. To make temporary amends for the latter, one of the men, William Tufts by name, doffed his red coat, gripped it with his teeth, and, with reckless bravado, climbed the flag-staff and made fast the scarlet symbol at the top. When the gunners in the town saw the improvised bunting they hurled at it a shower of shot but to no effect. Seeing but a small party of the invaders in possession, a French detachment of a hundred men was hastily sent to re-occupy the battery, their main object, doubtless, being to bring off the valuable stores which had been left there; but Vaughan and his handful of men ran down to the

beach, and in the most courageous manner stood there firing on the boats. In the meantime Pepperrell had hurried off a reinforcement which came to Vaughan's assistance at this critical juncture, and the Frenchmen returned to the shelter of their fortress.

It is impossible to overestimate the value of this acquisition to the besiegers. Their great weakness lay in lack of heavy guns; and so utterly deficient were they in this respect, that had their opponents been able to retain the Royal Battery, or even to have taken time before leaving to render the cannon useless, it is doubtful if the main object of the expedition would have been accomplished; their blind panic in this instance was the most fatal of their errors. They fired heavily at the work all that day and for many days after; but the mischief was done. The English commander immediately had a staff of men at work drilling out the touchholes of the pieces, and in two or three days his gunners were doing serious damage to the Louisbourg defences with French shot fired from French cannon. Other batteries were also established and at work in short order. Although the guns which the New England men had brought with them had to be dragged a distance of nearly two miles across a deep marsh, the vehement spirit of the men enabled them to quickly accomplish this, each piece of artillery being loaded on a rough sledge and then pulled through the mire by a gang of two hundred soldiers. The base of the artillery attack was a clump of hills which lay due north of the town; and here on the 4th of May, the besiegers opened fire from a battery of four light pieces of cannon and three mortars, two of which were, however, found useless. On the 7th, ten coehorns were placed in position at a spot 900 yards from the town; and within a few days, this battery was strengthened by the accession of eight 22-pr. guns, and by those from the battery which had been first erected. The fire from this, and from the Royal battery, was most destructive; the shot tore through the walls, knocked over houses, and caught the citadel and King's bastion in flank. Five hundred men manned these batteries; and all ammunition, stores and provisions for their use had to be transported through the knee-deep mud from the camp at head-quarters, two miles distant. Governor Shirley—but a theorist in military matters—had expected the immediate capitulation of the fortress, having planned (on paper) for its complete surprise. This may account in part for the woeful lack of stores, which was one of the features of the expedition; but the ignorance of its leaders on all matters—except courage and pluck—which constitute military efficiency,

was no doubt mainly responsible for the deficiencies which existed—deficiencies which resulted in a vast deal of sickness, much loss of life, and, but for weather extraordinarily favourable, might have brought about the utter failure of the expedition. For the men lacked tents, extra clothing, often even necessary food ; and in spite of their unconquerable spirit, an epidemic of sickness clung to the camp, as many as fifteen hundred men being down at one time.

But Pepperrell and his militia-men stuck to their guns, fired them so constantly (and, possibly, so injudiciously) during the day that many of them burst, and, under cover of night and fog, toiled and strove at bringing fresh batteries into play closer to the city walls. On the 16th, the coehorns and two other mortars were pushed forward to a point about 440 yards from the west gate of the town ; and, on the next day an advanced battery was planted at a distance of only 250 yards from the west gate. This was armed with 18 and 42 pounders, dragged at night by squads of men from the Royal battery, two miles distant by road. On the 20th, more heavy guns were put in position on a piece of rising ground opposite the west gate, across the harbour. This last was known as Titcomb's battery, from the officer of that name in command. From morning till night these groups of cannon kept hammering away at the French fortifications, and also did a vast deal of damage to the buildings of the town itself. There was a great scarcity of experienced gunners among the New England men, and many and disastrous were the accidents which happened ; the bursting of cannon was of daily occurrence, and almost as many men were disabled from this cause as from the fire of the enemy. With the exception of the ten guns given by New York, those which had been brought over proved in many instances worse than useless.

From the very beginning of the siege the two commanders, Warren and Pepperrell, acted in close concert. The former appears to have been an excellent type of the naval officer of that day—brave, impulsive, strong in his convictions, and inclined to be overbearing in his demeanour towards soldiers and civilians. Had a fiery and hot-tempered warrior been in command of the New England forces, it is more than probable that continual clashing would have ensued between the two chiefs, with the result of serious harm to the service on which they were employed ; but as it was, Pepperrell's calmness, good nature and good sense enabled him to discuss and plan arrangements with Warren in the most amicable manner, and to ignore those ebullitions of apparent

temper which at times cropped out in the correspondence of the impatient commodore. Both were loyal and enthusiastic Britons and equally zealous for the success of His Majesty's arms.

The two commanders, alike untrained in the somewhat tedious methods of military engineering, and with little sympathy for the slow formalities of a methodical siege, were bent on bringing matters to a crisis with least possible delay. The battery on the island at the entrance to the harbour—a heavily-armed and well-defended work—was a *bete noir* to Warren, eager to work his ships into the port and assist in the bombardment ; and three or four days after the landing a joint attack on this battery was talked of, to come off as soon as Pepperrell's guns were in position. On the 7th, the British leader summoned the town to surrender—an invitation which was promptly declined by Duchambon ; following which, Warren urged a night attack on the island, and on three successive evenings preparations were made for the assault ; on each occasion rough weather prevented the embarkation. The storming of the town itself was decided on for the night of the 9th ; but soon after the decision, more prudent thoughts prevailed, and the attack was postponed. The energies of the New England men were then concentrated on the bombardment and on the work of pushing their batteries closer to the town—work most laborious and demanding all the available strength of the little army. Both Warren and Pepperrell had before this written for more men and stores, the former to the governments of the southern colonies, the latter to Shirley. Eighteen transports were sent to Boston to bring the expected reinforcements, but failed to return during the period of the siege.

Up to this time the chief work and honours of the campaign had fallen to the share of the land forces ; to Warren's squadron, hitherto confined to a passive and uneventful blockade, the opportunity now came to take a more active share in hostilities. On the 19th of May they saw a large man-of-war under French colours, making for the entrance to the harbour. This was the *Vigilant*, a sixty-four gun vessel, commanded by the Marquis de la Maison Forte, and carrying stores and munitions of war for the beleagured garrison. Intercepted and attacked by the British cruisers she made a brave fight ; but, single-handed, she had small chance of success, and finally had to strike her flag after a loss of eighty men. Her cargo proved a most welcome addition to the commissariat and ordnance stores of the besiegers, the latter of which at this time was at a low ebb. Pepperrell's stock of powder and heavy

shot was, in fact, entirely finished long before the end of May, and his necessities were thereafter supplied by the naval authorities. Warren began to receive accessions to his little fleet, which, at the beginning of June, stood as follows :

<i>Superb,</i>	40	guns.....	Capt. Somers.
<i>Eltham,</i>	40	"	" Durell.
<i>Launceston,</i>	40	"	" Calmady.
<i>Mermaid,</i>	40	"	" Douglas.
<i>Princess Mary,</i>	60	"	" Edwards.
<i>Hector,</i>	40	"	" Cornwall.
<i>Vigilant,</i>	64	"	" Montague.

In addition to these there were the Provincial cruisers which have been already mentioned.

The whole flotilla was now kept on the *qui vive* in the expectation of attack from a strong French squadron which had been fitted out at Brest, and of which the *Vigilant* was supposed to have been the fore-runner. This intensified the fiery commodore's anxiety to gain possession of Louisbourg prior to possible reverses by sea or by land ; for rumours were current that a strong expedition of French and Indians were on the way to attack the New England troops in rear. The fact that more than one-third of the latter were unfit for duty by reason of sickness did not make the prospect more cheering ; and Warren vehemently urged on Pepperrell the necessity for an assault on the town, sending him (on the 24th of May) a proposition embodying full details. These were not agreeable to Pepperrell's officers, and the storming of the place was therefore deferred ; but an immediate attack on the island battery had been decided on, and at midnight on the 26th about three hundred men put off in small boats to make the assault. This appears to have been informally and irregularly arranged, and was far less creditable to those who planned it than to those who took part in its dangers. The latter seem to have elected their own officers for the occasion—a thing in itself flagrantly subversive of discipline—and, under command of a man named Brooks, pulled quietly for the island. The boats reached its shores safely, but found a very contracted landing place. When about one-half of the party had been safely disembarked, they had the imprudence to give three loud cheers ; the French garrison sprang to arms and opened a heavy and effective fire on their assailants and on the crowded mass of boats waiting to land their living cargoes. The rear vessels sheered off and got out of range as quickly as possible ; and

although the men on shore made a bold dash for the ramparts and even succeeded in planting scaling ladders against the walls, they were practically at the mercy of their opponents. They made a plucky fight of it till daybreak, and then surrendered at discretion. Their total loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was one hundred and eighty-nine men. The effects of those three hasty cheers made a sad hole in the little English army.

This reverse was a startling lesson in discipline to the besiegers ; but instead of disheartening, it nerved them to new efforts. Gorham's regiment had been encamped at Lighthouse Point, at the eastern end of the entrance to the harbour, and directly opposite to the island battery. It was now determined to put heavy guns in position at this point, and to endeavour to crush out the effectiveness of the French work by artillery fire. Strong working parties were forthwith employed on the duty of transporting heavy cannon and mortars from the main attack to this position ; but the work was necessarily slow and most laborious, and it was the 11th of June before any guns were ready to open fire. For their reception and defence Gorham and his men had built a strong battery, with embrasures directly flanking the line of French cannon on the island. Every shot told ; and the island battery, which had so long divided the British naval and military forces was, in turn, now wholly dominated by its new adversary.

During all this time, an unremitting artillery battle had been going on between the English guns in front of the west gate, and the circular battery and other heavy ordnance which guarded that part of the fortress. On both sides the labours of the combatants were most severe, the nights being employed in attempting to repair the damage done by the opposing cannon during the day. But the French works suffered most, and, in spite of the toil and engineering skill of their defenders, gradually fell into a ruinous and almost helpless condition. Everything favoured the besiegers. The weather continued singularly fine ; the nights grew shorter, and the screen of darkness necessary for repairs to the damaged masonry became less as the necessity for such repairs increased. Experienced gunners and ample supplies of ammunition for the attacking guns were obtained from the ships ; and the New England Britons—scorning the accepted theories of slow and laborious attack—worked forward their batteries in a manner which almost savored of bravado, and which, as in the strife of line against column of later days, startled their machine-trained opponents. No aid

came to the besieged from their allies in the vicinity. The New England troops had made several forays on the neighbouring settlements, burnt houses, barns and boats, and established for themselves a wholesome fear in the minds of all French partizans, red and white. Indeed this merciless destruction of the property of the unfortunate settlers and fishermen appears to have been carried to a totally unwarranted degree; on one occasion (May 10th) the practice brought a loss to the besiegers which they could ill spare. A party of twenty-five men, while busily employed plundering some dwellings, was attacked by a force of French and Indians, and all but three were killed or taken prisoners. The fleet from France did not appear; while Warren's squadron was, on the 10th and 12th of June, augmented by the arrival of four of the King's ships—the *Chester*, *Canterbury*, *Sunderland*, and *Lark*—with a combined armament of 210 guns.

By a strange weakness on the part of the officers in command of the beleagured garrison, the only measure which could have brought them relief from their environment was not tried. This was a sortie in force against Pepperrell's raw and undisciplined troops. It is true that one had been attempted when the siege was barely a week old; but it had been a weak and irresolute effort, more of a reconnaissance than anything else. A vigorous attack in force, if well supported, would have been almost certain of success; but the French officers mistrusted their men, and would do nothing to bring them into contact with the enemy—an error of judgment fatal to their cause.

The Marquis de la Maison Forte, the officer who had commanded the *Vigilant* when under French colours, now a prisoner, involuntarily did a good turn for his opponents at this period of the siege. Early in June it was reported that some of the New England men who had been taken, were being badly treated by the Louisbourg authorities; whereupon the French captain was requested by Warren to write to Duchambon, protesting against such treatment, in view of the fact that he and his brother officers had received all possible attention and courtesy from their English captors; and incidentally reported the loss of his ship the *Vigilant*. This letter was sent into the town by a naval officer named McDonald, under a flag of truce. McDonald, although a fluent French linguist, feigned ignorance of that language, and spoke through an interpreter; and the comments of the French governor and his officers on the contents of the missive were free and unrestrained. This was the first intimation they had received of the loss of the *Vigilant*,

and it seemed almost a death-knell to their hopes. Subsequent events were in no small degree the outcome of this communication, the despondency unwittingly displayed by the besieged infusing fresh vigour into the British commanders—vigour which quickly bore fruit. It is a singular coincidence that an officer of the same name, fourteen years later, was also by his knowledge of the French language instrumental in aiding the success of Wolfe's army when on its way to scale the cliffs above Quebec, in the early morning of the thirteenth of September, 1759.

Preparations were now made for a general assault on the town by the combined forces. All felt that a crisis was at hand, and the artillery fire on both sides became unusually heavy. On the 11th, Warren sent to Pepperrell final instructions, explaining the signals which would be hoisted on his ships prior to their forcing an entrance to the harbour; and Pepperrell busied himself to the utmost in the all-important preparatory work. All through the latter days of the siege he had been hampered by his lack of powder, and was now entirely dependent on the fleet for this essential; on the 13th, he was forced to borrow fifty more barrels. Scaling ladders were taken to the advanced batteries, and other necessary details attended to. The powder reached him on the 14th; and as that day was the anniversary of the King's accession to the throne, it was celebrated from noon until dusk by an unusually heavy fire from all the batteries. On the 15th, Warren came on shore, inspected the troops, and both he and Pepperrell addressed them in brief but stirring words on their duties in the coming assault; and the commodore, not forgetting a more substantial and welcome tonic, sent them a hogshead of rum with which to drink his health. Six hundred of the men were sent aboard the ships of the fleet to assist in the expected fight, and the vessels moved towards the town and anchored in an imposing line.

While all were thus on the *qui vive* for action, the end came suddenly. A little after twelve o'clock on that day (15th) the French drums were heard to beat a parley, and a flag of truce came from the fortress to the camp. Captain Sherburn, who commanded the advanced battery, went forward to meet the party and conducted them to headquarters; they brought a note from Duchambon, proposing a suspension of hostilities until formal articles of capitulation could be submitted. To this the British commanders acceded in the following quaintly-worded note:

“CAMP, *June 15th, 1745, 8½ P M.*

“We have yours of this date, proposing a suspension of hostilities for such a time as shall be necessary for you to determine upon the conditions of delivering up the garrison of Louisburg, which arrived at a happy juncture to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, as we were together and had just determined on a general attack. We shall comply with your desire until eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and if in the meantime you surrender yourselves prisoners of war, you may depend upon humane and generous treatment.

“We are, your humble servants,

“PETER WARREN,

“WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.”

The proposed conditions duly came from the French governor on the following morning, but were unsatisfactory to the British chiefs, who thereupon submitted counter proposals—and exceedingly liberal they were. Duchambon realized this and promptly accepted them, adding his wish that the garrison be allowed to march out with the honours of war. This was conceded, and on the 17th a detachment of Royal Marines took formal possession of the island battery, while Pepperrell, at the head of his army, marched into the town through the west gate to the Parade, where the French troops were drawn up in line to receive them. The scene was one long to be remembered by the participants; and the honest and well-earned joy of the New England men at the success of their efforts was mingled with wonder at the vast strength which still characterized the fortifications, and, doubtless, with self-congratulations on the fact that they had been spared the certain danger and probable defeat of a direct assault on so strong a fortress. The appearance of the garrison may not have specially impressed the victors; continued loss of sleep, irregularity of food and lack of attention to personal appearance must have told heavily on them; but they had fought hard and well, had been singularly loyal to their colours, and were of the same breed as the men who were even then honoring France with their devotion and valour in Flanders. Salutes were fired and guards mounted by the incoming Britons; the French then marched out, and, in accordance with the terms of the capitulation, were with the least possible delay embarked on vessels for conveyance to France. They numbered about two thousand men; and with them went as many more ex-citizens of Louisbourg, and the sailors previously taken in the *Vigilant*. About thirty, however, of the total number remained and were subsequently sent to Quebec.

The losses to both armies during the siege were comparatively light, —that of the British being one hundred and thirty killed or died of disease; of the French probably less than one hundred. Between seventy and eighty French cannon and mortars and a quantity of stores and ammunition (except powder) became the property of King George.

News of the surrender was sent as quickly as possible to the American provinces and to England; and colonies and mother-land alike rejoiced in the acquisition. The despatches for Governor Shirley were sent off on the 18th June, by a schooner under Captain Bennet; but, although supposed to be a fast-sailing vessel, she did not reach Boston until early on the 3rd of July. The news quickly spread and the roaring of cannon and the clanging of bells gave a partial vent to the joy which pervaded the town. In the evening the streets were brilliantly illuminated, while bonfires and fireworks showed that the people were making merry; events all the more remarkable in view of the general quietness of the townsfolk of the Boston of 1745. Nor was the public offering of thanks to the Almighty omitted; a day of general thanksgiving was proclaimed throughout Massachusetts, and was heartily observed. Similar expressions of public joy were shown in New York, Philadelphia, and many other towns and villages in the British-American colonies.

The method of rejoicing indulged in on this occasion, (and the simplicity and good nature of a people who would tolerate and sing most distressing doggerel,) may be judged from the following extract from a New York paper of 29th July, 1745 :—

Jamaica, on Long Island, July 20.—The good news of the Surrender of Cape Breton coming to us in the Middle of our Harvest, obliged us to defer the Time of publick Rejoicing till yesterday; when the Magistrates, Military Officers, and many other Gentlemen, &c, of this county, met at this place, feasted together, and at Night gave a Tub of Punch at a fine Bonfire, drank the Public Health, and especially of the valiant Commander immediately concern'd in this great Action, and joined in chorus to the following song :—

Let all true Subjects now rejoice,
The sev'nteenth Day of June,
On Monday Morning in a Trice
We sung the French a Tune.
A glorious Peace we shall have soon
For we have conquer'd Cape Breton,
With a fa la la.

Brave Warren and Bold Pepperrell,
 Stout Wolcot, and the rest
 Of British Heroes, with Good Will,
 Enter'd the Hornet's Nest.
 A glorious Peace, &c.

A Health let's to King George advance
 That he may long remain,
 To curb the Arrogance of France
 And Haughtiness of Spain.
 A glorious Peace, &c.

In England, the news was as a gleam of sunshine in a black sky ; for at this time national affairs were at their worst, and the hearts of patriotic Britons were sore. The greater part of the army was on the Continent acting in concert with the Dutch against the French under Marshal Saxe ; and, more by the timidity of their allies than by any lack of valour on the part of the British, the events of the campaign were markedly unfavorable to the Anglo-Dutch force. At Fontenoy, Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend, the excellent generalship of the French commander, and the all-round inefficiency of the Dutch, brought disaster to the allies ; while in Scotland, the Pretender was rapidly gathering around him the many faithful and honest hearts still loyal to the House of Stuart. The capture of Louisbourg, and a continued succession of victories at sea by detached and stray ships over French opponents, alone maintained British prestige, and relieved the almost universal gloom.

A glance at some of the English papers and periodicals of this year shows their warm recognition of the courage and endurance of Pepperrell and his New England men. Comparatively little attention was given by the writers of that day to Warren and his tars, and to their share in the successful consummation of the enterprise, although we know how essential it was ; almost the whole praise was bestowed on the provincial troops and their leader. Rewards and honours were promptly forthcoming, and tokens of public joy were, as in America, immediately shown. Captain Montague, who carried to London the official account of the surrender, received from the Admiralty a present of five hundred guineas ; salutes were fired from the Tower as soon as the intelligence had been received, while at night the city was ablaze with bonfires and illuminations. Warren was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and Pepperrell had the honour of being appointed a Baronet of Great Britain, and was also given the King's commission to raise and command a regiment of the line. To Shirley a similar commission was granted.

Louisbourg was now under British colours, and held by a British-American garrison. Almost immediately after the surrender heavy wet weather set in, and the site of the late besiegers' camp became an uninhabitable swamp. Here was a singular instance of the extraordinary good luck which attended the expedition, for had the rain come earlier, or had the surrender been delayed, it would have been almost impossible for Pepperrell to have maintained his ground. In the best of weather a very large proportion of his men were unfit for duty, and heavy rains would have been absolutely fatal to the continued manning of his works and batteries. And yet the winning of the town brought fresh troubles to the simple and impecunious New England men. By the greater number of these Louisbourg was supposed to be a city of vast wealth, and visions of the glittering booty which would be theirs if successful had doubtless been a strong incentive in their steadfastness. But there was little gold and silver and precious stones in the Cape Breton capital; and what there was must remain in the hands of its lawful owners. It was galling to the once expectant New Englanders to have to mount guard over the houses of the vanquished foe; but, alas, such was their duty immediately after the surrender. They broke loose at times, however, from the restraints of discipline. As a contemporary chronicler (quoted by Parkman) puts it: "A great Noys and hubbub a mongst ye Soldiers a bout ye Plunder; Som Cursing som a Swarein;" and it is recorded by one of their generals that on a Sunday when Father Moody was holding service there was "excessive stealing in every part of the town." This feeling of lack of sufficient recompense for their services was intensified at a later date when rich harvests of spoil came to the men of the fleet, who had endured little toil in the siege, and had suffered practically no loss. In the attack on Louisbourg, as has often been the case, the glory fell to the share of the army; the gold and silver to the navy.

The famous French fortress was now transformed into a bustling British garrison town and naval depot. The scarlet uniforms of the landmen and the blue jackets of the tars dotted the streets; but hard work was the order of the day and idlers were few. No time was lost in repairing the damage which the walls and fortifications had received during the bombardment, and in fitting up quarters for the new occupants. Although the great struggle was over there was still no lack of incident, and this often of an exciting nature; but now it was the turn of the ships-of-war and their crews to be the chief participants. French prizes were wanted, and were invited into the harbour by the

very simple ruse of keeping the French flag flying over the town. The bait took well, and within six weeks three large vessels had been taken in this peaceful manner, the cargoes and hulls enriching their captors to the tune of £175,000 stg. A month later came the great catch of the season ; this was the treasure-ship *Notre Dame de la Déliverance*, with a cargo of gold and silver valued at £800,000, which now became British property. This vessel had as a passenger a distinguished Spaniard, Don Antonio D'Ulloa, who has left to posterity a very interesting account of his travels ; considerable space is devoted to the *contretemps* which happened to him at Louisbourg, and a full description of that town is given. So far as is recorded, this gentleman was the first scientist of note to visit the Cape Breton capital ; and seldom, if ever, has one had a heartier welcome. The romantic circumstances which led to his call, the princely amount of treasure which accompanied him, and which he left in the custody of the naval authorities, lent a special charm to his visit. One half of the value of all these seizures went to the Crown, the remainder to the officers and men of the fleet ; the land forces, who had borne the lion's share of the work, not getting a single penny. This was in accordance with precedent ; but in all fairness, precedent should have been waived under such circumstances. It is said that every seaman in the squadron received 850 guineas as his share.

The New England troops naturally expected to leave for home soon after the surrender ; but only seven hundred had this good fortune. The latter were replaced by the Rhode Island contingent, and a reinforcement from Massachusetts. The regular regiments ordered from Gibraltar to garrison the newly-captured fortress were detained by unavoidable circumstances until so late in the season that their transports had to take them to Virginia for the winter ; the provincials were therefore obliged to remain in Louisbourg during that season. They suffered much from illness, and lost from that source alone about eight hundred men, more than six times their total fatalities during the siege. Warren had been appointed governor by the Home authorities, but Pepperrell remained in command of the provincials ; thus a joint control was exercised over the fortunes of the town and its garrison. It was no sinecure ; the duties involved considerable labour, and called for the exercise of great tact and nice discrimination. After the first few weeks the troops had comparatively little to do ; idleness fermented discontent, and there was no little growling among the Massachusetts men about the

alleged insufficiency of their pay ; but Governor Shirley, who arrived in Louisbourg in August, settled this by advancing the rate to forty shillings per month. Martial law had to be maintained throughout the winter, to prevent or remedy excesses arising from the reckless acts of the garrison who, disappointed at not going home, and lacking training and soldierly self-control, were often riotous and well-nigh unmanageable. The combination at the head of affairs could not have been a better one ; Warren, an experienced officer, well accustomed to deal with and command men ; Pepperrell, a man of high character, possessing tact and patience, and whose life was governed by principles of religion and justice. Loyal to God and to the King, he proved himself to be one of Britain's most faithful servants during these two arduous years.

Warren and Pepperrell acted as judges over the court which was held on three days of each week for the trial of offenders. Among the records is one of the case of a Captain Piercy, who, as Parsons tells us, was charged by three complainants with drinking "Long life to the Pretender," which at that time was deemed high treason. Piercy was arraigned before the court, and the charge and affidavits being read in a solemn tone, the question was put, "What is your defence, Sir." "May it please your Honors," said the captain, "the complainants entirely misunderstood me. I drank "Long life to the potatoes!" The captain's defence was deemed satisfactory.

Towards the end of March, 1746, the long expected relief of the garrison took place. Two regiments of the line, the 29th (Fuller's) and 56th (Warburton's), and a detachment of the 30th (Frampton's), comprising in all 1875 men, arrived at Louisbourg ; and the New England troops were in a very short time afterwards permitted to return to their distant homes. A few remained, enlisting for regular service in the new regiments, (the 65th and 66th of the line) which were being formed under the commands of Shirley and Pepperrell. With the new garrison came a considerable number of civilians, presumably as settlers or fishermen. Warren and Pepperrell left for Boston in May, and met with a most enthusiastic reception on their arrival. Commodore Knowles assumed the governorship of Louisbourg, with Col. Warburton, (of the 56th regt.,) as second-in-command. During the summer the garrison was kept on the *qui vive*, expecting attack from the powerful squadron of the Duc D'Anville, which had left Brest on 22nd June, with instructions (amongst others) to dismantle Louisbourg. At the same time the French authorities in Canada sent a force of 1600

men to Baie Verte to be prepared to act in concert with D'Anville in the attack. A strong British fleet,—12 ships of war, manned by about 3550 men,—was gathered at Louisbourg, under command of Vice-Admiral Townshend; and all things looked promising for the renewal of hostilities on a large scale. But Providence or Fate—call it which you will—intervened, and the magnificent French fleet met with a series of disasters unparalleled in modern naval history, and which can only be compared to those which befell the Spanish Armada of 1588. Louisbourg was not even attacked.

When Warren sailed for Boston he left Commodore Knowles in chief command of Louisbourg. Large wooden barracks were erected near the Queen's Gate for the accommodation of the garrison, and the fortifications and armament were kept in a thorough state of efficiency. The winter of 1746-47 was a comparatively quiet one; it may be noted that this year for the first time the coal of the island was used for fuel in the barracks and town. Knowles was unpopular—hated Cape Breton—and did his best to injure her fair fame in the eyes of the Home authorities; possibly his representations had something to do with the subsequent re-transfer of the island to the French king. In April, 1747, that sovereign, undeterred by the fate of D'Anville's ships and men, fitted out another strong fleet particularly to retake Cape Breton, and generally to strike at British power in America. But he was fighting a nation whose rulers made it their paramount business to hold world-wide supremacy at sea; and Admirals Anson and Warren (of Louisbourg fame) intercepted the French fleet, and fought and totally defeated it on the 3rd of May, off Cape Finisterre. The Cape Bretoners breathed freely for another year; and the only thing which seriously troubled them and their new governor—Colonel Hopson—was the petty warfare waged by roving bands of Indians and Frenchmen against the settlers and settlements in the vicinity of Louisbourg. This despicable species of warfare waged by the French during the whole period of these wars was the great thorn in the flesh to all British America. It had little practical effect beyond annoyance, but produced such a degree of irritation that the ultimate entire expulsion of French interests from North America was looked on by all classes as an absolute necessity.

What the sword could not do was accomplished by the pen. In April, 1748, a treaty of peace was arranged at Aix-la-Chapelle between the two Powers, one of the conditions of which was that all conquests which had been made by either nation since the beginning of the war (1744) should be restored. This of course included Cape Breton; and

instructions were sent out during that summer for the evacuation of Louisbourg, and the removal of the stores to Annapolis. The work could not be completed that season, and it was not until the early summer of 1749 that the new French garrison arrived, and the troops of King George took their departure. Of the latter, however, a large portion was disbanded prior to the evacuation, and of course the various recently-appointed civic officials were officials no longer. Their sadness at loss of position was doubtless increased by the fact that living in Louisbourg at that time was marvellously cheap,—cheap to a degree which, a century and a half later, fills us with envy. Beef was two-pence a pound; a fat ox, four pounds ten (worth in Boston £70 to £80); and rum—the real old Jamaica article—was but ninepence a gallon.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the restitution of Cape Breton to France was looked at with the utmost disfavour both in England and the British colonies in America; and especially galling to national pride was that clause which provided that two English noblemen should be sent to France on the conclusion of the treaty to remain there as hostages until the surrender of Louisbourg should be completed. Even the Pretender Prince, then a defeated and disappointed exile, had enough British pride to say: “If ever I mount the throne of my ancestors, Europe shall see me use my utmost endeavours to force France in her turn to send hostages to England.” The effect of Britain’s brilliant naval victories was more than counterbalanced by the excellent generalship of the famous Marshal Saxe in Flanders, and the disastrous alliance in which Hanoverian policy had entangled British troops. The English ministry of that day was deplorably weak, and French diplomacy scored a brilliant triumph; Cape Breton, so gallantly won, was the sacrifice offered on the Gallic altar.

With peace came the repayment to the American colonies of the total expenses they had incurred in the expedition against Louisbourg. The division was as follows:

	£	s	d
To Massachusetts Bay	183649	2	7
New Hampshire.....	16355	13	4
Connecticut	28863	19	1
Rhode Island.....	6332	12	10
James Gibson, (an officer in the Provincial army who had served without pay or allowance)	547	15	0
	<u>£235749</u>	<u>2s</u>	<u>10d</u>

This sum was paid over in hard cash, silver and copper, sent to Boston in H. M. S. *Mermaid*. It proved to be financial salvation to

Massachusetts. That province was in debt to the extent of two million pounds currency ; and as one pound sterling was worth eleven pounds of the old tenor currency, and thirty shillings of the new, the provincial rulers were able to buy in almost the entire debt.

Back to Louisbourg duly came the French in the early summer of 1749. M. Desherbiers was the new governor, and he brought with him the two largest ships in the French navy, and twenty transports carrying the new garrison. Here he found British red-coats still in possession, their shipping not having arrived ; and, anxious no doubt to see the last of them, Desherbiers loaned them his transports, and they embarked for the new settlement on Chebucto Bay. For at the very time that Louisbourg ceased to fly British colours, there was springing to life under that flag a new town on the Nova Scotian coast, destined from its beginning to be the naval and military centre of the whole district. The men of the Louisbourg garrison proved a welcome addition to the population of the infant capital ; many remained there permanently, receiving grants and allotments of land in the same manner as had been given to the settlers who had come from over the sea. With the founding of Halifax a new life and a new spirit entered into the conflict between France and England in Acadia ; for though peace nominally reigned, it was peace reddened by blood, and widely torn by steel. Louisbourg was no longer sole mistress of the peninsula ; she had a sturdy rival, which grew and flourished in spite of cruel opposition. From the very first the Louisbourg authorities strove to crush it out of existence ; within but a few weeks of his landing on Cape Breton shores, we find a letter from the new governor, Desherbiers, stating that he " has engaged Abbé Le Loutre to distribute the usual presents among " the savages, and M. Bigot has placed in his hands an additional gift of " cloth, blankets, powder and ball, to be given them *in case they harass " the English at Halifax. This missionary is to induce them to do so.*" A few months later and Desherbier's letters are again in evidence against his good faith ; he, Bigot, and that *bete noir* of Acadian history, Le Loutre, reporting secretly to King Louis that they were inciting the Acadians to resist all inducements to swear allegiance to England, and also that they were continuing the dastardly work of paying the Indians to attack the British settlements. The French king warmly endorsed their actions, and also recommended that they should take steps to aid English deserters from the Halifax garrison. So we see that the incoming Louisbourg authorities went promptly to work in endeavoring

to thwart British interests in Acadia ; but in spite of their efforts, the sturdy settlers of the new town held together and flourished.

With the new French garrison had come an old friend to Ile Royale, M. Bigot, again as commissary ; here he remained several years before going to the scenes of his greater triumphs in Canada. The paternal and benevolent qualities of King Louis came well to the front in this and succeeding years, for the official correspondence shows that he granted subsistence to all the inhabitants of the town and vicinity, numbering altogether about 3200 souls. Many Acadians came in and took up land ; and several German families, who had come out to Halifax, were induced to migrate to Ile Royale. Recruits for the garrison were sent out in considerable numbers ; one large party must have endured considerable badinage on their arrival, as for some unexplained reason their nether garments went a-missing—a deficiency which they had to supply from empty sacks. In 1751 Desherbiers retired, and was succeeded by the Count de Raymond, an Anglophobe of the most pronounced type. By a curious irony of fate his secretary was M. Pichon, who subsequently deserted to the British, and published a valuable and interesting book on Cape Breton, now of considerable rarity. Raymond was a capable officer, and spent 100,000 livres in opening a road from Louisbourg to Port Toulouse,—a work for which he was severely censured by the authorities at home. In November of the same year he reported the discovery of coal near La Baie Espagnol, (Sydney), and wished to form a fortified settlement there without delay. He was evidently of an arbitrary temper, was continually quarrelling with the commissary, and in 1753 was recalled at his own request. To succeed him M. d'Aillebout came out from France in December ; but his reign did not exceed twelve months, and M. de Druccour was installed as governor at the end of 1754. During these years few matters worthy of special mention occurred in the town. In Acadia the war—if such it can be called—was being carried on, and items concerning its varied fortunes occupied a large share of the official correspondence. Louisbourg still called loudly for recruits, provisions, arms and stores of all kinds, indicating either a culpable degree of neglect on the part of the Home authorities, or a high degree of efficiency on the part of the English men-of-war cruising on the station, in capturing French supply vessels bound for the port ; and, from the correspondence, it would seem that this was the real cause of the dearth.

The peace between the two powers had been to a large extent a nominal one so far as America was concerned ; petty acts of hostility—

resulting in the aggregate in the loss of many lives—occurred almost continuously, and the renewal of warlike operations on a large scale was felt by all to be a certainty in the near future. In the spring of 1755 matters came to a crisis, and although war had not been officially declared, both France and England sent large armaments across the Atlantic. Certain vessels from each fleet came across each other,—a fight followed, and two of the French ships were, early in June, captured and taken into Halifax. This was tantamount to a declaration of war, and hostilities on a large and lively scale followed in quick succession. Part of the French flotilla was for Louisbourg, and the garrison thereby received a large addition to its strength. On the 21st the residents of the town were startled by the appearance of the whole British squadron which drew up opposite the entrance in fighting array, and for the next ten days cruised along the Cape Breton coast, preventing all communication between Louisbourg and the outside world. On the 1st of July, they reappeared before the town, anchored in order of battle, and apparently made preparations for an assault; but in the night vanished as suddenly as they had come. That summer was a most eventful one in Nova Scotian history; Fort Beausejour was taken, and the Acadians, still as a body opposing English rule, were expelled from the country; but Louisbourg remained undisturbed. In September, the King, evidently uneasy as to the security of the town, sent out another frigate to aid in its defence; and at the same time assured the governor “That whatever occurs in Canada, Louisbourg requires the greatest attention, and he is disposed to bestow such upon it.” Thus, doubly fortified by royal deed and word, the officials waited with confidence fresh developments.

The almost unnecessary official declarations of war were made early in the following summer; by England on the 18th of May, by France on the 9th of June. Long before this the rival fleets had been making ready, and Louisbourg was not forgotten by either party; and in the formal instructions given in April to Admiral John Byng—afterwards the scapegoat for the sins of a weak ministry—that unfortunate officer was directed to assist in strengthening the force which was to operate on the Cape Breton coast. But the French were well prepared, and although twice attacked by a strong squadron under Commodore Holmes, they, although defeated, were enabled to avoid any serious disaster; one ship of war and one storeship being their only loss. These vessels—carrying about six hundred and fifty men, and a large quantity of stores—were taken into Halifax.

The control of British interests in America was now vested in the Earl of Loudon, an officer whose conduct of the war has met with criticism mainly of an unfavourable nature. By some writers he has been condemned in the most unsparing terms ; from others he has received a certain measure of defence. A labored argument of forty-five printed pages was published in his behalf early in 1758, in which the writer—to his own satisfaction in any case—acquitted the noble earl of all imputed errors in judgment and tardiness in action. One thing is clear, and that is that his efforts were unquestioned failures. He was a man of ordinary parts ; while that campaign to have been a success, called for a leader brilliant in conception, quick in action, and abounding in tact. In these qualities Lord Loudon was singularly deficient.

In the fall of 1756 he proposed to the ministry a plan of campaign for the following summer, which had for its first and main object, the reduction of Louisbourg. This met with their concurrence ; but their part of the programme, the despatch of a large fleet and a powerful military force to co-operate with Loudon, was performed in so dilatory a manner, that it was not until the fifth of May that the fleet left England. It reached Halifax (the pre-arranged rendezvous) early in July, where its commander, Vice-Admiral Holbourne, found Loudon with about six thousand troops just arrived from New York. The combined forces now numbered at least eleven thousand men, and twenty-two ships-of-war were in the harbour ready to convey them to immediate attack on the Cape Breton capital. But the worthy commander-in-chief was seized with sudden fear that his men were insufficiently drilled, and that the commissariat stores required replenishing ; a brilliant series of sham fights and other manœuvres was indulged in, and much time and care devoted to planting large quantities of vegetables to grace the mess-tables. This work occupied all hands fully until the 1st of August, when it was thought to be time to go on with the main object of their expedition ; the troops were leisurely embarked, and all was ready, when on the 4th, a schooner arrived from Newfoundland with news that the enemy had got together in Louisbourg harbour a fleet of twenty-three large vessels, and that the fortress was garrisoned by a force of not less than seven thousand men. To the Earl of Loudon this was most alarming intelligence. His most active brigadier, Lord Charles Hay, had been placed under arrest a few days before for having stated that the commander-in-chief's policy had resulted in "keeping the soldiers' courage at bay, and "expending the nation's wealth in making sham-fights and planting

“cabbages”; and his lordship’s right-hand man now was Major-General James Abercromby—notorious, if not immortal, for the way in which he conducted the siege of Ticonderoga, and the campaign of 1758. A council-of-war was held, and it was decided to give up the enterprise. Loudon left some of the troops to garrison Halifax, sent off detachments to Forts Cumberland and Annapolis, and returned to New York with the remainder. But the attempt was not wholly abandoned. Admiral Holbourne made a reconnaissance in force towards Louisbourg; and on his return to Halifax, finding that a reinforcement of four ships-of-the-line had just arrived, determined to cruise off the Cape Breton coast, and try to tempt the French admiral to come out and risk an engagement. He returned, but the Frenchman declined the invitation, and remained snugly sheltered in the harbour; and on the night of the 24th of September a furious gale burst on the British fleet, wrecked one ship, dismasted and injured others, and scattered the rest of the squadron. Some vessels sailed direct to England, others to Halifax.

Throughout all these threats of attack and ponderous demonstrations against their peace, the authorities and residents of Louisbourg appear to have been calm, and strong in the belief of their ability to successfully cope with their foes. Despatches sent to Montcalm early in February informed him that the battalions which comprised the garrison were fully up to strength and in excellent condition. By the end of June the squadrons which had been sent out from France had arrived in the harbour, and formed in all a magnificent fleet of eighteen ships-of-the-line, and six frigates, carrying fourteen hundred and seventy-two guns; which, as an official writer states, “puts us at ease respecting all the attacks the English would make in this quarter,” adding rather naively, “you cannot believe how it makes us settle affairs “of state; everybody already wants Acadia to belong to us.” Without doubt, everything was satisfactory in this way; but the very strength of the defence in men accentuated its weakness in supplies. For in spite of all this brave showing there was a most lamentable dearth of provisions, and at times the garrison and residents appear to have been on the verge of starvation. In May the governor writes: “The greatest scarcity exists throughout the colony.” In October, “The colony is in a sad condition owing to the want of “food.” And in December, with doleful thoughts, no doubt, as to prospects for good cheer at Christmas and New Year’s, “That there is “hardly a servant of the meanest gentleman of the kingdom of France

“ that is not better off than are the officers of the Louisbourg garrison.” There is a measure of pathos in such statements that cannot but command our respect and sympathy. The governor’s allies and friends added to his perplexities in this matter, they being evidently blessed with very healthy appetites, as in a despatch acknowledging the arrival of provisions he adds that the Acadians and Indians consumed vast quantities.

Montcalm, who had by this time acquired a knowledge of the dogged persistency of the English in their warfare, did not overlook the probability of another attack on Cape Breton. In September he writes : “ We have apprehensions for Louisbourg ; it would require a principal “ man of more strength than those who are there.” On the 4th of November of this year, he reports to the Home authorities that the chief engineer officer (de Pontleroy) had left Louisbourg on the 27th of September, and “ he has reassured us for this year against all attacks on “ Ile Royale on the part of the English (by reason of the storm). . . . But adds : “ Will not the English winter their troops at Halifax and “ New England, in order to be beforehand with us next year if they “ can ?”

The French commander’s apprehensions were well founded. England had been in a ferment of political excitement, which ceased only on the re-appointment to power of the Great Commoner, William Pitt, who inaugurated an administration, which—in the eloquent words of Lord Mahon—was “ the greatest and most glorious, perhaps, which “ England had ever yet known—an administration not always, indeed, “ free from haste or error in its schemes, and, no doubt, owing their “ success in part to the favour of Fortune, and to the genius of generals ; “ but still . . . pre-eminently strong at home, and victorious abroad.” The new minister was stung by the failure of Loudon’s expedition, and publicly censured him in the House of Commons. To retrieve the failure was his first step in dealing with the affairs of the war in America. Preparations for an expedition on a large scale were begun in the autumn, and early in February, 1758, everything was ready for a start. Admiral Boscawen held the chief naval command, and the combined force was a remarkably strong one, comprising forty-one ships-of-war, with an army of over eleven thousand men. Major-General Jeffery Amherst was in command, with three brigadiers, Lawrence, Whitmore and Wolfe ; but the genius of the latter dominated the whole enterprise. On the part of the French ample preparation had been made for the coming storm, of which they had been kept fully advised through a spy

in London. Twenty-two ships of the line (as well as frigates) were destined for Louisbourg, to aid in its defence ; but only twelve were able to cross the Atlantic ; for, concurrently with the main British expedition under Boscawen, a squadron had been detached to watch the Mediterranean, and thrust back any French vessels heading for America. The patrol was a most effective one, and no succour reached Cape Breton or Canada from this quarter. The others made Louisbourg harbour in safety ; six of them remained there and shared the fortunes of the siege, and the remainder got off to Quebec in good time. On the vessels which remained were about three thousand sailors available for defence ; and as the garrison of regular troops mustered at least an equal number (besides a strong body of militia and Indians) the French commandant might well be confident of maintaining a successful resistance, and especially as the recently-arrived ships had brought an ample supply of provisions and stores.

May came and was gone, and there was still no sign of Boscawen and his fleet ; but this tranquillity vanished almost with the month, for on the second of June the distant horizon was white with the sails of the stately squadron and of the wide-spreading fleet of transports. In all there were one hundred and fifty-seven vessels ; seldom if ever before had so powerful a flotilla left British shores. Gabarus Bay was the *rendezvous*, and from it the rocky coast was reconnoitred without delay. As at Quebec, one of the strongest features of the defence was the forbidding and almost inaccessible shore for many miles east of the fortress ; and Drucour had spared neither vigilance nor men in guarding the few spots at which a landing was possible. Two-thirds of his whole military force was detached on this duty ; batteries were erected, trenches dug, breastworks thrown up, and all things made ready for a reception of appalling warmth to be given their scarlet-coated visitors ; the lesson of Duchambon's first great blunder, thirteen years before, had not been lost on his successor.

But the French commandant had as his opponent the most brilliant soldier of the period, one whom nothing could daunt. For several days the sea was too rough to attempt a landing, and it was not until the morning of the 8th that the effort could be made. Three divisions of boats, under the respective brigadiers, Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe, threatened the shore ; but, as usual, the real attack was controlled by the latter. His division was the left of the three, and was made up of grenadiers, light infantry, and New England Rangers,

supported by Fraser's Highlanders. They pulled hard for the shore, but were greeted with such a storm of shot and shell that they recoiled ; however, three boats on the right, manned by light infantry-men, dashed towards the beach, and made good their landing ; clinging to the rocks they defended themselves as well as was possible, until their comrades came up, and with fire and steel made a fatal gap in the French line of defence. It is said that during all the time that the men were lying low in the boats under the heavy fire of the French batteries, Wolfe alone disdained all cover, and stood upright, directing the actions of the rowers along the line,—a central figure to which all looked, and from which all drew confidence and patient valour. Here, as throughout the whole siege, he was the soul and energy of the undertaking.

The landing was now an assured fact, and had been made at a surprisingly small loss of life, six officers and forty-four men having been killed or drowned, and three officers and fifty-five men wounded. The men in the other divisions of the attacking army were quickly on shore, and the French were hurriedly driven back into the town, after losing about seventy-five men ; all their cannon, (thirty-three pieces) stores, and tools, fell into the hands of the British. Once on shore the encampment was quickly formed ; but the continued heavy weather made the landing of the artillery and ammunition a very slow affair.

Limited space forbids my giving much detail of this, the second and last siege of Louisbourg. Much has been written about it, and its events are familiar to every student of our history ; but it may be noted that the most complete and accurate journal yet published of the siege is that which appeared in one of the earlier volumes of this Society's "Collections." A brief summary can alone be attempted here.

No time was lost in getting to work. On the 12th, Wolfe, with a detachment of twelve hundred men, marched around the harbour and took possession of Lighthouse Point, securing his communications with the main body by establishing small fortified posts on the circuit. On the 17th, Amherst fixed on the point from which to begin his trenches for the main attack on the fortress, and work was forthwith begun. On the following day Wolfe, having by this time got up some heavy guns near the Lighthouse, opened fire first on the shipping, then on the Island Battery ; by the 25th the latter work was destroyed, and its fire ceased. This left the harbour open to the British war-ships ; but the French commander promptly met this emergency by sinking six of his ships across the narrowest part of the channel. From this time on the

story of the seige is one of slow but steady growth of the besiegers' works and batteries, and a corresponding increase of murderous fire. But the defenders were by no means idle. Frequent sallies were made, which kept the British troops on the *qui vive* of expectancy; the remaining ships in the harbour, so placed as to cover the weakest spots in the fortress, kept up a persistent fire, one little frigate of thirty-six guns, *L'Arethuse*, being especially ably handled, and galling and worrying the Britons with her well-directed cannonade. She was the first of the "Saucy Arethusa" family, and as well as her successors in the British service she deserves a generous share of the reputation which belongs to that name in naval annals. The fire from the fortress was heavy and well-judged, and allowed the enemy's approaches and works to be made only under cover of darkness, or the equally dense Cape Breton fog. Around the camp lurked small parties of Indians, who carried off stragglers, fired pot-shots at out-lying sentries, and generally did what damage they could. To add to the troubles of the besieging army, small-pox broke out among the artificers and carpenters, and nearly one hundred men of that most useful body fell victims to the scourge within a few days.

But from the first, unless a miracle had taken place, the fall of Louisbourg was almost a certainty. He was a plucky fellow, Monsieur le Chevalier de Drucour, and omitted nothing that would aid his cause, and hinder that of his opponents; but he was pitted against a man of singular pertinacity and resoluteness of purpose, and one who had a strong and confident army under his control. The siege of Louisbourg brought Amherst at one bound into the front rank of the general officers of his day, second only to his brigadier, Wolfe. Only five French ships remained in the harbour, and on the evening of the 21st three of these were destroyed by fire; four days later the remaining two were cut out by a detachment of six hundred seamen sent in from the blockading fleet. This disaster, combined with the burning of the main barracks, and the ruinous state of the ramparts and town, brought matters to a climax, and on the following day the French governor sent in proposals for a capitulation, claiming the honours-of-war,—as had been allowed, two years previously, by Marshal Richelieu to an English garrison on a somewhat similar occasion. After so gallant a defence, it is difficult to understand why Amherst should have refused this; but refuse it he did, and insisted that the garrison must surrender solely and absolutely as prisoners-of-war. This, at first indignantly refused by Drucour, was subsequently accepted; and on the 27th of July a British detachment

took possession of the West Gate, and the garrison delivered up their arms and colours. Stores were duly transferred, and the prisoners were sent to England on the 14th of the following month. The British loss in killed and wounded during the siege was five hundred and twenty-four officers and men, one hundred and seventy-two having been killed and three hundred and fifty-two wounded. Of the French army, about three hundred and thirty were killed and wounded ; the total number included in the capitulation was nine thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, of which about four thousand were inhabitants of the town. The ordnance and stores surrendered included two hundred and sixteen cannon, eighteen mortars, about twelve thousand rounds of shot and shell, and large quantities of ammunition for small-arms. The settlers, as a whole, appear to have been undisturbed in their lands and possessions, but the official correspondence mentions that twenty German families (Protestant) were removed to Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, then as now the leading German settlement in the province. During the progress of the siege most of the deserters to the British were Germans, who had doubtless been forced into the French service.

The victory was a most important one, and was the first of the closing acts of the tragedy of the Seven Years War. It practically annihilated a French army and a French fleet ; it wholly freed the Atlantic seaboard from the presence of the enemy ; and it enabled the British government to devote its energies to the conquest of *la Nouvelle France*. The bloody defeat of Abercomby at Ticonderoga on the 8th of July only accentuated the importance of the capture of Louisbourg ; despite such a check, success followed so close to Amherst and Wolfe that in little over a year British colours were flying over the ramparts of Quebec, and Canada was practically lost to France. The capture of Louisbourg in 1745 was a brilliant incident ; in 1758 it was a decisive event.

The official despatch announcing the victory reached England on the 18th of August, and evoked unbounded enthusiasm and demonstrations of joy. Captains Amherst and Edgecumbe, who brought the news, each received £500 from the king ; a general thanksgiving service was held in every church in England ; congratulatory addresses to His Majesty poured in from almost every city and town in the kingdom ; and on the 7th of September, the French colours given up after the capitulation were formally presented to the king, and then with great ceremony escorted to St. Paul's Cathedral, and deposited there for the nation. Boscawen and Amherst received the high honour of the official thanks of the Parliament of Great Britain, while Wolfe was promoted to the rank of

major-general, and his brilliant and heroic services throughout the siege resulted in his appointment to the chief command of the great expedition which immediately followed. Equally hearty was the joy in British America on receipt of the news. New York, Boston and Philadelphia vied with each other in demonstrations of pleasure, although, as Parkman tells us, in Boston "certain jealous souls protested against "celebrating a victory won by British regulars, and not by New England "men." But miserable curs such as these were strongly in the minority, and their whinings were little heeded. Wherever Britons and loyal subjects lived, and in every camp and garrison in British America, there was loud and heartfelt rejoicing.

The war over, Wolfe was the first to leave for new fields of activity ; with two regiments he sailed for Gaspé on the 28th of July. On the following day other battalions left for Halifax and more distant points, leaving a permanent garrison in Louisbourg of four regiments of the line,—the 22nd, 28th, 40th, and 45th,—all under command of Brigadier Whitmore. The fortress had held out too long to permit of the attack on Quebec in that season, but during the following winter and spring all needful preparations were made towards this crowning event. Louisbourg was the *rendezvous*, and on the 18th of May 1759, a superb fleet—representative of the best of England's naval and military services—entered the harbour. Here they remained over a fortnight, awaiting the arrival of the contingent from the New England colonies. During this time a special corps was formed from the garrison which had occupied the fortress during the preceding winter ; this corps was made up of the grenadier companies of the 22nd, 40th and 45th regiments, and was called "The Louisbourg Grenadiers." On the 1st of June, the imposing flotilla sailed for the scenes of its coming triumphs.

The garrison left in Louisbourg must have chafed bitterly under the inaction to which they were condemned while their late comrades were winning fame and glory in the west ; but there was no redress. Another winter was spent in the historic town, the last in its history as a fortress. Quebec had fallen, and Halifax had been established as the naval centre of Nova Scotia, and the new acquisitions of territory to the north and west ; so the demolition of the fortress of Louisbourg was decided on, and in the following March a company of Royal Sappers and Miners was despatched from Portsmouth to blow up the fortifications. Two of the infantry regiments in the garrison, the 22nd and 40th, were sent to join Amherst's army before Montreal ; the remaining one, the 45th, furnished daily working parties to assist the miners in their work

of destruction. The fortifications were utterly demolished, and the huge ditch filled with the debris; while everything of use and value,—stores, guns, ammunition and the like,—were taken to Halifax. The work was slow but sure, and the result was thus curtly announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1760: "On October 17 the last blast was given to the compleat demolition of the fortifications of "Louisbourg."

But the dismantling of the fortifications did not necessitate the immediate abandonment of the place as a military station. Lieut.-Col. Tulleskin of the 45th regiment, remained in command of a garrison of three hundred men, and the town—such as it was—continued to hold chief honours in the island. A barracks, hospital and a number of private buildings had been allowed to remain, and in September, 1762, the garrison participated in the successful expedition against St. Johns, Newfoundland, which had been captured by the French in the previous June; on the conclusion of hostilities the detachment returned to its former quarters in the ruined fortress. Even this small reminder of its former greatness as a garrison town soon disappeared. In 1768 the troops—at that time of the 59th regiment, under Major Milward—were ordered to Halifax *en route* for Boston, where the turbulence which preceded the rebellion was becoming offensive to the authorities. This left only twenty-six houses occupied in the town; and, indeed there were not many more fit for residential purposes. Of the one hundred and forty-two buildings which remained standing, sixty-nine were unfit for habitation, and sixty required repairs, leaving only thirteen in thoroughly good condition. It was still the capital of Cape Breton, but its power and influence had sunk to almost the lowest possible point; a marked instance of this retention of capital honours hand-in-hand with extreme poverty in population and influence is mentioned in Brown's history of the island, in that one resident, named Cottnam, gradually acquired in his own person a monopoly of almost all the official positions of authority and trust. By December, 1775, he had attained the height of dizzy fame in representing, at one and the same time, the Navy, the Army, and the Law; he was Naval Officer and Collector of Excise, Major-Commandant of Militia, Custodian of Fortifications and Public Buildings, Judge of Court of Common Pleas, Justice of the Peace, Stipendiary Magistrate, Commissioner for Assessing Taxes for Support of Militia, and Deputy to grant Passports. But even this shred of honour as capital of the island was taken away in 1784, when Cape Breton was separated politically from Nova Scotia, and formed into a new province. A

lieutenant-governor was appointed in the person of Major Desbarres, who had served with distinction in the second siege of Louisbourg ; he discarded that ruined and almost deserted town, and chose for his capital a site at the head of the south arm of the Spanish river, calling the new village Sydney, in honour of the then Secretary of State. This was the finishing blow to the fortunes of Louisbourg, and for the century and more which have since passed, the historic old place has slumbered out her existence as a petty fishing village. Of late, signs of a new life have been apparent ; and possibly the twentieth century may see the harbour and its rugged shores as busy and alive with men and ships as they were in the eighteenth, but differently employed. Commerce, not war, will be the motive power ; yet whatever changes may take place, the long past glories of the town can never be blotted out. The thoughts of soldier and student will alike go back to the days when the sharp crack of musketry and the heavy thunder of cannon sounded day after day over these waters and hills ; when these shores were trodden by men whose names are among the most honoured in British naval and military annals ; and when on this now shattered and useless fortress hinged the fate of half a continent.

Apart from the providential intervention which seems to have been specially exerted on behalf of the expedition and siege of 1745, and against the great French armament of the following year, the result of both sieges must be accounted for by the efficiency and valour of the British navy, and the thorough mastery it had over the sea-roads of north-eastern America. In this I imply no disparagement to the armies who fought Britain's battles in *Ile Royale*, both from Old England and from her American colonies ; their courage was of the highest type, and under leaders such as Pepperrell and Vaughan in '45, and Wolfe and Amherst in '58, they were worthy types of that matchless infantry, whose prowess and steadfastness have been immortalized by Napier. But the French defenders showed equal bravery and equal powers of endurance ; while the energies of their naval forces seemed paralyzed by the vigour and dashing courage of the seamen who fought under St. George's Cross. As was the case half a century later, the Britons blockaded their opponents in port, or went in and fought them ship by ship, or cruised about the coast seeking their adversaries. The records of naval history, our patriotism, and our pride of race unite in giving force to the claim that the best men won ; and their winning did much towards giving us the Canada of to-day.

In Memoriam.

THE HONORABLE SIR ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD,

K. C. M. G., P. C., Q. C., D. C. L.,

President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, &c.

BORN AT TRURO, N. S., 18TH MAY, 1814. DIED AT TRURO, 14TH JAN., 1893.

IN the decease of the eminent statesman and scholar to whom, from the inception of this Society to the termination of his connexion with it by death, it was largely indebted for the position achieved by it, and the prosperity which has marked its progress hitherto, and who departed this life while holding office as its President, the Nova Scotia Historical Society finds occasion for the expression of its profound sorrow and the offering of a well-merited tribute to his memory.

The name of ARCHIBALD is one of historic interest in Nova Scotia, having been early rendered famous by some who bore it, and more recently illustrated by the subject of this sketch.

ADAMS GEORGE was born at Truro, in this Province, on the 18th May, A. D. 1814, son of Samuel, whose father was James, who from June, 1796, held, for the remainder of his life, the office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Colchester, and whose grandfather, Samuel, was one of four brothers of Scottish extraction who, immigrating from the north of Ireland in 1761, received grants of land in Colchester County, and from whom numerous families now scattered throughout Nova Scotia trace their descent. Among those who have adorned this name, the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, at the time of his decease Master of the Rolls for the Province of Nova Scotia, stood pre-eminent; and of his sons one, Sir Thomas, became a Baron of the Exchequer in England, and another, Sir Edward, for many years the British Consul at New York, was knighted for distinguished service. The mother of Sir Adams was also an Archibald — Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew, coroner of Colchester (1776), and representative of that county in the General Assembly.

Adams George Archibald received his general education at Pictou Academy, under Dr. McCulloch, and pursued his legal studies with the late William Sutherland, Q. C., afterwards Recorder of Halifax. He was admitted an attorney in both P. E. Island and Nova Scotia in 1838; and in 1839 was called to the Bar of the latter Province. In 1851 he was elected to represent Colchester in the House of Assembly, and was continuously re-elected up to the date of the union of the Provinces in 1867. His career at that time was marked by assiduous attention to the business of the House, and to improvements in the course of legislation. He carried bills for regulating municipal assessments and for managing the gold fields of the province, greatly assisted in maturing the free school system of education now existing, and boldly, and with success, assailed the law of universal suffrage, and secured the restriction of the franchise to ratepayers. Mr. Archibald married (1st June, 1843,) Elizabeth A., daughter of the Rev. John Burnyeat - the first clergyman of the Church of England in the parish of St. John, Colchester - by his wife Lavinia, daughter of Charles Dickson and sister of Elizabeth the wife of the Hon. S. W. G. Archibald, before referred to. Mr. Archibald was himself, through family tradition and by personal adherence, a Presbyterian. He was created Queen's Counsel in or about the year 1855, was appointed Executive Councillor and Solicitor-General in 1856, and in 1860 Attorney-General. which office, with that of Advocate-General of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, received in 1862, he held until the defeat of the Government, of which he was a member, in 1863. In 1857, he was, in conjunction with the late Hon. J. W. Johnstone, commissioned a delegate to England to negotiate, with the British Government and General Mining Association, terms on which the monopoly of that Association in the coal areas of this province might be terminated, and the control of its mines and minerals fully assured to the province. A happy solution of a long-standing difficulty was then accomplished. In 1861 he was a delegate to a conference held at Quebec to discuss the question of an Inter-colonial Railway. In 1864, Mr. Archibald being then leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, seconded a resolution moved by Dr. Tupper, the leader of the Government, in favor of the appointment of delegates to confer with delegates from New Brunswick and P. E. Island on the subject of a legislative union of the three provinces. He attended as one of these delegates the conference held in Char-

lottetown, P. E. I., in June of that year, and, the question becoming merged in the larger one of a union of all the British American provinces, he was found later in the year at the Quebec Conference called to mature this measure, and, after ably advocating it in the legislature of this province, took an active part in securing its consummation at the final conference held in London in the winter of 1866-7. When, in 1867, the provinces became confederated as the Dominion of Canada, Mr. Archibald was appointed Secretary of State. Failing, however, to secure re-election by his old constituency, he resigned this office in 1868, but was returned to the House of Commons in 1869, and sat until May, 1870, when he was appointed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Manitoba. The circumstances of that province at the time required the exercise of just such qualities as Mr. Archibald possessed in a marked degree; a cool and sound judgment directing a potent will which effected its purposes through a manner of the utmost urbanity; and the results of his administration of affairs were eminently satisfactory. Having accomplished the pacification of the province and established its government on a constitutional footing, he resigned in 1873 and returned to Nova Scotia, where he was appointed Judge in Equity in succession to the Hon. J. W. Johnstone. This office he had held but a few days when on the 4th of July, 1873, he was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor of his native province, on the death of the Hon. Joseph Howe, who had been appointed but a short time previously. His courtier-like and dignified bearing, his high intellectual aspirations, his love of constitutional lore, the impartiality of his judgment, and the geniality of his disposition, well fitted him to adorn the position which he had now attained. He discharged its varied duties with the same skill and success which had characterized him in other spheres, and when the term of his appointment expired in 1878, he was requested, on the advice of the Hon. Alexander McKenzie, then Prime Minister of the Dominion, to continue in office, which he did, until July, 1883. He had, in 1872, been created by Her Majesty the Queen a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in recognition of the distinguished service rendered by him in Manitoba, and in 1886 he was made a Knight Commander of the Order in further token of his Sovereign's approval.

Retired from office, Sir Adams did not seek for absolute repose. His mind was of the order which ever aims at usefulness, and his

literary tendencies happily led him in the direction of such researches and discussions as this Society is designed to promote. King's College, Windsor, conferred upon him the honorary degree of D. C. L. in 1883. In 1884 he was chosen Chairman of the Board of Governors of Dalhousie College and University.

In February, 1886, Sir Adams accepted a nomination to the office of President of the Historical Society, and was duly elected thereto. Thenceforward it was the special object of his ambition, and increasing solicitude, so to contribute by his own endeavors, and so to stimulate the exertions of others, as that the objects for which the Society was formed might be thoroughly accomplished. He had already conferred upon it many favors and frequently benefitted it by his pen. He delivered, at the formation of the Society, the inaugural address printed in the first volume of the Society's collections. He contributed to our second volume an entertaining biographical sketch of Sir Alexander Croke, Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Halifax during the period covered by the Napoleonic wars; to our third volume an historical account of Government House; to our fourth a like story of the Province Building; to our fifth two papers on the Expulsion of the Acadians, and to our seventh a paper on the Exodus of the Negroes in 1791 with extracts from Clarkson's Journal,—possession of which he had obtained in one of his visits to England. He also from time to time read interesting papers which have not been published, as that in 1882, entitled: "A Chapter in the Life of Sir John Wentworth;" and again in 1884, "The Early Life of Sir John Wentworth;" and in 1886, a paper giving an account of Bermuda, from personal observation and research.

In 1888 a vacancy having occurred in the representation of Colchester through the appointment of the Honorable A. W. McLelan as Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Adams yielded to the solicitation of his friends and was again elected to the House of Commons. Advancing age, however, admonished him to decline a renewed nomination at the General Election in 1891, and he then permanently withdrew from public life.

As health failed and Sir Adams felt that his term of efficient service was near its close, desiring to retain office no longer than he could adequately fulfil its functions, he addressed a letter to the Secretary of this Society declining to be renominated for President

at the annual meeting in February, 1892. The Society, however, would not entertain the proposal and re-elected him by a cordial and unanimous vote.

What remains to be said is best presented in the following resolution, passed at a meeting specially convened on the 21st of December, 1892, on notice of his decease. It was moved by Peter Lynch, Esq., Q. C., his life-long friend and active associate in the Society, whose loss it has since been called to mourn, and seconded by Senator Power :

" *Whereas*, the Honorable Sir Adams George Archibald, K. C. M. G., was President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society from February, 1886, until his death on the 14th instant ;

" *And Whereas*, the deceased statesman took a deep and constant interest in this Society and its work from the occasion when he delivered its inaugural address in the Legislative Council Chamber on the 21st of June, 1878, to the close of his life ;

" *Therefore Resolved*, that this Society recognizes an irreparable loss in the death of its distinguished President, and desires to record its appreciation of the ability and research displayed in his numerous contributions to its collections, of his regular attendance at its meetings, of his genial dignity as its presiding officer, and of his industry and judgment and success in securing valuable papers for its meetings season after season.

" *And Further Resolved*, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Lady Archibald, and that the same be embodied in an obituary article to be published in the next volume to be issued by the Society."

Thus closed the career of this distinguished son of Nova Scotia in the fullness of days and of honors. His remains now rest in the quiet churchyard of his native town of Tuuro. He leaves no son to inherit his name, one on whom his hopes had centred having been cut off in early youth. Lady Archibald and three daughters survive him. One of these is married to the Right Reverend Bishop Jones of Newfoundland ; another to F. D. Laurie, Esquire, of Pictou, and the third, the wife of the Rev. Reginald Thomas Heygate, is resident in England.

PETER LYNCH, Q. C.

BORN AUGUST 25TH, 1815. DIED MAY 22ND, 1893.

MR. PETER LYNCH, who, at the time of his death, was a member of the Publication Committee of this Society, as well as a Library Commissioner, and who had formerly been a member of our Council, was born in Halifax in 1815, and died at his residence, 22 Tobin Street, on the 22nd of May, 1893, of pneumonia. He was educated by the Rev. Dr. Twining at the Halifax Grammar School, articled to Mr. J. W. Johnstone, (afterwards Judge in Equity,) called to the Bar October 31, 1837, and appointed Q. C. in 1868. In 1843 he was married to Emma, daughter of Alexander Creighton, Esq., of Halifax. Of his immediate family only his youngest daughter, the widow of Lieut. A. E. Wilby of the 61st Foot, survives him. Mr. Lynch's character and standing in his profession were high, and at one time his law business was considered to be the largest in the city. He served for many years as vestryman and church warden in St. Paul's Church, and was one of the founders of the Halifax Young Men's Christian Association.

Large and appreciative audiences used to gather at those meetings of our Society at which Mr. Lynch read his interesting papers, enlivened by his genial humour. These papers dealt chiefly with his varied remembrances and included "A Visit to Louisbourg," "Celebrated Persons who have visited Halifax," and four readings entitled: "Early Reminiscences of Halifax."

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

At a meeting of the N. S. Historical Society held December 12th 1893, the following resolution was submitted by the President, Mr. Richey, and on motion of F. B. Crofton, Esq., seconded by Hon. J. W. Longley, was unanimously adopted :—

Whereas, in the decease of Francis Parkman, late of Boston, Massachusetts, whose valuable contributions have largely served to elucidate the history of North America in the periods of its early settlement, and to present with equal fidelity and fascination the thrilling story of the strife between English and French for ascendancy here, all interested in the due preservation or faithful and vivid presentation of the facts of our history recognize that a great loss has befallen them, and it is fitting that the Nova Scotia Historical Society, which numbered him among its honorary members, should offer some tribute to his memory ;

Resolved, that this Society desires to give expression to its share in the sorrow which the event has produced wherever the learning and labors of Francis Parkman have been appreciated and their fruits enjoyed.

Endowed with rare abilities he devoted them with an assiduity equally rare to the collection of information regarding the men and movements of early times upon this continent, and to the cultivation of that literary excellence which enabled him to present in attractive form the result of his painstaking inquiries. To his works the student may repair with confidence in the accuracy of his delineations and delight in the charms of his style. He has smoothed the pathway for all who desire to follow in the track which he opened up, and has laid the friends of historical research under deep obligations. We mourn the loss which literature sustains and tender as a Society our respectful sympathy to those by whom, as most nearly connected with him him by social and family ties, the blow is most severely felt.

Further, Resolved, that this resolution be entered of record upon the minutes of this Society and published in the Transactions, and that a copy thereof be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEARS 1896-98.

VOLUME X.

HALIFAX, N. S. :
NOVA SCOTIA PRINTING COMPANY,
1899.

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OBJECTS OF COLLECTION.

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 other publications, relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

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

5. Information respecting articles of Pre-historic Antiquity, 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 Micmacs, 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 a 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, manuscript, etc., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, etc., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers we especially appeal on behalf of our Society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, etc., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.

RULES AND BY-LAWS.

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.

6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of February of each year, at 8 p. m., at which meeting there shall be chosen a President, three Vice-Presidents, a 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 on 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, etc., for publication, and their decision shall be final.

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OFFICERS
OF THE
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED 14th FEBRUARY, 1899.

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Vice-Presidents:

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Recording Secretary:

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

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| FORREST, REV. PRINCIPAL. | MACNAB, JOHN. |
| | MCNEIL, ALEXANDER. |

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MENGER, JOHN.	SHANNON, E. G.
MEYNELL, W. B.	SHORTT, ALFRED.
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XIII

THE
SLAVE IN CANADA.

BY

T. WATSON SMITH, D. D.,

HALIFAX, N. S.

XIV

Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year
one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, by THOMAS WATSON
SMITH, at the Department of Agriculture.

PREFACE.

THIS paper, read in part before the Nova Scotia Historical Society on March 18, 1898, is an attempt to supply a missing chapter in Canadian history—a sombre and unattractive chapter, it may be, but necessary nevertheless to the completeness of our records.

If instances given seem too numerous, it must be remembered that the scepticism of many of the best informed Provincials as to the presence at any time of Negro slaves on the soil of Canada has challenged the production, on the part of the author, of more repeated facts than he would otherwise have deemed necessary.

In the collection of these facts not a little difficulty has been encountered. Our historians have almost wholly ignored the existence of slavery in Canada. A few references to it are all that can be found in Kingsford's ten volumes; Haliburton devotes a little more than a half-page to it; Murdoch contents himself with the reproduction of a few slave advertisements; Clement, the author of the school history accepted by nearly all the provinces, dismisses it with a single sentence; and in the long manuscript catalogue of Canadian books, pamphlets and papers gathered during a long life-time by the late Dr. T. B. Akins—a large and very valuable collection—the word "slavery" nowhere appears, even as a sub-heading. Other historians and collectors in general have given little more attention to the subject. Further difficulty has arisen from the fact that complete files of our early newspapers—those of Nova Scotia at least—cannot be obtained. I have had, therefore, to be a patient and persistent and often disappointed gleaner.

In addition to those persons whose names appear in the body of this essay, the author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to the following gentlemen among others:

J. J. Stewart, Esq., Halifax, for the use of old Halifax papers.

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Also to W. H. Withrow, D. D., F. R. S. C., Toronto; S. D. Scott, Esq., St. John, N. B.; Israel Longworth, Esq., Q. C., Truro, N. S.; Hon. Wm. Ross, Halifax; John T. Mellish, Esq., Charlottetown, P. E. I.; and the custodians of public documents in several of the counties in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The following are some of the volumes and pamphlets consulted: Histories of Nova Scotia, by Haliburton and Murdoch; Kingsford's History of Canada; Calnek and Savary's History of Annapolis; Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe; Appleton's American Cyclopaedia; Sabine's American Loyalists; Canniff's Settlement of Upper Canada; Campbell's History of Yarmouth; Patterson's Life of James MacGregor; Hill's Memoir of Sir Brenton Haliburton; Gregg's Short History of Presbyterianism in Canada; Lawrence's Footprints; Johnson's First Things in Canada, and Place-Names in Canada; J. C. Hamilton's Paper on Slavery in Canada; Scadding's Toronto of Old; The Johns Hopkins Historical Series; Reports on Canadian Archives; Collections of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Niagara Historical Societies; Clarkson's Manuscript Journal; Mrs. Alice Morse Earle's Old New England and Old New York.

T. WATSON SMITH.

HALIFAX, N. S., *March 15, 1898.*

CHAPTER I.

SLAVERY IN CANADA PREVIOUS TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE
LOYALISTS IN 1783.

Slavery in Canada, as that extensive province was formerly defined, was of French institution. The first slave sale recorded in the colony was that at Quebec of a negro boy from Madagascar by David Kertk in 1628 for fifty half-crowns.¹ Kertk, the son of a Scotch father and French mother, and born at Dieppe, had gone to England ; and with several ships fitted out with the assistance of two brothers and other relatives, under a commission from the English king, had done serious damage to French interests at Port Royal, Quebec, and other points on the Atlantic seaboard.

In a local history, reference is made to the presence of Indian slaves at Montreal in 1670.² These slaves were known as Panis, members of a distant tribe, once numerous but greatly reduced in numbers by the attacks of more powerful Indian nations.³ Captured in war, and offered for sale by their captors at low prices, they had been purchased by Canadians at Detroit and other outlying posts, whence some of them had been carried towards the

¹ "First Things in Canada." In Colonial records Kertk is generally known as Sir David Kirke.

² "Memoires de la Societ  Historique de Montreal," 1869, p. 200.

³ Parkman calls them Pawnees, but Drake, in his "History of the Indians of North America," shows the Panis, or Tonicas, to have been a distinct tribe. In speaking of the origin of the "calumet," or peace-pipe, in his "Voyage dans l'Amerique," Charlevoix says that some Indians told him that it was given by the sun to Panis, a nation upon the Missouri. A few captives of other tribes were included in Canada under the name Panis.

Atlantic coast. They seem to have been more easy of control as domestic servants than members of some other native tribes of this continent, but the propensity of these wild children of the woods to run off, with the presence of the ever-adjacent forest as a constant temptation, greatly lessened their value.¹

Towards the close of the seventeenth century the French in Canada began to look about for laborers. In 1688 representations were made in more than one letter from high officials at Quebec to Louis XIV., through his Secretary of State, that laborers were so few and labor so costly in the colony that all enterprise was paralysed ; and that it was thought that the best remedy would be the importation of Negroes as slaves. The Attorney-general of Canada, then on a visit to Paris, confirmed this view, and assured the king that in case of his permission being given some of the inhabitants of the colony would be prepared to purchase slaves immediately upon their arrival from Guinea. As the result of these representations, with the suggested conversion of the heathen to the true faith as an additional motive for action, a royal mandate was issued in 1689, by which permission was given Canadians to avail themselves of the services of African slaves ; the king, however, taking time, in spite of the gaieties of Versailles, to remind the Sieur de Frontenac, governor of the colony which had so vexed the royal mind, that the experiment which Denonville and de Champigny had urged was not without peril through the rigor of the climate ; and to advise consequent caution.

The issuance of the desired mandate was soon followed by the importation and sale of Negroes ; but the demand proved less pressing than had been expected. By an ordinance dated Nov. 13th, 1705, these Negroes were made moveable property. Another ordinance, issued in April,

¹ Parkman's "Old Regime in Canada," p. 388.

1709, by Jacques Raudot, intendant at Quebec, and read at the close of mass in certain churches in Quebec, repeated the king's permission to hold slaves, stated that Negroes and Panis had been procured as slaves, and added that, to remove all doubt as to ownership, it was declared that all Panis or Negroes who had been so bought or held should belong to the persons so owning them, in full proprietorship.¹ Most of these Negroes had been landed at Jamaica or other West India islands from English slave-ships: a very few may have been stealthily brought in from English colonies on the mainland. Kingsford states that of several young Canadians prosecuted in 1718 by the Quebec authorities on account of their relations with the English at Albany, maintained by way of Lake Champlain, one, M. de la Decouverte, had made himself remarkable by having brought to Montreal "a Negro slave and some silverware."² The continued legal recognition of the system is evident from several royal declarations respecting slaves in the colony, bearing dates 1721, 1742 and 1745; and from an ordinance of Intendant Hocquart, issued in 1736, regulating the manner of emancipating slaves in Canada. In parish records for 1755-56 both Negroes and Panis are mentioned; and slaves were often described in legal and other notices and documents of that day as "Negroes, effects and merchandise."

In the system of bondage thus instituted in Canada under French rule no change took place through the transfer of the colony to the English crown. It had been provided by the 47th article of the capitulation of Canada in 1760 that all Negroes and Panis should remain in their condition as slaves; and no hesitation on the part of the English authorities could have been feared, since, by an

¹ J. C. Hamilton, LL B., "Transactions of Canadian Institute," Vol. 1.

² "History of Canada," Vol. 2, p, 507.

act of the British Parliament in 1732, houses, lands, Negroes and real estate had been made liable for sale as assets to satisfy the claims of their owners' creditors.

Slaves were brought into Nova Scotia at an early period.¹ The prevalent impression that they were first introduced into the province by the Loyalists has no foundation in fact. That any were brought to the earliest English capital, Annapolis, or to Canseau, a point of much importance, is uncertain, as no records kept by the earliest Episcopal chaplain at the former place are to be found: as to the presence of slaves at Halifax a year or two after its settlement there can be no question. A letter written at Halifax in September, 1759, of which copies have been preserved in several families, contains an interesting reference to their employment. The writer was Malachy Salter, Esq., a Halifax merchant, and the person addressed was his wife, then visiting relatives at Boston. Mr. Salter, from New England and previously engaged in the fisheries, had visited Chebucto harbor five years before Cornwallis had arrived to rob it of its attractive Indian name; and soon after the advent of the original English settlers in 1749 he had established himself in business in the new town,² where he became one of its first representatives in the colonial legislature, and the leading manager of the affairs of the Protestant Dissenting congregation, of which St. Matthew's Presbyterian church is the present

¹ In the census of the French in Acadie, prepared by M. de Meulles in 1686, there occurs at the end of the list of settlers at Cape Sable the name "La Liberté, le neigre." This negro was in all probability an escaped slave who had found his way thither from one of the English colonies. Extracts from this census of M. de Meulles, the Intendant of New France, who at this time visited Acadia, are given by Murdoch in his History, vol. 1, pp. 168-172. Ironical as the term may appear, slaves were sometimes called "Liberty" in the Southern States.

² Dr. T. B. Akins, in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 8, p. 235. In 1759 Mr. Salter was a magistrate and member of the House of Assembly. His residence then, or a very little later, was at the corner of Salter and Barrington streets, in the dwelling afterwards owned by the Hon. Wm. Lawson, and later by John Esson, Esq.

successor. Through the absence of Mrs. Salter, the good man had learned what husbands are apt to learn only in such circumstances—that housekeeping or homekeeping has its peculiar worries. Malachy Salter, Jr., and the other little Salters were well and lively; Hagar, the cook—undoubtedly a slave—had done her best to please her master by maintaining his credit as a generous as well as frequent entertainer; but the worthy magistrate had found more than his match in the boy Jack. “Jack is Jack still,” he wrote to Mrs. Salter, “but rather worse. I am obliged to exercise the cat or stick almost every day. I believe Halifax don’t afford another such idle, deceitful villain. Pray purchase a Negro boy, if possible.”

The purchase of a Negro boy at that day in New England must have been easily possible. Slaves were more numerous at the time in Connecticut and Rhode Island than in Massachusetts, but in the latter province their number was by no means small. The General Court of the province in 1646, in its strong opposition to the “hainous and crying sinn of man-stealing,” had undertaken to send back to “Gynny,” with a letter of explanation and apology, some negroes who had been kidnapped and brought to New England; but rage at the cruelty of the savage red men, leading to the shipping of Indian captives to the West Indies for sale there, and the extreme difficulty of obtaining “help” for in-door and out-door work, soon blunted the feelings of the New England Puritan. In spite of the prohibition of “bond slaverie, villinage,” and other feudal servitude by the ninety-first article of the Body of Liberties, in less than half a century he adopted the universal and unquestioned practice of Christian nations, and negro slavery flourished in New England as in Virginia; Newport, in Rhode Island, being the northern centre of the African trade, and from 1707 to 1732 a tax of three guineas being

imposed on each Negro imported into the colony. In 1687 a French refugee wrote home: "You may also here own Negroes and Negresses. There is not a house in Boston, however small be its means, that has not one or two. . . . Negroes cost from twenty to forty pistoles." Advertisements of slave transactions, surpassing in heartlessness those of Southern journals in more recent days, furnished an important part of the revenue of the New England newspaper of the eighteenth century. In the *Weekly Rehearsal* in 1737 Samuel Pewter informed the public that he would sell horses for ten shillings if the horse sale were accomplished, and five shillings if he endeavored to sell and could not; and for Negroes "sixpence a pound on all he sells, and a reasonable price if he does not sell."¹

Some opponents of the system—and many persons in New England were in accord with Judge Sewall, the writer in 1700 of "The Selling of Joseph," the first anti-slavery tract published in America—were influenced by the motive which in part had prompted Louis XIV. to permit the introduction of slavery into Canada—the turning of the heathen from their idols. The genuineness of the motive may sometimes have been open to question, as in the case mentioned by Mrs. Earle of a respectable Newport elder who sent many a profitable venture to the Gold Coast for "black ivory," and always gave thanks in meeting on the Sunday after the safe arrival of a slaver "that a gracious overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessing of a Gospel dispensation." On the other hand, the efforts made by ministers and laymen—themselves slave-holders—for the spiritual benefit of such slaves prove their citation of "Moses and the

¹"Customs and Fashions in Old New England," by Alice Morse Earle, pp. 87-89.

prophets" as authorities to have been sincere, and their words to have been no mere "cloak of covetousness."

The presence of a young Negro slave in Halifax in 1759 would not have caused any great excitement among its citizens. It is possible that a few Negroes may have accompanied the original settlers of the town over the ocean. The number of unnamed male "servants" connected with the families of certain individuals—ten in one case belonging to that of a shipwright—is otherwise difficult of explanation. Their employment in the work incident to the building of a city on a site so rocky as that selected would be reasonable, while the great number of "slaves or servants for life"—as they were termed in legal documents of that period—to be at all times found in ports of the United Kingdom would render their transfer across the ocean easy of accomplishment. That slaves were present about that period at Halifax, whether from Britain or from New England, is certain, since in September, 1751, when the pressure of building operations had become lighter, the *Boston Evening Post* advertised: "Just arrived from Halifax and to be sold, ten strong, hearty Negro men, mostly tradesmen, such as caulkers, carpenters, sailmakers and ropemakers. Any person wishing to purchase may inquire of Benjamin Hallowell of Boston."

The name of one slave who in 1752 trod the streets of Halifax may be found in a will made on February 28 of that year and preserved among the probate records of the city. In this document the testator, Thomas Thomas, "late of New York, but now of Halifax," having arranged for the disposition of all his "goods, chattels and negroes," his plate excepted, of which he should "die possessed in New York," adds: "But all my plate and my negro servant Orange, that now lives with me at Halifax, I leave and bequeath to my son."

Still more suggestive of slavery in its most sombre aspects is an advertisement in the *Halifax Gazette* for May 15, 1752: "Just imported, and to be sold by Joshua Mauger, at Major Lockman's store in Halifax, several Negro slaves, as follows: A woman aged thirty-five, two boys aged twelve and thirteen respectively, two of eighteen and a man aged thirty."¹ And in 1760, the year following that in which Malachy Salter's letter was written, citizens of Halifax read in their paper of November 1st: "To be sold at public auction, on Monday, the 3rd of November, at the house of Mr. John Rider, two slaves, *viz.*, a boy and a girl, about eleven years old; likewise, a puncheon of choice cherry brandy, with sundry other articles."² Thirteen years later, when the property of Joseph Pierpont was being disposed of at the same popular auction mart, his slave "Prince" was reserved for private sale. Other sales of slaves by auction had, however, taken place during the intervening period, for in 1769, an advertisement appeared in the Halifax paper, which stated that "on Saturday next, at twelve o'clock, will be sold on the Beach, two hogsheads of rum, three of sugar and two well-grown negro girls, aged fourteen and twelve, to the highest bidder."³

The Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A., of St. John, N. B., furnishes an extract from an original letter, which indicates the presence of a slave at the large business

¹ Joshua Mauger had been in business at Louisburg, but when that place was restored to the French in 1749 he removed his stock of goods to Halifax, where he was a merchant and distiller, and in 1851 agent victualler to the navy of Halifax. After having been one of the leading merchants of the province he went to England, where he acted as Provincial agent for Nova Scotia and secured a seat in Parliament

² In the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society a fyle of the *Halifax Gazette*, extending over three years, may be seen, but no fyles from 1755 to 1760 are known to be in existence. See Mr. J. J. Stewart's admirable paper on "Early Journalism in Nova Scotia," in volume 6 of "Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society."

³ "Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton," by Rev. Dr. Hill, p. 56.

establishment of Messrs. Simonds & White at the mouth of the St. John River in June, 1767. During that month James Simonds wrote to Messrs. Hazen & Jarvis, partners at Newburyport, Mass: "We have promised thirty to forty hogsheads of lime to Mr. Best, of Halifax, and hourly expect a vessel for it, and have encouragement of a contract for the King's works; expect nothing but to disappoint him, as that rascal negro, West, cannot be flattered or drove to do one-fourth of a man's work; shall give him a strong dose on Monday morning which will make him better or worse; no dependence can be put on him." If Thomas West were a slave, and free Negroes were rare in America at that day, he may be regarded as the first slave laborer on New Brunswick soil. On the printed form on which the census returns of the "Settlement at the Harbor of St. John River" for 1775 were made was no separate column for Negroes, such as may be found in some similar blanks of that period.

During the subsequent years of the period under review, advertisements respecting slaves continued to appear in the Halifax weekly paper. In such files as have been preserved are several notices of sale and numerous offers of rewards for the apprehension of runaways. In the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* of March 28, 1775, a "likely, well-made Negro boy, about sixteen years old," is offered for sale; and in the issue of the same paper for January, 1779, attention is called to an "able Negro wench, about twenty-one years of age, capable of performing both town and country work, and an exceedingly good cook," also to be disposed of. A little later two other Negro girls were advertised for sale, one of them about twenty-two years of age, the other about fourteen. In all these cases intending purchasers were directed to "apply for further information to the printer."

Advertisements of absconding slaves at this time were

somewhat numerous, and annexed cautions to sea captains indicate the most common method of escape. In 1773 Jacob Hurd, whose name is still attached to a lane in Halifax, offered a reward of five pounds, with the payment of all necessary charges, for the apprehension of his runaway Negro—Cromwell—described as a “short, thick-set, strong fellow,” badly marked by smallpox, “especially on the nose,” and having on when he went away as a part of his grotesque apparel a green cloth jacket and a cocked hat. A smaller sum was also offered for any trustworthy intelligence concerning his movements. During the autumn of 1780 two similar rewards were offered: in the first instance one of three guineas for the apprehension and delivery at the office of the Commanding Engineer at Halifax of two runaway Negro men; in the second a “handsome reward” to be paid by Benjamin DeWolfe, Esq., of Windsor, to any one securing a Negro boy named Mungo, “about fourteen years old and well built,” in “some of His Majesty’s jails,” and “notifying his said owner or sending him home.” In a newspaper of the following year Abel Michener, of Falmouth, promised five pounds for the capture of a Negro named James, and Samuel Mack, of Port Medway, Queen’s county, a smaller sum for the return to him of another, known as “Chance.” A year later the master of the transport ship “Friends” notified the public of the departure of his Negro lad, Ben, and requested all masters of vessels not to ship him as a seaman, as, said Captain Wilson, “he is my own property.”

One other instance may be given, as the odd name of the heroine obtained a place in the local journal of that day and also in the records of the probate court: “Ran away from her master, John Rock, on Monday, the 18th day of August last, a Negro girl named Thursday, about four and a half feet high, broad-set, with a lump over her

right eye. Had on when she went away a red cloth petticoat, a red-baize bed-gown, and a red ribbon about her head. Whoever may harbour said Negro girl, or encourage her to stay away from her said master, may depend upon 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 with two dollars reward for their trouble."¹ Poor Thursday's liberty, in consequence of her conspicuous outfit, or the cupidity of some mean-spirited individual, proved short; for in the "inventory of the late John Rock," as recorded in the Halifax probate court in 1776, this item—"A Negro wench, named Thursday," appears in a very varied list of property. The poor slave girl was valued by the appraisers at twenty-five pounds, Nova Scotia currency; but the executors in their final account of the estate report her as sold to John Bishop for only twenty pounds.

Other interesting facts in relation to slavery may be gathered from these old court records. The executors of the estate of John Margerum, deceased, acknowledge the receipt of £29 9s. 4½d—"nett proceeds of a Negro boy sold at Carolina" in 1769. In their report, 1770, from the estate of Joseph Gerrish of Halifax, the executors announce a loss of thirty pounds on three Negroes appraised at one hundred and eighty pounds, but actually sold for one hundred and fifty to Richard Williams and Abraham Constable. In the same account occurs an item

¹ John Rock seems to have been a citizen of some repute. In January, 1756, he obtained the license to run the ferry between Halifax and Dartmouth. The records of St. Paul's church show that occasional meetings of the wardens and vestry were held at his residence. In a list of donors to St. Paul's his name stands second, but for the largest amount—seven hundred pounds. This list may be seen near the entrance to the church. The name of John Margerum, mentioned in the next paragraph, appears on a stone marking his grave in the old St. Paul's cemetery in this city. The date of his death, 1763, and the inscription "Christ gave Himself a sacrifice for all," is on the stone.

of mixtures: "By sundry wine, cloathing, linnen, stationary, a Negro Boy named John Fame, two coach horses, one post-chaise and harness divided among the heirs as per Inventory."

Certain names associated with a codicil added to her will in April, 1770, by Mrs. Martha Prichard, widow, of Halifax, give it some degree of interest. By this codicil Mrs. Prichard bequeathed to her daughter Eleanor, wife of Moses Delesdernier—one of the original grantees of Windsor, but then resident at Sackville, Cumberland county, a Negro slave woman named Jessie. If at the end of a year's probation the daughter should not wish to retain the slave the executors were to dispose of her and place the proceeds in Mrs. Delesdernier's hands. In case the lady should prefer to retain her, the slave was to become, at the lady's decease, the property of her son, Ferdinand. According to the same codicil Mrs. Prichard gave to Mrs. Delesdernier's daughter Martha, in subsequent years wife of the well-known Richard John Uniacke, a mulatto slave, John Patten, two and a half years old, for whose maintenance, until he should be old enough to pay his own way by labor and service, the executors, Messrs. John and Henry Newton and Benjamin Green, Jr.,—all leading citizens of the capital—were to make adequate provision out of the funds of the estate. In 1779 Daniel Shatford, a school teacher who had reached Halifax from New York soon after the arrival of Cornwallis's fleet, willed to his wife his "Negro man slave," Adam; Adam at the wife's death to become the property of the testator's daughter, Sarah Lawson.

It will already have been seen that Halifax had not a monopoly in the slave business. In other parts of the province slaves were also held. In one of the early registry books at Bridgetown may be found the conveyance of a "Mulotta" girl, Louisa, sold in July, 1767, by

Charles Proctor of Halifax, merchant, for fifteen pounds currency to Mary Wood of Annapolis, wife of the Rev. Thomas Wood, and by Mrs. Wood "assigned over" to her daughter, Mrs. Mary Day, during the following year.¹ According to the census returns of January 1, 1771, seven Negroes were owned in the township of Annapolis. Magdalen Winniett was the possessor of a man, woman and girl; Joseph Winniett of a woman and boy; and Ebenezer Messenger and Ann Williams each of a man:² John Stork, of Granville, was the owner of a man, the only Negro, according to the census, to be found in that township. In the previous year Henry Evans, of Annapolis, was also the proprietor of a colored girl. In 1776, a Windsor farmer, Joseph Wilson, devised to his wife, with one half of his real estate, the two Negro women, Byna and Sylla, for her use and benefit during her life, at the termination of which, with the "messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments and barns," the slave women were to become the property of his son Jonathan, "his heirs and assigns for ever." One of the witnesses of this will was Isaac Deschamps, afterwards chief justice of the province.

Some idea of the cash value of slaves may be obtained from the account presented in 1780 by the executors of the estate of Colonel Henry Denny Denson, one of the original proprietors of West Falmouth, a section of which still bears the name of Mount Denson. For "Spruce" they had received seventy-five pounds, for "John" sixty pounds, and

¹ Thomas Wood was one of the earliest missionaries sent to Nova Scotia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In a document dated 1773 he calls himself "Vicar of the Church of St. Paul at Halifax, at present residing at Annapolis."

² Ann Williams was the wife of Thomas Williams, commissary and ordnance storekeeper at Annapolis, who in a list of the previous year was named as the owner of slaves. Thomas and Ann Williams were the grandparents of Sir William Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, and lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia in 1866-67.

for "Juba" thirty. Two of these slaves were sold to buyers or dealers in Halifax, as the estate is charged with £2. 11s. 6p., paid a man for taking them to the city and delivering them there.

A recorded document, dated Truro, 1779, proves complicity with slavery on the part of the early Scotch-Irish settlers in Nova Scotia, the larger number of whom had come by way of Pennsylvania and other Middle American provinces. Through this paper Matthew Harris of Pictou, yeoman, "bargains, sells, aliens and forever makes over" unto Matthew Archibald of Truro, tanner, his heirs and assigns, "all the right, property, title or interest he now has or hereafter may pretend to have to one Negro boy named Abram, about twelve years of age, born of Harris's Negro slave in Harris's house in Maryland." For this boy Harris received fifty pounds. According to a census of the township of Onslow, in 1771, the Rev. James Lyon, sent to Nova Scotia in 1764 as the first Presbyterian minister of the province, by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, in New Jersey, had a colored boy, the only Negro then in the township. In a will proved in 1791, Richard McHeffey of Windsor, farmer, a member of another leading Scotch-Irish family, "gives and bequeaths" his "negro wench, Clo'," to his son Joseph, after the decease of the son's mother. Of the same origin, it is probable, was John Huston, of Cornwallis, who in 1787 "gave and bequeathed" to his "dear and well-beloved wife" his "Negro man named Pomp, and all the live stock, utensils, and implements," etc., of which at the time of his decease he should be owner.

By the settlers of New England origin in the large county of Kings, which then included the present county of Hants and a large district now included in Cumberland county, the use of slave help seems to have been readily accepted. In one line in an "inventory of all and singular

the goods and chattels of John Porter, late of Cornwallis, deceased, signed in 1784 by leading men of the township, are these items : " One grain fan, fifteen shillings ; one negro man, eighty pounds ; books, thirty shillings." As those of kind and thoughtful slave-owners may be quoted the well-known names of Jonathan Shearman and Benjamin Belcher, both of Cornwallis. The first of these, in a will dated in 1809, when slaves had become virtually free, makes as a condition of his will the maintenance by his wife and daughter of " my Negro woman, Chlœ, comfortably during her life, should she remain with them as heretofore." The will of Mr. Belcher, made in 1801, shows his slaveholding to have been upon a more extensive scale ; and to have been conducted, according to the circumstances of that day, with a solicitude for the higher interests of his slaves in harmony with his position as a leading manager of the affairs of the parish church. In a section of this will his executors are instructed : " I give and bequeath my Negro woman to my beloved wife during her lifetime and after her death at her disposal ; I give and bequeath my Negro boy called Prince to my son, Stephen Belcher, during his life, after that to his eldest surviving son ; I give my Negro girl called Diana to my daughter, Elizabeth Belcher Sheffield, and after her death to her eldest male heir of her body ; I give my Negro man named Jack and my Negro boy Samuel and Negro boy James and Negro girl called Chlœ to my son Benjamin and his heirs for ever ; charging these my children unto whom I have entrusted these Negro people with never to sell, barter or exchange them or any of them under any pretension except it is for whose bad and heinous offences as will not render them safe to be kept in the family, and that to be adjudged of by three Justices of the Peace in said Township, and in such case on their order they may be sold and disposed of. And I further request that as soon

as these young Negroes shall become capable to be taught to read, they shall be learnt the Word of God."¹

In the extensive county of Cumberland, which then included all the lands in Nova Scotia lying north of King's county and a large portion of the present province of New Brunswick, but few slaves could at this period be found. These had been brought from the other colonies, at the close of the final conflict with France and her Indian allies on the Canadian border, by Captain Sennacherib Martyn and other officers of disbanded colonial corps to whom lands were granted about 1760 in the township of Cumberland, between the rivers Aulac and La Planche. Of the presence of slaves among other settlers from the neighboring colonies but slight mention has been made. The one representative of the colored race in the township of Amherst in 1771—a boy—was in the possession of John Young. For a number of years the sturdy English immigrants from Yorkshire held themselves aloof from slave-help, but tradition and record combine to prove occasional complicity with an institution for which in general they had little favor. Mention is yet made of a slave owned by William Bulmer, called "Black Jack" from the intensity of his complexion, to whom freedom was given on the death of his owner in 1792. Thomas Watson, of Fort Lawrence, said in a document of 1774 to be "late of Yorkshire," and known to be sheriff of Cumberland county in 1783, in 1796 bequeathed to a daughter money, silver and china ware, "together with the Negro girl called Sarah," who was known at a very advanced age by a subsequent generation as "Sally Surrey."

¹ In Connecticut, from which colony a number of settlers came to Nova Scotia about 1760, it had been enacted that all masters and mistresses of Indian children should use their utmost endeavors to teach them to read English and to instruct them in the Christian faith. Probably the same law was supposed to apply to Negro children.

James S. More, in his history of Queen's county, states that the earlier colored people of Liverpool came with their masters from New England rather as servants than as slaves. "Violet," who belonged to Colonel William Freeman, was said to have been an African princess, who with her attendants had been kidnapped while gathering wild flowers, and carried over the ocean amid the horrors of the crowded hold of a slave-ship. "There are no records of slave sales in Queens county," says Mr. More, but, he adds, "bondmen and bondwomen were treated with the kindness which greatly tempered the evils of slavery during its existence in the more northern settlements at the time." No documents, it is understood, indicate the presence of any slaves at this period among the German settlers in the county of Lunenburg, though according to tradition one or more were held by Colonel Creighton, one of the most distinguished men of the county.

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY IN CANADA AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE LOYALISTS IN 1783.

In preceding pages African slavery has been shown to have been established by France in Quebec in 1689. Its presence in Nova Scotia, some sixty years later, and its gradual extension under the tacit permission of law and sanction of society have also been illustrated by numerous instances. Having thus reached a position of partial establishment, it seemed possible that the immense Loyalist inrush of 1783-85 would lead to its acceptance as an inevitable part and parcel of the social arrangements of the several colonies, and secure for it a permanent place in British American life.

Of the great number of Negroes arriving in the remaining British provinces with the Loyalists, a large section consisted of freedmen, most of whom had escaped from rebel masters at the South. British generals—Sir Henry Clinton in particular—had offered protection to all such slaves fleeing within their lines, and numbers of these had reached New York after having served the British in various capacities. One Negro corps, the Black Pioneers, had rendered military service; and nearly every Loyalist corps, it is said, had representatives of the African race in its ranks as musicians, buglers and pioneers. The vigilance and soldierly conduct of one of these, Black Barney, a bugler in the Queen's Rangers, a Loyalist regiment settled at the close of the war in New Brunswick, on one occasion in Virginia saved a portion of the corps and called for a warm tribute from Colonel Simcoe, the

officer in command.¹ Throughout the Revolutionary war the presence of the large slave element proved an aid to the British and a corresponding embarrassment to Washington and his generals. General John A. Logan has asserted that "the half a million of slaves, nearly all of them in the Southern States, were found to be not only a source of weakness, but through the incitements of British emissaries a standing menace of peril to the slaveholders." "Thus it was," adds Gen. Logan, "that the South was overrun with hostile armies, while in the North—comparatively free from this element of weakness—disaster after disaster met them."²

At the termination of the war the two thousand escaped slaves in New York were seized with consternation in consequence of a rumor that they—some of whom had been with the British for three or four years—were to be delivered up to their former owners. Terrible confirmation of the rumor seemed to be afforded by the presence in New York of slave-owners from Virginia, the Carolinas and other parts of the South, who were known to be seizing their former slaves in the streets and even to be dragging them from their beds. To allay this terror, the British Commander-in-chief, Sir Guy Carleton, issued a proclamation guaranteeing their liberty to all slaves who, when taking refuge within the British lines, had formally claimed the protection publicly offered by British commanders. To a demand by Washington for the restoration of all fugitives to their former owners, Sir Guy, throughout whose whole career moderation, justice and prudence, as well as genius, can everywhere be recognized, replied, declining to violate faith with the Negroes, more especially as it "would be delivering them up, some possibly to execution and some others to severe punishments"; and

¹ See paper read by Jonas Howe, St. John, N. B., several years ago.

² "Magazine of American History," Vol. 15, p. 57.

observing that, if the sending them away should hereafter be deemed an infraction of the treaty, compensation must be made to the owners by the British government, in view of which event he had directed a register to be kept of all Negroes sent away, specifying the name, age and occupation of each slave, and the name and place of residence of his former master. "Had these Negroes," he concluded, "been denied permission to embark, they would, in spite of any means to prevent it, have found various methods of quitting this place, so that the former owner would no longer have been able to trace them, and of course would have lost in every way all chance of compensation."¹

This arrangement having been reached, each fugitive received a certificate which dispelled his fears; and in a short time, in transports provided by the commander-in-chief, a large number were conveyed to Burchtown, near Shelburne, Nova Scotia, where they received lands as soon as these could be surveyed for them, and, for three years, if not for a longer period, such rations as were distributed by the British government to the Loyalists in general. About the same time other liberated slaves were brought in British warships direct from Charleston, S. C., to Halifax, whence part of them made their way to lands promised them at Shelburne and Preston. Other freed blacks were similarly settled at Digby, St. John, and adjacent points. It was to these freedmen, at the sollicita-

¹Judge Jones, in his "Loyalist History of New York," says that Congress and the legislatures of the several States eagerly accepted Sir Guy Carleton's proposal. He adds:—"A valuation was made and approved of. The money, it is true, has never been paid. What occasioned it? *An absolute refusal on the part of the Americans to comply with a single article in the treaty in favor of the Loyalists.*" The articles referred to by Judge Jones were numbers five and six, providing for restoration to Loyalists of confiscated estates and protecting against future conscription and confiscation, etc. This counter refusal on the part of the British was probably one cause of the hostility on the part of the South towards Great Britain which led to the war of 1812, in opposition to the well-known wishes of the people of the Northern States.

tion of their representative to England—Thomas Peters, a former sergeant in the Black Pioneers, that Lieutenant John Clarkson of the Royal Navy, a brother of the celebrated Thomas Clarkson of anti-slavery fame, was sent to Nova Scotia in 1791 by the Sierra Leone Company to arrange, at the expense of the British government, for the transportation of all freedmen desirous of removal to the new African colony; as the result of which mission a fleet of fifteen ships with eleven hundred and eighty Negroes on board, from various parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, sailed from Halifax on January 15, 1792, for Sierra Leone.

The still-enslaved Negroes brought by the Loyalist owners to the Maritime Provinces in 1783-84 were classed as "servants" in some of the documents of the day. Lists of Loyalist companies bound for Shelburne, made out, it is probable, under the direction of British officers whose dislike to the word "slave" would lead them to use the alternative legal term, contain columns for "men women, children and servants," the figures in the "servants" column being altogether disproportionate to those in the preceding columns. 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 these being owned by four families. Stephen Shakspeare was accompanied by twenty servants, and Charles Oliver Breuff, goldsmith of New York, who died many years later at Liverpool, by fifteen. The brothers James and Alexander Robertson, publishers in New York and afterwards at Shelburne of the *Royal American Gazette*, brought twenty, and Alexander Robertson, jr., of Pennsylvania, six servants with his family of four persons. Isaac Wilkins, of Westchester county, New York, a brother-in-law of Lewis Morris—one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and father

and grandfather of two highly respected Nova Scotia judges of the supreme court bearing the name of Lewis Morris Wilkins, is said to have brought a number of slaves to the beautiful spot on the shores of Shelburne harbor called by his family Ridge Vale, but popularly known for many years as "Wilkins's Folly." Col. Simeon Perkins, a leading man of Liverpool, wrote in his private diary, May 7, 1783: "Two small schooners from Halifax with people for Port Roseway came in here in the night. A Colonel Campbell is in one of them. He is said to be a man of property; has several slaves with him."

Official lists show that with Loyalists making permanent or temporary homes in the central and lower sections of the fertile Annapolis valley came numerous slaves, and that a good number also accompanied those exiles to whom were granted lands on or near the picturesque site of Digby. The names of proprietors owning but one or two "servants" are too many for repetition. At Wilmot, early in 1784, were Beverley Robinson, lieutenant-colonel in the recently disbanded Loyal American regiment, with seven servants above ten years and two below that age; Thomas Barclay, his brother-in-law, major in the same corps, with seven slaves; Isaac Allen, previously of Trenton, N. J., and late lieutenant-colonel of the Second Battalion New Jersey Volunteers, with seven; and Timothy Ruggles, Esq., of previous distinguished service and subsequent honorable provincial record, with three. At Granville were Richard Betts, Charles Coulborne, George Cornwell, J. T. deSt. Croix, Abel Hardenbrook, Thomas Robblee, each with three slaves; Edward Winslow, with four; and Christopher Benson and John Hicks, each with six. Among the names of slave-holders at Annapolis appeared those of Frederick Davoue, Andrew Ritchie, David Seabury, Lieut. J. Reid, Abel Morrison,

and Mrs. Kane, with three each ; O'Sullivan Sutherland and Joseph Totten, each with four ; the widow S. Grant and George Sutherland, each with five ; and Mrs. Chandler, with six servants. According to the returns from Cléments and Moose River, Captain Douwe Ditmars was the owner of four slaves ; Gabriel Purdy, of five ; James De Lancey, lieutenant-colonel of the disbanded First Battalion New Jersey Volunteers, of six ; and John Ditmars, of seven. John Bridgewater, and Captain deMolitor—late in the Anspach service, settlers at Bear River, respectively possessed three and four servants. James Hatfield and some others at Digby had three slaves each ; John Burkitt and Richard Hill, five each ; Major Robert Timpany, the Irish school-teacher and brave soldier, five ; and James Hughstone, six. On the Digby roll also were "Pompey, Absalom, Charles—Negroes, slaves to Captain Isaac Young, who is gone to New York for his family."¹ In this enumeration of "slaves or servants for life," as ran the legal phrase, no free Negroes are included.

In smaller numbers slaves had been carried to other parts of Nova Scotia. Among the exiles establishing themselves at Westchester, Cumberland, Minudie, Baronsfield, and other points in the county of Cumberland, were several slaves, while a larger number of Negro bondmen could be counted in the vicinity of Parrsboro'. At Cornwallis and Horton, Windsor, Newport and Kennetcook were also numerous servants ; one owner, John Grant, previously of Brooklyn, New York, having taken nine of various ages to Loyal Hill, in the neighborhood of the last-named settlement. About that time came also to Musquodoboit from Florida the Bayers and McInnes families, bringing slaves with them.

The muster roll in 1784 of the disbanded South Carolina Royalist corps, to whom lands had been allotted

¹ "Manuscript Documents," Nova Scotia, Vol. 376.

at Stormont, on the east side of Country Harbor, shows thirteen Negro servants, the "property" of four officers of that corps. A few officers of the King's Carolina Rangers, in the list Captain Joseph Marshall, father of the late Judge John G. Marshall, had at that date seven slaves. At Guysborough, where were several officers of the "Department of the Army and Navy," eight slaves were catalogued by name as the property of five owners. And on the muster roll of the transport "Argo," at Halifax in July, 1784, on her way with Loyalists from St. Augustine, Florida, for Guysborough—then Chedabucto, are the names of "Prince, Susanna, Anne, Jane, Carry, Marsh, the property of John Todd"; and of "Liberty" Sarah, Pegg, the property of James Lyle." Several documents in relation to the last three, registered in Guysboro' county in 1793 by David Martin, show that James Lyle had in the previous February paid seventy pounds sterling for them in St. Augustine, and that the man had been previously a slave in Georgia, the woman and child slaves in East Florida.

A very large section of the bondmen being brought into Nova Scotia was carried into that part of the country which a few months later—in the autumn of 1784—was set off as the province of New Brunswick. It is improbable that any slaves were taken to the county of Northumberland: from Westmoreland county no large number of slaves was ever reported, though colored bondmen and bondwomen were bought and sold there at a later date than in some other sections of the Lower Provinces; the few to be found in Charlotte county seem to have been taken there from other parts of New Brunswick.

In the last-named county was the colony at Beaver Harbor, of Quaker Loyalists—the only avowed anti-slavery settlement known to have existed in the British North American Provinces. These Quakers, most of whom had

fled from Pennsylvania and New Jersey to New York, had formed an association in that city to settle "together on the River St. Johns in Nova Scotia." A very few of their number, who must have been included in the list of those having a "Birthright among the people commonly called Quakers," rather than in the membership of the "Society," had served as officers in certain Loyalist corps. At the head of the agreement to remove to Nova Scotia, drawn up and signed in New York in June, 1783, was the prohibitory notice, in a bold hand-writing, "No slave master admitted"; in accordance with which it was ruled, as the fourth regulation, "that no slaves be either Bought or sold nor kept by any person belonging to said society on any pretence whatsoever."

For what reason Messrs. Samuel Fairlamb, John Rankin and George Brown, agents selected by the association to locate the lands granted its members for new homes, chose a tract at Beaver Harbor and not one upon the River St. John is not known. A prompt departure from New York for the new homes in the wilderness must have taken place, since a letter written in October, 1783, mentioned a Quaker settlement at Passamaquoddy, and on January 10, 1784, Aaron Andrews received from the government of Nova Scotia payment for "71,000 ft. of boards and 141,000 shingles" certified by a government agent to have been "delivered to the Quaker Refugees settled at Beaver Harbour, Passamaquoddy." A similar certificate shows that on an adjoining tract of land had been located another body of associated Loyalists called by the government agent the "Annabaptist Refugees."¹ From the quantity of building material allotted to the two bands of settlers, it may be presumed that the Anabaptists largely outnumbered their Quaker neighbors, but an inference of accordance on the subject of human bondage

¹ "Public Documents of Nova Scotia," Vol. 409, Nos. 62, 63.

between the two groups may be drawn from the fact that the township or parish of which they were the earliest settlers bears at the present day the name of Pennfield, an abbreviated form of the earlier Quaker designation—Penn's Field.¹

It fell out with the anti-slavery township in New Brunswick as with a few other Loyalist ventures in the Maritime Provinces. In a very few years the settlers were so reduced that privation and suffering made them glad to receive aid from Friends abroad. We quote from Mr. Vroom's paper: "What little wealth the Friends had taken with them from their Pennsylvania and New Jersey homes had been long since exhausted in their sojourn in New York and their struggle with the hardships of the New Brunswick wilderness. The town at Beaver Harbor, like other Loyalist towns, had arisen in the expectation of a trade that never came. And yet they had remained, and kept up their struggle, and perhaps tried to hope for better times. But the end was near. A forest fire swept over the place in 1790, leaving only one dwelling house. A few of the inhabitants remained or came back to rebuild their dwellings at or near the old sites, but Pennfield was no longer a Quaker colony, and the highways and landmarks of to-day bear no relation to the plans of the old town of Belle View."

On the splendid intervalles of the river St. John, from its mouth, where a fishing and trading station had been

¹ In an interesting paper, in No. 4 of "Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society," Mr. James Vroom, of St. Stephen, states that the town at Beaver Harbor was to be called Belle View or Belle Vue. After having referred to an old map in the British Museum and a plan in the Crown Land office in Fredericton, it is said by the writer that "Belle View, or Penn's Field was not a town on paper only. There were 149 lots included in the original grant"; and a contemporary writer, shortly after its foundation, estimated the number of its inhabitants at eight hundred. The very small dimensions of the "House" proposed to be built in 1786 for worship leads one to suppose that the figures just given must have included the whole number of settlers around Beaver Harbor.

established by Peabody, Simmonds and White, three Massachusetts men, as early as 1763, to the site of the present town of Woodstock, a distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles, officers and men of several disbanded Loyalist corps established themselves at various points. The greater number availed themselves of lands granted by the government : a few others found more satisfactory locations by purchase from a number of Acadians who had received permission from Governor Parr to remain on lands on both sides of the St. John, near St. Ann's, of which they were willing to dispose in order to avoid the English and seek the more congenial company of their fellow Acadians at Madawaska. The number of slaves arriving with these settlers, according to a military return in the spring of 1784, was four hundred and forty ; but this number was considerably increased by the arrival a very little later from Nova Scotia of several of the more important slave-proprietors in the county of Annapolis, to whom the formation of the new province offered the promise of a more speedy recognition of their claims and a wider opportunity for the attainment of positions of influence and emolument.

A detailed list of the slave-owners of New Brunswick cannot be attempted here. Several of them have been named in connection with Annapolis county, where they first landed after their expatriation, and whence they in a few months removed ; others will find mention in other pages of this essay. They were found at Parr, re-named St. John, the commercial capital of the new province. The first mayor of that town, Gabriel G. Ludlow, former colonel and commandant of De Lancey's Third Battalion, was, as we learn from contemporary church records, the possessor of property^s in slaves; and not a few others, slave-owning citizens, were laid away in the " Old Burial Ground " of that city. Slaves were also to be found in the

part of the county of King's adjoining the county of St. John. The three black men and one black woman who arrived with Major, afterwards General, John Coffin, at St. John in May, 1784, and went with him and his family to the tract of land near Westfield, afterwards known as the Alwington or Coffin Manor, came, no doubt, in the capacity of slaves or "servants for life."

In Queen's county also slavery was endorsed by the practice of leading residents. The inventory of the estate of Richard Hewlett, Esq., of Hampstead, shows that farmer, once a daring officer in the presence of the French at Frontenac, and of the Whigs of the Revolution, to have been, at the time of his death in 1790, owner, among other property, of "one Negro boy valued at twenty-five pounds." At Gagetown also were proprietors of slaves. Through an advertisement in the *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* for August 20, 1799, a reward of five guineas, or of three guineas for either of them, was offered for the capture of two Negro men—"Gill, a dark Mulatto with short curly hair, square shoulders, bow legs and walks clumsily;" and Dick, "remarkably black, with a scar on his cheek and another on his chin," the "property of the subscribers," who were Reuben Williams, formerly of Brooklyn, N. Y., and James Peters, a commissioner for the settling of Loyalists in New Brunswick, a magistrate and for many years a member of the House of Assembly, both in 1799 being residents of Gagetown.

Among a number of others in Sunbury county were the Hardings and Elijah Miles, of Maugerville, the latter a captain in De Lancey's Third Battalion, and after the peace a leading man in Sunbury. In the lower section of the large county of York, and in the neighborhood of Fredericton—the political capital, near which such Maryland Loyalists as had escaped from the shipwreck of the "Martha" near Cape Sable, and a large detachment of

De Lancey's Third Battalion, had been settled, slave labor was for some years extensively employed. Among slave-proprietors from these and other corps, and a small section of settlers who may not have seen military service, were Isaac Allen, later a judge of the supreme court of New Brunswick, who had removed his seven slaves from Nova Scotia; Edward Winslow, who leaving his first location at Annapolis became a member of the first Council formed in New Brunswick and afterwards a judge of the supreme court of that province; in all probability Caleb Jones, of St. Mary's, a captain in the disbanded Maryland Loyalists, whose name became prominent through his connection with the celebrated slave trial of 1800 at Fredericton; Captain Maxwell, also of St. Mary's, who as an absentee in 1788 appointed an attorney to dispose of any or every part of his "messuages, lands, tenements, negroes, hereditaments or premises;" and Stair Agnew, a Virginian and former officer in the Queen's Rangers, and a prominent lawyer of that day. North of the capital and near the southern border of the parish of Dumfries was Jacob Ellegood, another Virginian, who had raised a regiment in the service of the Crown and commanded it in person during the war, at the close of which he had brought his family and slaves and a frame for a dwelling to the cold north.¹ And above this, at the point where the winding Meduxnekeag adds its tribute of waters to the volume of the St. John through the flourishing town of Woodstock, were the Smiths and probably other disbanded Loyalists and slave-owners.

The total number of Negro slaves brought into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island from the revolted colonies previous to the summer of 1784 may

¹ Canon Ellegood, the present venerable rector of the church of St. James the Apostle, Montreal, is a grandson of Jacob Ellegood of Dumfries, N. B.

be estimated with some approach to certainty. Under instructions from Sir Guy Carleton, Colonel Morse, commanding Royal Engineer, made a tour of the Provincial settlements in the autumn of 1783 and early part of the summer of 1784, and to his report appended a "return of the disbanded troops and Loyalists settling in Nova Scotia," for the purpose of ascertaining the number entitled to the "Royal Bounty of Provisions."¹ In the column allotted to "servants" are, Dartmouth, 41; Country Harbour, 41; Chedabucto, 61; Island St. John, now Prince Edward Island, 26; Antigonish, 18; Cumberland, etc., 21; Partridge Island, now Parrsboro', 69; Cornwallis and Horton, 38; Newport and Kennetcook, 22; Windsor, 21; Annapolis Royal, etc., 230; Digby, 152; St. Mary's Bay, 13; Shelburne, —; River St. John, 441; a total number, inclusive of some small figures not quoted, of twelve hundred and thirty-two persons, to nearly all of whom must have belonged the appellation of "slave."² During the two or three succeeding years some others were brought into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Cape Breton—that island being then under a separate government.

The island of Cape Breton finds no place in Colonel Morse's return of Loyalists "settling or about to settle" in the Maritime Provinces. That distrust of Governor Parr and the authorities in Nova Scotia, which led many influential men to think of the intended province of New Brunswick, delayed the settlement of Cape Breton until it had been definitely learned that a separate government under a lieutenant-governor would be granted the island. In a memorial to the king, dated Feb. 21, 1784, Abraham C. Cuyler, previously mayor of Albany and colonel of a

¹ "Report of Canadian Archives," 1884.

² In view of the absence of any return of "servants" from Shelburne and other places on the Southern shore this total may be regarded as by no means extravagant.

Loyalist corps, but then in London, announced his intention, and that of a number of others, of settling in Cape Breton. About the end of October one hundred and thirty persons, among whom were officers of the disbanded Royal Rangers, reached the island from Quebec; about eight hundred others settled in various parts of it in the early summer of the following year; and governor Desbarres announced later that an accession of four thousand persons had speedily followed the publication of his proclamation of September first. Many disbanded soldiers of the regular army were among the settlers: of the six hundred and thirty families of disbanded Loyalists, previously serving in Canada, who had sent Lieutenant Jones to explore Cape Breton and had requested Abraham Cuyler to act as their agent in England in securing lands there, only the party arriving in October, 1784, seems to have really reached the island.

That slaves were held in Cape Breton about that time is certain: in the absence of such returns as Cuyler, the provincial secretary and registrar of grants, for some reason delayed or failed to make, their number is unknown. Cuyler himself was a slave owner, as the old records of the parish of St. George, Sydney, containing an entry of the burial on September 15, 1792, of "Diana Bestian, a Negro girl belonging to Abraham Cuyler, Esq.," sufficiently attest. Among several other entries in the same "register of baptisms, marriages and burials," which explicitly or by implication bear witness to the presence of slaves on the island, is one which reads: "Cæsar Augustus, a slave, and Darius Snider, black folks, married 4th September, 1788." In the early days of the present century there stood on the property of the Barringtons, between North Sydney and Sydney Mines, a building known to have been occupied by the slaves of the original owner—Boisseau, who had brought them

from the West Indies. One other slave is known to have borne the name of Matthews, attorney-general of the island, her owner ; another had been brought from the West Indies, a gift to a member of the family with which she had come. Another Negro was killed in 1791 by a blow dealt him, it is said, with a spade as he was endeavoring to force his way into a building in which a public ball was being held. For this man's death a citizen of Sydney was "excluded for killing a slave" by the Masonic lodge of that place, and was brought to trial before the supreme court in August, 1792. By the court he was "honourably acquitted," and at a later period was reinstated in membership among his Masonic brethren.

A very slight advance in the number of slaves took place in the vast northern province of Canada during the first twenty-five years after its conquest by England. Registers of births, marriages and deaths, with other documents of the period, bear witness to the maintenance of slavery, but afford slight evidence of its expansion through the importation of new laborers.

The diary of General Haldimand, appointed governor of Canada in 1778, contains several references to slaves which show that official to have exercised a somewhat paternal authority, in spite of his reputation for stern military precision. In 1778 a business man at Montreal sought permission from him to sell a Negro for a debt due him by the slave's master ; at Quebec, in the same year, another Negro, in view of services rendered to government, prayed for liberty ; and in 1783, Plato, another slave at Quebec, asked to be allowed to join his own master, from whom he had, it is probable, been separated during the border-strife of the Revolution.¹

¹ "Canadian Archives."

Just before that strife had become clearly defined along the borders of the province of Canada slaves were being acquired by purchase in its western section. Colonel Clark, in his "Memoirs," remarks: "After the Declaration of Independence drovers used to come in with droves of horses, cattle, sheep and negroes, for the use of the troops, forts, and settlers in Canada, and my father purchased his four negroes, three males and one female named Sue."

An undated document among the Canadian Archives—a "Return of Negroes brought in by scouts and sold at Montreal," and signed by "Sir John Johnson, Lieut.-Colonel Commanding," recalls such scenes as took place on the borders of New York and Canada during the first three or four years of the conflict. The Mohawk Valley was the basis of the Congress operations designed against Niagara and Detroit and the western posts. It was partly, therefore, in order to destroy the resources being husbanded for these expeditions, and in part to favor the escape of such Loyalists as were desirous of reaching Canada, that repeated attacks were directed upon the valley from the Canadian side.¹ The Loyalist troops—the Royal Regiment of New York and Colonel Butler's corps of Mohawk Rangers, the greater number of whom, like the commander-in-chief, Sir John Johnson, had been violently driven from their former homes on the Mohawk, were prominent in these attacks, impelled to them at times by a wish to recover personal property and at others by a spirit of revenge towards their former neighbors. They were generally accompanied by "Canada Indians" and "Mohawk Indians," faithful allies throughout the war, by whom indeed most of the slaves denominated "Rebel Property" were captured, and for whose capture they were promised an allowance by the officer in command. The slaves of

¹ Kingsford's "History of Canada," vol. 7.

escaped Loyalist owners were generally brought in by parties belonging to the Loyalist corps, with whom also were a few slaves of rebel masters, these slaves voluntarily accompanying British officers on their retreat towards the border.

Of the fifty or more slaves named in this list, nearly half were sold at Montreal, a few being carried by Indians and whites to Niagara ; the others were handed over to their former owners. " Charles," " taken at Ball's Town, making his escape out of a window in Col. Gordon's house," was sold to the Rev. David C. DeLisle, the Episcopal rector at Montreal, for twenty pounds, Halifax currency ; Samuel Judah, Montreal, paid twenty-four pounds for " Jacob," also a slave of Colonel Gordon, a rebel master, but for a Negro girl of the same owner he gave sixty pounds ; " Nero," another of Colonel Gordon's slaves, captured by a Mohawk Indian, Patrick Langan sold to John Mittleberger of Montreal for sixty pounds ; " Tom" was sold by Captain Thomson, of Colonel Butler's Rangers, for twenty-five pounds to Sir John Johnson, who gave him to Mr. Langan ; and William Bowen, a Loyalist owner, sold his recovered slave, " Jack," for seventy pounds to Captain John McDonell, of the Rangers. " William," who was sold for thirty pounds to Mr. McDonell, and afterwards carried to Quebec, had been taken at his master's house by Mohawk Indians, " under Captain John the Mohawk, with a waggon and horses which he had got ready to convey his mistress," Mrs. Fonda, wife of Major Fonda, to Schenectady. It may have been on this occasion that the aged man, Fonda, was scalped by Indians in British employ, a deed for which a former Whig neighbor upbraided Sir John Johnson when opportunity permitted more bitterly than for the complete destruction of his own property, the captivity of his sons, and the almost total desolation of the fair valley. Another

Negro man, name unknown, was "sold by a soldier of the 8th regiment to Lieutenant Herkimer, of the corps of Rangers, who disposed of him to Ensign Sutherland of the Royal Regiment of New York."

The name of another enslaved "William," which stands at the head of a list of fourteen men and women owned by Sir John Johnson, recalls some pleasanter facts. The flight of the baronet, in 1776, from Johnson Hall, the residence built by the celebrated Sir William Johnson, his father, had been made in such haste that he left Lady Johnson and the family papers and plate and Bible behind him. The Whigs took charge of Lady Johnson, removing her to Albany, where the local authorities regarded her as a kind of hostage for good conduct on the part of her husband. The papers were buried in an iron chest, but when, two years later, General Haldimand, at the request of the owner, sent a party of soldiers to carry them away, they were found to be utterly spoiled by the dampness. The family Bible was sold with the furniture at auction at Fort Hunter, but by the courtesy of its possessor, was at a later date offered to its real owner. That the plate was not forfeited was due to the faithful conduct of William, the slave. This slave had lived many years with Sir John's father, who thought it a special mark of regard to have him baptised by his own name of William. On the flight of his second master to Canada he hastily buried the valuables, and when sold, as a part of the confiscated estate, to a Whig, he gave no hint to his new owner of the secret of which he was the possessor. In 1780 the baronet in person went to Johnstown and transferred to the knapsacks of about forty soldiers bound to Montreal the treasure saved by the slave, whom men of the Royal Regiment of New York rescued from his Whig master and carried into Canada.¹

¹ Sabine's "Loyalists," etc., Vol. 2, p. 580.

The total number of slaves in that section of Canada soon to be known as the province of Lower Canada or Quebec was in 1784, according to the official census of that year, only three hundred and four; of whom two hundred and twelve were in the town and district of Montreal, four at Three Rivers, and eighty-eight in the town and district of Quebec.¹

If, however, this small list of slaves at Montreal and Quebec received but a limited number of accessions through emigration from the revolted colonies, it seems evident that the advocates of slavery in that part of Canada became at this time more aggressive than they hitherto had been, through the presence of so many more bondmen in the neighboring provinces. In 1784, John Black, a Negro who had served as a seaman in the king's service, was obliged to appeal to Governor Haldimand to protect him in his liberty, of which Captain Martin, by whose wife he was then employed, was seeking to deprive him. Through the *Montreal Gazette* in March, 1784, Madame Perrault offered a Negress for sale; and a week later appeared an advertisement of a second, "about twenty-five years of age, who has had the smallpox and goes under the name of Peg." Four years later, in March, 1788, a claim for the delivery of "two Negro wenches" was preferred before the Montreal court of common pleas and judgment given that the slaves should be delivered up to the plaintiff. About this date, in the columns of the *Quebec Gazette*, a "hearty Negro boy, about fifteen years of age, well qualified to wait on a gentleman as a body-servant," was offered to any purchaser; and in the same journal, in October, 1793, was announced an offer of sale of "a stout Mulatto man, aged twenty-three years; has been used to house-work, speaks both

¹ "Canadian Archives," 1889, p. 39.

French and English, and is fit for any hard labour."¹ In 1795 a female slave was sold at Quebec for one hundred dollars: the latest public slave-sale at Montreal, that of Emanuel Allen, for thirty-six pounds, took place in August, 1797. The conveyance required was passed, but the sale was afterwards set aside by legal proceedings. To these and similar slave announcements variety was sometimes given in the local paper by an advertisement of a runaway, preceded by a rough wood-cut of a dark figure speeding as for life. Any tavern-keeper in the province entertaining a slave made himself liable to a penalty of five pounds.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the western part of Canada—now the province of Ontario—then almost a wilderness, became the home of some thousands of Loyalists, not a few of whom were descendants of the old Dutch and Walloon settlers of the province of New York. They entered Canada at different points, some by crossing the St. Lawrence in the vicinity of Cornwall and at Montreal; while others landed at Cataraqui—Kingston of to-day, and perhaps the largest number at points along the Niagara frontier. Many of them settled along the Upper St. Lawrence, around the beautiful Bay of Quinté, and on the northern shore of Lake Ontario; and others founded homes along the banks of the Niagara and Detroit rivers. At these and other neighborhoods they were joined by large numbers of disbanded troops, militia and half-pay officers, to whom and to the comparatively few immigrants from the mother country very liberal land grants were made by the British government.

During the depressing journey from the old home to the new, in some cases occupying weeks spent in the open boat or wagon, some of the Loyalists and their families

¹ Anderson's "Life of the Duke of Kent," p. 18.

were accompanied by slaves, not a few of whom had come of their own accord. Slave property had in many cases been confiscated with the owner's estates; in some instances a part of it remained, in others slaves had been purchased. On the faithfulness of these attendant Negroes the voyagers were in a great measure dependent for their progress and their comfort. The oar, plied by their strong arm, sometimes aided the sail of their rude bateaux, at other times replaced it; the camp where nightly rested women and children too weary to think of it as on the site of some former deadly conflict or in the neighborhood of the lynx, or bear, or wolf, often owed both safety and comfort to the skill and deftness of their not unwilling hands.

A contributor to the *Napanee Beaver* wrote on a recent date: "There has been considerable controversy of late whether slaves were ever owned in this section of Canada. The Allens brought three slaves with them who remained with the family for years after. Thomas Dorland also had a number of slaves, who were members of the household as late as 1820. The Pruyns, who lived on the front of Fredericksburg, had, we are informed, over a dozen slaves with them. The Ruttans, of Adolphustown, brought two able-bodied Negro slaves with them. Major VanAlstine also had slaves; so had John Huyck, who lived north of Hay Bay; and the Bogarts—near neighbors, and the Trampours, of the opposite side of Hay Bay. The Clarks of Ernestown, to-day called Bath, owned slaves who were with them years after their residence in Canada. The Everetts of Kingston township and Cartwrights of Kingston also had theirs." In the Niagara or Home District, in another section of Ontario, there were estimated to be about three hundred Negro slaves and a few Indian slaves in 1791.

Respecting these slaves brought to the Midland District and to other parts of the province some further facts are

given by Dr. Canniff in his "Settlement of Upper Canada, with Special Reference to Bay Quinté." The Rev. John Stuart, previously Episcopal missionary to the Mohawk Indians, in writing in his memoir respecting his permitted removal to Canada, remarks: "My Negroes, being personal property, I take with me, one of which being a young man and capable of bearing arms, I have to give one hundred pounds security to send back a white prisoner in his stead." Captain Joseph Allan took with him from New Jersey, at the end of the war, to Upper Canada three slaves. The two men, some years later, ran away to Lower Canada. Their owner pursued them to Montreal and spent ten days in a fruitless search for them. The third slave—a woman—he sold with her child to Silas Hill. This boy was afterwards sold to Abram Barker, who retained him until he became, according to law, free at the age of twenty-one. Major Van Alstine's slaves, whom he treated with patriarchal kindness, lived in great comfort in the old-fashioned Dutch cellar-kitchen in his home in Fourth Town. In a note to the author of the above-named volume Sheriff Ruttan informed him that his uncle "brought two negro servants with him who were very faithful, hard-working fellows." During the year of famine they were sent from Adolphustown to Albany "for four bushels of Indian corn—a dreadful hazardous journey through the forest, with no road and the snow very deep, yet they executed this mission and returned in safety." "Black Betty," owned by Nicholas Lazier, was said to have been one of the listeners to the first sermon of the first Methodist preacher at New York, and one of the earliest Methodists of Canada West. Leavens, of Belleville, bought a female slave of Wallbridge for one hundred dollars: a son of this slave was purchased by Captain McIntosh. Captain Herkimer and others in that section of country were also slave-proprietors. For one slave

woman a Mrs. Simpson received the sum of three hundred dollars. Slaves are known to have been held at Thurlow.

At different points along the St. Lawrence bondmen were also found. In answer to a letter from Dr. Canniff, Sheriff Sherwood wrote: "As regards slaves I only recollect two or three who settled in the District of Johnstown; one in particular, named Cæsar Congo, owned by Captain Justus Sherwood who came with his family in the same brigade of boats that my father and family did, and located about two miles above Prescott. They were the very first actual settlers. Well I remember Cæsar Congo, then a stout, strong young man, who often took the late Justus Sherwood of Toronto and myself on his back to assist us along while the boats were drawn up the rapids. Cæsar was sold to a half-pay officer named Bottom, and who after a year's service gave Cæsar his freedom. Cæsar soon after married suitably, and by his industry obtained a snug little place in the town of Brockville, where he lived many years and died." In the neighborhood of the latter town several slaves were held, one of them by Daniel Jones, father of Sir Daniel Jones.

At Fraserfield, the residence of the Hon. Thomas Fraser, in the District of Johnstown, were a number of slaves who had been brought by his father, a United Empire Loyalist, from his former home. To descendants of this gentleman the names of several of these slaves are yet familiar, especially that of the very dignified "Captain York," who lived to a great age. The old "quarters," with their rows of sleeping bunks ranged around the walls, remained years after slavery had ceased to exist, and many of the descendants of the slaves continued in the service of the family until comparatively recent years.

In 1790 the British government, with a view to facilitate the removal of certain Loyalists yet remaining in the United States, and to remove to their remaining American

territory a number of other Loyalists lingering in dependence and abject poverty in Britain, passed an Act "for encouraging new settlers in his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America." According to this Act, which was published in the several colonies, any person after August 1, 1790, a subject of the United States, removing thence to any of the Bahama or Bermuda Islands, or to any part of the province of Quebec or Nova Scotia, having first obtained a permit to reside there from the governor of the colony, was at liberty to bring with him any Negroes, household furniture, clothing, etc., the furniture, utensils and clothing not to exceed the value of fifty pounds for each white person in the family and that of forty shillings for each Negro, the sale of any Negro or other property being strictly forbidden within twelve months. Through this legislation a number of slaves were brought into Upper Canada between 1790 and 1793; and a few others were probably added to the slave population by the many families who—like the Ryersons and others—left the Maritime Provinces, New Brunswick in particular, about the same period or a very few years later, for the more level and roomy territories at the west.

With this action on the part of the British government the authorities of the newly formed colony of Upper Canada were somewhat dissatisfied. Both the lieutenant-governor—Simcoe—and the chief-justice—Osgoode—had small regard for slavery. The former had written to a friend during the preceding year that the principles of the British constitution did not admit of slavery, which was also condemned by Christianity. To this statement he had added that "from the moment that I assume the government of Upper Canada, under no modification will I assent to a law that discriminates by dishonest policy between the natives of Africa, America or Europe."¹

¹ "Simcoe Papers," i., p. 497.

During the second session of the first parliament of Upper Canada, which met at Newark—now Niagara—on May 31, 1793, a bill to “prevent the further introduction of slaves” and to “limit the term of contracts for servitude within the province” was introduced. There is reason to suppose that it was prepared by the chief-justice under an impulse from the lieutenant-governor, who strongly supported it, though Dr. Canniff may be correct in his statement that “Upper Canada was primarily indebted” for this praiseworthy action to Robert Gray, solicitor-general, “an earnest friend of the African race.”

In the preamble to the bill it was declared to be unjust that a people who enjoy freedom by law should encourage the introduction of slaves, “and to be highly expedient to abolish slavery in this Province, so far as the same may gradually be done without violating private property.” It was therefore proposed to enact that “from and after the passing of this Act, so much of a certain Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, entitled An Act for encouraging new settlers, etc., as may enable the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of this Province, heretofore parcel of His Majesty’s Province of Quebec, to grant a license for the importing into the same any negro or negroes, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed; and that from and after passing of this Act it shall not be lawful for the Governor to grant a license for the importation of any negro or other person to be subjected to the condition of a slave, or to a bounden involuntary service for life in any part of this province, nor shall any negro, or other person who shall come, or be brought into the Province after the passing of this Act, be subject to the condition of a slave, or to such service as aforesaid, within this Province, nor shall any voluntary contract of service or indentures that may be entered into by any parties within this Province, after the passing of this Act, be binding upon them or

either of them for a longer term than a term of nine years."

The second clause of the bill provides that the owners of slaves, at the time within the province, should be secured in their property, and that contracts already made should not be affected; but in the third clause, "in order to prevent the continuation of slavery within this Province," it was proposed to enact that "immediately from and after the passing of this Act every child that shall be born of a negro mother, or other woman, subjected to such service as aforesaid, shall abide or remain with the master or mistress in whose service the mother shall be living at the time of such child's birth, (unless such mother and child shall leave such service, by and with the consent of such master or mistress), and such master or mistress shall, and is hereby required to give proper nourishment and clothing to such child or children, and shall and may put such child or children to work when he, she or they shall be able so to do, and shall and may retain him or her in their service until every such child shall have obtained the age of twenty-five years, at which time such child shall be entitled to demand his or her discharge from, and shall be discharged by such master or mistress from any further service." It was also provided, to prevent any difficulty from uncertainty of age, that the "master, mistress or mother" of any child born in slavery should duly register the date of birth of such child, any master or mistress refusing to do this to be subjected to a penalty of five pounds.

Provision was also made against any undue detention after the age of twenty-five of a child born in the service of any master or mistress; and it was "provided always that in case any issue shall be born of such children during their infant servitude or after, such issue shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of free-born subjects." It was at the same time enacted that "when-

ever any master or mistress shall liberate or release any person subject to the condition of a slave from their service they shall at the same time give good and sufficient security to the church or town wardens of the parish or township where they live that the person so released by them shall not become chargeable to the same, or any other parish or township."¹

This bill, which reflects so much credit upon the first legislators of Upper Canada, was passed on the 9th of July, 1793, but not without strong opposition. During the Revolutionary war many slaves had been purchased from the Indians at a low price, and the holders of these desired to reject the bill entirely. "The greatest resistance," wrote the lieutenant-governor to the Secretary of State—Dundas, "was to the Slave Bill, many plausible arguments being brought forward in respect to the dearness of labour and the difficulty of obtaining servants. Some, possessing Negroes, knowing that it was questionable if any subsisting law authorized slavery, wished to reject the bill entirely; others wished to supply themselves by giving leave to import for two years."² In his address at the close of the session Lieutenant-governor Simcoe gave expression to the great relief he felt at being no longer liable to be called upon to sign permits for the importation of slaves.³ Canadian legislators saw thus early, as did Southern leaders during the Kansas conflict more than a half century later, that any restriction upon slavery presaged its destruction.⁴

¹ Canniff's "Settlement of Upper Canada."

² "Canadian Archives," 1891.

³ "Transactions of Canadian Institute," Vol. i., Toronto.

⁴ It is but justice to our neighbors across the boundary line to say that previous to this Act in Upper Canada two states at least of the American Union—Pennsylvania and Rhode Island—had adopted similar measures; and that in this they were followed in 1799 by New York with a provision for gradual emancipation, which on July 4th, 1827, resulted in the complete abolition of Negro slavery in that important section of the country.

Slavery in this restricted form continued to receive recognition for some years in the journals of the time in Upper Canada. In the *Upper Canada Gazette and American Oracle* of October 11, 1797, Messrs. W. & J. Crooks, of West Niagara, informed the public of their wish to "purchase a Negro girl of good disposition, from seven to twelve years of age." In the course of years, however, cash and lands came to be regarded as less precarious property than human chattels, and sellers apparently proved more numerous than buyers. At York (Toronto), in December, 1800, the *Gazette* announced "to be sold"—"a healthy, strong Negro woman, about thirty years of age," who understood "cooking, laundry, and the taking care of pantry," and could also "dress ladies' hair." In the *Niagara Herald* of January 2, 1802, there was offered for sale "a Negro man slave, eighteen years of age, stout and healthy," who had "had the small-pox" and was "capable of service either in the house or outdoors." Terms would be made easy to the purchaser, and "cash or new lands received in payment." A few days later, through the columns of the same paper, "the Negro man and woman, the property of Mrs. Widow Clement," were offered "for sale." They had "been bred to the business of a farm," and would be "sold on highly advantageous terms for cash or lands," on application to Mrs. Clement. In 1806 the Hon. Peter Russell, of Toronto, who had previously been receiver-general of the province, and during the absence in England of Governor Simcoe administrator of the government, advertised for sale, in the *Gazette and Oracle*, two of his slaves, both of them "servants for life." "Peggy," who three years before been advertised as absent without her owner's leave, was aged forty years, and "Jupiter," her son, about fifteen. For the mother the price was one hundred and fifty dollars; for the boy, "tall and strong for his

age," two hundred dollars, payable in three years, with interest from the day of sale, and to be secured by bond, etc. For ready money one-fourth less would be taken. A sister of Mr. Russell was the owner of a Negress who attended her mistress in the head-gear of a red turban and under the high-sounding title of Amy Pompadour, and who was afterward legally given by Miss Russell to Mrs. Captain Davison, of Toronto. As late as March, 1811, William Jarvis, the Secretary of the province, had before the court at Toronto a "Negro boy and girl, his slaves," who "had the evening before been committed to prison for having stolen gold and silver out of his desk and escaped from their said master."

Indian slaves were also to be found in Ontario at the beginning of the present century, for through the *Niagara Herald* of August 25, 1802, Charles Field, of Niagara, informed his neighbors: "All persons are forbidden harbouring, employing, or concealing my Indian slave Sal, as I am determined to prosecute any offender to the extremity of the law, and persons who may suffer her to remain in or upon their premises for the space of half-an-hour, without my written consent, will be taken as offending, and dealt with accordingly."¹

A telegram to Canadian papers from Cornwall, Ont., in January, 1871, called attention briefly to the life story of one of the slaves brought into Ontario under the operation of the Act passed in 1790 by the British government. This very aged man—one hundred and five years old at his death—had seen service in the Revolutionary war, and had in 1792 been brought by his master, Major James Gray, to Canada. At the death of the master, a little later, his slave woman and her children passed into the hands of the son, Robert D. J. Gray, solicitor-general

¹ "Slavery in Canada," by J. C. Hamilton, LL.B. "Toronto of Old," by H. Scadding, D. D.

of the colony. The latter, by his will, made in 1803, and duly proved after his loss in 1804 by the foundering of H. M. S. "Speedy" on Lake Ontario, discharged from the state of slavery in which, in the words of the document, "she now is", his "faithful black woman and servant, Dorinda", and gave her and her children their freedom, and to protect them against want directed that twelve hundred pounds should be invested and the interest applied to their maintenance. To his black servants, Simon and John Baker, sons of Dorinda, he gave with their freedom two hundred acres of land each, as well as pecuniary legacies. Simon Baker went down with his master in the "Speedy"; John lived to serve through the war of 1812, receiving a wound at the battle of Lundy's Lane, and enjoying a pension for fifty-seven years.

Another old colored man, born in New York State in 1766, and brought to Canada as a slave by a United Empire Loyalist, had an interesting record. This man appeared at the court of assize at Ottawa at the advanced age of one hundred and one years and in full possession of all his faculties, to prove the deaths of two persons at the very beginning of the present century. He, too, had fought on the side of the British—through the war of 1812, during which he was present at the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, and was wounded at Sackett's Harbor.

In the Maritime Provinces the system of slavery promised, through the Loyalist arrivals, a new development. The colonies to the southward, previous to the Revolution, might have been regarded as forming three groups—the planting, the farming, and the trading colonies. Earlier slave-owners in the Lower Provinces had come from the farming and trading sections; at the close of the Revolutionary war came more numerous representatives of the

three classes of colonies, the Loyalists from the planting portions, where the severer style of slavery was in vogue, being in the majority. Hence the term "servant" proved one of only temporary application, and the designations "slave" and "the property of" appeared almost as frequently in official records of early Shelburne as they might have been expected to occur half a century since in a Southern city.

A detailed statement of advertisements to be found in the Halifax weekly journal during the three years succeeding the eventful immigration of 1783, having reference to absconding slaves or slaves to be sold, would become wearisome to general readers, although a few might pause to read an announcement in as large letters as the style of the day would permit, in the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* of June 24, 1783: "To be sold at Public Auction on Saturday, the 28th inst., at the Golden Ball, a Negro wench, twenty-five years of age, a good house servant". Of documents relating to the legal transfer of slaves, a sufficient number has been found in several of the county registry offices to vary the monotony of real estate transfers and the arrangements of probate courts, but from various circumstances it may be presumed that only a few of the transactions in human chattels during those years are now known on earth.

Recorded papers establishing the transfer of a slave woman to successive owners in Halifax can be seen in book twenty-three, in the registry of deeds' office of Halifax. On December 11, 1783, "Alexander Campbell, late a captain in the South Carolina Loyalists, for and in consideration of the sum of forty pounds currency", conveyed to Thomas Green, Esq., late a captain in the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment of Foot, a "certain Negro wench named Nancy", who, on the same day, "personally appeared" before Geo. Wm. Sherlock, J. P., and "freely

acknowledged herself a slave and the property of the within-named Captain Alexander Campbell". Nearly two years later Thomas Green, by a similar document and for the same amount, transfers the said Negro woman to Abraham Forst, gentleman, of Halifax, who one year later conveys, with all his other property, the "certain Negro woman or wench called Nancy, with her child called Tom", to Gregory Townsend, Esq., assistant naval storekeeper.

A wholesale baptism of slaves took place in St. Paul's church, Halifax, on February 10th, 1784. To the record, by the minister, the Rev. Dr. Breynton, is appended, "Negroes christened belonging to Governor Wentworth".¹ A letter from John Wentworth, Esq., dated Halifax, N. S., Feb. 24th, 1784, and addressed to "Paul Wentworth, or to his attorney at Surinam", Dutch Guiana, where his "affectionate kinsman" had a large estate in which the writer of the letter had some concern, has an interesting reference to this baptism :

I herewith inclose to you a bill of lading for nineteen negro slaves, shipped by me on board Schooner Patty, Lemuel Little master, for account and to be employed on the Estates, and for the use of my dearest friend and relation, Paul Wentworth, Esq. I also enclose herewith a Receipt for Sundry provisions shipped for the use of these slaves. And it is agreed that the surplus of their consumption shall be delivered to you on account of Mr. W. free of all expenses and demands whatsoever. This addition of valuable slaves I trust will be exceedingly useful, as they are all either American born or well seasoned, and are perfectly stout, healthy, sober, orderly, industrious and obedient.

Isaac is a thorough good carpenter and master sawyer, perfectly capable of overseeing and conducting the rest

¹ John Wentworth, Esq., had been the last Royal governor of New Hampshire. In July, 1783, he had been appointed "Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Woods in Nova Scotia and other his Majesty's Territories in North America". A few years after this he was made a baronet and appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia.

and strictly honest. Lymas is a rough carpenter and sawyer; Quako is a field negro, has met an accident in his arm, which will require some indulgence. The other men are sawyers, and John also a good axe-man. Abraham has been used to cattle and to attend in the house, etc. All the men are expert in boats. The women are stout, able and promise well to increase their numbers. Venus is useful in ye hospital, poultry yard, gardens, etc. Upon the whole they are a most useful lot of Negroes, and have behaved so entirely well and to my approbation that I earnestly recommend them to your particular care, and if practicable that they be employed together and that Isaac should be their overseer. I am much interested for them, insomuch that I have had them christened, and would rather have liberated them than sent them to any estate that I am not sure of their being treated with care and humanity, which I shall consider as the only favour that can be done to me on this occasion.

Isaac has tools with him, and the whole are clothed for three years. By the return of this vessel I expect to send two more and six months' provisions (at the rate of English soldiers) for the whole number. The vessel that brings these Negroes belongs to John Prince, Esq., a very respectable merchant of the place, for whom I have the greatest regard and the highest estimation of his integrity and liberality. . . . About three months since I wrote Mr. W. to London that I had purchased these Negroes and should ship them in March for his estate at Surinam.

J. WENTWORTH.

Negroes embarked:—Abraham, James, Henry, Lymas, Cyrus, John, Isaac, Quako, January—9. Priscella, Rachel, Venus, Daphne, Ann, Dorothy—6. *Children*: Celia, William, Venus, Eleonora—4. Matthew and Susannah reserved at Home.

The above all christened by Dr. Breynton, Feb. 11, 1784.¹

During subsequent years of the decade several transactions in slaves took place, records of which have escaped

¹ Wentworth Letters, Vol. 49, "Manuscript Documents of Nova Scotia," p 25.

destruction. In 1786 an advertisement of "A Negro boy for Sale", appeared in the *Royal Gazette* of St. John, N. B. ; in July of the same year a "likely Negro wench" was offered through the columns of a Halifax newspaper ; in October, 1788, a "stout, likely and very active young black woman, late property of John H. Carey", was offered for sale in the *St. John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, "not for any fault", being "singularly sober and diligent"; and in May, 1789, Abraham Treadell, of St. John, surveyor, sold to John Ward, merchant, of the same place, "his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever", Toney, a Negro boy, for twenty-five pounds. Transfers of slaves were then also somewhat frequent in the county of Annapolis. David Randall, of Wilmot, in 1785 devised to his wife Kezia, "the use of my Negro wench Sukey" during the life of the said wife ; in 1786 Thomas Cornwell, of Annapolis, a "reduced captain in His Majesty's late King's American Regiment", gave to Isaac and David Bonnett, merchants of the same place, a bill of sale of "one farm, one Negro girl named Letisha, one roan horse named Beatable, one yoke of oxen, one milch cow", and various other articles of property ; and just a year later Christopher Benson, Esq., of Granville, executed a similar paper in favor of John Robertson, merchant of Annapolis, in the varied inventory of which are catalogued "one Negro man named Squire, and one Negro boy named Dave". During the same year Frederick Sinclair, of Annapolis, tavern-keeper, purchased a "Negro girl named Jane". Several slaves were disposed of by the will of Joseph Totten, of the firm of Joseph Totten & Co., merchants of Annapolis, recorded in March, 1788. To his wife Susannah, in addition to certain real estate, was given during her life or widowhood the use of "slaves, horses, cattle, stock", etc., and to each of three daughters a

“ Negro girl slave”, to her “ executors, administrators and assigns for ever”. In the event of the death or re-marriage of the widow, the testator directed that at a convenient time thereafter the slaves, cattle and stock and other articles left for her use should be sold at the discretion of his children “ either at auction among themselves or at public vendue as the major part of them shall agree and think best”, the proceeds to be divided according to appended instructions. A bill of sale, of similar tenor to those just mentioned, may be found in the registry office at Pictou. By this paper Archibald Allardice, mariner, makes over to Dr. John Harris, of Truro, as security for forty pounds advanced him, “ one negro man named Sambo, also one brown mare and her colt”. In Hants county, in 1789, as private papers show, Captain John Grant disposed of a Negro girl, one of the nine slaves brought with him from New York, to Robert Killo, of Halifax, receiving for her thirty pounds. The presence of slaves at Halifax at this time is recognized in an advertisement of a pawnbroker, dated January 14, 1788, in which he states that “ it is particularly desired that no apprentice, bound servant, nor slave will apply, for no business will be transacted”.

Shelburne records of the period present the historical student with some peculiar reading. In the magistrates' court record of the old Loyalist town may be found details of an interesting trial there in 1788. The defendant, one Jesse Gray, who had received a large grant of land at Argyle for military service at the South, had sold to William Mangham, of Shelburne, a colored woman— Mary Postill, for one hundred bushels of potatoes. No exception was taken by the court to the bargain, the charge against Gray being one of misdemeanor, it being alleged that he was not the legal owner of the chattel sold. Proof having been furnished that the woman had been his

legal property at the South, the court at once acquitted him, and the slave, for the hundred bushels of potatoes, became the undisputed property of Mangham. In probate court records for the same year is the will of Thomas Robinson, "formerly of Sussex county, Delaware, at present of Nova Scotia", whom in 1778 his Whig neighbors had "ordered to surrender himself for trial or stand attainted for treason":

I give and bequeath unto my eldest son, Thomas Robinson, Four Hundred Pounds in cash, Nova Scotia currency. Also I give my said son my pinchback watch, chain and gold seal. Also my Negro Boy named Manuel, also the bed and furniture I sleep on, with my silver spectacles.

Also—I give and bequeath to my daughter Arcadia Cannon Two Hundred Pounds in cash, Nova Scotia currency, to be paid to her by my executors, together with my Negro woman Priscilla and her child Sally.

Item—I give and bequeath to my brother Peter Robinson a Negro boy named Philip, by trade a blacksmith, and now in my said brother's possession.

Some interesting facts are found in the late Dr. Patterson's "Life of James McGregor, D. D.", grandfather of Professor McGregor of Dalhousie University. The Rev. Daniel Cock, the much-esteemed Presbyterian pastor at Truro in 1788, was very greatly surprised one day to receive an unusually bulky letter from James McGregor, the young Presbyterian minister at Pictou. The latter minister had learned, to his amazement, that Mr. Cock had had in his possession two slaves—a mother and daughter. The mother, given him, it is said, in Cornwallis, he had sold because of her unruly conduct; the daughter, whom he seems to have secured by purchase, he had retained. There could be no question that these bondwomen were treated with kindness; but to young McGregor, recently from Britain, where the controversy

on the slave tradè had begun to excite public feeling to its depths, the very thought of a minister of Christ retaining a fellow-being in bondage was so revolting that he made it a special reason for refusing all communion with a presbytery tolerating such conduct in one of its members. Bewildered by Mr. McGregor's letter, Mr. Cock took it to a friend, Matthew Archibald, whose purchase of the boy Abram has been noted on a previous page. These neighbors were soon, however, to be more greatly surprised by the appearance in print of a similar paper, entitled, "A Letter to a Clergyman, urging him to set free a Black Girl held in Slavery". "Permit me to speak freely", wrote the young preacher, and without awaiting permission he "spoke freely," solemnly charging Mr. Cock to liberate his slave, since until he should do so none of his services could be acceptable to God. The ministers of the Truro presbytery became very indignant, and one of their number, the Rev. David Smith, pastor at Londonderry, took up a heavy pen in behalf of his mild-tempered but slave-owning friend, using such arguments as have been advanced and repeated and reiterated by the advocates of West Indian and Southern slavery. If, however, the members of the presbytery and a number of their friends were very indignant at the action of James McGregor, not a few persons in that section of the country read the published paper with warm approval of its contents.¹ The

¹ Mr. Cock and his neighbors were sometimes attacked from other directions. Israel Longworth, Q. C., author of the "Life and Times of the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald", tells this story of the boyhood of that distinguished Nova Scotian:—"During the time Parson Cock owned a black female slave, and one or more other slaves were held in Truro, a Baptist minister from the United States preached at Truro and spoke against human slavery, maintaining that the soul of a slave was more precious than a million of money. Coming out of the meeting young Archibald remarked in the hearing of the minister, 'That is strange doctrine you have been preaching, for Dr. John Harris bought a slave the other day, body and soul, for ten pounds'. This slave of Dr. Harris was known as 'Black Jeff', who, so tradition says, died of small-pox, from getting up and drinking three pints of cold water when his attendant was asleep".

slave girl, often called "Deal McGregor" from Dr. McGregor's allusion to her as a "sister", continued under Mr. Cock's roof until his death in 1805.¹

The sincerity of James McGregor's opposition to slavery was abundantly proved. Two years before, in 1786, having found that Matthew Harris, of Pictou, who had sold the boy Abram, was the owner of a colored girl, and also of a Mulatto man named Martin, he at once sought their release. Of twenty-seven pounds, the part of his first year's stipend received in cash, he paid twenty pounds for the freedom of the girl, and a portion of the payments received by him for a year or two in produce went toward payment of the balance of the ransom price of fifty pounds. Through his influence also the slave-owner was persuaded to guarantee the Mulatto—Martin—his freedom on condition of a certain term of good service. A further sum of nine or ten pounds was also paid out of his small salary to secure the release of a woman held in bondage for a term of years.²

It is satisfactory to know that the enfranchised slaves justified the interest taken in them by the young Scotch minister. Dinah Rhyno, the young girl owned by Harris, continued throughout life to cherish the warmest gratitude towards her benefactor. She and her husband, George Mingo, a colored man who had served in the American war, became members of the Presbyterian church at Pictou, and by their consistent lives everywhere commanded respect. Several of their children lived to a good old age as members of the Presbyterian churches in Moncton, Bedford and elsewhere. Robert Mingo, one

¹ The passage in which this allusion occurs was this: "Tell me, Reverend Sir, why you do not sell me? I am your brother, and your slave is your sister. You are not able. I bless God for his kindness to me, which hath put it out of your power to deal with me as you have done with my sister". "Remains of Rev. James McGregor", p. 170.

² "Memoir of James McGregor, D. D.", pp. 153-158.

of the sons, highly respected for his Christian character, died at Bedford two years ago ; Abbie Mingo, a daughter of the slave freed by Dr. McGregor in 1787, died in November, 1898, at Truro, a pensioner, during the later years of a very long life, of the First Presbyterian church of that town.

Any harsh judgment of the clerical slave-holder at Truro according to the standard of to-day would deserve, at the same time, to be met with protest. Casting a glance backward, he might have regarded himself, in his treatment of his bondwoman, as a man of advanced views. Only a century before, Cotton Mather, a well-known New England divine—he who so eagerly advocated the adoption of certain desperate remedies for the “diabolical” disease of witchcraft, had approved the proposal to intercept William Penn and his fellow-Quakers on the ocean on their way to their new colony, and sell “the whole lot” at Barbadoes as slaves. By way of justification Mr. Cock might have cited the fact that Cotton Mather himself, who had only died sixty years previously, had been given by his congregation a Negro worth fifty pounds, and that in gratitude for the gift many a noble resolution had been made by him to save, with God’s blessing, his bondman’s soul ; and the further fact that Jonathan Edwards, a much more distinguished divine, who had died only thirty years before the date of Dr. McGregor’s attack, had once offered a puncheon of wine for an able-bodied slave.¹ To the well-known names of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards he might have added those of Dr. Hopkins, Dr. Williams and Ezra Stiles, two of whom at least were then living. And he might have asserted, without fear of contradiction, that scores, if not hundreds, of slave-holding ministers could at the time be found on the American continent, and more than one of them in the

¹ “Independent”, New York, Jan. 1, 1891.

Maritime Provinces. In the items of the appraisement of the personal estate of the deceased rector of Shelburne, made by James Cox and Lynde Walter in 1798—ten years after the publication of a “Letter to a Clergyman”—were these: “Samuel, a Black Boy, thirty-five pounds; William, a ditto, thirty pounds; a girl, twenty-five pounds”, followed by others giving the valuation of the cattle on the estate.

In an old volume in the office of the registry of deeds, Halifax, may be found an interesting “deed of gift” drawn up in August, 1787, by Edmund Crawley, of H. M. S. “Ambuscade”, a member of one of the earliest Halifax families, but at the above date with his ship in England. By this document he claims as his own “property” his Negro woman, Tamar Cole, and all her children born before March 1, 1783. To Tamar Cole he gives her freedom, and at the same time their freedom to the young children she may have had since the date named, as these were not born under his “family’s care and expense”. But of the children born previous to that date he gives one each to four young nephews and nieces at Halifax, the slaves to be under the guardianship of the young people’s parents. If more than four such slave children—born before 1783—should be living, they, “the girl Sophia excepted”, were to be the joint property of the nephews and nieces; and all the slaves thus given to his young relatives were to be held as their property until the “property” should be of the age of thirty-six years. Each slave upon the attainment of that age was to be free upon the production of a certificate from the minister and church wardens of St. Paul’s of good behavior “as becomes negro slaves”. In case of inability to produce such a certificate to a “justice of the peace of the said town of Halifax” they were to be required to serve another year, or until they could produce the necessary certificate, with an abstract from the parish register to attest their arrival at the stipulated age. On the fulfilment of these conditions

they were to have their freedom at the age of thirty-six, "and not otherwise".¹

But few legally-attested, immediate manumissions are to be found among the records of that period. On the 21st December, 1786, an interesting document of the kind was duly registered in the office of the registry of deeds, St. John, New Brunswick :

To all people to whom these presents shall come Frederick William Hecht, Esquire, of the City of St. John, in the Province of New Brunswick, sendeth greeting. Whereas a certain Molatto Man now called Joshua Moore, born in the city of New York in America the nineteenth day of April one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, in a state of slavery to the said Frederick William Hecht, and as a slave to the said Frederick William Hecht has continued to the date of these Presents, Now know ye that the said Frederick William Hecht, for Himself, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators, hath renounced and disclaimed, relinquished, and by these presents doth clearly and absolutely renounce, relinquish, disclaim and release unto the said Molatto Joshua Moore all the Estate, Dominion, Right, Title, Interest, Claim and Demand whatsoever of him the said Frederick William Hecht in Law or Equity of in over and to the Person and Services of the said Molatto Joshua Moore, hereby declaring and making the said Joshua Moore to all Intents and purposes whatever manumitted and discharged from a state of Slavery and the service of the said Frederick William Hecht, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators forever as if freeborn. In Witness whereof the said Frederick William Hecht hath hereunto set his Hand and Seal this Nineteenth Day of December in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-six.²

FREDERICK WILLIAM HECHT. [L.S.]

Sealed and delivered
 In presence of
 ANN HECHT.
 THOMAS WETMORE. }

¹ See Book 28, p. 26.

² Frederick William Hecht was "senior assistant commissary in Nova Scotia" in Feb., 1784, having his office at Fort Howe, St. John.

On the following day Thomas Wetmore appeared before Gabriel G. Ludlow, Esq., mayor of the city, and deposed to the signature of Mr. Hecht, on which that official appended his certificate :

At the same time appeared before me Joshua Moore, a Molatto, who the said Thomas declared was the Joshua Moore within named and intended, and it appearing to me that there is no fraud intended upon the publick nor any impropriety in his being manumitted I hereby allow the same. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused my seal of Mayoralty to be affixed the day and year above written.

G. G. LUDLOW.

By similar documents on May 2, 1787, John Hume, "late of the Island of Carriacow (one of the Leeward Islands) but now of the city of St. John, New Brunswick", gave their freedom to a "certain Negro wench now called Betty Hume", about thirty-three years old, purchased by him at Carriacow in 1780, and to her child, a Mulatto boy born in Grenada in 1785 "in a state of slavery to the said John Hume". Through an earlier instrument, drawn up in May, 1779, and recorded in the registry of deeds' office, Bridgetown, Annapolis county, Robert Baird, "for divers good Causes and Valuable Considerations me hereunto moving" did "give, grant, quit-claim and manumitt unto a certain Negro named Thomas of all and all manner of servitude and bondage whatsoever" which he or any possible claimants through him could ever have upon him.

Several facts indicative of the existence of slavery in the Maritime Provinces at the beginning of the last decade of the century are furnished by Lieutenant John Clarkson, during his mission in 1791-92. When the governor, Sir John Wentworth, generally correct in his estimate of public affairs, wrote in October, 1796, to the Duke of Portland in reference to the Negroes still in the province,

that "Slavery being almost exterminated here, distinctions naturally painful to these people are gradually dying away", he saw with the eyes of the judiciary rather than with those of the general public. The truth of his words in relation to Nova Scotia seemed to admit of question ; had the statement been applied to New Brunswick it might have been declared to be untrue. In Nova Scotia wills probated between the years 1796 and 1799 at Halifax, Amherst, Shelburne, authorize the transfer of slaves to heirs ; in 1798 Jeremiah Northrup offered a reward through the *Royal Gazette* to any person who would bring to Mr. David Rudolph at Halifax, or to himself at Falmouth, a " Negro boy named James Grant, a smart, likely lad " ; through the same medium Reuben Tucker of Digby sought the apprehension of a colored man named Francis Webb ; and by a certificate acknowledged before a justice of the peace James Cox, of Shelburne, in 1800 hired " my slave, George Cox, to Captain Samuel Mann, of the brig Greyhound, for a coasting voyage to Newfoundland and back". John Herbert, of Shelburne, in a will recorded in March, 1799, gave and bequeathed to his wife, Sarah Herbert, a Negro woman named Venus ; and to his " son Thomas the house I now live in, as also all the land and lots I hold in the township of Shelburne," and " to my said son Thomas a slave named Isaac".

During the same period more numerous transactions in slaves took place in New Brunswick, though trace has been probably lost of a still larger number through lack of care in the preservation of the earlier documents of more than one county. In the probate records of St. John no slave is mentioned later than 1795, when Samuel H., of the city of St. John, " gives and bequeaths" to his " beloved wife a negro woman named Phillis", one chest of drawers and all the pictures, etc. ; but several sales of

Negroes took place in the years immediately following that date. George Harding, of Maugerville, in July, 1797, transferred in due legal form to his son John a Negro boy named "Sippio" for the sum of fifteen pounds; a week later Munson Jarvis, a leading merchant of St. John, sold and delivered to Abraham DePeyster, one of the original grantees of St. John, "one negro man named Abraham and one negro woman named Lucy", agreeing to warrant and defend the sale against all persons whatsoever; and in the *St. John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* of March 1, 1799, a negro woman and child, the mother about nineteen years old, brought up in the country, well acquainted with dairy and housework, and "sold for no fault", was offered to purchasers. Other advertisements of that period indicate that a growing uncertainty was attending any investment in slaves. Legal documents were strengthened; absconding slaves were advertised for. Robert Guthrie, of Central Norton, Kings county, offered a reward for one; Titus Knapp, a former officer of one of DeLancey's corps, at first a settler at Kingston but a little later of Westmoreland county, a larger reward for another, named Nero; and Colonel Peters and Reuben Williams, of Queen's county, as will have been seen on a previous page, made in 1799 a generous offer for that day to any one who would secure for them "two colored men, Gill and Dick, the property of the subscribers".

Several slave sales took place in Nova Scotia during the first decade of the present century. In the years 1801 and 1802 several Negroes were bought and sold in the county of Yarmouth. One bill of sale is quoted by the Rev. J. Roy Campbell, according to which in December, 1801, a slave-owner sold for thirty-nine pounds a "certain Negro boy named Jack," born in his own house of parents

“both my property”.¹ Precisely the same amount was paid by Dr. Bond of Yarmouth in the same month for Manuel Jarvis, a slave believed to have been brought from the West Indies by his owner, Colonel Lewis Blanchard, from whom Dr. Bond, as an old ledger shows, also purchased in March, 1802, for forty pounds another slave named Kate, then or soon after married to Manuel.

A similar incident in domestic life was the purchase, in the same county, of Dinah, a Negro woman, by James Lent. Mr. Lent, an ensign in the Queen's Rangers during the war, had come at the peace to Shelburne, whence he had removed in 1784 to Tusket Village, his neighbors knowing him as “Judge” Lent, the magistrate of the district. The judge's slave, William, having become discontented, had concluded with successive generations that it was not good for man to be alone, and had persuaded his master to buy him a wife. Had Nova Scotian slavery been like that of Virginia the investment of a hundred pounds in Dinah would have resulted in no small profit to Mr. Lent, his “heirs, administrators and assigns”. A daughter of William and Dinah Berry, born in slavery in Nova Scotia, died at Tusket in 1893 at the age of one hundred and six years.

A conveyance found several years since in a safe in the cellar of the late Peter Bonnett, high sheriff of the county of Annapolis, transfers in October, 1804, from Isaac Bonnett and other administrators of the estate of Robert Dickson, late of Annapolis, to William Robinson, his heirs, etc., in consideration of the sum of seventeen pounds, a “certain Negro girl slave named Priscilla, about eight years and four months of age, being part of the personal estate of the late Robert Dickson”, and after the usual form guarantees to the purchaser his right to

¹ “History of Yarmouth”, by Rev. J. Roy Campbell.

the possession and services of the slave. The witnesses to this will were Charles Cornwell and Laurence Sniden. Descendants of this slave girl were recently living in Annapolis county.

A still later document—the latest of the kind in Nova Scotia of which I have any knowledge—possesses a peculiar interest from its date, the names it bears, the doubt respecting the legality of the transfer to which expression is given, and the absence of the usual guarantees. The paper is duly signed and sealed, but bears no evidence of having been placed on record :¹

PROVINCE OF }
NOVA SCOTIA. }

Know all men by these presents that Alice Allison of Horton, Widow and Relict of Joseph Allison, late of Horton in the County aforesaid, yeoman deceased, Administratrix, William Allison and John Allison, Administrators of all and singular the Goods and Chattels, rights and credits which were of the said Joseph Allison at the time of his death to be administered, For and in consideration of the sum of Thirty-nine pounds lawful money of the Province aforesaid to them in Hand paid by Simon Fitch, of Horton, in the county aforesaid, Esquire, upon the Second day of March last, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, Have Granted, Bargained, and Sold and made over unto the said Simon Fitch a certain Negro woman named Nelly, of the age of twenty-five or thereabout, now in the possession of the said Simon, where she hath been since the said Second day of March last, which Negro woman was and is a part of the Personal Estate of the said Joseph Allison (if a Negro can be considered personal property in Nova Scotia) and all the Right, Title, Interest and Claim which the said Joseph Allison in His Lifetime Had, and which the said Alice Administratrix, William Allison and John Allison Administrators aforesaid Had or have in and

¹ For the use of this document I am indebted to Mr. W. L. Barss, LL. B., of the law firm of King & Barss, of Halifax.

to the said Negro woman and to her services for and during her natural life, to Have and to Hold the said Negro Woman and all the Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Claim and Demand which the said Joseph Allison Had in his lifetime, and which they the said Alice Administratrix, William Allison and John Allison Administrators Had or Have of and in the said Negro Woman and to her Services for and during Her natural life unto the said Simon Fitch His Executors, Administrators and Assigns in as full and ample a manner as the said Joseph Allison in His lifetime possessed the same and as the said Alice Administratrix, William Allison and John Allison Administrators as aforesaid Held or possessed the same.

In Witness whereof the Parties to these Presents have Hereunto Subscribed their names and affixed their seals at Horton this second day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seven.

Alice Allison, Administratrix. [L.S.]

Wm. Allison, Administrator. [L.S.]

John Allison, Administrator. [L.S.]

Signed, sealed and

Delivered in presence of

Jeremiah Calkin, Jr. }

Some faded old documents furnish proof that slavery continued to exist several years later than the date of the above transaction in that part of New Brunswick lying nearest to Nova Scotia. Slaves, never very numerous there, seem to have fallen chiefly into the hands of two leading men, both of them magistrates. One of these, James Law, said to have been a Virginian taken in boyhood to Connecticut, had, at the close of the French war, during which he fought with conspicuous gallantry, commenced business as a trader at Fort Cumberland about 1761. There he married a daughter of Colonel Thomas Dickson, and became one of the most wealthy and prominent and prodigally hospitable men of that part of the country. His slaves have been described as "a petted and useless lot" who thought so much of themselves that "as proud

as Law's Negroes"—uttered in less polished phrase—became a proverbial expression. The several slaves owned by Titus Knapp, previously mentioned, had been purchased by him, according to his grandson, Charles E. Knapp, Esq., of Dorchester, at different auction sales after he had made his home at Fort Cumberland. He owned at one time "Sippio Milligan, Peter Martyn, Lucy Martyn, Newton Bacchus, and several others whose names are forgotten". A bill of sale in the possession of W. C. Milner, Esq., Point de Bute, dated January 9, 1804, proves the transfer by James Law to Titus Knapp of a Negro boy named Peter for the sum of forty-two pounds. This boy was again sold, about 1810, to James Isaac Hewson, with whom he remained "until after the emancipation of slaves".

A still later transaction appears in another bill of sale, also in the possession of Mr. Milner :

Know all men by these presents that I, Sarah Allen of the county of Westmoreland and Province of New Brunswick, for and in consideration of Thirty Pounds, to me in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery hereof by Titus Knapp Esquire of Westmoreland and Province aforesaid, the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, have bargained, and sold and by these presents do bargain and sell unto the said Titus Knapp a Mulato Boy about Fourteen Years Old named Bacchus, to have and to hold the said Mulato Boy to himself, his Heirs and assigns for ever ; and I the said Sarah Allan for myself, my heirs and Assigns against all and every other Person or Persons whatsoever shall and will him warrant and Defend for ever unto the said Titus Knapp. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this Tenth day of May in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight, and in the Forty eighth year of his Majesty's Reign.

Signed, Sealed and
delivered in presence of us, } SARAH ALLEN. [L.S.]
CATHERINE DIXON.
JAMES KNAPP.

Of twenty-two "servants" on the "provision" roll of the disbanded officers and soldiers and Loyalists "settling or about to settle" in June, 1784, in Prince Edward Island, then the "Island of St. John", six were in a separate column for "whites"; it may therefore be inferred that the others were colored "servants for life". Nearly all the latter were in the service of officers of the disbanded First Battalion of the King's Rangers, and were thus distributed: "Samuel Hayden, captain, three; Edward Mainwaring, captain, three; John Throckmorton, captain, two; Peter Anderson, ensign, two; Joseph Beers, ensign, two; Alex. Smith, adjutant, two; Lewis Davis, surgeon, one". Two servants are also enumerated with George Burnes, captain in the Royal Fencible American Regiment.

The number of American Loyalists who found homes in the island of St. John in succeeding months was not large, and few of them were, as far as can be learned, owners of slaves. A part of the proprietors among whom the fertile lands of the island had been so lavishly divided were ready to give up a portion of their large grants to the disinherited strangers, but the loss of some of the governor's despatches prevented that fact from becoming widely known. A few months later an agent was sent to the Loyalists in Nova Scotia with offers from the governor and proprietors to induce them to remove to the island colony. At Shelburne the agent found a number of "decent, steady people, mostly farmers", disappointed in the quality of the land on which they had been located, and glad to make a fresh venture. With a party of sixty of these, Loyalists and others, including John Brecken, George Maby, John Chambers, Nathanael, Stephen and William Wright, who arrived at Charlottetown from Shelburne on July 26, 1784, on their way to Bedeque, came no slaves: whether any bondmen were on board the

several vessels reported in the September following by Mr. Stewart, the agent to muster the disbanded soldiers and Loyalists, to be on the way from Shelburne, is uncertain.¹

Somewhat later, several Loyalist families, arriving from other points, brought colored "servants" with them to the island. Among these families was that of Colonel Joseph Robinson, whose descendants have held a prominent place in public affairs.² In consequence of his activity in raising a troop of cavalry in North Carolina and in other ways promoting Royal interests, Colonel Robinson's dwelling had been burned by the rebels, and his family obliged to flee for their lives, and afterwards escape with him in a vessel bound either to Florida or one of the West India Islands. Of the several slaves who came north with them first to the neighborhood of St. John, N. B., and somewhat later to Little York, P. E. I., where the slaves occupied little cabins on the corner of their master's farm, one, known as "Sancho", or "Sancho Campbell", had rendered the family special service by saving Mrs. Robinson and her children from the sharks which threatened their destruction through the upsetting of the boat in which they were being landed at their first place of refuge. This slave lived to be one hundred and five years of age.

With the Haszard family, from Rhode Island, slaves also came to the province. The only bills of sale registered at Charlottetown are two, recorded in October, 1804, by which in November, 1802, "Thomas Haszard of Charlottetown, Esquire", assigns to "William Haszard of

¹ "Manuscript Documents", Nova Scotia, Vol. 376.

² One daughter of Col. Robinson married John Brecken, a grandson of whom is the Rev. Ralph Brecken, D. D., of Mt. Allison University, and one of the most eloquent preachers of the Canadian Methodist Church; another daughter became the wife of Robert Hodgson, and mother of Sir Robert Hodgson, chief-justice and afterward governor of Prince Edward Island.

Lot 49, merchant", in consideration of twenty⁸/₈ pounds, Halifax currency, a Mulatto boy three years old called Simon ; and on the same date gives to his granddaughters "Hariot Clarissa Haszard and Sarah Louisa Haszard one Mulatto girl about five years of age named Catharine". Governor Fanning also was the possessor of two Negro men, to one of whom—Shepherd—when setting them at liberty, he gave a farm.

Of a slave named Sickles, owned by William Creed, previously of Boston, a glimpse is obtained through Dr. Patterson's "Life of James McGregor". This slave, who was much interested in Mr. McGregor's preaching at Three Rivers during his visit to the Island in 1794, was baptised during a visit of the same minister in the following year, and soon after, through the influence of Mr. McGregor, was given his freedom.¹ One or more slaves, bearing the same name, are known to have belonged to David Higgins, who came to the Island from Boston about the commencement of the Revolutionary war and carried on business in the district visited by the minister named.

An interesting reference to slavery in the island colony appears under date of July, 1800, in an old memorandum book of one of the early residents of Charlottetown, who seems to have been an adept in the art of using words to conceal rather than to disclose his meaning :

I was under the necessity of telling my servants, Jack and Amelia—to get them to go to Prince Town—that at the end of one year, if they behaved themselves well (of which I was to be the judge), and that neither Mrs. — or myself wanted them or either of them, I would give them their liberty ; that is to say, only for themselves two, not liberty for any children they now have or may hereafter have. But I also told them that if they or either of them misbehaved, they forfeit all expectations thereto. I

¹ "Life of James McGregor", p. 280. •

also told them as long as either of us wanted them, they were not to look for or expect their liberty, but to remain slaves as long as we, or either of us, thought proper; and I also assured them, if they behaved themselves well, they should never be sold with my consent.¹

The latest known advertisement of a public slave sale in the Lower Provinces appeared in the *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* of September 7, 1790, where in the column of "Sales by Auction" William Millet offered at his auction room, Halifax, on "Thursday next, the 9th inst., ship bread, mess pork, Indian and Rye meal, some household furniture, a stout, likely Negro man, and sundry other articles", the prominent type being given to the Negro man. No later advertisement of the private, unconditional sale of a slave is found in any paper in the Lower Provinces than that which appeared in the *New Brunswick Royal Gazette* of October 16, 1809, when Daniel Brown offered for sale Nancy, a Negro woman, to any purchaser of whom he guaranteed a "good title". And it is probable that the latest offer of a reward for the apprehension of a runaway slave to be found in a Lower Provinces' paper, was that which was made through the *Royal Gazette* of New Brunswick for July 10, 1816.

¹ *Weekly Examiner*, Feb. 11, 1881.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF THE SLAVE. HIS TREATMENT IN CANADA. CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF SLAVERY IN CANADA.

The slave in Canada was not in every case a Negro. Among bondmen in Quebec were Indians known as Panis, or, as some have called them, Pawnees ; and a few of these captive Panis, if one may judge from the advertisement of Charles Field, before quoted, were also found in the western province.¹ Of the slaves brought to the Maritime Provinces by settlers from the Northern states, either before or after the war of the Revolution, a number were of mixed race.

Not many years after Dutch traders had introduced African slaves into Virginia, the fortunes of war threw numbers of Indian captives into the hands of the English settlers in America, who enslaved them as their Anglo-Saxon forefathers had enslaved their prisoners more than a thousand years before. At the close of the fierce Pequod war, when about seven hundred Indians had been slain or captured, the captives were divided between the colonists of Connecticut and Massachusetts. By the authorities of the latter province the male children were sent to the Bermudas ; the women and girls being distributed as slaves among the settlements at home : a somewhat similar course was no doubt adopted by the managers of the first-named province. Many other Indian captives were thrown into the hands of New England settlers by the King Philip war. These could be held as slaves at home, but could not at the time be lawfully taken out of the country. Another terrible war—between the South Carolinians and

¹ See page 48.

Tuscaroras—ending in the defeat of the latter, left a large number of Indian prisoners in possession of the Carolinians, who shipped them as slaves to the other colonies. There the commission of cruel outrages by several of them led the General Courts, in the northern colonies in particular, to prohibit, under severe penalties, the further introduction of Indians as slaves. In the meantime, many Guinea slaves, regarded as of greater value than the Indians, who had proved poor and dangerous house servants, had been brought into the colonies; and both at the north and south the two races had intermarried, the Indians at length becoming absorbed in the much greater number of blacks, a limited amalgamation also taking place between the latter and the whites.¹ Besides these blended races were also some others whom the cupidity and cruelty of English captains had led them to carry away from other sections of Africa than Guinea and from ports in the East Indies. A similar variety of race was found in the free Negroes sent to Nova Scotia, as these were described in the lists prepared by order of Sir Guy Carleton at New York.²

¹ Johns Hopkins "University Studies", Series xi and xiv. On the savage service of that day James Russell Lowell makes this comment: "Let any housewife of our day who does not find the Keltic element in domestic life so refreshing as to Mr. Arnold in literature, imagine a household with one wild Pequot woman, communicated with by signs, for its maid-of-all-work, and take courage. Those were serious times indeed when your cook might give warning by taking your scalp or chignon, as the case might be, and making off with it into the woods". "Indian men", Mrs. Alice Morse Earle remarks, "often left their masters dishonestly dressed in their masters' fine apparel, and even wearing beribboned flaxen wigs, which must have been comic to a degree, over their harsh, saturnine countenances". It after all seems only natural "that any such wild child of the forests should have fled away from the cramped atmosphere of a Puritan household and house", adds Mrs. Earle. The same writer, in "Colonial Days in Old New York", remarks that she "has noted the fact that nearly all African-born Negroes who have become leaders in this country, or men of marked note in any way, have been Guinea men".

² See Vol. 423 of the "Manuscript Documents of Nova Scotia", consisting of extracts from the "Dorchester Papers", in which the origin of each freed-man sent by Sir Guy Carleton from New York to Nova Scotia is given.

Representatives of these blended races were to be found among the slave population of the British American provinces. Frequent mention is made in documents of the period of "Mulattos", "Mullottas" or "Molattos". Benjamin Condon, of Cornwallis, in 1777 gives to his son, James Condon, "the home farm", one half of certain undivided upland, "also my Spanish Indian man servant", for whom he asks his son to make comfortable provision in the event of his being incapacitated by age, sickness or other cause. Judge Ritchie, of Halifax, remarks that there frequently in his boyhood came to his father's house in Annapolis an old colored man with long hair and sharp features, and known as "Old Marsh", who was often spoken of by the judge's mother as one of the slaves of his grandfather, John Ritchie, Esq., and was supposed to be a native of Madagascar; and among slaves set free by Judge Isaac Allen of Fredericton, in the very first years of the century, is said to have been a girl carried off from the East Indies and sold at New York.

Slavery throughout British North America was generally of a mild type, like that of the Northern states. The Rev. John Wiswall, the first rector of Wilmot, N. S., driven by the Whigs in 1776 from his parish at Casco Bay, Maine, sent this message to his slave, Dinah, in a letter from Boston to a near relative: "Remember me to Dinah. I allow her to live with you or where she pleases until she hears from me. I am determined not to sell her to anybody. This you can assure her from me".¹ Judge Reeves, in speaking of slavery in Connecticut, whence a number of the New Englanders came to Nova Scotia, shows the system in practice in that province to have been "very far from the absolute, rigid kind. The master had no control over the life of his slave. If he killed him, he was liable to the same punishment as if he

¹ Manuscript Journal of Rev. John Wiswall.

had killed a freeman. The master was as liable to be sued by the slave, in an action for beating and wounding, or for immoderate chastisement, as he would be if he thus treated an apprentice. A slave was capable of holding property in the character of devisee or legatee. If the master should take away such property his slave would be entitled to an action against him by his *prochain ami*. From the whole, we see that slaves had the same right of life and property as apprentices, and that the difference betwixt them was this, an apprentice is a servant for time and the slave is a servant for life".¹ In accordance with this interpretation of the right of the slave the man who in Cape Breton was charged with the death of a Negro was brought to trial, only escaping a severe penalty on the plea of self-defence.²

In the New England colonies a large degree of social as well as legal freedom seems to have been permitted. Madam Knight, of Boston, who travelled through Connecticut in 1704, gives us a glimpse of slave life in that province, and as quoted by Mrs. Earle says that the Negroes were too familiar, being permitted to sit at the table with the master and dip into the same trencher. Of the New England slaves Hawthorne has written: "They were not excluded from the domestic affections; in families of middling rank they had their places at the board; and when the circle closed around the evening hearth its blaze glowed on their dark shining faces, intermixed familiarly with their master's children".

The laws of the Southern provinces, humane to the white man, were severe to the Negro. The statute of Virginia which declared who were slaves had adopted, as we learn from Bancroft, the idea long prevalent through Christendom that "all servants not being Christians,

¹ Johns Hopkins "University Studies", Series xi, p. 387.

² See page 34.

imported into this colony by shipping, shall be slaves". Yet, it was added, "Conversion to the Christian faith doth not make free". The early Anglo-Saxon rule, interpreting every doubtful question in favor of liberty, declared the children of freemen to be free: doubts arose in Virginia whether the offspring of an Englishman by a Negro woman should be bond or free, and the rule of the Roman law prevailed over that of the Saxon. The offspring followed the condition of its mother—a rule generally adopted throughout the colonies and in the West Indies. From the same authority we learn that Virginia law also made the master absolute lord over the Negro. "The death of a slave from extremity of correction was not accounted felony, since it cannot be presumed—such is the language of the statute—that prepensed malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate"—a conclusion which fails to take into account the force of human passion. "Finally it was made lawful for persons, pursuing fugitive coloured slaves, to wound or even to kill them".¹ But even the slavery of the Southern colonies, at the period at which numerous Southern Loyalists found their way to the territory of the present Canadian provinces, had not developed as much general harshness in practice as was seen when the rapid growth in the trade in rice, sugar and cotton, the trinity that dominated the industry of the South, had led to greater effort to supply the imperious demands of a widening market; and when the advance of Abolition sentiment at the North had made slavery a great political interest in the country, while on the plantation it was promoting greater restiveness on the part of the slave, and increased suspicion on that of the owner.

Instances of the treatment of slaves in Canada after the Southern fashion there apparently were. Mr. T. W. Casey,

¹ Bancroft's "History of the United States", Vol. ii, p. 193.

of Napanee, Ont., writes that "for years a tree that stood at Finkle's Point, above Bath, was pointed out as one to which a slave had been tied to be severely thrashed". Among the dwellings destroyed at Windsor, N. S., on a fateful Sunday in October, 1897, was one at which I had often looked askance in childhood, because of the story that a slave boy, killed by a blow from a hammer in the hand of his master, had been known to put in an occasional appearance there. Mrs. J. M. Owen, of Annapolis, to whom the writer of this paper has to express his indebtedness for more than one item of interest, has referred in the *Halifax Herald* to the tradition that Mrs. Barclay, wife of Colonel Barclay, of Annapolis, was responsible for the death of a slave through a severe whipping she had ordered him. In his "History of Pictou" the Rev. Dr. Patterson says: "We have not heard of any cases of those in Pictou who owned slaves ill-treating them. On the contrary, a poor woman who belonged to Matthew Harris and obtained her freedom used to confess that her life had never been so free from anxiety as when living with him; but in other places tradition has preserved the remembrance of some cruel deeds, showing the character of the system. We have heard, for example, of a Negro slave in Truro who was so treated by his master that several times he ran away, usually making for Pictou. On one occasion his master, having caught him, cut a hole through the lower lobe of his ear, through which he passed the end of a whip-lash, and knotting it he mounted his horse and rode off, dragging after him in that way the poor man, who shortly after died, it was believed in a large measure through the treatment he had received".

Some serious revelations are made in Lieutenant Clarkson's journal. Three or four years before the arrival of that officer in this province—in 1791—on his philanthropic mission, slavery, especially in the more populous

settlements of Nova Scotia, had assumed a fast-and-loose character. During the war of the Revolution Loyalist slave-owners had been unable to exercise over their slaves the previous strict control ; and after their arrival in the remaining British colonies, where opportunities for employment were uncertain and the cost of maintenance great, not a few necessitous proprietors were glad, especially when the issue of the food rations was about to cease, to let their slaves forage as best they could for themselves and their families. The consequence of this cessation of government supplies was a sad one, not only to the cast-off slaves, but to many of the free blacks as well, especially at Burchtown and Shelburne, where several Negroes, after having parted with what little they had, died on the streets from hunger.¹ Liberty was not, however, purchased by this responsibility of the bondman for personal and family maintenance. His human owner had only relaxed, and not abandoned, his hold upon his convenient property. "There are many instances", wrote Clarkson in Halifax, December, 1791, when he had one day been calling on several persons to "give up some children whose parents were about leaving with him" for Sierra Leone—"many instances, after seven years have elapsed, that the master has retaken his slaves because they were useful, and sold and disposed of them as he thought proper". Among men so unprincipled and base as these Clarkson found some of his strongest opponents.

Other persons also grieved the spirit of the perplexed philanthropist. On one occasion he called upon a Mrs. H., at the dockyard, to intercede for the freedom of a Negro girl, whose family, after the burning of their house at Preston, had indentured her to this woman for five years, three of which she had served. Believing that the girl, all whose relatives were to go to Sierra Leone, would at

¹ Memoirs of Boston King, "Arminian Magazine", 1798, p. 209.

the end of the five years' term he sold as a slave, the lieutenant pleaded for her freedom, but to no purpose. All appeals to Mrs. H. as a woman and a mother, he states in his journal, were "fruitless". At another time he waited upon a Mr. Lee, an "honest, well-meaning, good sort of a man", whose slave, Clarkson had reason to believe, ought to have been free. The owner insisted upon the legality of his title, and declined to liberate his man, and the lieutenant withdrew, having concluded that Captain Mason, of the "Delaware", and his surgeon had forged a title to the boy and then sold him to Lee. In another instance, in spite of the partial acquiescence of two Halifax magistrates in the scheme of a butcher about to carry off a colored lad to the United States, he rescued the lad, and no one having appeared against him when he presented himself to justify his action, he placed the boy with the boy's father and enrolled him with the father's family for embarkation for Western Africa.

Two even more sad illustrations of the working of slavery in Nova Scotia belong to the same period. During a visit of some days to Shelburne Clarkson was called upon by a "black slave"—John Cottrell, the property of Mr. Farish. He had been taken in execution by the sheriff, with all the rest of his master's property. Clarkson describes the interview as very affecting. With tears, the slave, whose wife and children were free, stated that though separation from them would be like death itself to him, he had come to the conclusion to resign them for ever, because he was convinced that that course would ultimately render them more comfortable. "Much more", adds Clarkson, "he said which it is impossible to convey in language adequate to our feelings on this occasion". Touched by the man's deep emotion and noble spirit, Clarkson promised to purchase his freedom, and at once approached his owner, from whom with sorrow he learned

that the intricacy of law, as it affected this slave's condition, was such as to prevent his sale by his owner. The worthy Major Skinner, the leading magistrate of Shelburne, also gave the lieutenant no ground for hope of success in rescuing the slave during the short time remaining to him in Nova Scotia; he had therefore to abandon the attempt.

The second illustration takes us to other sections of Nova Scotia. A certain resident at Manchester, Guysboro' county, according to Clarkson, had succeeded in getting a young colored woman, under pressure of want, to indenture herself to him for a year. Taking advantage of her ignorance, he had inserted in the document "thirty-nine years" instead of one year, and had obtained her mark by way of signature. He then told her that she was to serve for the year with a Dr. B. of Lunenburg, to whom she was sent. On arrival at Lunenburg the poor girl learned with intense surprise that she had been bound for a term of thirty-nine years and made over to Dr. B. for the sum of twenty pounds. At the end of three years of alleged cruel treatment she had made her escape from the German town, and after the endurance of great hardship had reached Halifax. In this woman's behalf Clarkson wrote Dr. B. and also sought legal advice. Having been informed that she might recover wages from the doctor, but that the slowness of the process of law would prevent a final settlement of her case in time for removal to Sierra Leone, he was obliged to abandon further effort in this instance also. "And", he adds, "there were many others of a similar nature". Can one very greatly wonder that in sheer disgust, on the very eve of sailing from Halifax in January, 1792, he should have written words which seem libellous?—"the Black people being considered in this province in no better light than beasts"!

This sweeping statement of the worried lieutenant must nevertheless not be allowed to pass unquestioned. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and in Ontario, as we have seen, were owners of slaves who did not forget that those under their control were human beings. If there were masters like one at Maugerville, N. B., whose slaves, on a slight pretext tied up in the barn and vigorously whipped, as the emancipated "Cato" was wont to describe, were ready to desert him at the first distinct whisper of freedom, there were others like his neighbor, Elijah Miles, whose kindness had so attached his Negroes to himself and to his place that only the lapse of years could detach them from their former master. To the Negro the word "freedom" had an intense attraction;¹ and when the word was being translated into fact many copied the conduct of the slave at Yarmouth who rushed into his master's kitchen with the exclamation, "We'se free", and, proof against any offer of wages, sought a shanty for himself and wife, in preference to the previous comfortable shelter. Yet not a few of these, by the frequent acceptance of refuge in old haunts, and by their dependence upon their former owners and upon their children after them, bore witness that the period of bondage had not been wholly without its sunshine.

The lives of Canadian slaves were without annals. Their existence was passed on one of the lowest levels, references to them in contemporary records being only occasional and as brief as possible, except

¹ T. W. Higginson, of Cambridge, Mass., tells of the influences which predisposed him to be an Abolitionist: "My own strongest impulse came incidentally from my mother". The acquaintance of his father, who was steward at Harvard, and also "patron", led to several visits to Southern families. "Being once driven from place to place by an intelligent Negro driver, my mother said to him that she thought him very well situated after all; on which he turned and looked at her, simply saying: 'Ah, missis! free breath is good'. It impressed her greatly, and she put it into her diary". "Cheerful Yesterdays", p. 123.

under very special circumstances. Some scenes caught by the mental camera tempt one to smile; others dispel any tendency to gaiety. A suggestive picture of the relations subsisting between slaves and their owners at Yarmouth at the beginning of the century, handed down by parents and now retouched by the pen of Mrs. Maria J. L. Thorburn, of Ottawa, merits preservation in full: "My maternal grandfather, Dr. Bond, mentioned on page 145 in Campbell's 'History of Yarmouth', owned two slaves, the man named Manuel, and his wife Kate. They were employed as household servants. When my mother (afterwards Mrs. Farish) was a girl, probably about 1802, a child was born to this couple. My grandfather made a present of the little one to my mother, telling her she could give it any name she chose. She had just been reading the romantic adventures of Lady Hester Stanhope, so gave the name of her heroine to the little slave-born baby. Hester was one of the memories of my childhood, often coming in after years to our house in Yarmouth. When the slaves were liberated Manuel came into the kitchen one day, exclaiming, 'Kate, we're free'! Having been all their lives in slavery and cared for, they were utterly unable to take care of themselves, and my grandfather offered to keep them and pay them wages, but so elated were they with their new-found liberty that they refused, even though, to keep themselves alive during the cold ensuing winter, Manuel had frequent recourse at nights to the potato bin of his old master, his knowledge of the premises making this an easy matter. I remember both Manuel and Kate very well. The latter eked out a precarious living by selling molasses candy to the juveniles of the town, especially on 'training-days' and at launches. She came very often to my mother's house, whence she was never sent away empty. She lived to be over a hundred years (having

been born in 1773), and died not so many years ago, near Weymouth, N. S."

Some serio-comic aspects of slave life are presented by certain local traditions. The treatment of a slave by an old Loyalist officer at or near Woodstock, N. B., must have given more pleasure to the "small boy" than to the slave. Each day the old gentleman rode up to the tavern for his accustomed potation, followed by a slave on foot, who at the door handed the filled glass to his master, and as regularly executed the most dexterous possible movement in order to evade the blow from the master's stick which invariably accompanied the return of the emptied glass. Not less amusing, to two individuals, was the treatment of a slave at Annapolis, which tradition imputes to Joseph Winniett, a leading member of a family long prominent in the old Nova Scotian capital. A slave girl had one day during Mr. Winniett's absence from home provoked to the utmost the patience of her mistress. On his return Mrs. Winniett promptly demanded a severe whipping for the slave at the hands of her master. Having ordered the girl to an adjoining room, Mr. Winniett charged her to scream at the top of her voice, while he proceeded to apply his whip with such vigor to the furniture of the room as made all rattle again until at the opened door the satisfied mistress informed the refractory girl that she had learned a lesson without any mistake this time!

In some cases the attachments between the slaves and the families of their owners were strong and lasting. A gentleman whose early life was spent in St. John, N. B., tells of a slave brought to Hampton by his maternal grandfather, Isaac Ketchum, a Loyalist. This slave was older than his mother, and through all the trials and critical periods of that mother's married life had proved so faithful a friend that a resting place had been promised her at death beside the mother. Many years passed, and

then one day the sons and daughters, true to their mother's promise, bore the body of old "Phemy", the former slave, from her humble home on Princess street, St. John, of that day, and laid it beside the dust of the mother, whose life-chapter had been closed many years before.

In several instances thoughtfulness on the part of the master is seen in the bequest for the benefit of the slave. Thus in 1789 Anna Lillie, of Halifax, widow of Theophilus Lillie, in her will arranges that at her death her "black man, Cæsar", is to be free, and leaves ten pounds with her executors to be used "in case of sickness or other necessity", and in a codicil orders, like a thoughtful woman, that "the feather bed and bedstead whereupon he usually sleeps, and also the bed clothes and bedding belonging thereto, be also given unto Cæsar". A few months earlier Thomas Leonard, of Horton, places this clause in his will: "I give and bequeath to my former Negro woman Phillis (I have given her freedom with her child) fifty pounds Nova Scotia currency to be paid her as follows, viz. : Ten pounds in three months after my decease and ten pounds a year for four years after, making the said fifty pounds". In similar spirit Joseph Fairbanks, of Halifax, in 1790 by his last will and testament directed that "my old and faithful servant, Richard Fortune, shall be emancipated and made free immediately after my decease", and made provision for giving him five pounds annually so long as he should live. According to the disposition by Edward Barron, Esq., of Barronsfield, Cumberland county, of the "worldly estate which it hath pleased God to bless me with", Phœbe, his slave, was to have her freedom at his death, and her son, Hugh Cumming, at the age of twenty-one or sooner if she should so wish. "Let her have two cows and six ewes". Joshua F. De St. Croix, of Granville, dying in 1804, directed that his "faithful servant Bess" should be free if

she wished, and instructed his three sons to pay her ten pounds a year during her life. And Stephen Reed, of Amherst, in 1801 requests his sons "jointly to provide for and comfortably take care of the black man and black woman slaves belonging to me, during their natural lives". An equally benevolent intention may have prompted the slave-owner who either gave or bequeathed a slave for the "use and benefit of the wardens and vestry of St. Paul's", Halifax.

The truth of the assertion of Lieutenant Clarkson, if understood in relation to the moral and spiritual welfare of the slaves, would also admit of very serious question. From a share in some at least of the church ordinances of the time they were not debarred. As early as in 1769 an entry appears in the records of the Protestant Dissenting church, now St. Matthew's Presbyterian, of Halifax, of "Samuel, Susannah and Elizabeth, children of William and Charity Willet, John, a Negro servant", baptized by "the Rev. Mr. John Seccombe". Seven years earlier—in 1762—an entry of the baptism of two Negro girls, Lucia and Frances, was made in the register of St. Paul's parish; and in 1775 another of "a negro of Mr. McNamara's". Subsequently to the baptism of Governor Wentworth's numerous party many others took place, though a distinction was not always clearly drawn in the records between the candidates slave and free. Similar entries are also found in the records of Annapolis, Sydney, C. B., and others of the older parishes of the provinces. In the register of the parish church, Prince William, York county, N. B., may be read in the handwriting of the Rev. Frederick Dibblee, first rector of Woodstock, under date of July 28, 1798: "Baptized two Black children, the property of Col. Ellegood, named Sally and Adam Wise". The early parish records at Mougerville, N. B., have similar entries. On September 14, 1788, John Beardsley, the rector of that

parish, baptized "Cæsar Broadstreet, a servant to Peter Ryerson; Nathanael and John, servants of Captain [Elijah] Miles; Edward Ludlow, servant to Mr. [Richard] Carman; Margaret Allison, servant to Mrs. Allison; Scipeo Africanus, Susannah Africanus, Mary, Osman and Cornelius Moore, all Black Adults";¹ on "April 26, 1791, John, a black servant child of Mr. John Simonson; and on "October 3, 1797, Ann and Mary Ann, Mr. Simonson's black children", and also "Elizabeth and Easter Longmuire, black adults of Mr. Lawton". Richard Clarke, the first rector of Gagetown, N. B., has in his register, under date of January 1, 1788, an entry of the baptism of "Maria, an adult, and Lydia, servants of Col. Ludlow", a brother of Chief-justice Ludlow; and another, dated St. John, March 6, 1788, of "Bettie, a Negro wench", and "Charles, ye son of Bettie". Among recorded baptisms at Annapolis are those of slaves belonging to the families of Chandler, DeLancey, Ditmars, Polhemus and Sneed. Records of burials of colored people, distinctly reported as servants or slaves, are less frequent than those of baptisms. One is found in the Maugerville record under date of July 27, 1783: "Buried Rachel, a black woman—servant of William Hubbard, Esq."; another appearing in the register of St. George's parish, Sydney, C. B., has been quoted on a previous page.² A similar entry of a later date is the record of the funeral of "Andrew, a servant of Captain

¹The Rev. R. W. Colston, rector of Maugerville, in an account read at memorial services held in that parish on August 31st, 1898, is reported to have said: "At the vestry meeting in 1790 the first sexton was elected, Scipio, the colored slave of Eliza [Elijah?] Miles. Four years afterwards Scipio received a surname, Africanus." If the quotation from the records be correct, as given in the text, it would seem as if the poor fellow had been burdened with the classic title at his baptism, in 1788, or perhaps at an earlier date.

² See page 33.

Smith", at Woodstock, N. B., in 1808.¹ The parish clergyman of that day required the power to repress a smile, or the faculty of "smiling inside" which George Washington's slave ascribed to his master, or the sonorous, classic or historic names frequently conferred on slaves in baptism or repeated in the publication of the banns of marriage must have seriously discounted pulpit dignity.

The once prevalent idea that the right to enslave a Negro was based upon his being a pagan, and that to hold him in bondage after conversion to baptism was illegal—an idea which led to the passage of a law in Maryland in 1671, and at a later period in New York, that conversion or baptism should not be taken to give freedom to slaves, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century in some quarters awakened a strong objection to the baptism of slaves on the part of slave-proprietors—seems to have given Provincial masters little concern. It is not improbable, however, that in relation to the marriage of slaves they were in some measure hampered by that fear of complication of property which led a great majority of West India planters to oppose formal marriages, while they encouraged illicit unions. Several marriages of slaves, as such, are recorded in old parish church registers. One may read in that of St. Mark's, Niagara, Ont.: "Married, 1797, February 5th, Moses and Phœbe, Negro slaves of Mr. Secretary Jarvis"; and in that of St. George's, Sydney, C. B.: "George Peter, black man, and Isabella Tomas, a free black woman, having been published three Sundays in the church, married 22nd July, 1787". The entry in the latter register of the marriage of "Cæsar Augustus, a slave, and Darius Snider, black folks", has

¹ The descendants of Captain Jacob Smith, of DeLancey's First Battalion, say that he brought one or two slaves to Woodstock. Others of the name also appear to have brought slaves to that part of New Brunswick.

already been quoted. Of several marriages of colored people recorded in the registers of St. Paul's, and the Protestant Dissenting church, Halifax, and of the parish churches at Annapolis and elsewhere, a few at least were those of slaves.

In some other quarters there seems to have been a lack of regard on the part of masters for the marriage bond in relation to their slaves. A recent writer on slavery in North Carolina says : " The intermarriage of slaves was a matter of little ceremony. The masters of the contracting parties must first consent to the union. That being arranged, the groom sought his bride, offered her some toy, as a brass ring, and if his gifts were accepted the marriage was considered as made. If the couple separated the present was always to be returned. Such separation occurred often, in particular in the absence of children, and quite independently, in many instances, of the wish of the parties".¹ In the British provinces as elsewhere usage held the children to be the property of the owner of the mother, and interference between the parents by owners seldom took place, but a somewhat amusing story told by Judge Morse of Amherst, of the courtship of a slave of Samuel Gay of Cumberland, and " Sylvey", an attractive young slave belonging to Colonel Henry Purdy of Fort Lawrence, gives some countenance to the suspicion that in Nova Scotia as in some other places slave marriages were not always matters of much ceremony.² And it does not appear that when two slaves owned by Miss Polly Polhemus, a daughter of John Polhemus, one of the Loyalist captains at Annapolis, arranged an exchange of partners, Miss Polhemus or any outside party interfered with the compact ; and so one of these worthies continued to drive the carriage of his mistress from her residence

¹ Johns Hopkins " University Studies ", Series xiv., p. 225.

² A son of this couple, a much respected old man, died at Amherst about sixteen years ago.

near Clementsport to the parish church, himself a very picture of ebony dignity.

Lieutenant Clarkson, during his short mission to the Maritime Provinces, was an appreciative witness to the labors in behalf of their own race of men like David George—a Baptist, and Moses Wilkinson and Boston King—Methodists, all of whom, as free Negroes, accompanied him to Sierra Leone, but he seems to have been unacquainted with the efforts of William Black and James McGregor and others, who recognized in these enslaved Africans men and women for whom Christ died, and who found opportunity to render to some of them such services as Paul the apostle rendered to Onesimus of the olden time.

Frequent offers of rewards for the apprehension of runaway slaves towards the close of the last century indicate growing dissatisfaction with a state of bondage, but this restlessness was not by any means universal. One exception was old Zip Moses, the property of Frederick Davoue of Annapolis, a "shut-eye sentry", according to Mrs. J. M. Owen, over the old gentleman's daughters, who rewarded Zip's free and easy guardianship with such tokens of good-will as made his position seem to him one to be retained as long as was possible. A lady belonging to this city tells of an old colored man of former days in Halifax who met an offer of freedom made by his master with the sage remark: "Master, you eated me when I was meat, and now you must pick me when I'm bone". The same lady remembers a former slave named Chloe, who died somewhere in the thirties, for many years a servant with the Bains, a Scotch family once residing on the site of the present Academy of Music. This woman, my informant tells me, had in her countenance few lineaments of the Negro race, and held herself almost aloof from the colored people, a crowd of whom on the

day of her funeral looked with wonder at the unusual sight of the young men of the household following the body of a colored woman to her grave in the old cemetery.¹

The causes of the rapid decline and early extinction of slavery in the British North American Provinces are worthy of study.

Public opinion had not at any time been unanimous in favor of the system. Though the traffic in captive Africans for the West Indies and the Southern States had been to some extent in the hands of traders belonging to the New England and Middle States, the general conscience of those sections of the country had never approved of the traffic, and from those sections the earlier slaveholders of Nova Scotia had come. It was owing in part

¹ This glimpse of a life reminds the writer that he learned during a residence of four years in Bermuda, where in 1834 the sun on July 31st set upon four thousands of slaves and on the following morning rose upon them all as freemen, that the more nearly the distinction of race is obliterated in the slave, the more keenly the iron of bondage enters his soul. There passed away in 1872 from the West Indies a minister whose life was said by his brother ministers, both white and colored, to have been "fully in accordance with the New Testament pattern". When, in 1825, Bishop Inglis, of Nova Scotia, in which diocese Bermuda was then included, first visited that colony, he had heard of this young man, and had called upon him to ascertain his willingness to accompany him to Nova Scotia, to be trained for the ministry of the Episcopal Church. Having learned that representations concerning himself had already been made to the managers of the English Wesleyan Missionary Society by their missionary on the islands, whom he described as having been an "angel of light" to him, the young man respectfully declined any further overtures from the bishop in a note about which that gentleman was heard to say that no student at King's College, Windsor, could have presented a better piece of composition. Upon the grant, by the British government, after the abolition of slavery in 1834, of five thousand pounds to the Wesleyan Missionary Society for the erection of school buildings for the colored population of the West Indies, on condition that the Society should expend half that sum from its own funds for the same purpose, the committee of the Society, having resolved to raise the necessary sum as a special fund, sent for this young minister to cross the ocean, and during eighteen or twenty months spent by him in Britain received from him most effective aid. Charles DeWolfe, of Horton, N. S., at one time a fellow-student with the late Governor Archibald in the law office of William Sutherland of Halifax, and afterwards one of Nova Scotia's most eloquent preachers, heard him in England and classed him with James Parsons, the leading Nonconformist preacher of that day in Britain. Some years later the minister in question re-visited Britain as a delegate from

to this cause that wills probated in Halifax and some other counties towards the close of the century contained so many items of enfranchisement. Thus Richard Wenman of Halifax, in September, 1781, arranges to "give unto my Negro named Cato his liberty" and to "hereby release him from all idea of slavery, if he will faithfully serve my said daughter, Elizabeth Susanna Pringle, two years, and not otherwise". In February, 1784, Charles Montague, of Halifax, says in his will: "I have only one Negro, named Francis. He is to have his freedom". The will of Anne Cosby, eldest daughter of William Winniett and widow of Major Cosby, drawn up in Annapolis in 1788, has this item: "I do also give and devise to my black woman named Rose, a Mulatto girl named Agatha, and to my black man named John Bulkely, to each and every one of them their full freedom and discharge from all servitude as slaves from the day of my decease for ever". Under somewhat similar circumstances, in May, 1787, Margaret Murray, widow, of Halifax, devises: "I do manumit my two Negro women, Marianne and Flora, and also my Negro boy Brutus when

the West Indies to the annual meeting of the Evangelical Alliance. And yet this young man—Edward Fraser, the son of a Scotch father and a Mulatto slave mother, was, when Bishop Inglis approached him in Bermuda, himself a slave, unable to make any change in his position without permission from his master. That such a man could be held as "personal property", in common with "goods and chattels", and subject to all the accidents of fortune or impulses of another, made slavery, mild as in the main it was in Bermuda, appear a hideous fact. Such ownership seemed, from a Christian point of view, a dark crime. Keenly enough were his limitations felt by the young man himself. He was not ungrateful for kindness received, for he wrote the managers of the Missionary Society, "Obliged in gratitude as I am, I know not how to excuse a willingness to leave my master and his family until your verdict makes my call to higher duties unquestionable"; yet at the same time he added that the very thought that he was a slave often came over him as a "mildew and a frost". He "could not think freely", his "mind was in bonds". Even when he had been accepted conditionally as a candidate for the ministry his name could not appear with the names of other young men in published official documents. This "story of a crime" had happily a termination creditable to all concerned. At the request of the Missionary Society, the owner, Mr. Lightbourn, gave young Fraser his freedom and forwarded to the Secretaries a certificate of manumission which did honor to the freedman while reflecting credit upon himself.

he shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years". Similar extracts from other wills have been given on a previous page because of some appendage in the way of aid or support to the enfranchised slaves.

An important reason for the decline of slavery lay in its inadaptation to a northern climate. The shortness of the season favorable to the products of the earth, and the length of the winter, with its expense of food, clothing and shelter, rendered slavery to any great extent an unprofitable thing in a northern climate; on the other hand the successive and varying natural products of the warmer zone all favored the expansion of slavery at the South, and caused it to become a very important industrial element. "New York", said George Bancroft many years ago, "had imported as many Africans as Virginia". And, he added "that it is not a slave state like Carolina is due to climate and not to the superior humanity of its founders".¹ This fact of climate to no small extent accounts for the divergence of opinion between the representatives of the northern and southern colonies at the consolidation of the republic several years after their achievement of independence, when six states voted against the extension of slavery beyond certain limits, and—important lesson to all ages—the absence of one representative from a certain state fastened upon the new nation a terrible evil, only recently thrown off at a tremendous cost of human life and treasure.²

¹ "History of United States", vol. ii., p. 303.

² On April 19, 1784, the question was put to vote in Congress, "Shall the words referring to the prohibition of slavery throughout the entire Union after the year 1800, which had been moved to be stricken out, stand"? An affirmative vote of a majority of all the states voting being required, the restriction proposed failed, the absence of a member from New Jersey rendering the vote of that state null for want of a quorum. "Humanly speaking", remarks Horace Greeley, "we may say that this accident—a most deplorable and fatal accident—of the absence of a member from New Jersey prevented the adoption at that time of a proposition which would have confined slavery in our country within the limits of the then existing states, and precluded all reasonable probability of subsequent contention, collision, and bloody strife touching its extension". Greeley's "American Conflict", vol. i., p. 40.

Slavery would be a too costly thing for Canada to-day; what must it have been a century since? What could Isaac Wilkins do with his slaves among those granite rocks at Point Carleton in Shelburne harbor? or what could Charles Oliver Breuff with his fifteen in Shelburne town? And how John Grant, weary and ill and dispirited by his heavy losses as a Loyalist, and how his gentle wife, who like thousands of women at that sad period had left all other friends to "keep her only unto him", when they crossed by boat from Mount Denson to Loyal Hill and found their six children safely beside them, must have wondered what they were going to do with that other group—that group of nine dark faces! During the three or four years in which rations of pork and flour were provided for servants equally with their masters the pressure for food supplies was not a so serious matter, but after that period the supply for the appetites of those nine slaves of varying ages, from "Sam" at thirty-three and "Nance" at twenty-nine down to little "Betty" at three, must have been an important question at Loyal Hill. It was just about this time that Captain Grant lessened the burden by disposing of one of the girl slaves, a gift to his daughter Rachel from her Dutch grandfather, to Richard Killo, a Halifax innkeeper.¹

¹ Captain Grant had secured a commission when a mere boy in the Forty-second Royal Highland regiment (Black Watch). With that celebrated regiment he had fought at Fontenoy in 1745, and in 1756 had landed at New York. In 1758 he retired from the army, and during the following year married Sarah Bergen, a descendant of Hans Hansen Bergen, an early Norwegian-Dutch settler of New York. After having served with the colonial troops at the capture of the Havannah and in the expedition to Crown Point, he had settled quietly down at his home in Jamaica, Long Island, when the stirring scenes of the Revolution once more aroused him. At first, on account of the pronounced Whig tendencies of his wife's friends, he retired to the West Indies, whence, however, he soon returned to take an active part in the conflict on the side of Britain. One wound, of several received on battle-fields, shortened his days. His losses of various kinds were estimated by him, at five thousand pounds. The tract of three thousand acres granted him within a few miles of the fort at Crown Point, and confiscated by the authorities of Vermont, became thickly settled in a very few years after the close of the war. In view of this loss the government

The uncertain character of slave property, especially in the neighborhood of the sea, had also its effect in hastening the decline of the traffic. In ports like Quebec and, in particular, Halifax, where at any moment the press-gang might patrol the streets to hurry on board the king's ships any stragglers unable to escape their clutches ; and where, through departures of vessels for more or less distant ports, were frequent opportunities for the escape or stealing of slaves, the owners of Negroes were never secure. A striking illustration of the uncertain tenure of this species of property is furnished in the records of the probate court, Halifax. In the inventory of the estate of Balthazar Creamer, Halifax, recorded April 1, 1796, the item of a "tract of land at Preston" is followed by "one black man by the name of Benjamin", estimated by the appraisers at sixty pounds ; "one black woman by the name of Mary", sixty pounds ; "one black girl by the name of Sary", thirty pounds. In a second inventory, rendered necessary by the death during the following year of Catharine, widow of the said Balthazar, these items are repeated, with some explanatory notes of a brief but significant character : "One black man, forty pounds, carried off in the *Raison* frigate ; one black woman, ran away at Chester, thirty pounds ; one black girl, died".¹

But most powerful of all the causes of the final extinction of slavery in the several British American provinces was the action of the courts of law. The decision in 1772 of Lord Mansfield, elicited by the harsh treatment of James Somerset, a slave carried from Virginia to England and

X granted him three thousand acres at Loyal Hill, Hants county, where he died in 1792. Several of the solid business men of Hants county and of the city of Halifax are descendants of this Scotch soldier.

¹ The *Raison* was one of two French war vessels captured by his Majesty's ships *Thetis* and *Hussar* in the West Indies. Not less than three warrants of impress had been granted ships of war at Halifax between November 1, 1796 and January 31, 1797.

on his capture after escape from his master sent on board ship to be sold in Jamaica, to the effect that no master could compel a slave to go from Britain to any foreign country, or even to any British colony, gave a strong impulse to the anti-slavery movement in Britain toward the close of the last century ; and affected legal circles throughout the empire. A further impulse in the same direction was given by the passage in 1797 by the Imperial parliament of an Act which repealed a certain Act of Geo. II. in so far as it had provided for the compulsory sale of Negro slaves taken under execution in His Majesty's plantations.

In Upper Canada, where the first legislators had put serious restrictions upon slavery, some misconception of the Act of 1797 seems to have hastened the decline of the institution. Some bondmen were set free by will, as in the instance of Solicitor-general Gray in 1804 ; some were enfranchised by their living masters at different periods, and a few others were held according to the Act of 1793, until they took their freedom under the Imperial Emancipation measure of 1833. The "Township Book" of the township of Louth, in the county of Lincoln, contains a memorandum in which are mentioned the names of two or three slaves living there in 1824. Mr. J. C. Hamilton mentions two young slaves, known as Hank and Sukey, who claimed their liberty in 1834 ; and Dr. Canniff writes of an assignment in 1824, for seventy-five dollars, of a Mulatto boy, Tom, from an owner in Haldimand, Newcastle, to a citizen of Thurlow, in which it was stated that the said boy had ten years to serve, according to the laws of the province, from the 29th February, 1824, as the child of a female slave. This lad, if living, would have been for five months only a freeman on August 1, 1834, the date fixed for emancipation throughout the empire : it

may therefore be supposed that a few others in Upper Canada besides those named by Mr. Hamilton became really self-proprietors under the Imperial Act of 1833.

Several legal conflicts prepared the way for the extinction of slavery in Quebec. In February, 1798, Charlotte, a slave, was claimed by her mistress in Montreal, and released on *habeas corpus* by Chief-justice James Monk. Soon after this another Negress, "Jude", was arrested as a runaway slave by order of a magistrate. The Negroes in Montreal, acquainted with the "Charlotte" affair, threatened to rise in revolt, but when the woman was brought before the chief-justice, he released her also, declaring as he did so that in his opinion slavery had no longer an existence in Lower Canada. On February, 1800, however, the case of "Robin" came before the full court of King's Bench, Mr. James Fraser claiming the Negro as his property, but after the argument had been heard it was ordered that the said "Robin, *alias* Robert, be discharged from confinement". An effort was soon after made through the legislature to obtain a definition of the true position of slavery in the province, but without success. Petitions were presented in 1799-1800 by citizens of Montreal, asking the legislature to vindicate the right of masters over their slaves. The applicants invoked in favor of their demand the ordinance by Raudot of 1709, which edict, they urged, was in force when the definitive treaty of peace was signed, and was, in consequence, part and parcel of the laws, usages and customs of Canada, recognised by the Act of Quebec. Bills, in accordance with the requests, were introduced in 1800, 1801 and 1803, but none were accepted. The slave-owners were nearly all residents of Montreal and Quebec; and the country members of the legislature, having little interest in the matter, and no inclination to maintain the system for the benefit of certain wealthier citizens, took no action upon

it, and the slave-owners had to bow finally to the decisions of the courts.

No precise date for the extinction of slavery in Lower Canada can be given. Several writers on that province, apparently following each other, trace it back to an adverse decision by Chief-justice Osgoode in 1803, but these are manifestly in error. That gentleman, who had been removed from Upper Canada to Lower Canada, returned to England, according to the "Report on Canadian Archives for 1892", during the summer of 1801, and there resigned his office early in 1802. James Monk, who had discharged his duties and applied to be appointed his successor, remained chief-justice of Montreal, while Elmsley, previously of Upper Canada, succeeded Osgoode as chief-justice of the lower province. The decision is said to have been rendered at Montreal; it is altogether probable, therefore, that reference is intended to the judgment given at that place about 1799 by Chief-justice Monk, whose opposition to slavery may have been partially due to his associations with certain other judges.

In the Maritime Provinces the action of the higher courts was equally interesting and important. The Hon. Thomas Andrew Strange, chief-justice of Nova Scotia for the five years ending in 1797, when he was made a baronet and appointed to a more responsible position in Bombay, had been throwing the whole weight of a powerful influence in favor of freedom to the slave.¹ His successor, Sampson Salter Blowers, he seems to have impressed with his own views; and it is not improbable

¹ One hundred pounds were given by Chief-justice Strange to provide a Library room at King's College, Windsor. His law library, presented by him to the province, became the nucleus of the present library of the bar at Halifax. In 1800 the Nova Scotia House of Assembly made a grant of £172. 0. 0., to defray the expense of a portrait of him, to "preserve the memory of an upright judge and an honest man". "Murdoch's History", Vol. 3. This portrait, which adorns the Legislative Council chamber, was painted by Benjamin West.

that his teachings had in a less direct way affected Sir James Monk at Montreal. In January, 1800, Chief-justice Blowers, writing confidentially to Ward Chipman, afterwards a judge of the supreme court of New Brunswick, informed him that "the question of the slavery of Negroes had been often agitated in Nova Scotia "in different ways, but had not received a direct decision". "My immediate predecessor, Sir Thomas Strange", he added, "dexterously avoided an adjudication of the principal point, yet, as he required the fullest proof of the master's claim in point of fact, it was found generally very easy to succeed in favour of the Negro by taking some exceptions collateral to the general question, and therefore that course was taken"; and "several trials have been had in which the jury decided against the master". "I had frequent conversations with Mr. Strange", Mr. Blowers went on to say, "on this important question, and always found that he wished rather to wear out the claim [of the slave-holders] gradually than to throw so much property, as it is called, into the air at once". Chief-justice Blowers, on his appointment in 1797, adopted precisely the policy of his predecessor. "Since I have been chief-justice", he wrote, "a black woman was brought before me on *habeas corpus* from the jail at Annapolis. The return was defective and she was discharged, but as she was claimed as a slave I intimated that an action should be brought to try the right, and one was brought against a person who had received and hired the wench. At the trial the plaintiff proved a purchase of the Negro in New York as a slave, but as he could not prove that the seller had a legal right so to dispose of her, I directed the jury to find for the defendant, which they readily did". The rejection, by a large majority of the Nova Scotia legislature in 1787, of a clause recognizing the slavery of Negroes as a statute right brought into a bill for the "regulation of servants",

and the adoption by two successive leading judges of the policy described by Mr. Blowers, had its intended effect. "This course", that gentleman informed Ward Chipman, "has so discouraged the masters that a limited service by indenture has been very generally substituted by mutual consent". "Mr. Strange", said he, "always aimed to effect this and generally succeeded".

The policy pursued by these judges was in accordance with the precedent furnished by Lord Mansfield, and, there can be little doubt, was influenced by his direct teaching respecting slavery in the British islands. Of Strange, it is stated in the "Dictionary of National Biography" that, "adopting a legal career, he entered Lincoln's Inn in 1776, and as a law student received much help from his mother's friend, Lord Mansfield". That eminent English jurist, when pressed for a decision in the famous Somerset case, expressed great reluctance to give any direct decision.¹ "In five or six cases of this nature", he stated, "I have known it"—the question of the right of a master to the services of a slave when in England—"accommodated by agreement between the parties. On its coming before me I strongly recommended it here, but if the parties will have it decided we must give our opinion. Compassion will not on the one hand, nor inconvenience on the other, be to decide, *but the law*. The setting fourteen or fifteen thousand men"—the number of slaves estimated to be at that time in the ports of the United Kingdom—"at once free by a solemn opinion is much disagreeable in the effects which it threatens. If the parties will have judgment, *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum*. Let justice be done whatever the consequence. I think it right the matter should stand over, and if we are called upon for a decision proper notice shall be given". A decision having been demanded, the plea that villeinage

¹ See page 94.

had never been abolished by law in England and that therefore the possession of slaves was not illegal was set aside by Lord Mansfield, who ruled: "Villeinage has ceased in England, and it cannot be revived. The air of England has long been too pure for a slave, and every man is free who breathes it. Every man who comes into England", Lord Mansfield continued, "is entitled to the protection of English law, whatever oppression he may heretofore have suffered, and whatever may be the colour of his skin: *quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses*. Let the Negro be discharged". And by that decision an immense amount of human property was, to use the words of Chief-justice Strange, "thrown into the air at once".

In New Brunswick slavery found in the person of the leading judge, the Hon. George Duncan Ludlow, no such opponent. Mr. Ludlow had been a judge of the supreme court in New York, whence he had been driven, with the loss of his whole estate, at the close of the Revolutionary conflict. In New Brunswick, to which province he had retired, he occupied a first place in public affairs. Ward Chipman wrote in 1800 to Sampson Salter Blowers, of Halifax:

Our chief-justice is very strenuous in support of the masters' right as being founded on immemorial usage and custom in all parts of America ever since its discovery: he contends that customs in all countries are the foundations of laws and acquire their force: that there was a system of laws in every British colony regulating slavery under the idea of its existence independently of those laws, and that there never was a law in any of the colonies directly establishing it: that Negroes when first imported into the Plantations were considered as villeins in gross and were afterwards by some local laws in some of the colonies made [word undecipherable]: that the legal presumption in the colonies was always against the Negro unless he could show a manumission: that in Carolina by their original

charter, framed by the great Locke, the importation of slaves was prohibited, but that after a short experiment they were obliged to give it up, after which slaves were imported there without any positive law to authorize it: that the custom is so universal that the courts are bound to take notice of it: that this being the established universal custom in the Colonies (and as such having acquired the force of law) at the time Nova Scotia was settled proclamations were issued to encourage settlers to go there from the other colonies, in consequence of which these settlers carried with them their slaves which they continued to hold without any legal decision against their right: that the several Acts of Parliament and the courts in England in their adjudication recognize slavery as being established and made lawful by universal custom in America: that as all the Acts of the Colonial Assemblies are sent home for the approbation of the Crown, it cannot [but] have been known in England that there was no law directly establishing it: that the judges therefore could never have held slavery as lawful in the Colonies if they had not recognized it as legally established by universal usage and custom independently of Colonial Acts of Assembly; and he relies much upon the Statutes 7 and 8 Wm. III., C. 22, §9, as an implied recognition of the usages and customs in the colonies as having the force of law, if not repugnant to the provisions of Acts of Parliament relating to the Colonies.

“Chief-justice Ludlow”, Ward Chipman wrote further to Chief-justice Blowers, “grounds himself principally upon what he calls the Common Law of the Colonies, by which, he says, this doctrine [the right to hold slaves] has been uniformly recognized and established without any Act having ever been passed in any one of them directly authorizing slavery. I confess the idea of any such Common Law in the Colonies not only unknown but repugnant to the Common Law of England appears to me to be altogether fanciful”. In reply Mr. Blowers wrote that “The right to hold a Negro by this tenure is supposed by us to be only maintainable either by the Common Law

of England, the Statute Law of England or the Colony, or upon adjudged cases, and such seemed always to be Mr. Strange's opinion. No lawyer with us ever talked of the Common Law of the Colonies as distinguished from that of England, nor would I think our late chief-justice have countenanced a position of the kind. The Common Law of England has been claimed and recognized as the birthright of every British subject in the Colonies, and has been so considered, as well by the most eminent lawyers in England as by the superior courts of judicature in most if not all the British colonies in North America before the Revolution".

This difference in opinion between the two leading judges of the two provinces may have been in some measure the result of their training. Chief-justice Blowers, a graduate of Harvard, was a Massachusetts man, as was also Ward Chipman, who in the main agreed with him; while Chief-justice Ludlow had been a judge in New York. There was also the further fact, pointed out by Murdoch in his "History of Nova Scotia", that "the institutions of New Brunswick resemble those of the province of New York . . . while Nova Scotia followed more closely the pattern of Massachusetts". In Massachusetts slavery obtained but a weak foothold, and died early and quietly through a very simple legal decision, one case having been brought in 1783 before the courts in Worcester, which determined that the system was inconsistent with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution sequent; and by that single decision dealt it a death blow. In New York slavery had an earlier establishment and a more extensive development. As early as 1652—thirty-seven years before Louis XIV. by a royal mandate permitted Negro slavery in Quebec—the government in Holland consented to the exportation of slaves to New York for sale, and by the end of the century they had

greatly increased in number. In that state slavery died later, and in a large measure from the influence of an uncongenial climate. The effect of environment on Chief-justice Ludlow was recognized by his fellow chief-justice in Nova Scotia when the latter wrote to Ward Chipman : " It is not improbable that in New York the principles of the Common Law were contaminated by the more arbitrary notions of the Dutch".

In February, 1800, the question of the legality of slavery in New Brunswick came before the full bench of judges at Fredericton. The question came up on the return to a writ of *habeas corpus*, issued by Judge Allen to Caleb Jones, Esq., directing him to bring into court Nancy, a colored woman in his possession, whom he claimed the right to hold as a slave. The counsel engaged on both sides included the ablest men in the province. For the master were Jonathan Bliss—attorney-general for the province—Thomas Wetmore, John Murray Bliss, Charles J. Peters and William Botsford ; while Ward Chipman and Samuel Denny Street were counsel for the slave, as " volunteers", to use Chipman's words, " for the rights of humanity".¹ Each member of the counsel addressed the court, Jonathan Bliss's speech being divided into thirty-two heads, and Ward Chipman's covering

¹ Daniel Bliss, a Loyalist from Concord, Mass., and father of John Murray Bliss—one of the counsel for the master—was the author of the elegant and widely-copied epitaph found on a stone in the old " Hill Burying-ground" in Concord, Mass. : " God wills us free : man wills us slaves. I will as God wills ; God's will be done. Here lies the body of John Jack, a native of Africa, who died March, 1773, aged about 60 years. Though born in a land of slavery he was born free. Though he lived in a land of liberty, he lived a slave, till by his honest (though stolen) labours he acquired the cause of slavery which gave him his freedom, though not long before Death—the grand tyrant—gave him his final emancipation and put him on a footing with kings. Though a slave to vice he practised those virtues without which kings are but slaves". John Jack, a slave to Benjamin Barron, of Concord, must have saved one hundred and twenty pounds, which was the price of his freedom. Daniel Bliss, after his exile a prominent man in New Brunswick, died at Lincoln, near Fredericton, in 1806. The late Lemuel Allan Wilmot, judge of the supreme court and governor of New Brunswick, was a grandson of Daniel Bliss.

eighty pages of foolscap. Both have been preserved, as has also the correspondence between Ward Chipman and his old friend Blowers, called forth by this trial.¹

The intensity of feeling aroused by the trial may be inferred from the fact that two challenges to a duel were sent out at its close. One of these, from Stair Agnew, a slave-owner residing near the mouth of the Nashwaak, and the real owner of the slave before the court, Judge Allen declined to accept—an act of great courage at that day; the other, from John Murray Bliss to Samuel Denny Street, led to an encounter with pistols at nine paces distance, in the old court-house still standing just below the Queen hotel in Fredericton, which the seconds succeeded in terminating after a single harmless exchange of shots. Some keen remarks on the part of Mr. Bliss had called forth a blow or an attempted blow from Mr. Street, followed by a challenge on the part of Mr. Bliss to his opponent to meet him with pistols in an hour, to which a response was returned of readiness to oblige him in half that time. Tradition has it that after the affair was happily ended, Mr. Street, who during the Revolutionary war had acquired the reputation of a “fire-eater”, coolly inspected the impression made by the bullet on the wall, and remarked, “Missed him by an inch”. The principals and their seconds, Messrs. Stair Agnew and Anderson, were all indicted by the York county sessions, but some difficulty appears to have been found by the magistrates in determining who were the actual principals in the affair, and the case was ultimately quashed on the ground of irregularities.²

¹ For a copy of this interesting correspondence the writer is indebted to the Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A., of St. John. Ward Chipman's lengthy “Brief”, with some notes from the able pen of the owner of the MS., J. Allen Jack, Esq., D. C. L., of St. John, will appear in the forthcoming volume of “Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada”.

² Mr. J. W. Lawrence in his “Footprints” is in error in his narrative of this incident. The above statement is from the Rev. W. O. Raymond, gathered from original documents.

In reference to the issue of this exciting trial the *St. John Gazette*, of Tuesday, February 12, 1800, reports that "the question of slavery upon general principles was discussed at great length by the counsel on both sides, and we understand the court were divided in their opinions, the Chief-justice and Judge Upham being of opinion that by the existing law of this province Negroes may be held as slaves here, and Judge Allen and Judge Saunders being of opinion that the law upon that subject is the same here as in England, and therefore that slavery is not recognized by the laws of this province.¹ The court being thus divided, no judgment was entered", and the Negro woman, Nancy Morton, having failed in obtaining her liberty, was conveyed by Mr. Agnew to William Bailey, from whom he had purchased her and to whom she bound herself for a fifteen years' service. Immediately after the close of the trial Ward Chipman reported to Chief-justice Blowers an intention to commence an action for false imprisonment against Captain Jones, and in that way to test his right, but such intention must have been abandoned.

Eighteen months later—at the September term of the supreme court, 1801—an important case was tried in Nova Scotia. A slave named Jack had run away from James DeLancey, Esq., near Annapolis, and after brief service with John Umlach, at St. Margaret's Bay, had gone to Halifax, where he found employment on wages with William Woodin. Having learned this fact, Colonel DeLancey directed his attorney, Thomas Ritchie, Esq., to inform Mr. Woodin that the man in his employ belonged to Mr. DeLancey, who demanded his wages, and in the event of non-payment of these and detention of the slave

¹ Two at least of these assistant judges were, or had been, slaveholders. Judge Allen had brought several slaves with him to Nova Scotia; Luke, a slave of Judge Upham, was tried in St. John in September, 1798, and executed, for the murder of a girl. See Lawrence's "Footprints", p. 58.

would enter an action against the employer. In reply Mr. Woodin's attorney stated the ignorance of the employer in relation to the social condition of the Negro, refused payment of his wages, none of which at the time were due him, and informed Mr. DeLancey that he might have the Negro whenever he should think proper to send for him; while he at the same time asserted that Jack and all other Negroes in Nova Scotia were freemen, there not being any law here to make them otherwise. As the result of an action of trover in the supreme court Mr. DeLancey obtained a verdict in his favor with seventy pounds damages, but the counsel for the defendant, Richard J. Uniacke, Esq., moved the court in arrest of judgment, upon the ground that an action of trover would not lie for the conversion of a Negro in this province, as here a Negro could be no more the slave of Mr. DeLancey than he could that of any other person in London or elsewhere; and that Mr. DeLancey should have brought his action for damages for detaining the Negro, as in the case of any other servant. The hearing of the motion having been fixed for September of the following year, Mr. DeLancey had an opinion prepared by Joseph Aplin, Esq., of Annapolis county, a Loyalist and former attorney-general of Prince Edward Island, submitted to several leading legal authorities in England.

This opinion of Mr. Aplin, though an *ex-parte* one, is of interest because of the standing of its author and the prominence of the English lawyers to whom it was submitted. The views of these several authorities were published in pamphlet form in 1802 in St. John, N. B., under the title of "Opinions of Several Gentlemen of the Law on the Subject of Negro Servitude in the Province of Nova-Scotia".¹ The author of the preface, whose name

¹ For an opportunity of consulting this pamphlet I have been indebted to John T. Bulmer, Esq., of Halifax, whose copy, bearing the autograph of Ward Chipman, is the only one known to be in existence.

is not given, observes that "The question, whether any such thing as Negro slavery can legally exist in this province, has long occupied the attention both of the learned and unlearned among us. It has, indeed, lately undergone a judicial investigation, but without any judicial decision. Now, whether any particular Negro (admitting him to be a slave) belongs either to A, or B, is a matter in which none but the litigating parties are directly interested. Therefore a judicial decision of it can only disappoint the hopes of one of two men. But when it becomes questionable whether any *particular thing* is really and truly *property*, which had hitherto been considered as property, the dispute becomes a matter in which every member of the community is either nearly or remotely interested; for although every man in this province is not possessed of this species of property, yet every man *may* be possessed of it. Nothing, therefore, can be of more extensive utility to the public than to have this question put so fast asleep that it may never awake again. How far the publication of these papers may go towards effecting this the event only can tell".

In the course of his very able argument Mr. Aplin contends, against the allegation that slavery had never been established in Nova Scotia by law, that neither in Antigua, Virginia or New York had there been any Provincial code creative of any such state of slavery, and that the same might be asserted in relation to several of the more northern colonies, but in particular of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, the laws of which speak of slaves while none of them are declaratory of a state of slavery.¹ The only law of this province", he

¹ "Slavery was never directly established by statute in Connecticut", says the editor of the Revisions of the States' Laws in 1821, "but has been indirectly sanctioned by various statutes and frequently recognised by courts, so that it may be said to have been established by law". Johns Hopkins "University Studies", Series xi.

points out, "which so much as mentions a Negro is intituled 'An Act for the regulating inn-holders, tavern-keepers and retailers of spirituous liquors'", in the second section of which it was enacted, to prevent the growth of pawnshops, "that in case any soldier, sailor, servant, apprentice, bound servant, or *Negro slave*, or other person whatsoever, shall leave any pawn or pledge as a security for any sum exceeding five shillings, contracted in such manner, such soldier, sailor, servant, apprentice, bound servant, or *Negro slave* or other person whatsoever, or the masters or mistresses of such servant, apprentice, bound servant, or *Negro slave*, may complain to any justice of the peace where such retailer, inn-holder, tavern or ale-house keeper or any other whatsoever, receiving such pawns or pledges usually resides . . . to compel such retailer", etc., etc.¹ "It is observable that this Act", Mr. Aplin goes on to claim, "does, and that in the most emphatical manner, speak of Negroes as *slaves*. But it may be easily discerned that it does just as emphatically suppose them to have been so before the Act was made, or even thought of. Hence it may be inferred, at least, that the Provincial legislature had in their eye (if indeed they had anything rational) that these very Acts of Parliament had already made slaves of Negroes within the province."² Therefore it may not improperly be said that a law of this province does, in fact, admit of such a state as that of slavery in it".

To this somewhat interesting point Ward Chipman, of New Brunswick, seems to have attached much import-

¹ In the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* of Halifax, March 18, 1788, Evan Lewis, in advertising as a pawn broker, says: "It is particularly desired that no apprentice, bound servant, nor slave will apply, for no business will be transacted". The Act, quoted above, which evidently called for this caution, and to which both Joseph Aplin and Ward Chipman seem to have attached considerable importance, was passed in 1762.

² Reference is here made to the original charter made by Charles the Second in 1661, and especially to the preamble of Act 23. Geo. 2, and to contain provisions of that and subsequent Acts.

ance, as in writing of the celebrated case in Fredericton in 1800 to Chief-justice Blowers he remarks, "The principal difficulty on that side seemed to be the not finding any Act of Assembly of your province recognizing the existence of slavery there. Had the counsel [for the master] stumbled upon your Act passed in 1762, p. 117 of your laws as revised in 1783, in the second section of which Negro slaves are mentioned, the conclusiveness of the reasoning upon their principles would have been considered as demonstrated". "The expression you mention of 'Negro slaves'", said Mr. Blowers in reply, "in our province law for regulating inn-holders, etc., has been considered here as merely a description of a class of people existing in the province, and not as a recognition of the law of slavery. When the law made in 1787 for the regulating of servants was brought into the House of Assembly, there was a clause inserted for the government of Negro slaves which was rejected by a great majority on the ground that slavery did not exist in this province and ought not to be mentioned, and that the expression in the inn-holder's law was the description of a class of people whose condition was the effect of imposition or mutual consent between the parties".

To Mr. Aplin's contention that the English Acts which made Negroes in the West Indies the personal property of their masters made Negroes such here, the English authorities consulted gave an unqualified approval, the attorney-general of England and Mr. Percival pronouncing the "legal inference drawn by him to be "quite irresistible and unanswerable". The third legal authority, Mr. Tidd, "reputed to be the most learned special pleader" in England, gave as his opinion that the plaintiff was not merely "entitled to the services of his slave" but to "something more, namely to the property in him and right of disposing of him", and that upon that ground "an action

of trover was the proper form of action". The same gentleman also gave special emphasis to a fact stated by Mr. Aplin, which must have presented itself to the minds of readers of this paper while glancing at the numerous extracts from probate records, that "Negroes, even in this province, have always been allowed to pass by will, as personal estate. They have always found their way into inventories, both of testate and intestate persons. They have constantly been made the subjects of distribution, under our Provincial law, as part of the intestate's personal estate. They have uniformly been sold here under execution; and add to all this, they are and always have been sold, in the common course of traffic, as other chattel interests are or were sold, and warranted by the bill of sale to be the property of the seller".

At the September term of the supreme court at Annapolis in 1803, William Woodin was summoned to appear to answer to James DeLancey on a plea of trespass in this case, damages being laid at five hundred pounds. Papers preserved in the office of the prothonotary in Halifax prove the production of sufficient evidence that "Jack" was the son of slaves in the possession of James DeLancey's father in New York, and that upon the division of the estate at the death of the father he had fallen to the share of the plaintiff, in whose possession as "slave and servant" he had been both in the revolted colonies and in Nova Scotia; but these documents furnish no information respecting the issue of the trial. It seems clear, however, that Colonel DeLancey failed to regain possession of the slave. On May 2 of the following year—1804—that stern, uncompromising Loyalist, whose activity as leader of his troop of light horse in behalf of royal interests had obtained from the Whigs the title of the "Commander of the Cowboys", and later of the "Outlaw of the Bronx", and whose declining health had obliged him in 1800 to resign

his seat in the Council of Nova Scotia, passed away from earth at his farm near Round Hill, Annapolis. In the inventory of his personal estate, duly recorded, the man "Jack", whose absence had proved one of the worries of his later months, finds no place among the several Negroes there enumerated.

In speaking of slavery in the Maritime Provinces, the few who have recognized its existence as an historical fact have assumed that during some one or other of the first years of the century it became illegal through some special decision of the courts. In Nova Scotia a distinct condemnatory judgment was passed, according to the late John George Marshall, who in 1823 was appointed chief justice of the common pleas for Cape Breton. Judge Marshall has stated—naming no year—that a slave suddenly left the service of his master in Shelburne and came to Halifax. The master followed him and was about to take him back to Shelburne, when application was made on the slave's behalf to Mr., afterwards Judge, Wilkins, who obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, under which both master and slave were taken before Chief-justice Blowers. When the case itself, and the question of slavery in general, had been pretty fully argued by counsel on each side, Chief-justice Blowers,—to use Judge Marshall's own words—"legally and righteously decided that this province was not debased with that cruel and abominable slave system which John Wesley appropriately characterized as the 'sum of all villainies'". On the other hand Judge Thomas C. Haliburton, in his "History of Nova Scotia", published in 1829, only five years before the general emancipation, says that this question had then in Nova Scotia "never received a judicial decision".¹

No such decision was at any time given, as far as is known, in New Brunswick. In the *Royal Gazette and*

¹ "History of Nova Scotia", vol. 2, p. 280.

New Brunswick Advertiser" of July 28, 1801, in which the Act 30, Geo. III, Chap. 27. mentioned on a previous page, was republished, one of the judges of that province wrote thus :¹

Of your question respecting slavery I have thought much, but I can see it only in one point of view. The statute 30 G. 3rd, chap. 27., to which you refer, undoubtedly relates to persons coming with their families from the States to settle in the King's American Dominions, and to those persons only ; but in the very terms in which it allows them to bring in their Negroes as part of their property it acknowledges those Negroes when brought in to be, what they were before—*slaves* : because by forbidding them to be sold within the first year, it tacitly permits the sale of them after that period. But in what country can a Negro be sold, but one in which slavery is allowed by law? The power of selling is the strongest proof, and is indeed a legislative recognition of the existence of slavery in the country in which it is permitted. This is a short but direct answer to the question, "Why Americans coming to settle in the King's colonies should be allowed to retain their slaves, but the Loyalists who had already settled there should lose theirs"?²

The case in point of fact does not exist. The slaves which the Loyalists took with them to their new settlements were, and are at this moment, slaves. Slavery was formerly allowed in all the colonies, and it still subsists in some of them which have claimed for themselves the freedom they refuse to others ; and the law of slavery stands on the same foundation in the colonies which adhered to their allegiance that it does in those which have renounced their allegiance. What that foundation is is of no consequence to the question ; since if it existed in the old colonies it certainly remains in the present ones.

With Mr. J. C. Hamilton, of Toronto, author of a paper already mentioned,³ I cannot but entertain doubts, in

¹ See pages 42-43.

² A similar interpretation of the statute of 1790, it is altogether probable, led Lieut.-governor Simcoe, of Upper Canada, to urge through the legislature of that colony the anti-slavery measure of 1793.

³ See page 5.

the face of the action of the Upper and Maritime Provinces' courts, whether slavery was ever actually abolished in the present Canadian provinces until the vote of the British Parliament, followed by a few strokes from the pen of William IV., in 1833 rendered it illegal wherever the flag of Britain was spread to the breeze. In 1790 the "Pennsylvania Abolition Society" sent a memorial to Congress, bearing the official signature of "Benjamin Franklin, president", asking that body to "step to the very verge of its power for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men". This counsel, addressed in vain to the United States law-makers, was abundantly carried into effect by the chief-justices of Upper Canada, Montreal and Nova Scotia.

Haliburton, writing of Nova Scotia in 1829, strengthens the doubt to which expression has just been given. After a very brief reference to the action for trover in the DeLancey case, and the statement, already quoted, that the subject of slavery had never received a judicial decision, he proceeds to remark: "The most correct opinion seems to be, that slaves may be held in the colony; and this is not only corroborated by the construction of several English Acts of Parliament, but by particular clauses of the early laws of the province. On this subject there prevailed much romance and false sentiment in Nova Scotia as well as in England. The effect produced by this latent abandonment of slavery is, however, beneficial to the country".¹

Any further discussion respecting the precise period of the legal abolition of slavery in Canada is unnecessary: the legal conflicts described practically and effectively destroyed it very early in the century. A conviction that any claims of slave-owners would find but the barest

¹ "History of Nova Scotia", vol. 2, p. 280.

possible recognition by the courts of the country soon caused serious depreciation in the value of slaves and rendered disposal of them in the home market difficult. At the close of the trial at Fredericton in 1800 Judge Allen, who had "strenuously insisted that it is beyond the power of human laws to establish or justify" slavery, set at liberty his slaves, one of them a girl born in the East Indies and bought in New York from the master of a ship. This girl, having become free, married a man who had served in Colonel Allen's New Jersey regiment, and her descendants lived for many years in the employ of the family of her former master. Some other proprietors seem at the same time to have imitated Judge Allen's consistent action, while others, uncertain of the future, yet loth to relinquish their property, still retained their slaves, in hope of a change in their own favor.¹ Occasionally a determined man like Stair Agnew of Fredericton, or James DeLancey of Annapolis, both former Loyalist officers, made a brave fight with destiny, but results to them proved thoroughly disappointing. The policy of Chief-justices Osgoode, of Upper Canada; Monk, of Montreal; Strange and Blowers of Nova Scotia; and of Judge Allen and Ward Chipman of New Brunswick was to triumph. In the success of that policy, as has been elsewhere shown, probably no one of those named had been a greater factor than had Thomas Andrew Strange, though before the beginning of the century he had sailed with Clive for India.

The losses to the slave-owners proved in many cases serious. Tradition still preserves in Cumberland the incident of an exchange of a slave for a horse, the slave soon learning the possibility of freedom and leaving his new master minus the value of the horse. Free to go or to

¹ Judge Allen is said to have become a correspondent of William Wilberforce.

stay, as the Negroes soon found themselves to be, able-bodied men left those whom they had served by constraint for voluntary labor elsewhere, while in not a few instances the women and children and the feeble-minded remained on the farm even when burdensome. According to the inventory of the personal property of Colonel DeLancey, whose vain effort to recover his man slave has been described, there remained on his estate in June, 1804: A Negro woman, "at present disordered in her mind", valued at "nothing"; four Negro girls estimated at forty, thirty, twenty-five and twenty pounds; and a boy, at eighteen pounds. But perhaps no experience at this period was more trying than that of Captain Daniel McNeil, a former officer of the Royal North Carolina corps of Loyalists. Captain McNeil, with possibly one exception, the only adherent in the family to the Crown, obtained lands with his brother-officers at Stormont, in Guysboro' county, but after a time removed to the county of Hants, where he secured other lands. Thence he returned to North Carolina, where he remained several years, finally succeeding, by the aid of an influential relative, in regaining a portion of his lost property. Having been obliged to accept payment for the amount in slaves, he sailed for Windsor, but landed there only to be informed that legal decisions had so affected the value of slaves as to render them all really valueless to him and practically their own masters.¹

An indication of the prevalent uncertainty as to property in slaves is seen in the bill of sale made out in King's county in 1807 and copied in full on a previous page. In this document the presence of the expression, "If a Negro can be considered property in Nova Scotia", and the absence of the guarantees used in earlier papers

¹ For these facts I am indebted to his grandson, Hon. Dr. Daniel McNeil Parker, of Dartmouth.

of the kind are very significant. That Daniel Brown, in his advertisement of a Negro woman in the *New Brunswick Royal Gazette* of October 16, 1809, should guarantee a good title to any purchaser of the woman accentuates rather than removes the doubt.

Many persons possessing slaves took advantage at this period of the system of limited arrangement which Chief-justice Strange had sought some years before to introduce. In the last year of the century there appeared in a Halifax newspaper a characteristic advertisement: "For sale for a term of years, as may be agreed on, a likely, stout Negro girl, aged eighteen years, good natured, fond of children, and accustomed to both town and country work. For full particulars apply at the old parsonage, Dutch-town"—the name at that time of the north suburbs of Halifax. One of the latest known advertisements of this kind appears in a Halifax paper for 1820: "To be sold:—Two years and a half time of a black servant man; is a good plain cook, understands family work and the care of horses".

In some instances the assignment of a more or less distant period for freedom may have been prompted by motives of justice to young slaves. A probable illustration of such arrangement is found in the will of the Rev. James Scovil, first rector of Kingston, King's county, N. B., dated in 1804, proved in 1809 and duly recorded: "I give to my wife Amy", so runs the document, "the use of one-third of my landed property as the law directs, and likewise I give and bequeath to my said wife the use of my servant boys, Robert and Sampson, the first being twelve years old the twelfth of March last, the other ten the twentieth of August next, under the following restrictions—that is to say—that at the age of twenty-six years they shall be set at liberty provided they do faithfully discharge the duties of servants until that period; and I

do constitute and appoint my son, Elias Scovil, and my said wife their overseers to see that they are kept at service and reasonably treated. At the decease of my said wife, provided the time fixed for their freedom be not expired, for the remainder of the time they may have to serve they shall be disposed of in such a way as my said wife may think proper". The son, Elias Scovil, became his father's successor as the second rector of Kingston; the witnesses, Richard Clarke of Gagetown, and Oliver Arnold of Sussex, were, like the testator, Loyalist clergymen.

A final effort for relief by legislative action was made by Nova Scotia proprietors in 1808. During the session of that year, Mr. Warwick, member for the township of Digby, presented a petition from John Taylor and a number of other proprietors of Negro servants brought from the old provinces, in which they stated that, owing to the doubts entertained by the courts, such property was being rendered useless, the Negro servants leaving their masters daily and setting them at defiance. In consequence of these facts they prayed the passage of an Act for "securing them their property or indemnifying them for its loss". It was, no doubt, with a view to such an end that Thomas Ritchie, member for Annapolis, during the same session introduced a bill to regulate Negro servants within the province. This bill, which passed its second reading on January 11, 1808, but never became law, was in all probability the last struggle of a system which merited only death.

The destiny of the slaves of the British North American provinces is a matter of some interest. At the beginning of the century their number had been greatly reduced. The majority of those then remaining in the Maritime Provinces were to be found in the southern and western parts of Nova Scotia, and in the counties bordering on the

St John river, only nineteen slaves being reported about that time by Amos Botsford from the county of Westmoreland, then including the county of Albert, and few if any from the county of Charlotte.¹ Only a slave here and there was manumitted by the master during life : a number were set free according to the last will and testament. Of those liberated a few score may have been included in the living freight of twelve hundred carried away by Lieutenant Clarkson to Africa ; a few others may have joined Lieutenant Francis Miller, who at the time of Clarkson's visit was endeavoring to enlist colored men at Halifax for the Black Carolina corps, then doing military service in the West Indies. Numerous slaves must have been carried away from Nova Scotia by that section of Loyalists—larger than some persons have supposed—who after the lapse of several years returned to the vicinity of former homes, in the neighboring republic. The last slave sold on New Haven Green—if not the last sold in Connecticut—was Lois Tritten, born in Halifax in 1799. This slave, who bore a family name found in the old records of St. Paul's church and the Halifax registry of deeds, and who was sold in New Haven in 1824, lived until June 11, 1894.

Others were sent abroad, where slave labor proved more profitable and slaves commanded higher prices. A speculation like that of John Wentworth, Esq., in 1784, in sending a party of slaves to Surinam for plantation labor there, would serve as an object lesson, and secure probable frequent imitation, at that period in particular, when many disbanded officers and others intending to

¹ At the time of the taking of the first general census in New Brunswick, in 1824, fourteen hundred and three people of color were enumerated, and of these the Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A., of St. John, than whom I know no better authority on New Brunswick history, remarks : " I think that the majority were at one time slaves or the children of slaves, and many of them lived or had lived in the families of their owners", with whom they came to New Brunswick.

leave the country were willing to abandon their property for a small return. Many slaves were sent out of the provinces for sale in a less demonstrative manner. Depositions were laid before the Council of Upper Canada in March, 1793, to the effect that a Negro girl had been violently carried off and sold by one Fromand to a person in the United States, and that others were intending in the same manner to dispose of their Negroes; and orders were given the attorney-general to prosecute Fromand.¹ For such a traffic the constant communication by shipping between the Maritime Provinces and various ports in the United States and West Indies gave special advantages. Captain Lemuel Little, of the Halifax schooner "Patty", when in 1784 he carried nineteen slaves from Halifax to Surinam; and Captain Pierre Doucet, of Clare, on his way in August, 1791, in his schooner "Peggy" from Jamaica to Cuba with ten slaves, were neither the first nor the last Nova Scotia sea-captains engaged in the slave trade. Probate court records in 1769, already quoted, contain an item respecting the proceeds of the sale of a slave boy in Carolina by a Halifax business man. It is certain that on more than one occasion, and it is believed that on many occasions, slaves were taken from Shelburne and Halifax to the West Indies for sale; the account books of Benjamin DeWolfe, one of the earlier merchants of Windsor, show sales in the same islands of slaves from Hants county; and Lieutenant Clarkson's manuscript journal, though covering only the last few months of 1791, gives several instances of schemes for carrying Negroes—not in every case slaves after human law—to the United States for the evident purpose of sale. "Some years ago", wrote Mr. Blowers to Ward Chipman, when the latter was preparing for the Fredericton slave case of 1809, "I had determined to

¹ "Report of Canadian Archives," 1891.

prosecute an owner for sending a Negro out of the province against his will, who had found means to get back again, but the master being willing to acknowledge his right to freedom nothing further was done. On that occasion I made a few short notes which I send you enclosed in their very rough state”.

This traffic, carried out, there is reason to believe, from other provincial ports, and at a period when the very few weekly journals were as silent in respect to home affairs as to-day they are communicative, lost, it may be imagined, none of the force of its current when on the one hand British law at the instance of Clarkson, Wilberforce and their fellow-abolitionists had put its ban on the importation of Africans to the West Indies, and on the other the provincial courts had almost destroyed the value of slaves at home.

From such a traffic scenes of injustice and cruelty are and must be inseparable. A certain point reached, the hardening process in the human heart proceeds with rapidity, soon banishing all semblance of regard for justice. An instance of wrong led Governor Wentworth, of Nova Scotia, in September, 1792, to address a letter to C. F. Greville, governor or administrator of one of the West India islands, asking his interposition for the “release of a certain Negro young man” who had been “insidiously and unjustly sold as a slave in your Island”. “The enclosed papers”, he goes on to say, “which I beg leave to assure you are well ascertained, will afford full information on the subject, and I sincerely hope lead to the emancipation and discharge of the Negro man, as he was most undoubtedly free when sold in your island. It is further to be represented that the purchaser may have his remedy and recover payment by transmitting proof to this country, in which I will strenuously aid”.¹ At that

¹ “Wentworth Letters”, vol. 50, Nova Scotia Records.

period, too, there were separations with a sequel not unlike those indicated by the columns of advertisements for lost children or other relatives which to this day give a sad interest to the religious press of the African churches of the United States. An aged woman at Annapolis used to recall, to her latest days, a scene witnessed by her in childhood, when a slave woman was put on board a schooner from a wharf at the lower end of the town to be taken away, her screaming child clinging to her till torn from her by sheer force.

Numerous descendants of the former slaves in the Upper and Lower British American provinces are to be found near the homes of their ancestors. Some of these slaves had gone with their masters into exile, because they were unwilling to be separated from the owners on whose land they were born and with whose families they had lived. Frequently the attachment proved so enduring that, when made free, they long remained at service in the families of their masters, bequeathing to their children a predilection for the name of the master they had served. The remark made by Dr. Canniff in reference to the descendants of slaves in Ontario that "some of them had done badly, while some again have made themselves respectable and happy", might no doubt with equal justice be passed upon the lineal successors of a large proportion of the slave-proprietors of the early days.

The parts of the Maritime Provinces inhabited by the descendants of the early slaves have already been indicated. Few of the colored people near Halifax have a provincial slave ancestry. Some of them are descendants of freedmen settled at Preston on the evacuation of New York; many others are the more or less distant offspring of those slaves who during the war of 1812 fled from Southern plantations and sought refuge on board British ships of war in the Chesapeake, by which they were brought to

Halifax and St. John, N. B., those reaching the latter place finding a home a few miles beyond the beautiful Loch Lomond. In Nova Scotia as in New Brunswick they were treated as freemen : Great Britain paid the American government a heavy indemnity for the offence of helping them to freedom, for three years maintained them in part out of the national chest, and then settled them on Crown lands. In 1837 they were fully enfranchised in Nova Scotia ; a few years later they were allowed to sit on juries. Their testimony was never rejected in any court in British North America.

CHAPTER IV.

INFLUENCE OF CANADIANS ON SLAVERY ELSEWHERE.

Although slavery had for a quarter of a century been actually abolished throughout the Maritime Provinces, the steadily advancing movement which culminated in the Imperial Act of 1833 was watched by public men, and in particular by the commercial section of more than one community, with great interest.

As has been recently shown in one of a series of interesting historical reminiscences in the *Acadian Recorder* of this city, the West India islands, the only portion of the empire really affected by that Act, were in close commercial relations with the Maritime Provinces. The fish and lumber sent by these provinces to the West Indies formed an important, if not the larger, part of their export trade—a trade that, directly and indirectly, gave employment to an immense number of industrious men. On the success of this trade Halifax had in a large measure depended for her prosperity, if not for her existence; and the agricultural sections of the provinces for their imports and circulating medium. With their interests thus interwoven, the merchants of the Lower Provinces, in spite of their general belief in the right to emancipation of slaves of any color or origin, had not a little sympathy with West India planters and exporters in their alarm at the probable consequences, as seen from a business standpoint, of the success of the English abolitionists. In that alarm the West Indies, about 1824, appealed to the Northern colonies for moral aid in their resistance to the onward march of the already triumphing emancipation crusade in the mother country, by petitions to his majesty's government in their favor. Under these circumstances the

merchants of Halifax, while giving expression to their sympathy with any measure for the freedom of West Indian bondmen, felt themselves also called upon to assure the British authorities of their belief that the real moral reform aimed at could only be attempted with safety when preceded and attended by education and by a gradual improvement in the laws under which slavery had for generations existed.

In carrying out, nearly ten years later, the policy of emancipation—an experiment fraught with great difficulty from the unwillingness of the planters to adopt it, and with great danger, as they alleged, to their lives and property, from the numbers and temper of the slaves—the Colonial secretary, Lord Stanley, acted in partial harmony with the representations of prominent Halifax merchants. This he did when on introducing a ministerial measure into the British House of Commons on April 23, 1833, he proposed to combine with freedom to every slave in the British colonies an apprenticeship of twelve years, and the payment out of the earnings of the slaves to their masters of the sum of fifteen millions of pounds. The friends of emancipation having remonstrated against these features of the plan, it was finally modified by a reduction of the term of apprenticeship to six years and a provision to pay the masters twenty millions of pounds sterling out of the national treasury. The bill passed the House of Commons August 7, the House of Lords August 20, and received the royal assent August 28, 1833. The day fixed for emancipation was August 1, 1834, and it was left optional with the local legislatures respectively to adopt or reject the system of apprenticeship. Antigua and Bermuda rejected that system, while the other West India islands adopted it.¹

¹ The apprenticeship scheme did not work well. In some instances the local legislatures voluntarily abolished it, and in 1838, two years before the time of its appointed expiration, it was brought to an end by Act of Parliament.

The measure was not needed in any of the present Canadian provinces. The memorable first of August, 1834, so longed-for by West Indian slaves, so feared by West Indian planters, had nothing to render it memorable in northern latitudes. Two young slaves in Upper Canada, Mr. Hamilton tells us—with whom may have been possibly a very few others—took their freedom by virtue of the Imperial measure, as the last representatives of a system which Canadian courts had condemned to death a quarter of a century and more in advance of the national warrant. But of the immense sum of \$100,000,000 appropriated by the British government as an indemnity to the owners of the 781,000 slaves then set free throughout the empire not one solitary dollar found its way into Canadian hands!

The first legislators of Upper Canada, when at Niagara in 1793, under some pressure from Lieutenant-governor Simcoe, they enacted that all persons previously held in slavery elsewhere should after the passage of the Act containing this provision be free on arriving in that province, little dreamed of the results to follow their action "after many days". That action was nevertheless preparing their new province to become for years a cause of dread and vexation and severe financial loss to Southern slaveholders; and the name Canada to many a Negro on American soil in sufferings worse than death to be a synonym for freedom, home, life.

From an early period Canada seemed predestined to be an Arcadia to the captive African, and the North Star to be his guide to freedom. Francis Parkman, in a sketch of a journey in 1751 of Father Picquot, a Sulpician missionary, and at the time a French emissary, tells us that "during eight days he coasted the northern shore of Lake Ontario with various incidents, such as an encounter

between his dog Cerberus and a wolf, to the disadvantage of the latter, and the meeting with 'a very fine negro of twenty-two years, a fugitive from Virginia'".¹ And it has been seen, on an earlier page of this paper, that in the list of "fifteen souls" at Cape Sable, on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, in 1686—more than half a century earlier—there was a solitary negro whose name of La Liberté, or Liberty, a name sometimes given to slaves in the colonies, especially those at the South, implies that he also as an aspirant for freedom had in some way to us unknown reached that quiet French settlement.²

In 1810 there were no slaves in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont and Ohio, and in the course of a few years subsequent to that date in the Northern states in general the freedom of the bondmen was secured or provided for ; but in the South, where at the formation of the constitution eminent men who regarded slavery as a great evil had consented to give the system certain advantages which they hoped would be only temporary, that system had so far ceased to be disliked as at first, that many of its numerous advocates, "supposing that gain is godliness", professed to find in that word of God which teaches the sacredness of humanity a Divine warrant for a system which trampled upon rights that no law or oppression should dare touch.³

"The North emancipated : the South fortified". The compromise adopted at the consolidation of the general government by men who shrank from what they regarded as insurmountable obstacles to emancipation in

¹ "Montcalm and Wolfe", vol. i., p. 69.

² See page 6.

³ One of the best discussions of this subject is found in a published lecture on "Southern Slavery not founded on Scripture Warrant", by Rev. William Sommerville, A. M., Reformed Presbyterian minister, Cornwallis, N. S. This lecture was originally delivered before the Acadia Lyceum, Horton, N. S., in 1864, to counteract an apparent tendency to favor the Southern Confederacy.

their own time, and the concessions at later perilous periods by American statesmen who feared for the stability of the Union, gave to the Slave states an influence which culminated in the "Dred Scott" decision in 1857. Those compromises led in the North to what Henry Ward Beecher has aptly called a "condition of imprisoned moral sense". Fidelity to these agreements was everywhere regarded as a moral obligation by men that hated slavery; hence the perplexity to men abroad who could not "understand what was the reason of the later hesitancy of President Lincoln, and of the people, when they had risen to arms, in declaring at once the emancipation of the slaves". The same fact is stated in another form: "The South manufactured nothing except slaves; it was a great manufacture, that; and the whole market was bribed. . . . Every manufactory, every loom as it clanked in the North said: 'Maintain not slavery, but the compromises of the Constitution', for that was the veil under which all these cries were continually uttered".¹

Under these circumstances the condition of the Southern slave was comparatively hopeless in his own country. The pen has run too rapidly: he was a man without a country. Even in this statement too much has been said: his manhood was even denied. In the case of Dred Scott, a slave who brought suit to recover his freedom, suing for it in the federal court on the ground of being a citizen of a different state from the defendant, and further, of being taken into territory made free by a certain Act of Congress, Chief-justice Taney in his decision in the federal court declared that Scott was not entitled to bring suit in that court because he was not a citizen, but was a member of a race which for more than a century previous to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence had

¹ "Wendell Phillips, a Commemorative Discourse".

been regarded "as beings of an inferior order, . . . and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect".

Previous to this decision a great number of slaves had taken refuge in Canada. If pursuing owners could not command the aid of state officials in the capture and removal of their fleeing property, that aid had so often been given to the master to lead the helpless Negro back to a bitter doom that the fugitive felt that no guaranteed safety could be enjoyed except when upon British soil. His escape was too dependant upon the sentiment or humor of the local authorities. Many were less fortunate than the fugitive slave who had reached Vermont when his master pounced upon him and carried him before a magistrate. The slaveholder regarded his proof of ownership as beyond all question, but the magistrate continued to demur as if requiring still further evidence. At last the exasperated slave-owner demanded to know what proof would satisfy the judge that the slave was really his property. The startling reply came, "A bill of sale from God Almighty"; and, in the absence of any such title to possession, the trembling Negro left the room a free man.

When, however, the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, enacted in 1850, had been begun, and the "Dred Scott" decision had been given in 1857 in the highest court in the land, affirming the right of the slave-holder to carry his slaves unmolested into any state or territory of the Union, in no spot in the whole republic, however secluded, could the escaped slave be secure from the pitiless grasp of the master, with the whole power of the country behind him. Even before the "Dred Scott" decision had been given, and only a year or two after William Lloyd Garrison had proudly showed a row of escaped Negroes sitting on the platform of an anti-slavery

convention, and had defied the whole South to reclaim them, the very men thus exhibited were fleeing to Canada for their lives. Massachusetts even had become a hunting-ground for fugitives. The circumstances connected with the capture and delivery to their former owners of Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns, two escaped slaves who had reached Boston, were of sad significance. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, an active friend of the slaves, remarks: "The curious thing was that although there was a state law of 1843 prohibiting every Massachusetts official from taking any part in the restoration of a fugitive slave, yet nearly all these employees [in the capture and restoration] were Boston policemen, acting, so the city marshal told me, under orders from the mayor and aldermen". For the fugitive, therefore, any life worth living lay only beyond the national boundary line—in Canada.¹

Miss Janet Carnochan, president of the Niagara Historical Society, in an interesting paper published in the "Transactions" of the society for 1897, gives a brief sketch of one of the earlier arrivals at Niagara:

My informant, a large woman, somewhat portly, with good features, not darker than many Caucasians, with a stately presence and bearing well the snows of seventy winters, told the story well in her soft voice: 'Yes, I could tell you about the old times. I was born in Niagara in 1824 and my father came here in 1802. He was a slave. No, he did not run away. He came with his master all the way from Fredericksburg, Virginia, driving the carriage with six horses, his master bringing his money in bags, enough to last him; he came all that way to see the Falls, and staid at Black Rock a while. My father was the coachman, and though his master was not cruel like some masters, my father was always afraid he might be sold off to work in the cotton fields, and a

¹ "Cheerful Yesterdays", pp. 135, 144. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1898.

gentleman from Niagara, Mr. D., told him he could easily escape and come to Niagara where there were many colored people. So he hid in the corn fields. It was September: and oh, the misery my father was in when September came. He had his dark days every year, for he remembered lying out at night, the cold, and the fright at being taken, and little to eat, and the rain, oh! the children did not like when the time of the year came, for he never forgot it, and he was down then. But I must go back to my story. At last his master had to go back without his coachman, although he waited a long time, and then my father came to Niagara, where he bought a little piece of land'.

For many years the escaping Southern slave on his journey to the Canadian border had only the assistance of scattered individuals. At the outset, Canada was but "a name, a far-away hope"; and, as the fugitive dared not ask for guidance and had to rest by day and travel by night, the journey, when successful, was often a struggle of months and months. John Little, in later years a prosperous and respected Ontario farmer, used to tell an interesting story of his experiences in reaching the North, before the definite organization of the rescuers of the slave. His troubles began when his master got into debt and sold him, about the age of twenty, to a man who had the reputation of being a most successful negro-breaker. A visit one Sunday to his broken-hearted mother, who had been deprived of all her children, brought an order to the overseer from the master for five hundred lashes with a bull-hide whip. When a part of these had been given and the wounds had been bathed in salt and water, and such sleep had been had as could be obtained with the feet fettered and in the stocks, he was brought out in the morning to receive another instalment, and after having fainted was sent into the fields to do his usual work. Despite, however, all the master's efforts the slave refused

to be "broken in". "I had made up my mind", said he, "that if he would find whips, I would find back". At last the master decided to ship him off to New Orleans, but while waiting to sail he managed to steal off and conceal himself, hoping to be sold "running" to some neighbor with whom he might live at least a more endurable life.

After having passed through the hands of several owners, all more or less cruel, he heard of Canada and hope. He had married, and his wife and he resolved to make an attempt for freedom. The husband slipped out first and managed a plan of escape for the wife, who at the time was ill. At the last moment they were betrayed and the wife brutally beaten to make her reveal her husband's hiding place. The effort being in vain, fetters were in course of preparation for her wrists and ankles when she too escaped and managed to join her husband. That night and the next were spent in awful anxiety through the close pursuit of their master and a band of armed slaves. Their long and toilsome journey, with little guidance but that afforded by the North Star, their repetition of parts of their journey, their narrow escapes from enemies, cannot be told here. It is sufficient to say that they persevered until at last they reached Chicago, where sympathizing friends were soon found to help them into the British province. There, fourteen years later, John Little was able to boast that he "had over one hundred acres of land under good cultivation, and that he could at any time lend or borrow two thousand dollars, while Mrs. Little was enabled to enjoy the comforts and respect attending such a position".¹

¹ See "Stories of the Underground Railroad", an interesting paper by Miss M. Murray, of Kingston, Ont., in the "Canadian Methodist Magazine" for September, 1898, from which two or three incidents are here given.

Strange spectacles were witnessed in those days on the British side of the "mystic line". Occasionally there were scenes of sadness. One incident of specially deplorable character has been narrated in detail by the president of the Niagara Historical Society. Among a large number of escaped slaves at Niagara in 1837 was a recent arrival from Kentucky named Moseby, whose extradition had been demanded on the ground that he had stolen a horse from his master to aid him in his escape. The man was arrested, and after considerable legal wrangling the Canadian authorities consented to deliver him up to his former owner. Word having been passed among the numerous Negroes in the neighborhood that Moseby was to be surrendered, a movement under the leadership of Herbert Holmes, a Baptist or Methodist exhorter and school teacher who had received some education in Nova Scotia, was set on foot for his rescue. Some three hundred colored people, under the direction of Holmes—himself a mulatto, though never a slave—invested the Niagara jail where Moseby was imprisoned, keeping sentries constantly on the watch, and frustrating repeated attempts on the part of the authorities to remove him under cover of darkness. The perplexity of the sheriff was increased by the evident sympathy of white citizens with the colored people. Two gentlemen of St. Catharine's got up a largely signed petition in favor of the prisoner, but without avail; a captain of a vessel, asked to take the prisoner by water to Lewiston, returned the sheriff an answer both forcible and profane, but the answer of a humane man—that no vessel commanded by him should ever be used to carry a man back to slavery; and the citizens generally indicated their opinions by ready assistance in feeding and sheltering the investing force. For three weeks the authorities postponed action, waiting for the excitement to subside and the Negroes to disperse.

Finally the sheriff determined to deliver his prisoner to the American authorities across the river without further delay—a fact which friends of the prisoner within prison walls soon made known to those whom it concerned.

Elaborate preparations were made, and on the appointed day the fettered prisoner was helped into the waggon, preceded by the deputy-sheriff, and surrounded by soldiers and constables, with other constables on foot with fixed bayonets, the citizens looking down on the scene from the roofs of the neighboring houses. Outside the jail the Riot Act was read, and then the spirited team rushed out of the yard. On each side of the road and across it were two hundred black men, most of whom personally had felt the lash of slavery, ready to dispute the return of the prisoner to a captivity worse than death. Holmes seized the horses' heads and stopped them, while another colored man ran a pole into one of the wheels and locked it. The deputy-sheriff, seeing the state of affairs, gave the double order to "fire" and to "charge". Instantly Holmes fell dead, killed by a bullet from a soldier's musket, and the man who had locked the waggon wheel received a thrust from a constable's bayonet, from which he soon after died. Meanwhile the prisoner, who was an athletic man, whose handcuffs had not been locked or had been weakened, sprang from the waggon into the thickest of the crowd, leaped a rail fence into a corn field and made his escape, some time later reaching Montreal and finally England. A large number of the colored men were imprisoned, but at the breaking out of the Canadian rebellion were released to join a colored military company.¹

About 1838 the time and risk attending escape from the slave states were both materially lessened by the union in Philadelphia of numerous friends of the slave into a secret organization which in subsequent years became

¹ "Publications of Niagara Historical Society", No. 2.

known to the general public as the "underground railroad". Its leading managers were Quakers, Levi Coffin being "president"; but with them were associated other bold spirits, such as John Brown, of Harper's Ferry fame, who with his six stalwart sons did many a bold stroke of business in its behalf. It had also its various "lines" leading north and south, with "stations" and "station masters"; and, to prevent discovery, various technical business terms were used by its unpaid and often heavily taxed officials and employees. The history of the conscientious law-breakers who for a quarter of a century directed this organization is a history of heroes inspired by the noblest motives. Their original purpose was not to entice slaves from their masters, but to aid systematically those who had succeeded in escaping, to prevent their recapture, and to pass them on as speedily as possible to the extreme northern terminus—the Canadian border. Nor in the wide field of lowly romance will aught ever be found more thrilling than the experiences of some of the numerous passengers by the "underground railway" in their frantic efforts to reach freedom and Canada.

With the aid of this secret organization of heroic men and women, successful attempts at escape into Canada became much more numerous. While many bondmen started bravely on the expedition northward with slight idea of distance and dangers, only to be seized on the way and sold into harsher slavery, a good proportion of the adventurers, after experiences scarcely less perilous than the crossing of "Eliza" and her boy over the floating ice-bridges of the Ohio, as told by Mrs. Stowe in her marvellous novel, reached the Canaan of their dreams in safety. "All through Ohio to-day", says a narrator of the escape of one of these, "grey-haired men and women still tell how their mothers warmed, fed, and often clothed

the fugitives, and their fathers drove through storm and darkness to save from worse than death the people committed to their charge”.

In a pleasant home many years since in an Ontario town a minister sent across the border by the Abolitionists to see how the escaped fugitives were faring, heard from his hostess, a woman of great beauty and the wife of a cultured young Englishman, an interesting life story. An inquiry as to his acquaintance with the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings and two or three other prominent men of Ohio, and a reply in the affirmative, elicited the remark that to them she owed her life. She was the daughter of a Virginian, a man supposed to be wealthy and of good moral character. With him, a widower, lived a son and daughter—the latter, accomplished especially in music, a favorite in society. On the sudden death of the father, the son, called home from Yale, learned to his sad surprise that not only had his father died insolvent but that the young girl in the home whom he had fondly regarded as a sister was not the daughter of his own mother, but of a slave, and that no provision had been made for her freedom. As the father's “property” as well as his daughter, the young girl, though her appearance indicated nothing but the purest Caucasian blood, had, in accordance with the usage of slavery in general and the law of Virginia in particular, to be placed on the auction-block and sold, subject to the usual indignities, at public sale with the father's other possessions. A slave trader, then purchasing for some other market, outbid all competitors, became her owner, and shut her up in a cell in the prison until a gang should be ready to leave for the South.

The brother, aware of the penalty of imprisonment in the penitentiary for aid in the rescue of a slave, but desperate at the idea of the sister falling into the hands of such a man for such a purpose, resolved to save her, if

possible. To accomplish this he made a confidant of a friend, interviewed an agent of the secret "railroad", and putting on the style and garb of an old "mammy" who wanted to see the "little missy jis' once mo'", he was admitted to her cell. There he presented her with a long, keen-bladed knife, made her kneel and swear that sooner than be taken alive she would plunge it into her heart; and remaining in the cell sent her out from it in the disguise in which he had entered it. She at once found her brother's friend, by whom she was conveyed across the country to the point where, as agreed, the "railroad" agent met them; and thence she set out on her perilous journey to a strange land, hiding by day in farmhouse garrets and driving in the care of strangers through the long chill October nights, over rough corduroy roads and dark forest byways between the "stations".

Once escape seemed impossible, two or three slave-hunters having arrived at the village she had reached, and the necessary boat being away. In this dilemma Mr. Giddings procured a horse and buggy, hastily took on board a closely veiled lady about the same size as the slave girl, and drove off as if in desperation, closely followed by the hunters at breakneck speed, until at the end of many miles he reined up his panting horse and angrily demanded to know why the men were following him. They in turn demanded the woman as their property, Giddings insisting that she was no property of theirs. Then they threatened the vengeance of the law, while he reiterated that she was a free woman and no man's property. Finally, as the controversy could be continued no longer, the lady lifted her veil and showed to the infuriated men the face of an entire stranger. In the meantime, another rescuer, as soon as the slave-hunters were well out of the village, had taken a fast horse and driven the fugitive with all speed to Cleveland. From Cleveland she was safely taken around

the lake and across the Detroit river into Canada. And the sequel the visiting minister saw in her own pleasant Canadian home, to which she had only gone after having some time refused to marry on account of antecedents revealed by her own lips. In that town the brother joined her at the close of a long imprisonment.¹

There may have been less of romance, but there was little less of cruelty in the experience of James King, an escaped slave who lived many years in the service of the father of Thomas Conant, author of the recently-published "Upper Canada Sketches". His original owner, the head of one of the leading families of Virginia, was also his father, but other sons, becoming sensitive as they grew up to the presence of their slave half-brother, induced the father to sell him. His new owner wished to place him in a leading position on his large farm, but was prevented by the old overseer, whose jealousy prompted him to the use of all possible expedients to bring the young man under the lash, from which he only narrowly escaped. At length, goaded almost to madness during the absence of his master, he fled to the woods, where, fed by neighboring slaves, he resolved to await the master's return; but the appearance of an advertisement offering a large reward for his apprehension as a runaway, led him to a greater distance. Again alarmed, he "followed the North Star by night" and slept during the day until he reached Harrisburg, Pa. From that place he walked by day, boldly inquiring his way to Canada, but always careful to keep going northward. Canada he had always heard of among the slaves, but had supposed it to be a land where the wild geese went and everything was covered by feathers; yet onward he plodded in search of freedom. From Charlotte, N. Y., he worked his passage in a small vessel bound to Colborne, Ont., and in 1854 made the

¹ E. H. Smith, in *New York Evening Post*.

province his future home. About three weeks before the old man's death in 1895 Mr. Conant at his earnest request communicated with the former slave's friends in Virginia. An immediate response was received, with the revelation of his real name, an invitation to visit his native state, and an intimation that such a visit might result to his profit, but such was the dread of slavery felt by the man of fourscore years, that, with an inquiry respecting a half-brother, he returned an absolute refusal.

In another instance Helen Craft, a slave-wife, whom T. W. Higginson has described as "quite as white" as his own sisters, dressed herself like a fashionable young planter, and took William, her husband, along under the guise of a servant. To prevent discovery she feigned invalidism of several sorts, rendering her thoroughly dependent upon her faithful servant. Affairs assumed a critical aspect in Baltimore, where, on going to buy tickets for himself and his master, the servant was told that he could not pass on until some responsible white person should give bonds for him. Several times the servant repeated the story that his master was ill, and being on his way to Philadelphia to take medical advice might die if detained, and ended with a most emphatic and effective declaration: "My master cannot be detained". "Scarcely had they arrived on Canadian soil when the rheumatism departed, the right arm was unslung, the toothache was gone, the beardless face was unmuffled, the deaf heard and spoke, the blind saw and the lame "leaped as an hart".

At neither terminus of the "underground railroad" does any discrimination seem to have been made on the basis of complexion. A representative of a small section of colored Methodists in Ontario, in addressing the General Conference of the Methodist Church recently in Toronto, proved himself a master in hyperbole by

remarking that if in those days a man had been as "black as two midnights in a dark cellar" he would have found ready aid on his arrival in Canada. One of the most remarkable agents of the "railroad" was a full-blooded Negress, who had been for twenty years a slave. Shrewd and courageous, always armed with a gun or revolver—the two-fold purpose of which any wavering member of her contingent was given to understand, this very ordinary-looking black woman had succeeded in carrying off, with her own family, nearly three hundred other slaves, winning for her success in leading her people out of their land of bondage the appropriate appellation of "Moses".

Lively demonstrations sometimes attended the first moments after arrival in the land of promise. Among a party of four, in charge of Harriet Tubman, alias "Moses", on one occasion was a young man named Joe. After a narrow escape the train on which they were bound north approached the bridge below Niagara Falls and other members of the party burst into singing, but Joe, not disposed to shout until quite out of the wood, sat motionless with his head buried in his hands, waiting for—he hardly knew what! As the train crossed the bridge the others called to him in the utmost excitement to come and look at the Falls, but he could not be stirred. A moment later, when they were on the descent from the middle of the bridge, "Moses" rushed at him and shaking him fiercely exclaimed: "Joe, you've shook de lion's paw! Joe, you're free"! Then "the strong man, who could stand the greatest physical suffering without a quiver, burst into hysterical sobbing and singing, so much did the touch of Canadian soil, the breath of free British air, mean to these men". More demonstrative still was the action of another escaped slave—Stanford. This man, who had had a terrible struggle to escape his pursuers—who in fact, after his first arrival at St. Catharine's had been kidnapped in the middle of the night

and carried back to the American side of the border—on reaching again the Canadian side “leaped on shore, rolled himself in the sand, and even rubbed it into his hair in the wildness of his delight at finding himself once more on free soil”.

A special effort for the settlement of some of these freed slaves was made in 1850. The principal promoter of the movement was the Rev. William King, a native of Londonderry, Ireland, who in 1846 had been sent as a missionary to Canada by the Free Church of Scotland. During a residence in Louisiana he had married a planter's daughter, who at her father's death inherited fifteen slaves. On the death of Mrs. King the disposal of these slaves depended upon her husband, the minister, then rector of a college. Their estimated value in the slave market was nine thousand dollars, but he refused to sell them; and placing them for a time upon a plantation gave them the proceeds of their own labors. In 1848 he brought them to Western Canada, thus securing to them their freedom. Having found in the province a great number of fugitive slaves—many of them very ignorant and in great poverty—he in 1850 presented their position to the Presbyterian Synod, at the time in session in Toronto, succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of its members, as well as those of other denominations, and secured the co-operation of Canadian anti-slavery societies. In June of that year a company was incorporated, called the Elgin Association, and a prospectus was issued for the “social and religious improvement of the colored people of Canada”. The public was asked to take stock to the value of twenty thousand dollars, and with the money obtained nine thousand acres of land in the county of Kent were purchased from the government, to be sold to colored settlers at the rate of from two to three dollars per acre. This tract the Elgin Association, so-called from Lord Elgin, the Governor-general, who favored the enterprise, had

divided into lots of fifty acres each, for which the settler was to pay in ten annual instalments with interest.

Mr. King formed the nucleus of the settlement by giving his fifteen freed Negroes their land in 1850. The place became known as the "Buxton Settlement", in honor of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton of England, whose life-long devotion to the cause of the slave in the colonies of Great Britain had resulted in the Imperial Act of 1833, by which the very last vestige of slavery was removed from the Canadian provinces. In 1853 one hundred families had settled on the "King tract", while many others had occupied improved farms in the neighborhood. They had been helpful to each other, and most of the farms had been cleared and homes built by means of "chopping bees", those warm-hearted, neighborly institutions of early Canadian times. The settlers also found employment on the farms of their white neighbors, and by the sale of railway ties to the builders of railways then in course of construction. Within fifteen years from the commencement of the settlement all the land purchased by the Association was allotted and peopled by one thousand colored settlers. Farms were cleared, houses built after a prescribed model, roads opened up, and school-houses, a brick hotel, and industrial buildings erected. Meanwhile the religious and educational interests of the people had not been neglected. The sale of intoxicating liquors had been prohibited, Mr. King had been sustained there as a Presbyterian missionary by the Synods of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, religious ordinances had been provided for the numerous Baptists and Methodists in the neighborhood by the church authorities, and elementary training in general knowledge afforded by both week-day and Sunday-schools.¹

¹ See "Place-Names of Canada", by George Johnson, F. S. S., and a "A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada", by William Gregg, M. A., D. D.

The county of Kent, in which the Buxton settlement is situated, proved an attractive abiding place for Southern fugitives. The Negro—a child of the sun—found the milder winters of this extreme western section of Ontario much more to his satisfaction than the colder blasts of the country farther to the eastward. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom" lived at Chatham for some years, and found it the home of many of his race, who were reputed to be "usually quiet, self-respecting, law-abiding, religious people, excellent servants and devoted to the people whom they served". In the county of Kent, and one or two of the adjacent counties, several of such fugitives became successful farmers.

That "belated Covenanter", the good and brave though much abused John Brown, of Harper's Ferry fame, occasionally availed himself of the nearness of Western Ontario for the accomplishment of his purposes as a rescuer of the enslaved. It was at Chatham, on one such occasion, that he took the first of those apparently imprudent steps which cost him his life, but perhaps best served the purpose at which for years he had aimed with an intensity akin to fanaticism. A Massachusetts abolitionist, who with others had met him by appointment in Boston nearly a year earlier, writes: "Brown's plan was simply to penetrate Virginia with a few comrades, to keep utterly clear of all attempts to create slave insurrection, but to get together bands and families of fugitive slaves, and then be guided by events. If he could establish them permanently in those fastnesses [of the Alleghany Mountains], like the Maroons of Jamaica and Surinam, so much the better; if not, he would make a break from time to time, and take parties to Canada, by paths already familiar to him. All this he explained to me and others, plainly and calmly, and there was nothing in it that we considered either objectionable or impracticable; so that his friends in Boston—Theodore Parker, Howe, Stearns, Sanborn, and

myself—were ready to co-operate in his plan as thus limited. Of the wider organization and membership afterwards formed by him in Canada we of course knew nothing”.¹

This wider organization took place in a Negro church at Chatham, where he arrived about the middle of March, 1859, accompanied by twelve colored people carried off from slave owners in Missouri, who through arrival in Canada became legally as well as practically free. At a secret convention in May, called by himself and attended only by such whites and blacks as he believed in thorough sympathy with his views, a “Provisional Constitution for the People of the United States” was adopted. It was of course drafted by Brown, and aimed directly at slavery and slave-holders, while in it any intention to interfere with or destroy any state or federal government was distinctly disclaimed. Brown was elected commander-in-chief: with some high-sounding titles conferred upon others, the more moderate one of treasurer was given to Brown’s son, Owen. This action was said, according to the preamble, to have been taken by “citizens of the United States and oppressed people who by a recent decision of the Supreme court are declared to have no rights which the white man is bound to respect”.² It is not strange that this defiance of the United States government, carried into effect a few months later within easy reach of Washington, has led an admirer and friend of John Brown to regard it as obvious that the long delay of an “opportunity of fulfilment had disturbed the delicate balance of the zealot’s mind”.

The long and anxious procession northward continued to the outbreak of the civil war in the United States. It was in 1862 that the British Parliament, influenced by the decision of the Upper Canada court of common pleas on a

¹ “Cheerful Yesterdays”, p. 221.

² Greeley’s “American Conflict”, vol. 1, p. 287.

writ of *habeas corpus* issued by one of the superior courts in England in the case of John Anderson, a fugitive slave from Missouri, passed an Act declaring that no writ of *habeas corpus* should again issue in England into any British colony in which a court was established having authority to grant such a writ.¹

Just then the day of redemption for the Southern slave was beginning to break. As often in nature the darkest hour had preceded the dawn. The movements that prepared the way for the emancipation of the slave seemed, for a time, only to render his position more intolerable by rivetting his fetters the more firmly.

The publication in 1851 of Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin", begun as a serial in an anti-slavery journal of Washington, had intensified the hatred of slavery at the North; and the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, with the "Dred Scott" decision in 1856, had increased this hatred on the part of the North while it had rendered the South overbearing. Then, when violent contests between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery settlers in Kansas had resulted, to the great disgust of the South, in a vote excluding slavery from that territory, came in October, 1859, the attack on the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, by Brown and his few but desperate followers, and two months later the execution of Brown as a sequel to that bold act, fanning the flame of national passion to a white heat.

Victor Hugo judged correctly, when early in the course of the nation's conflict he wrote, "What the South slew last December was not John Brown, but Slavery." Held as before by the idea of "vested rights" and a regard for national compromises, the people of the United States

¹ "History of Canada and other British Provinces", by J. George Hodgins, LL. D., p. 204.

moved with hesitation towards the point of accepting the destruction of slavery as of equal importance with the preservation of the Union ; but at length their government resolved to take upon its broad shoulders the work so bravely begun and long continued by the Abolitionist "fanatics", and determined, at the risk of tearing their great republic asunder, that every man under their national banner should be free. At immense cost of life and treasure, through "blood and fire and vapour of smoke", the aimed-for end was attained ; and a few days before the departure of 1865 a proclamation was issued—not by President Lincoln, who was denied a well-earned part in the triumph, but by the Secretary of state—that the amendment to the Constitution destroying slavery "within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction" had been approved by twenty-seven out of thirty-six states and therefore had been adopted.

Then the pathways to the various Southern termini of the "underground railroad" soon became grass-grown ; and the watchers at the Canadian boundary line were at liberty to close their previously wakeful eyes ; the road was no longer needed, its business was spoiled. Canada soon ceased to be in plantation life and song another name for heaven ; the North Star, so long the nightly guide thither, soon came to seem but like a tradition.

But—and let it ever be regarded as a gem in Canada's circlet of renown—previous to that period when a few strokes of the pen struck off the fetters from four millions of bondmen in the South, as the pen in the hand of William IV., King of Great Britain and Ireland, had done in the case of West Indian bondmen more than thirty years before, not fewer than thirty thousand slaves had crossed the Canadian boundary line ;¹ had, to use the

¹ "It is estimated that more than 30,000 American slaves, after escaping from bondage, found an asylum in Canada".—Appleton's American Cyclopaedia", article "Slavery".

words of one of their number, "shook the lion's paw"; and under the British flag in Canada had found freedom, shelter, education for "the life that now is and for that which is to come", and thus at least partial preparation for the duties of Christian citizenship.

Many of these, on the proclamation of emancipation, returned to their former neighborhoods, where not a few of them have made commendable use of advantages conferred upon them in helping others who had been denied their privileges.

These two great nations, Great Britain and the United States, harmonious now as never before, have together banished from earth the idea that it is right for one man to make another man his property.

When Britain had abolished slavery in the West Indies and Bermuda, an eminent Bermudian, Chief-justice Esten, wrote: "Happy had it been for these favoured isles, favoured in climate and most attractive in beauty, if the foot of slavery had never stalked over the land. As mercy is said to be twice blessed, so slavery is twice cursed—a curse to the master and a curse to the slave". And when the United States at a later period had struck off the long-worn fetters of their bondmen, though without such compensation to the owners as had been provided by Britain, a Southern senator said to the faculty and students of Middletown Wesleyan University: "Slavery is gone, and I am glad of it. I feel that I myself am liberated".

From such data may be estimated Canada's gain through the early abolition of slavery.

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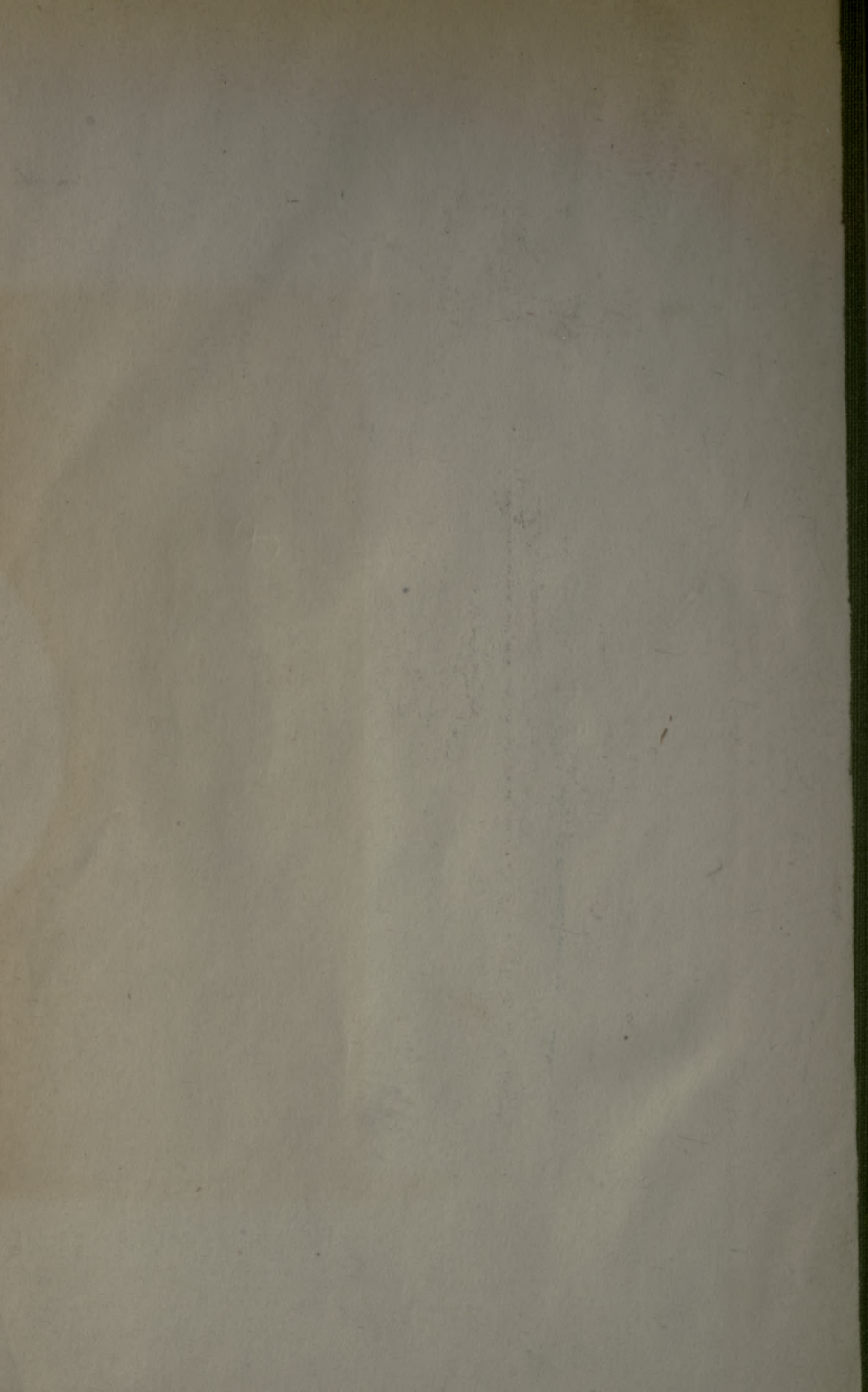
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